



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

May - June 2021



*Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave
Buffalo Bill's Wild West promoted the Pony Express
for nearly Thirty Years, building on Young
William Cody's Experience as a Rider*

**Great Plains Crossings - The Oregon Trail,
the Pony Express, the Indians and Buffalo Bill**

By Steve Friesen

(presented April 28, 2021)



Courtesy of the Author

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Steve Friesen, retired Director of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, is currently a freelance writer, lecturer, and museum consultant. He is the author of three books: *A Modest Mennonite Home*; *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*; and *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*. He recently completed the manuscript for a new book *Galloping Gourmet: Eating and Drinking with Buffalo Bill*. Friesen is also a recipient of a Fred Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award from the Denver Posse of Westerners.

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Great Plains Crossings – The Oregon Trail, the Pony Express, the Indians and Buffalo Bill

By Steve Friesen

In 1854, Kansas Territory was opened to settlement. Isaac Cody moved his family from their home near Davenport, Iowa to Weston, Missouri and then on to the Leavenworth area. As the family made their first approach to Leavenworth, eight-year-old Will Cody was impressed by the “vast number of white covered wagons” camped there. He asked his father Isaac why they were there and was told they were ready to head west across the Great Plains. His older sister Julia later wrote that Will declared that was what he wanted to do.¹

And indeed, he did. He made many Great Plains crossings as a young man. His first was in 1857 when he was eleven years old. By that time the Oregon Trail was heavily traveled. William Henry Jackson’s photos of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in Colorado as well as elsewhere in the West are quite familiar. What may or may not be as well known is that Jackson also painted the Oregon Trail, based on his memories of traveling the trail. They reveal a crowded passageway to the West. It was used not only by persons heading to Oregon, but also California, Salt Lake and other places in-between.

In addition to the wagons carrying hopeful settlers, there were freight wagons carrying supplies between Weston, St. Joseph, Independence, Leavenworth or Westport (now part of Kansas City) and western destinations. It was as a backup driver on one of those freight wagon trains that Buffalo Bill first traveled the Oregon Trail.

By the time young Cody traveled the Oregon Trail in 1857, it had been in use for over twenty years. One could visualize it as the first Interstate heading westward. Like the Santa Fe Trail, it had several variations in terms of its route, but had a primary objective. It spawned and fed into other trails along the way. Between the eastern Kansas and western Missouri locations and the Great Salt Lake, travelers to Oregon and California followed roughly the same route.

It was this route which Will Cody followed on his first trip along the Oregon Trail, from Leavenworth to Salt Lake City. His family knew Alexander Majors, who was co-owner of a major freighting company. When his father died of fever in 1857, it fell upon young Will to be the breadwinner for the Cody family, performing various jobs for Majors.



*Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave
Eleven-Year-Old William Cody in the same Year
as his first Journey along the Oregon Trail*

Cody followed the route along the Oregon Trail several times during his employment by Majors. Cody later described the freighting operation. It involved 250 trains, with a total of 6,250 wagons. They first crossed the northeast corner of Kansas into Nebraska. From there they headed westward along the Platte River to Courthouse Rock, Chimney Rock, Scott's Bluff and on to Fort Laramie.²

From Fort Laramie the trail proceeded through Wyoming. Will Cody probably rode one of the wagons that made the ruts along the Oregon Trail that are still visible near Guernsey, Wyoming. His signature, however, has not been found on Guernsey's Signature Rock nor at Independence Rock near Casper, Wyoming.

The route continued to Devil's Gate and westward. A critical stop according to Cody was Cold Springs. There on the hottest days of summer it was possible to find ice several feet below the sod. Today that and other important Oregon Trail sites are marked on the highway between Muddy Gap and Lander.

According to Cody, it was on his initial trip along the Oregon Trail that he first met Wild Bill Hickok, who would become a friend. Nearly twenty years later, Hickok joined Cody on stage for part of the 1874-75 theatrical season. After leaving the show, Hickok moved to Deadwood, where he was killed in 1876. On his next trip along the trail, Will never made it to the Salt Lake area. At that time, there was a



Courtesy "The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill, the Famous Hunter, Scout and Guide: An Autobiography, 1879"

*A Wagon and Team belonging to Russell and Majors
Transporting Goods along the Oregon Trail*

good deal of conflict between the Mormons and the U.S. government, a period sometimes called the Mormon Rebellion. The wagon train where Will was serving as a teamster was carrying supplies to Salt Lake for the U.S. Army. Cody's autobiography states that they were stopped by an armed party of Mormons, who commandeered and burned most of their wagons. They were probably near the border of modern-day Utah when they were attacked. It effectively ended their shipment. The group proceeded back to Fort Bridger in western Wyoming where they spent the winter and then returned to Leavenworth. According to Bobby Bridger, a singer/songwriter, historian and relative of Jim Bridger, Cody met Jim Bridger at that time.³

By the latter 19th century, people were already looking back on the Oregon Trail days with a certain nostalgia. Idyllic images of families sitting by campfires in front of their wagon could be found in publications and on trade cards. But the reality of traveling the Oregon Trail was much less idyllic. Cody and the other wagon drivers who were stranded by the Mormons found that most of their food was either confiscated by the Mormons or destroyed when the wagons were burned. When the group of thirty-one

men reached Fort Bridger, they joined the troops who were stationed at the fort as well as other employees of Majors, whose wagons had also been confiscated. With so many mouths, the food was scarce and by late winter they were down to quarter rations and they were killing and eating not only the remaining oxen but also the government mules. That spring Cody and the other teamsters set out for Fort Laramie. He later described their arrival. "On the way down we stopped at Fort Laramie, and there met a supply train bound westward. Of course we all had a square meal once more, consisting of hard tack, bacon, coffee, and beans. I can honestly say that I thought it was the best meal I had ever eaten."⁴

Of course some of the Mormons themselves experienced great hardships along the Oregon Trail. Just the year before, the Martin and Willie handcart companies were stranded in a snowstorm which killed over 200 of them. Their story is told at the Mormon Handcart Visitors Center at Martin's Cove near Casper, Wyoming.

When Cody first traveled it, the Oregon Trail was already beginning to decline in use as other routes became more popular. But it had already entered the annals of Westward Expansion. For a very brief time in 1860 and 1861, that same portion of the trail traveled by Cody on his first trip across the Plains was used by another important entry in Westward Expansion... the Pony Express. And Cody would become part of that as well.



Courtesy Author's Collection

The Names and Dates of Travelers on the Oregon Trail can be seen at Signature Rock, near Guernsey, Wyoming

Cody first came to Colorado in 1859 as part of the Gold Rush. Like many of the rushers, he did not find gold and returned to Kansas. It was at that point he said he was hired by the Pony Express to ride a portion of the route from Julesburg to Nebraska. Some scholars say they don't believe he rode in the Pony Express. But other riders, like Charles Cliff, who later posed with Cody at the Pony Express monument in St. Joseph, said he did. Alexander Majors, for whom he had worked on the wagon trains, was one of the founders of the Pony Express. Like Cliff, Majors said Cody rode with the Pony Express. It is they who are primary sources, and the 21st century naysayers, separated from those sources by over a century of time, are only engaging in speculation.⁵

Much has been made about encounters with hostile Indians along the Oregon Trail and Pony Express routes. Between 1840 and 1860 it is estimated that Indians killed 360 emigrants along the Oregon Trail, but that emigrants killed 425 Indians. The Indians had more to fear than emigrants. Given the number of people who traveled the trail during

that twenty-year period, 360 is not a large number. Compare that number to the over 200 Mormons killed by one snowstorm in 1856. For travelers on the Oregon Trail there were greater perils than Indians, such as cholera and other illnesses, horrific weather and even being accidentally run over by a wagon. Over 65,000 deaths occurred along the Oregon-California trails.⁶

Of the comparatively small number of emigrants killed by Indians, about 90% were killed west of South Pass. That would be southwest of Lander in the stretch that went from western Wyoming into Utah and then up into Idaho and Oregon. The Great Plains portion of the Oregon Trail, crossing Kansas, Nebraska and most of Wyoming, was relatively peaceful. This belies the stereotype of Great Plains tribes attacking wagon trains, often repeated in twentieth century movies. Indian attacks on Pony Express riders were even less common.

