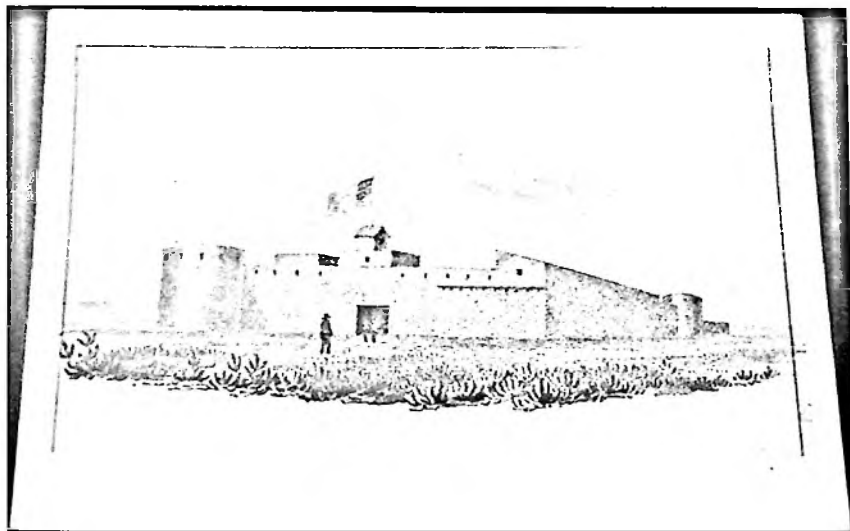




*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

January - February 2017



*Library State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, CO*

An original drawing of the castle on the plains by Lieutenant J.W. Abert in 1845

**Bent's Fort: An Outpost for Cultural Exchange and  
Exploration of the West**  
By Emma Perkins



### Our Author

Emma Perkins was born and raised in Boulder and is currently a student at Fairview High School. In addition to pursuing the IB Diploma, a high academic honor, she swims for the Fairview Girls' Swim Team.

Her paper on Bent's Fort won first place at the 2016 state National History Day competition and represented Colorado at the national competition. The focus of her presentation was on the role Bent's Fort played in the cultural exchange and exploration of the West. Emma's paper also won the Denver Posse's History Day award and is presented in this issue of the *Roundup*. Writing is something she hopes to continue to pursue through college.

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

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January - February 2017

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## Bent's Fort: An Outpost for Cultural Exchange and Exploration of the West

By Emma Perkins

*"The Indian trade transplanted by Bent, St. Vrain, & Company . . . filled the vacuum of the central plains, irrevocably tied the Southwest to St. Louis, and so helped prepare the way for the final influx that would make the nation whole."<sup>1</sup>*

David Lavender

Bent's Fort stood from 1833 to 1849 as an essential post for western trade in the middle of the Santa Fe Trail. The adobe castle invited a rich mix of American, Mexican, and Native American peoples to exchange goods and consequently became a hub for the exchange of culture. The fort also accelerated the exploration of the West by proving it was possible to live and thrive in the wide-open plains and serving as a base for westward movement.

### The Santa Fe Trail and the Creation of the Fort

The Santa Fe Trail was an 800-mile dirt path that flowed through the great plains of the American West, extending from Independence, Missouri to Santa Fe, New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Opened in 1821, it formed a link to valuable trade outposts in Mexican territory, providing a pathway for trade with Indian tribes occupying the vast land.<sup>3</sup> By the late 1840s nearly five-thousand wagons a year made the journey.<sup>4</sup> No major settlements existed along the route until 1833 brought the establishment of the fort that overshadowed all others of the time:<sup>5</sup> Bent's Fort, "an adobe empire that shaped the destiny of the American Southwest."<sup>6</sup>

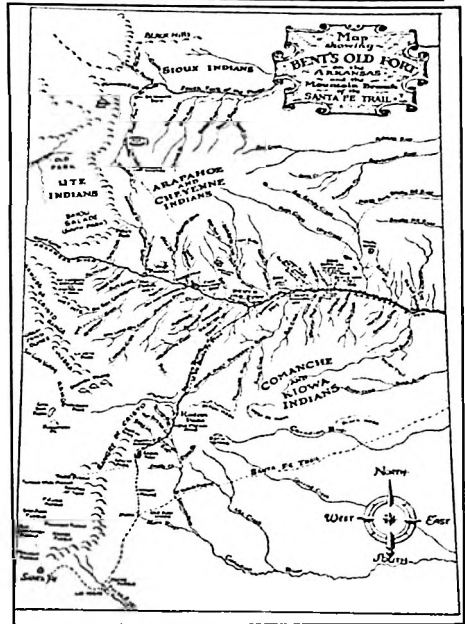
The fur trade drove much of the traffic on the Santa Fe Trail. In the 1830s, buffalo hides were the highest demand, and Native American trade was the easiest way for trappers to obtain them. One man was especially intrigued by Indian trade: William Wells Bent.<sup>7</sup> William, born 1809, and his brother, Charles, born 1799, grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, a town "born facing west" that consisted of shops filled with Indians, Negroes, Spaniards, Canadian trappers, and American hunters trading side by side, foreshadowing the variety to come at Bent's Fort.<sup>8</sup> Inspired by wild tales of western mountain men and trapping, Charles entered the furtrade business, trapping for a private company in the early 1820s. William followed, and the two became experienced trappers and travelers. By 1827, the declining beavertrade left Charles unemployed, bankrupt, and, after his father's death, responsible for William. Taking a risk, he turned towards New Mexican trade.<sup>9</sup> He and William led their first wagon train from St. Louis to Santa Fe in 1828. In the following years, Charles completed multiple trips, becoming one of the most accomplished and knowledgeable travelers and traders of the Santa Fe Trail.

Meanwhile in Taos, a trading town near Santa Fe, a Frenchman and acquaintance of the Bents', Ceran St. Vrain, had established himself as a prominent trader. After numerous trips, Charles pursued partnership with St. Vrain: he would manage transportation of

goods and Ceran would run Taos trade. In 1830, Bent, St. Vrain, & Co. was established. The first year was a success: business flourished and the system proved very efficient.<sup>10</sup>

As Charles initiated his business venture, William joined an independent trapping group in the winter of 1829.<sup>11</sup> During this time, he had his first encounter with a group of Cheyennes along the Arkansas River. Out of kindness, he hid them from Comanche enemies, bonding with the Cheyenne tribe and unknowingly planting a seed that would influence the growth of the United States.<sup>12</sup> William quickly became fixated with Indian trade, traveling between camps to barter for goods. He built a headquarters stockade at Fountain Creek near modern day Pueblo, Colorado, where customers could seek him out. By 1832, the growing business could support more imported goods. William described the opportunity to Charles, and the idea for a powerful central fort bloomed.

In the summer of 1832, the brothers and Cheyenne chief Yellow Wolf selected a location on the U.S.-Mexico boundary.<sup>13</sup> Thirty miles above the Cheyenne meeting place, Big Timbers, the location considered traffic on the Santa Fe trail, trade potential with the Cheyenne, Ute, Kiowa, Arapaho, Pawnee, Comanche, and Apache, and the roaming grounds of more distant tribes; it was in the heartland of the plains (see map).<sup>14</sup> Around 100 Mexicans hired from Taos built the adobe fort.<sup>15</sup> On November 12, 1833, the completion of the largest structure between Mis-



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### Map showing Bent's Fort in relation to Plains Indian tribes

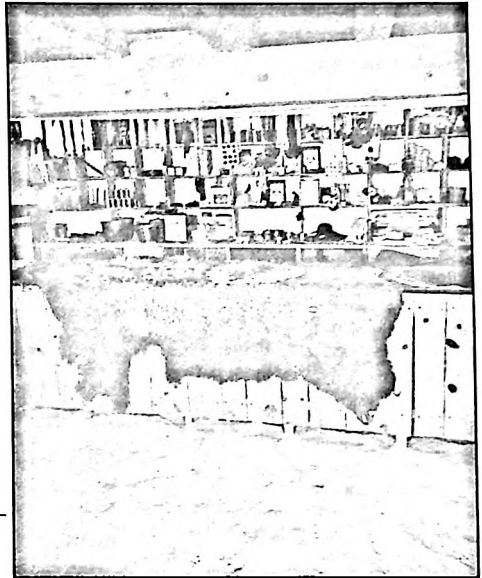
souri and the Pacific<sup>16</sup> was appropriately announced by a meteor shower: "Like an explosion of meteors on an autumn night, Bent's Fort would light the vast prairie, changing it forever."<sup>17</sup>

**At the Heart of the Plains: The Exchange of Goods and Cultures**  
As Charles sent goods down the trail and St. Vrain handled Taos trade, William managed the fort. A "cosmopolitan feel of trade, politics, and society"<sup>18</sup> evolved. Between 1834 and 1849, a staggering variety of people made the fort a hub for cultural exchange. At any time the languages of Cheyenne, Comanche, English, French, Sioux, Spanish, and Ute were heard.<sup>19</sup> Occasionally the list included even German, Russian,

Apache, or Navajo. These languages and the people who spoke them “wove together in a rich tapestry held together by the universal sign language of the plains.”<sup>20</sup>

Trade motivated the gathering: people of different cultures exchanging goods from all over the world created an opportunity to encounter exciting new things and ideas. In exchange for buffalo hides or horses,<sup>21</sup> Indians could attain manufactured items that could revolutionize their lives such as guns, powder, flints, knives, kettles, pots, brass, and wire.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, the fort fostered trade with Santa Fe. For Mexican gold, silver, and mules, American traders offered imported rum and alcohol stills, sugar, coffee, rice, tea, and domestic items.<sup>23</sup> Many of these goods were manufactured in Europe or Asia, elevating the market to a global scale. By cultivating this trade, Bent’s Fort formed a link in an international exchange system that incorporated items and people not only from the U.S. and Mexico, but from countries across the Atlantic.<sup>24</sup> Indian life was significantly changed by diseases and domesticated plants and animals brought over from Europe, but also expanded to reflect their fascination with European crafts and the hundreds of new manufactured items from distant shops and forages: tipis could house British furniture and French horns could call a tribe to dinner.<sup>25</sup> European immigrants later flooded the region en-route of the California Gold Rush and, they, in turn, would find diversion in bartering with Indians for exotic souvenirs.<sup>26</sup>

The lure of trade inevitably invited the



pool of cultures to mix beyond exchanging items.

A visiting soldier journaled that the fort was ““a perfect Babel of a place not only from heterogeneousness of tongues but from differences of character assembled. [It] had all sorts from polished gentlemen down to the rough daring man of the mountains. As well as the untamed savage.”<sup>27</sup> The fort’s employees consisted of nearly 100 men and women, including many nationalities, from French clerks to Mexican herders.<sup>28</sup> The inhabitants fostered cultural exchange, especially because color, race, and religion had no significant impact on social standing at the fort. Charlotte Green, the Bent’s slave cook, and Jim Beckwourth, a black mountain man, were held in high regard. People of all classes and colors were included in daily “yarn spinning” (storytelling),

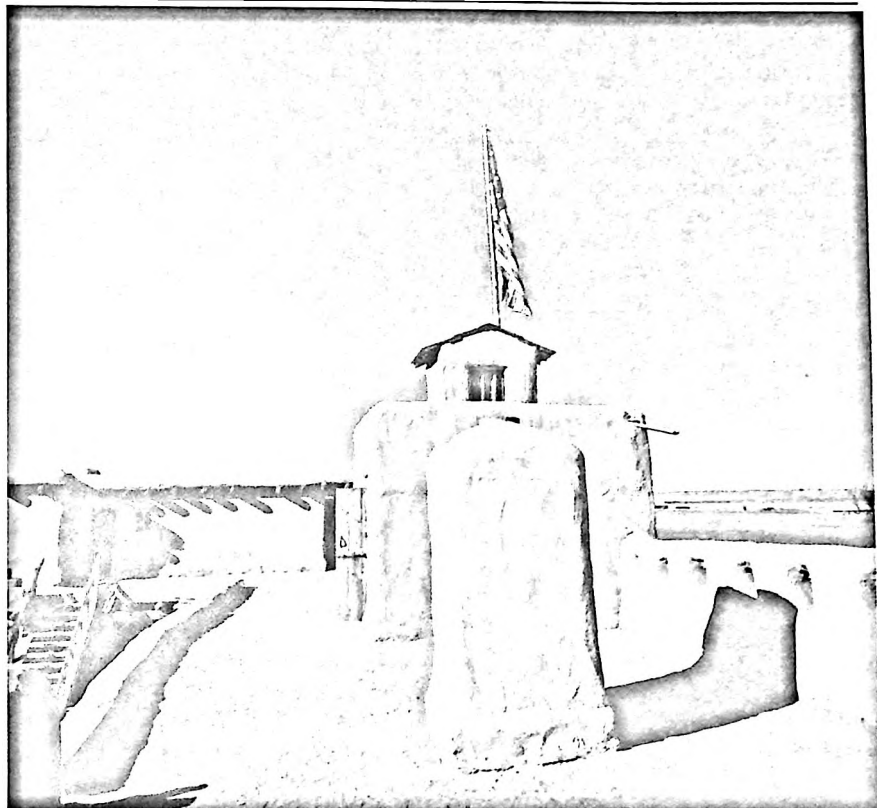
and gambling, forming bonds between peoples of different heritage.<sup>29</sup> Mexican and Indian cooking styles were incorporated in the fort's meals.<sup>30</sup> The best presentations of cultural and societal union were the nightly dances: Lewis Gerrard, a fort visitor, wrote, "Such a medley of steps is seldom seen . . . the halting, irregular march of the war dance, the slipping gallopade, the boisterous pitching of the Missouri backwoodsman, and the more nice gyrations of the Frenchman-for all, irrespective of rank, age, and *color*, went pellmell into the excitement."<sup>31</sup>

Interracial marriage was another prominent method of cultural crossing with the frequent coupling of white workers and Mexican or Indian women.<sup>32</sup> Marriage into a tribe offered company to lonely travelers and, more importantly, served a sounder method of economic stability than offering bounties of alcohol (in his journal, Colonel Henry Dodge noted that Indians "will sell their horses, blankets, and everything else they possess for a drink of [whiskey]"<sup>33</sup>).<sup>34</sup> William Bent himself married a Cheyenne named Owl Woman, and after her death married her sister, Yellow Woman. He made an effort to foster both cultures through his children, a perfect example of the type of cultural integration that could occur.<sup>35</sup> It was not uncommon for lonely white traders to take Indian wives and have children with them.<sup>36</sup> Peace between peoples was another objective for William and his fort, both between tribes and between Mexicans and Indians.<sup>37</sup> Keeping good relations with Indians was essential for business, but also demonstrated William's respect for

the plains people.<sup>38</sup> He kept on good terms with the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes and their enemies, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, overseeing trade with both sides.<sup>39</sup> William facilitated numerous intertribal councils and peace talks at the fort, the first between the Cheyenne and Arapaho and their enemies, the Pawnee, in 1835.<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant James W. Abert, present for a later talk in 1845, noted how the Indians and whites negotiated frontier style: seated on buffalo robes on the council chamber's dirt floor.<sup>41</sup> George F. Ruxton, another visitor, journaled (with spelling errors) a similar scene during a peace talk in 1847: "Chiefs of the Shain, Kioway, and Arpaho, sit in solemn conclave with the head traders, and smoke the 'calument' over their real and imaginary grievances . . . over clouds of tobacco and kinnikkinnik, these grave affairs are settled and terms arranged."<sup>42</sup>

### **Symbol of Manifest Destiny: Exploration of the Western Frontier**

Bent's Fort played a significant role in the American movement to explore and expand to the West. Following Texas (annexed 1845), President Polk's call for acquisition of California and Oregon in the name of Manifest Destiny boosted momentum for Americanization of the plains, turning heads towards Bent's Fort.<sup>43</sup> The Bents had "built a vast mud castle that Mexico came to fear.... There was reason. For here was the spearhead of American expansion to the Southwest...."<sup>44</sup> Before the U.S. declared war on Mexico in 1846, General Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West advanced down the trail, stopping at Bent's Fort to restock supplies and re-



convene.<sup>45</sup> As the war progressed, William Bent provided guides and relayed information that later convinced Kearny to continue his expedition to California after he annexed New Mexico.<sup>46</sup> At about the same time, John C. Frémont led an expedition to survey California, or, as he states in his journal, “of the prairie region southward,”<sup>47</sup> and Lieutenant J.W. Abert ventured to survey the present-day Oklahoma panhandle; both utilized the fort.<sup>48</sup> After leaving Bent’s Fort, Kearny’s troops took Santa Fe<sup>49</sup> in a quick, nearly bloodless encounter, and “once the way was prepared, New

Mexico, Arizona, and California were inevitably lost.” The frontier leap-frogged past the fort, a crucial post for the physical invasion of the West.<sup>50</sup>

The fort symbolized American civilization in the western wilderness.<sup>51</sup> In the 1830s, only a few daring visionaries thought of continental expansion because the plains were thought to be for barbaric Indians, uninhabitable by white men. But the Bents and their adobe empire inspired a new way of thinking: one could live, survive, and even thrive in the “golden glow of the West.”<sup>52</sup> The

Bents and St. Vrain were pathbreakers themselves and their fort sheltered more well-known pathbreakers, Kit Carson, Jim Beckwourth, Old Bill Williams, and more as they opened up the Southwest.<sup>53</sup> Their explorations led to settlement, earning them recognition as the real pioneers of the West.<sup>54</sup>

The company's social and political connections in Santa Fe and Indian relations helped initiate New Mexico's annexation and a U.S. presence in the West.<sup>55</sup> The fort was the first hand of American commerce in that part of the country,<sup>56</sup> accelerating the exploration and Americanization of the area in the 30s and 40s.<sup>57</sup> In his journal, George F. Ruxton described it as "very striking, standing as it does hundreds of miles from any settlement, on the vast and lifeless prairie . . . the solitary stranger passing this lone fort, feels proudly secure when he comes withing the sight of the 'stars and stripes' which float above the walls"<sup>58</sup> (see Appendix II).



trappers, traders, merchants, an army of conquest, gold seekers, ranchers, and finally farmers."<sup>60</sup>

### Last Days and Legacy

The war with Mexico (1846-1848) initiated the undoing of the fort as the constant flow of supply wagons disrupted normal business. The war excited the raiding spirit of many tribes, increasing the frequency of aggression. The flood of emigrants and army trains also angered the Plains Indians because buffalo herds were scared off and killed. Tensions rose, the U.S. looked to police the plains, and the chaotic conditions hurt Indian trade.<sup>61</sup>

At one point, St. Vrain offered the fort to the government for \$15,000 (the offer was declined) without consulting William, straining their relationship. In 1848, Ceran lost interest and turned

"Outpost of manifest destiny" is a grand and fitting title for Bent's Fort: a catalyst for change, it ushered the idea for expansion to the Pacific. It is possible that without the fort, western expansion and the Mexican boundary would have evolved differently, or perhaps not at all. An essential jumping-off point for expansion on the southwestern edge of the American frontier, it offered a way for the country to explore even farther west.<sup>59</sup> The fort's significance proved "bigger than its purpose, its functions, or its personalities. The fort had a profound effect on the westward movement. In fifteen short years, the entire frontier passed through its gates:



over his share to William.<sup>62</sup> The War Department was still considering a purchase, and William could have made a hefty sum, but he adamantly refused to sell for sentimental reasons.<sup>63</sup>

Indian trade declined with overhunting of buffalo and an outbreak of cholera<sup>64</sup> when the 1849 California gold rush brought a tide of whites, spreading the "Big Cramps" across the plains.<sup>65</sup> The epidemic extinguished half the Southern Cheyennes within weeks. With the Indian trade damaged beyond repair, the fort could no longer support itself. On August 21, 1849, "the death boom of the prairie's greatest feudal empire split the evening sky."<sup>66</sup> William Bent supposedly refused to let the army or Indians take over his monumental fortress and burned it to the ground himself.<sup>67</sup>

This mysterious termination is also somewhat tragic: the westward expansion facilitated by the fort ultimately led to the end of the peaceful era it created with the relocation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho.<sup>68</sup> "The ground in the vicinity of the old fort is a cemetery in which lies the bones of the Indians of both sexes and all ages; of trappers, traders, and adventurers, emigrants and American soldiers."<sup>69</sup>

In 1976, the fort was reconstructed by the National Park Service using archaeological excavations, diaries, and original sketches. The reconstruction allows Bent's Fort to maintain a legacy of exploration as a place where visitors can fully immerse themselves in the past and explore what it was like to be at the adobe fortress which once stood as America's first stronghold for explo-

ration and exchange in the Great Plains of the West.<sup>70</sup>

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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 10<sup>th</sup> of the first month in the date of publication.*

## **Westerner Corral Presentations in the New Year**

Kicking off the New Year, the Boulder County Corral January program, "Plains Warriors in Winter, the Story of White Bull, 1866," was presented by Dr. John Monnett, former sheriff of the Boulder Corral. John recently retired as a professor history at Metropolitan State University of Denver, and has authored, co-authored or contributed to over twelve books on the history of the American West and Native American history.

The Colorado Corral January presentation was "George Creel: Advertising America – The Committee on Public Information in World War I," by Susan Gustin. Almost a century ago in April 1917, the United States entered the Great War – now known as World War I. To advertise the war, the nation's goals, and the role of soldiers abroad and civilians at home, the Wilson Administration hired the Denver Progressive reformer and newspaperman, George Creel. As he became the nation's propaganda czar, Creel created an image of the conflict that endures to this very day. Susan Gustin received her master's degree in history from the University of Colorado Denver in 2005, and has been teaching at UCD since then.

Former El Paso County Sheriff John Wesley Anderson presented "Discovering the Anza Legacy: Juan Bautista de Anza and his 1779 Comanche Campaign" to the Pikes Peak Posse. This is the story of two fearless men, Governor de Anza, and Cuerno Verde, the Comanche war chief, determined to protect their people and preserve their culture. A Spanish force of 600 men left Santa Fe, and attacked the Comanche main camp near Colorado Springs on August 31, 1779. The final battle occurs four days later, south of Pueblo. The defeat of Cuerno Verde is recognized in his Anglicized name of nearby Greenhorn Mountain. Since he retired, John has been able to pursue his love of history, writing and the arts, as reflected in his book *Ute Indian Prayer Trees in the Pikes Peak Region*.

## Denver Posse Member Presentations

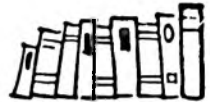
Last June Denver Posse member Jeff Broome spoke in Hardin, Montana, at the annual symposium on the Custer fight. That talk will be published in a journal next June. The talk was titled "The Value and Significance of Indian Depredation Claims in Understanding Custer's Indian War History."

In October Jeff spoke at the Kansas City Posse of Westerners. That talk was an overview of his books *Dog Soldier Justice* and *Cheyenne War*.

In June 2013 the annual Regional History Symposium conducted by the Pikes Peak Library District was "Massacre, Murder, and Mayhem in the Rocky Mountain West." Jeff's symposium presentation featured the Hungate Massacre. The symposium proceedings were published in November 2016, and are available from PPLD.



## Westerners Bookshelf



**The Trial of Tom Horn**, by John W. Davis. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 358 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

Tom Horn was a criminal whose trial portrayed the time, place, and culture encircling his heinous deeds. His murder of a 14 year-old boy and the ensuing legal process changed the course of Wyoming history. The time is the first decade of the 1900s, the place is Wyoming soon after statehood, and the culture reflects the bristling tension on the plains during the range wars between the cattlemen and sheepherders.

The sudden opening of virtually all the lands in the northern half of the Territory of Wyoming, with no regulations or restrictions, was an open invitation to conflict, and conflict followed. Ambitious men flooded into northern Wyoming in 1879 and created large cattle ranches almost overnight in areas completely void of law enforcement. A powerful culture of extralegal violence grew up. The strong survived by becoming a law unto themselves. The result, however, was a thirty-year struggle to wrest back the control of Wyoming from these willful cattle barons. It took the heroic efforts of men such as Laramie County Attorney Walter Stoll to finally place society's ultimate power in the hands of lawfully constituted authorities. So it was no surprise that people all over Wyoming were jubilant when Tom Horn was convicted and his conviction upheld. He had become a symbol, the living embodiment of big cattlemen's reign of terror. The citizens of Wyoming believed that if Wyoming was ever to join the community of states in which the government was truly of the people and by the people, Tom Horn must die.

As the trial progresses, one gains appreciation for the role the Wyoming and Colorado newspapers played in the case. Aptly described by Dutton Peabody in "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance," the press was the "watchdog that howls against the wolves." Following the trial day by day, the press engaged the population in the broader struggle of community attempting to wrest a civil society from the cattle-baron-supported vigilantes.

Author John W. Davis skillfully portrays the high level of competence of the hardworking and aggressive law enforcement, attorneys, and judges available at the time in remote and sparsely populated Wyoming. Challenged by having to search nationwide for precedents in a state where the Wyoming Supreme Court had decided only a few hundred cases, the prosecution raced to arrive at a speedy decision to thwart vigilante action while the defense went to great lengths to defend an accused murderer bent on self-destruction.

Davis brings his background as a historian and attorney to his narration of the trial of Tom Horn. Taking the reader through the trial, the appeal and the final plea for clemency, Davis' carefully researched and documented narration is engaging and entertaining without sensationalism. Using his knowledge of the statutes relating to legal proceedings in place at the time and a broad scope of sources, Davis balances newspaper stories written with the highly embellished oratory style of the time with courtroom transcripts carrying no revelation of the tone, expression or body language of those testifying. The result is an engaging book with both depth and color.

— *Corinne Lively*

**Motoring West, Volume 1: Automobile Pioneers, 1900-1909**, Edited by Peter J. Blodgett. University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. 360 pages. 11 black and white illustrations, 1 map, index. Paperback, \$24.95.

*Motoring West* is a collection of eighteen articles on a variety of automobile topics written between 1900-1909. Some are from rather obscure publications, found by the book's editor, a curator at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This volume is the first of a planned series. The editor referenced a large variety of motoring literature in preparing the introduction to the series. This introduction includes automobile and highway developments up to World War II.

Articles describe preparations and equipment needed for a trip by auto, the joys of camping, several summaries of coast-to-coast "expeditions," and technical descriptions of automobiles, such as a comparison between gas and steam-powered cars. Articles on camping while traveling by automobile include lists of items to take. One extensive list ends with a "complete set of tools." Other articles deal with motoring in a specific geographic location, such as the "gasoline camels" of remote

Nevada mining districts. Another article describes traveling the rails with an automobile equipped with flanged wheels.

Two common themes emerge from the various articles, one bad and one good. First, western roads were bad or nonexistent, with little maintenance, no signage or road guides. But automobile travel was able to eliminate "that horrible fiend, the railroad timetable."

With such a wide variety of topics, every reader will find some articles more interesting than others. Each article is preceded by a short summary written by the editor. This will help the reader decide whether the article will be skimmed or devoured.

Eleven illustrations provide a sample of automobile advertisements and road conditions. The book's one map of the western part of the country provided an adequate overview of place names and motor routes.

*--Lee Whiteley*

**Touring the West with LEAPING Lena**, by W. C. Clark, edited by David Dary. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2016. 292 pp. Map, photos, footnotes, index. Paperback, \$19.95.

This book documents a road trip made in 1925 by W. C. Clark and his wife and daughter. They traveled 12,652 miles in their new 1925 Chevrolet Superior roadster. They were on the road for 123 days and most of the nights were spent in their tent at tourist camps set up by many of the western towns, most good, some bad. The trip seemed very organized: they had identified post offices where they could get mail and they included many stops at relatives and friends. The map in the book shows their route but I also used my road atlas to find some of the smaller towns mentioned in his narrative. They traveled from West Virginia to Washington state and then down the west coast to San Diego and then headed east on the southern route across the desert.

The word "leaping" in the book's title refers to the bumpy motion of automobiles and "Lena" was his name for their car, which held up very well except a new clutch was required and the brakes had to be relined. But the tires were another story. They had multiple flat tires and some blowouts almost every day, depending on the condition of the roads. The author's subtle sense of humor was illustrated at times when discussing auto problems: "In accordance with garage custom, the work on Lena was not done during the day allotted for it but waited until the next morning."

The book covers geography, history, commerce, and even some geology. The fact that the author was a newspaper man is illustrated with his keen observations and inquisitiveness. The author had knowledge about some of the country they

crossed because he had lived or visited there previously. But he gathered information on everywhere they went, including the national parks they visited, and included it in his narrative.

They were very adventurous to undertake this journey. I would love to see the "Blue Book" they used to find their way. It wasn't very accurate when they got lost trying to get to Yosemite National Park. The "roads" were questionable, especially on the Oregon coast near Gold Beach where they thought they would be pushed over the cliff by oncoming traffic on a one-lane road-in-progress. Surprisingly, they usually made over 100 miles per day but this day only 41 miles. In Ohio on their way home they drove 370 miles in one day. The roads on the east side of the Mississippi were usually much better than on the west side. But most roads were still just gravel.

This is a low-key, fun book. Even his ascent of Mt. Rainier is low-key. The notes are very interesting and stand on their own. The detailed index is outstanding. I would recommend this book to anyone for a fun journey into the past.

--Susie Morton

**Powder River: Disastrous Opening of the Great Sioux War**, by Paul L. Hedren. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 452pp. Maps, illustrations (photos), appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$34.95.

In 1961 Colorado attorney J. W. Vaughn's book, *The Reynolds Campaign on the Powder River* was published by the University of Oklahoma Press. For many years it has remained the only book-length description of this episode of the Great Sioux War until now. Paul Hedren has produced what could be the authoritative account of the opening guns of the campaign against the Western Sioux or Teton Lakota Nation and their allies, the Northern Cheyenne Nation. By having access to many documents, diaries, letters, government records and files at the National Archives and other locations that Vaughn just barely touched on or was unaware of, Hedren has given the reader a much-detailed description of what was hoped to have been, at least for the army, a successful beginning to their putting the non-treaty roamers on their respective reservations.

The author shows that the long road to war for the Northern Plains that would start at the Powder River began with two major events, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874. On November 3, 1875 a meeting was called by President Grant at the White House in which Secretary of War William Belknap, Secretary of the Interior Zachariah Chandler, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edward P. Smith and Generals Philip Sheridan and George Crook were also present. General William Tecumseh Sherman, commander of the army, who was involved in a disagreement with Belknap was a no-show. The

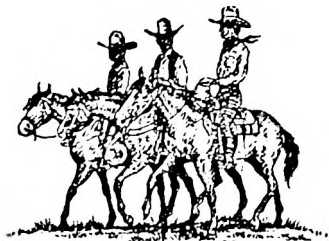
two topics that were most certainly brought up were what to do about the Black Hills gold rush and the Sioux and their Northern Cheyenne allies. These two tribes strongly believed that the Black Hills were a sacred place within the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation and were worth fighting for. It was felt by all those at the meeting that the only way to get the Sioux and especially Sitting Bull and his non-treaty followers to move to their respective reservations was military force if the set deadline of January 31, 1876, was not reached.

When the deadline date came and went, army units of the Departments of the Dakota and Platte began to concentrate at their places of departure for a planned winter campaign of three converging columns. Due to snowy weather at one post and a combination of snow and not enough supplies gathered at another, a delay seemed inevitable. However the column from Fort Fetterman in Wyoming Territory was able to take to the field first on March 1. Called the Big Horn Expedition, the troops consisted of five companies of the Second Cavalry, five companies of the Third Cavalry and two companies of the Fourth Infantry. There were nearly a thousand men all under the command of Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, Third Cavalry, with General Crook as an unofficial observer.

From the start the Big Horn Expedition did not go as well as many had hoped it would. In the end it would be largely a campaign of mismanagement and incompetence. And when the soldiers finally met the Indians in battle during an attack on a village, there would be accusations of officers failing to put their men in their assigned positions. Orders would be ignored or challenged by officers from the senior commander Reynolds (Crook was not present) to save badly needed supplies. When cooperation between the companies and their commanders was needed, it was lacking. The most damaging accusation of all against Colonel Reynolds would be the abandonment of four dead and one wounded trooper.

Paul Hedren has written a superb account of the engagement that became the harbinger of the battles at the Rosebud and the Little Big Horn. This book is not to be missed by students of the Indian Wars.

*--Mark E. Hutchins*







*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

March - April 2017



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Evelyn Thomas Barton Booth

**Boozers, Brothels, Bare Knuckle Brawlers, and Buffalo  
Bill's Little-known Business Partner**

**By Kellen Cutsforth  
presented June 22, 2016**



## Our Author

Kellen Cutsforth is the author of *Buffalo Bill, Boozers, Brothels, and Bare Knuckle Brawlers: An Englishman's Journal of Adventure in America* (TwoDot, 2015). He has published over twenty articles in such publications as: *Wild West* magazine, *True West Magazine* and *Western Writers of America's Roundup* magazine. Kellen has also provided his services as a professional "ghost writer" authoring biographies and memoirs. Along with those accomplishments, Kellen is a long-time member and social media manager for WWA and the Western history group, the Denver Posse of Westerners. He is also a past president of the Denver Posse of Westerners.

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

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## Boozers, Brothels, Bare Knuckle Brawlers, and Buffalo Bill's Little-known Business Partner

By Kellen Cutsforth  
presented June 22, 2016

In October 1884, during the halcyon days of America's Gilded Age, a wealthy young Englishman named Evelyn Booth ventured to the States to sample all that the burgeoning country had to offer. As the young sportsman traveled from New York to Chicago to Arkansas and finally to New Orleans, he tumbled into his greatest adventure—a shooting match with Buffalo Bill Cody before a crowd of 3,000 spectators. Although he failed to bag a shooting trophy, the chance encounter with the king of American showmen gave Booth an opportunity to partner in one of the most profitable and renowned Western enterprises ever.

