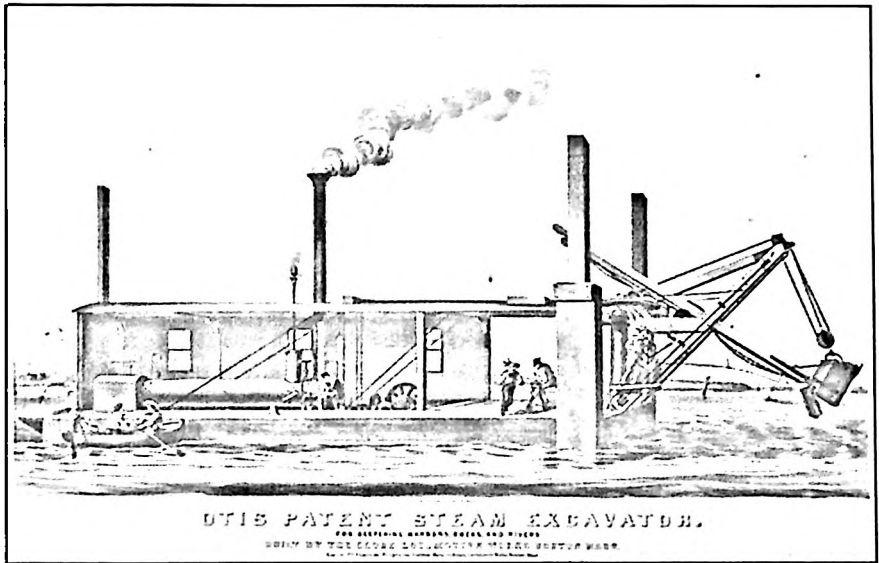




The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

January - February 2015



Steam Shovels Find Their Way West
Otis and Otis - Elevating and Excavating
by Anna Lee Frolich, P.M.
(Presented May 28, 2014)



Our Author

Researching the stories of her family in the West in the 1800s has become a consuming interest for Anna Lee Ames Frohlich. She first spoke to Denver Westerners in 2010 about the Ames Monument in Wyoming and its connection to the building of the Union Pacific. She received the Philip A. Danielson Award of Westerners International, 3rd Place for best program/presentation in 2010. She waits with great hopes to hear whether the National Park Service will designate the monument as a National Historic Landmark.

She writes a column for the *Colorado Gambler* newspaper about family stories in the West and has covered: a land speculator, a railroad magnate, an artist, inventors, and a vice-president of the Colorado Central RR. Now she is writing about the history of a large family ranch that stretched from Evanston, WY well into Utah.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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 Bailey, CO 80421

Book Reviews

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 11259 W. Ford Dr.
 Lakewood, CO 80226

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 11168 W. Ontario Ave.
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Reservations for meetings

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Steam Shovels Find Their Way West Otis and Otis - Elevating and Excavating by Anna Lee Frolich, P.M. (Presented May 28, 2014)

The story of the steam shovel begins with the story of the hand shovel. In 1774 John Ames of Bridgewater, Mass. forged shovels that were used at Bunker Hill in the Revolutionary War. The Ames family made shovels from the very beginning of this country and made 60% of the world's shovels in the 1800s. Their superior strength and quality became respected worldwide. They were to have a role in the development of the steam shovel as well.

William Smith Otis, was born in Pelham, Mass. in 1813. In 1835 Otis and his first cousin Oliver Smith Chapman were both engaged in constructing a portion of the Boston and Providence RR, the Canton Viaduct, near Canton, Mass.. (The

Canton Viaduct, completed in 1835, is the oldest blind arcade cavity bridge in the world. Still in use today, it now has modern light rail tracks running next to railroad tracks.) During this time William Otis gathered a group of friends and relatives to build his trial, or experimental, excavator that was never patented. Among these young men were Charles H. French,¹ a millwright, and Thomas Dunbar, Rufus Mason,² and his cousin Oliver Chapman.

During the building of this steam-operated shovel, Otis fell from a platform near the top of the machine and was severely injured. It was a close call, and he was laid up for some time. In this same year, Otis met and married Elizabeth Everett of Canton on June 23, 1835.³



William Smith Otis



Elizabeth Everett

Otis put his trial excavator to work on the Norwich and Worcester Railroad showing what a steam shovel could do. It was operated by his friend, and brother-in-law, Charles Howe French during construction. French, because of his understanding of the mechanism, had been selected to superintend the transfer of the excavator and to put it in working order.⁴

Another Otis? The name "Otis" may ring bells for those of us who have seen the name in many elevators. Elisha Graves Otis is often credited with inventing the elevator. In fact, that invention goes back as far as the third century B.C. He was responsible for inventing the safety device that enabled the elevators to stop if the hoisting cable broke.



Elisha G. Otis was the fourth cousin-once removed of William Smith Otis. They were both descended from the same immigrant to this country, John Otis, who came here from England c. 1653.⁵

At the Crystal Palace in New York in 1854, Otis was demonstrating the operation of his safety device to a crowd. Being something of a showman, he had the supporting ropes cut with a saber or an axe. When the horrified crowd screamed, the toothed brake automatically locked and prevented the elevator from falling. He announced to the audience, "All safe, ladies and gentlemen, all safe." The publicity helped his invention to catch on.⁶

Otis made his device of toothed wooden guide rails to fit into opposite sides of the elevator shaft, and fitted a spring to the top of the elevator, running the hoisting cables through it. The cables still guided the elevator up and down, but if they broke, the release of tension would throw the spring mechanism outward into the notches, preventing the cabin from falling. He was granted his patent in 1861. Whether the Otis cousins ever met or not is unknown, but it is impossible to imagine our modern cities without the ability to excavate and to elevate. Their inventions are keynotes of modern industrial life.⁷

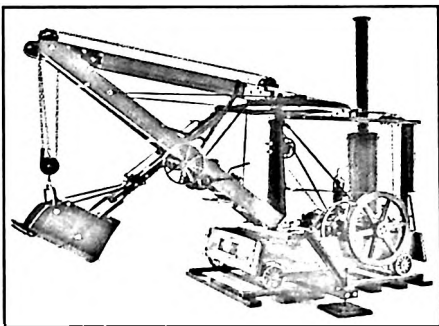
William Otis was not satisfied with his trial excavator and moved to his family home in Philadelphia to continue working on it. While he and Elizabeth were in Philadelphia in 1836, their first child, Helen, was born.

Otis worked with the firm of Eastwick and Harrison to get help in perfecting the details of his excavator. He directed the building of what was later referred to as his "first" shovel. At the time of his invention engines and boilers were too large and bulky for use in the excavator,⁸ so he designed better suited ones that were in use for a

long time after that. For years the only changes made to the excavators had to do with enlarging and strengthening them. His design stayed current for almost 100 years. The steam excavators were known as "railroad shovels." Relatively few of them were made because of plentiful, cheap hand labor.⁹

The concept of a mechanical shovel was not new. Men like Leonardo da Vinci and Mariano Taccola de Ingensis drafted their concepts of excavators and dredges, but it was the advent of steam power that made them practical.

Otis filed for a patent in 1836, but it was held up, possibly by a fire in the patent office that destroyed his application and the drawings of the excavator. On Feb. 24, 1839 his second application for a patent was granted. (No. 1089).¹⁰ Even the drawings of his second shovel are missing. To protect his patent he filed for patents in other countries as well such as France and



England. Existing drawings of the early steam shovel are believed to be copies of the French patent.

He was the first person to combine a power shovel and a revolving crane. His invention became the progenitor of a large class of

dredges for excavating hard material. Even more important than the revolving crane was the power crowd. The shovel could be moved using chain or cable, but the power crowd did the real work of forcing the shovel bucket into hard material.

The parts of the excavator comprising the power crowd worked together to push the bucket down and make it dig in hard to fill the bucket. Then the bucket could be lifted to a level where it could swing to the side to unload into a waiting railroad car: dig, lift, swing, release. In the past hard digging had been done using a pick axe and then a shovel, back-breaking work

In 1837 Otis put his "first" excavator to work on the Western RR near Westfield, Mass. It worked on the East coast for a number of years.

In June 1838 William and Elizabeth lost an infant son, George Everett. Then in April of 1839 they had a little girl, Elizabeth, shortly after receiving news that William's second patent had been granted patent on Feb. 24, 1839. Things must have been looking good to them. Then, on Nov. 13, 1839, William Smith Otis died of typhus at the age of twenty-six.¹¹ (Typhus is a bacterial disease which can be spread by fleas. Typhoid fever is passed by contamination of food and water.) Just nine months after receiving his patent, William Otis was dead. Strangely enough, Elijah Graves Otis died in 1861, the same year that he received his patent for the elevator braking system. It was a very unfortunate thing that both these brilliant men should die before they could realize their full potential. William had invented an oscillating

steam engine that he did not have time to patent before his death. Elisha too had invented an oscillating steam engine that he didn't have the time to patent, but Elisha's son, C.R. Otis, patented that machine (No.30,240) in 1860 shortly before his father's death.¹² Did these distant cousins ever meet? Imagine what they might have accomplished together!

Suddenly, at twenty-one years old, Elizabeth was a widow with two young daughters. It was then that Elizabeth began to show her true mettle. Daniel Carmichael and Reuben Fairbanks had been copartners and financial benefactors of her husband. There was an agreement, unwritten at the time of William's death, that they would share equally with Otis. In 1840 Elizabeth honored her husband's commitments by assigning part of the patent rights to these two men. Otis' connection to Carmichael and Fairbanks had started in about 1833 when he was twenty and had joined their contracting firm. Carmichael was married to Otis' sister Eliza.¹³

By the next year, Otis was a partner in the firm of Carmichael, Fairbanks, and Otis. The firm had a contract with the Boston and Providence railroad and worked on building the Canton Viaduct over the Neponset River.

Elizabeth also assigned patent rights to Charles Howe French who had helped Otis with the excavator from the early days. French was married to her sister Almira. When Otis died, French was invited to join the firm of Carmichael, Fairbanks and Otis which then became Carmichael, Fairbanks, French and Dillon.⁶ Rights went to

some others including Sidney Dillon (later of the Union Pacific). Some of the rights she sold.



In 1841 The American Institute in New York awarded a gold medal to Otis' widow for his invention.¹⁴

Eastwick and Harrison of Philadelphia, the firm that helped Otis build his "first" excavator, went on to build six more Otis-style excavators, making a total of seven.

- 1) The first worked on the Western RR of Massachusetts where the contracting firm of Carmichael, Fairbanks, and Otis were finishing the link between Springfield and Worcester.¹⁵
- 2) Either the first or the second was used on the Schenectady and Troy RR. The second, like the first, was used on East coast projects. Some of the projects undertaken on the East coast were: leveling holes and filling lots in Brooklyn, N.Y., work in the Navy Yard, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in Maryland, and upkeep of the Welland Canal in Canada.¹⁶
- 3) One went to England and was used on the Eastern County Railway as early as 1842. An English patent, No.9281

was granted on March 4, 1842, probably with permission from the holders of the American patent.¹⁷

In England it was referred to as the "Steam Navvie" because railway workers were known as navvies. They had a culture unique to themselves.¹⁸

4)-7) A Russian colonel, Pavel Petrovich Melnikov, inspected the American railroad system and saw the "first" excavator at work on the Western RR. He was favorably impressed. Four excavators were brought to Russia to help build the 400-mile-long St. Petersburg to Moscow RR (1842-1851). Otis' old partners Eastwick and Harrison constructed all the locomotives and rolling stock and made large fortunes. George Washintgon Whistler, father of the painter, had designed the Canton Viaduct and designed at least one similar bridge as consulting engineer for the Moscow St. Petersburg Railway. Fairbanks and Carmichael were also involved in Russia. They had an excavating contract there.¹⁹

In 1845 Oliver Smith Chapman and Elizabeth Everett Otis, both having lost their spouses, were married.

The Great American Steam Shovel Moves West

After their marriage, Oliver and Elizabeth Otis Chapman settled in Canton, Mass. to raise Elizabeth's ten-year-old daughter, Helen, and their own seven children. Oliver became a pillar of the community but was often away because of his involvement in building railroads. He also became involved in the development of the steam excavator that had been invented by his deceased cousin William Smith Otis. This was

difficult because he had no ownership in the patent and had to pay the owners of the patent (including his wife) for the right to "build and use or cause to be built and used" several excavators.²⁰

By 1850 he had started working with John Souther, who owned Globe Locomotive Works in South Boston, to improve the strength of the excavator. In 1850 one of these improved excavators, built by the combined efforts of Chapman, Souther, and another Boston locomotive builder Jabez Coney, went on a long journey, 15,000 miles, that took from July 1850 until January 1851 and involved the turbulent passage around Cape Horn. The destination of the excavator was that of the many forty-niners who had arrived the year before.

After a little more than a year since the discovery of gold in California, the city of San Francisco was already growing. One important builder was James Cunningham, formerly of Boston, who saw the need to fill in the tidelands around the city to provide more growing space.²¹

The ship Hana Crooker carried his cargo to him and it had a very strange manifest:

Cunningham's portion of the load included "150 tons of railroad iron, 1 locomotive and tender, 1 steam excavator, 30 dirt cars." (Courtesy of Kyle K. Wyatt) The freight charges to Cunningham were \$16,000.

By April 1851, the "Steam Paddy," as it became known, was working on reducing the sand hills and filling in the tidelands of San Francisco Bay. The "Paddy" got its name because it replaced about 100 workers, mostly Irishmen, who were called



Yerba Buena Cove was completely filled in by the steam paddy

in a sometimes derogatory fashion, "paddies."

Cunningham's Steam Paddy was successful in creating space for the growing city of San Francisco. It facilitated the laying of streets and lots in the neighborhood of Happy Valley, and it completely filled in Yerba Buena Cove, providing space for businesses.²²

Despite all this, the public did not appreciate it. Complaints were made by citizens about the constant running of dirt cars on rails through the city between the excavator and whatever area was being filled. The city government put so many constraints on the operation that in 1854 Cunningham put the excavator and his remaining equipment in storage.²³

It remained in storage until it was purchased from Cunningham in 1858 by an ambitious young man named David S. Hewes, originally from Massachusetts, who picked up the project where Cunningham had left off.²⁴

The date of 1858 is significant in two ways. First, it was the year that

the Chapman-Souther excavator started work on the huge fill in Boston's Back Bay. Secondly, it was seven years since 1851 when the excavator had gone to work in San Francisco. What this means is that the big fill in San Francisco, using an excavator built in Boston that had to be shipped around Cape Horn, began seven years before the historic fill in Boston. (Boston had started the effort to fill its surrounding marshy land earlier, but they did not speed the project up by using an excavator until 1858.) Strangely, it was a Boston excavator and two Massachusetts men with foresight who carried on the project all the way across the continent in San Francisco.

Hewes had started work on filling San Francisco earlier before he had the excavator. At that time he found it more economical to hire Chinamen to do the work at \$2 per day instead of Irishmen who charged \$4 a day. Then in 1860, when cars loaded by the Steam Paddy were dumping sand at the end of California Street for laborers to spread, the laborers stood up for shorter work

days. They wanted ten- hour rather than twelve-hour days, the norm in 1860. Some men left the job and were paid for their work, but it appears that those who stayed continued working twelve-hour days.

Hewes may have worked his men hard, but he was concerned about their safety. In 1867 *The Daily Alta California* said of Hewes' operations that "not a single accident had occurred during the many years he has carried on railroad and excavation operations in this city." This is quite a contrast to the operation of the Back Bay fill in Boston where accidents were frequent and often ugly while they were carrying out work similar to what Hewes was doing.



David Hewes continued his vital work in San Francisco until 1873 and became known as "the maker of San Francisco." This great work was completed because the determination of Cunningham and Hewes, the early invention of the Great American Steam

Excavator by William Smith Otis, and the continuance of Otis' dream by his cousin Oliver Smith Chapman, my great-great grandfather.

A final word about David S. Hewes: he was the contributor of the Golden Spike that connected the rails of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific, forming the transcontinental railroad, at Promontory Summit, Utah Territory in 1869.

Extending this Country from West to East

Today's women will see red at this ... in 1853 Elizabeth Otis Chapman applied to extend her first husband's 1839 patent for the steam excavator. After 14 years it was running out. The patent extension was approved by the patent office to run another seven years until 1860, but in 1857 a question came up about whether the extension was valid. The reason given was that "at the time of the application the powers of Mrs. Chapman as administrator had been extinguished by her marriage."

The patent office's decision was that "The intension was to give an extension to the representatives of the patentee for the benefit of his estate and a rightful administrator may now fully carry out that intention." Elias Ames, Esq. (not one of the shovel Ameses who lived nearby) was appointed the "administrator de bonis non," and was then the only administrator of the estate which was not yet fully settled. This happened in May 1857, and on June 12, 1857 Oliver Chapman paid Ames \$2800 for all the rights to the excavator.

Chapman had already purchased the rights that belonged to Charles Howe French, Daniel

Carmichael, Reuben G. Fairbanks, John Cochran and a few others. So in 1857 it appears that he had virtually complete control of the excavator. Now he could begin building them without having to pay or get permission.²⁴

The excavator now had improvements made by Chapman and John Souther. Souther had made the first locomotive to be sent to the West coast. In 1851 it was on the same ship as the excavator and worked with it in San Francisco. (In 1851 Souther had built an excavator which he shipped to Peru to dig seabird guano.)²⁵ The excavator had now grown in size from four to ten tons and was ready for the challenge of digging gravel to fill the Back Bay in Boston.

*And twice each day the flowing sea
Took Boston in its arms*

Ralph Waldo Emerson

There were varying reasons why Boston wanted to do this fill. The early peninsular city was nearly surrounded by water, both fresh water from the Charles River and Atlantic salt tides from the Inner Harbor. The inland marshes along the river had serious drainage and pollution problems and were a health hazard. Varying solutions had been tried: sluices, dams, tidal mills, shifting of water from one tidal basin to another. All had their limitations and drawbacks.

Another reason for the fill was that Boston was having growing pains. For many years Bostonians had seen their town, now a city, as a haven for well-educated, high-minded citizens. Most were Protestants. Then in the mid 1840's there was a huge influx of immigrants from abroad, mostly Irish

and Catholic. Struggling to survive in a new country, they overwhelmed the living capacity of Boston. Slums developed and caused the wealthy to move out. Filling in the Back Bay to create desirable new living space for Boston's well-to-do became a way to maintain a way of life and to give new life to the city.

Fill material near Boston was running low, so Chapman/Souther steam shovels were used to dig gravel from the glacial deposits near Needham, Mass. and to scoop it into railcars on trains which ran in and out of Boston at a rapid and dangerous pace, dumping their loads to build up land.²⁵ Substantial homes and mansions grew up as soon as there was a place to build them, and the Bostonians moved back to Boston.

Otis' original design was being used to build cities from west to east and continued working in both places all the way through the Civil War. John Souther built Otis-Chapman-Souther shovels until 1913, thirty-nine years after the patent expired and seventy-eight years after the first trial shovel was built. The design stayed in use for nearly 100 years. Even the companies that built shovels after 1875 used the same basic design as the Otis shovel.²⁶

Until 1904 when crawlers came into use, all the excavators were railroad shovels. They could only move when pushed or dragged along railroad sidings in a leap-frog style. The shovel would dig ahead of itself. The track behind it would be moved to the newly dug space, and the shovel would be moved to that piece of track.

Along with his passion for

excavators, Oliver Chapman was always a railroad man. He was a surveyor for the Union Pacific as it was being built, and he was on the board of directors of the railroad. He lived in Canton, a neighboring town to where the Ames Shovel works were located in North Easton, Mass. He knew Oliver Ames, president of the UP while it was being built, financed to a large degree by the profits from shovels. They developed an interesting friendship... shovels and steam shovels. There really was no competition between them since the bulk of the work was always done by manual labor with hand shovels. The time came when Ames developed an interest in the steam excavator to help with the building of the Union Pacific.²⁷ In 1868 there was a steam shovel working on the Laramie plains in Wyoming.²⁸ In 1869, right after the

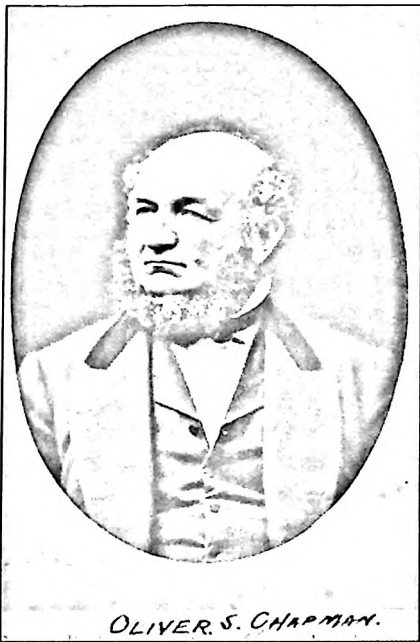
transcontinental tracks met, there was a famous picture taken by A.J. Russell of a Chapman-Souther excavator repairing the tracks in Echo Canyon.

In 1870 Oliver Chapman and Oliver Ames were in a group that went on a month-long inspection tour of the UP line. They went as far as San Francisco. Chapman probably saw the Steam Paddy at work, the one that he had built in 1850. It had given twenty years of good work.²⁹

On the way back they stopped in Council Bluffs, Iowa and saw another of the steam shovels at work, building the bridge over the Missouri River. They consulted with General Grenville Dodge. The project was beset with problems, both physical and political in nature. Ames ended up paying Chapman to oversee the building of the bridge.³⁰ It was not finished until 1873.



Oliver Smith Chapman married Elizabeth Otis Chapman



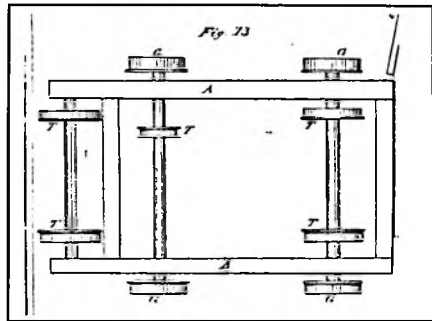
Oliver Chapman on his 1870 trip with Oliver Ames to San Francisco

At that time the Union Pacific became truly a transcontinental railroad.

The excavator working in Council Bluffs probably included the changes that Chapman made in a patent extension granted in 1870.

He claimed these improvements:

1) Hinging the door of the bucket higher and giving it bent arms which allows the door to be open and be out of the way. 2) Tightening friction bands that give the operator better control of the operation and movement of the shovel. 3) Part of the clutch system to be controlled by the operator using a foot lever. 4) Adding a means of readily turning the wheels by levers.



5) A supporting frame of the excavator having two sets of wheels, one for temporary track use (outside the frame) and the other (larger diameter on the inside) to convey the machine on ordinary railroad track. (See above.)

The addition of a pulley or wheel secured to one of the axles, by which motion is imparted to the machine from the engine. 6) A gear-wheel having a moveable portion with the rubber or yielding material interposed. The shock of rapidly changing gears is expended by the rubber. (This was important because when digging hard pan, if the shovel hit a ledge, the gear could lose teeth. 7) The combination of the clutch wheel and the endless chain and sprocket wheels allow the shovel to operate with the wheel or to be thrown out of operation at pleasure, controlled in its movements at the will of the operator. 8) Wrought-iron plates and the cast-iron cheek pieces bolted thereto, with the crane forming a socket to hold the upper end of the brace, stand the strain.³¹

Now the excavator could move ahead, though slowly, using its own engine. It no longer had to be pushed or pulled. It was still, however limited to use on tracks.

This was the type of steam shovel that was in use in Colorado in 1872 when a young man named Jimmy Chambers wrote in his reminiscences that during the winter of 1872-1873 he rode an excavator most of the time, not missing a day on account of the weather. Saying that he "rode" the excavator implies that it was one on operating wheels, a Chapman-Souther one whose patent did not run out until 1874. (*A Brief History of Logan County, Colorado*, "The Sterling Settlement" by Doris Monahan.)

In December of 1872, the superintendent of the job, T.E. Sickels, told the *Omaha Tribune* that work on the grading of the Julesburg to Golden cut-off was proceeding with "unexampled rapidity in consequence of the use of patent excavators." He also praised their efficiency.

These may well have been the first excavators used in Colorado. They were grading the path for the Colorado Central RR. The CCRR had been beaten to the draw by the Denver Pacific RR which had finished the route between Cheyenne and Denver in 1870. The goal of the CCRR was to connect a spur from the Union Pacific at Julesburg and to run it to Golden. By connecting east of Cheyenne at Julesburg, they hoped to take business away from the Denver Pacific. However, the project ended in April 1873 because of the Silver Panic and was never completed.

In 1874 Oliver Chapman's patent expired, and he did not renew it. The country was in the middle of the long depression that started in 1873 when Grant signed the Coinage Act which took silver off the standard with gold. Banks, farmers, miners, (anyone

who dealt with silver) especially railroads (including the Union Pacific) were badly affected. Chapman had invested in the Chicago and Canada Southern RR. A note from his friend and business associate John Souther read, "Rec'd of O.S. Chapman ten Bonds of the Chicago and Canada southern R Road of One thousand each to be accounted for as payment for an Excavator built for the Chicago and Canada Southern RR. John Souther, 1873."²²

The Chicago and Canada Southern RR was a planned extension of the Canada Southern RR of which Chapman was a director. The extension was never completed due to the Panic of 1873. Chapman was probably cutting his losses when he did not renew his patent.

With Chapman out of the excavator business, the market was wide open for someone else to step in, and in 1875 Osgood received a patent for an A-frame and boom-type steam shovel. They held the patent until it expired in 1892. This meant that from Otis' first patent in 1839 until Osgood's patent expired in 1892 (53 years!) the steam excavator was under the control of only two families. This probably meant that the excavator did not advance as much as it could have. Only a small number were built. Once Osgood's patent expired numerous companies jumped into the business with their versions.

For instance:

From Ohio - the Victor-Toledo, the Thompson-Bucyrus, and the Barnhart Marion.

From Bay City, Mich.- the Clement.

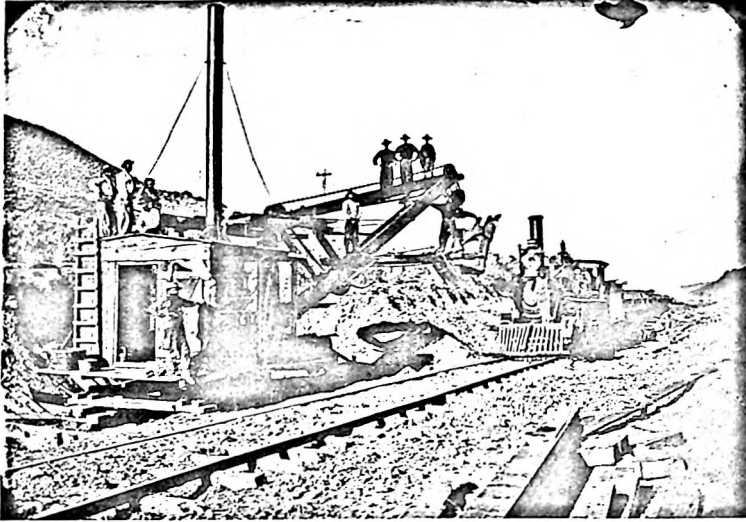


Figure 3.14: Union Pacific Railroad steam shovel crew at Hanging Rock. The track was laid past Hanging Rock during January 1869 but this A. J. Russell photograph was taken during the summer when the right-of-way was being widened and ballasting was being upgraded. (A. J. Russell Photo, Union Pacific Museum Collection)

From Albany, NY.

After retiring Oliver Chapman dedicated himself to helping to make improvements to the town of Canton. He died on Feb. 8, 1877. His friend and associate Oliver Ames attended the large service,³³ and among his pallbearers were his longtime associates Charles Howe French and Sidney Dillon who was then President of the Union Pacific RR. Oliver was buried in the Canton Corner Cemetery³⁴ next to his cousin William Smith Otis.

Oliver Ames died one month and one day later. The two Oliveres were responsible for bringing the first excavators to the Union Pacific starting in 1868.

Colorado Excavators

Over the years versions of the steam shovel other than the railroad shovel appeared. One of the

first was a version of the dredge with an Otis shovel mounted on the front. This type was useful in canals and along waterfronts. The gold dredge was another offspring of the original steam shovel. Early dredges started using steam for power in the 1860s in New Zealand. In 1882 New Zealand was using an endless bucket chain operated by water-current wheels. Steam and water-current power were in use when the big dredges came to California and Montana and in the early 1900s when they came to Colorado. Electricity became more frequently used for power by 1916.³⁵ Once electricity did start being used by the dredges, it was usually alternating current.

The Breckenridge area in Colorado became well known for its dredges. The relics of a few dredges remain. The ruins of the Reiling Dredge can be accessed from a public trail

along French Gulch where it sunk in its own pond in 1922.³⁶ The Reiling began its life in Colorado working on Clear Creek to the east of the Table Mountains of Golden. It was moved over the continental divide to the Breckenridge area.

Since the heavy steam shovels did not have crawlers until after 1904, with the appearance of a steam tractor on crawler tracks, they were limited to work in water (dredging) or to jobs accessible from railroad tracks.³⁷ Work that could be done from railroad tracks was limited to work in mining or on railroads, scraping or lifting away obstacles to the progress of the road. Sometimes smaller ones were mounted on railroad cars for easier moving.

A demonstration of a crawler tractor inspired Winston Churchill to develop the tank. The latest in earthmovers were used extensively in WWI.

Though the canal was officially finished in 1914, dredges were still in use in the Panama Canal in 1915. Twenty-five huge Bucyrus B-50s were sent to work there in the 1920s. The first Bucyrus in 1880 was a railroad-type, half-swing shovel. By 1912 they became fully revolving. By the time the B-50s went to Panama, they could be converted to shovel, dragline or crane and could operate using diesel, gasoline, steam, or electricity for power. They used crawlers, so they were no longer railroad shovels. Most of the Panama shovels were later scrapped.