While Cody did encounter some hostile Indians, probably either Lakota (Sioux) or Cheyenne, on his early crossings of the Plains, his first interactions with Indians were positive. Three years before he joined the wagon train he met his first Indians, members of the Kickapoo tribe. He was age eight and his family had just moved to Leavenworth. He later wrote, "I noticed a small party of dark-skinned and rather fantastically dressed people, who I ascertained were Indians and as I had never before seen a real live Indian, I was much interested in them." He said about the following weeks, "the Kickapoos were very friendly Indians and we spent much of our time among them, looking about and studying their habits."⁷ The rest of the year he continued his contact with the Kickapoos, befriending boys his age and even learning a bit of their language. These very positive encounters would color his attitude toward the Indians for the rest of his life.



*Courtesy Smithsonian American Art Museum
Kickapoo Chief Cock Turkey,
Painted by George Catlin in 1830*

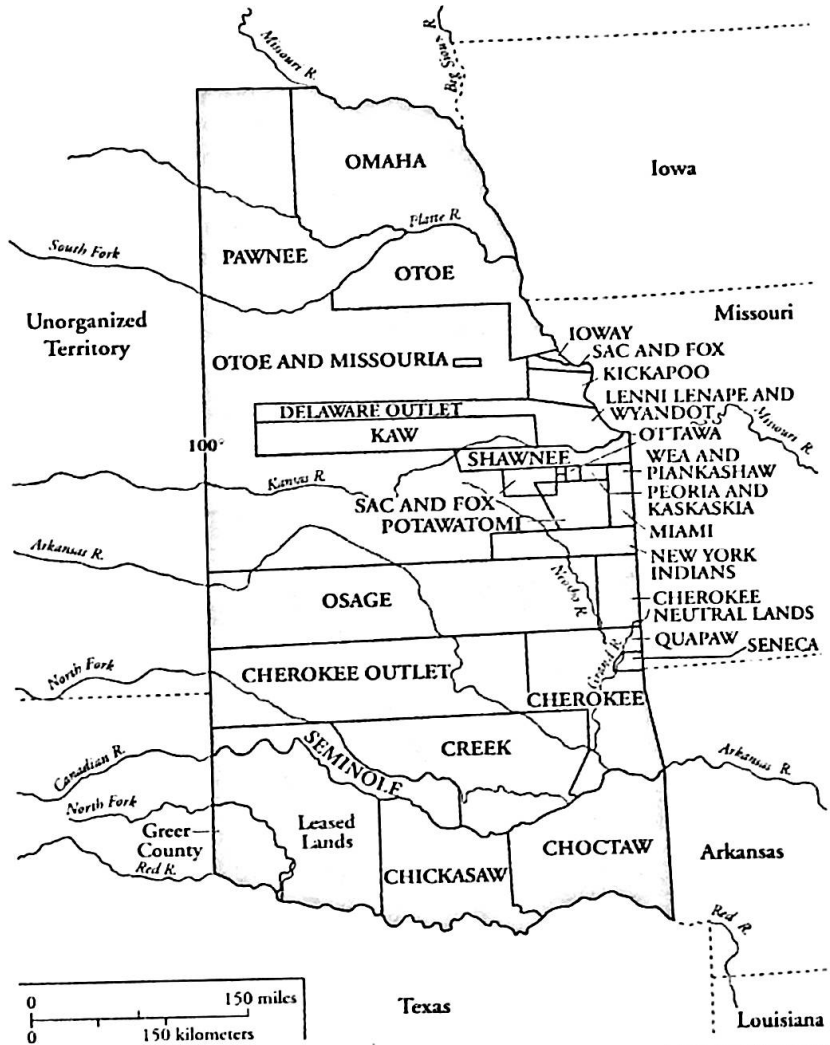
Those then are the crossings of the Plains, the Oregon Trail and the Pony Express, and the intersections between the travelers on those routes, most notably young Will Cody, who later became known as Buffalo Bill, and the Indians.

Buffalo Bill always emphasized that the Indians were indeed the first Americans. Several of his posters even had the words "The American" under the portrait of an Indian. In 1908, when Rodman Wanamaker proposed to build a statue of an American Indian near the Statue of Liberty, Cody supported the idea, saying he could think of no more fitting tribute to "the first Americans—the Indians—than a statue in the harbor with arms outstretched," welcoming the world. Throughout his life he felt it was very important to remind people that the Indians were here first.⁸

Why bring this up when writing about the Oregon Trail and the Pony Express? Because it must be remembered that both the Oregon Trail and the Pony Express ventured across lands that belonged to other people. Some had occupied those lands for many years and others had been forced to move to those lands by the U.S. government. But as far as they were concerned, those lands were theirs. When there were examples of attacks on Pony Express stations and riders or on travelers on the Oregon Trail, they were the result of the Indians' frustration over the increasing numbers of people invading their land and taking away their resources.

Any immigration problems encountered today are minimal compared to the immigration problems, and the massive changes embodied by them, that the American Indians confronted between 1492 and 1900. So, who were the different tribes along the Pony Express and Oregon Trail routes and what threat did they pose to folks using those routes?

In 1860, there were many tribes located in the area where Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska and Iowa now intersect. Most tribes had moved into that area because they had been pushed there by white settlement in their original homelands. A map of the period shows that Kansas Territory, which acted as Indian Territory until 1854, had the bulk of the tribes. Most tribes were fairly small groups and tried to live at peace with the settlement that continued to encroach on them. But just as they had once been moved to Kansas, when more settlers arrived, they were sent to Oklahoma, which was officially designated as Indian Territory until much of it too was taken away from them.



Map by the author
The Many Tribes near the Missouri River in Unorganized Territory, later known as Kansas Territory, in 1850

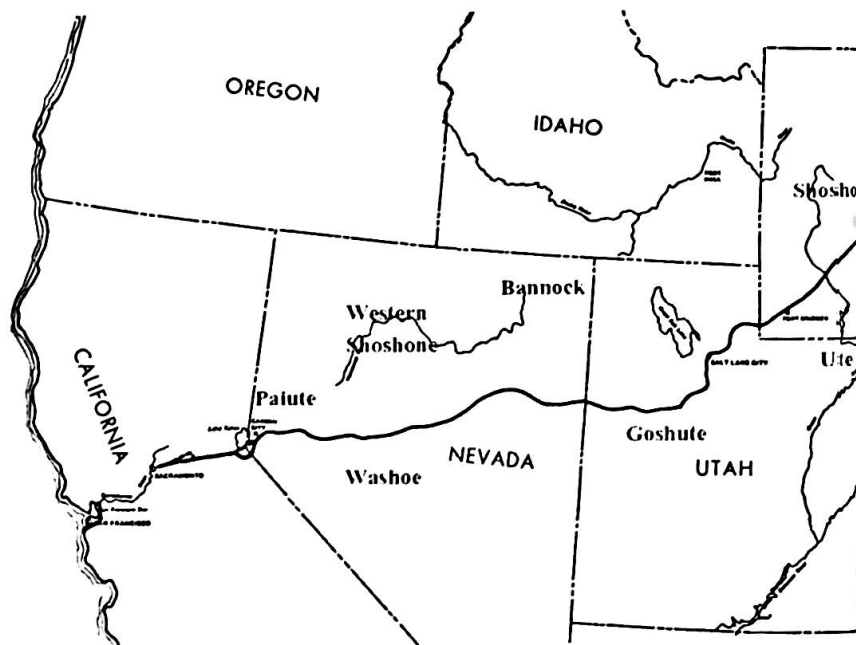
The Potawatomie in northeastern Kansas were originally located in Indiana but were forcibly removed to Kansas in 1838. The lands where they moved were near Topeka; the tribe would have been south of the Pony Express Route. They were not the only tribe that was moved into Kansas during Indian removal in the 1830s and early 1840s.