Born in 1860 to well-to-do English parents in, Dublin, Ireland, Evelyn Thomas Barton Booth attended Trinity College in Cambridge, England. Two years after his graduation, he and two companions set sail for America on the steamship *R.M.S Oregon*, which docked in Sandy Hook, N.J., on November 2, 1884. Once in the United States, Booth caroused in infamous brothels, frequented gambling houses and obtained front-row seats at a John L. Sullivan heavyweight-boxing title fight.

Much like Booth his traveling companions, Reginald Beaumont Heygate and Dr. John Percival Frizzle, were also members of the English upper class. At a time when their less adventurous friends were embarking on safe but clichéd grand tours of the European

capitals, this group of young friends took a “buddy trip” from England to America.

Reginald Beaumont Heygate would go on to live a rather uneventful life. Born in 1857 in London, England to Constance M. and William Unwin Heygate, a Magistrate for the county of Hertfordshire, England, Reginald graduated from Cambridge University with a B.A. in 1880 and an M.A. in 1883. He eventually found work as an Assistant Private Secretary to Sir William Harcourt in 1886 but died unmarried in 1903.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. John Percival Frizzle, on the other hand, was born in Belfast Ireland in 1862. Frizzle, after returning to the U.K. in 1885, would eventually emigrate to the United States in 1889. He married Sarah Sadie W. Rhodes in 1894. After the marriage ended, Frizzle remarried in 1905 to Lena Frances Parker. The couple had twin girls Lena Parker Frizzle and Frances Percival Frizzle. The family lived in Northern Calif., in Siskiyou County.<sup>2</sup> Frizzle spent time in British Columbia's Klondike and Yukon Territory. Later in life, Dr. Frizzle would gain some notoriety for organizing an attempt to track a mastodon he believed to be living in the Alaskan wilderness.<sup>3</sup>

These three scoundrels, after disembarking in New York, would later be joined in their travels by the most famous horse jockey of the day, Frederick James Archer. Champion jockey

Frederick James Archer, was one of the most renowned Englishmen of the day. Born in 1857 Archer became a champion horse jockey by the age of fifteen and quickly rose to prominence becoming England's most celebrated horseman during the late Nineteenth Century. During his short but storied career, Archer won the Epsom Derby five times and won twenty-one other classic races.<sup>4</sup>

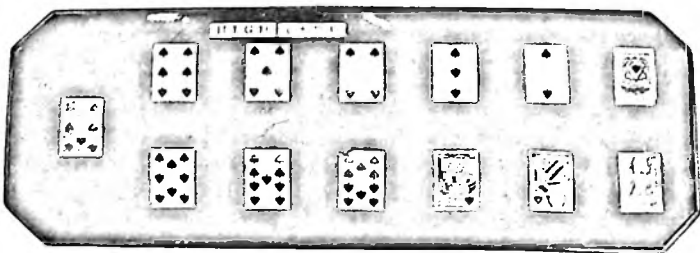
A close friend of Evelyn Booth's, Archer arrived in America in December 1884.<sup>5</sup> He quickly joined Booth and his companions while they caroused throughout the country. Although he seemed to have everything, Archer committed suicide only a short time later in 1886. It is reported that his death, from a self-inflicted gunshot wound, was brought on by massive weight loss stemming from his constant binge dieting to maintain his weight as a jockey, a bout with a fever, and severe depression from the loss of his wife, Nellie Rose Dawson who died in 1884.<sup>6</sup>

In late 1884, however, these four men while in America not only enjoyed brothels and sporting events all over the country, they also partook in one of the most popular and notorious games of chance of the Gilded Era. That game was Faro. Originally invented in southwestern France, the game was extremely popular. It was often pronounced as pharaoh or pharaon. The game was banned in France in

1691 but continued to be quite popular in England. The game's popularity stemmed from the ease at which one learned to play, the game's quick pace, and that the odds for a participant were the best of all gambling games.<sup>7</sup>

This pastime spread to the United States in the 19th century becoming the most widespread and popularly favored gambling card game. Faro was played in almost every gambling hall in the Old West from 1825 to 1915.<sup>8</sup> It eventually was considered to be the most popular form of gambling, surpassing all other forms combined in terms of money wagered each year.

A game of faro itself was often called a "faro bank". It was played with an entire deck of playing cards. One person was designated the "banker" or "house" and an indeterminate number of players, known as "punters", could be admitted. Chips (called "checks") were purchased by the punter from the banker. Bet values and limits were then set by the house. The faro table was typically oval, covered with green baize, and had a cutout for the banker. A board was placed on top of the table with one suit of cards (traditionally the suit of spades) pasted to it in numerical order, representing a standardized betting "layout". Each player laid his



Faro card layout

stake on one of the thirteen cards on the layout. Players could place multiple bets and could bet on multiple cards simultaneously by placing their bet between cards or on specific card edges. Players also had the choice of betting on the "high card" bar located at the top of the layout.

A deck of cards was then shuffled and placed inside a "dealing box," a mechanical device also known as a "shoe," which was used to prevent manipulations of the draw by the banker and intended to assure players of a fair game. The first card in the dealing box was called the "soda" and was "burned off", leaving fifty-one cards in play. The dealer then drew two cards: the first was called the "banker's card" and was placed on the right side of the dealing box. The next card after the banker's card was called the "player's card," and placed on the left of the shoe.<sup>9</sup>

The banker's card was the "losing card;" regardless of its suit, all bets placed on the layout's card that had the same denomination as the banker's card were lost by the players and won by the bank. The player's card was the "winning card." All bets placed on the card that had that denomination were returned to the players with an even money payout by the bank (e.g. a dollar bet won a dollar).

Each player laid his stake on one of the thirteen cards on the layout. Players could place multiple bets and could bet on multiple cards simultaneously by placing their bet between cards or on specific card edges. Players also had the choice of betting on the "high card" bar located at the top of the layout.

A "high card" bet won if the

player's card had a higher value than the banker's card.<sup>10</sup> The dealer settled all bets after each two cards drawn. This allowed players to bet before drawing the next two cards. Bets that neither won nor lost remained on the table, and could be picked up or changed by the player prior to the next draw. A player could reverse the intent of his bet by placing a hexagonal token called a "copper" on it. "Coppering" the bet reversed the meaning of the win-loss piles for that particular bet.

When only three cards remained in the dealing box, the dealer would "call the turn", which was a special type of bet occurring at the end of each round. The object was to predict the exact order that the three remaining cards, Bankers, Players, and the final card, would be drawn. The player's odds here were five to one, while a successful bet paid off at four to one or one to one if a pair among the three remained. This provided one of the dealer's few advantages.

Faro, however, was notoriously crooked and almost everyone who played the game cheated at it. In a fair game, the house's edge was low so bankers increasingly resorted to cheating the players to improve the profitability of the game for themselves. There were many methods dealers employed to help them swindle the players. Crooked faro equipment was so popular that many sporting-house companies began to supply gaffed dealing boxes specially designed so the bankers could cheat their players. This was so rampant that many gambling strategy books and guides of the period often reported, "[that] not a single honest faro bank could be found in the United



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### Buffalo Bill Cody

States."<sup>11</sup>

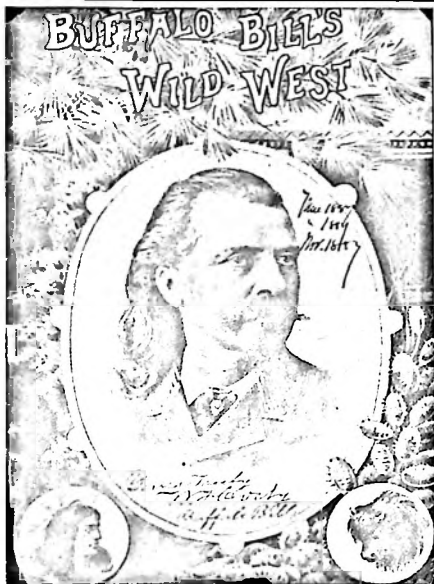
Dealers often rigged decks to give them a greater advantage. A rigged deck would contain textured cards allowing dealers to create paired cards in the deck while giving the illusion of thorough shuffling.<sup>12</sup> Rigged dealing boxes came in several variants. Typically, they allowed the dealer to see the next card prior to the deal, by use of a small mirror or prism visible only to the dealer. If the next card was heavily bet, the box could also allow the dealer to draw two cards in one draw, thus hiding the card that would have paid.<sup>13</sup> The dealer could also, when he knew the next card to win, surreptitiously slide a player's bet off of the winning card if it was on the dealer's side of the layout. At a hectic faro table, the banker could often get away with this.

Players would routinely cheat

as well. Their techniques employed distraction, and sleight-of-hand, and usually involved moving their stake to a winning card, or at the very least off of the losing card, without being detected.<sup>14</sup> And again, at a fast-paced table this often worked. Most times, players would employ a silk thread or single a horse hair affixed to the bottom check in the bet, this allowed the stack to be pulled across the table to another card on the layout.

Players would also use the thread by affixing it to the copper token used to reverse the bet. If the losing card matched the player's bet, the copper made it a winning bet and no cheat was needed. If, however, the winning card, dealt second, were to match the player's bet the copper would ordinarily make it a loser, but quickly snatching the copper from the stack with the invisible thread turned it into a winner. This method often held the least risk, as once the copper was yanked from the stack, there was no thread left attached to the bet. And what seemed to be a regular occurrence in the Old West, anyone caught cheating whether it was a player or a dealer often resulted in a fist fight, or even led to someone being gunned down in the middle of the street.

After enjoying their fill of faro, in late November 1884, Booth and his companions joined a hunting expedition between Weiner and Brinkley, Ark. While in Arkansas, the lure of big game hunting, however, drew Buffalo Bill's and Evelyn Booth's worlds together. Booth and his companions remained near Brinkley until December 8.<sup>15</sup> William "Buffalo Bill" Cody was also in the area, having just completed an



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### Buffalo Bill's American Exhibition program

exhibition in Memphis, Tenn. He and his performers were heading south to New Orleans for a scheduled show set to open on December 23.

On his way south in early December, Bill stopped in Arkansas and apparently joined the hunting expedition counting Booth as a member. Cody's fortunes on the hunt went rather poorly. "Bill has announced his intention of killing every bird he fires at, but we are not surprised to hear that out of seven shots he failed to hit anything and departed cursing awfully," Booth remarked. On the other hand, Booth proved his prowess with a pistol, recording a large number of kills. Word of Booth's expert marksmanship caught Cody's ear and, after Bill finished attending scheduled exhibitions

in Arkansas and Mississippi, the two set a date to meet in New Orleans.

There is some question, however, as to when Booth and Buffalo Bill Cody actually first became acquainted. The two definitely knew each other, met in New Orleans, and eventually had business dealings. But, Booth and his companions had a propensity for using nicknames and may have used the nickname "Buffalo Bill" for someone they met while on the hunting trail in Arkansas.

The names Buffalo Bill and Cody were used several times in somewhat strange contexts by Booth in his journal, probably in reference to persons using those nicknames. For example, on March 12, 1885, the traveling companions left an acquaintance, who Booth referred to as the Hon. Cody, in bed in Florida and returned to Louisiana. The choice of "Buffalo Bill" as a nickname was not unusual. As early as March 20, 1874, Colorado's *Las Animas Leader* reported that "Buffalo Bill was killed again at Fort Scott last Monday, and now we have only seven more."<sup>16</sup>

In any case, it is a proven fact that on December 6, after performing in Vicksburg, Miss., Bill's Wild West troupe boarded a boat and began winding their way down the Mississippi River toward New Orleans. Buffalo Bill, meanwhile, separated from his Wild West performers and hustled by rail to the Crescent City in order to view the Exposition Grounds and make accommodations for his employees before they arrived.<sup>17</sup>

With his departure, Buffalo Bill needed to hire someone to take charge of securing transportation for the Wild

West troupe's trip to the Crescent City. Leaning on old alliances and friendships, Cody turned to his long-time counterpart Bob Haslam. This decision ended up being a total disaster. Throughout Cody's life, he was generous to a fault with friends, employees, and acquaintances. Cody never forgot his childhood friends or the people he worked with while following the road to international fame and super stardom. The Little Sure Shot herself, Annie Oakley, once said of Cody's blind generosity, "He was totally unable to resist any claim for assistance that came to him or refuse any mortal in distress."<sup>18</sup> This was exactly the case for Cody's hiring of Haslam.

"Pony" Bob Haslam, as he was known to most, was a friend of Buffalo Bill's from their days working for the Pony Express. Bob was hired by the Pony Express as a teenager, helped build the stations, and was assigned the Nevada run from Friday's Station (State Line) to Buckland Station, seventy-five miles to the east. Haslam is credited with having made the longest round-trip journey of any Pony Express rider. The story of his journey goes, that at Buckland's Station Haslam's relief rider was so badly frightened over the Indian threat that he refused to take the mail.

From there, Haslam agreed to take the relief rider's mail all the way to Smith's Creek amassing a total distance of 190 miles without a rest. Then, after reaching Smith's Creek and resting nine hours, Bob retraced his route with the westbound mail. At Cold Springs he found Indians had raided the place, killing the station keeper and had run off all of the stock. Finally, he reached Buckland's Station, completing

a 380-mile-round-trip, the longest on record. His ride, while wounded, was an important contribution to the fastest trip ever made by the Pony Express. The story also has it, that one of the messengers Pony Bob transported was Abraham Lincoln's 1860 Inaugural Address.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately for Buffalo Bill and his Wild West, Cody discovered Pony Bob was nowhere near as good at plotting a course down the Mississippi River as he was at busting mustangs. In desperate need of a job, Haslam begged Buffalo Bill for work. In an act of kindness toward his old partner, Cody hired Haslam as the advance agent for the Wild West show. In the position of advance agent, Haslam selected the performance grounds for the enterprise and arranged transportation for the troupe. When charting a course down the Mississippi River, Pony Bob hired a river boat with navigator in Cincinnati, Ohio to carry the show's performers and equipment. The navigator proved to be as incompetent in his position as Pony Bob.

Upon arriving in New Orleans on December 8, 1884 Cody received a telegram containing news of complete disaster. On the preceding day, while steaming south toward the Crescent City, the boat carrying Bill's Wild West troupe, performing animals and paraphernalia collided with another vessel sinking the ship and almost drowning everyone on board. Apparently, after the collision the boat captain ran the ship ashore. Shortly afterward, he proceeded to patch the damage to the boat and then set sail down the river once more. After traveling a short distance, the ship sank under thirty feet of water. When the vessel submerged in the river, the



famous Deadwood Stagecoach was nearly lost and world champion trap shooter and popular Wild West show performer Captain Adam Henry Borgardus narrowly escaped with his life.<sup>20</sup> In recalling the calamity Buffalo Bill, who estimated the monetary loss to be around \$20,000, recorded, "We lost all our personal effects, including wagons, camp equipage, arms, ammunition, donkeys, buffaloes, and one elk."<sup>21</sup>

After learning of the accident, Buffalo Bill frantically telegraphed Nate Salsbury, the manager of the Wild West show. Salsbury, who was also an accomplished singer and actor, was preparing to go on stage and sing at Denver's Tabor Opera House when he received Cody's terse telegram: **OUTFIT AT THE BOTTOM OF THE RIVER. WHAT DO YOU ADVISE?** Initially shaken by the news, Salsbury rushed to the speaking tube and shouted to the orchestra leader, "Play that symphony again and a little harder, while I think for a minute." After a moment of contemplation, Salsbury told the messenger to telegraph Cody: **GO TO NEW ORLEANS, REORGANIZE AND OPEN ON YOUR REGULAR DATE. [I] HAVE WIRED YOU FUNDS.**<sup>22</sup> With the money sent to him by Salsbury, Buffalo Bill regained the majority of what he lost and opened his show in New Orleans on time.

Remarking on Haslam's job performance as advance agent Nate Salsbury said, "Pony Bob had as little judgment in such matters as any man I have ever met in my whole life. And while he was perfectly devoted to the service he undertook, he had not the slightest fitness for the work. He blundered along in a haphazard kind of

way until he reached New Orleans, but he was sharp enough to send back the rosiest kind of reports on the condition of the country through which the route was laid."<sup>23</sup>

On March 13, 1885, Booth and his companions arrived in the Crescent City. It is believed that Cody and Booth received a more formal introduction through a mutual acquaintance by the name of Frank B. "Yank" Adams. Adams was a professional carom billiards player who specialized in finger billiards. Finger billiards or digital billiards, as it was commonly known, is a style of pool played in which a player directly manipulates the balls with his hands, instead of using an implement such as a cue stick. This is often done by twisting the ball between one's thumb and middle finger.<sup>24</sup>



*Library of Congress*

Frank B. Yank Adams

Adams, who was sometimes billed as the "Digital Billiard Wonder," has been called the "greatest of all digit billiards players" and the "champion digital billiardist of the World."<sup>25</sup> Yank is also seen by many historians as the "greatest exhibition player who ever lived."<sup>26</sup> Adams' exhibitions drew audiences of 1,000 or more at a time, leaving standing room only, even in small venues.

Largely self-taught, Adams amassed a large repertoire of finger billiards shots. He began to give performances in New York City. Later, Adams traveled extensively, giving exhibitions and taking on challengers in cities across the United States and some in Europe. During his travels, Adams performed before the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, three U.S. Presidents, the Prince of Wales in London, and the Comte de Paris in Paris. One of the largest matches ever played in any form of billiards took place at Manhattan's Gilmore's Gardens in 1878. Adams played using his fingers against fellow oilliardist and nemesis, William Sexton. At the time, Sexton was the reigning billiards champion of the world and used a cue during this affair. Adams won the three-day competition using only his fingers.

After meeting Yank Adams for the first time, Evelyn Booth remarked about his billiard skills in his journal writing, "Made the acquaintance of Pat Sheedy, who was very civil. Found out several new sporting houses [and] Pat introduced us to a friend of his, Yank Adams proprietor of Chicago Sporting Journal and a wonder at finger billiards."

The connection between Buf-

falo Bill Cody and Yank Adams is one that is not entirely clear. However, both Yank and Bill were mutual friends with a man named Dr. Frank Powell which is more than likely the source of their relationship. In the early days of Powell's medical practice, he was assigned to the post at Fort McPherson, Nebraska next to the town of North Platte. Buffalo Bill was living in North Platte at the time so their paths eventually crossed. Part of Powell's duties as fort surgeon was accompanying patrols in Indian country, a task that earned him the nickname, "Surgeon Scout." Powell probably met Buffalo Bill on patrol or at a Masonic Lodge meeting while in North Platte. After becoming friends with Cody, Powell eventually joined Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack Omohundro on a buffalo hunt, and from that point on Powell and Buffalo Bill, were great friends. Cody often remarked that he and Powell were, "blood brothers."<sup>27</sup>

After leaving Nebraska, Powell subsequently practiced medicine in La Crosse, Wisconsin in the early 1880s. While in La Crosse Powell served as mayor and even ran unsuccessfully for governor on a populist ticket.<sup>28</sup> During his two years in office as mayor, Powell gathered a party of famous hunters to impress his constituency. The members of that hunting party included Buffalo Bill Cody and Yank Adams. The hunters were, of course, willing to show their skills with firearms to the gathering crowds.<sup>29</sup> Powell, who was also a skilled sharp-shooter, held his own with these famous sportsmen giving displays of pistol handling prowess.

Whether they met through Doc Powell or through their work in the entertainment industry, Yank and Bill



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Fred Archer

clearly knew one another. Evelyn Booth when he gained a formal introduction to Buffalo Bill wrote in his journal, "We four: Cody, Yank, Doc, and I went up to his camp to have some shooting and spent a very enjoyable day. Neither of us tried very hard in the shooting and a match was arranged for the following Saturday."

After this initial shooting competition, the first of two official matches took place between Buffalo Bill and Evelyn Booth on March 28, 1885. "It was terribly windy which prevented accurate shooting," Booth said of the first match. "I won [by] three birds killing 40 to 37. Bill immediately challenged me again to shoot on the following Wednesday, the day appointed for his benefit, and another match was arranged."<sup>30</sup> A separate source states that Booth shot 40 clay pigeons to Bill's 39 in that first match.<sup>31</sup> The second

contest took place on April 1, 1885, before 3,000 spectators at New Orleans' Exposition Grounds. Buffalo Bill narrowly won the rematch, causing Booth to fume, "The return match was shot off with the following result, Bill 47 Self 46, though three were counted to him which he never touched."<sup>32</sup>

Although the outcome of the match was contentious, the two men became fast friends. They spent several evenings with the Wild West cowboys getting drunk, smashing glasses and tussling with local police. The riotous living, however, could not disguise Cody's obvious financial troubles. The Wild West's woes prompted Booth to remark, "I fear the Honorable Cody is having a bad time of it as there are hardly any spectators and his expenses must be very heavy."<sup>33</sup> Cody himself said of the fiscal volatility, "The New Orleans exposition did not prove the success that many of its promoters anticipated and the expectations of Mr. Salsbury and myself were alike disappointed, for at the end of the winter we counted our losses at about \$60,000."<sup>34</sup>

Needing a new business angle, Cody told Booth he wanted to take the Wild West overseas to London. Booth intimated his influence on Cody's decision, saying, "He is very anxious to take the whole show over to England next spring and I have had several talks with him about it and am going to make inquiry on the other side."<sup>35</sup>

Although the London exhibition did not take place until two years later, in 1887, the seed of success in Europe had been firmly planted in Cody's mind. Buffalo Bill noted, "Though the idea of transplanting our exhibition, for a time, to England had frequently

occurred to us, the importance of such an undertaking was enlarged by and brought us to a more favorable consideration of the project by repeated suggestions from prominent persons of America, and particularly by urgent invitations extended by distinguished Englishmen."<sup>36</sup>

Returning to America in 1886, Booth kept his promise to Buffalo Bill. On January 8 of that year, Booth, Cody and Salsbury entered into a lucrative partnership in which Booth paid a sum of \$30,000 to Cody and Salsbury. In exchange, Booth became a one-third owner of "all live stock and other effects." Under further terms of the contract Booth would receive "25 percent of the profits from all sources connected with the enterprise." Cody and Salsbury shared the remaining 75 percent.<sup>37</sup>

Buffalo Bill remained in complete control of "all the Cow-boys, Mexicans, Indians, and Hostlers connected with the enterprise." Salsbury retained control of all "advertising, purchasing, the camp Department of said enterprise, and the regulation of the affairs of the Box Office." As a reserve fund, each of the three men deposited \$5,000 in the Merchant's Loan and Trust Company Bank of Chicago.<sup>38</sup> The agreement was to run three years.

In June the Wild West traveled north to New York's Staten Island. There, Cody recouped most of his New Orleans losses, playing to large crowds at Erastina, the magnificent resort grounds of Erastus Wiman, former manager of a large mercantile company and president of the Great Northwestern Telegraph Co. of Canada.

In 1887, those "prominent persons of America" Cody mentioned

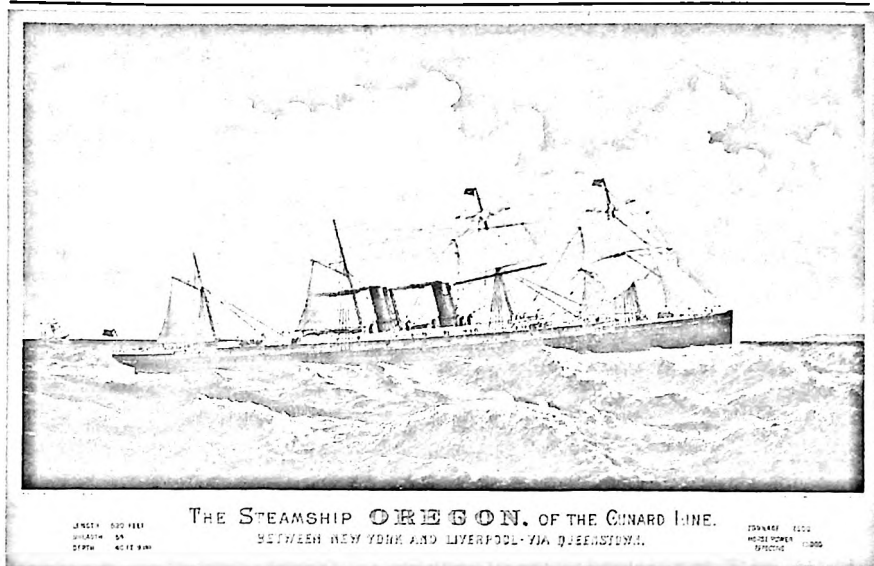
floated the idea of holding an American Exhibition in London. This Exhibition was a world's fair held in West Brompton, London, in the same year of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee. The Exhibition was a display of manufactured products, a diorama of New York City, and American paintings including a display of landscapes from celebrated artist Albert Bierstadt. The American aim of participating was to display the latest agricultural, mechanical and textile products and inventions from the United States, but the main attraction was the Wild West show, which was part of the state of Colorado's contribution.

Nate Salsbury received an inquiry from the Exhibition's organizers in February of that year. After a series of telegrams and messages between the two parties, the organizers made it



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Nate Salsbury



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### RMS Oregon

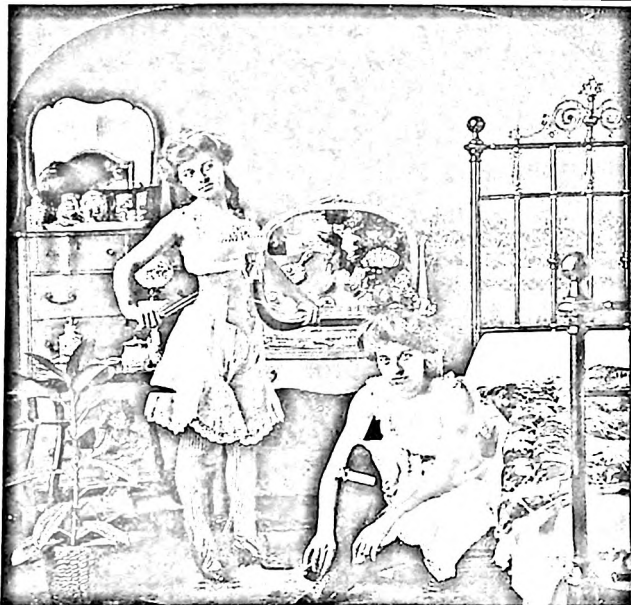
official and invited the Wild West to be part of the exhibition.<sup>39</sup> With the Wild West show making its way to London, Cody and Booth's idea finally came to fruition.

On March 31, Buffalo Bill and his entourage made the voyage to England. Booth, meanwhile, remained in the States pursuing various business ventures. Transporting Buffalo Bill's Wild West from New York to the UK represented an enormous undertaking, bringing to London a large number of people and animals. Performers included Annie Oakley, ninety-seven Indians, mostly those from the Sioux tribes, including Black Elk and Chief Red Shirt, as well as African-Americans, and Mexicans.

When the Wild West finally arrived in London after their long voyage across the Atlantic, the show became an instant success. The Wild West played

to large crowds receiving standing ovations all over Britain. Cody also personally invited the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, to a private preview of a Wild West performance on May 5. So impressed was the Prince, that he managed to arrange a command performance for Queen Victoria on May 11, 1887. The Queen enjoyed the show immensely and even recorded her high acclaim within the pages of her personal journal.

After the success of the American Exhibition, Buffalo Bill became the most recognized American in the world and the most requested guest of British royalty. The Wild West show remained a major attraction in the United Kingdom until its final performance in 1906. After acquiring new found fame and great success abroad, Buffalo Bill apparently no longer needed financial assistance from Booth and allowed his



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### Prostitutes

contract, and their friendship, to lapse at the end of their three-year agreement.

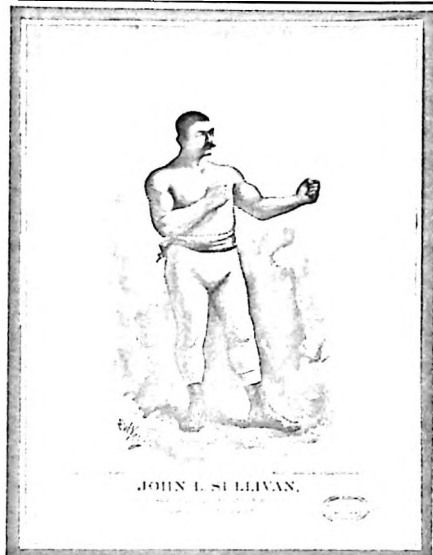
Though it would experience further financial wobbles, Buffalo Bill's Wild West would outlive Booth. Through the 1890s the wealthy Englishman continued to live the sporting man's life. He wagered on boxing title fights, sought travel adventures across America and eventually owned ranchland in Wyoming. After a brief stint in Canada's Klondike with wife Lola, Booth ventured to Oregon, where, in August 1901, he died from burns received in a brush fire. He was forty-one years old.

Booth's contributions to Buffalo Bill's Wild West are worth remembering. This little-known English gent provided a source of income to the enterprise at a time of fiscal uncertainty,

and Booth was one of the men who helped Cody hatch the idea of an overseas tour, which transformed the Wild West into an international phenomenon.

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## A Brief History of The Westerners Kellen Cutsforth

In 1893 English Statesman and historian, James Lord Bryce declared, "the West is the most American part of America... the part where those features distinguish America from Europe [and] come out in the strongest relief."<sup>1</sup> Few groups have embodied this ideal greater than the organization known as The Westerners. The Westerners organization was originally founded by Leland D. Case, editor of the magazine for Rotary International *The Rotarian*. Inspired by Skansen, the great open-air museum of Swedish history, arts, and artifacts, Case felt that Americans would profit from a similar study of their own background and culture.<sup>2</sup> Aided by Northwestern University Professor Elmo Scott Watson the two men initially formed a Chicago Chapter of "The Friends of the Middle Border (FMB)," an organization dedicated to the preservation of the historical, cultural, and social development of the Missouri River Valley states.<sup>3</sup>

From its inception, the Chicago Chapter of the FMB failed to become very active and there was a growing sentiment that the interests of its members were not confined to the history of the Middle Border.<sup>4</sup> So, in February 1944 at Watson's home the first "posse" was formed to create a new independent organization. This posse consisted of Watson, Case and a man named Franklin Meine. On March 27, 1944 The Westerners, the name agreed upon by the original twenty-three charter members, met officially at Ireland's Restaurant in downtown Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

Since that time, all Corrals and Posses meet monthly for a meal and program about some Western history topic. Each group is rather loosely organized, with few rules and its own traditions. While Westerners are devoted to their historical interest, the membership in a corral or posse satisfies this interest in a spirit of fun and camaraderie. This format exists for all Westerners outfits today.

After the initial success of the Chicago Corral of Westerners, Leland Case took the news of the newly formed organization to other states in the West. In July 1944, Case got in touch with Edwin Bemis, a Colorado newspaper publisher, and convinced him that starting a Westerners branch in Colorado was a good idea. So, on July 25, 1944 the first meeting of interested men took place at the Denver Club.<sup>6</sup> The nomenclature for the officers was established at this meeting: Sheriff (President), Deputy Sheriff (Vice President and Program Chairman), Roundup Foreman (Secretary), Registrar of Marks and Brands (Publication Editor), Tally Man (Treasurer) and Chuck Wrangler (Dinner Organizer). These officer designations would be instituted for all Westerners groups that followed.

On January 26, 1945 the first official meeting of the Denver Posse of Westerners took place with sixteen men in attendance. This meeting would establish the objectives for all Westerners groups to come. The Denver Posse By-Laws state: "The Object[ives] of the Westerners shall be to investigate, discuss, and publish the facts and color relative to the historic, social, political, economic, and religious background of the West; to, wherever possible, preserve a record of the cultural background and evolution of the Western region, and to promote all corollary activities thereof."<sup>7</sup>

Soon after the establishment of these two Westerners groups many more, with the help of Leland D. Case, began to spring up around the country. In 1954, The Westerners organization became so influential and respected in historical circles that an English Westerners Corral was established in Liverpool, England.<sup>8</sup> The primary activity of the group, in the early days, was the publication of their *Brand Book*.<sup>9</sup> Today there are two separate Corrals in England, one in Birmingham and one in London. They have a combined membership of over 660.

Early in the Westerner's history they adopted an official mascot. In October 1944, "Old Joe the Buffalo" based on the famous Buffalo Skull drawing by Charles Marion Russell became the official good luck charm of the Westerners. Today the mascot can be found on: bolo ties, embroidered shirts, pins, letterhead, decals and paperweights. In fact, meetings of the Chicago Corral are not officially open until two members uncover the bleached buffalo skull on the wall. As members stand, they grin, and then say, "Hello Joe, you old buffalo!" And at the meeting's end, the rite is reversed with, "Adios Joe, you old buffalo!"<sup>10</sup>

Today The Westerners have sixty-three active Corrals and Poses throughout the country and 18 active Corrals outside of the United States. The group's membership totals over 4,800 people worldwide.<sup>11</sup> Over the years, The Westerners have boasted several outstanding Western authors amongst their ranks including: J. Frank Dobie, South Dakota Poet Laureate Charles Badger Clark, New York Times bestselling author Sandra Dallas, and current Executive Director of WWA Candy Moulton to name just a few. A "Home Ranch" was first organized in 1959 and their offices were located in the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City, Okla. for many years. Now the WI Home Ranch is at the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, TX. If you are interested in attending a meeting visit [www.westerners-international.org](http://www.westerners-international.org) and find a Corral or Posse in your neck of the woods. The groups are always looking for new members who love the West.

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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 10<sup>th</sup> of the first month in the date of publication.*

Denver Posse members Phil and Sally Buckland has been involved in documenting Georgetown and Empire family histories from the period of 1860 to 1900. A recent example follows. Coloradans who have traveled over Guanella Pass will relate to the name.