In the 1950s one of these shovels, built in 1923, had been rescued and arrived at the Lump Gulch placer in Colorado. It mined gold there until 1978. From 1923 to 1978 - a fifty-five-

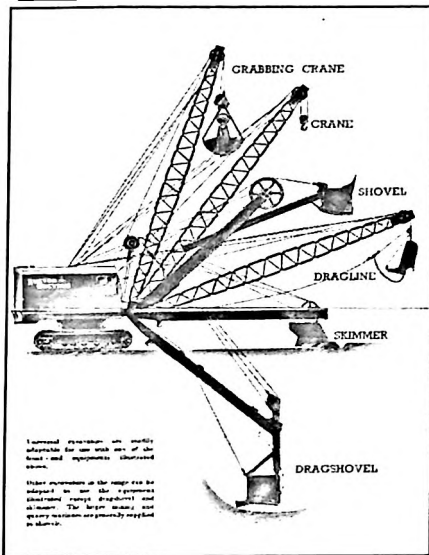
year career! It is now at the Mining Museum in Nederland, Colo. and is marginally operational. Another shovel in Colorado from that era is the Osgood at the Museum of Mining and Industry in Colorado Springs. A few times a year it is turned on to move its shovel.

Derelict shovels can sometimes be found around mines or off the beaten path where someone may have made an attempt at finding gold for themselves. They have a sort of tragedy about them.

The Independence Mine in Cripple Creek used a shovel that was on the forefront in design. Patterned after the Thew No.1 steam shovel, it was an electric shovel and was in operation in approximately the late 1890s. The height of the tailings pile in the photo of the shovel shows that it was operated later in the mining days in Cripple Creek. Electricity had been available in Colorado mines since 1891 when L.L. Nunn introduced an alternating current system, designed by Nikola Tesla, for the Gold King mine near Ames, Colo..

Among other interesting after-steam shovels in Colorado are the three at Fossil Trace golf course in Golden, Colo. They mined a fine powdered clay that was used for ceramics products by Coors. It was some of the finest potters clay in the world. These shovels by American and Bay City are good examples of how one housing can be used for several different attachments. *(See photo next page.)*

There was a time when every American knew what a steam shovel was. The Buddy-L steam shovel toy was a favorite toy for many boys, and they loved the book, *Mike Mulligan and His Steam Shovel*.³⁸



From the original four-ton steam shovel, excavators have taken on many forms and many functions in building (and demolishing) our infrastructure. We curse them when the projects they are working on slow up traffic and forget how crucial they are to so many things we take for granted. The steam shovel is an invention that has evolved to benefit this country for over 175 years.

Endnotes

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15. *Digging By Stame*, 7.
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17. Family letter supposed to be written by William Otis Chapman, 1922.
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30. *Ibid.*
31. *Improvement in Excavating Machines*. United States Patent Office. Oliver S. Chapman of Canton, Massachusetts. Letters Patent No. 63,857, dated April 10, 1867; Reissue No. 4,038, dated June 21, 1870.
32. Letter from John Souther to Oliver Chapman, 1873. Courtesy of Barbara Cooke Monks, great-great-granddaughter of John Souther.
33. Oliver Ames' Diary, Feb. 11, 1877. Courtesy of Stonehill Archives and Historical Collections.
34. Oliver S. Chapman, original funeral booklet, Feb. 11, 1877.
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Addendum to Endnotes

Much of my research was done with the help of a group of friends who have been helpful in many ways: sending photographs and articles, doing extra research, listening patiently, editing, and sharing stories.

My thanks go to: Jerry Hansen, Keith Haddock, Tony Brown, Wendyll Sykes (a direct descendent of William Smith Otis and Elizabeth Everett Otis), Jack Alexander, Kyle K. Wyatt, Jim Roazhe of the Canton Historical Museum, Stonehill Archives and Historical Collections for the use of the Oliver Ames diaries, Barbara Cooke Monks (a direct descendent of both Oliver S. Chapman and John Souther), William Hodges (a direct descendent of Oliver S. Chapman), Bob Pulcifer, Bob and Gerri Sweeney, and my mother, Elizabeth Allen Nowell, who saved all those wonderful papers and stories and willed them all to me!

IMPORTATIONS.

Per Hannah Crooker—20 bbls pickles, 20 do vinegar, 100 bxs saleratus, 57 do boots and shoes, 62 rough spars, 49 bxs collec, 20 do Husk's sixes, 20 do spices, 10 do starch, 10 do pepper sauce, 17 do coffee, 5 cs tobacco, 36 bbls sugar, 70 hf-bbls pork, 1050 bbls lime paste, 12 bbls clear pork, 19 cs boots, 54 bbls hams, 10 qr-bbls pork, 17 bxs lard, 10 bbls and 25 hf-bbls Bologna sausages, 20 hf bbls dried apples, 20 bxs butter, 1 cs sa-gars, 33 bxs cheese, 70,000 ft lumber, 200 bxs candles, 36 casks shoulders, 40 bxs axes, 3 do axe helves, 30 bales cotton goods, 27 bxs crackers, 20 doz pails, 1 coil cordage, 53 scythe snuths, 48 shovels, 15 bxs sausages, 45 tcs canvassed hams, 150 tons railroad iron, 1 locomotive and tender, 1 steam excavator, 30 dirt cars, 75 bxs lobsters, 1 roll leather.

Per Hopewell—150 tons coal.

Daily Alta California,
Volume 2, Number 46,
25 January 1851

Over the Corral Rail

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

Colorado Westerners Activities

In January the Boulder County Corral enjoyed another performance by Denver Westerner Bob Audretsch, for which he drew upon his extensive research on the Civilian Conservation Corps. His program was “ ‘Unequaled in the Memory of the Oldest Inhabitant:’ the Blizzards of 1936-1937 and the Civilian Conservation Corps Rescue Work,” concentrating on Nevada, northern Arizona, and southern Utah. For February the Boulder Westerners heard the latest research by Dr. Jeff Broome, on “The Hungate Family Massacre – 1864.”

The Colorado Corral January presentation was “The Denver March Powwow,” by Dr. Azusa Ono, associate professor at the Osaka University of Economics, and currently a visiting professor at the History Department of the University of Colorado Denver. She has been teaching about Native Americans, U. S. history, and American culture in general universities in Japan. The Denver March Powwow began as a community powwow in 1975, and is now one of the largest intertribal powwows in the nation. The Colorado Corral’s February program was “Bees, Broomcorn and Beer: the History of Broomfield is not Boring!!!” by Jacqui Ainlay-Conley. A co-editor with Tom Noel of the Colorado Book Review, Jacqui Ainlay-Conley is the Museum Administrator for the City and County of Broomfield.

Actor Ron West portrayed Cripple Creek millionaire James Ferguson Burns (1853-1917) at the January meeting of the Pikes Peak Posse. The February presentation, “History along the Hogbacks,” detailed Red Rock Canyon, now designated an open space, the adjacent hogbacks, and the Old Colorado City region of west Colorado Springs. Presenter member Don Ellis, with an extensive local history research background, is the editor of *West Word*, the newsletter of the Old Colorado City Historical Society.

Back Issues of Roundup Magazine Available

The Denver Posse of the Westerners has released many surplus copies of the Roundup from its archives. While not all previous issues are available, many are, including issues as early as 1950 (when the magazine was known as the *Brand Book*). Consult the Posse website, www.denver-westerners.org, for a listing of most issues, by author, title, and date. Also refer to “An Index of Roundups and Brand Books” in the Jul.-Aug., 2003 issue of the Roundup, for a tabulation of issues through 2002, by both author and title. Copies are \$1.00 each, plus \$1.00 each for shipping. For information, questions, and orders, contact possevigilantes@aol.com



Westerners Bookshelf



The Cheyenne War. Indian Raids on the Roads to Denver 1864-1869, by Jeff Broome. Aberdeen Books & Logan County Historical Society, Sheridan & Sterling, 2013. 528 pages, bibliography, index, footnotes, appendix, photographs. Hardcover, \$45.00.

Professor Broome has mined a new vein in the history of Indian-white relations on the Great Plains in the 1860s. While most of us are aware of the conflicts that interlace the contacts of these two peoples in the accounts of Western Expansion, this one is different. Every step, every inch of this story is carefully and precisely documented.

It is a grim tale of savage attacks on white settlers by formerly friendly Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa and Lakota. Prior to the summer of 1864, relations between the native peoples and those who were moving across and into Western Kansas, Nebraska, and the Great Plains area of Colorado were generally friendly. Peace treaties had been negotiated and agreed to by both sides, though many individuals of the tribes had not participated. Older members wanted a peaceful transition; younger warriors decided to take action counter to the treaties. In April, 1864 some cattle were stolen in a raid. Soon multiple attacks and raids followed with cattle and horses stolen or killed, along with the first white victims.

Soon this escalated into a wholesale slaughter, a virtual genocide, conducted against any and all white travelers and settlers on the routes to Denver. The locations included stage stations, ranches, wagon trains, and even some settlements. Over the next five years, hundreds of white children, women and men were killed in the most brutal fashion – a 4 1/2-year-old boy with 5 arrows in his back (and who amazingly survived); a baby roasted alive; women raped by twenty or more warriors; women and children kidnapped and forced into slavery by their captors. Bodies were mutilated in the most horrible fashion.

The response to these atrocities was seen in such things as the Sand Creek Massacre, The Powder River Campaign, Custer's campaign along the Washita, General Carr's campaign and ultimately the Summit Springs Battle. Soldiers were attached to wagon trains, and provided some protections to stage stop locations, but it took five years to end the attacks.

What is surprising is that settlers continued to come and settle on their homesteads even after others had been recently killed on the same property in relatively isolated locations. The U.S. government continued to honor the treaties by providing the Indians with guns and ammunition that were then used on the settlers, and attacks on soldiers. Owners of supply ranches and stage stops returned after having survived an attack where their buildings and property had been totally destroyed, only to be attacked again.

Dr. Broome has documented every incident, of which there are a great many, by referring to original accounts by survivors, often cross-referenced. Many of these accounts are found in the National Archives record groups relating to claims put in by survivors who lost horses, cattle, buildings, and personal property. One Englishman lost 20,000 pounds, money that quickly showed up at trading posts. Though those who lost everything could file a claim, it might take years to be paid, and there was no compensation for lives lost.

This is a superbly written book, a seminal work on the subject that provides a true and accurate account of the price of westward expansion and settlement in the West. It makes for hard, painful reading, filled with tales of bravery in the face of horror, tragedy and occasional bright moments.

--Al Culpin, P.M.

A Brave Soldier & Honest Gentleman Lt. James E. H. Foster in the West, 1873-1881, by Thomas R. Buecker. Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2013. 210pp. Photos, bibliography, maps, illustrations, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

This book can perhaps be called two books in one. First is the story and short military career of Lieutenant James E. H. Foster. Born in 1848, his military career was short, his life ending from illness, contracted from his harsh Indian war service. He died in his mid-30s. But it is Foster's illustrated journal from which the author, Thomas Buecker, narrates Foster's military career. Without the journal, Foster's story would perhaps remain unknown; but with the journal Foster's life comes alive.

The story of the journal's existence is interesting in itself. It first surfaced in a 1992 auction. The Nebraska State Historical Society immediately recognized its importance both as a primary source document covering the Indian war era, but more so as a Nebraska document. That is because Foster was originally stationed at Fort McPherson along the Platte River near present-day Maxwell.

The NSHS sought to acquire the document but was underbid. The dealer winning the bid, however, soon sold the journal and shortly it ended up in the hands of a Lincoln collector and was then deposited in the Museum of Nebraska Art in Kearney. And this is when Thomas Buecker, a noted Nebraska Indian war scholar, began to develop what the journal contained into *A Brave Soldier & Honest Gentleman*. On a side note, Foster's father Alexander – a practicing attorney in Pittsburgh – was a second cousin to the famed American composer Stephen Foster.

Buecker presents the reader with a well-researched and well-written context in which the journal's historical significance is developed. This includes covering Foster's Civil War career, which began at the end of the war because he was only twelve when the war began. He did serve in a 100-day enlistment in a Pennsylvania artillery battalion activated in the defense of Washington. Foster, however, was not finished with his military service. With his parent's permission, near the end of the

war he enlisted in the 155th Pennsylvania Infantry. He was only sixteen. After the war Foster worked for five years in journalism, in Pittsburgh. But his desire for a career in the military never waned. That opportunity came to fruition in 1873 when Foster was selected to receive a commission as a second lieutenant in the 3rd Cavalry and sent to Fort McPherson, Nebraska.

Buecker does a fine job in bringing the reader into Foster's Indian war military career. But, truly, the significance of Foster's journal is what is covered in his short military career that ended with his death – pulmonary, likely tuberculosis, in 1881. While his military career was short - the harsh campaigns likely caused his illness and eventually ending his military career - his journal shows what the Indian war era was like from the eyes of a young officer.

Foster participated in what is today called the Jenney Expedition of 1875, an exploratory sojourn into the Black Hills. Most of Foster's eighteen watercolor maps give us important artistic views of what at the time were the "mysterious" Black Hills. After the Jenney expedition Foster was assigned to Fort Sidney, Nebraska, and from there in 1876 Foster was a part of General George Crook's column that on June 17 fought the battle at the Rosebud, the prelude to Custer's disaster eight days later on the Little Bighorn River. However, his journal contains no maps of this campaign. Buecker gives the reader a well-researched account of the 1876 campaign, noting that Foster's company marched a total of 1,887 miles in what was a five-month campaign. It apparently was this strenuous campaign that contributed to the health problems that eventually ended Foster's life on May 8, 1873 at the young age of thirty-four. His health problems seemed more of an annoyance to Foster than what they turned out to be, viz., the cause of his death. He sought the healthier climate of serving in Texas as opposed to the harsh living conditions at Fort Fetterman near present-day Douglas, Wyoming. But his condition worsened, eventually forcing him to resign his commission. He returned home to family in the Pittsburgh area and there soon died.

While it is true that Foster's service in the Indian war army produces nothing substantial, still, it is from such persons like Foster, who kept a journal of his service, from which historians can draw a bigger picture. That picture is drawn very well in the hands of Buecker. *A Brave Soldier & Honest Gentleman* is a wonderful addition to the understanding of this era of history, and highly recommended.

--Jeff Broome, P.M.

Bad Company and Burnt Powder; Justice and Injustice in the Old Southwest, by Bob Alexander. University of North Texas Press, 2014. 512 pages. Photographs, endnotes, and index. Hardcover, \$32.95.

Twelve chapters, each about a different character in the late 1800s, comprise this latest book by Bob Alexander. These accounts are about good people and bad, all with a story to tell, and all with consequences that are just or unjust. Over one hundred historic photographs help tell the stories which are documented by eighty-nine pages of endnotes.

With exception of two accounts where most of the action was in New Mexico or Arizona, the stories take place in Texas. Violent encounters between cattlemen, neighbors, Indians, Mexicans, and outlaws of all stripes have been brought back to life by the author. The time period ranges from post Civil War to about 1912. Texas Rangers are an important part of most stories. The cross-cultural nature of the southwestern part of the United States allowed the author to include ethnic issues when they were an important part of the conflict. The book is liberally punctuated with colorful metaphors and salty language that add spice to the stories.

For example, Chapter 9 features James Dunaway who enlisted in the Texas Rangers in 1903. The recruit had the "industriousness of a work-horse" and proved to be tough and fearless. Following a dust-up while making an arrest, "the index of heated rhetoric went up and the degree the rational thinking spiraled down." When Dunaway was charged with assault, matters only got worse. Although nothing came of the charge, his habit of using excessive violence followed his lawman career. During a "grisly scuffle" he used his revolver as a "threshing machine" to subdue a man. "He had a nitroglycerine temper that would detonate at the slightest jostle," concluded the author. Following an assault on an attorney, he warned the barrister that he would "kill him if he ever whined about the ass-whipping." More violence followed and Dunaway was forced to resign in 1909 only to be reinstated in 1915 when trouble along the border with Mexico erupted into what was called the "Bandit War." Racism was practiced on both sides of the border and Dunaway made things worse. When for no reason he insulted a nineteen-year-old Mexican and the insult was returned, the "two spring-loaded fellows with hair-trigger temperaments" went after each other. The Mexican quickly fell to the ground when his skull was fractured by Dunaway's pistol. He was immediately discharged from the Rangers and his lawman career was at an end. Although his honesty, integrity, and sense of duty were never questioned, his temperament was not suited for a twentieth-century lawman.

This book provides insight into people and personalities as they dealt with a variety of issues as the Southwest frontier faded into history. It makes for a good read.

--Rick Barth, P.M.

Tom Horn in Life and Legend, by Larry D. Ball. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2014, 554 pages. Illustrated with maps, photographs and drawings; endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

This reviewer has some familiarity with the Tom Horn story. Over twenty years ago he pointed out to historians that Horn's confession did not fall under the modern *Miranda* rule. A couple of years later, he was invited to be the prosecutor in a mock retrial of Horn in Cheyenne. (When he saw it was a stacked deck, he quickly bolted from that job - writing then-Wyoming Governor Sullivan to expect a legally unsupported request for a pardon.) He even assisted Colorado Judge John Dailey when Dailey gave a presentation to the Boulder Westerners on Horn.

Having said all that, this reviewer (who has read all the previous attempts) confidently states that this is the definitive biography of the controversial Tom Horn. It is obvious that Dr. Ball (whom the reviewer met in Deadwood in about 1996), one of the first academic historians to tackle the story of Western badmen seriously, spent many, many years researching archives, newspapers, reminiscences, and all other available sources in his quest to find the truth about Horn. He also obviously spent years in honest thought and reflection.

It is all here: Horn's early days (where even Ball could not confirm the rumor that Horn killed someone in shooting up a Texas outhouse); Horn's service in the Geronimo campaign (that Horn exaggerated some); Horn's early stock detective days in Arizona during the Pleasant Valley War; Horn's shadowy presence in Wyoming during the period of the Johnson County War; Horn's work with the Pinkertons (alongside Colorado's Doc Shore); Horn's service in Cuba during the Spanish American War; and, of course, Horn's activities regarding the murder of Willie Nickell (for which Horn hanged in 1903).

In addition, all of the persons figuring in the Tom Horn story are present: Al Sieber, Geronimo, the Apache Kid, General Miles, General Leonard Wood, Matt Rash, Isom Dart, Kels Nickell, John Coble, and Glendolene Kimmel (the "notorious" schoolmarm in Horn's life). The author even relates Horn's skills as a rodeo cowboy and goes into detail about how he ended up in a cemetery in Boulder. Finally, Ball discusses the legend of Tom Horn, from the movie screen to that very theatrical "retrial" in 1993.

In sum, this biography is not only an award-winner, it deserves a lifetime achievement award for Dr. Larry Ball. (But now we will expect still another biography from him - perhaps Sam Bass?)

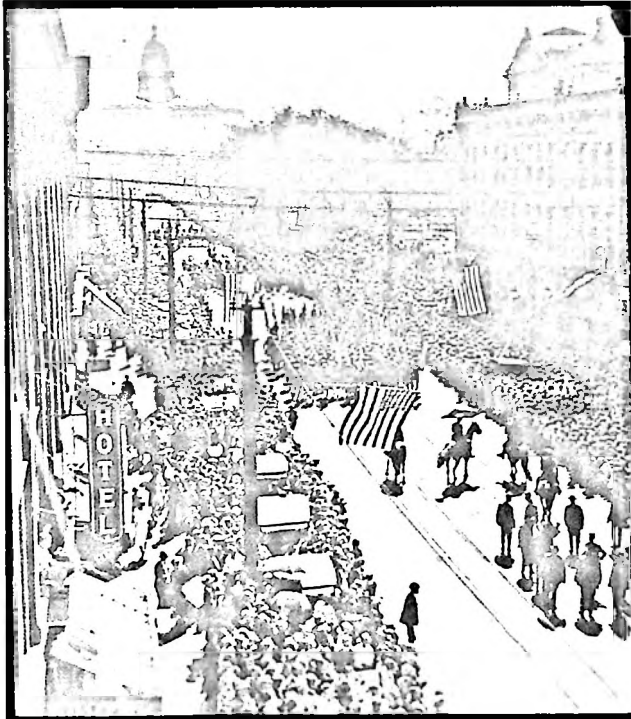
While this biography is not for the faint-hearted (since it really is almost a reference book on "All one wanted to know about Tom Horn"), it is very well written - and a bargain at the price. Although the volume will not settle some of the many controversies surrounding Horn, future biographers might as well give up. New asides about Horn's life will be discovered and published, but this biography never will be topped for detached accuracy, for writing, and for supporting references. I take my Stetson off to Larry Ball. This book is an instant classic - but years in the making.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

March - April 2015



courtesy History Colorado

National Encampment Parade, Denver, 1928

The Grand Army of the Republic in Colorado
by Ray Thal
(Presented November 19, 2014)



Our Author

Ray Thal became interested in the Grand Army of the Republic while doing research for his book on the Civil War veterans buried at Riverside Cemetery. As a volunteer at Riverside he was known for his long-winded, but entertaining, tours of Denver's historic cemetery. Before his involvement with the cemetery he gave long-winded and entertaining tours at Denver's Four Mile Historic Park.

Ray is not a native of Colorado but has lived in southeast Denver since he was 5 years old. He and his wife Mary are currently moving back into the house that has been in the family since 1961. He spends his free time reading, writing and growing his beard.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXI NO. 2



March - April 2015

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 Bailey, CO 80421

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 Lakewood, CO 80226

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 Littleton, CO 80217

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 Denver, CO 80231

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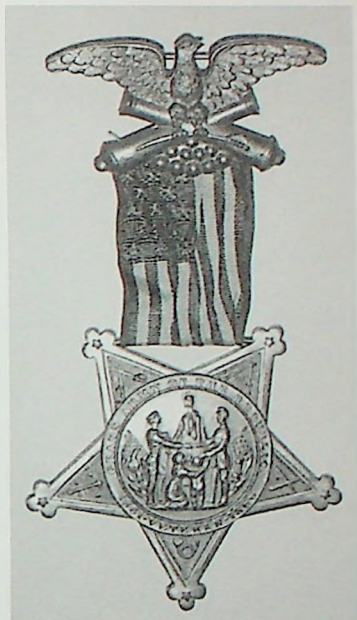
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The Grand Army of the Republic in Colorado by Ray Thal (Presented November 19, 2014)

Before there was the NRA or AARP there was the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). It was the most powerful lobbying organization this country had ever seen. For one of the most influential organizations in American history its surprising how little most people know about it.

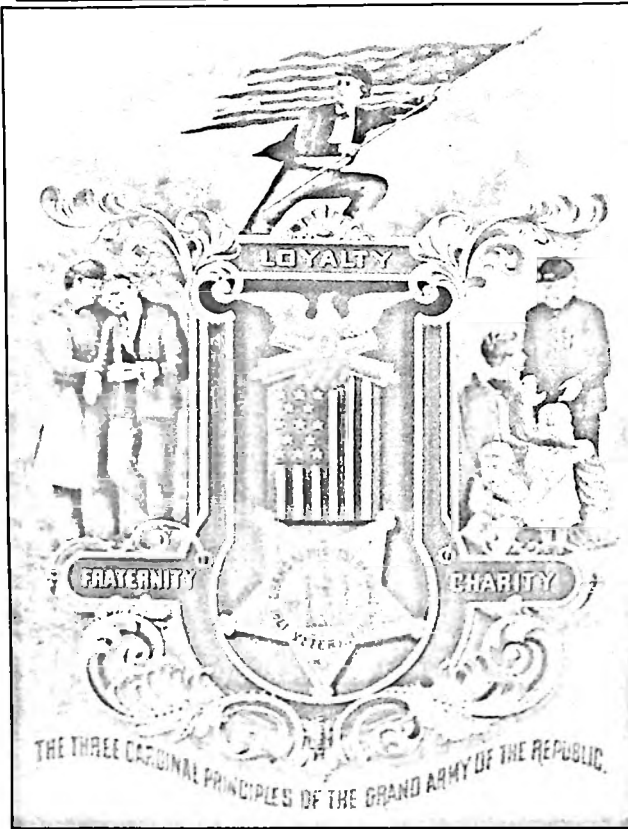
At the end of the American Civil War there were many thousands of men who had grown up, both literally and figuratively, during their time in the war. They saw and experienced things that they would never be able to share with those that hadn't been through it with them. In many cases the bonds that were formed in the war were stronger than those of family. Many of these men found the comradeship they had grown accustomed to in fraternal organizations.

Founded in 1866 the GAR was made up of honorably discharged veterans of the Army, Navy, Marine Corp and Revenue Cutter Service (Coast Guard) that had fought to preserve the Union during the Civil War. It was much like the organizations that were so popular after our other wars, such as the American Legion and The Veterans of Foreign Wars. Men at war develop a special kinship, a relationship that many men want and need to continue after the battles are over. The GAR was one of many groups that sprouted up after the Civil War in an attempt to maintain the fellowship of soldiers at war. The one huge difference



GAR Membership ribbon

between the GAR and later veteran's groups is that the GAR had a definite lifespan: only the Union veteran of the Civil War need apply. The GAR would only last until the last member died. The members felt very strongly that their experiences during the war were so unique that no other veteran, and certainly no one who hadn't served at all, could possibly understand, or begin to appreciate the sacrifices that had been made. The rhetoric of the organization at times takes on a passion that reminds one of a religious quest or crusade. The saving of the Union



GAR poster

becomes the ultimate triumph of good over evil.

The GAR quickly grew to be the largest of the veteran's groups that formed after the war. It was organized along a military model. All members were "comrades" and each belonged to a "post." The posts were then organized into regional "departments" with individual "commanders." Overseeing it all from the national level was the "commander-in-chief" and his staff. As successful as the GAR was, it obviously wasn't for everybody. Membership

peaked in 1890 with 400,000 men scattered among 7,000 posts nationwide. When you consider approximately 1.3 million men survived Union service, there were obviously many who were more than happy to leave the military life behind.

The GAR originally came to Colorado in 1868 as a provisional department with Dr. Fredrick J. Bancroft its first Commander. The majority of the original membership was focused at the military forts in the West and the department was organized as the Mountain Dept. which included Utah, Montana, Dakota along with Colorado and Wyoming. In 1882

Author's collection

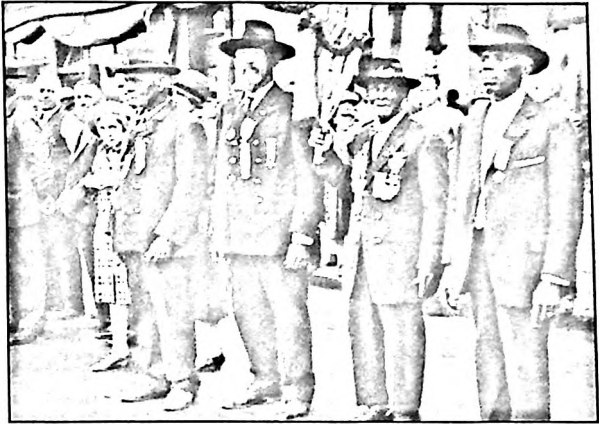
the department was then changed to the Department of Colorado with the Territory of Wyoming attached to it. Each post had a numerical designation and was generally named for a military personality. The lower post numbers evidently were more prestigious. There were actually four posts that at one time or another carried the #1 designation. As one would close there would be another that would form and claim the lower number. After the last re-organization ultimately Laramie, Wyo. was #1, Georgetown at #2 became the first Colorado post, and Abraham

Lincoln Post #4 was the first in Denver. During the life of the organization there were 111 different Posts in the Colorado and Wyoming district.

In the Colorado posts I have looked at, the members represented a wide range of occupations, from doctors and lawyers to farmers and even one member whose occupation is noted as "city scavenger." They came from every state in the Union

and hundreds of different regiments. With the exception of the men that had served in one of the three Colorado regiments, the GAR members of Denver, for the most part, had no shared battle experiences. These men were united by the bonds that are created when any group of men go off to war for a common cause. They left behind everything safe and familiar and went off and experienced all the horrors of war. The survivors that found their way to Colorado after the war shared a much broader view of the war. The one thing they did share with their Eastern comrades was the steadfast conviction that they had put down a rebellion and saved the Union.

The shared memories and experiences of men at war, fighting to preserve the union was considered an unbreakable bond. It even transcended race. The GAR was the first national organization in the United States to be integrated. Of course, integration and equality are different concepts. While all of the Denver posts had black members I have found only one, Peter Joseph, who served as an officer. He



Denver Public Library, Western History Dept.

Black GAR members at the parade in Denver

was elected to serve as Officer of the Guard for Denver's Lincoln Post in 1895.

Each post set its own muster fee to join, as well as the monthly membership dues. By charging higher fees a post was able to control the economic make up of its post. This would have been a tactic that was more prevalent in the larger Eastern cities than in the West. The Denver posts were competing with each other for members and their fees were similar. The muster fee was generally in the \$4.00 - \$5.00 range with monthly dues ranging from 50 cents to \$1.00. These fees generally dropped as the membership aged and shrank.

Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty were the ideals of the GAR. Fraternity was what really brought the ex-soldiers together. Meetings were held weekly at which time applications were considered and new members were initiated. Often visitors from out-of-town posts would attend while they

were in town for business. I was surprised to read in the Veteran Post logs of the visit of "Comrade W. H. Wagner of Post #45 Honalula [sic] Hawaii". Connecting the Civil War and Hawaii had never occurred to me.

The visitor would generally address the meeting, expressing great appreciation for the generous hospitality he had received. Some times a speaker might recount some personal story of a war-time experience. On one occasion Comrade Jennings announced to his Comrades at Veteran Post that a good friend of his would soon be visiting. He promised to introduce HER at an upcoming meeting. "Comrade Katie Brownell...she enlisted and carried a musket doing a soldiers duty during the war as a private in one of the Rhode Island Regt." Unfortunately I was not able to find an account of her visit.