The Shawnee were also moved, as were the Kickapoo and the Wyandot tribes. These and other tribes were moved under the Indian Removal Act signed into law by President Andrew Jackson in 1830. Jackson had signed the Act because of pressure from some states, like Georgia and the Carolinas, which were expanding into the frontier and wanted the Indians removed or they fully intended to eradicate them. Interestingly enough, these were also the states that staunchly defended slavery, which was already outlawed in much of the north. Clearly, they were not advocates for human rights, which certainly had an influence upon their attitudes toward the Indians. Recent studies have shown the growth of militias in these frontier areas, excusing their activities as defensible under the Second Amendment. Those activities, however, were essentially terrorist activities directed at the Indians, slaves and other settlers. The militias even confronted the fledgling U.S. Army.⁹

Jackson saw the Act as a way of sparing those southern tribes from complete destruction. But removal not only took away the tribes' lands, it led to great suffering, particularly well known in the case of the Cherokee's Trail of Tears. Later in the 1830s, as was the case with the Potawatomie, Kickapoo and Wyandot, the Act excused the removal of tribes from northern states as well. These included the Ottawa tribe from Michigan and Ohio.

This also happened to the Miami, Kaskaskia, Wea, Piankashaw, and Peoria tribes, all from the Ohio area. Most of these tribes were very small in number. All of these tribes were moved into what became Kansas Territory in 1854. It was a region already occupied by the Oto, Missouri, Kaw, Osage, Sac and Fox, the Lenni Lenape Delaware, and Omaha tribes.

The Oto and Missouri tribes were along the Missouri River and ranged throughout the area where the three states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa intersect today. Other tribes in that area were the Kaw, or Kansa, who were closer to today's Manhattan in Kansas, the Osage, who were south of them, and the Sac and Fox tribe.



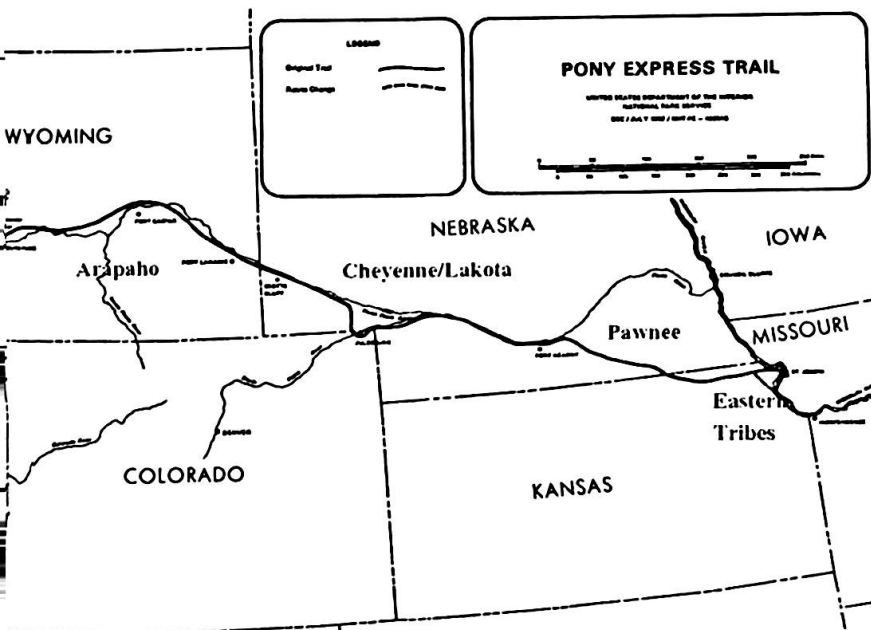
The Tribes along th

The Sac and Fox were not moved into the areas by the Indian Removal Act but were pushed into the area due to white encroachment on their original lands in Illinois. Like the Sac and Fox, the Ioway tribe was pushed westward out of their original homelands in the Minnesota/Iowa/Missouri area into Kansas. That happened during the 1830s. The Lenni Lenape Delaware Tribe were also pushed westward prior to the Indian Removal Act, eventually they relocated to Kansas near the Missouri River in 1829. The Omaha Tribe, which was farther north, was located along the Missouri River and found themselves caught between their enemies, the Lakota, and encroaching white settlement. In an effort to deal with the Lakota, they decided to ally themselves with the whites and ended up selling most of their lands to them. After the Civil War most of the members of these tribes mentioned above were moved into the newly designated Indian Territory, in what is now Oklahoma. A few did stay behind in Kansas.

The Kickapoo Tribe would have been the tribe closest to St. Joseph and the tribe which a young Will Cody first encountered several years before his first trip on the Oregon Trail.

Travelers along the Oregon Trail to the west of the Missouri River region encountered other tribes. During the busiest times of the trail, the Pawnee would have been the largest and most powerful tribe along the route as it proceeded through southern Nebraska. But by the time of the Pony Express, the bitter enemies of the Pawnee, Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, were beginning to push down into Pawnee territory, which is one reason why the Pawnee eventually began to build alliances with the United States, often serving as scouts for the U.S. Army.

The small and peaceful tribes in the region of northeast Kansas, northwest Missouri, southwest Iowa and southeast Nebraska traded with the new settlers and tried to maintain a peaceful relationship with the settlers, as did the Pawnee in southern Nebraska.



Courtesy National Park Service, with Additions by Author

Pony Express Route

Beyond that area, the situation became more tense. Once settlers on the Oregon Trail and riders on the Pony Express entered western Nebraska, they encountered the Cheyenne and the Lakota (Sioux) who were becoming increasingly suspicious about westward movement through and into their lands.

As the Oregon Trail passed through Wyoming, it crossed lands that were occupied by the Shoshone and the Arapaho. The

Arapaho were often allied with the Lakota and the Cheyenne against other tribes and the U.S. Army. The Shoshone did not get along with those tribes but also were suspicious about encroaching white settlement.

Moving southward towards Fort Bridger in western Wyoming, the routes came near to the Utes and passed through the Goshutes region beyond Salt Lake City. The Goshutes were a western band of the Shoshone. At this point the Oregon Trail headed north while the Pony Express and California Trail routes headed south. At Nevada, the Pony Express passed south of the Bannocks' territory and entered Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute territory. To the south were the Washoe.¹⁰

There were few episodes of Indian tribes attacking Pony Express riders and stations between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City. The Plains tribes along most of the Oregon and Pony Express trails were peaceful and there are few records of conflicts with them. In fact, the only major recorded conflicts between the Pony Express and Indian tribes occurred on the western end of the trail, in the route from Salt Lake City, Utah to California.

Popular culture shows a different picture. Artwork and graphic illustrations from the late 19th century as well as throughout the 20th century frequently show attacks on Pony Express riders as well as upon wagon trains. And 20th century movies created even more fictional attacks.

Even the real attacks were often exaggerated in accounts. There was one particularly telling incident with the Pony Express. In May 1860, two young Paiute Indian girls were kidnapped and probably raped by the three Williams brothers who ran the Williams stage stop and Pony Express station in western Nevada.