## Monti & Guanella

Joshua and Pasquale Monti were quiet little men who were born in the Swiss Alps. After coming to America they headed west to then Kansas Territory. They fearlessly worked their way westward across the plains and traded with the Indians for their furs which were taken back and sold in St. Louis where new goods of trade were purchased with the proceeds. Throughout this territory they roamed, trading, trapping and exploring its expanse. They were successful traders when they entered what is now Colorado, early in 1858 and established a trading post at Auraria.

When the gold seekers rushed to the Gregory Diggings and Russell Gulch in Central City the Monti Brothers joined them and were among the early arrivals at this scene, bringing here all they had in stock and opening a store. They brought in more groceries, liquors and dry goods as fast as possible; their business flourished.

They were businessmen, merchants ever, never mining except grubstaking prospectors in hard luck or need of help. Their fortunes grew substantially and were not depleted by taking chances on promising prospects that never panned out. They were absolutely honest but close and good judges of values received.

In 1866 the Monti Brothers moved to Georgetown as this silver district offered a good opportunity for expanding their business. The Monti Building was completed in November 18, 1869 on the best location in town, the intersection of busy Rose and Alpine (6<sup>th</sup>) streets. It is a big frame building, two stories high, with a square front typical of the buildings, of the early West. Once a sign read "The New York Store" across the front of the upper story, and "The Worst Wines and Liquors" on the side, painted by Denver sign painters when they were refused more free drinks because they were no longer steady on the ladders and the proprietor was too busy to inspect the sign before they had received their pay and departed. Into this building they brought a large stock of the best merchandise obtainable at any cost, not only domestic goods bought in Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City, but a full line of imported goods, from England, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavian countries and the Orient.

The Monti Brothers and Guanella did not carry dry goods. The second floor of the Monti block was occupied by the New York Store, owned by Sam Strousse. The

communities' needs were supplied here at a great range in prices. A traveling man got a hole in his sock and wished to make repairs. He went to the New York store for a darning needle. He was promptly offered one, "Price \$1.00" "Why, man, I can buy all I want in New York for five cents each." "Ach, mein Gott, look at the freight." The price stood.

The people of this flourishing mining camp did not now live on beans and salt side, but demanded Cross & Blackwell goods, French sardines, imported cheese and delicacies, and the finest wines and liquors of the old world. The Monti Brothers catered to this trade.

The Monti brothers had faith in the future of this rich locality so they urged their sister Josephine and her husband Thomas Guanella and family to join them and assist in the store. Thomas Guanella took up his duties at once as clerk and bookkeeper; ten-year-old Joe was helper in the store and little Tom assisted the delivery boy to the best of his ability. They also employed Hans Mansl, an expert German baker, and Henry Kneisel as his baker's boy, and Frank Roi, French pastry man, and other outside help.

Joe grew up behind the counter of Monti & Guanella store and from here learned to know the people and events of Clear Creek County in accurate detail. He learned by observation the contrast between this clean, well-managed store and their competitors, in the same block, where spilled sugar was swept on a dust pan with the store broom and dirt and all dumped in the open vinegar barrel, which also received an occasional discarded cud of chewing tobacco from the kindly old man who clerked for the pioneer merchants.

Joe and Tom did not attend the public school but were taught at home by their mother and in the store their father taught them every detail of bookkeeping, accounting and penmanship so the splendid script of father and sons were almost as one. They were encouraged to spend every free hour in reading, anything from Diamond Dick to the Classics and to study the subjects taught in school. Both boys acquired an education above that of the average man of these parts and had wonderfully retentive memories. Mr. A. J. Randall was an early teacher in Georgetown and possessed of an extensive library. He took a liking to Joe and offered him the use of all his books. This offer the boy eagerly accepted and made good use of them for years.

Much of early-day Georgetown drifted in and out of the store and all events of the day were recounted so news of every strike, details of mining, milling and kindred activities became the knowledge of those engaged in the mercantile business to such an extent that Joe and Tom became successful miners when the days of storekeeping were over.

*Contributed by Phil and Sally Guanella Buckland, as related by Thomas and Josephine Monti Guanella's granddaughter Mayme Guanella Sturm.*

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## Westerner Corral Presentations

The Boulder County Corral February program, "Doctors of the Old West," was presented by Charles Scoggin, M. D. Dr. Scoggin received his medical degree from the University of Colorado, an internal medicine residency at Duke University, a fellowship in pulmonary medicine and critical care in the Division of Pulmonary Sciences at the University of Colorado, and in molecular and cellular biology at the University of Colorado and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. He has authored over 150 scientific articles, and received numerous awards and recognitions. He has served as a Trustee of the Denver Zoological Foundation, president of Roundup Riders of the Rockies, and is an Emeritus Board member of Center for the American West. For the March meeting Colorado map publisher Russell A. (Rusty) Morse, Jr. presented "The Colorado Gold Rush," using both original and reprinted maps of the era 1858-1860, before Colorado became a US territory on Feb. 28, 1861. The April program was "A Historical Perspective on the Westerners," by Ed Bathke. The chronicle of the Westerners published in the July-August 2016 issue of the *Roundup* was modified, omitting Denver-specific anecdotes, and featuring the other Colorado corrals.

In March the Colorado Corral heard "Mary Elitch Long: First Lady of Fun," by Debra Faulkner. As she pointed out, "Not to see Elitch's is not to see Denver." Debra is a former board member of the Colorado Women's Hall of Fame, the president-elect of the Denver Woman's Press Club, and the official historian of the Brown Palace. "A Ramble through the Rockies," was the April presentation to the corral, by Ron Ruhoff. Ron has been photographing Colorado for over fifty years, and countless Colorado audiences has been enjoying his photo-musical tours, adventures, and historical programs.

In February the Pikes Peak Posse heard "The Surprising History of Manitou's Hiawatha Gardens," by Manitou historians Deborah Harrison and Beau Schriever. For March, David Wismer presented the story of "The Shamrock Ranch, Life on the Edge of the Black Forest." The Wismers purchased this historic 2,900-acre cattle ranch in 1994. He has researched the ranch's history since pioneer days, and in 2009 published *Shamrock Ranch, Celebrating Life in Colorado's Pikes Peak Country*. The April program featured "Everybody Welcome: Remembering Fannie Mae Duncan and the Cotton Club," by Kathleen Esmiol. Kay has authored a book on this Colorado Springs landmark and its legendary owner. She taught English in Academy District 20, and has also written and produced six plays and an opera.

## Denver Posse Member Activities

The history of the GAR in Colorado was Roger Dudley's presentation at the semi-annual dinner of the Friends of Historic Fort Logan in February.

The new catalogue of the University of Oklahoma Press lists Deputy Sheriff Kellen Cutsforth's new book, *Lakota Performers in Europe*. The catalogue also notes that Tom Noel's *Colorado, a Historical Atlas* has received two awards in 2016, 1) the Colorado Book Award for best history book, from Colorado Humanities, and 2) the High Plains Book Award, in the nonfiction category, from the Billings Library.



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Lone Star Unionism, Dissent, and Resistance. Other Sides of Civil War Texas.** Edited by Jesus F. De La Teja. University of Oklahoma Press 2016. Index, Selected Bibliographer, Contributors. A couple illustrations. 285 pages. Paperback, \$19.95.

This is a book written by academics for other academics. It is riddled with politically correct views of Texas in and around the Civil War, and is fundamentally anti-White Texan. This reviewer has never seen such a load of biased, distorted, stacked, and narrow-minded views contained in a single book

De La Teja starts off in his introduction by saying "The white Southern immigrants who came to Texas from the 1820's to the 1850's were quite willing to fashion a unique identity for themselves that excluded or marginalized those who did not look or think like what a Texan should look or think like" and it goes down from there. On the next page he states "there was no place at all for tribal peoples in the new Texas", this despite the support given to those tribes who did not pursue the massacring of white women, children and men.

There are articles that distort Confederate Texas in numerous ways, always painting those people as evil, unless they were German, Mexican, or Indian. It is apparent that so many academics do not understand the influence of life in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, and the pressures it placed on people. The luxury of the modern age was not available to them, and generic conclusions that deny the individuality of the people who lived in those days leads to generalizations that do not accurately portray our Confederate ancestors.

You can always find negative characteristics of a population at a certain time in history, if that is all you are looking for. But ignoring the positives is what this book is all about. Not to say there are not some: there are. But the overall theme of this sad academic work is the negative anti-White simplistic thoroughly one-sided work.

I can only suggest that people read the interviews done with former slaves

in the 1870s, now stored at the Library of Congress. Over eighty percent said they were well-treated, well-fed, their masters were kind to them, and they were not over-worked. But these and other academics would be in total denial of such written truths.

-- Alan Culpin

**A Short History of Denver** by Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel. University of Nevada Press, 2016. 211 p. Photos, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$21.95

Posse Member Thomas J. Noel and his frequent writing partner Stephen J. Leonard have turned out an interesting volume. Their book is not confined to the City and County of Denver; they include myriad details about the towns and communities that surround the Mile High City in a chapter they call "Suburbanization." They point out the challenge of their new effort noting Jerome Smiley's 1901 *History of Denver* filled 881 pages. They cover the years Smiley chronicled plus nearly six score additional years with their *Short History*.

For most Westerners this effort will be a refresher course, but there are some interesting items not widely known in this short book. For example they trace the way Mayor Benjamin Stapleton worked to undo the influence of the Ku Klux Klan in 1925 – a maneuver he is rarely acknowledged with having been responsible for – though he is nearly always recalled as the "Klan mayor."

This fast-moving volume covers all the bases from Mile High Stadium to Coors Field and while no match for their 1990 effort, *Denver; Mining Camp to Metropolis*, it is a book well suited to the short attention span that has become commonplace in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Their noble attempt to bring this book right up to date with mention in their timeline of 2016 was stymied by a double-cross when RTD cancelled three of the routes scheduled to be opened in 2016 because of problems on the A line to DIA; the same entry bears a typo making rail into Vail. But regardless of any short-coming, this *Short History* is well worth reading.

--Roger L. Dudley

**Heroes Without Glory, Some Good Men of the Old West**, by Jack Schaefer. University of New Mexico Press, 1965, and 2016 by arrangement with the Jack Schaefer Trust. 332 pp. Paperback, \$24.95.

This book contains essays about twelve “goodmen” of the West, as Jack Schaefer, the author of *Shane*, refers to them. He chose a very diverse group whose lives started in the early 1800s and continued to 1947. His logic in writing about the “goodmen” was that their stories would be much more interesting than another book about the “badmen” of the West. I wholeheartedly agree with him. Schaefer was an exceptional story teller. His words just flow on the page and carry you with him.

The book caught my eye because I saw there was an essay about the Shoshone chief Wash-A-Kie. I visited his grave a couple years ago and wanted to learn more about him. I was not disappointed.

John A. Thompson was an amazing man of Norwegian birth. He made ten-foot skis, they were called snowshoes then, and carried the mail over the Sierras from Placerville to Carson City in midwinter for many years. He also carried emergency supplies to remote places.

John S. Langrishe was an actor who came to Denver in 1860 and became very popular, along with his wife. They also performed in cities and remote mining camps throughout the West.

Valentine T.O. McGillycuddy became Indian Agent in March 1878 at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation when there was much unrest. His life story is fascinating.

I was not much in love with all the hunting and killing that James Capen Adams (Grizzly Adams) did but his story was very interesting.

Space does not allow writing about all the essays but I will list the “goodmen” names: George Augustus Frederick Ruxton, world adventurer and author of *Life in the Far West*; John Phillips, frontiersman and scout; John Simpson Chisum, prototype of the cattle kings; Thomas J. Smith, lawman who tamed Abilene in 1870 without firing a gun; Charles Fox Gardiner, frontier doctor and prominent doctor in Colorado Springs; Elfego Baca, a No. 1 peace officer of the Southwest; Adolphe Francis Alphonse Bandelier, Swiss-born ethnologist and archaeologist of the Southwest for whom Bandelier National Monument was named.

I was very impressed with all the detail the author included and extremely impressed with the “goodmen.” This was a very enjoyable and educational read and I highly recommend it.

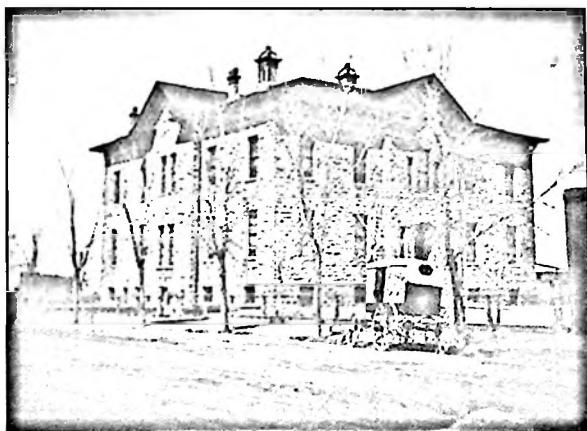
--Susie Morton





*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

May - June 2017



*Photograph courtesy of History Colorado*

Denver's first stone school building opened in 1879 at 24th and Market Streets by the railroad tracks. It served Denver's immigrant and minority families.

**Five Points: A Brief History**

**By Moya Hansen**

**presented Nov. 16, 2016**



## Our Author

Moya Hansen researched Denver's African-American community while employed by the Colorado Historical Society and studying for an MA in history at the University of Colorado at Denver.

The *UCD Historical Studies Journal* published "Entitled to Full and Equal Enjoyment: Leisure and Entertainment in the Denver Black Community, 1900 to 1930" in the Spring 1993 volume. "Pebbles on the Shore: Economic Opportunities in Denver's Five Points Neighborhood, 1920 to 1950" appeared in the Colorado Historical Society's publication *Colorado History* in 2001. "Try Being a Black Woman: Jobs in Denver, 1900-1970" was included in *African American Women Confront the West, 1600 - 2000*, edited by Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore and published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2003.

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIII NO. 3



May - June 2017

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## Five Points: A Brief History

By Moya Hansen  
presented Nov. 16, 2016

Late in the first decade of Denver's existence, two men who believed in the city's future development filed a plat for a large tract of land south of the Platte River and east of Denver's official boundary. Although acres of prairie grass and weeds stretched off to the treeless horizon in 1868, Francis M. Case and Frederick J. Ebert envisioned a city that would one day fill the open land with comfortable homes and bustling commerce. Just to ensure the new suburb's desirability to potential home owners, the plat gave two entire blocks to the city of Denver for its first public park, named in honor of prominent Denver pioneer Samuel S. Curtis.

Both Case and Ebert had been early arrivals to the busy mining supply town of Denver. The Lincoln administration had appointed Case Surveyor General of Colorado, and Ebert, who had an eye out for the main chance, had already filed the first claim to land next to Denver's official eastern boundary in 1864. Case later served two terms as Denver mayor, was president of the city council, and acted as City Attorney. Ebert surveyed a rail route from Denver to Central City with W.A.H. Loveland and played a role in bringing a rolling mill to Denver that made rails for the Denver, South Park and Pacific Railroad.

That same year, two other Denver pioneers—Rodney Curtis and Clar-



*Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

Birds-eye view map of Denver c.1875 shows that a few homes had been built east of the original settlement, which ended slightly above the center left side of the map.

ence Clarke—filed a plat for the Curtis Addition. These two additions were followed in 1869 by the Schaffenberg and Witter additions. Although Denver's population, per the 1860 census, had been only 4,749 residents, these men believed in the small settlement's future because its leaders had secured a federal land grant for a railroad linking Denver to Cheyenne, Wyo., and the Union Pacific Railroad, the nation's first transcontinental line. The rails between Denver and Cheyenne would run parallel to the South Platte River and the open prairie where these men believed the city would grow. Other residential plat filings followed in the early 1870s, setting the stage for neighborhoods that would ultimately become known as Five Points.



*Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

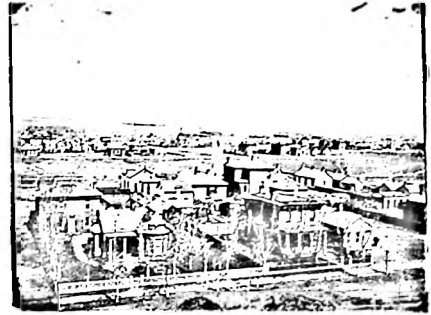
Gilpin School built at the corner of 29th and Stout Street in 1881

The arrival of the railroad in 1870 did spur Denver's growth and newly arrived citizens began building and buying homes away from the resulting downtown hustle and bustle. Denver grew quickly as a railroad hub and supply center for surrounding towns and mountain mining communities. No one could have foreseen what would happen in 1876 when two miners, searching for more gold in California Gulch outside the dwindling mining camp of Oro City, decided to have the heavy black sand that stuck in their riffles analyzed. The assay showed that the annoying stuff was lead carbonate shot through with silver ore and was worth a fortune. By 1878 prospectors and miners flooded the area and by 1880, the new city of Leadville had become Colorado's second largest with 24,000 residents. The bonanza had an immediate effect on Denver, where the small population blossomed to 35,629 residents in 1880. In addition to the Leadville bonanza, Colorado had become a state in 1876 with Denver

as its capitol. Further growth came in the 1880s when the government drove the Ute Indians off their Western Slope land following the Meeker Massacre and opened the San Juan mountains of southwestern Colorado to more mining. As a major supply center for the hinterlands, Denver's population exploded, tripling to 106,713 people by 1890.

Those who had filed plats for neighborhood additions saw homes, both large and small, fill the prairie during the 1880s. Enough families had moved into the new neighborhoods by 1881 that the city opened Gilpin School at the corner of 29<sup>th</sup> and Stout Street. This was also the year that the neighborhood received the designation of "Five Points. Public transportation and neighborhood development went hand in hand as the city grew. The Denver Horse Railway ran its first horse car line from 7<sup>th</sup> and Larimer streets in West Denver to 27<sup>th</sup> and Champa in 1871, making Curtis Park Denver's first streetcar suburb. Easy transportation made the lots attractive, improved real estate values, and ensured growth in the area. By 1881, the Herdic Coach Line extended a line to the intersection of Welton Street, Twenty-Seventh Street, Washington Street, and East Twenty-sixth Avenue. Streetcars regularly placed the car's terminus on the front, but the impossibility of listing all these streets led the company to designate its terminus as "Five Points." This designation did not please area residents since Five Points was known as a notorious slum in New York City. Regardless of sentiments over the streetcar's destination name, the blocks northeast of the original city filled with homes during the population explosion of the 1880s.

The families that filled the new homes included those of merchants, manufacturers, wholesalers, bankers, company presidents, lawyers, grocers, clergymen, clerks, and laborers. The neighborhoods were economically, ethnically, and socially diverse, including people from various European nations and numerous Jews fleeing the Eastern European pogroms. Racial diversity was not yet a feature of the neighborhoods, however.



*Courtesy of History Colorado*

Looking northeast from the top of Gilpin School at 29th and Stout, c.1890

### Segregation In Denver

While middle and upper-class residents moved to Curtis Park and adjoining neighborhoods, the area between Larimer street and the South Platte River filled with a variety of businesses. Market Street, Blake, and Wazee were filled with restaurants, saloons, and brothels. Small to medium-sized hotels housed railroad workers and travelers who couldn't afford the more luxurious Inter-Ocean or Windsor hotels. Warehouses, distributors, and industrial concerns lined the railroad tracks. The area also housed Denver's poorest residents, who often lived in shacks along "the bottoms," near the river or in rooming houses and homes scattered among the businesses. The railroads brought many black workers to Denver who encountered limited housing opportunities as their numbers grew from an estimated fifteen men and eight women in 1860 to two hundred fifty-seven in 1870.

Limited housing was only one issue faced by black citizens. During Denver's first decade, its overlooked and underfunded school district could not accommodate all its school-age children; some went to school, others

had to stay home. African-American children stayed home. Among the earliest black settlers in Denver were Lewis Douglass and his younger brother Frederick, Jr., sons of abolitionist Frederick Douglass. They joined their father's friends, Barney Ford and Henry O. Wagoner, along with pioneers William Jefferson Hardin and Edward J. Sanderlin in arguing that black children should be allowed to attend the schools for which their taxes helped pay. Forty-two black children of school age did attend the city's improvised school at Sixteenth and Market in 1866, but met in a separate room. This arrangement lasted only briefly and in 1868 black children attended separate schools in the African Baptist Church, then in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Ultimately, the lobbying done by these vocal advocates paid off. When Arapaho School opened in 1873, African-American children attended alongside the other students.

Lobbying for school integration was just a part of the agenda black men brought to the territory. Henry Wagoner, Lewis Douglass, and William



*Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

The first horse-car line, completed in 1871, ran from 7th and Larimer streets in West Denver, up Larimer to 16th Street, then turned on to Champa and proceeded to the end of the line at 27th Street.

Hardin made evening classes available to African American men. These educated men had come to Denver because all men over the age of twenty-one in the territories had the right to vote. They wanted their fellow African Americans to be able to read, write, and most importantly, understand the principles of democracy. They believed black men could become fully acknowledged American citizens only through informed participation in government. The territorial legislature seriously challenged their efforts in 1864 when it added a restrictive amendment to the territorial constitution that excluded blacks from voting. Two years later when Colorado Territory applied for statehood, the amendment still stood in the proposed state constitution. Hardin used his considerable skills as a speaker to challenge the characterization of black men as “uncivilized.” He made direct appeals to newspapers and members of Congress for a repeal of suffrage restrictions and advocated for public education of black children. Congress approved Colorado’s applica-

tion for statehood with its restrictions, but President Andrew Johnson vetoed Colorado’s entry because he thought the territory’s population was still too small for it to become a state. The following year the Radical Republicans in Congress raised the voting rights issue and in 1867 Congress passed legislation prohibiting restrictions on male suffrage in all the territories. When Congress admitted Colorado to the Union in 1876, all males over the age of twenty-one had the right to vote.

Although African-American pioneers succeeded in their quest for education and suffrage, employment for black men and women consistently held them to the lowest rungs on the economic ladder. In 1879 when African Americans migrated by the thousands to Kansas and it asked other states to take some of the immigrants, Coloradans debated the prospect. Those who favored the idea thought blacks could be useful as house servants, stock trainers, masons, and mine, field, and railroad workers. By 1920, when Denver’s black population numbered 6,075, the majority held jobs as unskilled workers. A 1929 Urban League study cited a 1926 study that showed most black workers earned about \$700 below the Colorado Industrial Commission’s “Minimum of Comfort Level.” The Silver Panic of 1893 had depressed wages into the beginning of the new century and low wages had kept most African Americans confined to neighborhoods near Denver’s industrial areas below Larimer Street. A few of the more prosperous members of the black community—doctors, lawyers, and successful entrepreneurs like Wagoner—could afford homes in the Gilpin School District.

Photographs taken in 1894 show a handful of black students in the classrooms. Although only a few wealthier black citizens lived in Five Points homes at the turn of the century, its first two decades saw changes that sped the migration of both lower-income blacks and immigrants into the neighborhood.

### Five Points Opens to Black Residents

Early residents of the city's first streetcar suburb disliked the increasing pollution and noise brought by smelters, railroads, and new industries that grew along the railroad tracks. Five Points residents began to move south and east into the newer streetcar suburbs near the State Capitol building and City Park. Homes in the newer suburbs had such amenities as gas and electrical lighting, better central heating systems, and indoor plumbing. The first two decades of the new century also saw Denver Mayor Robert Speer's commitment to the "City Beautiful" movement. During his administrations (1904 - 1912, 1916 - 1918) he created wide boulevards leading to public parks east, west, and south around the city. The homes built near the wide streets and attractive parks also featured garages, an increasingly important amenity for automobile owners, people who no longer needed to be tied to public transportation schedules and who wanted to access their jobs and other activities on their own schedule. As more Five Points residents vacated their aging homes, African Americans and immigrants, who also wished to move away from the grime and pollution of lower downtown commercial and industrial areas, took advantage of the real estate now



*Courtesy of Moorland-Springarn Research Center,  
Howard University*

### Lewis Henry Douglass

open to them. When the city extended Broadway north across the river after World War I, African Americans and immigrant homes and businesses were disrupted, if not destroyed, prompting even more movement into Five Points.

In 1929 Ira D. Angelo Reid's Urban League study surveyed several blocks of Five Points where he estimated 5,500 of Denver's 7,000 African Americans lived alongside Mexican, Swedish, Italian, Chinese, and Jewish families. Although interspersed with immigrants, the black community now had a neighborhood that boasted black-owned businesses, beautiful churches, a YMCA and a YWCA, and was home to several fraternal orders, women's clubs, two newspapers, three mortuaries, three cab companies, a flower shop, and other businesses such as one might find in a small town. In fact, Five Points became somewhat like a small town within a city, as African Americans—regardless of their economic status—found themselves segregated by the Ku Klux Klan, which dominated the city during the 1920s. Most of Denver's



Public domain

Frederick Douglass, Jr.

African-American workers held low-wage jobs as laborers, waiters, elevator operators, janitors, and porters. Black women worked as maids and cooks. The Urban League published Reid's study of the community just prior to the Depression. If the outlook on jobs and wages seemed narrow at that point, they grew far worse during the 1930s. Many Americans found work through President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal projects, but African Americans did not benefit equally. The editor of the *Colorado Statesman* wrote:

*If the New Deal is to be a square deal, the Blue Eagle must take the Negro under his wings along with the rest. . . . The N.R.A. was intended to reduce the rates of unemployment, raise the level of wages and living, and thus promote the return of prosperity. No particular mention was made of the Negro. . . . Although he is perfectly willing to take his chances, he is not given a chance. . . . He is, in truth and deed, the forgotten man and must ever and anon remind the nation*

*of his existence.*

As the nation recovered from the Depression during World War II and prospered in the post-war period, the adage still held: black workers were the first fired and the last hired. While industries went to work producing goods and offering services denied people during the war and white collar jobs hired newly minted GI Bill graduates, in most cities African Americans were expected to continue working as unskilled laborers and functioning in their segregated economies. Denver's black population exploded between 1940 and 1950, nearly doubling as it grew from 7,836 to 15,059, but majority of black men continued to work as janitors, elevator operators, construction workers, garage mechanics, cab drivers, and chauffeurs. The Air Force Finance Center relocated to Denver after the war and offered better jobs to some black men and women and the community's overall growth promoted new restaurants, barber shops, beauty shops, service stations, automotive repair shops, and other businesses that served its black residents. But in one area—that of entertainment—the Five Points neighborhood began to attract white patronage from outside its confines.

Census statistics from the 1920s included musicians and teachers in the "Professional" category and in Denver's black community they far outnumbered others included in that category. Denver Public Schools did not hire its first black school teacher until 1936, so the category included musicians who made a living by giving musical instruction and performing. Despite an 1895 Colorado law to the contrary, Denver's African Americans



were excluded from all forms of public entertainment and found it within the confines of their community. Black churches provided venues for musical entertainment; fraternal organizations, women's clubs, and black fraternities and sororities held balls and dances and hired local black musicians; fraternal organizations sent marching bands to participate in parades that included musicians, both amateurs and professionals.

### Jazz in Five Points

One of the community's best-known musicians, George Morrison, grew up in a family of musicians and came to prominence with his jazz band. Morrison's father, who died when George was two, had been a championship fiddler in Fayette, Missouri, and his mother played piano. Morrison moved to Boulder, Colorado, with his older brother Lee at the age of nine. The young George, who was not allowed to touch his father's violin, made his own instrument from a hollowed-out corn stalk, some wood, and a string. As a high school student, he shined shoes to earn money to buy a violin and study with Harold Reynolds, a professor at the University of Colorado. He also played guitar and reportedly traveled with his older brother to mountain mining camps to entertain miners. George moved to Denver after graduation and continued studying violin with David Abramowitz and Horace Tureman, two well-known local violinists. To keep body and soul together, he worked in Denver's parlor houses on Market Street.

In 1911, he married Willa May, daughter of one of Denver's socially



*Public domain*

William Jefferson Hardin, was born in Kentucky, in 1831 to a free quadroon woman and a white father. Raised and educated by Kentucky Shakers, he became a teacher for "free children of color" in Bowling Green, Kentucky

prominent pioneer African-American families. Work as an elevator operator followed the wedding and George took the initiative to start his Jazz Orchestra, Denver's first. Ragtime had become popular in the late 1890s and early 1900s and by the 1920s, the syncopated rhythms and improvisations of early jazz music appeared. Still, Morrison's desire to be a classical violinist persisted and the family moved to Chicago where he studied at the Columbia Conservatory of Music. To pay his way and support his wife, he took a job at Chicago's Panama Cabaret.

On returning to Denver, Morrison started the eleven-piece band that caught the attention of Columbia Records, one of the New York companies recording "race" music for black audiences. Morrison and his band members, known as "The Singing Jazz Orchestra," left for New York and a brief recording career.

During his time in New York,



Public domain

Henry O. Wagoner, born in 1816 in Maryland to a freed slave mother and a German father, received limited education in Pennsylvania that gave him a base for further self-education.

As a barber and a restaurateur in Denver, Wagoner became one of Denver's wealthiest black residents and its first black deputy sheriff of Arapaho County

Victor Phonograph Company contacted Morrison with an offer of more money. Columbia refused to allow it and Victor asked whether he could recommend another western jazz band. It was always with pride that Morrison recalled suggesting his Jewish friend and fellow Denverite Paul Whiteman, whose musical career kept him in the public spotlight throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In 1920, Morrison's group left New York to tour Europe where they played a command performance for King George and Queen Mary of England. In 1924 and 1925, Morrison's group toured the western United States with the Pantages Circuit, the vaudeville circuit that operated west of the Mississippi. The Morrisons had built a house on Gilpin Street in 1923; his daughter was ten and he and Willa had an infant son. Life on the road had never had much appeal for Morrison and he

gave up travel to become a family man and beloved member of his community. He had opened a nightclub called Rock Rest on Table Mountain above Golden in the early 1920s, but quickly closed it when the Ku Klux Klan began holding rallies in the area. He ran a dance venue called Morrison's Casino on Welton Street from 1928 until 1935, when it was called Morrison's Casino Inc. dance hall. The Casino appeared in the Householder's Directory in 1936, but no longer had his name. Benny Hooper owned the Ex-Serviceman's Club next door and for year operated a night club called the Casinos, making it seem reasonable that he had bought Morrison's operation.

Morrison's music was appreciated by both black and white audiences and his group performed in Denver venues like the Albany and Windsor Hotels, the Brown Derby, the Starlight Club, and Rainbow Ballroom. His was the only African-American musical group invited to play at the Lakeside and Elitch's ballrooms in the summertime. Morrison could play whatever style of music the audience wanted and his versatility kept him in demand long after the Jazz Age ended.

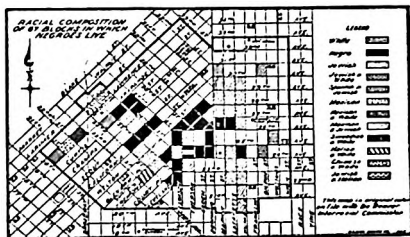
When not engaged in playing for an audience, Morrison gave music lessons, sometimes for free, to school



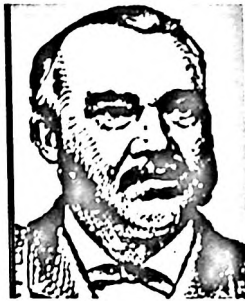
Public Domain

George Morrison's Jazz Orchestra with Andy Kirk's wife Mary at the piano

children. And he gave musicians, students, and the black community an opportunity to meet other black musicians. As was the case for all black travelers in the pre-Civil Rights era, traveling musicians staying in Denver generally had to room with families. Morrison's family often hosted musicians traveling between the Mississippi River and the West Coast. When Eubie Blake came to Denver with his hit Broadway show *Shuffle Along*, he stayed with the Morrisons, as did later popular musicians like Nat "King" Cole, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and Jimmy Lunceford—the young musician who had gotten his start with Morrison. The presence of such famous musicians in the community inspired young black musicians who often had the opportunity to jam with the professionals at after-hours clubs in Five Points. Many of the youngsters given this opportunity formed their own musical groups that played a growing number of Five Points venues and other clubs around town. Discrimination remained a factor for black musicians, who were not allowed to join the Musicians Local, the organization that set a wage standard for performers. Morrison formed Musicians Local 623 to bridge



Map showing results of Ira De A. Reid's 1929 Urban League study of Denver's African American population living in Five Points



Colorado Black Hall of Fame, Ford-Warren Library

Edward Sanderlin arrived in Kansas Territory during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1859. After striking it rich in the mines, he expanded his fortune with skillful property and ranching investments

the gap and ensure that local musicians received equal wages.

Morrison was not Denver's only black resident responsible for Five Points' reputation as a jazz mecca. Leroy Smith, an enterprising young man out of Oklahoma who believed that his 7/11/1911 birth date made him lucky, left Oklahoma at age fourteen, made his way to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and took a job as hotel busboy. It was the first step on his way to becoming a waiter with the Union Pacific, a steady job that paid African-American men good wages. His run between Chicago and Los Angeles had a layover in Denver. Leroy had visited Colorado in the 1930s when he worked as a chauffeur and drove his employer to Manitou Springs to take the waters. Leroy enjoyed the beauty of the state then and found it even more enchanting when he met the beautiful Lulu Ann Green, a waitress at the Porters and Waiters Club on Welton Street. The Union Pacific had based Leroy's run between Chicago and Los



*Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

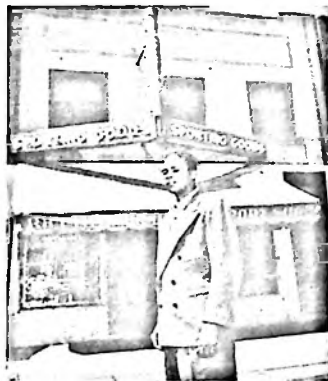
Eighth grade class photograph taken on the steps of Gilpin School. Note the lone black student on the top step

Angeles out of Ogden, Utah, and he and Lulu married there in October 1935. Discrimination against blacks in that city affected Lulu who had difficulty finding work. In 1936 the Union Pacific granted his request for a transfer to Denver where the couple soon bought a house in Five Points.