At a Veteran Post meeting held on Christmas, 1890 the "Adjutant read a communication from the Quartermaster inviting all the comrades present to attend his wedding that evening at 8 o'clock at the First Congregational Church. On motion the invitation was accepted." Holding a meeting on Christmas seems odd enough, but waiting for the day of your wedding to invite a large number of guests? The new bride must have been very understanding.

The "campfires" were also very popular. They were generally held with another post and involved a recreation of war-time camp life. The men would sit around and reminisce, often while eating hardtack and beans. The campfire concept on a larger scale



courtesy History Colorado

David Day, Colorado newspaper publisher and Medal of Honor recipient, member GAR Post 52, Ouray, CO

was held at department encampments. Held over the course of a few days it would bring together hundreds of men from the various posts within the department. There would be parades, music, patriotic readings, speeches and singing. There was also constant jockeying for influence within the organization. Many politicians began their careers in the GAR.

Once a year the national encampments were held. These were everything the district encampments were, but more so. These were huge affairs that brought together thousands of the ex-soldiers. The campfire theme

was carried to extremes as large tent cities were erected to house the visiting veterans. In 1883 the tent city in Denver housed between 10,000 and 15,000 men. I would guess that in later years as the veterans aged, the appeal of re-creating camp life diminished.

Denver hosted the encampments of 1883, 1905 and 1928. According to the Library of Congress the corresponding national membership was 1883 - 225,446, 1905 - 232,455 and in 1928 it had dropped to just 32,614. It's really remarkable that Denver was chosen three times. The distance the old soldiers would have had to travel surely would have kept many at home. Other Western cities hosted only once were Salt Lake, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Portland. Otherwise the gatherings were held closer to the population centers in the East. Indianapolis had the most, eight, including the first (1866) and last (1949). The 1949 encampment was probably fairly tame compared to previous ones, with only six members were able to attend.

Charity, the second of the stated ideals of the GAR, was perhaps its most important. Each post had a charity fund with a standing committee to administer the monies. On a national level the GAR claimed to have raised and spent 1.5 million dollars by 1888. (McConnell 1992). Reading the minutes of meetings, there are rarely any that finish without some mention of a veteran needing aid. Often it was a down-on-his-luck ex-soldier that was ill, or maybe homeless and living "down by the river." It made



Denver Public Library, Western History Dept.

GAR National Encampment Parade, Denver, 1905

no difference if he was a member, he was still a comrade. The response might result in the sending of a load of coal, or making sure a doctor was available. There were very few times that an appeal for money was granted that exceeded \$15.00, \$5.00 seeming to have been the usual amount given. Many times one or more members were assigned to further investigate the needs and report back at the next meeting. Often requests were made for aid from the widows of deceased comrades or their children. Veteran Post even supported a son of a veteran while he attended a trade school.

What might be that the most important factor in the success of the local charity efforts was the Women's Relief Corps Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic (WRC). The Denver posts were closely aligned with their female counterparts. The women's group is generally just referred to as the "Corps" or WRC. Most, but not all, of the Denver posts had a

corresponding chapter of the Corps, and each month they would usually share a meeting. These social meetings would generally include members of both groups reciting poetry, singing a song, or telling amusing stories. This organization had been created at the GAR National Encampment that was held in Denver in 1883. It consolidated several women's groups that had been functioning since the end of the war. The women's group differed from the men's in that there was no requirement of a personal connection to the war to be eligible for membership. The Corps Red Book notes on membership "... the admission of loyal women of good moral character irrespective of relationship to the soldier." Many, if not most of the members were married to, or widows of soldiers. There were also many daughters that joined as well. You might be surprised to know, this organization still exists. The organization is still engaged in helping veterans.

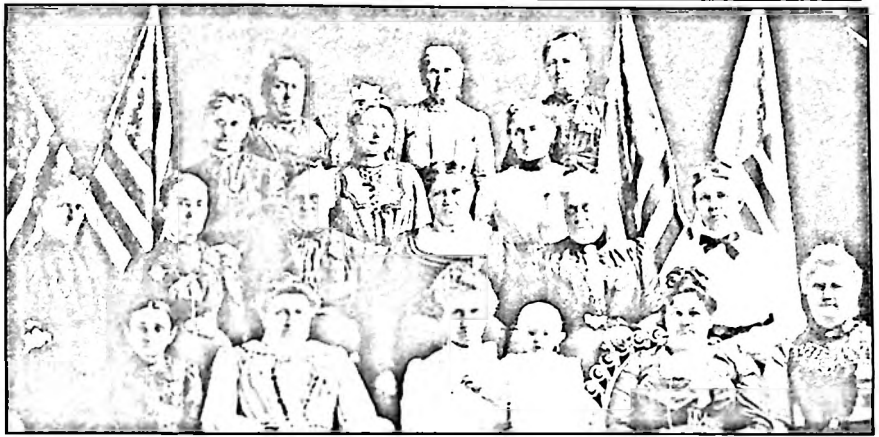
The national organization of the WRC took on many projects to aid and honor the Union veterans and their dependents. In 1906 they took possession of the Andersonville prison site. Andersonville had been the largest prison camp operated by the Confederate States during the war. At one time it held 32,000 Federal soldiers within its walls. With the planting of trees and gardens the Corps created a memorial to the estimated 13,000 men that had died there.

The most enjoyable entries in the various post records I have read concern the Corps. The following comes from Carr Post # 14 Adj. Report April 6, 1918:

Good of the order. Comrade Bills was called on to speak, and just then something happened: The Sentinel at the door announced there were ladies waiting outside to be admitted. The door was opened and Mrs Buckey and the Byron L Carr WRC marched in like a Conquering Hero and demanded the unconditional surrender of Byron L Carr Post GAR. Our gallant Commander waved the white flag and the grandest organization on earth the W.R.C. had full possession of the Fort. Their warm hearts willing hands and kind words and the things that were said and done were and inspiration to the Comrades and all were glad that Byron L Carr Post had surrendered to Mrs Buckey and the Womens [sic] relief corps on the 52nd anniversary [sic] of the birth of the Grand Army of the Republic. Ice Cream & Cake was served by the ladies.

I think the quote illustrates the special bond that developed between the two groups. The average age of the men at this time was probably in their early 70's and many had never married. The records indicate that 396 of the 582 GAR members that were researched had no widow's application associated with them. They were mostly never married. There were assuredly some that simply outlived their wives and a few others that may have been divorced.

The WRC was also very active in the raising of money to be used in aiding the war veterans. They held picnics in the summer charging a dime to attend, and then supplying the cake and ice cream. There were also teas, potluck or beanpot suppers



Ladies of the GAR Women's Relief Corps

and card games that were organized as a way to raise a little money. These social functions were generally meant to include the members of the other posts of the city as well. On occasion posts from other cities would organize day trips by rail. Several posts from Denver might have been invited to Leadville for the day to be entertained by the host city. These shared events would have been extremely important social functions for many of the aging veterans. So many of these old men lived by themselves in one of the residence hotels in Denver. They were living on their pension checks that averaged as low as \$6.00, and in later years climbed to \$12.00 a month. For many of them their entire life revolved around their membership in the GAR.

As the membership aged, more of the charitable functions of the GAR were carried out by the women of the WRC. Often when appeals for aid were received by a post the response was simply to turn it over to the ladies for resolution. I do not know how the WRC

and its work were perceived in other parts of the country. In Denver Lincoln GAR post at its meeting of November 11, 1895 drafted and sent the following letter to national headquarters in Washington D.C.:

That A. Lincoln Post No. 4 GAR notice with regret the silence of the National Commander in regard to the Ladies of the GAR an organization composed of the Wives Sisters and daughters of those who fought to preserve the Union from 61 to 65 and who are organized for the purpose of rendering to the destitute wards of our GAR such aid and assistance as lays in their power to do. Who by their zeal loyalty labor and means are rendering valuable aid and assistance to the GAR. We would therefore respectfully ask that you give them such recognition when speaking of relief work as their valuable services entitles them to.

I think it's clear that the Denver GAR was very appreciative of the works of the WRC.

Posts around the country operated on a sort of honor system. Financial aid might be tended to an out-of-town comrade who was sick or maybe down on his luck and needed a little help to get a train ticket home. The post that extended the aid then expected to be reimbursed by the man's home post. Veteran Post reimbursed a post in New York in the 1880's \$15.00 for medical expenses incurred by one of its members while visiting there. If a comrade died while away from home it appears that the funeral was handled with no expectations of reimbursement. In a very basic GAR funeral there was little other cost associated.

Unfortunately the generosity was subject to abuse by some. Veteran Post received a letter in 1893 from the post in Leadville, Colo. claiming they had given aid to a John King. The man had appealed to the Leadville post for help in getting his family to Denver; he had claimed to be a member of Veteran Post. He had been given \$5.00 worth of supplies for the trip to Denver. The Leadville post was writing looking to be reimbursed. As the Denver post had never heard of Mr. King the request was denied. The issuance of GAR traveling cards was probably intended to eliminate some of these abuses. These cards evidently would show that a traveling man was a member in good standing from his home post.

The GAR soon was being asked more and more to assist, not only the veterans but also the widows and orphans. It had become the social safety net of an entire generation. The GAR pressured the Federal Government and individual states to build facilities to house the needy veterans around the



courtesy History Colorado

**Denver Police Detective Sam Howe,
charter member GAR Post 14**

country in an effort to take care of the more infirm.

Prior to the Civil War the United States operated the U. S. Soldiers Home in Washington D.C. and the Naval Home in Philadelphia. Both of these homes were for men that had retired from active service. Before the war was over it had become obvious that there would be a need for facilities for the disabled men of the volunteer army and navy. On March 3, 1865 Congress passed legislation creating the National Asylum for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. It opened the following year in Togus Springs, Maine, just outside of Augusta. Twelve more homes were eventually built across the country. The soldiers homes are just one of the many examples of how the Civil War forever

changed American society. The current V.A. hospital system is the result of what began with the opening of that first home in Maine.

It soon became apparent that the federal efforts would not be able to meet the needs of so many veterans. Communities tried to fill the need, usually supported by women's organizations, but the need was too great. The GAR again took the lead in pushing for individual states to get involved. State homes soon began to go up all over the country. Up to this time the Federal government had still not shown any interest in the well being of the ex-Confederate soldier. Many Southern states had also begun to create homes for their needy veterans. Missouri ultimately created a home in St. James for Union veterans and one in Higginsville for the state's Confederate veterans. By 1922 there were forty-two state-run homes for veterans operating around the country.

The need was no less great in Colorado. At the state GAR encampment in 1888 a committee was formed to draft legislation for the creation of a Colorado home. The following year the bill was passed by the state legislature, allocating \$20,000 for construction. The location that was approved is what is so interesting. The San Luis Valley in the southwestern part of the state was chosen with the towns of Del Norte and Monte Vista being the two leading candidates. It was certainly not a popular choice in Denver. Situating the home in such a remote location would effectively isolate the old soldiers from friends and family.

The Monte Vista proposal that was eventually accepted would place the home on 160 acres of land south of town. The deal included a lake with water rights, \$9,000 cash and other inducements. The total package was valued at more than 24,000 dollars. Another plus for the Monte Vista site was that it was at least fourteen miles from the nearest saloon! In fact early Monte Vista developers would lose their property if they sold liquor.

The combination hospital-barracks building of the new Colorado home opened November 1891. There was reportedly more than forty men waiting to move in on opening day. Unfortunately the story of the Colorado Soldiers Home is a history of legislative neglect. The unpopular choice of the location led to ongoing efforts to move the Home. The good of the old veterans was forgotten amongst the perceived profits that would be realized if a particular community could be the site of a relocated Home. The campaigns that were launched against the Monte Vista site are laughable to anyone that has visited that part of the state. (taken from the *San Luis Valley Historian* the following)

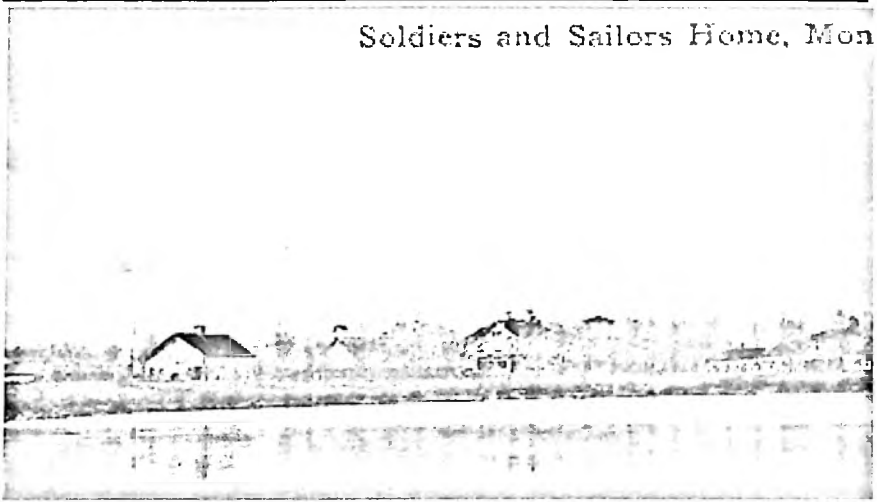
The Valley was a Siberia where the snow lay six or more feet on the level for seven months of the year . . .

The wind from the Sand Dunes some sixty miles to the east blew so much dust into the quarters that the men died from suffocation . . .

And my favorite;

That the Comrades were cut off from all association with ladies such as they might have in the center of the city, and from all amusements which make life livable!

Soldiers and Sailors Home, Mon



Author's collection

The constant fighting over the location of the home was to continue for many years and of course made consistent funding nearly impossible. In spite of all efforts the Home is today still serving the needs of Colorado veterans.

At many of the post meetings there were also requests for employment. For many years members were urged to only do business with firms that were not only owned by, but actively hired veterans. It became so important to the success of some businesses that many found it necessary to actually include mention of GAR membership in their advertisements.

The numbers of veterans needing aid continued to rise. The ability of individual posts to satisfy the needs of their communities became more difficult. The GAR soon became the voice for increased veterans pension benefits.

The Civil War pension system started really for two reasons. In 1862

Congress passed a bill giving disabled soldiers monthly payments. The amount was determined by the severity of the disability and varied between \$6.00, for the lesser ailments and could be as much as \$30.00 per month for complete disability. In the case of death the full disability rate was paid to the soldiers' dependents. These payments were only for injuries directly related to the individual's military service.

The other factor involved in the creation of the pension system was simply an effort to increase enlistments. The war had not gotten off to a great start for the Union. The initial surge of patriotic enthusiasm had waned in the face of early military defeats. The pension system would hopefully attract men that had stayed out because of concerns for the welfare of their families. It was only partially successful as the following year the Government was forced to implement a military draft.

The original pension law was

DEAD				
NAME OF SOLDIER: Dempsey, James				
SERVICE: Late rank, P. Co. G. 2 Regt. Colo. Inf.				
TERM OF SERVICE: Enlisted July 1862 Discharged Apr. 1863				
DATE OF FILING: CLASS. APPLICATION NO. LAW CERTIFICATE NO.				
1871 Dec 1	Invalid.	1074267	77	816151
1918 Rev 6	Widow.	1057208	a	901809
	Minor.			
ADDITIONAL SERVICES: Co. G. 1 Colo. Cav. Capt. Westwood, 1st Co. Colo. Cav.				
REMARKS: 1871 Dec 1 1918 Rev 6				
1871 Dec 1 1918 Rev 6 1918 at Denver Colo.				

courtesy US National Archives

Pension index card, most are not this complete

tweaked a few times over the next few years. The amount paid was raised for certain injuries and also the time limit for making claims was lengthened. By 1878 there were more than 220,000 names on the pension rolls. The Government was paying out more than 26 million dollars a year in claims.

By 1878 the GAR's influence on politics in America began to grow along with its membership, a little more than 31,000 members by that time. In the next twelve years it would grow to the highest level it would achieve, more than 400,000 members. It became the single most influential organization in American politics. The pension system continued to undergo minor modifications for the next few years. The demand for more serious changes in eligibility and money was becoming a defining issue for the GAR. The issue also began to take on a very militant tone. At the national encampment of 1886 delegate Thomas Bennet is quoted

as saying "I do not want a Congressman to tell me what he wants. I want to tell him what I want on this question." (McConnell 1992)

The year that GAR membership peaked, 1890, Congress passed a new reformed pension law. The reforms included all Union veterans that were honorably discharged. They had to have served a minimum of ninety days and suffer from a disability. The big change was that the disability did not have to be war-related. President Theodore Roosevelt later in 1904 ruled that old age was enough of a disability to qualify. The impact was huge. At one time the pension system was 45% of the federal budget. The Pension Bureau became the second largest branch of the federal government, behind only the military.

The application process created its own industry. Many veterans couldn't read or write, so they hired pension agents to help them. A

doctor's exam was also required for all disability claims. Of course the lawyers also got rich. It was a huge complex bureaucracy that the common soldier would have had a difficult time navigating. The last veteran pensioner died in 1956. He had been receiving \$135.45 per month.

The final mission of the GAR was loyalty. Patriotism would maybe be a better term. The organization seemed to feel that since it had preserved the country once, it still knew what was best for America. Over the years this was illustrated in many ways. Unfortunately it often took the form of prejudice. In 1890 the average member was white and native born. They mostly were members of the working middle class and were suspicious of the mass migration of Southern Europeans to the United States. They were men that often held management positions in manufacturing, mining or the railroads. The violence of the growing union movement was alarming to the membership. The GAR even made offers at various times to help the government put down labor strikes across the country. Overall the GAR had become one of the most conservative organizations in the country.

Participation of members in parades was almost mandatory for many years. Denver's Veteran Post went as far as to levy a fine of \$1.00 on members that did not attend the Decoration Day parade in 1884. Of course a committee was formed to hear missing comrades' excuses. As the members aged it became more difficult. There was a rather heated discussion on the subject at the meeting of Veteran

Post in Denver on May 14, 1891.

Evidently at the last parade some of the members were having a difficult time keeping in good marching order. It was felt that it was embarrassing that men that had learned to march on the field of battle would have become so sloppy at it.

The erection of flag poles, monuments and statues was also very important. Reminding the public of the great sacrifices made in the preservation of the Union was always of great importance. The proper burial of the veterans at a national cemetery or in a GAR plot was also a visible reminder of the sacrifice. In 1879 legislation was passed by Congress that for the first time guaranteed a headstone for all veterans.

In 1888 the GAR became involved with school textbooks. It seems that a Wisconsin post happened to take offense at the way the Civil War was being depicted in the local schoolbooks. In an effort to sell more books to Southern schools textbook manufacturers had toned down the accounts of the "War of the Rebellion." It set off an effort across the country to make sure that "correct" textbooks were being used. It was important that the words treason and rebellion appeared in any description of the beginnings of the war.

We insist that our youth shall be taught that the war was more than a mere bloody contest to gratify selfish ambition or to test the military strength of the two sections of our country. We demand that it shall be plainly and clearly taught that it was a war, between the Government of the United States, and a part of its citizens in



Author's photo

Headstone of GAR member Theron Johnson at Riverside Cemetary

revolt against it; that it was prosecuted by the National Government for the maintenance of its constitutional authority, and the enforcement of its laws; and we further insist that it be made clear and beyond doubt, that those who fought for national unity in this struggle were right.

The Patriotic instruction committee
1897

(McConnell 1992)

Today the most well known result of GAR patriotism is Memorial Day. Originally called Decoration Day, the day was to be used exclusively for the veneration of the fallen Union Civil War veterans. Created by the Commander-in-Chief John Logan in

1868 it became the most important day of the year for the GAR. They would attend church the Sunday before, often in their uniforms. On the day itself they would gather at their posts and then parade to the cemetery. Once there they would decorate the graves of their fallen comrades. They would then gather for prayers and the singing of solemn hymns. Undoubtedly there would have been sermons (speeches) given as well.

The membership was adamant that the day was a day of quiet reflection on the supreme sacrifices made by the Union veteran. There were to be no recreational activities, no baseball, picnics or any other frivolous pursuits, nothing to diminish the solemn display of respect. President Grover Cleveland was publicly chastised for using the day to go fishing. The GAR membership would be horrified to see what its holiday has become today.

In 1949 the GAR membership assembled for its last campfire. The National Encampment returned to the scene of its first gathering at Indianapolis, Indiana. Only six of the old soldiers were still able to attend. On August 2, 1956 at the age of 102 Albert Woolson died, and as he was the last member, so did the Grand Army of the Republic.

No discussion of the effects of the American Civil War can be complete without including the GAR. This has just been a very condensed version of it's story. It is a difficult subject to fully examine due to the fairly autonomous nature of the post system. As posts would merge and close, records were misplaced and lost. There was a post in eastern Colorado that on closing the last

member turned over the records and artifacts to his grandson's Boy Scout Troop. For an organization that had a relatively brief existence the impact of the GAR was truly remarkable.

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Over the Corral Rail

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

“Chomping and Chatting” along the Front Range

The colloquialism in the title is extracted from the original goals of the meetings of the first Westerners group formed, the Chicago Corral of Westerners. They were conceived in 1944, and then followed by the second group, the Denver Posse of Westerners, in 1945.

In March the Boulder County Corral heard its long-time member Dr. John Monnett explain “Who were the Indians at the Battle of Beecher Island?” Much has been written of the battle at which hundreds of Cheyenne and Sioux immobilized fifty frontier scouts under Major George Forsyth for nine days in September 1868. John’s research provided details on the Indian warriors the scouts faced. Colorado historians Robert and Kristen Autabee presented “Lost Restaurants of Denver with a Side of Boulder” at the April meeting of the Boulder Corral. They covered stories from the rough mining camp’s bakeries to the modern continental cuisine of the metropolis. Mr. Autabee is the author of a variety of publications, ranging from a history of the Colorado highway system to that of Denver’s Big Top convenience stores. Mrs. Autabee has been a museum curator at several sites.

The Colorado Corral March presentation was “Tom Carrigen’s Eye: the Recovered 1920s Photographs of Wyoming Photographer Tom Carrigen,” by Corral member Rebecca Hunt. Dr. Hunt had discovered a previously unknown trove of early Carrigen images at her family home in Wyoming. In April the Corral was entertained with “Red Lights and Black Jack in Territorial Alaska,” by Catherine Spude. Dr. Spude’s latest book, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, includes these early Alaskan stories, a subject on which she has researched and written extensively.

The Pike Peak Posse of Westerners’ March presentation was “WASP of the Ferry Command,” by Sarah Byrn Rickman. Sarah has written five books on the Women Air Force Service Pilots of World War II, and she serves as a WASP historian for WASP activities at Texas Women’s University. Her program provided fascinating details of the little-known but valuable work of the women extensively ferrying military aircraft in the US during World War II. In April the Posse heard Gayle Gresham’s “The Cash Creek Miners and the Lake County War,” an important episode in Colorado history that includes the lynching of Judge Elias Dyer in 1875.

Posse Member receives speaking invitation to Native American Celebration

Denver Posse member John Monnett has been honored to be invited as the featured banquet speaker for the "One-hundred-thirty-sixth Anniversary of the Return of Chief Little Wolf and the Northern Band Cheyennes to Homelands of Montana in 1879" celebration in Lame Deer, Montana, on April 3, 2015. In appreciation of his presentation he was presented with a chief's blanket.

Denver Posse Stunned by Loss of member John Hutchins

John Milton Hutchins (retired Major, US Army) of Lakewood died from cardiac failure on April 5. John was born on Dec. 5, 1950 in Washington, D.C. The Hutchins family moved from Falls Church, Virginia to Northglenn, Colo. in 1961, where John graduated from high school in 1969. He was a U.S.M.A. West Point cadet from 1969-1970, and then graduated from the University of Colorado, Boulder, with a B.A. (cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa). He obtained his Juris Doctorate from the CU School of Law in 1976. He made his mark in a distinguished legal career with the offices of Colorado Attorney General and as an Assistant U. S. Attorney in Denver. John retired in 2011, and was then able to spend his time doing what he loved most: studying, researching and writing history.



John Hutchins joined the Denver Posse of Westerners as a Corresponding Member of the Posse in 1984, and was elected as a Regular Posse member in 1986. He was very active in posse operations, serving as the deputy sheriff in 1993, and as the sheriff in 1994. He had presented several programs to the posse, and had won the Danielson Award for best Westerners program three times. John authored two books, *Diggers, Constables, and Bushrangers: the New Zealand Gold Rushes as a Frontier Experience, 1852-1876* and *Coronado's Well-equipped Army: the Spanish Invasion of the American Southwest*. John's numerous writings have received various awards.

The Denver Posse will miss John's great wit, his humor, and his passion for history. Condolences are sincerely extended to his wife Dale, son Adam, and brothers Mark (also a Denver Posse member) and David.



Westerners Bookshelf



Tom Horn in Life and Legend, by Larry D. Ball. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2014, 554 pages. Illustrated with maps, photographs and drawings; endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback with jacket, \$29.95.

This reviewer has some familiarity with the Tom Horn story. Over twenty years ago he pointed out to historians that Horn's confession did not fall under the modern *Miranda* rule. A couple of years later, he was invited to be the prosecutor in a mock retrial of Horn in Cheyenne. (When he saw it was a stacked deck, he quickly bolted from that job - writing then-Wyoming Governor Sullivan to expect a legally unsupported request for a pardon.) He even assisted Colorado Judge John Dailey when Dailey gave a presentation to the Boulder Westerners on Horn.

Having said all that, this reviewer (who has read all the previous attempts) confidently states that this is the definitive biography of the controversial Tom Horn. It is obvious that Dr. Ball (whom the reviewer met in Deadwood in about 1996), one of the first academic historians to tackle the story of Western badmen seriously, spent many, many years researching archives, newspapers, reminiscences, and all other available sources in his quest to find the truth about Horn. He also obviously spent years in honest thought and reflection.

It is all here: Horn's early days (where even Ball could not confirm the rumor that Horn killed someone in shooting up a Texas outhouse); Horn's service in the Geronimo campaign (that Horn exaggerated some); Horn's early stock detective days in Arizona during the Pleasant Valley War; Horn's shadowy presence in Wyoming during the period of the Johnson County War; Horn's work with the Pinkertons (alongside Colorado's Doc Shore); Horn's service in Cuba during the Spanish American War; and, of course, Horn's activities regarding the murder of Willie Nickell (for which Horn hanged in 1903).

In addition, all of the persons figuring in the Tom Horn story are present: Al Sieber, Geronimo, the Apache Kid, General Miles, General Leonard Wood, Matt Rash, Isom Dart, Kels Nickell, John Coble, and Glendolene Kimmel (the "notorious" schoolmarm in Horn's life). The author even relates Horn's skills as a rodeo cowboy and goes into detail about how he ended up in a cemetery in Boulder. Finally, Ball discusses the legend of Tom Horn, from the movie screen to that very theatrical "retrial" in 1993.

In sum, this biography is not only an award-winner, it deserves a lifetime achievement award for Dr. Larry Ball. (But now we will expect still another biography from him - perhaps Sam Bass?)

While this biography is not for the faint-hearted (since it really is almost a reference book on "All one wanted to know about Tom Horn"), it is very well written - and a bargain at the price. Although the volume will not settle some of the many controversies surrounding Horn, future biographers might as well give up.

New asides about Horn's life will be discovered and published, but this biography never will be topped for detached accuracy, for writing, and for supporting references. I take my Stetson off to Larry Ball. This book is an instant classic - but years in the making.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1792: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy, translated by Freeman M. Tovell; edited by Freeman M. Tovell, Robin Inglis, and Iris H. W. Engstrand. Arthur H. Clark and University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2012, 196 pages. Illustrated with maps, drawings, and a photograph; footnotes, bibliography, index. Cloth with jacket, \$34.95.

This is a relatively thin volume—barely reaching the old-time publisher's minimum number of 180 pages to make it officially a book. But it sometimes is a heavy read, because it is an important translation of a Royal Spanish Naval officer's journal about his dealings with the British during the last stages of the so-called "Nootka Sound Controversy." This dispute, occurring during the latter days of the 18th Century, pits Spain's long-standing colonial pretensions against Britain's growing imperial ambitions along the Pacific coast from the Columbia River to Russian Alaska—the controversy becoming a crisis when Spain seized British shipping in the region. This English translation allows the historian to counterbalance the more-readily available (mostly through the now-defunct *Ye Galleon Press*) English naval side of the argument.

Half of the volume is an historical introduction to the controversy and crisis, and it is well-written. But it aims at the serious scholar interested in the region. Somewhat similarly, the journal itself contains much minutia probably of not much general interest. The reviewer found most interesting the descriptions of the natives of the area and the productivity of the land, as well as an occasional detailed mention of the nearby British warships standing ready.

Probably most amusing in Bodega's reports are his favorable relations and opinions of the Boston fur trading captains in the area. Although they also were intruders into Spanish claims, they were anti-British and pro-Spanish in the dispute.