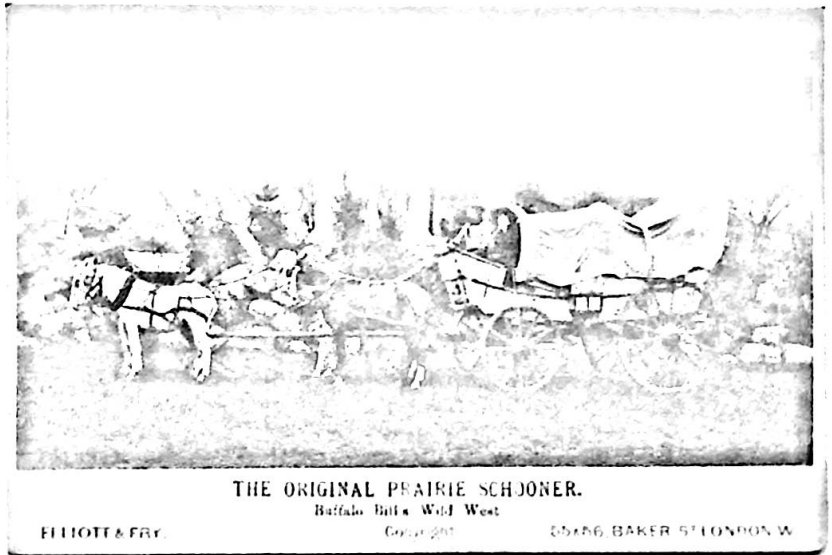
On May 7, a group of nine or perhaps as many as twenty, Bannock and Paiute warriors confronted two of the Williams brothers (the third, James, was somewhere else) and several visitors at the station. They then tortured and killed them. The actual number killed ranges from three to five persons. The Indians rescued the young girls from under a trap door in the barn, took the station's livestock and set fire to the cabin. Upon returning to the station, James discovered his dead brothers and was terrified. He rode to Virginia City raising the alarm that there was an Indian uprising. At one point he claimed to have been pursued by 500 warriors, when in reality his terror caused him to imagine them and there was probably no pursuit at all. He also claimed that as many as eight other settlers had been killed as well, although there was no evidence of that happening. He didn't say anything about the abduction of the Indian women which touched off the attack on the station. His news caused a panic among the settlers.¹¹

Despite a few calmer voices saying that the incident should be investigated, word spread throughout western Nevada that the Indians were attacking settlements. In Carson City, retired Major William Ormsby decided to raise a volunteer militia to seek out and punish the Indians. By all accounts they were a disorganized group of miners and ranchers who had been recruited in the saloons of Carson City. Later reports stated most regarded it as a lark, not unlike a hunting party, and some were drunk. They headed out to Pyramid Lake, where they were told the Indians would be found. The Indians were indeed there and had been expecting them. The group of one hundred and five men was ambushed in a canyon by a much smaller number of Paiutes, who were joined by Bannock and Shoshone allies. Seventy-six members of the volunteer

militia, including Major Ormsby, were killed and the rest were wounded. None of the Indians were killed and only three were wounded.¹²

This incident left the settlers even more panicked, and they appealed to the U.S. government. In response, a force of 800, including regular Army soldiers and volunteers was sent to Nevada. They attacked the Paiutes near Pyramid Lake in a battle that ended up being a draw. After that an uneasy peace was negotiated with the Paiutes, which led to the end of the active hostilities.¹³

The exaggerations by James Williams about the Indian attack on Williams Stations, ended up being somewhat typical. In the year-and-a-half that the Pony Express operated, attacks were rare. Nevertheless, the image of a Pony Express rider being pursued by hostile Indians has become a part of the Pony Express story. Even Buffalo Bill embellished his own Pony Express experiences with stories of Indian attacks. As related earlier, Buffalo Bill Cody probably did ride with the Pony Express, but some of his stories about his activities with the Pony Express are somewhat dubious. His stories about surviving Indian attacks while a rider are probably dubious as well.



Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave

*Years after traveling the Oregon Trail, Buffalo Bill re-created
Scenes on the Trail in his Wild West*

Travelers on the various westward trails that followed a similar route to that of the Pony Express, like the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Trail, and the California Trail encountered both friendly and hostile Indians. The hostile Indians would occasionally raid their wagons, primarily to steal supplies and livestock. But there was not any organized Indian resistance to western settlement in the Great Plains in particular until the Civil War and after, when the Indians realized these white people were arriving in greater numbers and weren't going away any time soon.

Those then are the American tribes that were along the Oregon and Pony Express Trails. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's story intersects with those of the Pony Express and the Oregon Trail frequently enough to conclude with some relevant observations about his life.

As mentioned earlier, a young Will Cody traveled along the Oregon Trail on his first foray into the Great Plains. This was followed by other western adventures, of which his time with the Pony Express was only a part. He came to Colorado in 1859 for the gold rush, he did a short stint with a group of Jayhawkers, and he served in the Army during the Civil War. After the Civil War he scouted for the Army, participating primarily

in small battles against the Lakota and the Cheyenne. In 1872, Cody received the Medal of Honor from Congress for valor during an engagement with a group of Lakota.¹⁴

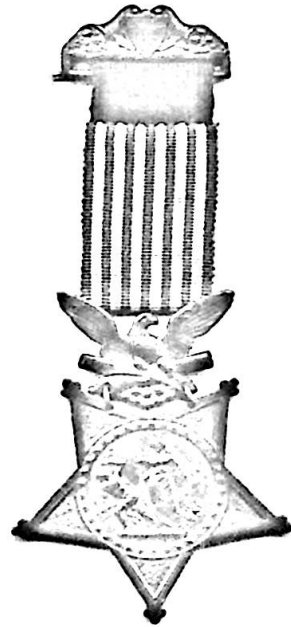
During this time he got the nickname of Buffalo Bill. This was because of his marksmanship, for which he was praised the rest of his life, and his uncanny ability at hunting buffalo. There even was poem written about him:

*Buffalo Bill, Buffalo Bill,
Never missed and never will;
Always aims and shoots to kill
And the company pays his buffalo bill.*¹⁵

In 1873 Buffalo Bill parlayed his experiences in the West plus his growing fame in the newspapers and dime novels into a career in show business. He started out with a career on stage and then in 1883 created Buffalo Bill's Wild West. That enterprise, an outdoor spectacle about the West, was a huge hit in the United States and Europe and made him one of the most famous people of his day. Ironically, the Wild West, with its re-creations of Indian battles and attacks on wagon trains helped create the popular idea of the threats mentioned earlier.

The Wild West also helped imbed the story of the Pony Express within popular culture. Buffalo Bill promoted the Pony Express at every opportunity. Buffalo Bill's Wild West re-created a Pony Express ride at every show for thirty years, ensuring that the public would not forget that episode in American history. He also employed Pony Bob Haslam, one of the most famous Pony Express riders, for a number of years and helped publish Alexander Majors' autobiography, with Majors' reminiscences about the Pony Express. If it were not for Buffalo Bill, the Pony Express might have ended up as a minor footnote in American history. Buffalo Bill's Wild West lasted for three decades, finally closing in 1913. He then worked for several other shows until his death in Denver in 1917 at age seventy-one.

Buffalo Bill's first experiences with the Americans, as he called the Indians, were positive. During the Indian Wars they were his enemies. But after the wars were over, he became their friend, hiring them and paying them a good wage, giving them a chance to escape the difficult life on the reservation and advocating for their rights. During the wars the saying had been, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." After the wars it was "Kill the Indian, save the man." Cody did not agree with either of those sayings. Buffalo Bill's Wild West gave the Americans an opportunity to preserve and promote their culture at a time when United States policy was to destroy it. Because Buffalo Bill's Wild West was so popular, there were other imitators who, like Buffalo Bill, gave the



*Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave
Buffalo Bill received the Medal of Honor from
Congress in 1872. Today it is on Exhibit at the
Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave*

Indians, the Lakota in particular, an opportunity to preserve their culture when it was being suppressed on the reservations.