Like many African-American men, Leroy's aspirations meant working more than one job. Prior to finding a job with the Union Pacific, he had looked for work in Chicago, then a magnet for jazz musicians. Leroy was drawn to the jazz clubs and had no trouble meeting the city's black musicians. He may have learned to play double bass while living there, but he certainly had that ability when he settled in Denver. He gathered a group of his railroad colleagues and some of Denver's professional musicians to form the Chicago Streamline Rhythm Band, arranging their appearances between railroad runs. Leroy knew many people in Five Points shared his interest in jazz and began purchasing "race" records in Chicago to sell in Denver. He made a profit of

six cents apiece -- not a lot of money, but enough to encourage him to borrow money and rent a small store at 22<sup>nd</sup> and Ogden where Lulu sold records, newspapers, and beauty products.

The couple prospered and in 1943, Leroy quit his Union Pacific job and bought the building at 2615 Welton for \$10,000. He called his new retail store the Rhythm Record and Sporting Goods Shop. He and Lulu continued selling records, newspapers, and sundries, but also stocked a variety of sporting goods that reflected Leroy's interest in hunting and fishing. Like many of Welton Street's commercial buildings, the ground floor housed the store and the second floor had a two-bedroom apartment. That same year Leroy became an important player in ensuring Denver's place as a jazz mecca when he brought Jimmy Lunceford to Denver for a performance followed by a dance. Lunceford had performed with George

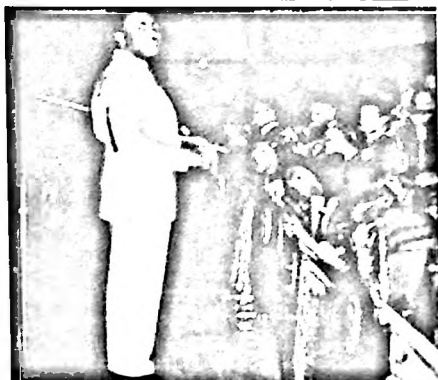


*Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

Leroy Smith pictured in front of his Rhythm Record and Sporting Goods Shop at 2615 Welton Street

Morrison before going out on his own and Leroy knew the Denver audience would welcome his fifteen-piece band to the Rainbow Ballroom at 5<sup>th</sup> and Broadway.

Lunceford's successful appearance encouraged Leroy to call on the artists and friends he had met during his layovers with the Union Pacific, musicians who had not considered stopping in Denver while traveling between Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis and the West Coast. Thanks to Leroy, over a generation of locals heard artists like Count Basie, Chuck Berry, Earl Bostic, James Brown, Ray Charles, Sam Cook, Billy Eckstine, Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, Buddy Griffin, Lionel Hampton, Earl "Fatha" Hines, John Lee Hooker, Joe Houston, Mahalia Jackson, Stan Kenton, Jay "Hootie" McShann, Percy Mayfield, Lou Rawls, George Shearing, Sarah Vaughn, T-Bone Walker, Dionne Warwick, Dinah Washington, Jackie Wilson, and Jimmy Witherspoon. Leroy



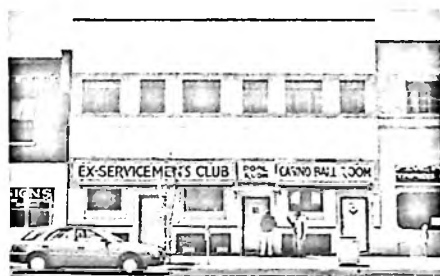
*Public Domain*

Smith brought Jimmy Lunceford, a musician who had once played with George Morrison, to Denver in 1943

was even successful in enticing the world-famous Josephine Baker to perform at the Tabor Opera House in 1951.

The Five Points music scene grew and prospered from the 1930s through the 1960s with the help of both Morrison and Smith. The Rossonian Hotel, owned by A.H. W. Ross and managed by Quentin Harrington, and Benny Hooper's Casino and Ballroom welcomed anyone interested in jazz, bringing white patrons by the dozens to the Points. Smaller clubs in the area provided the after-hours venues where jam sessions with traveling and local musicians often lasted all night.

Despite the draw of Five Points entertainers and night clubs into the 1960s and 70s, the neighborhood was nearing the century mark and showing its age. Additionally, Denver's black population doubled after WWII and newcomers had difficulty finding housing. Restrictive covenants, found in neighborhoods across the nation, did not allow



*Thomas J. Noel photograph, 1994  
Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

Benny Hooper's Ex-Servicemen's Club and Casino Ballroom were prominent businesses on Welton Street for decades

**•YES! YES! YAS!**  
 — HERE AT LAST —  
**LE ROY SMITH**  
 — AND HIS —  
**Chicago Streamline Rhythm**  
**BAND**  
**GRAND CABARET DANCE**  
**A RED HOT KOKOMO**  
**FLOOR SHOW**  
**TUESDAY JUNE 1 '37**  
 DINING & DANCING, 9:00 P. M. TO 2:00 A. M.  
**SILVER SLIPPER BROADWAY**  
**ARCADE BLDG., PUEBLO, COLO.**  
 COVER CHARGE: \$1.00 PER PERSON ADVANCE  
 \$1.00 WILL GO ON AT THE DOOR  
 SPONSORED BY AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 163  
 Tickets Now On Sale From Any AMERICAN LEGION POST  
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*Image Courtesy of LeRoy O. Smith*

Flyer from the band's 1937 performance in Pueblo, Colorado

home sales to black families in many neighborhoods. Denver's young mayor Quigg Newton, who served from 1947 to 1955, faced several dilemmas, one being the increasingly dangerous overcrowding in Five Points. Although a few affluent black families managed to move east of York and north of City Park, High Street had been the dividing line between black and white residents for three decades. Faced with President Harry S. Truman's Housing Act of 1949 that called for "slum clearance" and urban renewal, Newton urged residents of northeast Park Hill to let black families buy into a new subdivision near Thirty-Fifth and Dahlia. Panicked white homeowners fled the area, opening doors to more home sales in the Park Hill neighborhood. With restrictive covenants still in place in some

neighborhoods in the early 1960s, white members of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) fronted as buyers for black families in those areas. While this lessened the housing pressure on a decaying neighborhood, residents—black, Hispanic, and low income workers—who remained in Five Points lived in one of Denver's worst slums.

In the 1980s, Historic Denver, Inc. led a revitalization effort in the Curtis Park area. Several of the nearly century-old homes were restored by long-time residents and others who enjoyed the prospect of living in an old home. The first of Denver's Light Rail lines extended to the intersection of 30<sup>th</sup> and California in 1994 and helped begin a revitalization of the business corridor. In 2004 the Welton business corridor received National Historic District designation, and in 2014 the Five Points Business District, an organization funded by Denver's Office of Economic Development, succeeded in having the designation changed to Five Points Historic Cultural District to better reflect the importance of the neighborhood's cultural history. Denver's recent population explosion has seen the destruction of some old homes in the neighborhoods platted by those early visionaries. Their dreams for the young city were fulfilled nearly a century ago when homes, schools, business and industry obliterated the prairie grasses. Today, the historic nature of the old neighborhoods is disappearing as developers demolish old properties and replace them with multi-unit condominiums and apartments.

Five Points, once home to a city within a city that nurtured and sheltered a segregated minority, has moved into a



*Image Courtesy of LeRoy O. Smith*

Leroy Smith brought Dizzy Gillespie to Denver in 1953



*Thomas J. Noel photograph  
Denver Public Library, Western History Department*

An 1880s Empire Revival style home renovated in the 1980s by William Allen West in Curtis Park

new century. It can no longer boast the name “Harlem of the West,” which was made possible because of its enterprising black residents. Growth and change have begun to erase the physical evi-

dence of the neighborhood, but memory still serves to keep alive the presence of those whose dreams brought it into being and made it grow before moving on to pursue other dreams and ambitions.



# Over the Corral Rail

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

## Westerner Corral Presentations

In May James B. Wolf presented “The Origin and History of Pinecliffe, Colorado” to the Boulder County Corral. This planned membership community was founded in 1904, and has maintained its identity to the present date. James Wolf purchased a cabin there in 1970s, and in 2004 he wrote the history of Pinecliffe. Jim received his PhD from UCLA and moved to Boulder in 1968, accepting a position teaching history at CU. His 31-year career was at the Denver campus, and he retired from that position in 1999. Additionally he has been involved in acting and directing local theater groups.

The June program for the Colorado Corral was “Globeville: Industry and Immigrants,” by Mary Lou Egan. Globeville is one of Colorado’s most famous neighborhoods. From the 1880s to 1920s its smelters, foundries and railroads imported cheaper labor from Eastern Europe. These immigrants built communities and created institutions, while maintaining their ethnic heritage. Mary Lou Egan is a fourth-generation Coloradoan and history enthusiast whose interest in Globeville stems from listening to her grandparents’ stories about the community. She is a graduate of the University of Denver, and the author of “German Russians in Globeville,” published in the summer 2016 issue of the *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*.

The Pikes Peak Posse enjoyed hearing about two fascinating local parcels of land in El Paso County, which to many have been well-kept secrets. The May presentation was “A Not-so-new-Open Space 65 Million Years in the making! Corral Bluffs,” by Jackie Hilaire. East of the city is a new property owned by the Colorado Springs Parks Department. Rich in history, geologically unique, and generally pristine, the name of this 600-acre parcel was derived from the 1800s cattle drives. Corral Bluffs is a Colorado Natural Area, the result of a major research project for multiple disciplines. Jackie Hilaire is the president of the friends group Corral Bluffs Alliance (CoBA). She is a retired systems engineer and active in horticultural, parks, and arts groups.

In June, the Pikes Peak program was “Chico Basin Ranch: Preserving Prairie Heritage,” by Becca Frucht. Chico Basin Ranch is a historic 87,000-acre working ranch owned by the Colorado State Land Board and managed since 1999



by Ranchlands, a family-run ranching and land management business. This crucial stretch of short-grass prairie between Colorado Springs and Pueblo has played a pivotal role in Pikes Peak history, culture and ecology. Becca, the Education Director for Ranchlands, handles field trips, environmental education, and community outreach for the Chico Basin Ranch.

Both of these Pikes Peak Posse meetings were enhanced by field trips to these historical and scenic sites.



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Kearney's Dragoons Out West: The Birth of the U.S. Cavalry**, by Will Gorenfeld and John Gorenfeld. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 472 pages. Illustrations, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardbound with dust jacket, \$34.95.

Before there was the U.S. Cavalry, there was the U.S. Dragoons. This book, written by Will Gorenfeld and son John Gorenfeld tells the story of the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Dragoons from their inception in 1833 to the conclusion of the war with Mexico in 1848. The United States Regiment of Dragoons was officially authorized on March 2, 1833, when President Andrew Jackson, at the urging of Secretary of War Lewis Cass, signed into law an "act for the more perfect defense of the frontier." It was to be the first unit of permanent cavalry in the U.S. Army. It would retain its designation as dragoons until 1861 when all mounted units became "cavalry." Many at first were against creating a permanent mounted arm as part of the nation's army. It was thought that it would be aristocratic, European, and very costly to upkeep. To others these dragoons were to be distinctly American and not be a copy of their foreign counterparts.

To command the 1<sup>st</sup> Dragoon Regiment Jackson appointed Henry Dodge as its colonel and Stephen Watts Kearney as lieutenant colonel. Dodge and Kearney, when it came to military and personality background, were complete opposites. Henry Dodge, who previously commanded the U.S. Mounted Ranger Battalion with the rank of major, was rough around the edges when it came to manners and education. He used foul language in the presence of ladies and had been an Indian fighter, a sheriff, miner, duelist, and was involved in the Aaron Burr treason case as a defendant.

Stephen Kearney on the other hand came from a wealthy family and was highly educated. He studied Latin at Columbia University and unlike Dodge was a career military professional, though he was not a West Pointer. Kearney, who believed in military order and discipline found it hard to serve under a superior officer who was sadly lacking in those two areas and had trouble writing complete sentences. When the dragoons were formed in 1833, the officer corps of the regiment

consisted of officers from both the regular army and the Mounted Rangers. However when Dodge resigned to become governor of the Wisconsin Territory in 1836, Kearney took command and lost no time in reshaping the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Dragoons into the elite unit he thought it should be. Over a period of time he would see to it that very few of the former Mounted Ranger officers remained with the regiment and were replaced with regular army officers.

The Gorenfelds describe to the reader in detail that from 1834 to 1846 the 1<sup>st</sup> Dragoons became seasoned soldiers during this period as a result of expeditions and campaigns west of the Missouri River. Kearney and his men traveled to South Pass in the northern Rocky Mountains via the Overland Trail and along the Santa Fe Trail as far as Bent's Fort on the north side of the Arkansas River. The Arkansas marked the boundary between the United States to the north and Mexico to the south. The dragoons also did their share of policing the frontier to protect both Indians and whites ranging from Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, up to the Wisconsin Territory and the Canadian border. However the major challenge to Kearney and his dragoons would come when the United States went to war against a foreign country, Mexico. Their years of gaining experience and endurance would be put to the test in California, New Mexico, and Mexico.

Will and John Gorenfeld have written a top-notch book on not only the field service history of the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Dragoons but their commander, Stephen W. Kearney as well. This is definitely a must for all those who have an interest in the army in the American West. It is sincerely hoped by this reviewer that the authors follow this well-researched book with a history of the 2<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Dragoons.

--Mark Hutchins

**Sea of Sand, A History of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve**, by Michael M. Geary. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 280 pages, hardback cover, with maps, photos, footnotes, bibliography, & indexed, \$29.95.

*Sea of Sand*, by Michael Geary is a 280-page hardback book with historical photos, drawings, and is thoroughly indexed and footnoted. It is written from a depth of research with accuracy, detail, and a narrative that is intriguing and interesting to follow. Mr. Geary has done exhaustive research on every topic about the San Luis valley from archaeology, paleontology, history of the explorers, trappers, miners, ranchers, logging, water resources, and land ownership. I learned a lot about southern Colorado's history, politics, and resource management from reading this great book because it had been written from the results of exhaustive research and personal experiences.

*Sea of Sand* reads like a history book because the text begins with a detailed account of the ancestral Clovis-point hunters who roamed the San Luis valley searching for food. There is archaeological evidence which points to their transient nature here before the Spanish empire extended their northern boundary looking for Cibola. Zebulon Pike was the first European to see these 725-foot dunes which

cover 19,000 acres. The historical push and pull of frontier settlements in the valley saw many different kinds of developments here but the protection of the sand dunes became an overwhelming theme throughout all of these changes.

*Sea of Sand* also reads like a scientific and geographic journal because of the detail accounting for the features of the San Luis valley. Knowledge of Colorado's sand dunes grew because of government studies which discovered an Aeolian system based upon four distinct regions: the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the east, the sabkha (mineralized hardpan of alkali), the sand sheet and the sand dunes themselves. Having travelled to these sand dunes before, Geary's book answered many questions for me. One curiosity was why the soil surrounding the dunes to the west was all white? Mr. Geary describes the San Luis valley like the Dead Sea, with no outlet for drainage; consequently it is geographically referred to as a closed basin. There are two large aquifers underneath the ground that were tapped for sub-irrigation farming in the 1880s. Many crystal-clear fresh-water wells often spouted as high as twelve feet because of the strong underground pressure. After evaporation, salts and alkali left a white parched looking soil behind during dry seasons.

National attention became focused on protecting these four interconnected regions in 1930. Gaining National Park status required a lot of political lobbying which Mr. Geary aptly described in great detail. The local ladies of the PEO in Monte Vista have earned credit for the start of official dune protection during their summer meeting that year. Their political connections achieved Monument status in just eighteen months with President Hoover's signature. The original Baca-Medano-Zapata land grants which were deeded after the 1848 Mexican War granted private property rights which surrounded the Monument. Geary writes a detail and intriguing account of the local and national political work debated over the next eighteen years to acquire these lands. Achieving National Park status was not so easy. Eventually, heavy-weight Colorado politicians named Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Scott McInnis, and Ken Salazar among others threw their support to the Secretary of the Interior and President Bill Clinton which culminated in National Park status on November 22, 2000. Particularly surprising to read about were the disputes between Colorado House of Representatives Scott McInnis and Joel Hefley. Final National Park status was contingent upon the Nature Conservancy acquiring the 97,000-acre Baca Ranch surrounding parts of the dunes. Through legal wrangling in courts by 2004, the final sale and transfer of this land to the Nature Conservancy allowed protection of the entire Aeolian system. The complete political process described by Geary was very interesting to read about because it involved recent and famous politicians who are still active in Colorado today.

It is without reservation that I highly recommend this great book to those who like to read about Colorado, and all of its various historical, scientific, and political tentacles connecting us to who we are today. There is much more that I could write about, but I have used more words than are allowed here. My best suggestion is to read the book. I just know that you will like it.

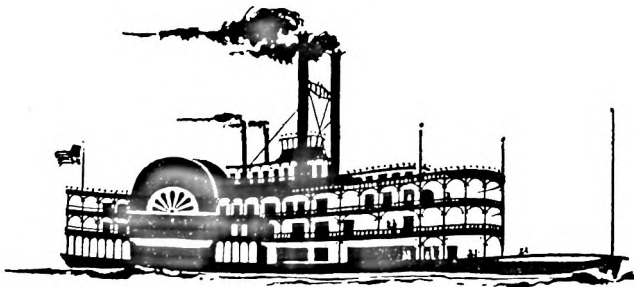
--Frank Pilkington

**A Field of Their Own: Women and American Indian History, 1830-1941**, by John M. Rhea. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 293 pp. Photos, notes, bibliography, index, \$34.95.

The history of American Indians as written by women is explored by author John Rhea in this wide-ranging and thoroughly researched book. Rhea tells the stories of nine women scholars in particular, several with deep Oklahoma roots. He presents material that probably is new to many history buffs in explaining how women came to dominate the field of American Indian history for more than 100 years. Rhea suggests that European-American-women used Indigenous people (his terms) to advance their own personal agendas and ambitions. He asserts that historian Frederick Jackson Turner considered Indian people to be peripheral to America's frontier history, with the result that men were seldom interested in specializing in the subject. Women historians were therefore free to research and write American Indian history with little competition, although academic recognition was hard to achieve.

Suggestion: Read the book's conclusions before diving into the detailed subject matter and multitudinous names. The book is worth reading for its nuanced approach to many complicated issues, including social activism, the politics of gender and academia, and efforts to assimilate American Indians during territorial development and after. Rhea characterizes women's involvement in writing Indian history as pre-professional (1830-1889) and early professional (1889-1940). Pre-professional writers frequently used public documents as sources; later writers, who sometimes had contact with Indian people, including their own tribes, often referenced ethnological information. With the 1941 publication of Angie Debo's *And Still the Waters Run* and the emerging acceptance of connections between history and anthropology, women's leading role in the field began to decline as men's involvement increased.

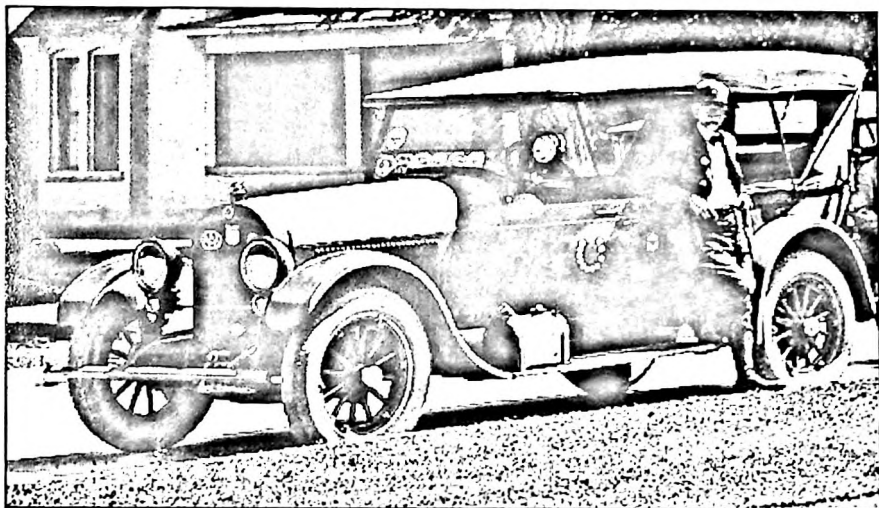
--Judy Zelio





The DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

July - August 2017



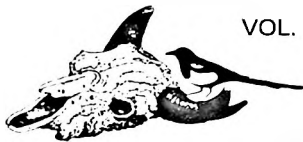
*A.G. Lucier photo, John Taggart Lib., Northwest College, Powell, Wyo*

Westgard Poses next to his 1920 Westcott during his National  
Park-to-Park Highway tour

**A.L. Westgard, "Daniel Boone of the Gasoline Era"**  
by Lee Whiteley  
presented Feb. 22, 2017

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIII NO. 4



July - August 2017



## Our Author

Lee Whiteley is a 4th-generation Coloradan, a graduate of Englewood High School and the University of Denver, a U.S. Army Vietnam veteran, and a retired computer programmer-analyst.

He and wife Jane have written five books on transportation systems in 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 and Jane are associate producers of the PBS documentary "Paving the Way: the National Park-to-Park Highway." The video is based on their book *The Playground Trail, The National Park-to-Park Highway: To and Through the National Parks of the West in 1920*.

Lee is a past sheriff of the Denver Posse of Westerners and received their Lifetime Achievement Award in 2003.

This is the text of Lee's ninth program for the Denver Posse.

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## A.L. Westgard, "Daniel Boone of the Gasoline Era"

by Lee Whiteley  
presented Feb. 22, 2017

"The year 1903 saw him drive his first car on the roads of New York. Since then he has been the constant explorer of the ways that lead from east to west, from north to south, inspecting, mapping, publishing, making men know and appreciate what a country this is; urging the delights of the open road and the life of the great outdoors. Almost all of the more than forty great highways along lines of latitude and longitude follow the trail of his pathfinding car—or cars—for he has worn out eighteen cars in this work." Foreword to *Tales of a Pathfinder*, published in 1920 by A. L. Westgard.

### Early Life

Anton L. Westgard was born in Christiania, Norway, in 1865. Various records list his first name as Anton, Anthon, and Anthony, but he went almost exclusively by his initials, A. L.

The *San Francisco Call* printed a short biography of Westgard's early years in its July 29, 1913, issue. "Born in Norway 48 years ago, Mr. Westgard came to the United States in 1883 and immediately began his career as a surveyor, doing railroad, municipal and land work in the Southwest, which included labors as city engineer of Houston, Texas, and location work for the Santa Fe [railroad]. From 1892 to 1905 he had charge, as chief of the work, of a large corps of engineers, making state, county, and town maps and atlases throughout all of the states east of the Rockies. In these travels Mr. Westgard became familiar

with almost all usable roads and was particularly identified with obtaining and disseminating information regarding bicycle tours, information which became of great value when the automobile usurped the bicycle's place in popular favor."

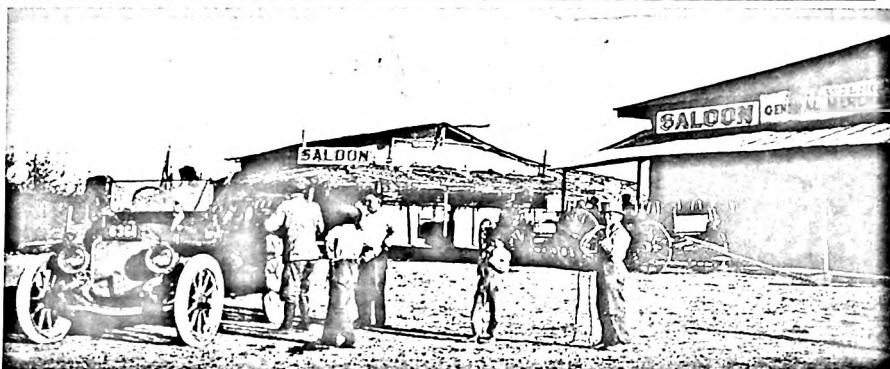
Westgard was living in Providence, Rhode Island, by 1896. Maps with an 1896 copyright date state "Compiled and published by A. L. Westgard & Co, Providence R. I." A son and daughter were born in Providence.

### Ideal Tours

Because of his knowledge of the roads in the Northeast, Westgard in 1907 laid out a motor touring route known as the "Ideal Tour." Starting in New York City, the circle tour included Boston, and the White and Berkshire mountains. The route was detailed in the *Automobile Blue Book*, a publication of the American Automobile Association. The trip was for the wealthy, for the "Sociability Run" boasted "A First-class Hotel at the End of Each Days Run." Westgard led the first run of fourteen automobiles in 1908. He updated the route in 1910, and suggested that for a change, the circle route be done in reverse order.

### Touring Club of America

Westgard was president of the Touring Club of America, an organization described by the *Los Angeles Herald*, May 22, 1910, as "an organization formed for the sole purpose of supplying such information



*National Archives*

### Westgard's Automobile at Ehrenberg, AZ, 1910

as would greatly enhance the possibilities of state and nation-wide travel on the part of pleasure or health seekers owning automobiles." The national headquarters in New York City occupied an "Entire Building Given Over to Conveniences for Motorists." After this headline the newspaper noted that "Westgard, the president, who for thirty years has been gathering road information about Europe and America that has given him the reputation of being the most competent touring expert in the world." Westgard even designed and patented the logo for the club. The patent papers listed his full name, Anthony L. Westgard.

### Trail to Sunset

In late 1910, Westgard traveled from New York to Los Angeles on a route that would become known as the "Trail to Sunset." Through southeastern Colorado he followed the Santa Fe Trail Mountain Branch through La Junta and Trinidad.

*The Evening Star*, Washington D.C., noted on November 6, 1910:

"Eastern automobilists who believe that their section of the country is the most popular touring ground might do well to adopt Horace Greeley's famous advice about going west and make a trip through some of the states beyond Chicago to appreciate the growth of automobile interest in this section of the country." Three days later the newspaper added: "For the first time in the history of American motoring a trip from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast is to be held under the auspices of an automobile organization for the purpose of compiling accurate data regarding road conditions and all other details necessary for the comfort and success of a pleasure transcontinental motor tour."

All did not go well on the pathfinding tour. Westgard and his wife both suffered from hypothermia while battling snow drifts between Springerville and Globe, Arizona. Both were hospitalized for a short time in Phoenix. In his 1920 book, *Tales of a Pathfinder*, Westgard made no mention of his difficulties but did



tell the following story: "Arrived at Fort Apache and found unbounded hospitality but no gasoline. Here was a serious situation. It seemed there was nothing to do but sit down and wait for a team to go to Holbrook on the railroad for a supply, and freighters took two weeks for a round trip to that point... the quartermaster was sent for and admitted having four or five gallons of this 'cleaning fluid' in stock. Next morning this very fluid made the engine frisky as a colt."

### Coast-to-Coast by Truck

Even after the narrow escape while mapping the Trail to Sunset, Westgard returned in March 1911, retracing much of the route. This time, as a representative of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture, he rode in the first heavy truck to attempt a coast-to-coast trip. A Saurer Motor Truck left Denver on March 4. The "Pioneer Freighter" was loaded with three and a half tons of cargo, primarily timbers for

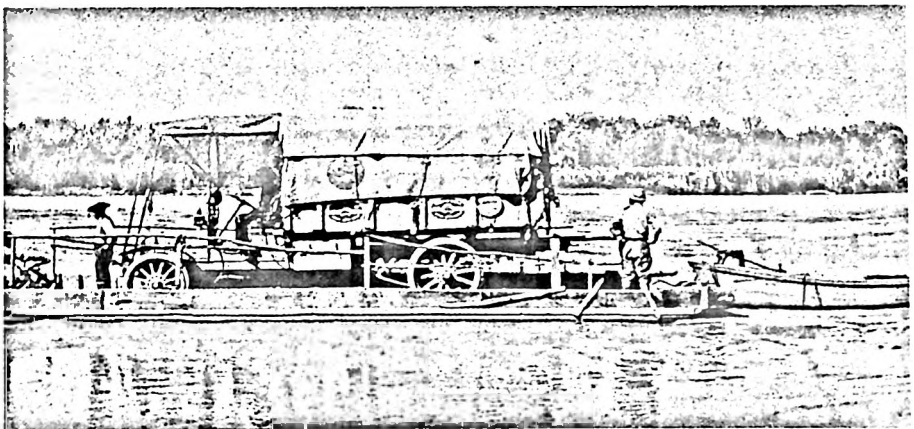
shoring up bridges and making mud-holes passable. The purpose of the trip was to study road conditions between Denver and San Francisco, much of the distance through country where highways are of great importance to transportation, a region without direct railroad service.

At Ehrenberg, Arizona, the truck was stripped down, including removal of the engine, to complete the crossing of the Colorado River in a light-duty ferry. In San Francisco, the truck was photographed on the 34-percent grade of Telegraph Hill. Here many automobile manufacturers tested their vehicles on the steep, cobblestone hill.

The Saurer truck was returned by railroad to Pueblo, Colorado, where the truck, again under its own power, continued east to New York City, completing its coast-to-coast run.

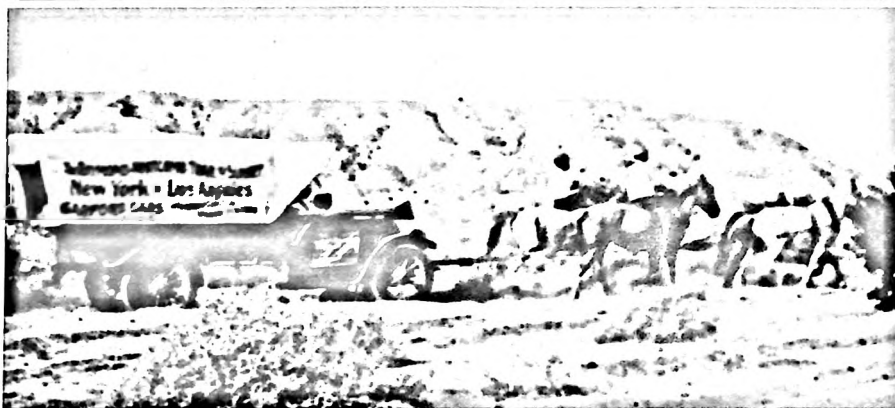
### The Glidden Tour of 1911

The American Automobile Association's Reliability Tour, also



*Photo from "Tales of a Pathfinder"*

The Saurer truck crossing the Colorado River at Ehrenberg, AZ, 1911



*National Archives*

The Raymond-Whitcomb support truck helped through the sand northeast of Yuma, Arizona. The canvas lettering reads "The RAYMOND-WHITCOMB TRAIL TO SUNSET / New York to Los Angeles / GARFORD CARS / Co-operation of American Automobile Association."

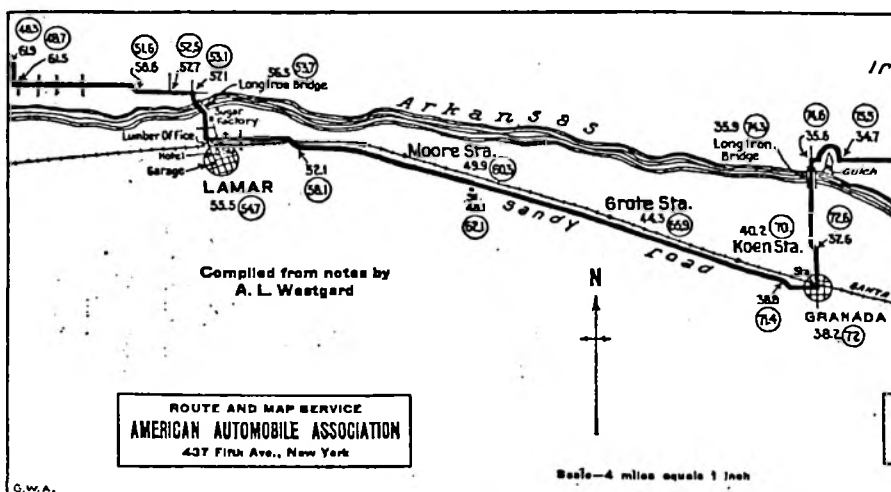
known as the Glidden Tour, was held yearly from 1905-1911 and again in 1913. It was not a speed race, but a reliability and endurance event. Westgard laid out the route for the 1911 New York City to Jacksonville, Florida, Glidden Tour. The 1,476-mile-long tour was held from October 13-26. Westgard did not participate in the actual tour, for he was involved in a much longer expedition.

### **The Raymond-Whitcomb Tour**

On October 11, 1911, Westgard started on a cross country trip along his Trail to Sunset. He was piloting Garford automobiles on a trip organized by the Raymond-Whitcomb Tour Company. This was the first fully-escorted tour where participants paid for the opportunity to travel coast-to-coast by automobile.

The trip was summarized in an article in *Sunset*, February 1912. Titled "Log of an Auto Prairie Schooner," a

few passages included the following: "There were eighteen of us in all. Six were professional drivers of automobiles, two were the pilot and his wife, one was a press representative and the tenth was the manager of the tour. But the remaining eight were absolutely pioneers; they formed the advance guard of what is to be a mighty procession crossing the American continent, east and west, from ocean to ocean. They were personally conducted tourists, traveling for pleasure, in a train of automobiles, running on schedule time, from New York to California, and they had paid their fare. . . . Any old kind of an automobile can get from New York to Chicago, and tourists have nice hotels to stop at and everything is lovely. But west of Chicago the real trip commences. We were motorists as far west as Chicago. Then we became pioneers. . . . The auto pioneers of today traveled a miraculous road, the Trail to Sunset is by no means a path of roses.