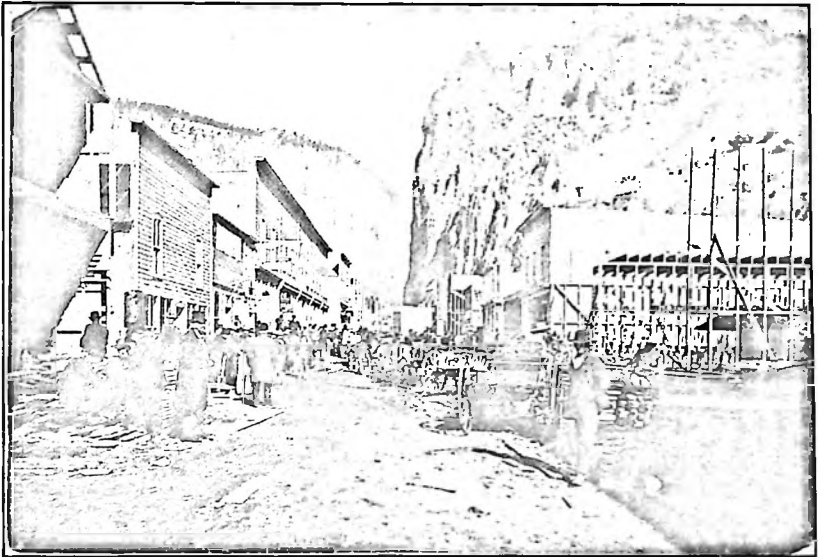
This book, another well-constructed Arthur H. Clark imprint, is recommended. While most interest will be found in historians of the Pacific Northwest, and among students of the complex European relations during the "Revolutionary Period" occurring before the rise of Napoleon, it has enough detail to be of interest to the students of Lewis and Clark and the fur trade.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

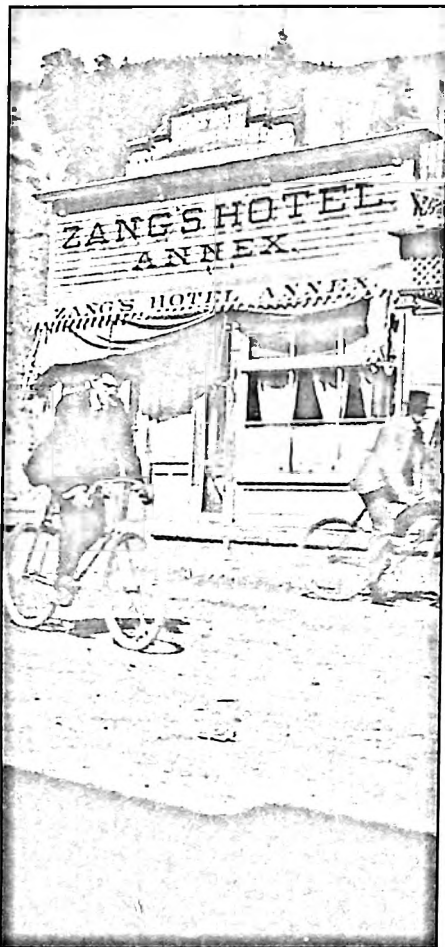
May - June 2015



Ed Bathke collection

Creede, Colorado, during the time of Soapy's life there

Soapy Smith – his Early Days and Colorado Times
by Ken Gaunt, P.M.



Ed Bathke collection

Creede, Colorado
Soapy Smith roomed at the
Zang Hotel

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXI NO. 3



May - June 2015

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Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
4646 Park County Rd. 72
Bailey, CO 80421

Book Reviews

Stan Moore (303) 929-7802
11259 W. Ford Dr.
Lakewood, CO 80226

Dues and Other Payments

Bill Anderson (303) 973-2489
11168 W. Ontario Ave.
Littleton, CO 80217

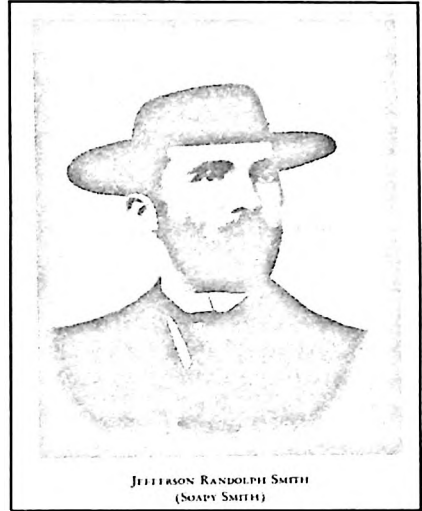
Reservations for meetings

Bob Lane (303) 751-2717
9103 E. Eastman Pl.
Denver, CO 80231

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Soapy Smith – his Early Days and Colorado Times by Ken Gaunt, P.M.



Editor's note: Ken Gaunt was an outstanding member of the Denver Posse of Westerners. Ken joined the Westerners as a corresponding member in 1956, and was elected to the Active Posse in 1992. He served as Sheriff in 1995, and was instrumental in performing many behind-the-scenes tasks for the posse. His establishment of the Ken Gaunt Fund shows Ken's love for the Denver Westerners, in providing perpetual support of the organization.

Ken presented seven papers to the Westerners, many reflecting his pharmaceutical career, or his military service in World War II. Ken was fascinated by magic shows as a youngster, so he learned the art and regularly performed as a magician. His favorite sleight-of-hand artist was Soapy Smith. Ken often played the role of Soapy, and he hoped to publish a book on Soapy's life. The developing manuscript was used by Ken in presenting "Soapy Smith – the last of his story, Skaguay 1897-1898," to the Westerners on Feb. 27, 2002, and published in the November-December 2002 issue of the Denver Westerners Roundup. But the beginning of the draft was not presented or published. The following article completes his research.

Soapy Smith – his Early Days and Colorado Times

by Ken Gaunt, P.M.

Jefferson Randolph Smith, Jr. was called many things during his lifetime. Some of them were: King of the Con Men, Minister of Misrule, Marshal of Creede, Scalawag of Skaguay, and Public Enemy No. 1 of the West. He was also called generous, benevolent, and religious by many of the people whom he helped financially and they called him the Robin Hood of the West, but through the years and in history he is best known as "Soapy Smith." It is agreed that he had many talents, and if they had been turned to lawful pursuits, he could have gone far.

Jeff, as he liked to be called, was born in Newman, Georgia in 1860. The family was a prominent one: his mother was a beautiful true Southern belle, his father a successful lawyer. Jeff was well educated. He could quote both scripture and the classics, and was also good in mathematics.

The Civil War impoverished the family, his father becoming an alcoholic, and in 1876 the family moved to west Texas. Jeff's first job, and undoubtedly the one that influenced him throughout his life, was the job of "steering" people from the incoming train to the right hotel in town, or "steering" the incoming farmers with their produce which was for sale, and their needful purchases to the right store, both for which Jeff worked.

It was in San Antonio, where he and his best friend, Joe Simons, with money in their pockets, decided to take in a circus. Jeff did not get to see the circus. He got to watching an

elderly crippled man who was playing a game on a small table, with a crowd of onlookers. The man, "Clubfoot Hall," would put a little green pea under one of three walnut shells; he would then move the shells around a little and bet you that you couldn't pick the shell with the pea under it. Jeff watched for a while and then jumped into the game. In a few minutes he had lost his month's wages.

He went home and told his buddy, Joe Simons, about the old man who had taken a month's wages off him in just a few minutes. Jeff was determined to find out how Hall had done that. He borrowed a few dollars and went back to the circus. Hall thought Jeff was going to rob him, but finally Jeff convinced him he only wanted to know the trick. But Hall refused to tell him but did tell him to find "Old Man Taylor" and get him to teach Jeff the game. Jeff would not give up, so he joined the circus as a "rough neck" or circus worker and began to work with Hall and learn the game.

There are different versions of how he arrived in Leadville, Colorado in 1883, whether it was with the circus or on his own, but it is agreed that he had a fine horse, a good pistol and an educated deck of cards. It was in Leadville that he did meet "Old Man Taylor." Smith blackmailed Taylor into taking him on as a partner, but after only one day Taylor realized how good a "steerer" Smith was, so he gave Jeff a percentage of each day's take, as well as teaching him the fine points of the shell game, three card monte, and later the soap game that was to become Smith's trademark, and which also gave him his nickname of "Soapy Smith."

The "soap game" con was one in which he would offer it for sale for only \$5.00 a bar. To start the selling of the soap, Jeff would wrap one or two bars with a \$100 bill, or some other bill in the wrapping, and then offer to sell the bar at the same \$5.00 price. Of course the bars with the bills were bought first by some of Soapy's gang members before the public got a chance at the ordinary bars of soap which seldom had even a small bill wrapped in them.

Taylor decided to retire and Smith realized that Denver was where the money was going to be. Jeff went to Denver and set up his stand on the corner of 17th and Larimer streets. But people didn't believe this 24-year-old man and his spiel at first. Jeff was of medium height, dapper in appearance, genteel in conduct, and pleasing to address, so to look more mature he grew a heavy black beard, wore a somber suit with a diamond stick pin in his cravat, and a heavy gold chain across his vest. He was utterly fearless, with nerves of steel. He avoided gunplay, but was very fast on the draw, and would shoot to wound, not to kill. He also carried a seven-inch boot-knife and at times a cane loaded with buckshot.

Smith began to prosper immediately. Of course the police had to be paid off first. One time a new member of the force who hadn't been put on the payroll yet arrested him. The officer couldn't remember his first name, so he just wrote in the police blotter "Smith - Soapy." Everyone in the police department knew who that was, and the name "Soapy Smith" stuck throughout the rest of Jeff Smith's life and into history.

Soapy began to gather his gang, which eventually numbered about twenty men of various talents. He kept them under excellent control. They were never a quarrelsome, fighting mob as compared to other lawless frontier gangs. This harmony and unity enabled Soapy to grow steadily in power and notoriety. It should be noted that any trick or profit the gang turned, Soapy was paid his percentage, which was usually fifty percent.

One of the members of his gang was elderly "Doc" Baggs, one of the best of the con men. "Doc" originated the gold brick game, or at least perfected it, and was known to have sold gold bricks for as much as \$25,000. Another was "Judge" Van Horn, a lawyer who had been barred from practicing law. He guided Soapy through every loophole and trapdoor of the law. "Reverend" Charles Bowers was a steerer and the "grip man" of the gang. He knew all the secret handshakes and grips, the distress signals, and the passwords of all fraternal orders and societies. He would meet a stranger and soon endear himself as a brother to that stranger. George Wilder was the advance man of the gang, and was a very shrewd, smart operator. The rest of the gang had all kinds of talents, from strong arm, safe blower, classy, flashy-dressed poet, loan shark, prizefighter, and others. The things that the gang did were numerous and many of them were never documented. But there were several books, poems, and newspaper articles written about the gang wherever they chose to operate.

Let us take a look at just a few of the gang's "con" doings. "Doc"

Baggs' office was an elaborate and rich-looking office with the best of furnishings. The most amazing part of the description on this imposing suite was an immense safe that appeared to be built into the back wall of the office. This safe was no less than seven feet square, and as the massive doors were left conveniently open, the viewer could see into its interior depths, stock certificates, stacks of money, and ore samples. This safe was, in fact, nothing but a cleverly executed painting. In case of a police raid or other emergency it could be readily removed from the wall. Doc's businesslike desk stood right in front of it. Glass panels in the doors leading out of the room bore such inscriptions as "Manager, Superintendent, Actuary, and Attorney." These doors were constructed on movable partitions that could be quickly pushed into hiding places inside the walls. When the gang broke up after a sucker had been trimmed Doc would remove his safe, the other paraphernalia was tucked smoothly into their hiding place, and the troop followed Doc out the backdoor. When the frantic victim and the police arrived to put the "entire outfit in jail" the room would be a plainly furnished interior of an obviously feminine bedroom.

One of their cons that became quite famous was called the 'bandit barbers.' The gang members would watch the people getting off the many trains that arrived daily in Denver. If they looked like they had money they would soon be talking to a friendly stranger. Since most of the arrivals needed a shave or a haircut after a long dirty train ride, the friendly stranger would suggest that they could

get cleaned up at one of the 17th-street barbershops. The prices were ridiculously low, fifteen cents for a haircut and a shave for a dime. While the customer got his shave, the barber would ask him questions, trying to find out whether the man was prosperous or not. When finished the customer would then have his head immersed in a large bowl of warm water. "You need a shampoo," and he would get it. When finished the customer would see a new sign on the wall and find himself charged about ten times the previously quoted prices. Should he protest, he would then notice a BIG man sitting by the door. It would be three-hundred-pound "Banjo Parker" or large "Fatty Gray," both members of Soapy's strong-arm squad. Protest usually died in the throat. Unknown to the victim, if he had bragged a little about his money or the barber had contrived to feel or see the size of his wallet, his hair would be "notched" by an inverted "V" at the back of his neck. This signaled other lurking members of the gang that "this sucker is loaded."

Boxing was a popular sport, so Soapy became a promoter of a big boxing event. It was to be a different kind of fight though; the contestants were going to wear wooden shoes in the ring. The rules demanded that the contestants must wear the wooden shoes at all times during the fight. The gang had a large bankroll and got 4-to-1 odds. It was soon apparent that Soapy's man "Platteville Taylor" was quite graceful in his native wooden shoes, and in the second round, when the favorite "Oklahoma Sausage" could not keep his wooden shoes on his feet, was proclaimed the winner. It also helped

that Soapy was the referee.

Bob Fitzsimmons was the boxing middleweight champion of the world. He and his wife came to the Windsor Hotel, and there met Bowers and Van Horn. Bowers was introduced as Collis P. Huntington, President of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Fitzsimmons was invited to Soapy's office, which had been transformed into a busy-looking stock exchange. They all got into a big-stakes poker game. At first Fitzsimmons won, but then lost about \$5000. Railroad President Huntington soothed it over by inviting Fitzsimmons and his wife to meet him the next morning at his private railroad car, where he would give him back the money and as evidence of their good will would also give his wife a diamond of considerable value. The next day Fitzsimmons couldn't find any private railroad car. The champion was told about how he had been taken. He went back to the original office only to have an aged Chinese woman open the door of her bedroom.

Another money maker was "the Ticket Office." In this office you could buy a train ticket from Denver to any place in the country for a very low fee. The only problem was that the ticket taker on those outbound trains would not accept them as legal fare.

In 1890 "Rincon Kid" Kelly, a shell-game expert, with a small gang tried to move into Soapy's territory in Denver. This of course led to trouble, and the "Kid" and his gang were soon run out of town. This event and others led to a rising tide of public antagonism as the decent citizens demanded that the city be given a thorough housecleaning.

Soapy decided to leave town,

so with several members of his gang headed for Pocatello, Idaho. What he had not taken time to find out, was who ran Pocatello. It was the same "Rincon Kid." This time it was Soapy and his gang who were run out of town.

In 1885 he married a woman whose stage name was Allie Nelson (editor's note: other sources list her name as Mary Eva Noonan). They had three children. In 1889 his wife and children moved to Missouri.

Soapy and his gang returned to Denver in the spring of 1891, and Soapy again gained favor among the citizens of Denver by breaking down the door of the Glasson Detective Agency and destroying the agency completely by ransacking the files, destroying the complete secret records of the blackmailing crooked detective agency.

In January 1892 a man named Creede made a valuable strike of silver in the San Juan Mountains. Immediately there was a large migration of miners to this new bonanza. Cy Warman, the editor of the *Creede Chronicle*, described it best in his poem, *Creede*:

Creede, where all men are created equal,

Of high or lowly birth,

Where men make millions,

Dug from the dreary earth.

Where meek and mild-eyed burros

On mineralized mountains feed.

It's day all day in the daytime,

And there is no night in Creede.

The *Rocky Mountain News* in February 1892 stated that Soapy Smith had left town for Creede. It was a tough, wide-open silver camp ripe for the plucking by Soapy Smith. Soapy

proclaimed himself dictator of Creede. This was a bold move for he enraged a man who had already assumed this position. This man was Bob Ford, a man who had the reputation of a killer, and a hard character, for he was the man who had killed Jesse James. That fact didn't bother Soapy; he simply stated that he and his gang were taking over the town. It really didn't make that much difference as a friend of Jesse James killed Ford on June 7, 1892. In the absence of any civil organization, Soapy maintained a kind of law and order by controlling the tough element. His boyhood friend, Joe Simons, was in town and the two of them built the Orleans Club at the bridge on Main Street.

As he had done in Denver, he also showed another side of his personality. An itinerant preacher, Tom Uzzell, came to town and Soapy and his gang took up a collection in every saloon, dance hall, and gambling den in town, where every person chipped in for a worthy cause. In two hours they dumped some six-hundred dollars into the preacher's washbowl. In three days the preacher was able to construct a respectable house of worship, and services were held the following Sunday. Soapy and his entire gang attended the first service.

It was now that Soapy ran one of his biggest and best scams, one that probably took in more people and money than any other thing he did.

It happened like this. Soapy turned over his Orleans Club to Joe Simons, he then shouldered a pick and shovel and announced that he was going to do a bit of silver prospecting on his own. He duly staked a claim and

continued to work it for several days. To show that he was serious in his efforts, a large heavy packing case arrived in Creede, addressed to Jefferson R. Smith and was conspicuously labeled "Mining Machinery." It was immediately taken to his claim.

Two weeks went by, Soapy continuing his efforts at the claim. Then one day about noon he came rushing into town and stopped at the office of the *Creede Candle*. He announced that he had made an amazing discovery. He explained that he had unearthed a portion of something that bore certain striking resemblance to an enormous human body. He wasn't sure what it was but thought it might be a petrified man. If indeed that were true he must have been buried there for millions of years. Soapy's sincerity on the editor, who called a dozen of his friends, none even remotely associated with Soapy, and they along with several of Soapy's cronies left for the arroyo. The object they saw instantly amazed editor Warman and his comrades. What they could see was the partially uncovered arm and shoulder of a manlike figure. The huge rugged age-mottled shape unquestionably had once been a human being. The gigantic stone figure was hauled into town, and to show his enmity toward Bob Ford the "petrified" find was taken to Ford's Exchange and placed on public exhibition. Soapy took personal care of the exhibit and took over the ballyhoo of the exhibit. He gave the petrified Goliath the title of "Colonel Stone." Of course a nominal fee was paid to gain admittance to the curtained room, where in a boarded pit, dimly lit by coal-oil lamps the terrifying Colorado Stone lay. The popularity of

the exhibit was enormous; the success of this product of the Denver Stone yard, which was composed of cement and plaster of Paris, even astonished Soapy.

For five years the hoax continued. Several times Soapy succeeded in selling a half-interest to some hopeful stranger, who did not know its secret. One R. V. Ellison of Hilliard, Washington parted with \$2,500 for half-interest in the exhibit. Ellison shipped the Colonel to Washington, where in a freight yard the "dust-to-dust" process took place.

It was during that winter that two happenings again changed Soapy's life. The first was the death of his partner and boyhood friend, Joe Simons. A pneumonia epidemic hit many of the mining towns and many of the prospectors died. Joe Simons was one of these, but his funeral was very different from any of the others. The *Creede Chronicle* reported it this way.

A Gambler's Funeral

Joe Simons died Friday night and was buried Sunday. At 2 o'clock the funeral cortege left the undertaker's. The wagon containing the deceased was in advance. Next followed the only hack in town, containing Jeff Smith, John Kinneavy, Hugh Mohand and a Chronicle reporter. A blinding snowstorm was in progress. Halfway up the hill the mourners were forced to get out and walk to the head of the hill. After the burial Smith addressed the throng. "Joe was my friend and all he wanted for us to gather at his grave and drink to his health when he was gone. Let us do it." Twelve bottles of Pommery were then opened and each of the assemblage took his glass in hand

and said: "Here's to the health of Joe Simons in the hereafter, if there is a hereafter." The glasses were drained. Then all joined hands around the grave and sang "Auld Lang Syne."

This same ceremony takes place on July 8 each year, at the graveside of Soapy Smith in Skaguay, Alaska.

The other circumstance that affected Soapy's life was the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act. With silver now worth very little, the effect upon Creede was immediate, and the town started dying.

It was soon after their return to Denver that Smith saved enough money to open the Tivoli Club, at the corner of 17th and Market. The Tivoli had an elaborate bar downstairs, and the upper floor was devoted to gambling. Denver was more wide-open than it had been since its earliest days, but the police occasionally raided various sporting institutions. Smith did not want such an invasion in the Tivoli Club. Syd Dixon offered the suggestion that Soapy put up a sign warning the suckers so that they knew what they were going up against, and so the sign read "Caveat Emptor" --- let the buyer beware.

A shooting in the Murphy's exchange, at which Soapy was present, resulted in Soapy being brought before the Fire and Police Commission to give an account of himself. It was after a stirring speech extolling the virtues of his educational institution, in which the Tivoli as it stated on the door, helped men to cure their gambling habit. Smith was given a unanimous vote of acquittal.

The UP and DOWN fake stock exchange was patterned after the

"Doc" Baggs office of earlier days. The ups and downs of the market were controlled by turning over one card after another from a deck of playing cards to determine the latest move in the stock price of one of the many fake gold stock certificates the gang had printed and sold.

Ballot box stuffing was the rule. The residents of the Riverside Cemetery voted many times during each election. The justice courts reeked with corruption, and blackmail. Soapy was in complete control of the lawless element. Murders were frequent, and the plea of "brain storm," that is having been drunk for a week, won many acquittals.

In the state elections of that year the rebellious citizens saw their chance. Davis H. Waite, a populist, ran for governor, promising to "fight iniquity until blood runs as deep as the cavalry's bridles." Unexpectedly he won the election and leaped into the battle to clean up Denver. He demanded the Denver Fire and Police Commission "clean house" and when they didn't act on his orders, he demanded that the commissioners resign. They flatly refused and the dispute became known as the Denver City Hall War. This confrontation lasted about three weeks. It was fought first in the newspapers. Then the Governor finally ordered out the Colorado National Guard, and some Federal troops from Ft. Logan to take over the City Hall, where the commissioners were encamped.

Soapy was summoned to the City Hall by the commissioners to help them. He promised to supply his own army. The first duty that night was to raid all hardware stores,

pawnshops, and gun shops to acquire every available rifle and pistol. He stationed dozens of his men along the street; others took up position in the second-story windows. The entire police force and a contingent from the fire department were stationed on the lower floors. He then took his own gang and five-hundred pounds of dynamite into the tower. Some of the gang were former miners and powder men, and they were entrusted with the prospective task of hurling dynamite bombs upon the expected attackers.

Three companies of the Colorado National Guard infantry and the Chaffee Light Artillery were mobilized and moved into position facing City Hall. Federal troops from Ft. Logan were brought into the railroad station. The standoff lasted all day. The people of Denver flocked to see the battle and completely clogged the streets and sidewalks. General Brooks, in command of the troops, was aware of the strength of the opposition and the danger to the people on the street. He recalled the troops and ordered them to march back to their armory and the Federal troops to return to Ft. Logan. Smith and his group quickly removed all arms from the building and slipped away. Governor Waite finally ousted the commissioners by court order.

Word had come that Cripple Creek was in the height of its glory. Smith immediately had visions of another Creede dictatorship. Soapy and his gang took the train to Cripple Creek, but were met at the Cripple Creek railroad station. Their guns were taken, and they were not allowed to leave the train car until two hours later when the train pulled out for the return

trip to Denver. Some of the other towns that Soapy was run out of were Dallas, Idaho Springs, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Tacoma, and Pocatello, Idaho.

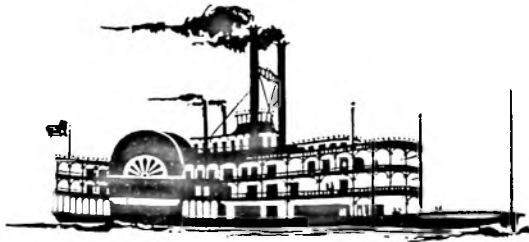
Despite all this Soapy was still considered a good-hearted con man and was not hated, but rather well liked because of his generosity to all causes. He had a custom of sending new twenty-dollar bills at Christmas time to a long list of needy friends. Many paper boys sold their papers to Soapy and received a \$20 gold piece, and a "keep the change." He supported Pastor Tom Uzzell and his Denver Tabernacle, collected money to build a church for Uzzell in Creede, gave generously to the poor, and supported the police and fire commissioners. Soapy was seldom criticized for his conduct as a con man for he ran his games on the newcomers and not the citizens of Denver; thus he was also known as the "Robin Hood of the West." Parson Thomas Uzzell said, "He has the attributes of a genius, but

he has chosen the wrong road of life." Also, "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver, and if ever there was a cheerful giver, Jeff is that man."

Two brothers by the name of Blonger came to Denver in 1895 and proceeded to take over Denver's underground activities. The Blonger brothers demanded fifty percent of Soapy's take and killed two of his gang. Had Soapy not changed his mind one night about going into a certain saloon he probably would have been gunned down as well.

Smith was restless and found his leadership disputed. Also the forces of law and order were becoming stronger. It was again time for a move to a more lucrative field. This field was the "Yukon Gold Rush" in the north.

But that is another story (editor's note: as mentioned at the beginning, Ken's telling of Soapy's exploits in the Yukon are presented in the November-December 2002 issue of the *Roundup*).



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.

Westerner Corral Program Offerings before the Summer Break

The Boulder County Corral program for May, "The Circle Tour through Rocky Mountain National Park," was presented by Denver posse member Lee Whiteley.

This year is the 100th anniversary of Rocky Mountain National Park, and it is producing a wealth of presentations on its history. However, Lee concentrated on the history of automobile tourism in the park, starting with the Stanley Steamer. The opening of the Fall River Road in 1920 connected the east and west sides of the park, enabling motorists to enjoy "The Circle Tour:" Denver, Estes Park, Rocky Mountain National Park, Grand Lake, Idaho Springs, and back to Denver.

The Colorado Corral in May was favored with James Whiteside's presentation, "Old Blue's Road." Between 2006 and 2009, James Whiteside rode his motorcycle, Old Blue, some 10,000 miles around the American West. He highlighted the adventures he encountered, the sights seen, and lessons learned about the past and present of the West, much of which was drawn from his book, *Old Blue's Road: A Historian's Motorcycle Journeys in the American West*. Historian Whiteside has authored two other books on the American West, *Regulating Danger: the Struggle for Coal Mine Safety in the Rocky Mountain Coal Industry* (1990), and *Colorado: A Sports History* (1999), as well as numerous articles. He retired from the University of Colorado, Denver, in 2005.

The Pike Peak Posse of Westerners' May presentation was "Evergreen Cemetery – its History is our History," by Dianne Hartshorne and Ron West, members of the Evergreen Cemetery Benevolent Society. Dianne is the founder and director of the society. Ron, a self-professed taphophile, has extensively researched the residents of Evergreen and their contributions to Colorado Springs. The June Pikes Peak Posse program was "Sand Creek

Massacre: Myths and Misconceptions,” by Jeff C. Campbell, of Eads, Colorado. Jeff is a published writer, surveying, teaching and researching in the fields of Southwestern history, geomorphology, and criminal investigation. He serves as a Park Ranger at Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. Following the presentation, the Pikes Peak Posse was surprised by an appearance of John Chivington.

The Denver Westerners welcomes new Members

The Denver Westerners acknowledges and welcomes the following new corresponding members to the Posse during 2014 and 2015:

Don Appleby of Evergreen; interests in 19th century history, mining and the Indian Wars

Phil Buckland of Empire

Ed Crabtree of Denver

Kim Eckhout of Centennial; interests in Colorado history, horses and politics

Brad Evans of Denver; interests in Denver Bicycle history and the Suitcase Museum

Derek Everett of Ft. Collins; interests in Western history

Moya Hansen of Denver; interests in social history, anthropology, archaeology, Colorado history

Dave Lively of Grand Lake; interests in history of Rocky Mountain National Park, Grand Lake and Grand County

Chuck Mattson of Denver

Chuck Mitton of Denver: interests in Western history

Susie Morton of Bailey; interests in history and geology

Jill Ricker of Parker: interests in Western history, horses, travel and gardening

Beverly Riebe of Denver

We look forward to meeting these new hands on the range, and encourage their participation in our activities.

Motoring West Volume 1, Automobile Pioneers, 1900-1909. Blodgett, Peter J. Editor. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma, 2015. Map, Illustrations, Index. Hardback. \$34.95

This is the first in a series on the history of motor car travel in the early 19th Century West, marking the transition from the “Old West,” and leaving behind the days of horse, wagon and stagecoach travel. It consists of eighteen articles from an assortment of magazines, published at the time, with commentaries by the editor.

By way of introduction, Peter Blodgett provides a thirty-six-page introduction to the series, followed by a seven page introduction to Volume 1. Once you get past that you find accounts of Western travel by a variety of early automobile enthusiasts, covering all aspects of travel by early auto in the West, North, South and Central, many of them devoted to being among the first to cross the Continent. You are provided with a choice of cars that include the sophisticated four-seaters, to simple two-seaters with no top nor windshield. There are guides as to what to take, and what not to take, what skills you will need, what maps you will need, and to some degree, what to expect on the road.

The first account is by Charles B. Shanks and Alexander Winton, who attempt to be the first to cross the United States by Auto in 1901, and published in the *Scientific American Supplement*. Their trip bogged down in deep sands in Nevada, and they were forced to give up. M.C. Krarup was the first to succeed, and solved the sand problem with the use of strips of canvas twenty-four feet long. Others followed quickly, to that of the Trinkles, Denver residents, who crossed in a Brush Runabout – the one with no top or windshield – and were the 17th to cross in 1908. Mrs. Trinkle was the first woman to go from Denver to Los Angeles by car. Her sparkling account is in my view the best in this book, full of detail of the challenges that they faced, and the people they met.

There are other very interesting accounts, most notably “From Hell Gate to Portland.” Here Percy F. Megargel and Dwight B. Huss were selected to make the crossing, and Megargel’s account is full of the details of the forty-four days travel, including having to be your own mechanic, and dealing with no roads, no motels, hazards in the route, and helpful and friendly people.

Volume 1 is a well-balanced collection of accounts that covers most of the challenges that motorists faced in the age of automobile travel prior to the development of reliable roads. If there is a weakness to this book, it is the lack of a sophisticated map or maps outlining the routes these adventurers took. Hopefully, that will be corrected in future volumes.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

July - August 2015



Circle Tour photo album

**The Circle Tour Through Rocky Mountain National Park:
Denver, Estes Park, Grand Lake, Berthoud Pass
by Lee Whiteley, P.M.
(presented March 25, 2015)**



Our Author

Lee Whiteley is a posse member and past sheriff of the Denver Westerners, a 4th-generation Coloradan, a U.S. Army veteran, and a retired computer programmer-analyst.