From the 1880s until 1935 the efforts of the U.S. government were to suppress and even destroy the Lakota culture. They did not practice physical genocide, but they did apply a kind of cultural genocide. Lakota children were taken to Indian schools where their hair was cut short, they were taught to be like white children and they were punished if they used their native language. There was one of those government schools at Pine Ridge Reservation. The goal was to remove them from the negative environment of their families where they learned to be “savages.” Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and other wild west shows not only gave the Lakota an opportunity to practice and preserve that culture but actually helped them promote it in a way that thwarted the government’s efforts. Lakota culture became something that was admired in the United States and even more so in Europe.¹⁶

Nineteenth and early twentieth century imagery, as well as stories in the media, often portrayed the Americans as savages. Even the so-called reformers of the period advocated an end to their cultures. When Buffalo Bill’s Wild West began, it certainly emphasized the Indian War battles and attacks on settlers’ wagons. But over time Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and other wild west shows began to emphasize the cultures of the first Americans. Today, thanks to those and other efforts, we now prize the cultures of this land’s original inhabitants.

More and more efforts are being made to both move beyond the imagery of Indian attacks to take a realistic look at the full story. That means looking at the Pony Express and the Oregon Trail in new ways. For most of the routes followed by each, there were relatively few threats from hostile tribes. When there were threats, those threats were

prompted by the Indians’ efforts to deal with peoples who they feared would take away their lands and threatened their families. Those fears turned out to be well-founded.

In the final analysis the real threat to the Oregon Trail and to the Pony Express were not the American tribes along the trail. The Great Plains would once again be crossed, this time by the telegraph



Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave

*A Group of Lakota Braves demonstrate
their Riding Skills in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*

and the railroad, spelling the end for the wagon trains of the Oregon Trail and the riders of the Pony Express. These also would be the final nails in the coffin for the Great Plains Indians' way of life.

But even as they ended, the Oregon Trail, the Pony Express, the free-ranging life and culture of the Plains Indians, and even William "Buffalo Bill" Cody himself, became part of the legend of the American West.

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9. Gregory Michno, *The Frontiersmen Who Couldn't Shoot Straight: The Army vs. the Pioneers, 1815 to 1845*, Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2020.
10. Information on the tribal groups in Kansas Territory, the areas surrounding the territory and along the Oregon Trail was gathered from the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2001; Michael G. Johnson and Richard Hook's *Encyclopedia of Native Tribes of North America*, Buffalo, NY: Firefly Books, 2007; and Wikipedia.
11. Jim DeFelice, *West Like Lightning: The Brief, Legendary Ride of the Pony Express*, New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2018, pp. 192-194; "From California: The Washoe War—Battle of Pyramid Lake—Causes of the Outbreak—Exaggerations and Panics—Succinct Statement of the Whole Affair—Gossip About Town—etc." *The New York Times*, June 13, 1860.
12. www.OnlineNevada.org/articles/pyramid-lake-war.
13. Ibid.
14. Friesen, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
15. Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, p. 90.
16. Steve Friesen, *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, pp. 23-34.

Over the Corral Rail

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

Westerners Presentations

Recent Pikes Peak Posse meetings include the following. In April, Dr. Charles "Nick" Saenz presented "War and Peace in Comancheria: Anza, Parunarimuco, and San Carlos de los Jupes." Dr. Duane Vandebusch, of Western State University, presented "Silver and Gold: the Metals that made Colorado" in May. June's program was "Santa Fe Trail – Two Hundred Years of Travel with 2021 Symposium Details," by LaDonna Hutton and Kevin Lindahl, Bent's Fort Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association. July, rather than a zoom meeting, featured a tour of the historic Trinity Ranch and surroundings, in Wetmore, Custer County.

The Colorado Corral enjoyed the following. For April, Katherine Manthorne, PhD, presented "Taming the West: Eliza Pratt Greatorex in Colorado." Dr. Rachel Gross, professor of history at University of Colorado, Denver, told of "Buckskin to Gore-Tex: Postwar Hiking in Colorado, a History in three Objects" in May. Then in June the Corral enjoyed "San Carlos de los Jupes: Understanding Colorado's first Settlement," by Dr. Nick Saenz, professor of history at Adams State University.

Westerner's International 3rd Annual Gather

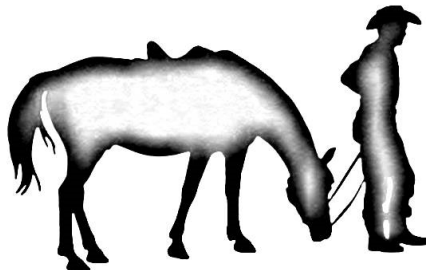
The Third Annual Gather of the Westerners International will be hosted by the Los Angeles Corral on October 8-9. Please refer to the website westerners-international.org for details and registration forms.

Denver Westerners Mourns Loss of Posse Members

Charles Carroll passed away in June. Charlie was very active in Littleton affairs and served as president of Historic Littleton.

We received word that Bob Terwilliger had passed away last December. A Posse member since 2001, Bob served as Sheriff in 2003.

August 2 marked the passing of Carl Sandberg, a Posse member since 2011, and the Posse Sheriff in 2016.





Westerners Bookshelf



Our cup runneth over! Perhaps due to pandemic restrictions our members have been reading and reviewing more books on Western Americana. This issue provides an ample selection, hopefully whetting your appetite for some of these recent publications.

The Geology, Ecology, and Human History of the San Luis Valley, edited by Jared M. Beeton, Charles N. Saenz, and Benjamin J. Waddel. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2020. 501 pages, maps, pictures, diagrams, footnotes, index. Paperback \$35.00

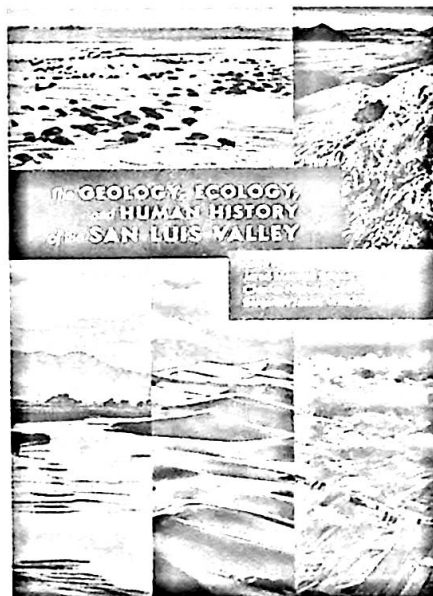
Twenty-six scholars that contributed to the book take the reader in a deep dive through the complex geology, ecology, cultural and human history of the San Luis Valley, a region that covers more than 9,600 square miles stretching across south-central Colorado and north-central New Mexico.

Residents, tourists, scholars and students will be captivated by the comprehensive investigation of the area. Most of the authors are long-time residents with deep roots in the valley and their passion shows in their detailed descriptions. While some of the chapters are academic in tone and require careful and close reading, the information is riveting and fascinating.

In the first section of the book, the authors investigate the geomorphology, hydrology, flora and fauna of the valley. While the San Luis Valley is described as the “highest mountain desert in North America,” it is home to diverse forests, grasslands, shrublands, dry dunes, wetlands and extensive and varied habitats. For those who have marveled at a “14er,” the sand dunes or speculated about power of rivers and glaciers, the early chapters will enlighten and intrigue. The complex effect of mining on the environment is linked with the exceptional importance of water in the physical and human ecosystems. The battle for the allocation, conservation and management of the water resources and the “culture of conservation” are recurring themes for many of the authors and are investigated in depth.

The second part of the book reviews the geopolitical and cultural history of the area. Included are chapters about the “indigenous lifeways” along with a survey of the early exploration and settlement. The coming of the railroad dramatically transformed the region by bringing a diverse population to the valley with a wide range of religious identities and linguistic traditions. Land speculators, cattle, fences and conflict followed. While most of the rail lines have disappeared, the highways have taken over their routes. Visitors can still see the impact of the railroads due to the need for a town every six to eight miles to accommodate freight, coal, water, maintenance and sidings.