Federal Highway Administration

### Sample strip map of the Trail to Sunset

There are roads and roads, some good, some bad, and others horrible. The man who runs around San Francisco, Chicago, or New York in his touring car is really a novice in the matter of automobile highways until he has taken a trip across the North American continent."

By August 1911, Westgard had released a map of the Trail to Sunset, followed by a set of Chicago to Los Angeles "strip maps." The *Washington Herald* summarized the value of this type of map on October 8: "One will be able to tell at a glance every detail of the highway which lies ahead. The graphic nature of the strip map system will make the highway an open book even to those who have never traveled it."

### Three Transcontinental Trips, 1912

Westgard would crisscross the United States three times in 1912,

selecting and mapping routes for the American Automobile Association (AAA).

His first trip would traverse the northern tier of states to Seattle. He called this the "Northwest Trail," which would be followed by the later National Parks Highway. In the western states the route is now closely followed by Interstate 90. Spur roads were mapped to Yellowstone and Glacier national parks. On this trip he was marooned for sixteen days on a knoll by a flooding Yellowstone River. He and his farm family hosts survived on chicken, turkey, then on prairie dogs.

His trip east was over what he called the "Overland Trail," loosely following the 1849 goldrush California Trail. Much of his route would be selected for the 1913 Lincoln Highway, a transcontinental highway promoted by big businesses, like the Packard Motor Car Company, Goodyear Tire

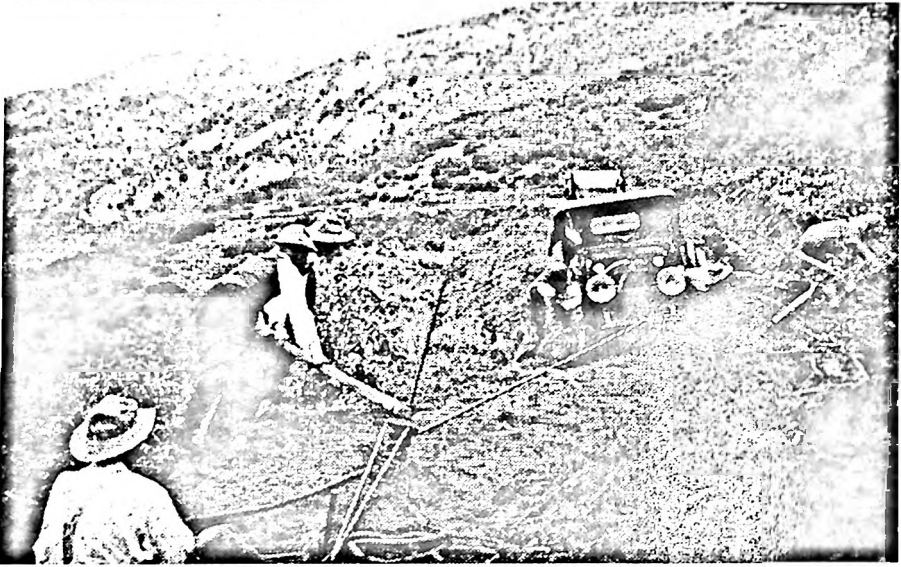


Photo from "Tales of a Pathfinder"

Colorado Governor Elias Ammons at the right front wheel. Photo taken on Colorado's Western Slope during Westgard's trip to Denver in 1912

and Rubber Company, Prest-O-Lite Company, and Portland Cement. Westgard told the following story in his *Tales of a Pathfinder*: "We had not gone far from Milford [Utah] when our motor ran hot. Things looked indeed gloomy, as being stalled in that arid country, waterless. . . . We had six bottles of carefully packed and much treasured claret of a choice vintage. Friend wife generously offered to sacrifice the wine and accordingly the box was opened and the contents of the bottles poured into the radiator." The route east included a side trip to Denver, Colorado. Governor Elias Ammons joined Westgard at Meeker, Colorado, and they continued to Denver via Tennessee Pass and Colorado Springs.

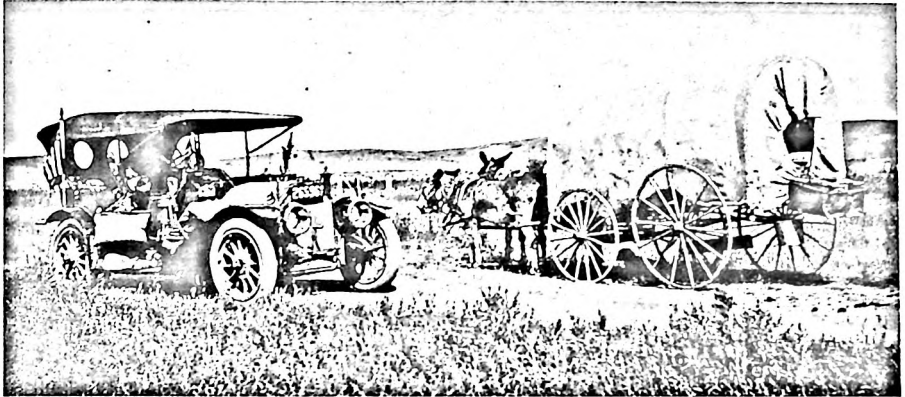
Westgard's third trip across the continent by automobile followed the

"Midland Trail." The highway passed through central Kansas to Denver. From Denver west to Los Angeles, major sections of the road would be designated U.S. Highway 6 in 1926, the year numbers were assigned to the major "auto trails."

AAA produced a map showing Westgard's three 1912 trips, plus his Trail to Sunset and a "Southern Route" through New Mexico and Arizona.

### The Hoosier Tour, 1913

Westgard returned to the Midland Trail in 1913, this time escorting the "Hoosier Tour" from Indianapolis to San Francisco. The primary purpose of the tour, sponsored by the Automobile Manufacturers of Indiana, was to prepare a route for motorists to follow to the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition



National Archives

Westgard's automobile and covered wagon near Big Springs, Nebraska, 1912. This road would be designated the Lincoln Highway a year later

in San Francisco. A secondary but hushed purpose was to select a route for the transcontinental Lincoln Highway.

The tour entered Colorado on July 9. Events in Colorado summarized their route through the state:

Cigars and lemonade in Flagler Antlers Hotel in Colorado Springs  
Tours of the Garden of the Gods

and Pikes Peak

Brown Palace in Denver  
Sioux City-Denver baseball game  
Lakeside Amusement Park  
Bouquet of columbines in Empire  
Snowball fight on Berthoud Pass  
Dip in the pool at Hot Sulphur

Springs

Hotel Colorado in Glenwood

Springs

Banquet attended by 1,000 people in Grand Junction.

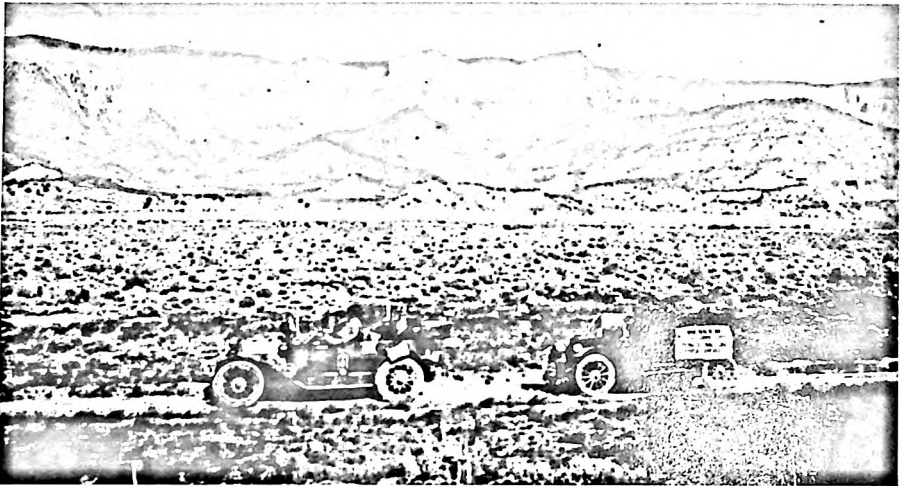
All went well until the tour moved into Utah.

Violent thunderstorms made crossing the desert arroyos difficult. Unable to reach Price, Utah, the motorists were forced to spend the night in Thompson, Utah. Spirits were dampened, the motorists were tired and disgruntled. After reaching San Francisco, the Hoosiers returned east by train.

This bad experience was a factor in selecting a route through Nebraska and Wyoming for the 1913 Lincoln Highway. Only a short-lived branch of the highway dipped down to Denver from Big Springs, Nebraska, then returned north to Cheyenne, Wyoming.

### **Motor Routes to the California Expositions**

Much of the road improvements, sign-posting, and promotion of transcontinental "auto trails" were geared for the anticipation of heavy motor travel to the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco and the Panama-California



National Archives

Westgard's 1912 Midland Trail expedition. Banner reads "DENVER / Motor Club Chamber of Commerce / DENVER TO SALT LAKE / EXPOSITION ROUTE."

#### Exposition in San Diego.

Westgard published an extensive article in the March 1915 issue of *Motor Magazine*, summarizing the three major highways to the expositions. He prefaced the route details with "there still exists just sufficient lack of semblance to park boulevards to ensure one of a chance to rough it to some extent, but it is my belief that a month's living out of doors, the ever changing scenery, besides acquiring a knowledge of our vast country, obtainable no other way, will add sufficient zeal to the trip to forget and forgive any minor discomforts encountered."

The primary route, according to Westgard, was the National Old Trails Road. West of Kansas City the route followed closely the Santa Fe Trail and Trail to Sunset to Santa Fe, New Mexico, then continued west,

approximating what would become in 1926 U.S. Highway 66, "Route 66." The Midland Trail passed through the heart of Kansas, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada. The third described route was the now familiar Lincoln Highway across Nebraska and Wyoming, much of today's U.S. Highway 30, then passing through Salt Lake City and following closely U.S. Highway 50 across Nevada and California.

Westgard, now Vice President and Director of Transcontinental Highways, National Highway Association, prepared and released in 1915 a map showing the three routes, plus a northern and southern route which could be used as an alternate return trip east. Under the headline "Free Transcontinental Map," the *New York Tribune* on August 8, 1915, stated: "It is about the best transcontinental road map which has been published. Mr.



American Automobile Assoc.

American Automobile Association map showing Westgard's transcontinental trips, 1911-1913

Westgard is able to distribute it free as he is using it to advertise the Westgard Tuff Fabric Tire, handy auto tire chains, tourists' toilette kits and other motoring accessories."

### "Know America"

Westgard embarked on what was intended to be his largest project in October 1916. The *Better Roads and Streets*, October 1916 noted: "To make motion pictures of the whole United States is the job A. L. Westgard, who has traveled more miles of roads in an automobile than any other living man, has now set himself. Mr. Westgard, who knows the beauty spots as no other man knows them, believes that he can show Americans things about their own country of which they scarcely dream. The Pathe Company which will distribute the films, believe so, too. . . . The automobile motion picture tour, which is to extend for more than 25,000 miles, takes more than a year

and include every State in the Union, is made under the auspices of the National Highway Association, of which great organization Mr. Westgard is Director of Transcontinental Highways, and with the cooperation of the Interior Department, which has arranged for Mr. Westgard to take all the pictures he wants in any and all Government reservations, national monuments, national parks, and forest reserves."

The party, traveling in two Paige automobiles, included Westgard, his wife and son, a cameraman, a cook, and Pan, Westgard's wirehaired fox terrier. Newspaper reports followed his trip through southern Colorado, his starting point, the Zuni country of northwestern New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The *El Paso Herald*, February 24, 1917, reported that the Pathe Company planned to show the films in theaters throughout the country under the title "Know America, the Land We Love: An Eye Lecture on God's Country."

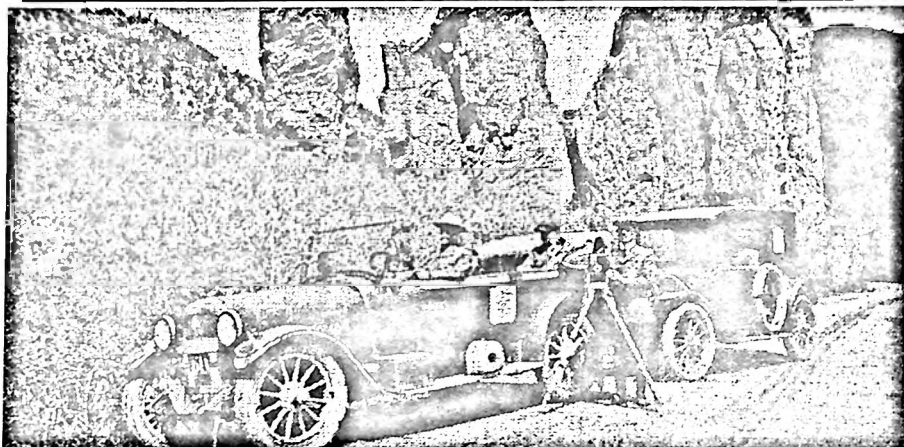


Photo from "Tales of a Pathfinder"

### Westgard and filming party at Glen Eyrie in Colorado Springs, 1916

This was the last report on the tour, for World War I began on April 6, 1917, and the project was abandoned.

### "See America First"

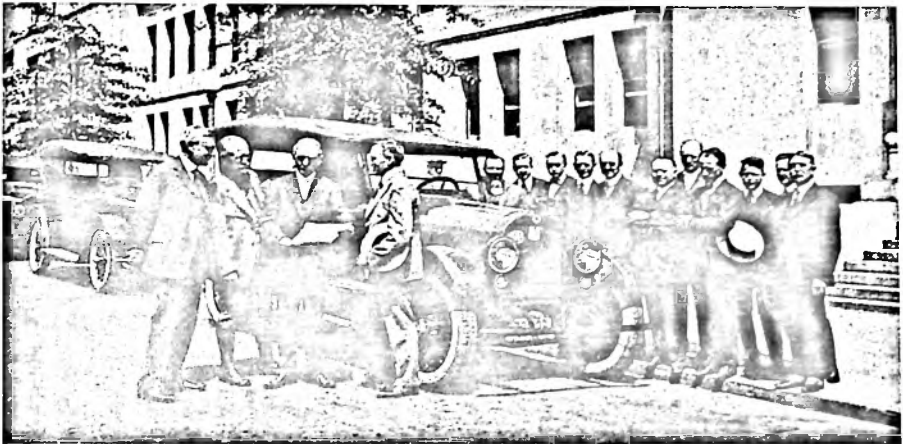
After the end of World War I, the "See America First" campaign, a pre-war railroad slogan, was picked up by the automobile industry. Westgard noted in his book: "One of the most remarkable observations that one is forced to make when traveling around in the eastern part of our country is the limited comprehension of the vast size and resources of the United States, often displayed by people whom one really expects to have a wider knowledge of the subject. . . . One of the good things following the world war was the fact that as Europe was closed to these folks they were literally compelled, being people of leisure with few serious objects in life aside from traveling, to visit regions in the United States which they heretofore had thought too arduous to approach."

New York City's *The Sun* noted on May 18, 1919: "That cross-country automobile touring this year will assume a volume equal to that of the past five years combined is the opinion of A. L. Westgard of the American Automobile Association touring bureau." That year AAA issued an updated map supplemented by booklets describing accommodations and scenic attractions along the Lincoln Highway, National Old Trails Road, and the Yellowstone Trail. Publication of *The Official Automobile Blue Book*, often called by motorists the "Blue Bible," began in 1901 with a single volume. It expanded to eleven volumes covering the entire country by 1920. These guides relied heavily on the material collected by Westgard.

### Tales of a Pathfinder

Westgard published *Tales of a Pathfinder* in 1920. In sixty-one chapters he told of some of his many experiences including road conditions,





National Archives

Steven Mather, Dir. of the National Park Service (left), and Westgard in Washington, D.C., 1920

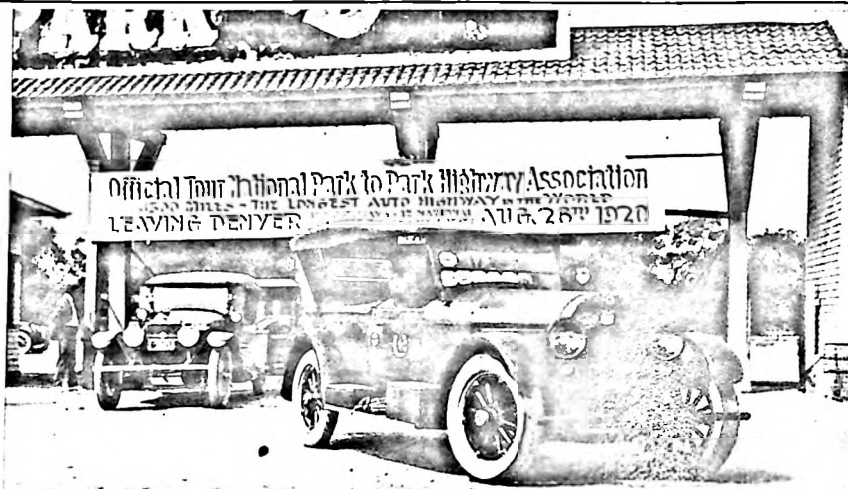
grasshoppers, rattlesnakes, forest fires, and floods. His many photographs dramatically illustrate the hardships and joys of early-day motoring in the West. He summarized his love of the road: "I count the year lost that I cannot personally inspect the progress of work on at least two of the standard transcontinental lines. Eighteen transcontinental trips and more than that many between the North and South boundaries of the United States on rubber tires are behind me and I am still going." Not modestly, he continued: "I was frequently presented to the assemblage in terms most extravagant as the greatest pathfinder since Daniel Boone and General Fremont. At one place I was called the 'Daniel Boone of the Gasoline Era' at another 'John the Baptist of the Good Roads Gospel,' or 'The Great Pathfinder of the Good Roads Era.'"

Several stories dealt specifically with Colorado. "The splendid roads through their magnificent mountain

region enable tourists to roam at will and enjoy a climate and scenery which are sure to induce them to stay longer than at first intended and to come again. All Colorado needs to do is treat its visitors fairly, without greed, and its attractions will prove more valuable than all its mineral wealth. . . . I have on occasions visited Colorado convict road camps and joined the men at their meals. Their freedom from restraint and mental depression was most noticeable. They acted and talked naturally like free men."

### National Park-to-Park Highway

Westgard's largest and last project was selecting and mapping the best route for the 5,600-mile-long National Park-to-Park Highway, a road connecting all twelve of the National Parks of the West. This road followed in part several of the "auto trails" very familiar to Westgard, including the Yellowstone Highway, Pacific Highway, and the National Old Trails Road.



*A G. Lucier photo, John Taggart Lib., North-west College, Powell WY*

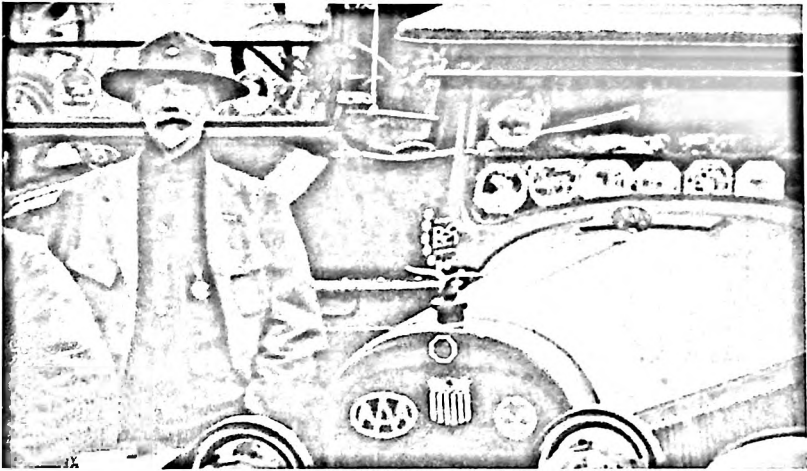
### Westgard leaving Denver's Overland Park on the National Park-to-Park Highway publicity tour, August 26, 1920

Under the Headlines "Auto Highway is Planned to Link Parks—Pathfinder Here to Select Best Route for the Official Party," the June 27, 1920, issue of the *Denver Post* continued: "The most pretentious project for the development of the highways of the West is to be launched this week by A. L. Westgard, field representative of the American Automobile association, who arrived in Denver Thursday afternoon after a grueling trip by motor car from Washington [D.C.]. Mr Westgard will make a pathfinding trip thru the national parks and monuments of the West in the interest of the American Automobile association and the National Park to Park Highway association, for the purpose of determining the most feasible route for a highway connecting all the national playgrounds, starting and ending in Denver. A million people visited the national parks last year, Mr. Westgard said, but lack of good

connecting roads robbed many of them of the opportunity of seeing all the wonders of the nation's playgrounds. The road which I will map out will enable tourists to make a comfortable trip in a minimum length of time and will permit them to visit all the beauty spots in the government parks in the course of one summer tour. A. L. Westgard has laid out practically all the important transcontinental routes in America, and many other important highways. This is the nineteenth tour across the continent. He has made thirty trips from the Canadian border to the southern boundary of the United States in his pathfinding activities."

### Westgard's Last Adventure

The publicity tour along the National Park-to-Park Highway left Denver's Overland Park on August 26, 1920. Westgard and his dog Pan led the caravan of six automobiles.



*A G. Lucier photo, John Taggart Lib., Northwest College, Powell, WY*

### Westgard posed in front of his car, with National Park stickers and AAA symbols, 1920

All went well for Westgard until he became ill near Spokane, Washington. He was forced to leave the tour and return to San Francisco. He did rejoin the caravan briefly south of Bakersfield, California, but was unable to complete the circuit to Denver.

Westgard died April 3, 1921, in San Diego and was buried in Oswego, New York, April 13.

It was that very same year that the Federal Highway Act would make real the idea of a national "interstate" highway system. Each state designated up to seven percent of its road system to maintain with the help of federal aid.

### **A Tribute to Westgard**

Westgard Pass, 15 miles east of Big Pine, California, was named for the great pathfinder. The *Arizona Republican* on September 11, 1921, reported: "Motor tourists of today traveling toward the sunset via the Midland Trail will enter California

through a pass of majestic beauty... a natural gate between the land of sagebrush and the land of flowers. A halt to survey the beauties unfolded so suddenly will reveal, among other things, a huge sign situated well up the mountainside bearing the lettering 'Westgard Pass.' This name was bestowed upon the cut by the State of California in honor of the late A. L. Westgard, for many years the field representative of the American Automobile Association and discoverer of the pass in 1911." The newspaper noted that a Sequoia tree, called the "Three A Tree," was planted on Westgard Pass and "intended as a token of the Far West's appreciation of the American Automobile Association's great work for motorists."

# Over the Corral Rail

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

## Doings at Pikes Peak

While the Boulder County Corral and the Colorado Corral are taking a summer break, the Pikes Peak Posse has been stirring up a lot of dust. That happened at the July meeting, when Greg Budwine told about the "Pikes Peak Range Riders, an Integral Part of our Western Heritage." Their mission is to promote and support the Pikes Peak or Bust Rodeo and the Pikes Peak Range Rider Foundation. The first ride around Pikes Peak was in July 1949. Part of the celebration of Western heritage is the sendoff Colorado Springs Western Street Breakfast, with assistance from Sertoma and Fort Carson, for 10,000. Posse members also heard about the Pivots, Rangerettes, Special Rodeo, and an amazing new museum at Latigo. Bud related the rich history, with images, of sixty-nine years of Range Rides.

In August the Pikes Peak Posse held their Second Annual Rendezvous, again at the historic chapel in Evergreen Cemetery. Westerners mingled with authors, local historical re-enactors, and enjoyed the main feature, a musical program by Western musician and author Jon Chandler. The Pikes Peak Library District and Filter Press set up book sale tables. The Pikes Peak Posse hosts this Rendezvous for all Westerners, and members from Denver and Boulder were among the attendees.



*Just for fun...*

Past Sheriffs of the Denver Posse, circa 1977

Front row: Nolie Mumey, Erl Ellis, Bob Brown, Fred Mazzulla

Back row: Bill Marshall, Ed Bathke, Dave Hicks, Charlie Ryland, Les Williams, Dick Ronzio, Bob Mutchler. Ed Bathke is the only one still living



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Denver's Lakeside Amusement Park, From the White City Beautiful to a Century of Fun**, by David Forsyth. University Press of Colorado, 2016. 300 pages, paperback, \$31.99.

Was there an amusement park in your neighborhood as you grew up, or did you just hear stories from a grandparent as I did? If you did or didn't have your own amusement park, this book should still hold your interest.

When Lakeside opened in 1908 there was already four other amusement parks operating in the Denver area and almost 5,000 in the United States. This is not just the history of an iconic amusement park, but also of the comings and goings of the lesser and greater amusement parks and, significantly of the impact Lakeside has had on the growth of not only Denver, but also Colorado.

Established by beer baron Adolph Zang, it was a continuation of his efforts to build a reputation as a "generous and successful businessman." Denver was participating in the national City Beautiful movement, and it was intended that Lakeside would attract the "elites" of Denver. Mayor Robert Speer had every intension of losing the "cowtown" image of Denver, so Lakeside - around a tree-shaded 37-acre lake - fit right into his image of a park filled city.

"The White City" name was applied as the park opened with more than 100,000 lights. There were more than fifty attractions including a railway, rollercoaster, casino, theater, ballroom, Greek statues, a skating rink and of course a beer hall. Many of these attractions, along with later additions, such as the automobile race track and baseball field are now just memories. Many other attractions have been added over the years as the "common folk" became the mainstay of its business.

Zang incorporated the park as a separate town with its own rules, in part to avoid Denver's liquor laws and be able to have its own beer garden. Lakeside still has its own police force and jail.

The park has seen many ups and downs, financially and otherwise. The World Wars and Great Depression saw the closure of many amusement parks across the country. In 1935 Benjamin Krasner, who had been employed in 1917 to operate a concession, bought the park and through his efforts brought the park back. The park remains family-owned and operated.

There are probably still a few "elites" who visit the park, but over the years the aim has been to make the park family-friendly, and so it is today.

Read the book for more about Lakeside and other parks, as well as for the development of greater Denver. Remember to enjoy the park, it's still only \$3.00.

--H.W. Force

**The Notorious Luke Short, Sporting Man of the Wild West**, by Jack DeMattos and Chuck Parsons. Foreword by Rick Miller. University of North Texas Press, 2015. 326 pp. Photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

The dust jacket of the book shows a standing portrait of the book's main character. Also on the dust jacket is one of the most famous pictures in Western history. That picture included Wyatt Earp and Bat Masterson with six much-lesser-known characters. The smaller man in the back row of the group photo is Luke Short.

The first 103 pages include the early history of the Short family, and tell how Luke became part of the Dodge City group which included Wyatt and Bat. The pages are filled with details of business ownership, disagreements between competing saloons and gambling parlors, and acts of violence including Wild West shootouts. Many quotes from local and Eastern newspapers are included to embellish the local conflicts. Luke Short, as part owner of a saloon, or as operator of a gambling parlor, was included in much of the conflict and resulting court records.

The middle of the book includes fifty-three pages of photos and drawings of many family members and characters referenced in the book.

The final third of the book includes Luke Short's life in Chicago and the eastern states. His involvement in prize fighting and horse racing is documented with frequent mention of his past, colorful history. The book ends with his death and burial in Fort Worth, Texas in 1893.

This book is filled with many quotes from Eastern newspapers with their interest in cowboy stories and the local newspaper articles with their poetic license to embellish the acts, shootings, and life of Luke Short. These stories, with exaggerations, as reported in this book help make Luke Short a character which will be remembered.

--Chuck Mattson

**Last Chance Byway: The History of Nine Mile Canyon** by Jerry D. Spangler and Donna Kemp Spangler. University of Utah Press, 2016. 372 pp. Maps, photos, illustrations, postscript, biographical register, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$34.95.

This is a story of Euro-Americans who settled Nine Mile Canyon and the surrounding area in eastern Utah, from Price to the Uinta Basin. The time frame covered is approximately the early 1800s through the mid 1900s. The authors conducted extensive research in order to put this puzzle together, with lots of pieces missing and others contradictory. Their sources included family stories, historical accounts, newspapers, county land records, and census records. This was a tremendous task, considering the number of people included in this history. Modern data bases helped.

The nine chapters are primarily organized by occupations starting with the

explorers and trappers. But there is much overlap between chapters because many of the people worked in multiple occupations, depending on the economy. For example, ranchers and farmers were also freighters; outlaws were also law-abiding cowboys at times. Each of the chapters is a complete story and could stand alone as a book. Most chapters start with a map that shows places referenced in that chapter. I, personally, would have liked more detail on the maps.

One chapter is devoted to Sam Gilson and the Gilsonite mining rush. Another covers cattle king Preston Nutter. The boom-to-bust economy is documented in another. The last chapter is a very detailed genealogy of the farmers and ranchers of the area, which I found difficult to digest. But the Biographical Register is a very thorough summary of most of the people and serves as a good reference. The photographs are outstanding and help tell the story of the canyon. The Postscript is a very good summary of the book.

This book would be especially interesting to anyone who might have a connection with Nine Mile Canyon, because it is so thorough and referenced so well. I found the book to be very informative and I recommend it as an historical account of a part of the Old West.

--Susie Morton

**Eyewitness to the Fetterman Fight: Indian Views**, Edited by John H. Monnett. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 248 pp. Maps, illustrations (photos), appendixes, notes, for further reading, acknowledgments, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

In 2008 historian John Monnett's book, *Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth*, was published. In it he told of the struggle for the Powder River region and specifically the battle that resulted in the annihilation of Captain William J. Fetterman, seventy-eight soldiers and two civilian contractors under his command. As many as 1,500 to 2,000 Oglala Lakota, Northern Cheyenne and Arapahoe warriors took part in the battle in which there were no survivors on the U.S. side.

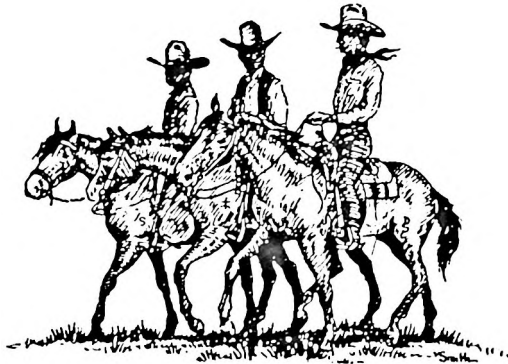
Now Monnett has written a companion book to this iconic battle from the Indian point of view. When one studies a conflict between two groups of people or cultures, there are two sides of the coin, the winners and the losers. For many years, as in the case of the American Indian Wars, historians relied heavily on government, army documents and sworn statements by civilians to convey to the reader the historical account they were telling. This was especially so with the Fetterman fight. Next to Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn ten years later, where many more soldiers died, it was a major victory over the U.S. Army by Plains Indians in the West. It would be a victory that would remove the presence of the army from the Powder River country, at least temporarily.

John Monnett has edited a very fine collection of eyewitness testimonies of Lakota and Northern Cheyenne who took part in the Fetterman Fight. These testimonies were recorded by white interviewers during the first thirty years of the last century when some of the participants were still living. By adding these histori-

cal narratives to what has been written by one side, historians can start to see a more complete picture of what may have actually taken place. There have been speculations since the fight of the parts played by the Indians especially by Red Cloud and a young warrior named Crazy Horse. Was Crazy Horse a member of the decoy party that lured Captain Fetterman and his men into the ambush and did he gain great achievement in the battle? The answers to these questions and more are what the author analyzes in this work.

John Monnett's study will make a very good addition to both public and private libraries devoted to the history of the American West. This is one that will provide a better understanding of what the Plains Indian was fighting for and how they planned their battle strategy.

*--Mark Hutchins*









*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

September - October 2017



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection.  
Nolie Mumey papers, WH532*

**Nolie Mumey: Our Posse's Pre-eminent Westerner**  
by Dennis Hagen  
presented April 26, 2017

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIII NO. 5



September - October 2017



## Our Author

Following a decade as a restaurateur and even a longer time as a sales director, Dennis finally gave into his passion, Western history. He enrolled in DU to become an archivist, completed his degree, and accepted a position in the Denver Public Library. For the next nine years he managed the World War II 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division archives, one of the largest collections of its kind in the country. Dennis is a long-time member of the Denver Westerners and served in many positions, including sheriff. This is his fifth *Roundup* article.

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## **Nolie Mumey: Our Posse's Pre-eminent Westerner** by Dennis Hagen presented April 26, 2017

When Colorado Governor Richard Lamm proclaimed May 28, 1978 "Dr. Nolie Mumey Day" he referred to Mumey as a "cabinet maker, silversmith, amateur florist, bookbinder, printer, bibliophile, author, aviator, teacher, lecturer, world traveler, photographer, fisherman, archaeologist, philanthropist, and avid outdoorsman." As imposing as this enumeration is, it still falls short in fully describing of one of Colorado's most remarkable citizens, a charter member of our very own Denver Posse of Westerners: Nolie Mumey.

Mumey was born in Shreveport, Louisiana February 8, 1891, the first of five children born to Acadian French parents, Mitchell and Mary Shebanney Mumey. In childhood, Mumey suffered numerous severe allergies. Seeking relief, the family moved to Joplin, Missouri and later to Jenny Lind, Arkansas where young Nolie first attended school. Teachers marveled as he solved complex addition problems in his head. He was ambidextrous and precocious with a photographic memory.