He and wife Jane have written five books on the transportation history of the West. His first book was *The Cherokee Trail: Bent's Old Fort to Fort Bridger*. This was the *Denver Westerners 1999 Merrill Mattes Brand Book*.

Lee received the Denver Posse of Westerners Lifetime Achievement award in 2003. This is the text of Lee's eighth program for the Denver Posse.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXI NO. 4



July - August 2015

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Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421

Book Reviews

Stan Moore (303) 929-7802
 11259 W. Ford Dr.
 Lakewood, CO 80226

Dues and Other Payments

Bill Anderson (303) 973-2489
 11168 W. Ontario Ave.
 Littleton, CO 80217

Reservations for meetings

Bob Lane (303) 751-2717
 9103 E. Eastman Pl.
 Denver, CO 80231

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The Circle Tour Through Rocky Mountain National Park: Denver, Estes Park, Grand Lake, Berthoud Pass by Lee Whiteley, P.M. (presented March 25, 2015)

When Rocky Mountain National Park was established in 1915, no road connected the east and west sides of the park. Several roads ran from the Colorado plains west to Estes Park, the eastern entrance to the park. A primitive road accessed Grand Lake and the upper Colorado River valley on the west side. No road crossed the park until the completion of Fall River Road in late 1920. Motorists could then visit both sides of the park without a long detour. The 240-mile-long "Circle Tour" was described in the 1920 National Park *Annual Report*: "The opening of the Fall River Road affords a wonderful circle trip that will compare with any similar trip in the world. This will begin and end in Denver, and will take the visitor across the Continental Divide twice. Leaving Denver the tourist will naturally go first to Rocky Mountain National Park, thence over the Fall River Road to Grand Lake, thence via Granby and Berthoud Pass back to Denver."

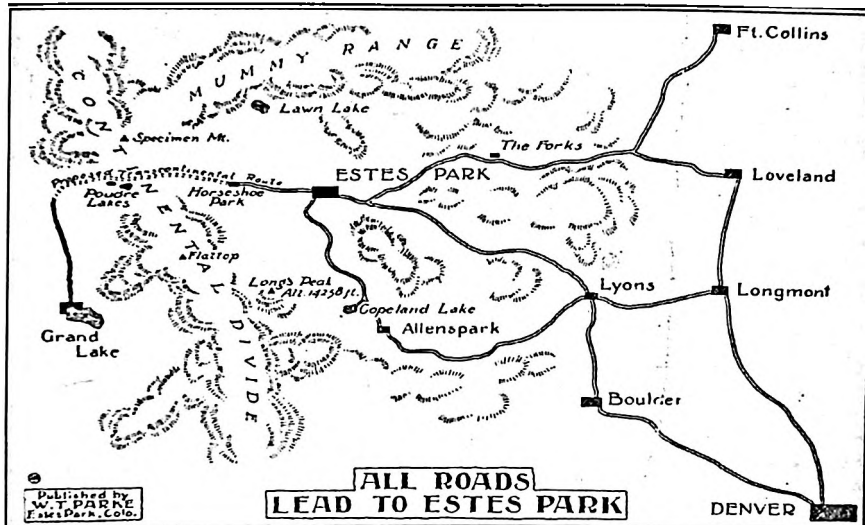
A Park Divided, the Busy East Side

Joel Estes visited the valley now known as Estes Park in 1859. He started a small cattle operation in the park, but because of the harsh winters, never permanently settled. He accessed the park by a primitive trail from Lyons, roughly following present-day U.S. Highway 36.

Other pioneers followed and settled in the Estes Park region. Abner

Sprague homesteaded in 1874 in Willow Park, now known as Moraine Park, within the current boundary of Rocky Mountain National Park. He noted: "The hotel business was forced on us . . . We came here for small ranch operations, but guests and visitors became so numerous, at first wanting eggs, milk, and other provisions, then wanting lodging, and finally demanding full accommodations, that we had to go into the hotel business or go bankrupt from keeping free company!" His brother Fred had the local mail contract and also shuttled visitors to the Sprague Lodge along a wagon road known as the Bald Mountain-Pole Hill Road, which ran south of present day U.S. 34 through Big Thompson Canyon. Opened as a toll road in 1892, the scenic South St. Vrain road, present-day Colorado Highway 7, provided access to the Longs Peak region of Rocky Mountain National Park. In the early 1920s the section between Raymond and Estes Park became a part of "Peak-to-Peak Highway," which originally ran from Manitou Springs to Estes Park. The "peaks" in the Peak-to-Peak were Pikes Peak and Longs Peak.

Freelan Oscar Stanley, the "Grand Old Man of Estes Park," drove the first Stanley Steamer to Estes Park from Lyons in 1903, roughly following the trail used by Joel Estes. Stanley establishes his Estes Park Transportation Company in 1908. His red and yellow cars began running



Bobbie Heistercamp collection

Pre-1920 map showing the proposed Estes Park to Grand Lake road

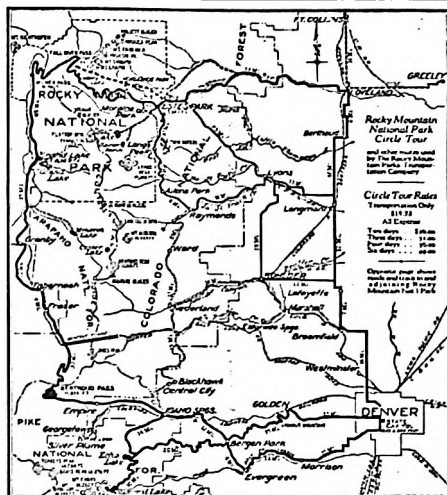
between Longmont and Lyons to Estes Park on June 11, 1908. That year he introduced the 9-passenger Stanley Steamer "Mountain Wagon." He also helped finance improvements on the Lyons to Estes Park road and opened his Stanley Hotel in Estes Park in 1909.

A primitive road through Big Thompson Canyon, west of Loveland, opened in 1904. David Osborn and his three sons started the Loveland-Estes Park Transportation Company in 1907 with five Stanley Model F 20-hp touring cars. Each held the driver and four passengers. The *Loveland Herald*, March 31, 1908 noted: "No innovation of modern methods of transit has been so acceptable, so pleasing and so universally popular with the pleasure-seeking people who live in or visit Colorado, as the line of passenger automobiles operated between Loveland and Estes Park."

All east-side access roads converged on Estes Park. Incorporated in 1917, Estes Park had been the supply center and staging area for trips to lodges within the present-day Rocky Mountain National Park. With the completion of Fall River Road in late 1920, Estes Park became not only a destination, but also a stop for travelers continuing to and through the national park.

The Isolated West Side

Grand Lake townsite was established in 1879. The town became the supply point for the mining districts to the north. George Croftut wrote in his 1885 *Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*: "Grand Lake . . . Distance from Georgetown 55 miles; from Denver 107 miles. Fare by rail and stage \$12.45." When the Colorado Central Railroad completed tracks to



Rocky Mountain Parks Transportation Company's 1932 Circle Tour brochure

Georgetown in 1877, visitors to Middle Park could transfer to stagecoaches for a ride over Union Pass, also known as Empire Pass, a short but interesting ride between Georgetown and Empire. Remnants of the road, now a hiking trail, are visible high above Interstate 70, north of the highway and east of Georgetown. Passengers were then

taken over Berthoud Pass.

The Denver and Northwestern Railroad completed tracks to Granby in 1905, shortening the ride to the west side of Rocky Mountain National Park. Two horse trails crossed the park. The Ute Trail was followed closely by Trail Ridge Road, opened in 1932. The Flattop Trail, still a heavily used trail, connected Estes Park and Grand Lake.

East and West Connected, Fall River Road

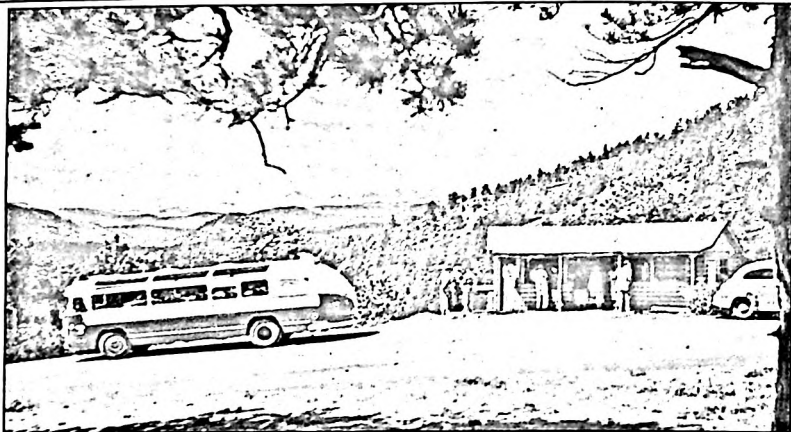
T. J. Milner, railroad engineer, surveyed a route over Fall River Pass in 1881. There was a lot of talk about constructing a road between Estes Park and Grand Lake, but construction did not begin until 1913. Convict labor was used the first year. Weather and financing, but primarily politics delayed the opening of the road until the fall of 1920. One major question was the routing of the road over the Continental Divide. The planners originally intended for the road to cross Chapin Pass, eliminating the higher costs of maintaining a road above timberline.

But Park Superintendent L. C. Way opted for the higher but much

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK CIRCLE TOUR			
Via Big Thompson Canyon or Via South Saint Vrain Canyon			
June 15 to September 20			
Mis.		Schedule	
	Lv. Denver.....	8:00 AM	1st Day
86	Ar. Estes Park (Lunch).....	12:00 M	1st Day
86	Lv. Estes Park.....	2:30 PM	1st Day
132	Ar. Grand Lake.....	6:00 PM	1st Day
132	Lv. Grand Lake.....	8:30 AM	2nd Day
207	Ar. Idaho Springs (Lunch).....	12:40 PM	2nd Day
207	Lv. Idaho Springs.....	2:00 PM	2nd Day
246	Ar. Denver.....	4:30 PM	2nd Day

AUTOMOBILE FARE—Entire tour \$19.75. Hotel coupons and information supplied by our agents. Sixty pounds hand baggage free.

Rocky Mountain Parks Transportation Company's 1932 Circle Tour brochure



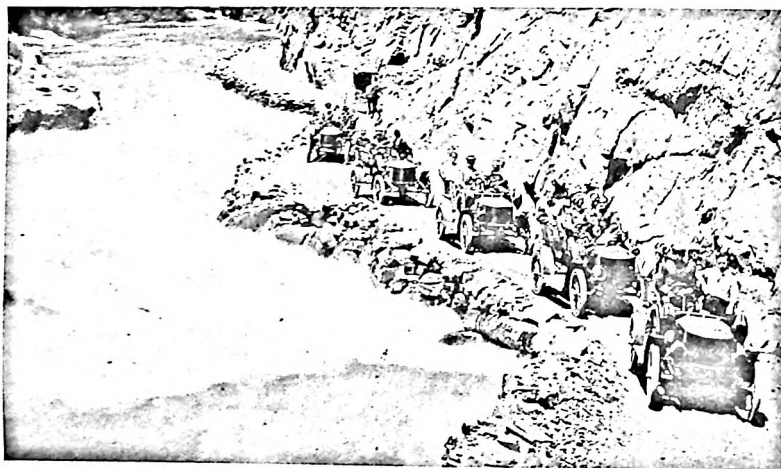
Glacier View souvenir stand on the South St. Vrain road

more scenic Fall River Pass. Enos Mills, one of the chief boosters of the national park, also urged the "Highline" route.

Superintendent Way and contractor R. W. McQueary drove their vehicle over the completed road on September 14, 1920. A week and a half later, the road was formally opened to

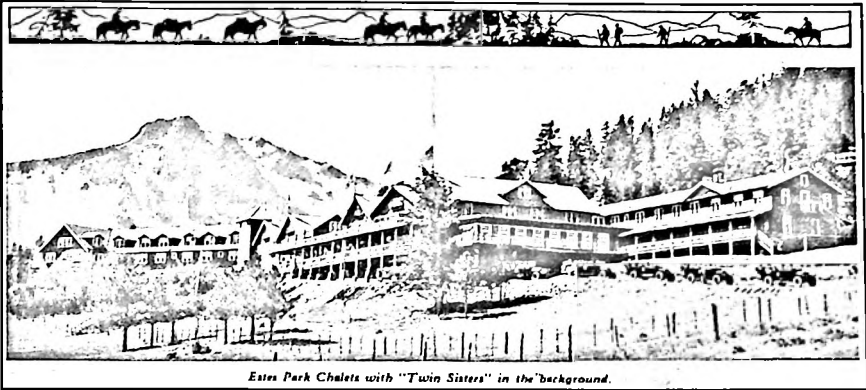
the public.

A major drawback to the higher Fall River Pass was the snowdrifts, and the expense of plowing them before opening for the summer season. Drifts often were forty feet high and routinely covered the sixteen-foot-high telegraph poles.



Bobbie Heistercamp collection

Stanley Steamers in the Big Thompson Canyon



Estes Park Chalets with "Twin Sisters" in the background.

White touring cars at Estes Park Chalets, now Mary's Lake Lodge in Estes Park

Park officials also foresaw another problem, switchbacks. The 1915 Superintendent's report warned "It is entirely too narrow, in some places only 8 or 10 feet in width. The point known as the second 'switch back' which is reached by a 12% grade, was not sufficiently wide for the average vehicle to change direction without a 'see saw' movement which made the point extremely dangerous, there being

no protection to prevent a vehicle from going over the embankment."

A quote by E. A. Shinn appearing in *Historical Estes Park* read: "The road was not laid out along section lines or 'square to the world' but greatly resembles a fish-worm just after a rain. (You know they are a lot more wiggly then than in dry weather.)"

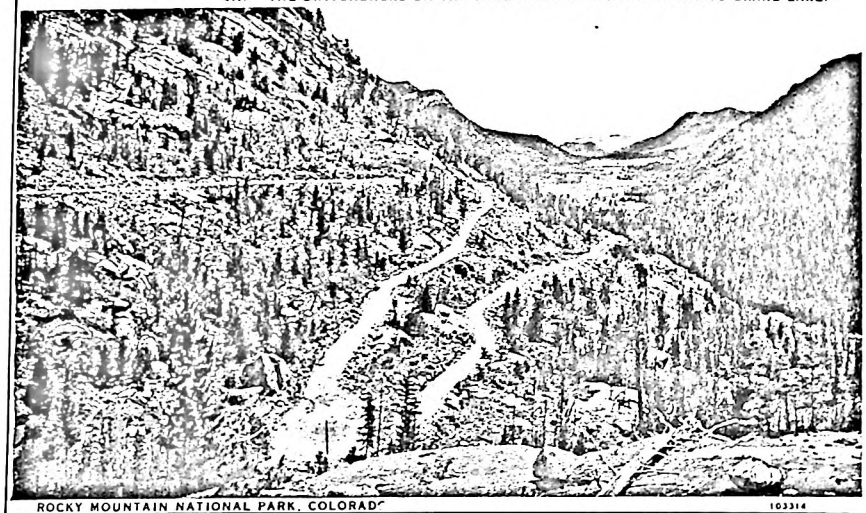


Those who like service with a smile, enjoy dining at Estes Park Chalets.

"College girls only are employed in our dining rooms; their training and character make them especially fit for the service."

Rocky Mountain Lodges, Inc.

411 THE SWITCHBACKS ON THE FALL RIVER ROAD, ESTES PARK TO GRAND LAKE.



ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK, COLORADO

103314

Switchbacks on Fall River Road

“Trail Through the Sky,” Trail Ridge Road

The need for a more efficient, safer replacement road was hinted at as early as 1922. Serious planning for a replacement road, present-day Trail Ridge Road, began with a survey in 1927. Construction started in 1929 and opened in 1932. The switchback problem was eliminated but the snowdrift problem and marvelous scenery remain. Trail Ridge Road is the highest continuous paved road in the country. Eight miles are above 11,000 feet. The *Denver Post*, June 5, 1932 declared: “The new Fall River road [Trail Ridge Road] begins on a ridge. It follows the ridge upward, and finds another. It climbs ridge after ridge. The highway is a road for looking down. Sightseers will see spread out and away below them one of the most amazing vistas of mountains and forests ever given man the privilege of seeing for

only the cost of a few hours’ effortless driving.” Both Trail Ridge Road and Fall River Road were placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1984. Trail Ridge Road was named a federal “All American Road” in 1994. An All-American Road must attract visitors as a destination in and of itself.

Roe Emery, “Gave ‘Em a Chance to Look”

“Colorado has the most beautiful and most bountiful scenic grandeur of the country. All I did was give people a chance to look at it.” So Roe Emery stated in the *Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1949. Emery continued his story for the newspaper: “The automobile industry was young then—around 1910—and I was in love with it. In my job as salesman for White trucks, I tried to convince Louis Hill, president of the Great Northern Railroad, into putting his train tourists on rubber and



Milner Pass, with Fall River Road beneath Cathedral Rocks

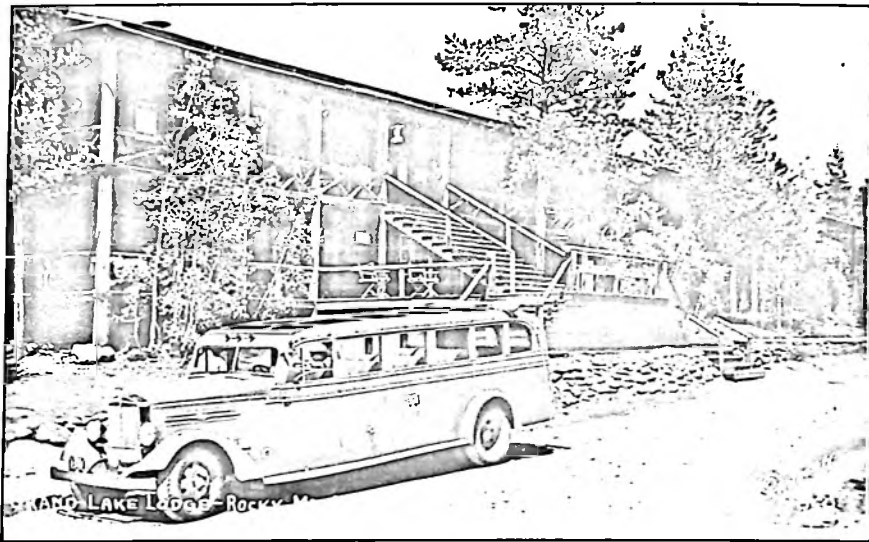
carrying them through Glacier National Park.”

Emery succeeded in convincing Hill, and eventually seventy-five White Motor Company touring cars were in use in Glacier. The Burlington Railroad, running its tourists into Denver and front range towns, heard of Emery’s work in Glacier. They asked him to come down to Estes Park and see what he could do to motorize tourist transportation in this scenic area. Emery became exceptionally successful for in 1916 he purchased both the Osborn and Stanley transportation companies. Then in 1919 Emery and his new Rocky Mountain Parks Transportation Company were granted the exclusive government concession for commercial transportation services in Rocky Mountain National Park. White touring cars immediately replaced Stanley Steamers as commercial vehicles within the park.

Emery outlined his thoughts on Denver and Rocky Mountain National Park in the *Rocky Mountain News*, April 19, 1931. “Denver doesn’t quite realize that it is within easy driving distance of the most beautiful park in North America. . . . People here get so used to seeing mountains every day that they don’t think seriously of spending their vacations in them. . . . Airplanes, of course, will bring visitors here from other parts of the country for the start of their vacations, but the airplane is not made for sightseeing.” The article also noted that Emery owned the Denver Omnibus & Cab Company and was president of the Denver Cab Company “which dispatches fleets of saffron-hued taxis thru the city’s traffic.”

Food and Lodging

“Scenery is a hollow enjoyment to a tourist who sets out in the morning after indigestible breakfasts and a fitful



Bobbie Heistercamp collection

Ron Emery's White touring car at Grand Lake Lodge

sleep on an impossible bed," according to Stephen Mather, Director, National Park Service.

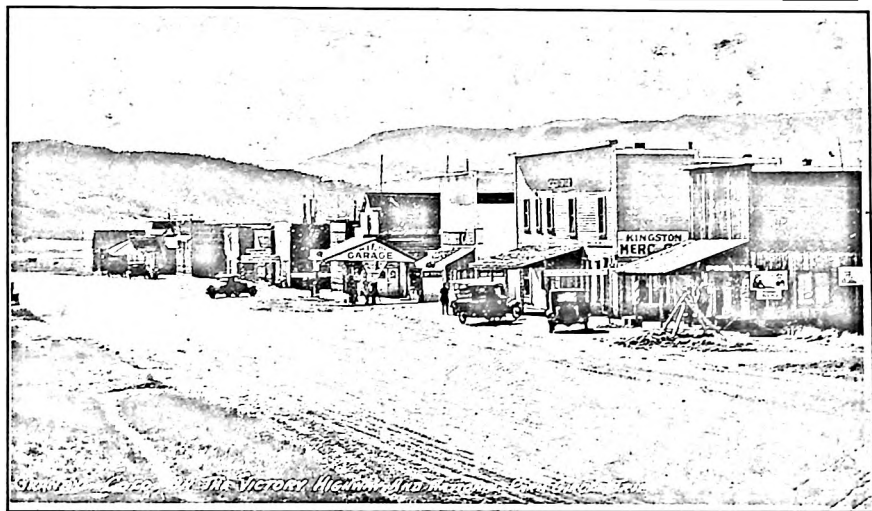
Emery realized that to offer the tourist a complete travel package, food and lodging were as important as transportation. At the beginning of the 1923 season, Emery bought three lodging facilities: The Estes Park Chalets in Estes Park, the Grand Lake Lodge in Grand Lake, and the Hot Springs Lodge in Idaho Springs. All had dining facilities. With his new firm, Rocky Mountain Lodges, Inc., he was able to provide customers with all facets of a Circle Tour operation. The Hot Springs Hotel was used from 1924 to 1928. After 1928, the Placer Inn in Idaho Springs was used for meals. In 1929 Emery purchased the Stanley Hotel, which provided accommodations for his upscale clients.

Arrangements were made with railroads to buy a ticket that covered railroad travel to Denver and transportation to and through Rocky Mountain National Park. Travelers could purchase a vacation package and have their entire trip planned for them from their home train station, to Denver, through the mountains, and back home. Denver's Union Station was the primary starting point for Emery's package tours.

Roe Emery sold his transportation business in 1952.

Retracing the Circle Tour Today

A combination of scenic byways and historic "auto trails" are followed 240 miles through the heart of the Colorado Rocky Mountains. For "sagebrushers," motorists with their own camping equipment, Overland Park was often the starting point for the Circle Tour. Opened in 1920, Overland



Bobbie Heistercamp collection

Granby, on the Victory Highway. Note the Fall River Garage.

Park was the city's largest campground and provided all needed camping supplies and facilities.

From Denver the Circle Tour proceeds north on present-day U.S. Highway 287 through Broomfield to Lafayette. Here, at Ninemile Corner, the entrance gates to the "Road of Remembrance" still stand as a memorial to World War I veterans. West of Lafayette, this memorial highway, Arapahoe Avenue, was the primary road to Boulder before the completion of the "Denver-Boulder Turnpike" in 1952, present-day U.S. 36. The tour then follows the foothills to Lyons. Alternate routes of the Circle Tour passed through Longmont and Loveland. Colorado Highway 66 connects Longmont and Lyons. U.S Highway 34 runs west of Loveland to the Big Thompson Canyon.

Lyons

Lyons took the early lead as the gateway to Rocky Mountain National Park. The first wagon road between Lyons and the park opened in 1875. The Denver, Utah and Pacific Railroad reached the town in 1885. Lyons is known as "The Double Gateway to Rocky Mountain National Park." The present-day motorist has a choice of two routes to Estes Park.

The Canyon Routes to Estes Park

U.S. Highway 36, the North St. Vrain Creek road, climbs twenty miles from Lyons to Estes Park. This is the shortest road from the plains to Estes Park.

Colorado Highway 7, the South St. Vrain Creek road, was longer but more scenic. This was the preferred route of the 1920 National Park-to-Park Highway, which connected all twelve

of the National Parks of the West. Near Raymond, the highway merges with the Peak-to-Peak Highway from Black Hawk. The "Glacier View" pullout provided a wonderful view of the Arapaho Peaks and Arapaho Glacier. Remnants of the souvenir stand and the chipmunks remain. The site is accessed by a short unmaintained road 0.2 miles east of the Colorado 7 and 72 intersection. The highway passes through Ferndale, Allenspark, passes the 1934 St. Catherine Chapel, and skirts the east base of Longs Peak.

The first road through Big Thompson Canyon was opened in 1904. It was a primitive one-lane road, with only turn-outs for passing. The road was widened to two lanes by 1920. The road was improved enough to meet U.S. highway standards, and was designated U.S. Highway 34 in 1938. Estes Park was now on a coast-to-coast U.S. highway, with U.S. 34 continuing through the park and ending at U.S. 40 at Granby. The Forks Hotel in Drake opened in 1905. It was used by David Osborn's touring company as a lunch spot. From Drake, an alternate route to Estes Park was and still is, the road through historic Glen Haven.

"Gem of the Rockies," Estes Park

Estes Park is one of the premier National Park "gateway" towns in the country. It has natural beauty and is an everything-for-the-tourist town. The 1916 *Yellowstone Highway in Colorado and Wyoming*, noted: "Time was when Estes Park was in the wilderness, and to reach it was an adventure. Today it still touches with one hand the wilderness of the National Park, while with the other it grasps civilization."

An early entrance to the park led directly into Moraine Park, site of Abner Sprague's lodge. This section of road is now a hiking trail along the Big Thompson River. This early road then crossed Deer Ridge to Horseshoe Park. This entrance was used until the opening of the present-day Beaver Meadows entrance in 1967.

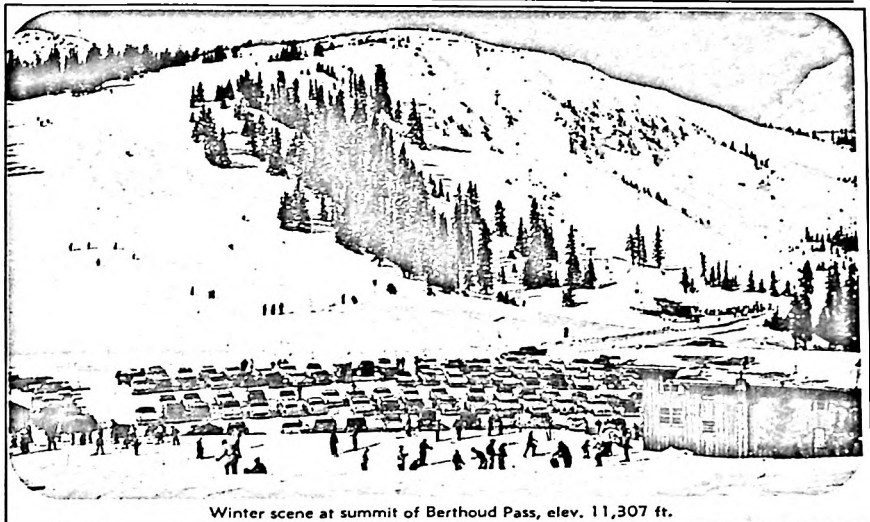
With the opening of Fall River Road, a newly improved entrance was located on the road to Horseshoe Park, present-day U.S. 34.

Fall River Road

The historic Fall River Road climbs from the Endovalley picnic area to the Alpine Visitor Center at Fall River Pass. Open in summer and early fall only, the one-way, uphill, nine-mile-long, gravel road is billed as a "Motor Nature Trail." Near the upper part of the road, a large drift called "Old Faithful" would cover the road with snow to its greatest depth.

Fall River Road joins Trail Ridge Road at Fall River Pass. Here is the Alpine Visitor Center, with adjacent gift shop and snack bar. The first visitor center was opened in 1936. No facilities were here when Fall River Road was the only road across the park.

West of Fall River Pass, Fall River Road followed for the most part, what today is the three-mile-long Ute Trail between Fall River Pass and Milner Pass. The road crossed Forest Canyon Pass, the extreme headwaters of the Big Thompson River. Milner Pass with an elevation of 10,759 feet is the Continental Divide, even though it is 1,037 feet lower than Fall River Pass and lower than Trail Ridge Road's high point of 12,183 feet. East



Winter scene at summit of Berthoud Pass, elev. 11,307 ft.

Berthoud Pass ski area

are the headwaters of the Cache la Poudre River. West are the headwaters of Beaver Creek, a short tributary of the Colorado River.

West of Milner Pass, Trail Ridge Road descends to the Kawuneeche Valley and the Colorado River. Most traces of the old Fall River Road have been removed. The old road's seven switchbacks, known as the "Giants Ladder," descended from present-day Farview Curve to the Colorado River valley.

Grand Lake and the West Side

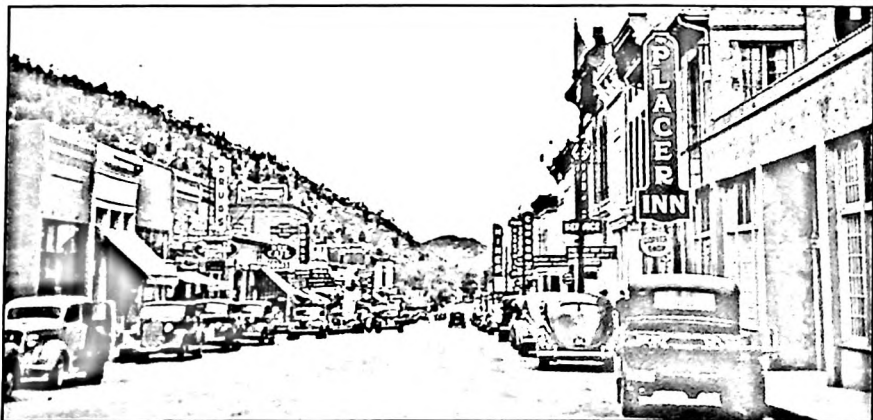
Grand Lake is the historic resort town at the west entrance to Rocky Mountain National Park. The first residents were miners and hunters, and merchants who supplied them. For a short time, in 1881, it was the county seat of Grand County. Grand Lake and Grand County were named for the Grand River. The name was changed to the Colorado River in 1921.