The final section of the book will be of particular interest to anglers and rock climbers. Included are an in-depth discussion of techniques, tackles and favorite fishing spots



for fly fishing enthusiasts. Rock climbers will find the “travel itineraries” section of the book invaluable. It includes a brief history and a description of the “high-quality rock climbing and bouldering” sites in the valley.

Readers will be consulting the many maps, graphs and charts as they plan their next trip to the San Luis Valley. And, as Ken Salazar (former Colorado Attorney General, US Senator and US Secretary of the Interior) predicts in the forward, through the reading of this book “the valley will always be a part of your life.”

– James Donohue

Restless Enterprise – The Art and Life of Eliza Pratt Greatorex by Katherine Manthorne. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2020. 337 pages, photos, end-notes, bibliography, drawings, index. Softcover \$34.95

Greatorex (1819-1897), America’s most famous mid-19th century woman artist according to Manthorne, worked in Colorado, New York, Europe and North Africa. Her successful career in a male-dominated art world is resurrected by Katherine Manthorne, a Professor of Art History at the Graduate Center of the University of New York. In a well written, well researched biography, she exhumes this forgotten artist affiliated with the Hudson River School known for her landscape paintings, pen-and-ink drawings and etchings.

One chapter of Manthorne’s book is devoted to Greatorex’s visit to research her book, *Summer Etchings in Colorado* (N.Y.: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1873). The well-connected Greatorex traveled with former Territorial Governor Alexander Cameron Hunt and Colorado Springs and Denver & Rio Grande Railroad founder William Jackson Palmer, staying at his Glen Eyrie estate. Of an encounter with Ute Indians, she described one Chaveneau (Shavano?) as unwilling to sit for a portrait but “fantastic” with “a broad felt Quaker hat, which looked very comical with his long straight hair and copper-brown skin.... His leggings were curiously made of red cloth, fringed with beads, and on each side of these a sort of flap or sail. He was decorated with a great many ornaments. From under his long grayish-black blouse hung an oblong piece of red stuff, on his breast, part of an enemy’s skull, shaped to the form of a star.”

Manthorne notes Greatorex’s all too valid observation that white folk often treated Native American males as noble savages while belittling “squaws” as dirty and repulsive.

Her twenty-one pen-and-ink sketches as well as brief narrative description cover, among other sites, Manitou Springs, old Pueblo, Garden of the Gods, Cheyenne Canyon, Glen Eyrie, and Monument Park. Of Colorado, Greatorex declared “no landscape in the many countries I have seen has equaled this.” Atop the Continental Divide, Eliza wrote of a Colorado ritual to this day: “pour a cup of water half of it would run on one side to the Pacific, and the other half to the Atlantic.” Of many Colorado panoramas, viewing South Park from Kenosha Pass was a favorite. Greatorex also exulted in the greater freedom of women in the West, epitomized by Colorado and Wyoming being the first states to adopt women’s suffrage.

– Thomas J. Noel



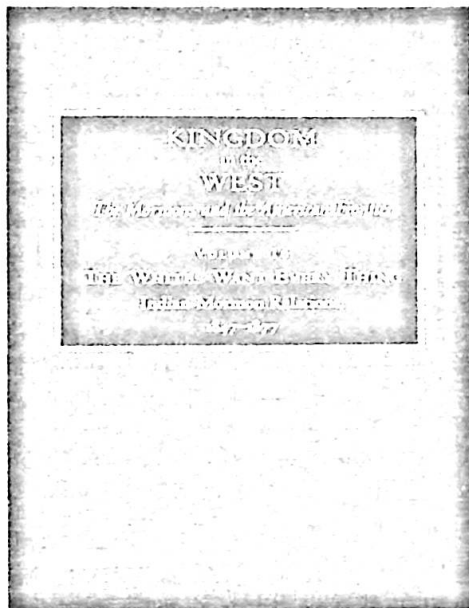
Kingdom in the West – The Whites want Everything Indian-Mormon Relations, 1847-1877. Edited by Will Bagley, Arthur H. Clark Company. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 559 pages, illustrations, plates, preface, introduction, afterword, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$45.00

This book is Volume 16 of a series titled *Kingdom in the West, The Mormons and the American Frontier*. This has been a long project, and Volume 16 is an excellent example of how editor Will Bagley approaches the subject, showing his reputation for presenting documentary history. He gives readers all relevant sources and allows them to make their own determinations regarding complicated Indian-Mormon relations under the leadership of Brigham Young. Those anticipating this volume will not be disappointed.

There are an introduction and eleven chapters giving the documentary history of a relationship that can only be described as complicated. In Mormon theology, Native Americans represent Israel's ten "lost tribes." In Mormon theology, they are named Lamanites. One might think such designation meant for positive relations between Mormon religious culture in the great Salt Lake region; alas, it was anything but that. By 1847, the relationship was tumultuous at best. By 1850, the question of extermination was seriously considered. Later, with Brigham Young's Blood Atonement doctrine, advocating some sins cannot be forgiven unless the sinner's own blood is sacrificed, it was easy to apply this doctrine to uncooperative and militant Indians in Mormon territory. Soon after the Utah War began in 1857, the nasty and embarrassing Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred on September 11, 1857, being the first mass murder committed against American citizens by religious terrorists. One-hundred-twenty-one men, women and children were killed by mostly Mormon elders dressed as Indians. Young did nothing to acknowledge the truth and deflected blame on men he knew were innocent, viz., Paiute warriors. As Bagley writes, "... what is beyond doubt is that Mormons blamed Indians for the atrocity that Young knew his followers committed."

What emerges from the documents in this volume is the same old story of the demise of Indian nations. "Increasing competition for land and resources increased violence." Following this came "displacement and expulsion, the exile and indoctrination of Native Children...." Where does Brigham Young stand among this? Was he a friend of the Indian? The answer is sometimes. Always behind his actions was a desire to turn "Lamanites into white and delightsome children of Israel." Hence the complication of trying to explain and understand fully the role Mormons had in mingling with the Indians during the time Mormonism established itself in Utah Territory. Even with this complicated relationship, and despite obvious racial doctrines within Mormonism, Bagley notes the fact that Mormonism has made meaningful connections with Native Americans.

As with any publication that is created by Will Bagley, the reader is assured to get a complete narrative story, and he indeed achieves this once again with Volume 16 of



Kingdom in the West. This volume, Bagley admits, was his hardest history “to present fairly and accurately.” While it may have been his hardest to produce, as with all his other works on Mormonism, he has produced a magnificent work.

– Jeff Broome

Making A Hand – The Art of H. D. Bugbee, by Michael R. Grauer, 2020. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press. 116 pages, 15 photos, 38 illustrations, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$35.

Frederick Remington and Charles M. Russell are the accepted masters of art depicting the Old West. Howard Dow Bugbee is not a name that comes to mind when thinking of that genre, yet he aspired to be another Russell and made a game attempt as this book makes clear. That he came up short is not to denigrate his fine work that graced magazines, books and walls from the late 1910s until his untimely death in 1963 at age sixty-two.

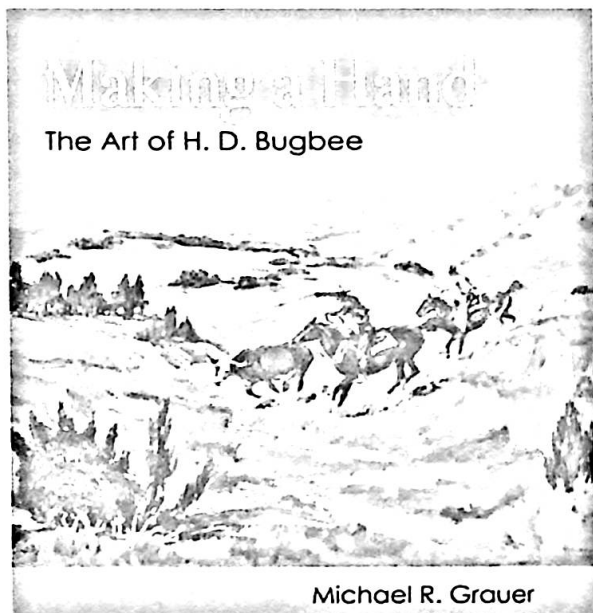
Born in Massachusetts, his commitment to the West began when his family moved to a ranch in Clarendon, Texas. Roosevelt’s New Deal gave Bugbee the impetus to create murals and other artworks (perhaps without compensation). He was the first curator of art for the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum (in Canyon, Texas on the campus of West Texas A&M University) which exhibits his works plus a recreation of his studio.