At age ten, Mumey journeyed alone to Fort Smith, entrusted to handle some family errand. His round-trip train ticket consumed sixty-eight cents of the dollar he had been given, leaving him thirty-two cents for lunch or mischief. While in Fort Smith, he chanced upon an auctioneer whose spiel enthralled him. Forgetting all thought of lunch, he impulsively bid thirty-two cents to win a set of Shakespeare books, which remained in his library nearly fifty years later. Books fascinated him. A Kit Car-

son novel may have sparked his early interest in history as he hid it behind textbooks to read during class.

Mumey worked on the family farm for a couple of years before he found a way to attend high school, a major undertaking that required him to move to Krebs, Oklahoma to board with his younger, married sister. Nolie graduated in 1911 at age 20. His disappointed mother wanted him to be a priest, but Nolie had long since decided to become a doctor. By eighth grade he could already name every bone in the human body.

At age 21, following another year of farm work, Mumey chased his dream to the University of Arkansas Medical School, where his thirty-two-cent investment provided a knowledge of Shakespeare that impressed the staff and helped him to gain admittance. While studying, he lived in a small basement room at Little Rock's Old Confederates home, treating sickly residents and occasionally performing embalming in exchange for his room and board.

During his senior year, Mumey worked at Little Rock's City Hospital and served briefly on the University faculty as an assistant in surgical technique. Allowing himself just twenty-five cents per day for meals, he graduated in 1916. Almost immediately he received a license to practice medicine in Arkansas and an appointment to Little Rock's Logan H. Roots Memorial Hospital.

Based upon his studies of blood coagulation, he invented the Mumey Indirect Blood Transfusion Apparatus. At that time, blood could not be stored, meaning that transfusions could only be performed directly from donor to recipient. Mumey's apparatus provided a critical step toward the development of blood storage that made blood banks possible.

Mumey's writing career began as an associate editor for the University of Arkansas' *Razorback* and as class poet in 1916. He also published two scientific articles for the *Journal of the Arkansas Medical Society* while an intern at City Hospital in 1917. Following America's entry into World War I, Mumey registered for the draft and received an appointment as a Reserve First Lieutenant in the Army's Medical Section.

His supervisor, Doctor Milton Vaughn, sought to delay Mumey's call to active duty due to the hospital's critical staff shortage. However, the U.S. Surgeon General ruled that Mumey's acceptance of an officer's commission implied an obligation to serve and on January 10, 1918, Mumey entered active duty. The Army rushed him through an intensive ten-week course at the Neuro-Surgery School at Chicago's Presbyterian Hospital. Europe's deadly trench warfare had produced a staggering increase in traumatic head injuries exacerbated by a shortage of qualified Army brain surgeons.

Mumey fell in love with Viola Lee, superintendent of nurses at Little Rock's City Hospital. The urgency of his neuro-surgery assignment suggested an imminent deployment to France. Accordingly, the couple secretly married

February 23, 1918. Secrecy permitted Viola to retain her position in violation of a hospital regulation forbidding married women from serving on staff. Immediate deployment did not materialize. Instead, the Army assigned Mumey to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, where he lectured and performed surgery demonstrations. Finally, on September 25, 1918, Mumey deployed to Base Hospital number 119 near Savenay, France.

While Mumey treated battlefield casualties, Viola succumbed to the deadly flu pandemic of 1918. Resigning her nursing position, she moved to her father's home in Salem, Kentucky to recover. With the war's end, Viola wrote desperate letters to the Secretary of War, seeking to expedite Mumey's return. Mumey wrote additional letters, emphasizing that Viola suffered from tuberculosis in addition to the flu. Following numerous delays, Mumey received an honorable discharge on April 22, 1919. The Surgeon General praised his work and requested that he consider joining the Army's Medical Reserve Corps.

But finding a healthier climate for Viola became Mumey's first priority, and the couple prepared to move to the warmer, drier West. Nolie purchased a Model-T Ford along with sleeping bags and a tent that attached to the side of the car. They loaded their meager possessions and camped their way west like pioneers.

They aimed for Colorado Springs, long considered a healthy Mecca, but discovered the tiny village of Grenville, New Mexico had no doctor. New Mexico offered attractive inducements to young doctors



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection,  
Nolie Mumey papers, W11532*

**Mumey chaired the 1953 Colorado Easter Seals campaign, which raised more money than any previous campaign. He chaired again in 1955**

including a relocation bonus of \$3,000, which must have seemed a fortune to Mumey. Enthusiastic residents promised to organize bake sales and dances to raise money for a hospital, which was completed in the summer of 1920. Mumey accepted the offer and received his license to practice medicine in New Mexico in July. His practice covered a 60-mile radius around Grenville, which he travelled regularly in his Model-T Ford. The small practice grew quickly, enabling Mumey to provide Viola a comfortable home.

The seeds of Mumey's later fascination with Santos were planted when he ministered to a man who died as a result of a ritual Penitentes crucifixion during Easter weekend in 1920.

Barnstormer Eddie Brooks recalled providing Mumey's first airplane ride in 1922. As Brooks and his mechanic prepared to depart Grenville following a hectic day of aerobatics, "a crazy doctor" rushed up and begged Brooks to allow his mechanic to ride to Raton with his wife Viola in Mumey's car, thus permitting Mumey to occupy the mechanic's seat in the small biplane.

With the onset of a severe drought in 1922, Grenville's fragile agricultural economy collapsed. Mumey knew his stint as a country doctor was in jeopardy. He anticipated relocation by enrolling at the University of Denver. Lacking funds to rent a room, he camped at Denver's Overland Park while taking classes. Later, he attended the Graduate School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania.

These moves exhausted Mumey's savings forcing him to return to Denver nearly penniless in 1924. Although demoralized, he managed to scrape together the meager beginnings of a private medical practice. Meanwhile, the Colorado National Guard activated an aviation section for the 120<sup>th</sup> Observation Squadron, 45<sup>th</sup> Division in June 1923. First Lt. Edward J. Brooks, the same barnstorming Eddie Brooks who had taken Mumey aloft, served as one of the squadron's principal officers. As yet, the Colorado Guard had neither aircraft nor an airfield so the first order of business became the construction of Lowry Field near 38<sup>th</sup> and Dahlia in Denver. The field was dedicated April 7, 1924 and five Curtis Jennies arrived a month later. By the end of July the 120<sup>th</sup> Observation Squadron also boasted an Aviation Medical Detachment.

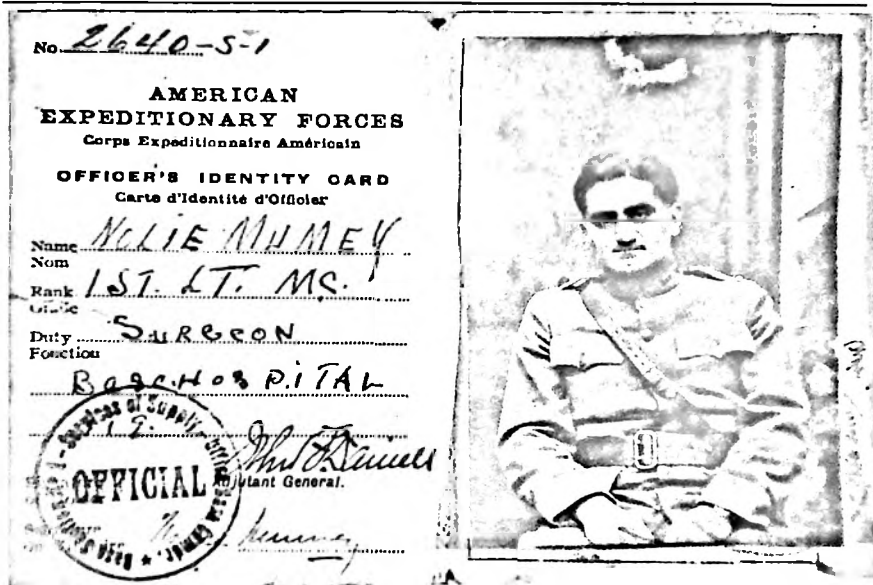
Although still struggling to establish his private practice, Mumey applied for and received a commission in the National Guard. He also received a commission as Captain, Medical Department, U.S. Army. Mumey quickly took charge of the Medical Section of the 120<sup>th</sup> Observation Squadron. Mumey's inventive genius produced a portable depth perception and visual

acuity box used to test pilots. Flight surgeons used this device during World War II. Mumey logged his first fifteen-minute flight in learning to fly an airplane on August 24, 1925. On September 26, 1928 he made his first solo flight. He eventually logged more than 2,000 flying hours.

In 1929 Mumey certified as a Flight Surgeon and earned his nickname "the Flying Doctor." His training at Brooks Field, Texas put him in touch with surgeons from around the world, since the course was the only one like it. Mumey's responsibilities included physically examining every National Guard flyer twice per year. He even examined Major William Hunter to determine his fitness to take over as his commanding officer.

In May 1931, Mumey joined nearly 600 other pilots from around the country in Dayton, Ohio for what was then the largest aerial demonstration ever staged by U.S. military air forces. Pilots staged a mock defense of Chicago and Detroit and flew via New York and Boston to patrol the East Coast. This exercise constituted the first example of aerial cooperation between National Guard and regular Army aircraft. Of seventeen states represented, Lowry Field's contingent garnered top honors for the best unit takeoff and second-place honors in a formal flying review.

But flying was not all business. One Saturday morning, Mumey and Lieutenant C. L. Revis took a fishing trip to Encampment, Wyoming. Landing without mishap, they caught some 100 trout. Upon takeoff Sunday morning, their aircraft blew a tire forcing them to walk to Encampment for a



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection, Nolie MumeY papers, WH532*

### MumeY's identity card when he served in France during World War 1

replacement. Later, they ran out of gas and made a forced landing near Laramie. Despite these mishaps, the pair returned to Denver in high spirits and ready to go fishing again.

In 1932 MumeY joined the Quiet Birdmen, a secretive club limited to male aviators. Founded in 1921 by former World War I pilots, the QBs joined by invitation only, and they joined for life.

In 1939 MumeY participated in an additional two weeks of military maneuvers at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Colorado fielded one of only four aviation units west of the Mississippi River. The aviators demonstrated air-ground coordination using current gunnery and bombing techniques. Nolie MumeY was, for many years, the only National

Guard flight surgeon in the nation who also held a full pilot's rating.

Returning from these maneuvers, MumeY smashed the landing gear of his plane while attempting a night landing at an unlighted field at Rocky Ford, Colorado. Damage was minimal and MumeY was not injured.

In another incident, perhaps a year earlier, MumeY's plane struck a Naval Radio Station antenna near San Diego, California during a fog. He reportedly missed wrecking his plane and perhaps being killed by mere inches. MumeY resigned his commissions in both National Guard and U.S. Army August 26, 1940. In August 1941 he relinquished his position as flight surgeon. However, he purchased a Cessna Airmaster C-165-D and continued to fly



until 1947 when, at age 57, he allowed his pilot's license to expire.

Mumey's passion for flying carried over into his automobiles. He installed an aircraft safety belt thus becoming one of the first advocates for seat belts in cars. He later fitted his 1952 Cadillac with aircraft rpm and oil pressure gauges and mounted an altimeter and compass below the dashboard.

But National Guard flying was a secondary career and Mumey's medical career also began to soar. In 1926, he received an appointment to the Medical Staff of the newly-opened Presbyterian Hospital of Denver. He remained on the hospital's staff for fifty-eight years. During the 1930s and 1940s he was one of the most active surgeons at the hospital. His patients often filled the entire east end of the hospital's main floor. His success brought recognition. In 1926 Mumey became a life member of both the Denver Athletic Club and the Denver Press Club.

The *Denver Post*, in conjunction with the Electric League of Colorado had sponsored a Christmas lighting sweepstakes for a number of years. Mumey met Charles Lindbergh at a luncheon banquet in 1927 following Lindbergh's historic solo flight across the Atlantic. This meeting inspired Mumey to build a large-scale model of Lindbergh's plane, *the Spirit of St. Louis*, which Mumey christened *The Spirit of Christmas*. Sporting a twelve-foot wing span, the model graced the roof of Mumey's house as part of his sweepstakes entry, which won the grand prize. Characteristically, Mumey donated his prize to charity. He later donated the model to Denver's Highlander Boys Aviation Club during ceremonies

at Lowry Field in hopes that it would inspire youngsters who wanted to fly.

In June 1929, Mumey received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Denver. He completed his Master's degree a year later. His Master's thesis, *A Study of Rare Books*, became a standard reference for collectors for many years.

In the early 1930s Mumey also completed his Master's in Medical Science at the University of Pennsylvania. By age thirty-three he had earned four academic degrees.

In April 1933, Mumey was elected to the Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners, where he served until 1939. To relax from his heavy surgical load, he indulged his love of fly fishing and joined the Wigwam Club, Colorado's oldest fishing group. 1934 he received an appointment to the surgical staff of Denver General Hospital where he served until 1966.

Many variations of the following story exist. In essence, one spring day in 1934 as Mumey strolled down 17<sup>th</sup> Street, a stranger requested directions to Denver's main post office. To his chagrin, Mumey could not provide the information. The stranger ridiculed him. This embarrassing incident spurred Mumey to learn everything he could about the history of Denver and of Colorado. Based on his research, He published *The History of the Early Settlements of Denver, 1858-1860*. This limited edition came out in 1942 in 500 copies. Mumey printed many additional history books, most on his own press with his own specially selected paper.

In January 1935 Mumey was appointed a clinical lecturer on medical history at the University of Colorado



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection, Nolie Mumey papers, WH532*

In 1956, Mumey rushed to Austria to assist refugees from the Hungarian Revolt. He said the Christmas he spent in the refugee camp was the best of his life.

School of Medicine, a position he held for twenty-five years. He also attended various medical clinics in London, Edinburgh, Stockholm, Leningrad, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna and Paris.

In November 1935, Mumey became the first surgeon from Denver elected to Fellowship in the American College of Surgeons. The college annually screened five-hundred leading surgeons from the U.S and Canada, honoring only five. Mumey considered this to be his greatest medical award.

In 1937, Continental Air Lines appointed Mumey its company doctor, a position he held for thirty-two years. He resigned only after the company relocated to California. Mumey assumed responsibility for determining the physical and mental flight fitness

of all Continental's airline pilots. He also provided first aid training for flight hostesses.

The *Denver Post* recognized Mumey's growing stature by inviting him to ride its special Cheyenne Frontier Days train in 1937. This train, first chartered in 1908 for approximately 100 guests, had grown to include nearly 1,000 of Denver's top political and social figures. Clad in cowboy gear, Mumey attended every succeeding year until 1970. In 1937 Mumey also won the *Denver Post's* photo contest with a portrait of a young boy getting ready to go fishing.

In 1938, the Federal Government created the Civil Aeronautics Authority, and appointed Mumey Medi-

cal Examiner for the Denver area. He served in this capacity until 1955.

Mumey's insatiable quest for knowledge led him to enroll in numerous extension courses offered by the U.S. Army. He earned 1,708 hours of credit with an overall grade average of better than 95% in such subjects as meteorology, map reading, navigation, chemical warfare defense and many others.

When America entered World War II, Mumey sought a Major's commission and a return to duty as a flight surgeon. His application was denied because his CAA service was deemed to be of greater value. However, in April 1942 Mumey enlisted in the Civil Air Patrol where he served through the war years. During this period Mumey improved his depth perception and visual acuity box.

Viola Lee Mumey died June 4, 1942. A year later, on June 16, 1943 Nolie married the widowed Mrs. Ruth Printz Hanrahan. Their marriage lasted more than thirty-six years.

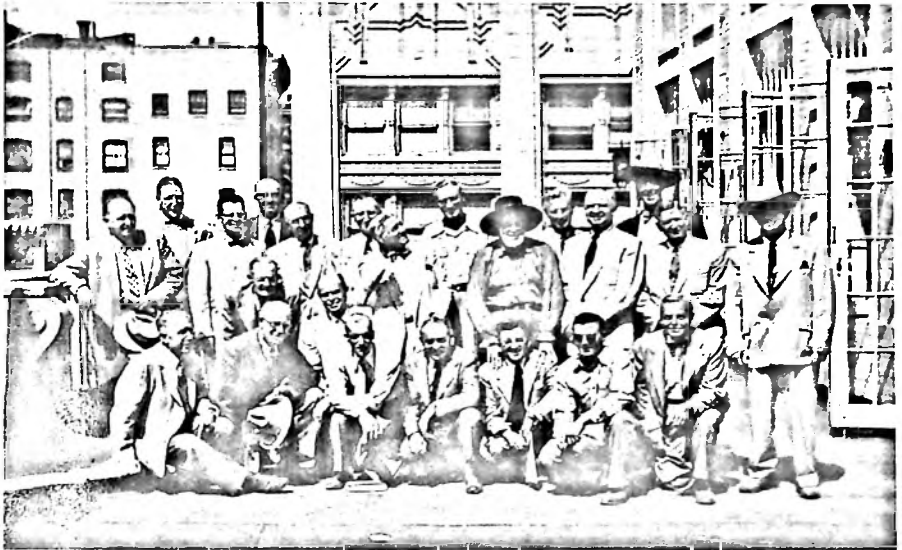
In January 1945, Herbert Brayer, an archivist with the Colorado Historical Society, invited Nolie to attend the first meeting of the Denver Posse of Westerners, where Elmo Scott Watson of Chicago was to speak about Wounded Knee. Nolie attended and became a Charter Member. He eventually published or presented thirty articles. Of these, ten were selected for publication in various *Brand Books* from 1947 to 1969. These constitute the most articles by any Denver Westerner. Mumey often dressed in costume and provided souvenirs during his presentations. He served as Sheriff in 1970 and as *Brand Book* editor in 1951 and 1958.

During a meeting of the Denver Posse of Westerners in 1956, Mumey presented what many today would consider a controversial defense of Colonel John Milton Chivington. He asserted that Sand Creek had been a battle not a massacre, and described Chivington as a victim of his enemies.

The Denver Posse of Westerners honored Nolie Mumey by dedicating the 1972 *Brand Book* to him. He said he appreciated receiving such an honor while he was still alive to enjoy it. By 1973, Mumey had become somewhat inactive. In a letter dated November 8, he received an Honorary Life Membership. In 1977, the Pikes Peak Posse also named him an honorary member following Mumey's donation of bison skulls to both the Denver and Pikes Peak Posses. Mumey presented his last paper to the Westerners in 1979 at age 88.

In 1946 Mumey proposed teaching Colorado history courses at the University of Denver in order to provide additional credit hours for his literary secretary, Norma Flynn, who was working on her master's degree. The University accepted Mumey's plan, appointing him to the History Faculty. Mumey taught numerous history courses through the University of Denver's Community College until 1959. His courses often included charter bus field trips to historical sites.

On April 8, 1946 Mumey was elected a Fellow of Aero Medical Association. In 1951 Denver became the birthplace of the world's first space medicine association thanks in large part to Mumey's efforts to bring approximately 1,000 scientists to Denver's Shirley-Savoy Hotel to attend the



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection,  
Nolie Mumey papers, WH532*

Westerners pose during a Summer Rendezvous on the roof of Denver's Republic Building. The year is unknown

Aero Medical Association convention. During this convention, thirty scientists created the Space Medicine Division of the Aero Medical Association. They demonstrated that space medicine dealt not in fantasy, but in practical matters such as radiation and weightlessness that were becoming real problems as planes flew higher and faster.

On December 3, 1952 Dr. Mumey performed a complex thyroidectomy at Denver General Hospital. Color television cameras transmitted the operation to twelve screens located in Denver's City Auditorium where 2,500 surgeons observed and critiqued as Dr. Mumey provided a terse, play-by-play commentary. The televised operation occurred more than a year before the first commercially televised

color broadcast which underscored the cutting edge nature of Mumey's achievement.

By 1952, Mumey had already made six different archeological field trips to the jungles of Mexico. In summarizing Mumey's wide-ranging interests, John Lipsey, a prominent book dealer from Colorado Springs, coined the term "Mumeyana," stating that no single category could ever cover all of Mumey's interests.

Mumey chaired the 1953 Colorado State "Easter Seal" drive, which raised more money than any previous campaign. Sixteen therapy centers throughout Colorado, serving over 3,000 handicapped persons benefitted from Mumey's efforts on their behalf. He chaired again in 1955.

Mumey's wide-ranging interests even induced Attorney Richard Shaw, President of the Colorado Prison Association, to request that Mumey serve as a member of the Colorado Prison Association Board of Directors. Mumey accepted and served on the board for eleven years.

In 1954, Dr. Mumey became one of seventeen doctors from the United States to join a World Tour sponsored by the International College of Surgeons. The group departed the U.S. October 25 for Japan. This was followed by stops in Manila, Hong Kong and Bangkok with additional lectures in India, Pakistan and Turkey.

Colorado's fur-trading history received quite a boost when, in 1955, Nolie Mumey lobbied the State to save Fort Vasquez from demolition during the construction of Highway 85 between Denver and Greeley. Although only a replica built by the WPA during the 1930s, the fort today houses an important museum. Highway 85 literally splits in two in order to skirt the museum site thanks to Mumey's efforts.

Another Colorado Monument that owes a lot to Nolie Mumey is Civic Park's Colorado Pioneer Monument. Erected in 1911 by the Denver Real Estate Exchange, the monument had by 1955 fallen into disrepair. Mumey urged the Exchange's successor organization, the Denver Board of Realtors, to rehabilitate the site. The original monument had cost \$92,500 in 1911. The rehab was completed for a mere \$1200. Mumey, who was the principal speaker at the re-dedication ceremonies, prepared a special commemorative pamphlet and oversaw the creation of a plaque to explain the monument's significance.

When the Denver Mint celebrated its fifty-year anniversary, officials naturally sought Mumey's advice on an appropriate display. Mumey recalled that he had donated some J.J. Conway and Company dies used in striking early gold coins to the Colorado Historical Society. He obtained permission from the U.S Treasury Department to use these dies to strike 200 sets of commemorative coins in goldine, a yellowish alloy of zinc and copper. During the centenary of the Pony Express in 1960, Mumey designed a limited edition, sterling silver tribute. Five hundred of these so-called "Mumey Dollars" were struck and sold for between \$7.50 and \$10.00. The entire issue quickly sold out.

For many years Mumey averaged two lectures per month, often displaying large portions of his personal collections. In at least one case he required 150 feet of table space. He spoke to virtually every service club in Denver, to all the pioneer societies, to medical groups, to many schools and churches.

When the Hungarian people rose up against their Soviet-backed government in October 1956, Nolie Mumey reacted swiftly to reports of a devastating flood of refugees into Austria. "There are 1200 doctors here in Denver," he reportedly said, "but there won't be enough in Austria to take care of all these people." Before his wife even realized what he was up to, Mumey had departed for Austria, arriving just days behind the American Red Cross. He set up shop at a camp in Siezenheim, where he oversaw sanitation and dietary concerns in an abandoned World War II barracks. Armed



*Courtesy Denver Public Library Western History Collection,  
Nolie Mumey papers, WH532*

## Mumey presenting "Old Joe" to Supreme Court Justice William S. Jackson

with a typewriter, tape recorder and color camera Mumey also served as an on-the-spot reporter, providing a detailed description of Christmas Eve in a refugee camp. He later called this experience as the best Christmas he ever had.

In August 1958 while serving on the Board of the South Park Historical Society and the Denver Centennial Commemorative Authority, Mumey created an uproar without even realizing it. Historic South Park City, a collection of authentic old buildings moved to Fairplay, was about to open. They needed a corpse to display in the undertaker's office. Mumey enthusiastically suggested using "Silverheels," a legendary dance

hall girl and volunteered to create a wax dummy for the project. Years earlier as a student at Johns Hopkins University, Mumey had confronted a company that he believed overcharged for wax used to create medical molds. In typical fashion, Mumey created an improved wax formula which he distributed free to hospitals. He used this wax to create "Silverheels" using his nurse and his administrative assistant as models.

Mumey delivered the tarp-shrouded wax figure to Fairplay in his Thunderbird convertible. Unfortunately, during a coffee stop at Bailey, Colorado a suspicious passerby lifted the tarp and suspected foul play. He reported that a man was traveling with a dead woman

in his car, triggering a four-state search. Blissfully unaware, Mumey delivered the "corpse" and continued to Taos. Police stopped at least two other motorists driving white Thunderbirds, and raided Mumey's home, where his wife finally explained the situation and the search was cancelled.

In December 1960, Mumey was one of thirty civilian physicians invited to attend a four-day conference on space medicine conducted at Brooks Air Force Base, Texas. In addition to many physiological topics, Werner von Braun lectured the medical scientists on developments in rocket propulsion. In 1954 Mumey was elected a member of the Colorado Author's League. This was followed in 1959 by his inclusion in *Who's Who of Colorado Authors*. In 1963 The Colorado Author's League elected Mumey to serve as the organization's president.

In 1964, Nolie lobbied the State Legislature to "legalize" the Colorado State Flag. Agnes Wright Spring, Colorado's State Historian had published proof that the red "C" on the current flag was too large according to the Colorado law. Nolie quickly created two flags, one according to the legal specifications and one as it was then being displayed. The current flag proved to be much more attractive, and Mumey successfully urged the Legislature to change the legal specifications rather than changing the flag, thus "legalizing" the traditional flag that had flown for many years.

Mumey began carving *Santos*, or wooden religious statues around 1964. He made numerous trips to Taos, New Mexico to research his creations and actually gave many of them away.

His interest in *Santos* dated to 1920s when he lived in Greenville, New Mexico and had his first exposure to the Penitentes sect. In 1968 Mumey sold his *Santos* collection which then consisted of some 700 items. It was believed to be the largest private collection in existence at that time.

Mumey performed his last major surgery in 1966 at age seventy-five and also became a member of Colorado's Fifty-Year Club for physicians with more than fifty years of medical service.

In 1970 Nolie Mumey was elected to membership in the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts. The organization, founded in 1812 had, at that time 238 members and Mumey was the only member from Colorado. He was also inducted into the Colorado Aviation Hall of Fame. The 1970 class also included E.B. Jeppeson. A banquet was held November 10, 1970 at the Brown Palace Hotel to honor the eleven inductees.

Even toward the end of his life Mumey's passion for fishing never diminished and in 1972, at age eighty-one he caught his largest fish, a forty-two-pound silver salmon at Vancouver Island.

In 1974 at age eighty-three Mumey stopped accepting new patients. He continued to provide general services to his established, older patients. In 1976, he received a "Special Centennial Award" from the Colorado Medical Society. This was the only such award presented during the 105-year history of the society

In 1979 Ruth Mumey died in an automobile accident that also left Mumey severely injured. On September

13, 1980, as he approached his ninetieth birthday, Mumey married Norma Louise Flynn, who had served as his literary secretary for thirty-five years. In the spring of 1981 the couple flew to Hawaii for a seven-day cruise. In the fall of that year they drove to British Columbia for salmon fishing with friends. When Mumey was ninety-one, the couple flew to Alaska for more fishing. This trip inspired Mumey's final book of poetry, *Alaskan Memories* published in 1983.

Nolie Mumey presented his final public lecture to a group of junior high students on April 8, 1982, two months past his ninety-first birthday.

October 14, 1983 was Mumey's last day in his medical office. During the morning he treated five patients before becoming ill himself. He died January 22, 1984 at the age of ninety-two, less than three weeks before his ninety-third birthday. At the time of his death, he was the oldest and longest-serving member of the Colorado Medical Society.

To say that Nolie Mumey was a man of incredible accomplishments is itself an incredible understatement. Simply listing all of the organizations in which Mumey served or had influence would probably require

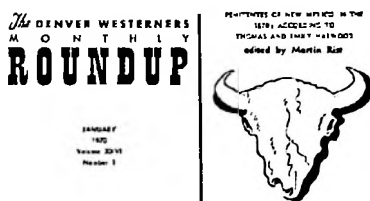
more space than this entire article. He wrote and published more than 100 books on many subjects. His articles in magazines, newspapers and journals are perhaps too numerous to count. The Denver Public Library lists 165 Mumey items in its catalog.

Mumey was said to have more hobbies than any other man in Denver and he traveled endlessly. When asked how he could manage all of these things while maintaining an outstanding medical practice, he simply replied that he kept too busy to allow himself to get sick or to grow old. He permitted himself only four hours of sleep each night. When he retired at 10:00, he made certain that his fountain pens, notebooks and other accouterments were handy on his nightstand, along with a bowl of fruit. He always woke around 2:00 in the morning and began writing. Toward the end of his life, he made but one small concession to age,

stating that he found he required five hours of sleep rather than his customary four. Clearly, Nolie Mumey will always remain the Denver Posse's pre-eminent Westerner.

### Notes

Most of the items cited are from collection WH532 Nolie Mumey Papers, located in the Denver Public Library's Western History Archives.



Inauguration of Dr. Nolie Mumey as 1970 Sheriff





# Over the Corral Rail

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

## **An Autumn Cornucopia of Westerner Presentations**

The Boulder County Corral, operating on an academic calendar, started its year of presentations with "Post Offices along the Platte River Route: 1860 to present," by Andy Murin. Andy has been a member of the Colorado Postal History Society since 1996, and just completed a six-year term as president. He served in the Army 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division, had a career as a Colorado Highway patrolman, and owns a fruit farm in the Grand Junction area.

The October program for the Boulder Corral was "The Colorado Mountain Club: its History and Role in the Establishment of Rocky Mountain National Park," by Jerry Caplan. Jerry is a past president of the Colorado Mountain Club, and with his wife Betsy, has climbed all fifty-four of Colorado's "fourteeners." He is a lawyer, the attorney for the Boulder Valley School District for thirty years, and has also represented sixty other Colorado school districts.

In September the Colorado Corral was entertained by "Dr. Colorado," Tom Noel, with "Color-oddities: Strangest Things about the highest State." Tom, a longtime member of the Denver Posse, as a celebrated Colorado historian and co-author or author of fifty books, amazed the Corral with legends and little-known "facts" of our state.

Simone Belz, Director of the Town of Frisco Historic Park and Museum, presented "Frisco and the Ten Mile Canyon" at the October meeting of the Colorado Corral. The program features the book by the same name, a publication of the Frisco Museum and primary author Dr. Sandra Mather. Simone, a native of Germany, exposed to museums as a child, fell in love with history. Her father retiring from the US Army at Ft. Carson, Simone attended the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, graduating with a degree in art history with a minor in museum studies. Consequently she has worked in the museum industry for almost twenty years.

In September the Pikes Peak Posse heard "Adventure and Lost Cities with a Mix of local History as Experienced by Colorado Rancher-Archaeologist Gary Ziegler." He is the real "Indiana Jones," a field archeologist, researcher, and experienced Andean explorer with a background in geology. Gary also owns the Bear Basin Ranch, as well as Adventure Specialists, near Westcliffe, from which he leads expeditions into remote areas, and pack trips into the Sangre de Christo Mountains. His talk included both Colorado and his discoveries in Peru.

"A History of Skiing on Pikes Peak" by Don Sanborn was the October program of the Pikes Peak Posse. Don's history of Colorado skiing focused on the Pikes Peak Region, early ski jumping, and the Pikes Peak Ski Club. He is president of the AdAmAn Club and vice president of the Pikes Peak Hill Climb Historical Society. Don is also the only person to have climbed Pikes Peak on New Years Eve with the AdAmAn, raced in the Pikes Peak Auto Hill Climb, and run the Pikes Peak Marathon.

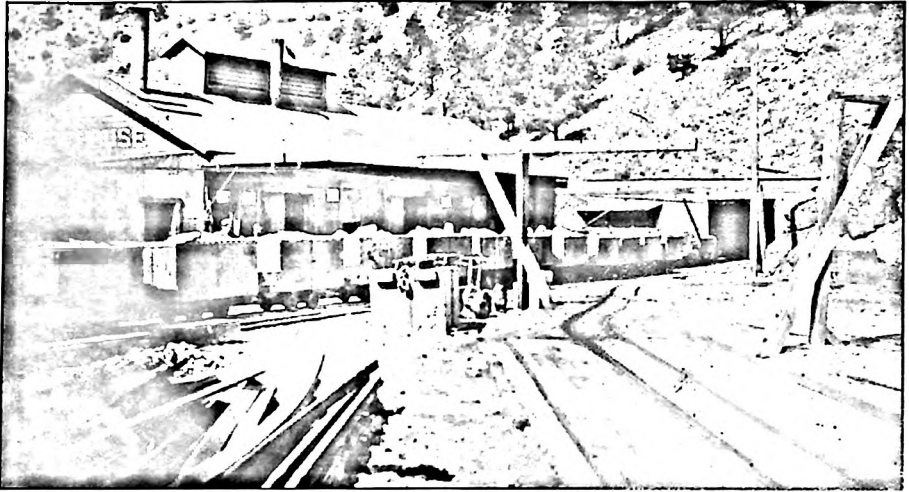


Newhouse-Argo Tunnel, showing powerhouse and trackage,  
Sept. 30, 1908

### **Westerners Argo Mill Trip by Reed Weimer**

On Saturday, September 9, 2017, the Denver Posse of Westerners took a field trip to Idaho Springs. About twenty members and family carpoled up I-70 to the old mining town that is now a tourist and traveler stop.

We were the first tour group of the day to tour the ARGO Mill complex which is built at the portal of the ARGO Tunnel. The tunnel, now 124 years old, was originally intended to be a railroad line running "west from Denver, through tunnels and over the range to the coast," according to a story in the February 10, 1893 issue of the *Idaho Springs News*. The owners, which included the famed mining engineer Samuel Newhouse, soon narrowed the purpose of the tunnel to drain water from the mines and also to deliver the unprocessed ore to the mill without having to laboriously raise it to the surface.