Saved from destruction is the Smith Eslick Cottage Camp. The four-unit "motel" opened for business in 1911, and included open "car ports." From Grand Lake, U.S. 34, now designated the Colorado River Headwaters Scenic Byway, descends to Granby.

Shadow Mountain Lake, Lake Granby, and interconnecting waterways and pumps were constructed as part of the Colorado-Big Thompson Project. The water system keeps Grand Lake at a constant level, allowing water to be pumped through the 13-mile-long Adams Tunnel to the eastern slope at Estes Park and the Big Thompson River. The project was completed in 1946.

U.S. Highway 40, the Victory Highway

Just west of Granby, U.S. 34 ends at its junction with U.S. Highway 40. Predecessor to U.S. 40 was the 1921



Miner Street in Idaho Springs. The Placer Inn is now the Tommyknocker Brewery

Victory Highway. This transcontinental "auto trail" ran from New York City to San Francisco. It served as a memorial to all World War I veterans.

Cozens Ranch, now a museum, was the first homestead in the Fraser Valley. The ranch served as a hotel and was the first stage stop west of Berthoud Pass.

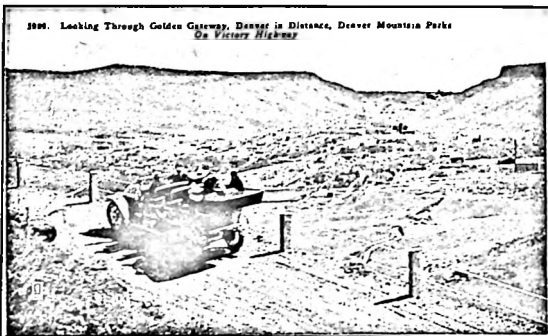
The Winter Park ski area was developed near the west portal of the Moffat Tunnel. A ski jump and ski trails opened in 1937.

Berthoud Pass

"Yes, this is Berthoud Pass, on the crest of the continent. Ahead is the valley of the Fraser River, Middle Park and the great Colorado of the West. Behind, is Clear Creek valley and the mining regions that brought out pioneers," wrote Leroy Hafen, *The Colorado Magazine*, 1926. Berthoud Pass was surveyed in 1861 by E. L. Berthoud. It was hoped a stage road over the pass would shorten

the route from Denver to Salt Lake City. It would prevent the long detour through Southern Wyoming. A toll road across the pass was opened in the early 1870s. Captain Lewis Gaskill helped finance the construction, collected tolls, and provided accommodations in his ten-room "Summit House."

The Berthoud Pass Inn opened in the early 1920s, providing motorists with refreshments and souvenirs.



Lariat Loop above Golden

Skiing on Berthoud Pass began in 1937 with a rope tow on the west side of the summit. A double-seated chair lift was in operation in 1947, the first such lift in the country. The Berthoud Pass Lodge opened in 1949. The lodge was removed in 2005. The ski area closed in 2002.

From the summit, the Berthoud Pass road descends to the West Fork of Clear Creek. In Empire is the Peck House, one of oldest still-operating hotels in Colorado, which began accommodating visitors in 1872. Two miles south of Empire is the trailhead for the old Union Pass Road to Georgetown.

Interstate 70 Alternative

Interstate 70 frontage roads pass through the small towns of Lawson, Downieville, and Dumont to Idaho Springs. Commercial establishments still cater to the Interstate 70 motorists. At Interstate 70, exit 244, a short drive down U.S. Highway 6 will lead to old U.S. 40 and the ascent of Floyd Hill. South of Interstate 70, exit 248, Jefferson County Road 65 leads to Bergen Park. This was part of the pre-interstate Circle Tour route.

At Bergen Park, the Circle Tour joins today's Lariat Loop Scenic and Historic Byway. Interstate 70 is traveled for only two miles. At exit 253 is the historic Chief Hosa Lodge, built in 1917.

Exit the freeway at exit 254, Genesee Park. This is the largest of the Denver Mountain Park system. Bison and elk from Yellowstone National Park were introduced to Genesee Park in 1914.

One mile east, Lookout Mountain

Road turns north off of U.S. 40. Lookout Mountain Road ascends Lookout Mountain to Buffalo Bill's Museum and Grave.

The Lariat Loop then makes the steep descent to Golden.

South Golden Road leads to U.S. 40, West Colfax Avenue. Lodging and food establishments still line West Colfax Avenue, the primary commercial street west from downtown Denver. This ends the 240-mile-long Circle Tour, made possible by the opening of Fall River Road in 1920.

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Over the Corral Rail

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

Denver Westerners Mourn Loss of Member with Record-long Ties to the Posse

Carrie "Scotty" Ellis Wilkins passed away on August 4, 2015. She married prominent Denver attorney Erl Ellis in 1950. Her ties to the Denver Westerners date from 1951 when Erl became a corresponding member of the Posse. He was very active in Westerners, became an Active Posse member in 1953, editor the *Roundup* and the 1954 *Brand Book*, and served in several offices. Although the Denver Westerners was a stag organization then, Scotty and Erl shared many interests, and that included history and the Westerners. She collaborated on several books, notably *International Boundary Lines across Colorado and Wyoming*; *The Gold Dredging Boats around Breckenridge, Colorado*; *Colorado Mapology*; and *The Saga of Upper Clear Creek*.



Scotty was very generous with her time and talents as a volunteer for numerous organizations, including Four Mile Park. There she met another avid volunteer, Jim Wilkins, and in 1987 they were married. They both participated in the Denver Westerners activities, such as operating the Possibles Bag together, and were elected to the Active Posse in 2003. In 2014 the Westerners awarded Scotty the Lifetime Achievement Award in Western History. This culminated in the recognition of sixty-four years of association with our organization, a record in which we take great pride. This era spans practically to the formative years of the Posse, a connection now ended. We mourn the loss of a significant part of our history that Scotty represented, and sincerely express our sympathies to fellow Posse member Jim.

Westerner Corral September Programs

The Boulder County Corral program, "The History of the Sheep Industry in the West," was presented by John Farr, an active Western historian from Encampment, Wyoming. He traced a 2000-year history of sheep, up to how and why Wyoming became a center for feeding lambs for market. Coming from a pioneer Colorado family, John is the current chairman of the Battle Pass Scenic Byway Alliance, and a past president of the Grand Encampment Museum. He has been the president of the Kit Carson Home and Museum in Taos, New Mexico. For twenty years he wrote a column in the *Summit Daily*, Breckenridge, Colorado.

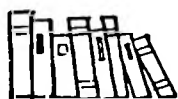
The Colorado Corral planned on hearing "Colorado: a Historical Atlas," by Denver Active Posse member Tom (Dr. Colorado) Noel, at Le Central Restaurant. However, this very popular "affordable country-French" restaurant made sudden plans to close, and the scheduled September meeting had to be postponed until October.

The Pike Peak Posse of Westerners program was "Charles Goodnight, the real Lonesome Dove Story," by Laurel Campbell and Linda Crawford, co-chairs of the Goodnight Barn Historic Preservation Committee. Linda spoke about Goodnight's early life, his arrival in Texas, and his jobs including Indian scout and Texas Ranger. Laurel covered more on the cattle drives, the Texas Longhorns, the historic swing stations, and the settling of his Pueblo Rock Canyon Ranch in 1868. Included are the Nolan Land Grant, the Babcock's Hole Ranch in Wetmore, Colorado, and the building of the magnificent stone barn in 1870-71 at Goodnight's cattle empire northern headquarters, west of Pueblo, Colorado.

New Hands in the Active Posse of the Denver Westerners

During 2014 and 2015 the Denver Westerners elected six members to the Active Posse. As an indication of their contributions to Western history and to the posse, some of their activities are noted:

Bill Anderson is our current tallyman, i.e. treasurer, of the Denver Westerners; Bob Audretsch presented "Shaping the Park and Saving the Boys: the CCC at Grand Canyon, 1933-1942" in January 2014; Roger Dudley has interests in genealogy and television history; Bob Easterly presented "By an Act of Congress: Sixty-six years later" in October 2013; Ray Thai presented "The Grand Army of the Republic in Colorado" in November 2014; Reed Weimer presented "The Gusdorf/Weimer Family: the First 100 Years (1864-1964) in New Mexico and Colorado."



Westerners Bookshelf



The Great Call-up: the Guard, the Border, and the Mexican Revolution, Charles H Harris III and Louis R Sadler. University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. 559 pages. Maps, photos, illustrations, footnotes. Hardbound with dust jacket. \$39.95.

I selected this book for review because of the “Mexican Revolution” on the dust jacket. My first assumption was that there might be information about revolutionary currency, or perhaps the punitive expedition into Mexico under General John J Pershing. It didn’t take many pages to discover that my assumption was incorrect, and to conclude that the book covered a part of the history of the United States that was not mentioned in any book or class to which I had ever been exposed.

This book is an encyclopedic history of the call-up of nearly the entire U.S. National Guard in readiness to repel an invasion by Mexican revolutionaries across the southern US border. The book lists in detail the numbers of persons from each state, where they were sent, and the duration of their service. This part of the book was my least favorite.

No call-up of the National Guard or movement of troops on this scale had ever been attempted. Getting troops across the country by train, assuring their proper equipment, establishing camps with safe water and entertainment are all presented in detail. Newspapers and other sources were used. For example, the trains had few sleeper cars. Troops were moved in ordinary ones, with three troops assigned to two seats. The northeastern troops wore their cold weather gear, uncomfortably, until they were issued uniforms for warm weather. Horse-drawn transportation was the norm although cars and trucks were being introduced. One unit even had its own airplane. Large tractors were used to transport guns which fired 4.7-inch shells. Sports were an important activity. Depending on the season, they had baseball, football and boxing. When Guard units were activated, they were often from the same University, often the same sports team. Some of these teams were unbeatable and a few participants went on to become famous via sports, military, and politics.

Because of the number of people involved, there were deaths from shooting, accidents and disease. There were very few deaths from fighting with Mexican bandits or revolutionaries.

This call-up occurred two years before the US went into World War I. The difficulties which were overcome and the lessons learned were of great value. One person who was stationed at the border then went on to France was quoted as saying France was a picnic compared to his time in Texas.

I recommend this book to anyone interested in military history. It is factual and interesting for any reader.

--Chuck Mattson, C.M.

Battle Ready, the National Coast Defense System & the Fortification of Puget Sound, 1894-1925. David M Hansen. Washington State University Press, 2014. 160 pp, large format soft bound. Index, bibliography, footnotes, appendices, maps, photos. \$32.95.

In the days before satellites, ICBMs and lurking submarines, defense of the American coasts was a discipline and specialty in and of itself. Big guns in multiple emplacements were the core of the effort.

Hansen studies and discusses the planning, building, manning and management of a coastal defense installation. Specifically, he looks at Puget Sound. The many waterways and islands were good fodder for defense, and also the planner's nightmare. So many avenues of approach! A comprehensive and sophisticated system of coastal defense was planned and installed around the turn of the twentieth century.

It was, soon enough, outmoded and left behind by the advent of aviation. Still, this is an interesting story of a well-thought-out scheme of defense.

For those interested in large project building and engineering and the civilian/military interface, this is a book to read.

--Stan Moore, P.M.

Wrecks of Human Ambition, a history of Utah's Canyon Country to 1936, Paul T Nelson. University of Utah Press, 2014. 304 pp, soft bound. Index, bibliography, footnotes, maps, photos.

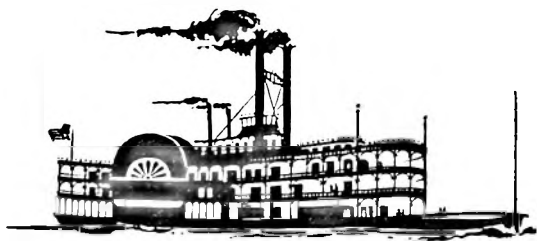
The book looks at the country along the Colorado River from Lee's Ferry north to Green River and Moab. Covered are exploration, settlement, agriculture, and attempted economic development from the time of Dominguez and Escalante (1775-6) to Everett Reuss (1934). Mormon activities are well accounted. They settled to guard Zion's borders and, initially, to convert the lost tribes. Stanton's railroad surveying trips and his gold dredge are also discussed. The follies and forays of many others are also well told.

The country in question is beautiful, isolated, tough, and fragile. Modern technology and a light economic hand have helped people enjoy and sparsely settle the region.

John Widtsoe, an academic and regional traveler made an observation of the canyon country in 1922: "Wrecks of human ambition lie scattered all about." This is true today.

For those interested in slickrock country, this is a well-researched and documented book.

--Stan Moore, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

September - October 2015



Running a restaurant is a dream brought to life for most small businesspeople. Las Chuladas near the intersection of Sheridan and West Alameda Boulevards went from a hope to a thriving concern within the space of a year-and-a-half

Image by Kristen Autobee

No *Plato* like home: Denver's slow burning romance with Mexican cuisine

**by Robert and Kristen Autobee, C.M.
(presented August 26, 2015)**



Our Authors

Coauthors and historians Robert and Kristen Autabee enjoy exploring Colorado's history together. Kristen and Robert are historians and researchers for the private firm of Morgan, Angel & Associates of Washington, D.C. and Denver.

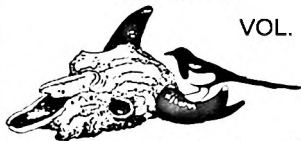
Robert has worked as a historian for various governmental agencies including the Bureau of Reclamation and the Colorado Department of Transportation.

Kristen is a former collections curator and museum administrator who today works as a historical researcher preparing expert witnesses and other litigation projects.

The couple met over a very loud jukebox at a historical society meeting and later found a quiet restaurant to get to know each other.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

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September - October 2015

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Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421

Book Reviews

Stan Moore (303) 929-7802
 11259 W. Ford Dr.
 Lakewood, CO 80226

Dues and Other Payments

Bill Anderson (303) 973-2489
 11168 W. Ontario Ave.
 Littleton, CO 80217

Reservations for meetings

Bob Lane (303) 751-2717
 9103 E. Eastman Pl.
 Denver, CO 80231

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No *Plato* like home: Denver's slow burning romance with Mexican cuisine

by Robert and Kristen Autobee, C.M.
(presented August 26, 2015)

A delicious meal and the subsequent warm memories, go together like *arroz y frijoles* (rice and beans). The recipe for researching and documenting the history of food and dining out often contains the ingredients of community and mythical memories of the cooking talents of a particular individual. Prejudice against certain ethnicities and the uncertainty of trying something different occasionally taint the cozy remembrances of long-ago dinners.

University of Minnesota Professor Jeffrey Pilcher noted in his book, *Planet Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food* (2012): "The search for authentic Mexican food – or rather, the struggle to define what that means – has been going on for two hundred years, and some of the most important sites of contention have been outside of Mexico."¹ Spanish-surnamed men and women ventured through this part of North America before Colorado was a territory and Denver was a mining camp. Categorized and classified over time as either Spanish-surnamed, Spanish, Spanish-Americans, Mexican, Mexican-Americans, Chicanos, and more recently, Hispanics and Latinos, their restaurants have received scant consideration by historians and researchers. The story of Denver's Mexican community, and the cuisine it created, comes down to us as a combination platter comprised of family, invention, and adaptability.

Barely Visible: Denver's Spanish-Surnamed, 1840s to the 1930s

Whereas European colonists in New England rarely married locals, European colonists did intermarry and started families with indigenous groups in Mexico. As a result, Mexico's "tres raices" European, European-Indigenous, and Indigenous populations make it difficult to pin down what a "real" Mexican looks like.

Making the newspapers was rarely a good thing for anyone with a Spanish surname in mid-and-late 19th century Denver. Nearly every time someone with a Spanish surname appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* from the 1860s to the 1880s, murder, robbery, or selling whiskey to Native Americans was never too far behind. These items on the *News*' back page only confirmed the beliefs held by most Euro-Americans that Spanish-speakers were violent, deceitful, and out to reclaim the land on which the growing majority was building a new society.²

Researching the restaurant ownership of the city's earliest Mexican Americans requires some digging beyond surname. Denver's city and business directories do not list ethnicity or race, except in the case of the city's small Chinese and African-American populations. Historically, Mexican immigrants were recorded as "white." The federal census from the 1880s to the 1930s links individuals

FRONT EXTERIOR OF BUILDING

**MURPHY'S
CHILE PARLOR**
No. 5 Broadway
DENVER, COLO.



FAMOUS FOR OUR
CHICKEN TAMALES
CHILE AND TOASTED
SANDWICHES
SPECIAL ATTENTION
TO PARTIES

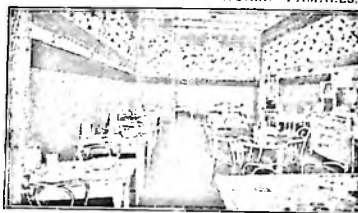
ALL OUR COOKING DONE BY WOMEN.

WE MAKE OUR OWN CHICKEN TAMALES.



MAIN DINING ROOM.

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P
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N
10 A. M.
T
I
L
L
2 A. M.



LADIES' ANNEX.

SVENSK LUNCH

och

CHILE PARLOR

"The White Peoples"

Restaurant:

920 18th Street

J. E. Jackson, Ägare.

Most of Denver enjoyed a bowl of chile at lunch in the early years of the 20th century. Some "chile joints" like White People's or Murphy's knew that race identification through branding enticed a certain clientele -- even in Swedish (*Kristen Autabee Collection and Svenska Amerikanska, September 15, 1910. Accessed on the Colorado Newspapers website*)

associated with a particular culture by listing native tongue and birthplace of respondents and their parents. The federal census' statistical abstract recognizes country of birth by state for immigrants. In 1900, Central Americans, Cubans, Mexicans, and Spaniards called Colorado home. But Spanish-surnamed individuals were occasionally born in France, Italy or elsewhere in Europe. Louis Chavez, for example, a clerk in 1920 Denver, was born in New York to French immigrants. City

directories indicate that Vincent and Antonio Lopez ran a restaurant at 1204 15th Street as early as 1906; however, they were Italian immigrants according to the federal census.³

Denver City and Colorado Business Directories suggest that between 1871 to 1921, sixty-six Japanese surnamed residents owned restaurants. There were approximately fifty-five African-Americans proprietors identified by race. Spanish-surnamed businessmen owned only nineteen restaurants. Not

listed in the city directory but found on the 1920 federal census is Aristor and Maria Lopez, a restaurant proprietor and cook. They came from Mexico in 1917 with their three children and like so many others found food service to be an accessible business. What kind or mix of cuisines Mrs. Lopez cooked is anybody's guess. Their immediate neighbors were a general store run by Theodor and Elizabeth Drazich from Serbia, and a Japanese-born dentist and his assistant and wife, Frank and Tesume Hayamo.⁴

A surname alone is not enough when studying the history of Mexican food in Denver. This tale begins around lunch-time in the years when one century gave way to another.

A Bowl Full of Hell: Denver's Chile Parlors

In the early 20th century, chile, (the preferred contemporary spelling) parlors or "joints" kept the working poor from starving to death in many American cities. Larimer Street between Seventeenth and Twenty-eight Streets held most of Denver's chile joints. A 1902 *Denver Times* account noted: "They are crowded during the day, but the most business is done at night, when the places are thronged with people of all classes and colors."⁵ The same article in the *Times* offered their opinion of a typical bowl of early 20th century Denver chile: *It is a kind of soup, made from beef, beans and chile peppers. The beef is cut into small squares and boiled into a broth: the beans are of the brown Mexican kind and are cooked separately and added when the broth is done. Chile enough to make it smart and burn*

*is cooked in the broth. The whole is of reddish-brown color and hot enough to make the uninitiated cry for water.*⁶

Mexican nationals did not hold operational monopoly of these joints in turn-of-the-century Denver. Unfortunately, some owners were not shy about identifying their desired client base. The White Peoples Chile Parlor was not in Alabama or Mississippi, but at 1727 Curtis in Denver during the 1910s. The owners of competing chile parlors played up their ethnicity in other ways. C.K. Pappas and M. Karavites owned the Old Mexico Chile & Coffee House from 1907 into the 1950s. In their advertisements, the two Greeks boasted, "We make Chile our own way."⁷

Food represented both a boundary and a point of curiosity. Everybody gets hungry and sometimes you want to try something different. International events led to the introduction of other dishes beyond chile.

The Mexican Revolution Comes to Denver, 1910-1920s

Beginning in 1910 and continuing for over decade, Mexico ripped itself apart through revolution. Out of a population of 15 million, nearly 1.5 million people died. The turmoil led an estimated 200,000 refugees fleeing north to the United States.⁸ A 1922 Denver business directory offers a tantalizing glimpse into the restaurant and political scenes. In the waning days of the Mexican Revolution at 2123 Larimer Street, Modesto Disguez owned a restaurant named Mexico Libre (Free Mexico). History unfairly left few clues to establish Disguez's business as the first

Mexican restaurant owned by a person of Mexican descent presumably catering to Mexicans.⁹

The earliest detailed description of a Denver restaurant owned by Mexican nationals or Mexican Americans comes from a curious *gringo* by the name of David Raffelock. Writing in a long forgotten but intriguing local arts magazine, *The Echo*, Raffelock ventured into El Nuevo Chapultepec somewhere on Larimer in the late fall of 1925. On his journey to the restaurant, Raffelock lamented that Larimer had become “a residue of shoddy stores, garish theaters, cheap eating houses and foreigners.”¹⁰ Upon opening the door to the El Nuevo Chapultepec, Raffelock and his companion found the following:

*We enter and are greeted with curious, cool glances...Mexicans sit eating food, tearing off huge pieces of enchiladas, talking in their native tongue. Senorita, behind the counter, looks shyly at us... We order chile from the comely señorita and were served by the heavy-set, swarthy man of the place. Hot, peppery chile it was, thick rich soup and many beans. For this sufficing meal we paid ten cents each...Like so many foreign restaurants, this one is more than a mere eating place. Mexican housewives come here for food not to be purchased in the ordinary American store. Workingmen come for the spiced, peppered foods to which they have become accustomed.*¹¹

Raffelock and his dining partner could choose from the following items off a cardboard menu presented to them after they sat down. The descriptions are not necessarily correct in grammar, spelling, or use:

Chocolate y pan . . . 25 ¢
 Ponches en leches y pan . . . 25 ¢
 Menudo . . . 25 ¢
 2 huevos en cualesquia Estilo . . . 25 ¢
 Galtina en mole poblano . . . 35¢
 Ordenez Corridas . . . 35¢
 Chiles en Rezeno de queso . . . 35¢
 Carne rez en Chili Colorado . . . 25¢
 Chorizo con frijoles . . . 30 ¢
 Albondigas de carne de Puerco . . . 30 ¢
 Enchiladas . . . 25 ¢
 Pork chopos (*sic*) . . . 35¢
 Vistec (Bistec) . . . 30 ¢

Similar to minority owned businesses in Denver during the 1920s, city business directories provide no listing for El Nuevo Chapultepec. The only clue Raffelock offered was that the restaurant was somewhere on Larimer, a place that was “only a slum street now; seen from a Mexican restaurant where English is rarely spoken.”¹²

A later *Echo* correspondent retraced Raffelock’s steps and came away with similar yet subtly different impression. This unnamed observer saw a few Mexican restaurants in the area between Larimer, Blake and 15th Streets with a certain amount of longing for the past: not for the dishes associated with a certain region of Mexico, but the Chop Suey houses giving way to restaurants serving tortillas, enchiladas, and menudo. One of those long-forgotten places might have been Las Lindas Mexicanas restaurant off Blake Street. Denver was a young city in the summer of 1927, but old enough to generate nostalgia in one observer:

Fifty years ago the low brick building on Blake was little different from what

it is today. The restaurant then was perhaps conducted by a Chinese instead of by a Mexican. Changed only are the patrons; the curses for quicker service and better cooked foods are in Spanish, for no longer are here miners and gamblers and cowboys to swear good American oaths, and to gaze with sly looks at the women passing by.¹³

Reading between the lines of these accounts points to a very curious worldview. The city's Euro-American majority despised, and often brutalized, Denver's Asian communities as evidenced by the Chinese riots of the 1880s. More than forty years later, the majority distrusted another "minority" group — Mexicans — while the Chinese were remembered as contributors to the Larimer's "Wild West" character of a simpler time.

Enough to Count: Denver Recognizes a New Group

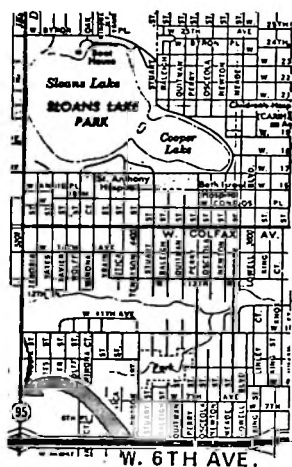
The Presbyterian Church sponsored the initial demographic study of Colorado's Spanish-surnamed population. Conducted by Robert N. McLean and Charles A. Thompson in 1924, *Spanish and Mexican in Colorado: A Survey of the Spanish Americans and Mexicans in the State of Colorado* looked at both religious and economic perspectives. Mining, the railroads, and agriculture employed most of Colorado's Spanish-surnamed citizens from the late 19th century to the 1930s.

It was during this period that Great Western Sugar, the firm that monopolized Colorado's sugar beet industry, hired and transported migrant labor from Mexico to the fields east of the

Front Range. Despite its place as Colorado's largest city, McLean and Thompson stated Denver "never had a large Mexican population" as of the mid-1920s.¹⁴ By 1924, their report stated the capital city contained a permanent population of 2,000 Spanish-surnamed individuals out of an overall population of approximately 256,000. The number of Spanish-surnamed doubled, and likely tripled, during the winter months as migratory workers looked for work in the city. Great Western Sugar relocated Mexican *campesinos* (the working poor) to Denver "as a reserve for local and out-of-state labor demands." Two decades later, a Mexican-American commentator recalled that the company imported more Mexicans than were immediately needed. So the workers never knew where they would work next.¹⁵

In Denver, these laborers crowded into shacks and sub-standard housing mostly along the South Platte. A Mexican community took root in neighborhoods like Auraria and Barnum, but Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants faced additional worries during the Depression. For two weeks in April 1936, Governor Edwin Johnson placed state troopers on Colorado's borders to keep Mexicans out. Many in the press and the majority population agreed with Johnson.¹⁶ It was the start of an era when many Mexican families would quickly replace tortillas with white bread if someone knocked on the door at dinnertime.

During World War II, the federal government's and the military's presence helped bring Denver out of its geographic and cultural isolation. African,



La Hacienda

Mexican Food

"Bien Venidos
Turistas"



780 SHERIDAN
255-5131

The Macintoshes migrated from Mexico during that country's revolution early in the 20th century. By the 1940s, they established a restaurant and tortilla empire under the La Hacienda brand. The family stayed in the restaurant business until 2009 (Images from Kristen and Robert Autobee)

Japanese, and Mexican-Americans all fought with distinction in the European and Pacific Theatres. Yet a 1948 study commissioned by the City and County still found that nearly 84 percent of minority residents lived in "sub-standard" homes.¹⁷

One of the more unusual characters bringing Mexican food to a wider audience was not a Mexican, but a Denver society lady who established the *Casa Rosa de Oro* (The House of the Golden Rose) at 213 East 17th Avenue in the late 1930s.¹⁸

In 1943, the *Rocky Mountain News* praised Gertrude Reed for "glibly" pronouncing "tortillas, tacos, Jamaica, bunello and dozens of other names of Mexican dishes." Reed found her

inspiration from an unlikely discussion: "One day I was playing a game of bridge with a group of friends and we were discussing the lack of restaurants with atmosphere in Denver and right then I decided never to play at another bridge table until I had done something to remedy this."¹⁹

Described by the *News* as "aristocratic looking" with "carefully tended white hands" Reed was generous with her praise for her "helper" Manuel Trujillo. Addressing the age-old concern of too many cooks in the kitchen, Reed remarked: "We don't use recipes because Manuel and I understand one another, when we say a pinch of salt or three fingers of sugar, or milk up to here in the blue casserole and so far we haven't had any failures."²⁰

Reed's dabbling in "exotic" food was unusual for a middle-class Denver lady, but her support of the war effort was not. Reed and Trujillo ground corn for the tortillas each day and purchased "hand-cleaned" pinto beans, which did not require a single ration point. The only time the war encroached on the menu, according to Reed, was in the difficulty in obtaining piñon nuts and papaya seeds. Despite a patronizing element, only a representative from the majority could wrap a Red, White and Blue view around Mexican culture. By 1950, Casa Rosa de Oro moved from East 17th Avenue to 1520 Washington, but according to its listing in the Yellow Pages the restaurant still offered "Typical Old Mexico Food and Surroundings. Bridge Luncheons." By that, we can assume who was still in charge.²¹

La Familia: A Handful of Stories from Denver's Mexican Restaurants
As Denver's "Mexican-American" population grew from the late 1940s to the late 1960s, city directories and telephone books show an increase in businesses owned by individuals of presumably Mexican descent. Family-run establishments strengthened the bonds between newcomers in an occasionally unfriendly place. In the mid 1940s, the Silva family started Monterey House (later La Casa de Manuel) at 2010 Larimer Street, and next door, the Galindos later sold tamales at La Popular. El Paso de Norte Café opened in 1950 in the 2100 block, joining the 1926 pioneer Mexico City Restaurant at 2129 Larimer and the Garcia family's 1930s Mexico City Lounge, at 2115 Larimer.²²

Out the early Mexican restaurants, three are notable survivors. The Original Mexican Café is the doppelgänger of Denver's restaurant history. During the 1960s, ownership claimed "since 1924." A 1987 *Denver Post* obituary indicated that Arthur E. Hamilton, a one-time member of the Denver Police Department, opened the Original at 3259 Navajo in 1944. By the late 1940s, the Original moved to 273 Broadway. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the Original promised "Exciting Mexican Dinners" for 85 cents and "tortillas by the dozen" from their bakery.²³

Whether in response to the commercialization of Mexican food or just good old business sense, the Original returned to north Denver at 3233 Osage Street in the 1960s. At the same time, it expanded with a new identity, Gordo's Taco Shack on 6999 West Colfax Avenue, at Teller Street in Lakewood. The Rogers family assumed ownership in the 1980s and opened a second Gordo's at Sixth Avenue and Sheridan Boulevard. Although difficult to reach, the Rogers' approach to its menu ensured that Gordo's hung on. After the family sold this location, the building sat empty for a number of years. Briefly, Gordo's partnered with a Wheat Ridge bar but the partnership ended around the time of the demolition of the long-empty restaurant at Sixth and Sheridan in 2014. Since then, rumors have persisted that Gordo's will reappear somewhere in metro Denver.