This is the first book about Bugbee and it is as much a biography as it is an art book. Grauer discusses the upper-middle-class background of both Bugbee and Russell which allowed both some freedom to create art. Bugbee studied for a time at the Cumming School of Art in Des Moines, Iowa, then honed his skills in Taos, New Mexico with likeminded fellow artists, while still mostly living in Texas.

It is interesting to read about the various ways his art was used, including illustrations for Shamrock Oil, greeting cards and letterhead. Some of these works such as *Stampede* and *The Chuck Wagon* are wonderfully evocative of a lifestyle from a different era. Bugbee did some work for Homer Britzman which led to him becoming a member of the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners International.

While this book does a nice job of detailing Bugbee’s life, it would have been even better if it had included more art (apparently the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum alone has over two thousand pieces of his artwork). The book pretty much is devoid of any pieces after the 1930s (save one 1946 drawing) plus is missing his murals. Hopefully the author will do a volume 2 with more art and less prose. This is still an excellent read about a mostly forgotten illustrator.

– George W. Krieger



Wrecked Lives and Last Souls – Joe Lynch Davis and the Last of the Oklahoma Outlaws, by Jerry Thompson. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019, 328 pages. Paperback \$24.95.

Suppose you found an old shoebox in your deceased mother's closet. And suppose in that box you find incriminating evidence that your grandfather was a cattle rustler, bank robber, train robber, murderer and felon who spent fourteen years in Leavenworth prison. That is the situation with author Jerry Thompson who writes about the particulars of his Oklahoma ranching/rustling family in this book.

The first half of the book contains background on the family whose relative prosperity and deep enmity between the Davis family gang and their Muskogee area neighbors led to the notorious Porum Oklahoma Range Wars of 1908 through 1913. One of those involved wrote, "There are nine of us widows around Porum." The Davis family is always in court with its high-priced lawyers defending loyal gang members from rustling, murder, arson charges—as many as twenty-two separate court cases in 1911. Into this Hatfield-McCoy battleground, young Joe Lynch Davis is born.

This younger Joe Davis outdoes all his relatives in using viciousness to defend the family business of rustling and neighbor intimidation. Davis is caught numerous times and eventually spends fourteen years in Leavenworth Federal Prison. Since his rustling and gunfighting activities span the 1920s, he is referred to by the author as the last of the Western outlaw cowboys. This story of the Oklahoma Davis family is one of frontier cruelty that may best be forgotten.

This is a well-researched family story that reflects stoically on the pre-Depression gangsterism that infested the southwestern plains. Such activities may have made the tommy gun urban gangsterism of the Depression era inevitable in the urban north. — Dan Shannon

Disestablishment and Religious Dissent – Church–State Relations in the New American States 1776 -1833, by Carl Esbeck and Jonathan Den Hartog. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2019. 437 pages, bibliography, endnotes, index. Hardcover \$45.00

Western migration and its culture were brought by the frontier settlers through the Cumberland Gap or southward from French Canada into the heartland of the new American West. To no surprise they brought their religion with them. This book is written by constitutional scholars for constitutional scholars. But it is not difficult to read. The focus of the book is on how the new states disentangled religion from their new governing documents. The authors are not discussing just the Eastern seaboard states. They are also writing about states that came from the Louisiana purchase. Most people forget that Louisiana was one of the first new states admitted to the union, nine years after the Louisiana purchase of 1803.

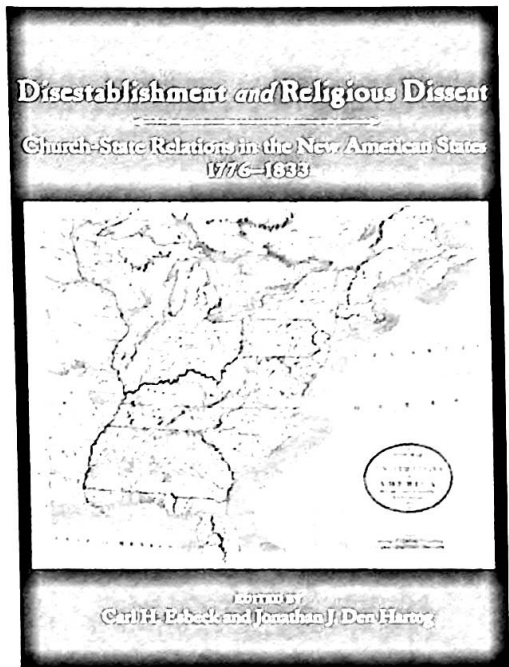
WRECKED LIVES AND LOST SOULS



JOE LYNCH DAVIS AND THE LAST
OF THE OKLAHOMA OUTLAWS

JERRY THOMPSON

To prevent Britain from claiming the interior of North America, France transferred administration of the Mississippi drainage to Spain. Spain infused Spanish law and customs on the area. As far north as future Duluth, Minnesota, numerous Spanish land grants would eventually come under U.S. constitutional review. So too would the Spanish practice of paying and giving special protection to the church and its priests. How the new territories that came from these Spanish holdings solved problems of religious ministers serving as governors, members of territorial/state legislatures, the militia or on juries is discussed. How large should church land holdings be and should those be taxed? Both the native peoples and the newly arriving settlers had their own ideas on religion. This book is about how the governing law accommodated these religious practices without imposing obligations on other believers or non-believers.



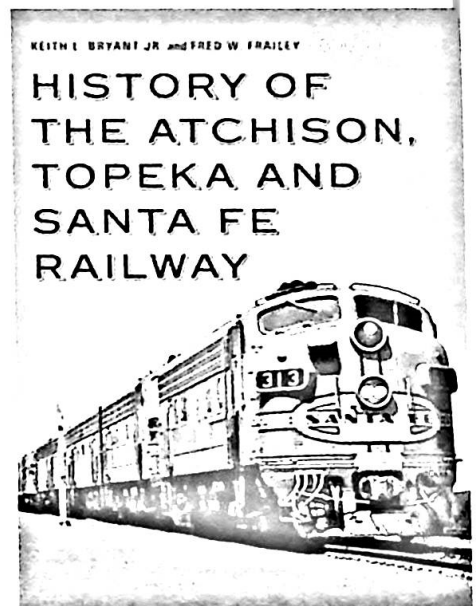
– Dan Shannon

History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway - New Edition, by Keith L. Bryant Jr. and Fred W. Frailey. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 409 pages, footnotes, maps, photographs, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$32.95

Many think that the AT&SF earned its spurs early when it outmaneuvered William Jackson Palmer's Denver and Rio Grande at Raton Pass.

In reality, this was the opening act of the Santa Fe's becoming a national railroad. The book covers this and many other skirmishes. Financial, political, and access challenges were met and conquered from the earliest days. Chartered in 1859, track was not laid until after Appomattox. From Jay Gould to the Southern Pacific, Chicago to Texas, financial and access efforts were taken on and handled.

This volume tells it all, from the story of Fred Harvey and his "girls" to discussions of rates of return, company presidents and their preferences, freight tonnage, track and rolling stock upgrades, and other operating and historical data. One shortcoming is a tiny selection of maps. More would have helped understanding the challenges, problems, and achievements. The story closes with the merger on September 22, 1995 which gave birth to the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corporation, BNSF.



If you want an interesting look at railroading plus the social, financial, and political times over 130 years of America, consider this well-researched and documented book.