Newhouse-Argo Tunnel, Sept. 30, 1908. Twelve cars loaded with ore, ten cars from the Old Town Mine, and two with ore from the Gem shaft

The ARGO Mill was opened April 1, 1913, and by 1914 was running at full capacity. The tunnel itself, which is 4.16 miles long, terminates under Central City. The tunnel was shut down several times for various political and contractual reasons until it and the mill were shut down permanently by a disastrous flood in 1943. The flood caused by an underground blast, unleashed a torrent that killed four men. Now sealed with concrete and steel, it is part of an EPA Superfund site that cleans the toxic water that will run from the tunnel forever.

Our tour began in the gift shop and museum with an up-to-date video about the mines history. Our tour guide, Jessamyne, elaborated on that and further explained the details of mining and what we were about to see. She passed around some mineral samples including a pecan-sized chunk of pure gold worth over a thousand dollars. Jessamyne, a mining engineer, was very knowledgeable and had a great sense of understatement. As we were to discover, she was up to answering our many questions.

The mill, a huge terraced building, is almost completely intact, along with some of its outlying buildings. After inspecting some machinery, including an operating concentrating table outside of the gift shop, we climbed into a small bus, which drove us up the hill to the mill building on a road made through the mine tailings. At the top we saw a group of male bighorn sheep which keep watch over a pair of larger-than-life cast-aluminum bighorn sheep, one of which they have bashed a big hole into, in an apparent territorial dispute.

We inspected the remains of the gigantic air pumps that provided the fresh air to the tunnel and compressed air for the rock drills. We then donned hardhats to go into the only open section of the tunnel to see the massive plug installed by the EPA. At the time of installation someone thoughtfully wrote "DO NOT OPEN" on

the bulkhead door. The tunnel originally was made wide enough to accommodate both ore carts and a channel for the wastewater so we all fit in just fine.

When we entered the mill building we followed the same path that the raw ore, three tons at a time, would have followed with gravity working to the miners' advantage. Through almost a dozen different physical and chemical processes the ore would travel downward until, at the bottom, gold and rock were separated completely. As we walked down probably a hundred steps, along platforms and catwalks, always under the high open ceiling, past the original tanks and machinery, our guide explained the purpose and process of each level and additionally the stories of what had happened with the men who had toiled there. Although deafness was common, amazingly no one died in the mill during the years it operated. It was suggested that some might just have expired off-premises.

At the bottom of the mill and at the end of the tour was another museum room with interesting displays of more artifacts and apparatus from the mill and general mining activities. There we said goodbye to Jessamyne, who was a great guide. I think even the serious mining buffs learned something new. We spent a few minutes looking at more of the antique machinery in the courtyard and then went into the gift shop for postcards and such.

Everyone got back in the cars and down the hill on the back road to lunch at Hilldaddy's Wildfire Restaurant, which like the ARGO, we had all seen from the road but had not stopped at yet. I believe we all had a good lunch of standard Colorado burger, burrito and salad fare. We had good service and I would be happy to go back. The mayor of Idaho Springs is the owner.

Or final stop after lunch was at the Idaho Springs Heritage Museum and Visitor Center. The Forest Service runs this center and it is free to the public. They have good collections including ones that have been donated by local families and businesses. Among the displays: the 10th Mountain Division, antique cameras, drugstore paraphernalia, Native American artifacts, vintage advertisements, skiing, and pioneer stuff. They have an old plaster bas-relief map of the area from before I-70 with the names of the mountains, rivers and towns, that fills a whole wall. The visitor center recently moved from its old location and has a lot more of their collections on display. They also have a good selection of books including locally published history as well.

Idaho Springs has several more museums and historic sites and we should plan to make another trip.





## Westerners Bookshelf



**The Civil War Years in Utah, The Kingdom of God and the territory that did not fight**, by John Gary Maxwell. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 470 pages. Photos, bibliography, index and footnotes. Hardbound with dust jacket, \$30.36.

During the American Civil War, the Territory of Utah danced along a knife-edge ridge. Brigham Young refused to send troops to fight for the Union and against slavery. In fact he despised that Union and the governor, judges, and other officials sent him by Abraham Lincoln. He accepted, nominally at least, the presence of those federal officials and of federal troops stationed near Salt Lake City. And he welcomed the infusion of cash from that army encampment.

At the same time he smuggled in gunpowder and kept a standing army of his own, the Nauvoo Legion. From pulpit and street corner, citizens were encouraged not to cooperate. There occurred many instances of passive resistance, from refusal to sell fodder to US troops even while animals starved, to standing by while such troops were attacked by Indians.

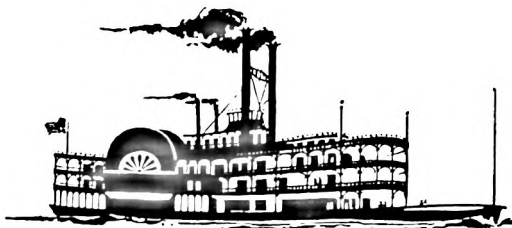
In the upshot, Utah was no closer to statehood in 1865 than it was before the war. Nor were Utahans a conquered people. The telegraph lines ran unbroken and messages went from coast to coast.

Starting with the Mormon War, President Buchanan's sending of troops to Utah in 1857, the author examines Brigham Young's political and threatened military resistance and the Union's work to keep Utah at peace and out of the Confederate camp. From the Irish to Indian treaties, the severe beating of an appointed governor to Union General Connor's efforts, almost every aspect of civil and political life in Utah is examined.

Maps would have been useful in following the movement troops and expeditions, and understanding how Young moved pieces on the chessboard.

This is an interesting look at a little-known aspect of the Civil War and Western history.

*--Stan Moore*



**Regular Army O! Soldiering on the Western Frontier 1865-1891** by Douglas C. McChristian. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 762 pp. Photos, footnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$45.00.

As Robert M. Utley says in his foreward, "No one is more qualified to write this book than Douglas McChristian." This is high praise indeed from a historian whose books on the frontier army were among the best available for nearly forty years. McChristian served for many years as a frontier army interpreter at several national parks. He has written extensively on weapons, tactics, equipment, forts and personnel of the period.

Containing nearly 600 pages of text, *Regular Army O!* is a massive work. McChristian pays tribute to Don Rickey's pioneering work on the subject, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*. Both books take their titles from the same Harrigan and Hart song that parodied the frontier army.

McChristian's book contains approximately fifty percent more material than Rickey's ground-breaking study, reflecting the fact that so much more information has been uncovered over the past forty years. McChristian relies almost exclusively on diaries and letters in order to present his story in the soldiers' own words. Many characters, like Sergeant Perley S. Eaton, are familiar friends we first met in *Forty Miles*. But there are many additional contributors. McChristian consulted the papers of over 350 enlisted men to compile this incredible story.

The book includes seventeen chapters. Each deals with a specific aspect of the frontier army experience. Initially, McChristian analyses the factors that led so many young men to enlist in the army. He challenges the long-held notion that most enlistees were malcontents who could find no other way to make a living. While the army certainly had its share of such men, McChristian finds that a significant portion of first-termers actually sought adventure, felt patriotic zeal or simply felt they needed the experience in order to gain maturity.

Following enlistment, McChristian traces the soldiers' path through a minimum of basic training and then follows their journeys to frontier outposts. Each subsequent chapter introduces the reader to discipline, recreation, health and sanitation problems, alcohol abuse, prostitution, and desertion. The final chapters deal with campaigning, combat and eventually enlistment's end and getting out of the Army. The text is followed by extensive appendices containing an army pay table, a compendium of army slang, selected army ballads, and a listing of the more than 350 soldiers whose diaries, letters and memoirs were consulted.

McChristian's book is meticulously researched, and extremely well written. Although it is a long book, the style is engaging and it is a relatively easy read. This book will almost certainly stand beside those of Rickey and Utley and become the new classic on the frontier army for many years to come.

I recommend this book highly as one of the best on this subject to come along in many years. However, in the interest of full disclosure, Doug McChristian is a friend, and he cites me in his acknowledgements for assistance I provided through the Western History Department at DPL, though this assistance was certainly minimal.

--Dennis Hagen

## Denver Posse saddened by Member Losses

### Theodore P. Krieger

On August 1 the Denver Westerners lost one of its most stalwart members, with the passing of Ted Krieger. A long-time member of the Westerners, Ted joined as a corresponding member in 1978, and was elected to the Regular Posse in 1979. Ted was devoted to the Westerners, and he quickly proved it by becoming the Chuck Wrangler in 1980, and then continuing in that capacity through 1993. Time for a promotion: he was elected Deputy Sheriff for 1994. Then he served as Sheriff of the Denver Posse of Westerners during the fiftieth-anniversary year, 1995. When we needed a new Tallyman in 1998, Ted stepped forward, and in that role served as our treasurer through 2013. Ted's record is unparalleled in the Denver Westerners, and perhaps in all Corral's of the Westerners International.



But now the rest of the story. It was a family affair. Ted's wife, Dot, joined the Westerners in 1993 when the gender barrier was removed, and was elected to the Regular Posse in 1994. She formed a team with Ted, becoming the Chuck Wrangler in 1999, and the team functioned through 2013, plus Dot adding one more year of service in transition. But Dot did take a break in her job, when she was Deputy Sheriff in 2005 and then Sheriff in 2006. To fill her void, the Kriegers had a ready solution in providing fellow Regular Posse member, son George, for the 2005-06 Chuck Wrangler duties. Daughter Cheryl is also a Posse member. The Kriegers have been true Westerners in every sense of the word.

Ted Krieger was born on June 18, 1928 in Denver. He graduated from Western High School in Washington, D. C., in 1946, and American University in 1950. In December he was drafted into the U.S. Army. Ted married Dorothy Lowe in 1951, and a year later was shipped overseas to Korea, and served until December 1952. Ted became an air traffic controller in 1959, was then able to return to Colorado, and continued in that career until retirement in 1989. Ted's primary interest in Western history has been railroads, and that included an O-gauge model train layout. He was also an avid gardener, with his own business, Hawthorne Landscape. The Denver Posse of Westerners mourns the loss of Ted; he leaves boots that can't be filled.

**Ron F. Perkins**

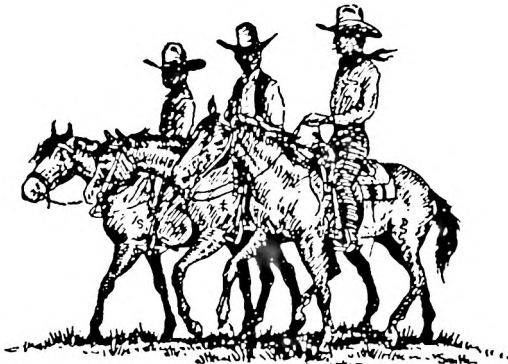
Posse member Ron Perkins passed away on October 5. He was born in a log cabin in Minnesota. Ron joined the army in 1953, serving in Ethiopia. He married his childhood sweetheart, LaVonne, in 1957 (Vonnie is also a posse member). Most of Ron's career was as a pharmaceutical sales representative, in Minnesota, then Texas, and ultimately Denver in 1996. A love for the city, mountains and state anchored Ron and his family in Colorado.



The Perkins family had many interests, including sailing, camping, and traveling, but Ron was an avid reader with a passion for books about history and biographies. That led him to join Westerners with Vonnie, be a regular attendee at our meetings, and as well to support her in her research, the programs she presented, and the production of her biography on D. C. Oakes. We extend our condolences to Vonnie, sons Randy and Dan, and all their family.

**Mark Bonomo**

Posse member Mark Bonomo passed away on October 10, at the age of 84. Mark, a chemical engineer, was a long-time member of the Colorado Mountain Club, a member of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado (1968-2000), and a Denver Posse member since before 1991 (as far as current records can verify). He enjoyed mountain climbing and railroading, and was an avid fan of classical music and the Chicago Cubs. Our deepest sympathies go to his wife Peggy and family.





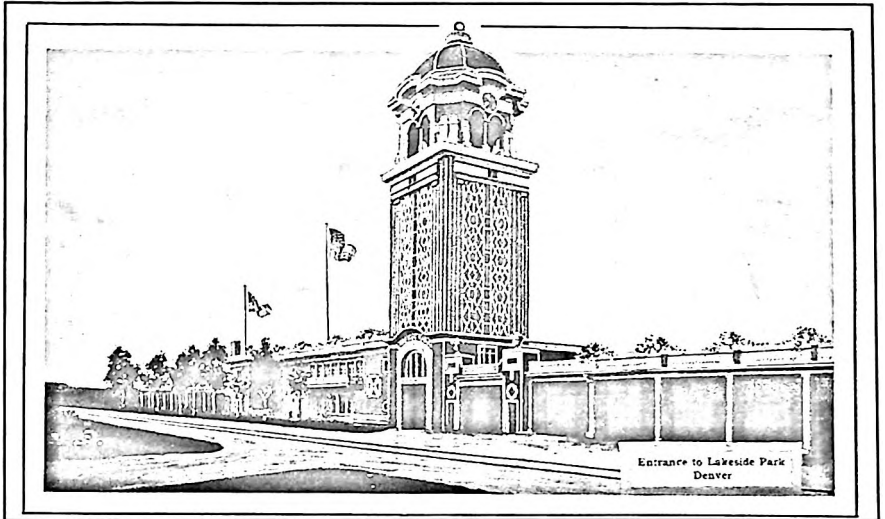


Dr. Nolie Mumey was not only a great supporter of the Denver Posse of the Westerners, but when the Pikes Peak Posse was formed, he generously provided that Posse with a buffalo skull.  
Shown here with a younger Ed Bathke



*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

November - December 2017



*Author's Collection*

**The Roller Coaster History of Denver's Amusement Parks**  
by David Forsyth  
presented May 24, 2017



# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIII NO. 6



November - December 2017

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## Our Author

David Forsyth is a Denver native and historian with a strong interest in amusement parks. His articles have appeared in *Colorado Heritage and International Bowling Industry* among other publications and he is the author of *Images of America: Black Hawk and Central City* (Arcadia, 2013) and *Denver's Lakeside Amusement Park: From the White City Beautiful to a Century of Fun* (University Press of Colorado, 2016). He had worked in the museum field for several years.

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# The Roller Coaster History of Denver's Amusement Parks

by David Forsyth  
presented May 24, 2017

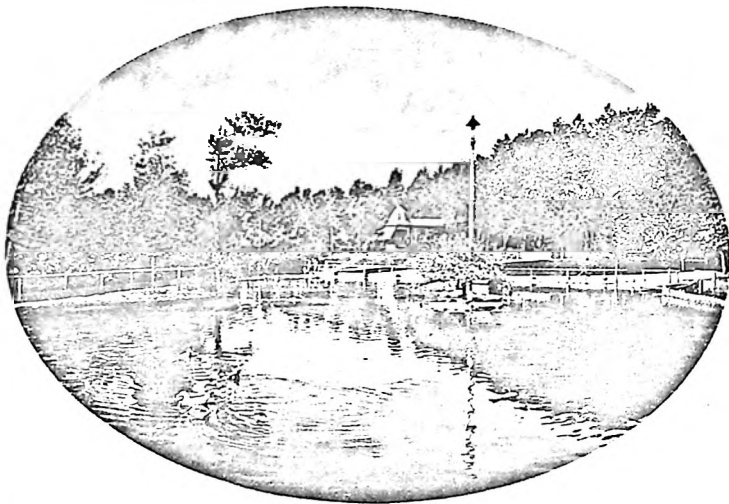
In 1895 Captain Paul Boyton opened the first amusement park in the United States, Sea Lion Park on Coney Island in New York. What made amusement parks different from the pleasure gardens and resorts that came before them was the fact that a fence surrounded the park and visitors had to pay an admission fee to get through the gates. Most major cities had one or two amusement parks, but Denver's residents were lucky enough to enjoy five parks.<sup>1</sup>

In his 1880 history of Denver, William Vickers wrote that the city was sorely lacking in places of "legitimate amusement." That began to change in 1890 when John and Mary Elitch opened their garden in the Highlands neighborhood of Denver to the public. The Elitches owned a restaurant, the Elitch Palace Dining Car, at Seventeenth and Arapahoe in downtown Denver and they bought the Chilcott farm in the Highlands to help supply fresh produce for their restaurant. As the couple spent more time at their garden, it began to remind them of Woodward Gardens in San Francisco, where they had spent a great deal of time early in their marriage. The Elitches decided to open their garden to the public so that the people of Denver could experience what they had enjoyed in San Francisco. When Elitch's Gardens opened on May 1, 1890, the *Denver Republican* proclaimed "from this time forth people intent upon recreation of a legitimate kind will go to Elitch's Gardens." The Elitches did not serve alcohol at their

garden, and they did not tolerate rough characters.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the years that the park was at its original location at Thirty-eighth and Tennyson, Elitch's was known for its beautiful flower gardens, and for many years it even sold its own carnations propagated in its greenhouses. In 1891 John and Mary Elitch built a theater at the park, which quickly became a popular place for famous actors to perform in summer stock theater. Grace Kelly, Douglas Fairbanks, Debbie Reynolds, and Raymond Burr were among the actors who performed at what became the best-known and longest-running summer theater in the country. Elitch's well-known zoo got its start when Elitch family friends P.T. Barnum and Harry Tammen (one of the owners of the Sells-Floto Circus) gave Mary Elitch some of their baby circus animals. The bears were among the more famous zoo residents, and Mary Elitch would often go into their den and play with them as if they were pets. The first amusement attraction added to Elitch's was a Thomas Edison Vitascope (an early movie projector) in 1896. Each year after that, Mary Elitch added more new attractions to her park, including a miniature train, a Toboggan Coaster in 1904, and the park's first merry-go-round in 1906 (this merry-go-round is still operational in Burlington).<sup>3</sup>

While it appeared that Elitch's was prospering, by 1916 it was in fact in serious financial trouble. Mary Elitch paid the park's bills when she had mon-



ELITCH'S GARDEN.

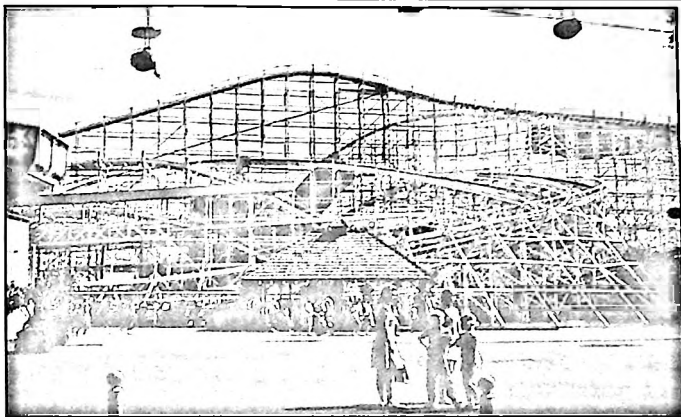
### The lake at Elitch Gardens in 1892

ey, but more often than not she simply put them inside. That year, several prominent Denver Democrats, including family friend Benjamin Stapleton and Denver mayor Robert Speer, became concerned that Elitch would have to sell her park to Frederick Bonfils, who also owned *The Denver Post* and was not friendly towards Democrats. The men ended up paying the park's bills in exchange for stock and hired John Mulvihill to manage it for them. After a few months Mulvihill decided he wanted to buy it, and Mary Elitch eventually agreed with the condition that the park's name never be changed.<sup>4</sup>

One of the first changes John Mulvihill made to Elitch's was to construct the Trocadero Ballroom. Mary Elitch had not approved of public dancing and saw no need, then, to have a ballroom at her park. The Trocadero became one of the best-known and most

fondly remembered parts of Elitch's, and thousands of people danced there before it closed in 1975. Mulvihill also continued to add new rides to the park, including an Old Mill water ride. More commonly known as the Tunnel of Love, the Old Mill was the site of the worst amusement park disaster in Denver history in 1944 when a fire broke out and trapped six people, who burned to death.<sup>5</sup>

John Mulvihill died in 1930, and his son-in-law, Arnold Gurtler, took over as manager of the park. When his sons, Budd and Jack, returned from World War II, they also began to take an active role in managing the park, and their first major project was designing and building Elitch's famous Kiddie Land. Movie cowboys Hopalong Cassidy and Ozie Waters handled the opening ceremony in 1952 with a record crowd of children in attendance. The



The parking lot at Elitch's with Mr. Twister in the background

Gurtlers also continued to add new rides to Elitch's in the years they owned it, the most famous of which was the Mister Twister rollercoaster, which opened in 1965. But, by the early 1980s, Elitch's isolated location at Thirty-eight and Tennyson was beginning to work against it. People had a hard time finding the park, and it was also running out of room, with garden space being taken over by new rides and parking lots. Budd Gurtler said that the park's name was Elitch Gardens and that asphalt should not replace flowers, and in 1986 he announced that the park was moving to Highlands Ranch. The announcement took nearly everyone by surprise, including the residents of Highlands Ranch, who made it clear that they did not want a noisy amusement park moving in. Budd's son Sandy, who took over as president of the park, continued to search for a new location for Elitch's, and in 1989, he found it—a sixty-eight-acre abandoned railroad yard in Denver's Platte Valley. Denver was begin-

ning to redevelop the area and pledged \$21-million to help the Gurtlers clean up the site, and Sandy Gurtler formed several partnerships to raise the \$95-million that it would cost to build the new park. The 1994 season was Elitch's last at its original location. The new park opened in May 1995 and was a

huge disappointment—the old flower gardens and trees were gone, the admission price was higher, and it simply did not look or feel like the old park. Sandy Gurtler's partners began pressuring him to repay their loans, and he was forced to sell Elitch's to Premier Parks in 1996. Two years later, Premier purchased all of the Six Flags theme parks and renamed the Denver park Six Flags Elitch Gardens, a name it would keep until it was again sold in 2006. Elitch's was sold yet again in 2015 when an investment firm led by Stan Kroenke purchased the park.<sup>6</sup>

The second amusement park to open in Denver was Manhattan Beach, built on the northwest corner of Sloan's Lake in 1891. There had been a previous summer resort on the site of Manhattan Beach, and it was best known for a steamship named the City of Denver that would follow canals and rivers through Denver before dropping passengers at the lake. Like Elitch's,

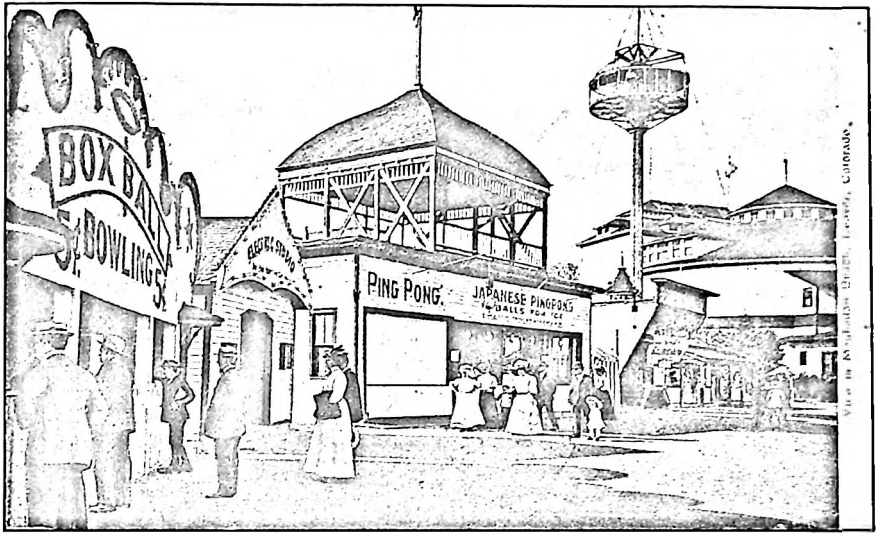
the new Manhattan Beach was known for its zoo and theater. The animals at the zoo included a camel, a hippopotamus, and Roger the elephant, who was one of the most popular attractions as children loved to ride on him. On July 5, 1891, several children were riding on Roger when the park's regularly scheduled balloon ascension took place. No one was ever sure if it was the rising balloon that spooked Roger or the crowd rushing to see it, but six-year-old George W. Eaton fell off the elephant and was trampled to death by him, the first amusement park fatality in Denver. Legend has long held that Roger was put to death after the accident and buried in a swamp near the park, but newspaper accounts of the Zoo War between Elitch's and Manhattan Beach in 1892 mention Roger as still being alive then.<sup>7</sup>

Mary Elitch Long took over management of the Manhattan Beach theater in 1892, and ran it for the next twenty years. The change in management came just a few months after a nasty "war" broke out between Elitch's and Manhattan Beach over Manhattan's animals. Claiming that the animals were being mistreated, employees from the Elitch's zoo marched on Manhattan Beach with the intention of taking the animals back to Elitch's. C.O. Hatch, an employee of Manhattan Beach, held off the Elitch's group with water cannons and told the *Denver Times* that the Elitch's people were in violation of a court order giving them control of the animals. The animals would "die of old age before they will see Elitch's gardens," Hatch said, and the courts ruled in Manhattan's favor.<sup>8</sup>

Manhattan Beach was the first

Denver park to adopt an elaborate lighting scheme, which was an important part of amusement parks, and throughout the park's grounds visitors found arches with rows and rows of colored lights, making for a "magnificent illuminated promenade." There was also a giant searchlight on top of the park's observation tower. According to management, not only would the light remind the people of Denver that the park was there but it would also stop troublemakers as it could be turned on any corner of the park's grounds and the people who were in it. Although management continually remodeled and added to the park after it opened in 1891, a fire destroyed much of Manhattan Beach in 1908. It reopened the next year as Luna Park, with a new steamship (the Frolic) that gave rides on Sloan's Lake and a conical roller coaster built by several Denver men. The new name never caught on, however, and the same was true of the park. It was largely abandoned by 1914.<sup>9</sup>

In January 1890, Denver police commissioner and future mayor Robert Speer, Denver postmaster James Corcoran, and businessman Henry W. Michael bought 120 acres of land along Cherry Creek, near what is now Speer Boulevard and Downing Street. The men set aside ninety acres of the land for a housing development, but they reserved thirty acres along the creek for Arlington Park. Construction began on Denver's third pleasure garden on February 28, 1892 when a forty-ton dredge boat began deepening the creek along the park's northern edge. Builders then used the dirt to even out the park's grounds. They also dug a half-mile-long lake along the creek and built an island



The midway at Manhattan Beach

in the middle of it. The *Rocky Mountain Sun* said the park would be “one of the finest amusement resorts in the city” when it was finished. Along with the lake, which would be the setting for fireworks shows, the park had a baseball field, tennis court, and a summer theater with an opera company.<sup>10</sup>

Arlington Park opened for business on July 4, 1892, with a production of fireworks expert James Pain’s *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The show took place on a stage built on the lake, and included a fifty-two-foot-high canvas that depicted Mount Vesuvius. Several buildings also occupied the stage, and a set of vents in the stage allowed smoke to rise through them. To create the illusion of lava flowing down the sides of the mountain, a stagehand moved a red light around behind the canvas, which showed through slits in the fabric. The *Denver Republican* said it was an

impressive illusion, but Arlington’s general manager, Mr. Wiley, said it was the “easiest thing in the world...when you know how.”

Unlike most amusement park owners (including John Elicht), Arlington’s owners did not have to plead for streetcar lines to run to their park. In fact, most Denver streetcar lines rushed to increase their capacity before the park opened and even built a loop to the new park. More than 13,000 people attended opening day at the park, with 11,000 people packing the grandstand in front of the lake for the first performance of *Pompeii*. Prior to the final explosion of the volcano, the production included a boxing match, a demonstration of Olympic sports, a wrestling match, a slack-wire act, and a flower dance.<sup>11</sup>

Arlington Park’s 1893 season was relatively quiet given the silver





Inside the ballroom at Manhattan Beach

crash that summer, but the park continued with fireworks spectacles over the lake through the 1897 season. The park was also host to the 1896 Democratic convention in Denver, which was held in a theater built on the park grounds by Colorado's Welsh community for their Eisteddfod (a Welsh signing festival). Among the state's political leaders present at the convention were Senators Henry Teller and Charles S. Thomas, Governor John Shafroth, and Judges Thompson of the Court of Appeals and Goddard of the State Supreme Court. In December 1897, Speer and his associates announced that they had leased Arlington to Henry Harris and John Baumann, who immediately started turning it into a more traditional amusement park. Among their additions were

a merry-go-round, miniature railroad, shooting gallery, a new dance pavilion, and two new rides that completely redefined the park. One was a Shoot the Chutes, which drew the most attention at the park as work progressed on it. The Denver version of the ride, in which a boat was towed to the top of a steep ramp and released down a chute into the lake, was twenty-eight feet longer than any other such ride built before, according to Robert G. Reilly, who was in charge of building it. The ride also gave Arlington its new name: Chutes Park.<sup>12</sup>

The other new ride under construction was the first scenic railway in Denver. LaMarcus A. Thompson, a well-known roller coaster builder, constructed the first scenic railway in

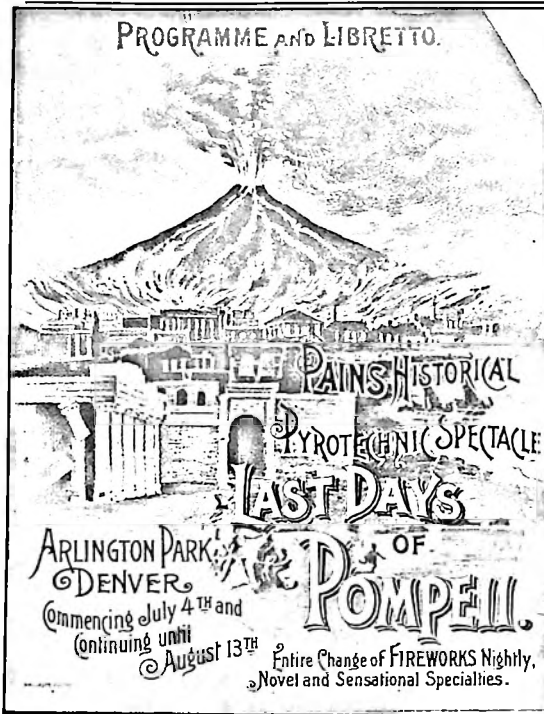
1887 in Atlantic City. The ride was essentially a roller coaster with tunnels built over portions of the track. Builders could put any kind of scenery they wished inside the tunnels, and the entering train would trip a switch that would turn on the lights, illuminating whatever was inside. The scenic railway at Chutes was Klondike-themed, and the *Denver Times* described the first trip of one rider, William McFarland, in 1898. According to the article, McFarland and his friends were “more or less sober” when they boarded the ride, and McFarland even enjoyed the trip up the first hill. After that, however, he was not sure whether he was “going to Heaven or the other place,” and he had his eyes closed so tightly he did not even know the train had passed through the tunnel. He later said he would not ride it again for the “prettiest \$500 bill in the world.”<sup>13</sup>

Harris and Baumann continued Arlington Park’s tradition of fireworks shows, and the War with Spain was a popular theme at these shows in 1898. Numerous small acts also strolled the grounds of the park, including jugglers, acrobats, and a harmonica-playing elephant. Madame Gertrude Planka and her lions also became a regular feature at the park, and in 1899 a Denver couple even got married inside the lions’ den. The *Denver Times* reported that, at the end of the ceremony, the participants left with “more precipitateness than dignity” and that the newly married couple enjoyed free trips on the chutes and the scenic railway.<sup>14</sup>

Several new acts debuted at Chutes Park for the 1899 season, including bicyclist Sarah Boynton, who rode her bike down the chutes and into

the lake, and Henri Maurice Cannon, a fat man who made his living traveling to amusement parks and visiting with paying customers. Cannon, who could speak seven languages and was reportedly delightful to speak with, lived in a cottage on the park’s grounds. The star of the 1899 season, however, was Professor W.H. Barnes and his diving elk. Barnes had taught several elk to do a number of tricks, including pulling a carriage, but their most impressive stunt was diving. A special tower was built at the park, and on command from Barnes the elk would walk up a ramp to the top of the tower and then dive into the lake. Despite the array of offerings, the 1899 season proved to be disappointing financially, and Harris and Baumann did not renew their lease on the park. Speer and the other owners leased it to J. M. Babbitt of Chicago for the 1900 season, but on July 6 that year the park failed to open and the owners scheduled several performances of Henry Pain’s *The Battle of San Juan* to finish the season.<sup>15</sup>

Speer and his associates had put several restrictions on the houses that were built on the remaining ninety acres of land that they owned around the park, including that any house constructed had to cost at least \$2,000 and there could be no bars or liquor sales for five years. Their success in this area would eventually doom Arlington Park. In January 1901, fire broke out in the engine room of the scenic railway (it was later blamed on tramps who were living in the structure), and within an hour, the fire had destroyed the engine room, the chutes, and several other structures. The park’s neighbors, according to the *Denver Times*, “rejoiced” as they watched the fire, glad that the



Program from the 1892 production of the Last Days at Pompeii at Arlington Park

nuisance park and the “objectionable characters” it drew were seemingly gone. The park’s neighbors did not mind living next to the more respectable Arlington Park, but the rowdier Chutes Park was not a welcome addition to the neighborhood.<sup>16</sup>

In June 1901, the New York Amusement Company leased the park and planned to reopen it with motion pictures, a new maze, and concerts. After briefly flirting with naming the park Riverside Park they reverted to the Arlington Park name. The following year, on June 4, 1902, a second fire broke out at Arlington Park, this time caused by

tramps who were living under the grandstand. A light breeze quickly spread the fire among the park’s wooden structures, destroying most of them. With the neighborhood around the park changing rapidly, its owners decided it was time to let it go. The remaining structures were demolished, Third Avenue was pushed through the grounds, and with the exception of 4.64 acres (including the former lake) that Denver bought and turned into Alamo Placita Park, the land was sold for building lots. No photographs of the park are even known to exist.<sup>17</sup>