Concurrent to the Original Mexican Café, the story of the Ramon and Carolina González family began in El Paso, Texas and culminated at their home on



By the 1950s, more non-Mexicans sold tacos and burritos in Denver. Two of the more successful restaurants were Original Mexican Cafe and La Casa Rosa de Oro (Images from Kristen and Robert Autobee and U.S. Telephone Directory Collection, Colorado White and Yellow Pages, Metropolitan Denver, 1950. Microfilm Roll No. 36. Located at Denver Public Library-Western History Collection)

Casa Rosa De Oro

(House of the Golden Rose)

SERVING MEXICAN FOODS AND DELICIOUS AMERICAN DISHES

Cocktails and
Mixed Drinks in our
QUADALAJARA
LOUNGE



Patios and
Gardens - Private
Dining Rooms for
Banquets and
Private Parties

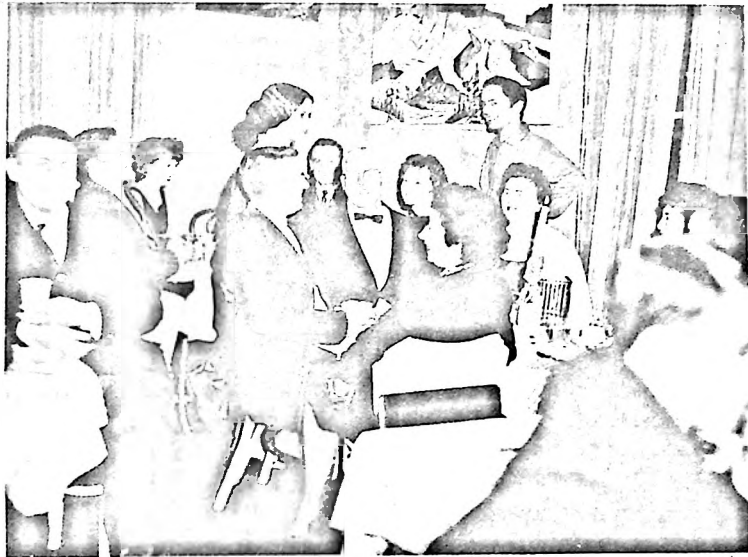
1520 WASHINGTON

Phone ALpine 2500

9th Street in the Auraria neighborhood. The Mexican Revolution drove them north to Trinidad before they settled in Denver in 1919. Early twentieth-century Denver was not the Jim Crow South, but Marta González, a daughter, recalled that those with brown skin were not always made to feel welcome. "I remember her [Carolina] saying that she and my father were going 'across the creek' into [downtown] Denver. They went to a restaurant where somebody said that my father looked white, but my mom looked too Mexican. They didn't go in."²⁴

Making their way in a city where some restaurants posted "No Mexicans or Dogs" signs, the González family eventually made a home in Auraria. Their house soon became a beacon for lost souls suffering from the Depression of the 1930s. The rail yard was

nearby, and word got around that anybody "living rough" would receive a meal by knocking on their door. The Auraria neighborhood of the 1930s saw various cultures living in relative harmony. Ramon earned the nickname "Gonzálezteens" from their Jewish neighbors for his generous and helpful nature. In 1946, they decided to open a restaurant, Casa Mayan, in their home. Suspensions rooted in ethnic stereotypes contributed to a rough start. Marta González recalled that the City and County of Denver ordered a command performance in their kitchen to ensure "sanitary" conditions. They need not have worried, as Carolina González was a nurse. That did not stop officials from ruling from prejudices. "The city's health officers had a hard time with our tamales. Traditionally, we would spread the *masa* (the corn meal surrounding the meat of the tamale) on cornhusks.



The atmosphere and authentic Mexican cooking kept Casa Mayan in Auraria packed from the late 1940s to the 1970s (Courtesy of Gregorio Alcaro)

They wanted us to use paper instead. We had a big battle over that.”²⁵

Open every day from 5 to 10:00 p.m. except Tuesdays, Ramon González marked the day’s bill of fare on a chalkboard. So customers could taste everything, the Gonzálezes offered small portions of several dishes on a plate: enchiladas, tacos, tamales, and rice and beans — what we know today as a combination plate.²⁶

Casa Mayan was an immediate hit with people from all cultures united in finding something different. González and her son, Gregorio Alcaro recalled that there were those with unpopular political opinions and members of social action groups, like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LU-LAC), who ate at Casa Mayan. They played chess with Ramon, danced and

listened to music and discussed how to improve the lives of Denver’s Mexican and Mexican-American population. As a testimony that good food can bridge differences, Casa Mayan grew to feed an overwhelming number of Anglos seduced by the spell cast by rice and beans, chorizo and chile rellenos.

However, this act of gastronomic goodwill had some in the Mexican-American community wondering if the González family had sold out — at the same time they faced an additional layer of distrust from the authorities. And it shows the problem with the word “authentic.” The González family imported bean and chile seeds from Mexico to get the right flavor and encouraged Anglos to try a little of everything. Casa Mayan got it right in being neither Mexican food by and for Mexicans, nor Mexican food by and for Anglos.

Casa Mayan closed to accommodate the expansion of the Auraria Higher Education Center in the early 1970s. As a youngster, Gregorio Alcaro helped prepare for the restaurant's "Last Supper" on Halloween Night 1973. "The place was just packed," Alcaro recalled forty years later. "We finally closed on November 1; which is the Day of the Dead (an important spiritual day in for most Mexicans). It wasn't planned; it just happened that way."²⁷ The family felt that Casa Mayan was too special to relocate. Matriarch Marta González, advises that anybody in the restaurant business should consider and follow how her family ran—and lived—Casa Mayan. "If you don't have heart, you don't have good food."²⁸

The Macintosh family's name and business plan set them apart from other families who brought Mexican food to Denver. First, the name does not *sound* Mexican like Lopez, González, Garcia, or Silva. Nevertheless, Salvatore and Esther Macintosh immigrated from Mexico in the early 20th century. Right after World War II, the Macintoshes started to make and serve tamales to their neighbors around Downing Street. The neighbors encouraged the Macintoshes to open a restaurant and consider a relatively new dining concept - carry out. Like the González family on the west side, the Macintoshes opened their first restaurant in their kitchen with room enough for "two people and a case of soda pop."²⁹

Son-in-law Robert Lee and the three Macintosh sons, Ruben, Art and Ben

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WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

By the mid-20th century, Larimer Street held dozens of traditional Mexican restaurants (like La Luna) run by first and second generation Mexican-Americans (*U.S. Telephone Directory Collection, Colorado White and Yellow Pages, Metropolitan Denver, 1950. Microfilm Roll No. 36. Located at Denver Public Library-Western History Collection*)

took over running the restaurant after Salvatore died in 1949. They expanded from the kitchen, to the hall, then to the living room and eventually opened La Hacienda at East 31st Avenue and Downing Street in a building that had previously housed a Presbyterian Church. For an unknown reason, likely a reflection of who paid dues, a 1950s guide by the Colorado Visitors Bureau listed only two Mexican restaurants in Denver: The Original Mexican Café and La Hacienda.³⁰

By the mid-1960s, La Hacienda expanded to locations in Lakewood, Aurora, and a takeout-only location at 3600 Navajo Street. Housewives unwilling to go to 30th and Downing could go to their local Safeway or King Soopers and purchase La Hacienda tortillas to try their own hand at making burritos. Still, fear of people and place still shadowed Denver's Mexican restaurants. As late as 1977, a reviewer's prejudices were on display in a generally positive review of La Hacienda and its base of operations in the Five Points neighborhood: "Having heard about La Hacienda and its Thirtieth and Downing location, I took the biggest guy I knew, parked close to the front door and ventured forth . . . I probably wouldn't take Mother to La Hacienda. She wouldn't like the bathroom there."³¹

The Macintosh empire stalled in the 1980s. Their factory stopped making tortillas and the family shuttered two branches. The Macintoshes considered closing them all but Ruben Macintosh successfully applied for loans from the City of Denver and the U.S. Small Business Administration. Expansion

and improved parking gave the old church another chance as it reopened as Tosh's Hacienda in December 1985. Ambition drove the family's business plan since the day they moved from the kitchen to the front room. In March 2009, Tosh's Cantina opened in the Denver Tech Center. But six months later, nearly sixty years of tacos, tamales, and tostadas ended as the Cantina closed.³²

Casa Mayan, The Original Mexican Cafe, and La Hacienda popularized Mexican food across Denver. Families of similar backgrounds ran these restaurants. They all served tacos, burritos, and enchiladas and they all enjoyed years of success before leaving the scene. Concurrent to their years of success, others from in and out of Denver added an impersonal element to Mexican food. Denver's Mexican restaurants would soon face competition from the fast food industry.³³

A Mixed-Up Order: Mexican Food Comes to Denver

Denver was a test market for the fast food industry to Americanize certain Mexican dishes during the 1960s. Because the cuisine was relatively simple to make, corporations like Taco Bell and Chi-Chi's cranked out burritos, tacos, and tostadas with various degrees of authenticity and deliciousness. The Denver Yellow Pages and Denver Public Library Western History card catalogue list at least ten different fast food restaurants with Taco in their name and established from 1962 to 1994. These included Taco Amigo, Taco Bell, Taco Bravo, Taco Cabana, Taco Hacienda, Taco House, Taco John, Taco Rancho,

Taco-Ria, and Taco Toro. Beyond the emphasis on one specific item, the food at each place likely tasted the same.

Corporate America's marketing of Mexican cuisine staples as universally acceptable fast food was set against the background of the growing political awareness of Denver's Chicano population in the 1960s. As a politically active generation made its voice heard, the 1970s were the last days of the "Frito Bandito" and high-octane hijinx of Speedy Gonzales ground to a halt. The heightened visibility of Chicano activists like Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and leadership of the Crusade for Justice organization, the arrival of Spanish language newspapers and radio stations, and the election of Denver's first and, as of 2015, only Spanish-surnamed mayor Federico Peña had minimal impact corporate America's perceptions of Mexican culture. An increase in racial pride and political activism did not prevent a talking Chihuahua from selling tacos and burritos a decade later.

Perhaps the most disturbing news where cooking and heritage met came toward the end of the century. A national survey determined that Denver's residents enjoyed Taco Bell more than any other American city. When informed of the news, a Taco Bell spokesperson gushed: "Denver is Taco Bell land."³⁴

Figures often lie. By the early 1990s, Denver boasted approximately 200 restaurants serving Mexican food.³⁵ Not all were authentic, but in those innocent days before social media, few had widespread recognition. However, a handful of Denver's restaurateurs were creating

dishes that were both new and culturally mixed interpretations.

Conclusion: Nuestro La Cosa (Our Thing)

In 2014, self-identified Hispanics comprised nearly 31 percent of the City and County of Denver's total population of over 600,000.³⁶ The presence and influence of Denver's Hispanic community has made itself felt in culture, politics, and in the kitchen. Over the past decade, critics and commentators have attempted to identify and expand on a "Den-Mex" style of Mexican cuisine. A reporter for the *LA Weekly's* blog asked the syndicated columnist Gustavo Arellano for an example of "a Mexican food some would consider phony." Arellano responded: "Denver has some of the weirdest Mexican food in the country. Take the hamburger patty inside a burrito smothered in orange chile. Or the chile relleno wrapped in a wonton. When I first went to Denver, I said, 'This isn't Mexican food!' But over the years I've realized it is an authentic Mexican food tradition."³⁷

Cultural commentators like Arenallo see orange-colored green chili to wonton rellenos as Denver's contribution to Mexican cooking in the United States. Initially a doubter, Arellano pledged his allegiance to Den-Mex and its signature dish, the Mexican Hamburger, proclaiming it the best Mexican meal in the United States: "This is a dish as Mexican as the Templo Mayor, as American as the Washington Monument, as Chicano as George Lopez."³⁸ Out of cultural shape-shifting came the Mexican Hamburger—a patty smothered with beans, wrapped in a tortilla and

covered with green chile the color of a Bronco's uniform. The local Mexican chain Chubby's has popularized this hybrid over the past four decades.

In September 2015, Arellano spoke to *Westword* about another local invention: fried tacos bound with American cheese. "Cheese-fried tacos, I've yet to try," Arellano exclaimed. "I must return to Denver post-haste and determine if it's yet another Mile High Mexi innovation, à la the Mexican hamburger, or a Denver retreat, like Peyton Manning."³⁹

From family run restaurants that served Denver during the last century —



Casa Mayan, Casa de Manuel, and La Hacienda — to places like Lakewood's Jose O'Shea's and Casa Bonita, we can only shrug our collective shoulders and muse over authenticity vs. one group's perception of another group's culture. Ranging from a touch of Disneyland to the authentic to the hybrid of Mexican American cuisine, Denver's Mexican food continues to evolve. Today, Mexi-

Both the architecture and the food are not really authentic, but Casa Bonita and Jose O'Shea's, both in Lakewood, have survived the often unpredictable restaurant business over the past four decades (Images by Kristen Autabee)

can food traditions are so in-grained, that *burrito* describes a new restaurant's large and portable temaki (hand wrapped) style of sushi. Komotodo in Writer's Square, even wraps their sushi



Day of the Dead, on November 1st.⁴¹

Finally, since the word preference is a civilized way of saying craving, we would like to add a personal note. Like many children who believe the edge of the world begins at the end of their street, Robert was unshakingly convinced that his hometown – Denver – was the greatest place in the world. And whether

the smothered burritos, rice, chile rellenos, or enchiladas he smugly devoured came from his mother's kitchen, or were randomly selected from a long list of favorite Mexican restaurants, no other city could top Denver.

The day came when he went beyond the shadow of the Rockies and began to enjoy other types of cuisines. When homesickness took hold, he tried the familiar in unfamiliar surroundings. Memory, pride of place, and taste buds would collectively flinch in revulsion – Why can't they make an enchilada like back home? Why do *arroz y frijoles* lose their flavor east of the Mississippi? These questions remain unanswered when it is time to eat and become totally irrelevant as you clean your plate in Denver.

Robert and Kristen Autobee are the authors of Lost Restaurants of Denver (The History Press, 2015). Robert Autobee holds an M.A. in American History, is a native Denverite, and descendant of a French-Mexican union- Charles and Sarafina Autobee. Kristen holds an M.A. in History/Historic Administration, and grew up in the north woods believing that avocado was an appliance color. They have written on various aspects of Denver and Colorado's

in foil the way Mexican take-outs wrap burritos. “Everyone just loves burritos,” says Komotodo founder Alonzo Martinez. “I thought a sushi burrito would fit in with the whole Asian-fusion concept.” Martinez made a Japanese sounding word from the Spanish *como todo* (I eat everything). Sushiritto is a similar-style restaurant currently in business in San Francisco.⁴⁰

One family that overcame the vicissitudes of Denver's restaurant business was the Aguirre's and their Rosa Linda's Mexican Café near the corner of West 33rd Avenue and Tejon Street. The Aguirre family gave back to their neighborhood with an annual Thanksgiving dinner open to all. Patriarch Virgil and his wife Rosa Linda and their five children started serving home cooking to an overlooked ethnic enclave during the mid-1980s. Over the past thirty-five years, the neighborhood evolved to one of the country's “hippest hipster neighborhoods” according to *Forbes* magazine. Rosa Linda's served their last meals a little after 9 p.m. on October 30, 2015. It seems appropriate that two of the city's best-loved Mexican restaurants, Casa Mayan and Rosa Linda's – both shut their doors hours before the Mexican day of remembrance – *El Dia de los Muertos*, The

history. Their first date was at an El Tejado.

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Over the Corral Rail

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

Westerner Presentations along the Front Range

In October the Boulder County Corral program featured “George Russell, Cowboy Poet: George sings his ballads and those of other cowboy poets while strumming a guitar.” Born in a ranching family in McKinney, Texas, George gained an M.D. from the University of Texas, and has practiced medicine in Boulder, Colo. since 1973. He regularly promotes early cowboy poetry and songs of the West before many groups.

The November presentation, “Colorado Water – Past, Present and Future,” by Brian Werner provided not only interesting history but also detailed the current situation on this vital topic. Brian is the Public Information Officer of the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District, and has been actively involved in the Colorado Water Conservation Board plan presented to Gov. Hickenlooper this December.

In October the Colorado Corral heard “Colorado: the Highest State,” by Denver Active Posse member Tom (Dr. Colorado) Noel. Tom’s presentation featured his highly acclaimed new publication, *Colorado: a Historical Atlas*.

The November program was “DU: the City, University Park and South Denver,” by Steve Fisher, the head curator and archivist at the University of Denver Library. He showcased many fine images from his new book, *A Brief History of South Denver and University Park*.

The Pike Peak Posse of Westerners October program was “Fred Barr – Myths and History,” by posse member Eric Swab. Fred Barr is famous for single-handedly building the Barr Trail on Pikes Peak, an effort in the growth of local tourism, a popular hiking route, and the path of the Pikes Peak Marathon as well as the AdAman annual New Year’s climb. A timely presentation in November was “A History of the Palmer Lake Star,” by Jack Anthony. A Colorado historic site, the star is about to be lighted for the holiday season, an annual event since 1935. It is the largest such publicly displayed star in the country

A Legacy in Arms American Firearm Manufacture, Design, and Artistry, 1800-1900. By Richard C. Rattenbury. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, December 2014. 248 pages, 9.875 x 12. 68 b&w, 241 color illustrations. \$59.95

Richard C. Rattenbury has spent a lifetime working in museums featuring firearms of the American West, including a long tenure as Curator at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City. It is with this lifetime background in firearms that Rattenbury comes uniquely qualified to produce for the reader a fascinating look into the extensive civilian firearms housed in Oklahoma City.

A Legacy in Arms delves into the evolution of American weapons, so essential in the taming of the West. Exploring all aspects of production and design, one of the more interesting features in this finely produced book is Part III, which focuses on the manufacturing aesthetics which so personalized individual weapons. This book focuses on civilian firearms, as opposed to military firearms of the same period. As a consequence, the reader is shown the wonderful aesthetics that went into producing firearms to individual tastes.

Part I gives the reader a brief history of how American manufacturers evolved in developing the craft of arms production. Part II carries this development into individual chapters on the more famous American manufacturers, such as Colt, Remington, Smith & Wesson, Marlin, and finally, Winchester firearms.

The book contains nearly 250 individual color photographs of some of the more impressive and amazing firearms found in the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum. Indeed, after reading the book, one is drawn into the museum, almost as if one were given a private tour. The pictures are stunning, and if nothing else, makes this book a must own for persons interested in the firearms found in the Old West.

You could call *A Legacy in Arms* a coffee-table book, and it certainly does not disappoint in this regard. But the book is more than just something to leaf through while sitting at a table. This book draws the reader into American firearms, where every photograph includes a summary of the firearm and its manufacture. Persons interested in American firearms from 1800-1900 will not be disappointed when adding this book to their library.

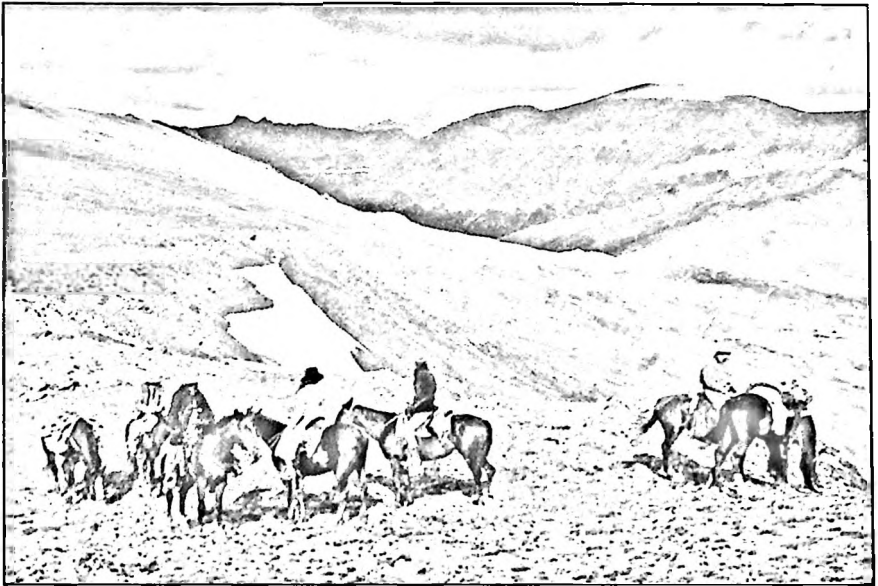
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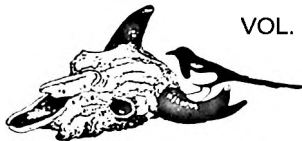


Arapaho pack trip, 1914

People of the Kawuneeche Valley
by Dave Lively, C.M.
(presented September 23, 2015)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXI NO. 6



November - December 2015

Our Author

Dave Lively is a dynamic speaker who specializes in shining some light on absent narratives. He creates programs about local history for groups large and small. His stories of remarkable characters from the past engage audiences and bring deeper understanding and appreciation for where we are today.

Dave is a well-known local historian, and appears in "The Living Dream," a documentary appearing on PBS stations in 2015. He is a speaker for the Rocky Mountain National Park Centennial Speakers Series and conducts historical seminars and tours for Rocky Mountain National Park, Rocky Mountain Conservancy, Trail River Ranch education center and History Colorado.

He is President of Historic Fraser, Vice Chair and West Slope Representative of Colorado Preservation, Inc., Past President of Grand Lake Area Historical Society and Past Chairman of the Grand County Historic Preservation Board.

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People of the Kawuneeche Valley by Dave Lively, C.M. (presented September 23, 2015)

How many times have you wondered, "Boy, wouldn't it have been great to have been born over 100 years ago when times were easier, slower, and less complicated?" You would have been around about the time Rocky Mountain National Park was established in 1915.

As you reminisce of your last visit to the west side of Rocky Mountain National Park you might be reminded of the wilderness, the wildlife, or even the wonder. If you have not visited Rocky you possibly imagine the same thoughts just by hearing the name, Rocky Mountain National Park. Do your thoughts include the people? The people who came to the west side of Rocky long before Rocky Mountain National Park was established or even the folks who are here now?

I'd like to introduce you to some of these people.

While we share the memories of a few, think of the millions who have also wandered into the Kawuneeche Valley. There are so many stories and I will bring you a few in this short time we have together.

Let's go back in time beyond the 100 years of Rocky. Over 11,000 years ago the Paleo Indians roamed the area. They were doing what we all do in one way or another. They were doing what was needed to get food. There is evidence

of them coming through the area. These people, sometimes known as "the elephant hunters of the West," most likely only used the area we now call Rocky Mountain National Park and Trail Ridge Road as an infrequent crossing point.

Let's move forward in time to about 3,500 years ago. The natives of that time built game drives to herd animals such as elk and mountain buffalo into a type of chute where men were hidden. These game drives were complex and took years to assemble. They were built out of rocks stacked on top of each other as high as several feet. Imagine some of the rocks they had to roll across the ground. As the animals came close they were able to use their spears to take their food. The introduction of the bow and arrow would not happen for more than a thousand years.

As these natives crossed the mountains over the centuries they created a series of trails, which most likely followed animal trails.

As we fast forward, the Ute came to the area just several hundred years ago. Like their predecessors, these newcomers migrated over the top of the mountains to the beautiful valley and lake they called "Ungarpakareter" meaning Red or Orange, after the sunsets that produce the orange glow upon the water. We now know it as Grand Lake.

Some of the trails became known by the Ute as the Warrior's trail, the steepest and hardest to navigate, and the Dog trail, now the valley of the Fall River Road, because the dogs could pull a small travois across the snow that does not melt in the tight canyon until mid July. The Child's trail, was steep enough in places the children were required to get off their horses and walk. The Big trail was the most heavily traveled. Even today it is used as the primary hiking trail between Grand Lake and Estes Park, and known as Flattop Mountain trail.

The Ute would usually travel and camp in small "bands" of thirty to forty people, sometimes all related family members. They knew a certain area of the land would support this size group. They used a democratic system of leadership. They would vote a leader for the band. Sometimes a leader would oversee a couple of bands. There may have been three or four bands located within the 20-mile long valley at any given time. One exception to the small groups was the annual gathering for the Bear Dance. This occurred in the spring near the time bears would be coming out of hibernation.

The Ute built wikiups, a cone of small trees and branches around a center post tree, to live in during the summer months as they hunted and fished. They would return to the eastern plains or move to what is now western Colorado during the colder winter months. Relying on small individual fire rings for each "home" rather than a larger communal ceremonial fire conserved their resources of gathered dry wood.

The later part of the 1700s brought the Arapaho – "Father of All" – to the region as they were being forced to continue westward from the plains by attacking tribes. The Ute and Arapaho certainly had confrontations but would also attempt to avoid one another when possible. Since the Ute would travel over the ridges only occasionally the Arapaho were able to use the Ute trail system and visit the valley they named Haquiahana, the valley of the wolf. With the lack of smart phone communications the Ute and Arapaho were sometimes found in the same place at the same time and battles would ensue. Some are known by stories passed down while others are known only by names of locations that have been left, such as the meadow known by the Arapaho as "Big Battle," today known as Baker meadow. One battle was along the shores of the lake Ungarapakareter. The Ute remembrance of the battle was that their lookout was, for some reason, not on Scout Rock thereby allowing the Arapaho and Cheyenne to attack their lakeside encampment. For protection the Ute hurried their women and children onto rafts and sent them out on the waters of the lake. As occurs, a wind came up during the battle and the rafts were overturned. All of the women and children perished within the frigid waters while only a few Ute warriors survived as victors. In the Arapaho version the Ute fatalities were small, consisting of one man, two women and a baby. The baby was found in a tree where apparently the mother had left it for protection. The Arapaho warriors had no way to take care of a baby so the child was killed.



Grand River outlet

It is said if you go out early in the morning you may see the mist rising in silhouettes or you can hear the screams of the women and children coming from the waters of Spirit Lake, the name given to the lake by the Ute after the battle.

About three miles north of the lake the Arapaho established a racetrack at one of their favorite camping spots. A man would stand at each end of the track as the horses swirled around him. They would bet on the horses and riders. Gambling was common in the area long before the white men ever showed up! The winners often received the losing horses, or they would use captured people from other tribes as currency.

Many years later, as the national park idea was being explored, the Colorado

Mountain Club contacted the Arapaho at the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming and in 1914 two of their elders, Gun Griswold, age 73, and Sherman Sage, age 63, who had both lived in the area when they were children, and interpreter Tom Crispin came by train and automobile to Estes Park. With Oliver Toll taking notes and local rancher, Shep Husted to identify local names, they rode horseback for two weeks discovering the names the Arapaho had used in the area. Numerous peaks, valleys, and areas were identified. We use many of those names today such as Kawuneeche, Never No Summer, Tonahutu, and Onahu. Tonahutu means "Big meadow." Onahu means, "where he warms himself." A stream flowing through their camping area was named Onahu. One of the favorite racehorses liked to sneak near the fire to warm

himself. They would shoo him away and pretty soon he would be back near the fire. This horse died near the stream they named after him. On early maps it was known as Fish Creek. After the 1914 pack trip it was changed back to Onahu.

During the early part of the 1800s the Kawuneeche Valley area was not officially a part of the United States. Spain had claimed an area of the land west of what would be come to known as the Troublesome River, near present-day Kremmling. That land was later known as Texas. The Louisiana Territory ran east from the Continental Divide. The land between was considered Ute territory. The Ute lands were not officially relinquished to the United States by treaty until 1868. The west side of Rocky is in the area where the Ute land existed.

I'm sure the Ute had a name for the river running through the valley but we do not know what it was.

The Arapaho name for the river was Kawuneeche, which loosely translates to Coyote Creek. Many have heard and have read Kawuneeche Valley means Coyote Valley or the Valley of the Coyote. The Creek part got dropped somewhere and is usually translated incorrectly; the English translation should be Coyote Creek Valley. In 1919 the Colorado Geographic Board changed the name of the valley from Haquihana, Arapaho for wolf valley, to Kawuneeche.

In a 1776 Spanish exploration, Father Escalante named the river El Rio San

Rafael. Explorers, possibly French trappers, found a large river many miles downstream from the valley and named it the Grand River. As they moved upstream in search of new beaver dams they discovered, or stumbled upon, the "headwaters" of the Grand River and named it Grand Lake. The river above Grand Lake was considered a tributary and was also named the Grand River. Due to a lack of understanding of which rivers started where and flowed together, many different names were used for the Grand River. An 1839 map by David Burr indicated Grand River. The name Grand River appeared on Fremont's map in 1843. With no shortage of political bickering between Colorado, Utah and Arizona, the name was changed in 1921 to what it is known today, the Colorado River. The change matched what it was already being called in Utah. Today, the Colorado flows 1,450 miles with the same name and touches the lives of over 30 million people.

The largest natural lake in Colorado, Grand Lake is over one mile long and three-fourths-mile wide.

The Arapaho camped on the side of the lake into the fall and early winter. As the early winter temperatures drop the ice begins to form on the lake and the warmer water creates a rising mist. The Arapaho who ventured onto the thin ice discovered very large buffalo tracks coming out of, and back into, the open water. Their Chief declared that a giant white spirit buffalo lived in the waters of the lake and rose out of the waters in the mist. He gave the lake the name "Spirit Lake." Some stories say

the Ute also called it "Spirit Lake" after the battle with the Arapaho where their women and children perished.

In 1863 Irish writer M. O'C. Morris called it Still-Water Lake. Apparently he didn't see the winds and waves the Ute and people of today see. Phimister Proctor, who spent much time at Grand Lake from 1875 to 1885, remembered another Indian name "Meteor Lake, because of the number of meteors visible at certain times of year. The fool whites changed the name to Grand Lake."

By the mid 1850s a few European people had stumbled onto Grand Lake. One trapper, Phillip Crawshaw, built a small cabin on the west shore of Grand Lake. In the meager information known about him, he would visit the cabin for a summer or two and then roam to another area before returning to stay at his cabin for a few summers. It isn't known where he spent his winters or other summers.

In 1867 William Byers of the *Rocky Mountain News* removed Joseph Wescott from the sulphur springs area where he had come to recover from arthritis resulting from his Civil War injuries. Byers had "purchased" the land and springs from the Ute to develop a town, Sulphur Springs, in preparation for the coming of the railroad that David Moffat was planning. Joseph Wescott moved about twenty-eight miles into the cabin left by Crawshaw. Wescott would eventually lay claim to the property on the west and south shore of Grand Lake and begin to sell lots in what he named Grand Lake City. Several stories surround his nickname

"Judge" Wescott. A prominent story is told of a couple who wanted to get married but found the long 57-mile round trip to the court in Sulphur Springs to be too far. Wescott is reported to have told them he could perform the ceremony and after that was known as "Judge." The six-shooter he often carried on his hip could have led to no one disputing his claim. In 1869 the Proctors were the first family to stay year round. One of their sons, Alexander Phimister, became the world-renowned sculptor, who made the statues of the Indian and Cowboy in Denver's Civic Center Park.

A number of gold and silver mines came and went between the late 1870s and mid 1890s. The gold and silver were of such poor quality and quantity that no one went to the expense of building a mill in the area. If you were a miner you would load your ore into wagons and go over the Berthoud Pass wagon road to Georgetown to find out you didn't make very much money. The Wolverine was by far the largest of the mines. It had a bunkhouse for the workers and a mine camp building for the manager, Louis Gaskill. Louis Gaskill was involved in the opening of Berthoud Pass as a toll road. He and his family lived on the top of the pass and collected the fees. After a couple of years of those conditions he ended up at the Wolverine mine. The Toponis mine was owned by James Bourn and Alexander Campbell. They also owned six or seven other mines.

Another miner of the area, Joseph Shipler-owned and operated a half dozen mines. His cabin still stands, in poor condition. After all it is over 120 years old. Gus Spitzmiller took over one of



Harbison family at Grand Lake, 1897

his mines, and was a lot better plumber than he ever was a miner. Gus started Grand Lake Plumbing Company, which operates today. The smaller Diamond Crystal mine was operated and closed by "Squeaky" Bob Wheeler.

By 1890 all the mines were closed and the towns were just empty buildings. The busy communities turned into ghost towns like those seen in so many other places in Colorado.

As miners came to the area it drew entrepreneurs such as James Cairns, who knew mining the miners would be more profitable and wanted to start a general merchandise store. In 1881 Wescott was

willing to sell him property, but he decided instead to go around to the north side of Grand Lake where he could homestead property for free and later sell. When Cairns started selling lots he called the area Grand Lake Village. That is the Village of Grand Lake we know today. Both towns on Grand Lake coexisted for more than ten years.

The Arapaho called the mountain at the east end of Spirit Lake (now Grand Lake) "Middle Mountain." If you look at the mountain from the surrounding hills it is easy to see why they called it that. It sits right in the middle of a number of peaks and tree-covered hills. In 1874 William H. Jackson, photographer

of the West, called it Round Mountain. In 1890 H. H. Bancroft called it Round Top. Some old timers called it Mount Wescott to memorialize Joseph Wescott. The official name is Mount Craig after Reverend Bayard Craig. His friend David Moffat also named the town of Craig after him.

There were more riches in the mountains of the Never Summer range than gold and silver... WATER!

The farmers of the plains of Colorado looked to the mountains for the water they needed for their crops. Specifically the west side of the range was where the snow was deeper and stayed longer into the spring. By 1890 the Larimer County Ditch Company had begun construction of the "Grand River Ditch" to bring some of the wet gold to the plains. It employed several groups of workers including many Japanese. The Japanese were not allowed to live with the others and dug caves into the side of the mountain to live and keep their few belongings. Using men with picks and shovels and a small amount of dynamite at an altitude of 10,175 feet, after two years of construction the six-foot-wide and ten-foot-deep ditch extended two miles. Some effort has been made to get a rough approximation of the number of men working on the Ditch, but the results have not been successful.

The ditch was extended in phases as additional water needs were fulfilled. The final phase of the Grand River Ditch was completed in 1936 using heavy equipment. The entire 14.5 miles diverts between 20 and 40% of the snowmelt that previously flowed into and helped create the Grand, now Colorado, River.

As time went on more and more people were moving into the front range of Colorado and were in need of water. A plan was created to remove more water from the Colorado River and send it through the mountain to Estes Park and downstream to supply more irrigation water and later drinking water for the cities. The Big Thompson Project, named for the river that would carry the water east, created a tunnel under Rocky Mountain National Park. The Park Service was not happy with the plan of moving water through the Park so the engineers started the tunnel from both sides just outside the Park with the majority of the tunnel piercing the Continental Divide underneath the Park. The engineering was so exact that when the east and west bores met they were off by less than one-half inch. The reservoirs we see today, Shadow Mountain and Granby, work to move water upstream under the Continental Divide through the Alva B. Adams tunnel.

It took roads to bring people in and out of the area. One of the first in the northern area of what is now Rocky Mountain National Park was a wagon road from Ft. Collins to Lulu City. It was the Stewart Toll Road. It arrived in Lulu to the sounds of the City band on August 12, 1880. By September a stage road from Lulu City to Grand Lake City was underway. Another wagon road was created from Lulu City through Gaskill over the mountain to Teller City and on into the larger town of Walden.

The Georgetown, Empire and Middle Park Stage Line owned by Lewis Gaskill and William Cushman developed

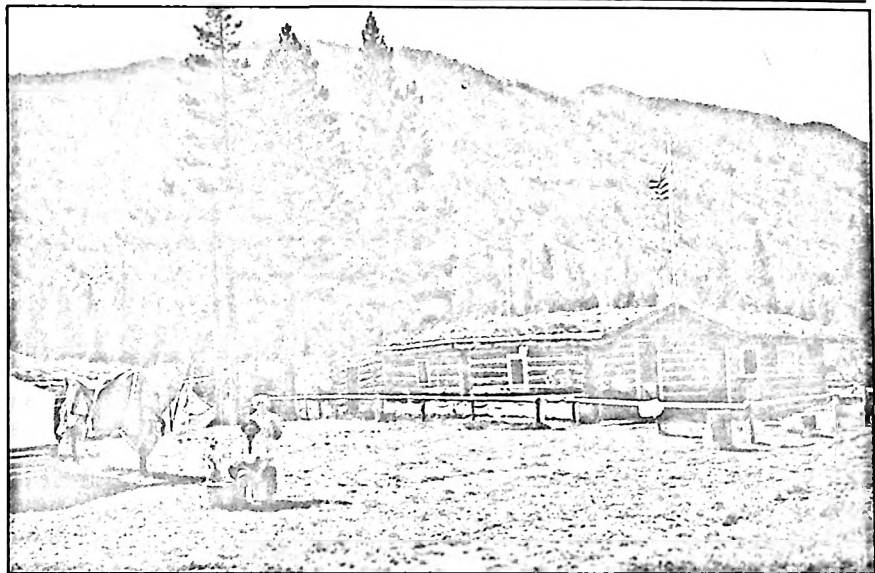
and opened the Berthoud Pass toll road in 1874. They were allowed by the State of Colorado to charge a toll to recover their expenses. Lulu City was 76 miles from Georgetown via Grand Lake City. They offered a stage four times a week. Each stage fare was \$10, or from Denver by rail and stage for \$14.30. The legend states a sign on the stage read "first class passengers ride all the way, second pass passengers may have to get out and walk on the pass and third class passengers will get out and push."

By 1910 people were traversing Tombstone Ridge between Grand Lake and Estes Park by horseback. The automobile was finding its way into the mountains and the State of Colorado made the decision to build a road between the two towns. It was to follow the Fall River canyon and, using a series of switchbacks down the western side of the mountains, continue down the Kawuneeche Valley to Grand Lake. Construction began in 1912 using mostly prison manpower. Progress was slow. By the opening of Rocky Mountain National Park in 1915 the road extended approximately four miles from Estes Park. In 1919, using more heavy equipment than men, the 28-mile road was completed. The State of Colorado and the National Park Service spent several years "discussing" the ownership of the roadway. Finally, after the threat of closing Rocky Mountain National Park, the State deeded the roadway to the National Park Service in 1921. Due to narrowness and high maintenance the decision was made to immediately replace Fall River Road with a modern road, which would carry traffic both directions. The new road was surveyed

over Tombstone Ridge without so many tight switchbacks and steep grades. Construction started with heavy equipment working from both sides at once. The question immediately arose "Who would drive over Tombstone Ridge?" Trail Ridge Road opened in 1931 and was named for the Child's Trail it crosses several times. The majority of Fall River Road was removed with the exception of the one-way gravel road that exists now.

In the early 1880s a small number of pioneers came into the Kawuneeche Valley to homestead. In the valley homesteaders such as the Hedricks, Mitchells, Millers, Houses, and others, were starting their ranches to raise cattle. Like the miners, many early homesteaders found the hard work and short summers did not provide a subsistence for them and their animals. Many abandoned their homesteads for easier pursuits or changed over to tourist operations.

After the mining era ended "Squeaky" Bob Wheeler left to fight in the Spanish American War. He loved the area so much he returned in 1906 to build a hotel for people coming by horseback from Estes Park. He called it Camp Wheeler or "Hotel De Hardscrabble". Bob had a very high-pitched voice that "squeaked" when he got excited. His "hotel" was on the side of the Grand River and had tent cabins. They consisted of log walls about three feet high with a canvas roof. Imagine riding your horse for a couple of weeks and looking down on this place along the river. You know what you were in for? A bath and maybe a good meal. As a matter of fact



Squeaky Bob Wheeler at Hotel de Hardscrabble

Bob was known as a good cook, but not that much of a housekeeper. After you left he would turn your sheets over and sprinkle them with talcum powder. When the next guest left he would turn the sheets over and sprinkle them with talcum powder, changing them only once in a while. Once a year he would take a wagonload of sheets to Grand Lake and hire women to wash them in the lake.

Due to the financial losses suffered in the depression of 1893, in 1896 the Harbison family, parents Andrew and Mary, daughters, Annie, age 28, and Kittie, age 24, and a son, Rob, age 20, came to the Kawuneeche Valley to homestead and begin a dairy ranch. The parents already had a homestead near the City of Greeley they did not prove

up. The family decided that Annie and Kittie would file for homesteads side by side for a total of 320 acres of trees and meadows. Rob wasn't old enough to file or there probably would have been 480 acres. Their half-brother, Harry, had come to Grand Lake with his family in 1891 and settled at Columbine Lake about two miles outside the Village of Grand Lake.

Both the "Harbison girls" wrote descriptions of their life at the ranch. Annie wrote this of coming to Grand Lake:

"July 15th 1896 – Father came to Grand Lake. Sept 11 1896 – Kittie and I came to Grand Lake. Nov 1 1896 – Mother and Bobbie came to Grand Lake, Harry and I went to Denver after them. We were storm stayed from Tuesday until

Friday at the Big Chief Mine. Friday Mother and I started to walk leading "Jersey" and "Lady." The snow was 18 inches all the way over the range. We all got to the old stage stop this side of the range near the top. That night wet and cold. The next night we stayed at the Block home the other side of Coulter. The next night we got to Columbine Lake and glad to get home."

The trip she wrote about is over Berthoud Pass from Denver to Grand Lake. The Big Chief Mine was located near the town of Empire, about sixty-two miles from their ranch. They had two horses, four people and the cow and calf. The first day, after their three-day snow delay near Empire, they made it to the stage stop on top of Berthoud Pass, the next day to the Block home about twenty-four miles south of the ranch and the last day just that last twenty-four miles to Harry's home at Columbine Lake.

The Harbison ranch operated as a dairy ranch into 1954. Although some tourist cabins were added later, it was the only homestead to remain loyal to its original plan of dairy ranching.

On January 26, 1915 Rocky Mountain National Park was established as the tenth national park. It was signed into law in January but the dedication was put off until September 5 so they would have better weather for the ceremonies. September 5, 1915 it rained off and on all day. Soon after the opening of Rocky many area ranchers found themselves at odds with the National Park Service. Government officials wanted the cattle and ranches removed from the

Park so it could be enjoyed in its natural setting. Some people sold their land to the National Park Service while others, such as the Harbisons, resisted and ran their operations for many years.

In 1917 the Holzwarth family came to the valley to establish a cattle ranch about ten miles north of Grand Lake and eight miles north of the Harbisons. John Holzwarth hosted a group of friends from Denver to come fishing. After several days of fishing and drinking they left. Mama Holzwarth and the children stated if they had to wait on guests and clean up after them they should be charging them. And with that the Holzwarth Ranch began the transition from cattle ranch to the first dude ranch in the area, the Holzwarth Trout Lodge. The family operated the ranch until the 1960s when the decision was made to sell to the National Park Service in the early 1970s. It was then opened as a historic interpretive site known as the Never Summer Ranch and continues to be operated by the Park as the Holzwarth Historic Site and is a wonderful place for you to visit to see what life was like in the Kawuneeche Valley during the early part of the last century.

How is today different than in the past? There are still more than a dozen inholdings within Rocky where families still maintain their home or summer cabin. The Park has made agreements to eventually own all of them but total elimination of inholdings is still years off.

A dedicated staff and volunteers operate Rocky Mountain National Park. The

west side, known as the Colorado River District, utilizes full-time year-round National Park Service employees, seasonal employees, and a summer volunteer corps of near 100 people to ensure the visitor has a safe and memorable visit to the west side of Rocky Mountain National Park.

On your next trip to Rocky Mountain National Park and the Kawuneeche Valley, in addition to enjoying the theme of the 2015 Centennial celebration of Rocky, Wilderness, Wildlife and Wonder, remember the thousands of individuals whose lives provide the backstory of this spectacular mountain valley.

Acknowledgements and Further Reading

Thanks to the Grand Lake Area Historical Society for many stories passed along at the Kauffman House Museum.

Thanks to the Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado River District, interpreters and volunteers at the Holzwarth Historic Site for stories of the Holzwarth family.

Thanks to the Harbison family descendants for sharing family stories.

Rocky Mountain National Park map
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Over the Corral Rail

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

Westerner Presentations in the New Year

The Boulder County Corral of Westerners January program, "The Woolf Family of Greeley," was presented by member Marvin Woolf. Three family members came to Greeley in the 1880s, to the town founded in 1870 by Nathan Meeker. His father was born there in 1890. The Woolfs were joined by the Rothschild family, and by Ferd Bernstein, all eager to establish retail businesses in the new community. Marv entered law school in Boulder in 1954, and has been a Boulderite ever since.

In December the Colorado Corral finished out its meetings for 2015, by being regaled with "Citizen Gallagher: Reflections of 45 Years of Public Service." Denver native Dennis Gallagher began a 45-year career on the Regis faculty in 1967. His public service encompassed those same years, including four years in the Colorado House of Representatives, twenty years in our State Senate, and more recently, serving as the Denver City Auditor. The well-known "Gallagher Amendment" typifies his work on behalf of middle-class working people.

The January presentation for the Colorado Corral was "Reclaiming Colorado's Mining Legacy." Jeff Graves discussed the timely topics of contaminated surface water and groundwater, hazardous mine openings and structures, and the potential for catastrophic releases at various state sites – and what the State of Colorado is doing about them. Jeff is a Senior Project Manager and Geological Engineer with the Inactive Mine Reclamation Program, Colorado Division of Reclamation, Mining and Safety, Colorado Department of Natural Resources.

In January William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, as portrayed by Gene Johnson, visited the Pike Peak Posse of Westerners. Gene's re-enactment focused on exploits in Colorado and the Pikes Peak Region by this icon of the Western frontier. Gene Johnson is a ninth-generation descendant of Daniel Boone, and was born in the Daniel Boone National Forest in central Kentucky, a fitting background for this naturalist and Western historian.



Westerners Bookshelf



Yellowstone Summers: Touring with the Wylie Camping Company in America's First National Park by Jane Galloway Demaray. Washington State University Press, 2015. 230 pages, paperback, illustrations, map, endnotes, bibliography, index, \$24.95.

William Wallace Wylie pioneered a unique camping concept for visitors to Yellowstone National Park from 1896 to 1905. The "Wylie Way" experience, fully described in the book's introduction, included permanent tent camps, fine dining in the wilderness, and horse-drawn coach transportation through the park.

Wylie was the great-great uncle of the book's author, and this fact is evident in the many references to Wylie's family life. Much of the material for the book came from Wylie's 98-page unpublished memoirs. Supplementing Wylie's words were numerous primary and secondary sources, all fully shown in the endnotes. A few stories in the book start out sounding like passages from a Louis L'Amour novel, but Wylie's words guaranteed this was in fact "the real West."

A major part of the book is devoted to the political battles involved in running a national park concession. Conflicts with military and civilian rules and regulations, competing concessionaires, Washington D. C. politics, and dealing with a major railroad all distracted Wylie from his first love, showing visitors the wonders of Yellowstone.

Side stories include stagecoach travel, the Nez Perce in Yellowstone in 1877, and wildlife in the park, particularly Wylie's favorite, the elk [Wapiti]. The book also reveals numerous obscure bits of history, such as the fact that Wylie led Albert Bierstadt to the exact point where the artist painted his famous "Lower Yellowstone Falls."

The black and white illustrations are fine, but the book's one basic map should have been expanded to include more park and southern Montana places described in the book.

--Lee Whiteley, P. M.

The Gray Fox: George Crook and the Indian Wars by Paul Magid. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2015. 495 pages, illustrated with maps, photographs, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback with jacket, \$29.95.

Four years ago the University of Oklahoma Press published *George Crook: From the Redwoods to Appomattox* by Paul Magid. That book was the first of an expected three-volume biography of the man who was and still is considered one of the most widely and popularly known military figures of the Post-Civil-War Indian Wars by many historians. It covers in detail Crook's birth, early years as a youth in Ohio, West Point education, military service and first contact with Native Americans in northern California and Oregon as a fresh-out-of-the-Military-Academy Brevet 2nd Lieutenant and his role in the Civil War in which he emerged as a Brevet Major General. During those years he showed his superiors and those who served under him that he had what it takes to be an exceptional leader of men.

Now Paul Magid has written the second volume covering Crook's campaigns against the Paiute and Snake Indians in the Pacific Northwest, the Apaches in Arizona, and the Sioux and Cheyenne on the Northern Plains. The book begins with Crook making his way to Fort Boise, Idaho Territory with the rank of lieutenant colonel assigned to the Twenty-third Infantry and commander of the Department of the Columbia in late 1866. It was not uncommon for general officers to be reduced in rank after the conclusion of the Civil War. When he began his operations against the Snake Indians he assessed the situation by gathering input from both the military and civilians in the areas affected by the Indian unrest. He would also do this later against the Apaches and Northern Plains Indians. Crook was one of those commanders who believed in the term "Know thy Enemy" before you go after him. For the most part Crook was an aggressive commander but during the 1876 war against the Sioux showed signs of doubt and hesitation. When troops were to be sent out into the field especially on large operations he would put much planning into it. Crook used techniques he learned chasing Indians before the Civil War and Confederate guerrillas during the Civil War. He used Indian scouts and auxiliaries and pack mules managed by professional packers to great effect especially where the terrain was rough going. He felt the best Indian scouts were those tribesmen who came from the same group that he was trying to subjugate.

For his successful campaigning in the Snake War, Crook was assigned to the Arizona Territory in 1871 to take over as the Departmental Commander and to pacify warring groups of Apaches and place them on reservations. With the conclusion of hostilities in 1873 which came about much in part due to Crook's military operations in the Tonto Basin, President Grant promoted him to brigadier general over the heads of several senior officers. Of course this did not sit well with some because they felt it was an affront to their own achievements. One of those who took it hard was Colonel Nelson A. Miles.

Then we come to the Great Sioux War of 1876-77. When General Sheridan (who had been a West Point classmate with Crook) appointed him as commander of the Department of the Platte in 1875, Crook would play a major role in the cam-

paign to force Sitting Bull and his holdouts to accept life on the reservation. Magid explains in detail Crook's planning and fighting against the Sioux and Cheyenne on the Powder River, Rosebud Creek, Slim Buttes and the Powder River again. The author brings this volume to a conclusion with the surrender of the holdouts and the death of Crazy Horse.

Paul Magid has written a very good detailed account of George Crook and his military career spanning the decade following the Civil War in which much occurred concerning the United States government's policy towards the Great Plains Indians and Apaches of the southwest. Besides numerous typos he does make two major errors that will certainly be noticed by students of the Indian Wars. Magid refers to Captain William J. Fetterman as a lieutenant and Captain Frederick Benteen as Thomas Benteen. Those two mistakes aside, this reviewer and I am sure others will be looking forward to the third and final volume.

--Mark E. Hutchins, P.M.

The Alaska Highway in World War II, by Ken Coates and William R. Morrison. University of Oklahoma Press, 1992. 309 pages. Maps, photos, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$19.95

This book caught my eye because I have driven on the Alaska (originally called the Alcan) Highway twice and thought it would be interesting to learn some of the history of it. But this book covers a lot more than the 1645 miles of highway from Dawson Creek, British Columbia, to Fairbanks, Alaska, which was built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1942. The authors have included background history starting in the late 1920s through April 1946 when the Canadian government assumed responsibility for the highway. In addition to this Canadian project they include data and opinions of the U.S. military occupation and Americanization of the globe during World War II.

Prior to the war, the Canadian federal government's policy in the northwest had been to ignore the Natives. This reduced the demands on the federal treasury. In the late 1920s, politicians from Alaska, Yukon Territory, and British Columbia proposed a road to open up economic development but the Canadian government refused to consider it. After Pearl Harbor the United States was able to convince Canada that the road was needed for defense. The United States would pay for the construction and Canada would provide rights of way, timber, and gravel. The gravel road was to be suitable for slow travel by heavy military trucks and later be upgraded for civilian use. The road was completed in October 1942 at a cost of \$20 million but much of it had to be rebuilt following the 1943 spring thaw.

In addition to the Alaska Highway, the project included an oil line (Canol) and service roads from Norman Wells, Northwest Territories, to Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, which turned out to be a boondoggle. Airfields (Northwest Staging Route) were

built along the highway route, a cutoff road to Haines on the coast was built, and a telephone system brought communication to the remote areas.

The authors, through extensive research of Canadian and U.S. government documents, have provided us with a picture of the many problems of this project. (Their Notes comprise fifty pages of the book.) The title of their second chapter, "The Invasion of the Bulldozers," gives us a clue of how the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers hit the ground running. With the war, there was a sense of urgency.

Other chapters cover the impacts on the Natives and small communities, the environment and lack of knowledge about it, overlapping law enforcement problems, women and sexual relations, race relations, and the politics of moving the capital of Yukon Territory from Dawson City to Whitehorse. Throughout the book, it is revealed that there were many disagreements between the two governments.

The authors included lots of detail, and facts were repeated in the various chapters. Many events were both criticized and praised. I found it difficult to follow the story at times because it jumped back and forth chronologically. Usually, at the end of each chapter they had a summary, which helped.

The Alaska Highway did open up the Canadian northwest and the Natives are no longer ignored, but are supported by a welfare system. As far as the economic impact, after having driven most of the highway two years ago, the area along it is still mostly undeveloped, and BEAUTIFUL.

--Susie Morton, C.M.

SIX- SHOOTERS AND SHIFTING SANDS: The Wild West Life of Texas Ranger Captain Frank Jones by Bob Alexander. University of North Texas Press, Denton, 2015. 468 pages, photographs, endnotes, bibliography, index, hardback, \$34.95. Foreward by Chief Kirby W. Dendy, Texas Rangers.

Bob Alexander has written yet another account of The Texas Rangers in the 19th century, this being his ninth book. In his usual folksy style, he presents the life and death of Ranger Captain Frank Jones. Jones was born shortly after the burning of Piedras Negras followed by attacks by Waco and Lipan Apaches in the vicinity of the exposed family ranch on Curry Creek.

In 1870 Governor E.J. Davis created fourteen companies of Rangers. Frank's older brother joined, while Frank became a Kendal County Minuteman at the tender age of sixteen. Not long after, Governor Coke created the Frontier Battalion of Texas Ranger, which Frank joined in 1875. During his early years, he pursued cattle thieves dealing in stolen hides, and broke a gang of thirty-seven near Llano, which included the local Sheriff and County Judge.

After a break of nearly four years beginning in 1877, Frank rejoined in 1881, and was promoted to Corporal in September as a member of Company D, stationed at Menard. He was well thought of by his commanding officer Captain Lam Sieker, and soon made Sergeant, followed by Lieutenant in 1884, and Captain of D Company in 1886.

What follows is full of his adventures, hunting down killers like the Odle Boys, and ranging from the Menard area down to Eagle Pass, a considerable distance, in pursuit of killers, cattle thieves, the Richmond Feud, the Jaybird-Woodpecker Feud, and fence cutters. During these years he married, had a daughter, and sadly, lost his wife.

In his hectic pursuit of criminals, he had little time for family, though he did visit his ailing wife before she died. This was a wide-open frontier full of good people and bad, and violence was often the order of the day. It all came to a head during a fight with a Mexican gang located on Pirate's Island in June 1893. In between are accounts that reflect on the bravery of the Rangers, stories of men who went on to become famous in their own right, like Ira Aten and others.

Bob Alexander has given us another riveting book that will be hard to put down. It is well illustrated with photographs. If there was any criticism in this well-researched volume, it would be for greater detail in some instances. For example, what became of the Bosque gang, the Olguius? Nevertheless it is a great read full of the dust and lead of 19th-century South Texas.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.

Laguna Pueblo: A Photographic History, Lee Marmon and Tom Corbett. University of New Mexico Press, 2015. 224 pages, 105 duotones, chapter endnotes, index, 8 1/5 x 10, cloth, \$39.95.

Laguna Pueblo: A Photographic History, filled with superb, historic photos by Lee Marmon, the premier Native American photographer of the 20th century, chronicles life in the New Mexico community as the tribe and its people are launched from an agrarian lifeway into the nuclear age.

The heart of the book lies in Marmon's spectacular black-and-white photographs, made from the late 1940s through the 1980s. The crispness of the duotones provides an unexpected view of the land and community that is typically awash in rich colors, baking in the bright sun under an endless sky. The photos of the familiar landscape with instantly recognizable buttes and rock outcrops, the lined faces of the elders and the unchanging rhythms of working cattle in the desert impart a timelessness that captures the spirit of life at Laguna. Photos of ranching taken in 1955

could have been shot in 1995 or even 2015.

Marmon's portraits of the elders—veterans of World Wars, of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, service in tribal government, and long-ago skirmishes with Apache raiding parties—show tribe members as they lived and worked half a century ago. Accompanying text is spare and includes the date of the photograph along with a few words about the subject. Memories of seeing the first trains roar across the land, medicine women caring for the people in the days before government programs, good neighbors, and the scourge of smallpox illustrate life close to the land. The portraiture serves as an ethnographic record of traditional attire and adornment. The beauty of the embroidery on a woman's dress, a colorful shawl, and a woven sash speak to a rich, local artistic tradition while the variety of jewelry, including Navajo silver set with turquoise, Santa Domingo beadwork, and necklaces of hand-made silver bench beads interspersed with the occasional religious medallion and Zuni carved fetish, indicate broad social and economic networks with other tribes in the region. Tribal governors through the years pose with Laguna's treasured Lincoln cane, the symbol of sovereignty presented by President Abraham Lincoln to each Pueblo.

Everyday life is depicted with shots of uranium mining at the Jackpile Mine, women in flowered housedresses plastering a house, along with the Marmon's iconic 1954 photo, *White Man's Moccasins*, depicting Old Man Jeff wearing beat up Converse All Stars. Ritual life is seen in photographs of dances, including the deer, buffalo and eagle dances, along with a stark Penitente cross, are punctuated with stories of how the people of Laguna have long integrated their traditional religion with Catholicism.

Dramatic landscapes include menacing thunderheads towering over the Malpais, and share the pages with shots of motel life on Route 66 in Laguna. Images of the San Jose de Laguna Mission, built in 1699, along with Enchanted Mesa, which figures prominently on the landscape as well as in Laguna history, create a deep sense of place.

Tom Corbett, a physician who practiced at Laguna Pueblo in the 1960s presents archival images and historical research that round out Marmon's family history dating back to 1872, and with oral history of the tribe. He also provides an essay about the Indian Health Service.

The photos and collected stories along with personal accounts make this book perhaps the most comprehensive history of any Pueblo. *Laguna Pueblo: A Photographic History* is an intimate, and beautiful, look into the cohesive, adaptive and independent character of the Laguna people.

--Kimberly Field, C.M.