Tuileries Amusement Park, the fourth amusement park in Denver, opened at Broadway and Floyd, former site of the Orchard Place beer garden, in Englewood in 1906. Orchard Place had a less than desirable reputation since it was primarily known as a hot

spot for gamblers and drinkers. Denver’s newspapers were filled with pleas for someone to do something about Orchard Place, with some even going so far as to urge someone to burn it down. The amusement park seemed like a welcome change, and in the months before it opened the owners spent almost \$140,000 on construction. It had most of the standard amusement park attractions, including a miniature train, a merry-go-round, a skating rink, and a ballroom. William Gillpatrick, who had been involved in mining in Cripple Creek, was one of the original owners and general manager of the park for

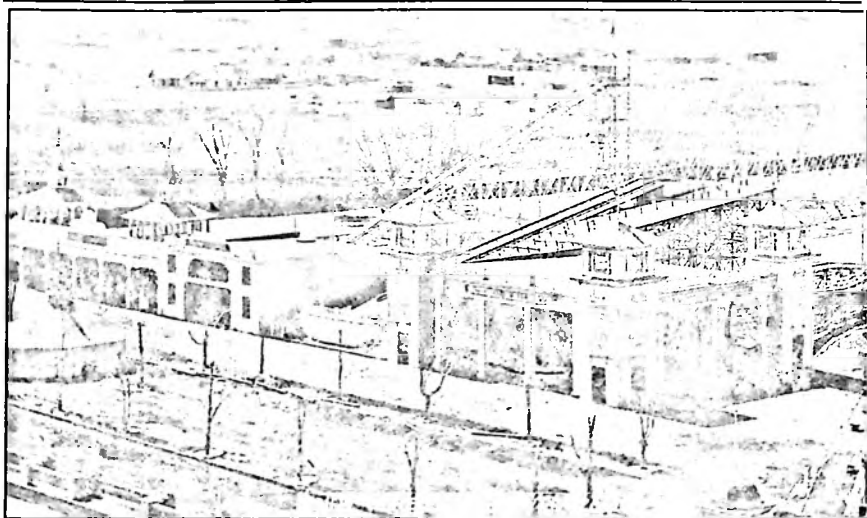
much of its short existence. The *Denver Republican* said the park was “the most beautiful natural park in the state,” and management banned liquor sales and made sure the grounds were “amply policed” in an effort to attract women and children.<sup>18</sup>

One of the most impressive events at Tuileries was the July 4, 1911, celebration when the park hosted five motorcycle races, a baseball game with Tuileries team, a race between two cowboys hoping to win a wife, and fireworks. The Labor Day celebration at the park included a corn roast at which 10,000 ears of corn grown at the park were given away. By 1911, however, the park was losing money and Gillpatrick, without approval from the board of directors, decided to build a board track (it replaced the existing dirt track) for motorcycle races at the park. As Gillpatrick wrote, without the track the “company would have been driven out of business.” By then, the company owed Gillpatrick over \$32,000, and he told the stockholders that he was not willing to loan it any more money.<sup>19</sup>

Tuileries had two main problems. One was Orchard Place’s reputation. Although Tuileries was an entirely different operation, the park simply could not overcome its predecessor’s seedy reputation. The other was poor management. In 1911, C. M. Johnston, one of the original board members of the park, sued to recover his investment in the park. As part of the lawsuit, the board of directors hired an accountant, Hiram E. Hilts, to review the park’s books. After his review, Hilts wrote that Tuilerie’s books were kept in a “very rude and unsatisfactory manner” and that the ledgers were of “little practi-

cal value as a record.” The amusement section of the park had largely ceased to operate by 1912, but motorcycle racing continued for most of the 1913 season. After the racing season ended that year, though, the park closed. In 1914, the Alexander Film Company, which specialized in film advertising, moved from Washington to Colorado and bought the old dance hall at Tuileries for their new office. Partly as a gimmick and partly to increase sales, J. Don Alexander decided to equip his sales force with airplanes. After buying three planes, Alexander tried to place an order for forty to fifty planes, but no manufacturer would take him seriously since no one was buying that many planes at the time. Alexander started his own airplane company on the Tuileries grounds, and the Alexander Aircraft Company, which produced the Alexander Eaglerock, was the biggest airplane manufacturer in the world by 1928.<sup>20</sup>

The last Denver park to open during the amusement park boom was also the most unique. Lakeside Amusement Park was the creation of brewer Adolph Zang and several associates, including his step-brother William Buck and step-brother-in-law Peter Friederich. One of Zang’s many jobs at his father’s Denver brewery was creating new markets for Zang beer, which included building the Oxford Hotel and several bars around the city. The amusement park was his latest and biggest venture in this area. To get away from Denver’s blue laws that required bars to close on Sundays, Zang built his park in Jefferson County in the newly created town of Lakeside, which existed solely for the amusement park. Zang also had the good fortune to build his park just

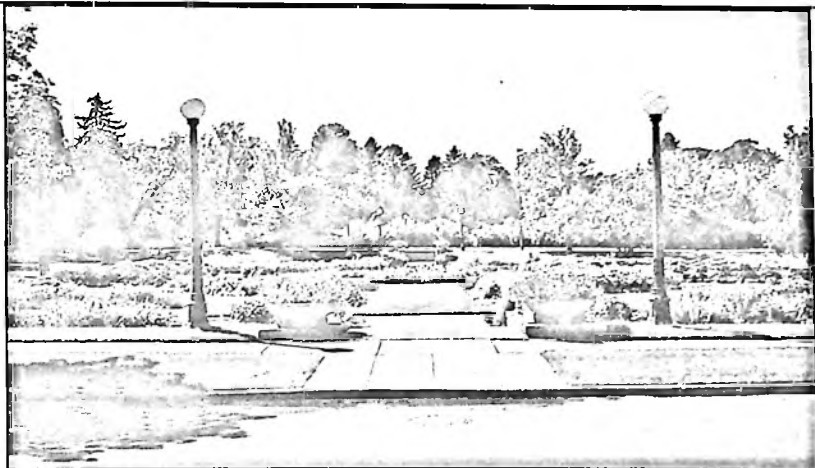


Lakeside Amusement Park under construction in early 1908

as Denver's City Beautiful movement was getting underway. The City Beautiful movement, which grew out of Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, was meant to clean up big, dirty cities with unified architecture, parks, and educational and moral uplift. Mayor Robert Speer was the driving force behind Denver's version of the movement, and as a park, Lakeside managed to easily fit within the City Beautiful program with its similarly-styled buildings throughout the park, impressive landscaping, and abundant use of lights. As the *Denver Republican* proclaimed shortly before the park opened, "the most conservative pleasure-seeker will find nothing offensive and no undesirable elements will be catered to." Lakeside was also unique in that its builders did not have to plead with the Denver Tramway Company to build a streetcar line to the park. Instead, the company was rushing to build a line to the park

before Opening Day, proof of how significant the park was to Denver. Finally, the park also provided automobile parking, a rarity at amusement parks when only the wealthy regularly drove cars.<sup>21</sup>

In 1908 Denver hosted the Democratic National Convention, and just two months after Lakeside opened Speer hosted a dinner for delegates on the Casino balcony, a strong sign of how important the park was to the city. Sunset dinners on the Casino balcony, where guests ate off fine china and had a view over the lake towards the mountains, were a main feature of Lakeside for many years to come. The balcony was located on the back side of the Casino, which along with the 150-foot-high Tower of Jewels, marked the main entrance to Lakeside. To the left as people entered through the Tower was the amusement area of the park, which included a Third Degree Fun House, a Velvet coaster and a scenic railway,



The sunken flower bed at Alamo Placita Park in Denver that used to be the lake at Arlington Park

a Shoot the Chutes, a haunted swing, concessions (including games and a photography studio), and a swimming pool. To the right was the social area, which included the boat house, El Patio Ballroom, and skating rink. Central Park, the area people first walked into when entering through the Tower, had the Music Plaza and Bandstand, the train station, and a Parker merry-go-round. In 1910, Lakeside's owners added a third floor to the Casino for a theater, which hosted traveling shows from New York.<sup>22</sup>

Lakeside's close relationship with Denver's City Beautiful movement lasted for about ten years. During that time, the park was regularly featured in *Denver Municipal Facts*, a city-published magazine that promoted city projects and news, and it received regular visits from Colorado political leaders, including Speer and Governor John Shafroth. The park's management and owners also worked to keep the connec-

tion strong by hosting county fairs and visiting conventioners, and even helping to raise money to build roads. But, by 1918 the situation was beginning to change. Speer left office as mayor in 1912, and new leaders neglected Denver's City Beautiful program. The City Beautiful program itself was also falling out of favor throughout the country. The neighborhoods around Lakeside were going through changes of their own at that time as well. Zang and Lakeside's other owners had hoped that Denver's elite would build new homes around the park, especially to southwest of it where they owned several acres of undeveloped land. Instead, working class communities began to rise up around the park, especially in Wheat Ridge, Arvada, and Denver's Berkeley neighborhood. Lakeside's owners faced a tough choice—either reinvent the park as a working-class destination or cling to the elite City Beautiful past and perhaps be forced to close the park.<sup>23</sup>

Adolph Zang sold Lakeside to his family in 1911, and they struggled to reinvent it as a working-class park. They added more thrilling rides, including the Derby coaster (which replaced the Velvet coaster after it was destroyed in a fire in 1911), new restaurants (a prison-themed restaurant named The Jail and another one named The Plantation), and even experimented with greyhound racing in 1927. They were too close to the park's elite past, however, to fully make the break from it and, after two bankruptcies, Benjamin Krasner, a concessionaire who had worked at the park since 1917, bought Lakeside in 1935.<sup>24</sup>

Krasner hired architect Richard Crowther to give Lakeside an Art Deco makeover. Each ride got a new ticket booth, and rides and buildings were covered in neon and fluorescent lighting. Among the new rides that Krasner added to the park was the iconic Cyclone roller coaster, which opened in 1940. Fully embracing the park's new working-class identity, Krasner also made sure that Lakeside was a welcoming place for picnickers, building a new picnic pavilion in 1937 and placing fire pits around the park for barbecues. In another move to emphasize the working class nature of the park, Krasner also opened Lakeside Speedway on the southwest corner of the park in 1938. The speedway, characterized by many as the biggest, loudest sign of the park's working-class identity, was originally home to midjet racers, but stock cars became the dominant draw after 1950 until the track closed in 1988. In 1954, Krasner sold the land where Zang and the other owners had once hoped that Denver's elite would build their man-

sions to Geri Von Frellich, who built Lakeside Shopping Center on the site. Benjamin Krasner, who worked tirelessly at Lakeside, died in 1965 and his daughter Rhoda inherited the park. More than eighty years later, the Krasners keep Lakeside going each summer.<sup>25</sup>

The amusement park industry changed forever in 1955 when Walt Disney opened Disneyland in California. The birth of the theme park drove many smaller amusement parks out of business, but Lakeside and Elitch's, the last two remaining parks from Denver's amusement park boom, remained. Even when they faced competition from Magic Mountain, a Disney-inspired theme park that opened in Golden in 1958, and Celebrity Sports Center, a Disney-owned indoor swimming pool, video game arcade, and bowling alley that opened in Glendale in 1959, they not only managed to survive but also outlasted the two bigger rivals. Only about two dozen amusement parks of the almost 5,000 built during the boom that followed Sea Lion Park's opening in 1895 survived long enough to reach their one-hundredth anniversaries. Denver is home to two of those parks, Elitch Gardens and Lakeside Amusement Park.

## Notes

1. For a broader discussion of early pleasure gardens and amusement resorts, see William F. Mangels, *The Outdoor Amusement Industry: From Earliest Times to the Present* (New York: Vantage, 1952).
2. William B. Vickers, *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado...a History of the City of*

- Denver...Biographical Sketches...* (Chicago: O.L. Baskin, 1880), p. 291; Betty Lynn Hull, *Denver's Elitch Gardens: Spinning a Century of Dreams* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 2003), pp. 7-10; "Opened to the Public," *Denver Republican* (May, 2, 1890): 3.
3. Hull, *Denver's Elitch Gardens*, pp. 133, 9-10, 26, 22, 37, 38-39.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 57
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 108-109; 90-91. There is some dispute over when the Trocadero opened. Hull says it opened in 1917, but there is a photograph of the Trocadero in the July 12, 1914 issue of *The Denver Post* and it clearly states it was open for dancing.
6. Hull, *Denver's Elitch Gardens*, pp. 94, 105, 117-25; Bill Gallo, "Life Is a Carousel and a Rollercoaster," *Denver Magazine* 16 (July 1986): 24, 26, 28; Margaret Jackson, "Florida Firm to Buy Elitch's, 6 Other Six Flags Parks," *The Denver Post* (January 12, 2007): 1C; "Elitch Gardens sold to investor group that includes Kroenke," available from <http://www.bizjournals.com/denver/news/2015/06/05/elitch-gardens-sold-to-investor-group-that.html>, last accessed May 15, 2017.
7. "A City's Beauty Spot," *Denver Times* (May 13, 1891): 6; Gene Lowell, "Famous Resort at Sloan's Lake Leveled by Fire," *Rocky Mountain News* (February 18, 1940): sec. 2, 10; "Terrorized," *Rocky Mountain News* (July 6, 1891): 1; "Grim War in Denver," *Denver Times* (September 11, 1891): 6.
8. "Elitch and Manhattan," *Denver Republican* (July 24, 1892): 11; "Grim War in Denver," *Denver Times* (September 11, 1891): p. 6; "Manhattan is O.K.," *Denver Times* (September 12, 1891): 1.
9. "Manhattan Beach Opens Next Saturday in Brightest Array," *Denver Republican* (June 12, 1904): 11; Lowell, "Famous Resort at Sloan's Lake Leveled by Fire."
10. "A New Amusement Resort," *Rocky Mountain Sun* (Denver) (February 28, 1892): 7; "Sure to Be a Park," *Rocky Mountain News* (July 1, 1891): 8. For a more detailed history of Arlington Park, see the author's "A Splendid Place: Denver's Arlington Park," *Colorado Heritage* (May/June 2015): 22-31.
11. "Wiping Out Pompeii," *Denver Republican* (July 4, 1892): 2.
12. "In the City by the Platte," (Leadville) *Herald Democrat* (May 11, 1896): 1, 2; "Denver Ratifies," *Aspen Tribune* (July 23, 1896): 1; "Denver's New Pleasure Park," *Rocky Mountain News* (December 19, 1897): 4;
13. Mangels, *The Outdoor Amusement Industry*, p. 90; "Why M'Farland Is Glad He Is Alive," *Denver Times* (August 7, 1898): 8.
14. "At the Chutes," *Denver Times* (August 14, 1899): 4.
15. "At Chutes Park," *Denver Times* (May 26, 1899): 4; "Chutes Park," *Rocky Mountain News* (May 27, 1899): 8; "Chutes Park Offers Much," *Denver Times* (May 28, 1899): 5; "Chutes Park to be Opened," *Denver Times* (June 17, 1900): 5; "Chutes Park Closed," *Denver Times* (July 7, 1900): 2; Advertisement for Chutes Park, *Denver Times* (August 5, 1900): 5.
16. "The Arlington Park Land and Improvement Company Prospectus," Denver Park Land and Improvement Company Papers, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library; "Chutes Park Is No More," *Denver Times* (January 22, 1901): 10.



17. "Arlington Park Reopens," *Denver Times* (June 16, 1901): 8; "It's a Great Day at Arlington Park," *Denver Times* (July 4, 1901): 1; "Again Arlington Park Grandstand Burns," *Denver Times* (June 5, 1902): 6; "Chutes Park to Make Room for City Streets," *Denver Times* (April 2, 1903): 9; Hannah Shwayder Berry, "Chutes Park," *The Denver Post Empire Magazine* (November 30, 1975): 76, 79.
18. "Vileness of Orchard Place on Sunday Under Review," *The Denver Post* (May 3, 1897): 5; "Sheriff Seerie Will Stop Gambling at Orchard Place," *Denver Times* (April 21, 1902): 2; "The Tuileries," *Denver Republican* (July 29, 1906): 15; "The Tuileries," *Rocky Mountain News* (June 23, 1907): sec. 2, 8.
19. Jack Foster, "What Became of Tuileries?" *Rocky Mountain News* (August 9, 1959): 21A; *Record of Minutes*, August 26, 1911, Box 2 File Folder 40; *Record of Minutes*, August 8, 1910, Box 2 File Folder 40; William Gillpatrick to Stockholders, July 12, 1911, Box 7 File Folder 311, All in Tuileries Papers, Records of the Arapahoe County District Court, Littleton History Museum.
20. C.M. Johnson vs. Tuileries Amusement Company et. al., Box 3 File Folder 20; "Affidavit of Hiram E. Hilts," August 1911, Box 10 File Folder 445, All in Tuileries Papers, Records of the Arapahoe County District Court, Littleton History Museum; *1913 articles; sale to film co.*; Ronald E. Newberg, "Alexander Eaglerock Biplane," copy provided to author by Englewood Historical Society.
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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 10<sup>th</sup> of the first month in the date of publication.*

## Westerner Presentations 2017 Finale

The November presentation to the Boulder County Corral was "A History of Lake Eldora: from Summer Resort to Ski Resort, 1898-1975," by Rett Ertl. Rett's father, Tell, bought the Lake Eldora Ski Area in the late 1960s, and Rett served as general manager for three years, 1982-85. He currently is a member of the *Boulder Daily Camera* Editorial Advisory Board, and is writing a book on the history of the Lake Eldora Ski Resort. Rett Ertl received a BS in Russian at Stanford, and MAs from Columbia in both Slavic languages and Political Science. He has worked for the U. S. Agency for International Development and for NGOs in Europe and Central Asia.

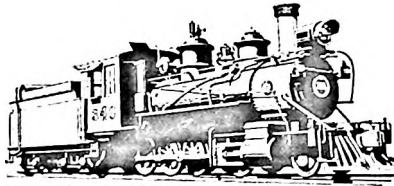
The Colorado Corral heard Denver Posse Deputy Sheriff Steve Friesen's presentation, "I am not a Savage: Lakota Performers in Wild West Shows," which featured not only details from his new publication, *Lakota Performers in Europe: their Culture and the Artifacts they left behind*, but also the background of how the book evolved.

In December the Denver Posse again provided the monthly program for its brother corral, when the Colorado Corral was entertained by Denver Posse Roundup Foreman Mary O'Neil's "Celebrating Christmas in Colorado." The well-illustrated presentation featured Zebulon Pike in 1806, Denver's first Christmas in 1858, 1894 Leadville letters to Santa, and traditions to the present, including Yule Log hunts and Christmas Stars.

The Pikes Peak Posse's November program was "The Royal Gorge War, 137 Years of Misinformation and Misconceptions," by Larry Green. His general,

but detailed, overview of the struggle between the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe and the Denver & Rio Grande railroads over Raton Pass and through the Royal Gorge provided a forum to discuss the myths and fables of these historic events. Larry is a graduate of Southern Colorado State College and The Colorado College, with an MA in Southwestern Studies. He is the 2015 recipient of the Historic Preservation Award by the Pueblo County Historical Society.

In December the Pikes Peak Posse was entertained with an evening of interactive entertainment with a historical flavor performed by Red Herring Productions, a murder mystery dinner, "The Train Wars Murder:" At the end of the war between the Santa Fe line and the Rio Grande, will the peace treaty resolve all the outstanding conflicts?



## Westerners Bookshelf



**A Surgeon with Custer at the Little Big Horn: James DeWolf's Diary and Letters, 1876**, edited by Todd E. Harburn. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 288 pp. Maps, illustrations (photos), appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

When the Seventh United States Cavalry engaged Sitting Bull's massive village on June 25, 1876, along the Little Big Horn River, of the three physicians who rode with the regiment, George E. Lord, James M. DeWolf, and Henry R. Porter, only Porter would survive that terrible day. This is the biography, as told through the letters and diary, of James DeWolf. It is also an excellent firsthand account of what it was like to be a contract surgeon serving with the Indian fighting army. This is only the second time that the DeWolf diary and the letters to his wife Fannie have been published. In 1958 Major Edward S. Luce had them printed in the journal of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, *North Dakota History*.

James DeWolf was no stranger to military life by the time he arrived at Fort Abraham Lincoln, D.T. to become part of George A. Custer's ill-fated expedition. He was born in Mehoopany, Pennsylvania on January 14, 1843. Between his birth and the beginning of the Civil War, little is known about his early life which was spent helping on the family farm and going to school. On May 29, 1861 he enlisted in the Union army at the age of seventeen with the rank of private in a Pennsylvania artillery regiment. As a corporal DeWolf was wounded at the Battle of Second Bull Run and several months later was discharged, being partially disabled as a result of a gunshot wound (necrosis of the ulna). While recuperating he spent a short time as an army nurse. Resigning his pension, he re-enlisted in another Pennsylvania artillery regiment. Apparently, his wound was not as serious as it could have been.

Shortly after the war ended DeWolf was discharged and enlisted in the 14<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry on October 5, 1865 (he felt civilian life as a farmer was not for him) and appointed hospital steward on May 17, 1866. On October 3, 1871 at Camp Warner, Oregon he married Fannie J. Downing. Shortly thereafter she was appointed hospital matron at the post. Because of his growing interest in the medical field he was transferred to Watertown Arsenal, Watertown, Massachusetts. This would allow him to study medicine at Harvard University which he entered in September 1873. Upon graduation from the Harvard School of Medicine on June 26, 1875 with a MD degree, he took the Army Medical Examination for Assistant Surgeon but failed to pass. After being discharged as a Hospital Steward U.S.A., James M. DeWolf became a contract Acting Assistant Surgeon with the Surgeon General U.S.A. at Folkston, Pennsylvania. He was assigned to Fort Totten, Dakota Territory. This is where his diary and letters to his wife that are the subject of this book begin.

The entries of James DeWolf's diary and the letters to his wife Fannie show that he was an educated civilian contract doctor with army experience. In them are not only his thoughts and opinions of the officers and enlisted men that he came into contact, but also his observations of army protocol on the Western frontier. Also like many a soldier who kept a diary on the ill-fated march to the Little Big Horn, he describes the terrain, weather conditions and campsites. It is interesting to note that DeWolf, in one of the last letters to his wife, assured her that he was well-armed with both a revolver and carbine in the event he confronted any hostile Indians. His good friend, also a civilian contract Acting Assistant Surgeon, Henry Porter, did not carry any firearms. DeWolf was killed and Porter survived.

*A Surgeon with Custer at the Little Big Horn* edited by Todd E. Harburn is a welcome addition to any library or collection pertaining to the Battle of the Little Big Horn and the Indian-fighting army. It also makes a fine companion volume to *Deliverance From The Little Big Horn: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry* by Joan Nabseth Stevenson. All we need now is for someone to publish a biography on Assistant Surgeon George E. Lord.

--Mark Hutchins

**Anne Evans - A Pioneer in Colorado's Cultural History: the Things That Last When Gold Is Gone**, Barbara Edwards Sternberg, published by Buffalo Park Press and the Center for Colorado and the West, 2011. Paperback.

First of all let me say that this is an excellent book. It is the first full-length biography of Anne Evans (1871-1941), who was one of the most notable figures in the development of Colorado but who unfortunately has not received the widespread recognition she deserves. As Dr. Tom Noel writes in the foreword, "She happily lived by the philosophy that you can get much good work done if you let others take the credit."

An artist herself (although not a great one), Miss Evans became known as "the patron saint of Colorado artists" for her lifelong support and advocacy of the Colorado arts community. Probably her most prominent achievement was being one of the founders of the Denver Art Museum. Author Sternberg skillfully recounts Anne Evans' growth from private art collector to a founder of the Denver Art Museum. This growth begins with her membership in the Denver Artists' Club (later the Denver Art Association); her appointment to the Municipal Art Commission; and her support of Mayor Robert W. Speer's plans for the Civic Center and this embrace of the "City Beautiful" concept. Once a dedicated art museum became a reality, she was its interim director for a time.

Anne Evans was one of the first to recognize Native American artwork as true art and not simply decorative craftwork. She donated her own collection of southwest U.S. artifacts to the museum's Native Arts Collection, one of the first such collections in the country. She was also quick to recognize the artistic value of Spanish Colonial religious iconography, and she worked diligently to preserve many mission churches in rural New Mexico.

Her role as an early cultural beacon for Denver was enhanced by her selection to the Denver Public Library Commission. In 1910 she became president of this Commission and began the task of building branch libraries around the city. In 1937 the Robert W. Speer Club proclaimed, "If Denver has an outstanding art museum, it is due to the unflagging efforts of Anne Evans. If the Denver Public Library stands second to none in the West, it is in no small degree [due] to her enthusiastic service and influence...." (It is probable that she deflected the credit to others.)

She also turned her attention to the restoration of the Central City Opera House, which had been losing money and was being upstaged by the Tabor Grand Opera House in Denver. Anne and her good friend Ida Kruse McFarlane helped establish the Central City Opera House Association and persuaded the University of Denver to acquire the opera house for one dollar per year. At Anne's direction the once-glorious Teller house, which had become a decrepit boarding house next to the opera house, was cleaned up and leased as an area for patrons to socialize during opera intermissions. In 1932 Anne and Ida did much of the footwork and fundraising for the Central City Festival with the opera house as its main venue. Miss Evans and Mrs. McFarlane are honored to this day for reviving the opera house and Central City in general.

This book is written in a style that is easy to read and understand. And, with Anne Evans' direct involvement in so much of Colorado's cultural history, author Sternberg found it impossible to discuss this involvement without presenting excellent synopses of these historical events. A daughter of Territorial Governor John Evans, Anne Evans became acquainted with many Colorado politicians of her day. The list of people with whom she worked directly reads like a "who's who" of Colorado cultural history: architect Burnham Hoyt, poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril, orchestra conductor Frank St. Leger, author Caroline Bancroft, arts supporter Delos Chappell Jr., muralist Allen True, newspaper writer Helen Black, educator Mary Kent Wallace, Denver parks manager George Cranmer and his arts patron wife Jean Chappell, and numerous artists and notable people of the Colorado art scene and the University of Denver. She never married. Her brother William Gray Evans was president of the Denver tramway, and she lived with his family for most of her adult life in what we know today as the Byers-Evans House Museum. This book provides interesting stories of Colorado's "cultural people" as well as their interactions with Miss Evans. I highly recommend this book.

--Garry O'Hara

**Bridging the Distance: Common Issues of the Rural West**, edited by David B. Danbom. University of Utah Press, 2015. 296 pp. Maps, photos, tables, bibliography, index, and contributor sketches. Paperback, \$37.17.

As with any book that is a compilation of the work of multiple authors there is a broad range of writing skills, topics and levels of research. Several of these authors demonstrate significant knowledge and expertise.

**Finding the Rural West** by Jon K. Lauck

- This essay is a good table-setter for those items that follow. He covers a lot of territory and includes some pertinent comments on Frederick Jackson Turner's view of the West and regionalism. Lauck quotes himself a little more than I like, but his research is strong.

**Conquering Distance? Broadband and the Rural West** by Geoff McGhee

- This essay quantifies the digital divide as it relates to the issues of ruralness as opposed to income discrepancy. Distances make closing this gap more difficult to rectify.

**Too Close For Comfort: When Big Stories Hit Small Towns** by Judy Muller

- This story talks about the impact of a high school hazing-bullying episode that is deemed a sexual assault and how it divides the community of Norwood, Colorado. This story seems to be out of place in this volume.

**On Water and Wolves: Toward an Integrative Political Ecology of the "New" West** by J. Dwight Hines

- In many ways this is a quintessential story of conflict in the West. Few issues are more divisive than water, with the possible exception of wolf introduction. This essay is among the most interesting and is well-written.

**Irrigation Communities, Political Cultures, and the Public in the Age of Depletion** by Burke W. Griggs

- Water again takes center stage in this essay and the added issue of depleted aquifers makes this the most political of the essays; it has the broadest scope as well. **Health Disparities among Latino Immigrants Living in the Rural West** by Marc Schenker

- This essay recounts how little change there has been in the past half century for rural Latino farm workers. Here again Schenker uses his previous works very often as reference.

**Energy Development Opportunities and Challenges in the Rural West** by Mark N. and Julia A. Haggerty

- The Haggerty's tackle one of the most divisive issues of the West, trying to balance energy development while keeping the land attractive to visitor – read tourists – and residents alike. This is another of the better efforts in the volume.

**New Natural Resource Economy: A Framework for Rural Community Resilience** by Michael Hibbard and Susan Lurie

- This effort is little more than a survey of issues and doesn't add much to the discussion.

**The Angry West: Understanding the Sagebrush Rebellion** by Leisl Carr Childers

- This essay is one of the best in terms of both topic and treatment and exams many of the issues surrounding public lands in the last year.

**Skull Valley Goshutes and the Politics of Place, Identity, and Sovereignty in Rural Utah** by David Rich Lewis

- This final essay examines conflicts of an Indian tribe and the issues of nuclear and hazardous waste storage in rural Utah.

--Roger Dudley

**Fort Bascom Soldiers, Comancheros, and Indians in the Canadian River Valley**, James Bailey Blackshear, Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2016, pp. 272, 11 illustrations, 4 maps, 2 tables, appendix, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

*Fort Bascom* is another well-documented history of one of the frontier forts during the Indian war era. What is nice about such studies is that they not only give a history of the existence of the fort, but the reader also learns of the history recorded during the time the fort was active. Eight chapters comprise the book. The various chapters cover the significant history associated with this far obscure New Mexico outpost in the Indian war era.

Located about 140 miles from well-known Fort Union, the town of Las Vegas is roughly 90 miles northwest of the post. Those are the only historical landmarks near this distant fort. In addition to controlling marauding Kiowa and Comanches, black-market commerce by Comancheros posed another problem for soldiers operating at the garrison.

Initially established in late summer, 1863, to provide support against anticipated Confederate invasion from Texas, the post's objectives changed following the Civil War. The post was named after Captain George Bascom, who was killed in the 1862 battle of Valverde. The post remained active until the end of 1870. The author noted that once separated from its historical context, "this remote outpost does not appear to warrant much attention, yet the hundreds of cavalry and infantry who served at Fort Bascom from 1863-1874 would beg to differ." (188-189). And this is what the author successfully sets out to show, viz., the various military campaigns that involved Fort Bascom, and the soldiers' privations and experiences while stationed at such a lonely outpost.

The most significant military campaign associated with Fort Bascom was the successful 1868-1869 winter expedition set forth by General P. H. Sheridan following violent murders of citizens in newly established settlements in north-central Kansas in August 1868, after the Indians (Cheyenne mostly, from Black Kettle's band) received promised arms and ammunition, a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty the fall before. While it was Custer and eleven companies of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry that brought success to this winter campaign, there were two other columns of soldiers sent into this country. The author does a fine job of covering the hardships of Colonel Andrew Evans' command of troops in the winter of 1868.

But it is in covering the Washita campaign that the author commits a serious historical flub. In covering Custer's victory at the Washita November 27, 1868, where Chief Black Kettle himself was one of the victims (as well as his wife, who survived Sand Creek four years earlier with many wounds), the author notes that this fight produced "103 dead warriors, as well as 53 women and children, were killed." (156) This gaff should have been caught by a reviewer, as it was actually the case that Custer captured and did not kill 53 women and children; and although there were civilian casualties at the Washita, they were kept at a minimum, with Custer giving orders to his officers that the troopers were not to kill women and children, unlike what Chivington allowed at the Sand Creek massacre November 29, 1864.

Regardless of this historical error, this book makes a fine addition to one's library, to anyone interested in collecting information on long-gone forts of the Indian war era.

--Jeff Broome





**Depredation and Deceit: The Making of the Jicarilla and Ute Wars in New Mexico**, Gregory F. Michno. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 326 pp. Photos, endnotes, bibliography, appendices, index. Hardcover, \$32.68.

Gregory F. Michno has written numerous books dealing with the Indian wars and World War II. His works often embrace controversial, revisionist interpretations, and this may be one of his best.

In *Depredation and Deceit* Michno examines the stereotype of sturdy, yeoman farmers and ranchers struggling heroically against Indian “savagery” in order to “civilize” the frontier and turn it into a place where they can build their dreams. What Michno found is that as often as not, the avarice, greed and corruption displayed by the settlers themselves did more to engender Indian hostilities than anything done by the Indians.

Various laws enacted by the American Government sought to provide a mechanism for peaceful compensation to settlers for depredations committed against them by hostile Indians. Predictably, these laws contained the kinds of loopholes that produced an avalanche of unintended consequences. In short, they opened the floodgates to a deluge of fraudulent claims that led almost immediately to retaliatory acts of violence against completely innocent Indians, and eventually to Indian wars that Michno contends were “completely unnecessary.”

Michno’s research is impressive. He relies heavily on official reports, government documents and especially on military and governmental correspondence. He presents an almost endless series of case studies showing depredation claims submitted for losses of hundreds and even thousands of cattle, sheep and other property allegedly stolen by Indians, which were later shown to be the work of Mexican bandits or white robbers. In many cases the depredations were actually completely fabricated. They never occurred.

The Army, rather than being complicit, actually worked tirelessly to protect the Indians. Michno documents countless incidents where Army officers refused to attack Indians based on demonstrably fraudulent claims. He shows that many Army officers blamed settlers and bureaucrats for any troubles in the territory.

The media naturally comes in for bitter criticism as well for its role in fanning the hysteria. Eventually, wars resulted.

Michno’s work deserves serious study and follow up. Although this book is limited to actions in New Mexico, Michno’s methodology could be beneficially applied to many other areas of the Indian wars.

--Dennis Hagen