– Stan Moore

Ann Bassett – Colorado’s Cattle Queen, by Linda Wommack. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2018. 247 pages, illustrated. Softcover \$17.50.

Ann Bassett “was the first white child to be born not only in Brown’s Hole, but all of northwestern Colorado.” Her parents, Elizabeth and Herb, welcomed her on May 12, 1878. Here, the vast and rugged frontier ruled, and people counted on each other to see them through. The remoteness of the area is clear, and much appreciated, in the detailed map provided in the book. Ann’s mother and father were some of the most influential people in this part of the state. Her mother, who never cared for the name Brown’s Hole, successfully lobbied to have the area officially renamed Brown’s Park in 1881. The Bassett family became known for their unceasing hospitality, accommodating all sorts of travelers, including mountain men, cowboys and, unwittingly, some outlaws too. Butch Cassidy and The Sundance Kid were among the latter.



The next conflict, one that would rage for decades, involved area ranchers fending off the large cattle companies. Ann’s mother hired all manner of ranch hands to wage her own range war, with Ann ultimately following suit after her mother’s untimely death in 1892.

In 1900, Matt Rash, Ann’s fiancé and president “of the Brown’s Park Cattle Association,” and Isom Dart, a Bassett ranch hand, were murdered. She always suspected that James Hicks, a.k.a “Tom Horn, a known killer for hire,” had been employed by the rival Snake River Stock Growers Association to eliminate both Rash and Dart. Unfortunately, the murders were never solved.

Twisted with rage and indignation, Ann “soon made the Bassett family a force to be reckoned with...against the large cattle outfits.” Four years after Rash’s murder, she married Hi Bernard, foreman at the Two Bar Ranch and Cattle Company, which was owned by Ora Haley of the Snake River Stock Growers Association. Haley was also Ann’s nemesis. Even she viewed her nuptials as a calculated move, calling it “a marriage of convenience.” Haley, of course, fired Bernard, who then bought and worked a spread next to a ranch that Ann owned, located to the southwest of the Bassett family ranch.

Ann’s sensational trial for cattle theft, brought by none other than the Two Bar Ranch in 1911, eventually found her not guilty in 1913. Along the way, she and Hi divorced.

Some twenty years later, Ann married again, this time to Frank Willis, an old acquaintance. The couple moved to California and then bounced around the western U.S., landing in Leeds, Utah, where, in 1953, she suffered a severe heart attack and died three years later at the age of 78. Frank died in 1963 and both are buried in the Bassett Family cemetery in Brown’s Park.

–Peg Ekstrand

Adolphe Gouhenant—French Revolutionary, Utopian Leader and Texas Frontier Photographer, by Paula Selzer and Emmanuel Pe'contal. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2019. 430 pages, maps, photographs, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$34.95

Unless you are a niche historian of pre-Marxist communism, tear out the first 130 pages of this book and move on to Part 2. Part 1 tells that Gouhenant was born in 1804, became a maker of pigments for painters, became an artist, built a tower in Lyon, France, became a speaker and writer, then a provocateur and maybe a collaborator. He married, fathered two children, and deserted his family. Also, Part 1 introduces you to a minor French communist and tells almost twenty variations on the spelling of Gouhenant. The Americanized spelling became Gounan.

This book appears to be a family history, but it does answer the question of why streets in Fort Worth and Dallas, Texas are named Gounan Street and thereby became a worthy subject for the Texas Local History Program.

The real story begins when Gouhenant leads sixty-nine communists to Texas to start Icaria commune in 1848. This group is designated as the first advanced guard to settle rural lands in north Texas about eighteen miles north of sites that would become both Fort Worth and Dallas. The group quickly falls apart due to dissension, lack of supplies, poor planning and especially death brought on by disease and lightning. Gouhenant slips away when the small second advanced guard comes from France to arrest him for alleged betrayal.

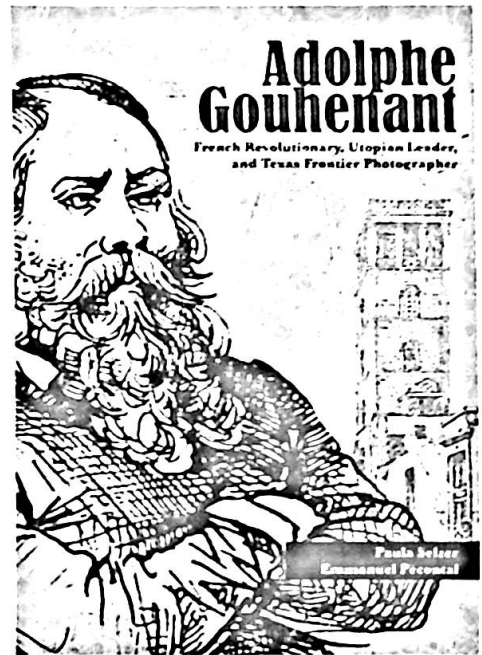
Freed of the commune, Gouhenant helps Major Ripley Arnold establish the settlement at Fort Worth. Gouhenant teaches languages, provides music lessons, teaches dance, buys land and becomes a community favorite. When a new settlement is begun thirteen miles to the east, named Dallas, he buys land there and becomes a prominent member of the community by providing a large gathering spot for arts, including the new process of Daguerreotype photography. In his role as photographer, he documents early Dallas and its prominent citizens and visitors.

Gouhenant reinvents himself several times during the years leading up to the Civil War. His son and nephew come from France to reestablish a family. He becomes a medical doctor, a member of the Masonic community and as an aide in establishing La Réunion, a utopian socialist community formed in 1855 in central Dallas County.

After the Civil War, Dr. Gouhenant treats the ankle of a lovely, injured 18-year-old girl. Forty years her senior, he marries her, has children, changes his name officially to Gounan and possibly becomes the State Geologist. He dies from injuries in a train accident in 1872.

Even though this volume is well researched and provides a compelling portrait of the settlement of North Texas, you might come away feeling that your time as a reader could have been better spent.

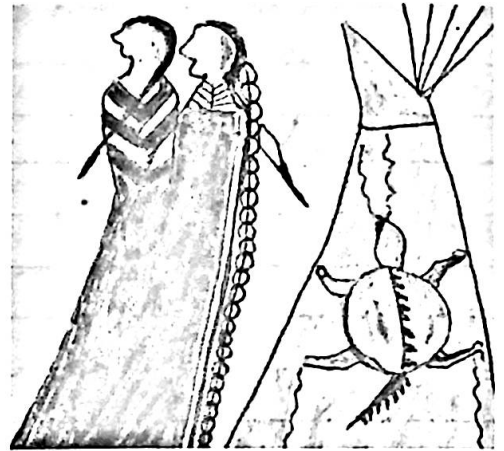
—Dan Shannon



Northern Cheyenne Ledger Art by Fort Robinson Breakout Survivors, by Denise Low and Ramon Powers. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 264 pages, illustrations, color pictographs, tables, preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$65.00

This book contains the color ledger art of several warrior survivors of the January 9, 1879 escape from Fort Robinson in Nebraska, and the subsequent two weeks of tracking and fighting of these escapees. The story of this unfortunate incident in the lives of Northern Cheyenne, earlier ordered to a Cheyenne reservation in Oklahoma housing Southern Cheyenne, is a complicated and sad era of the Cheyenne tribe in its final days of a proud cultural lifeway.

One thing that emerges from this tragedy, however, is the ledger art made by survivors Wild Hog, Porcupine, Strong Left Hand and other Northern Cheyenne. These were made while the men were confined in the jail at Dodge City. Had it not been for the kindness of Dodge City Sheriff "Bat" Masterson, himself at age twenty, one of the buffalo hunters who fought in the Adobe Walls battle of 1874, these wonderful ledger art pictographs likely would not have been drawn.



Northern Cheyenne Ledger Art by
Fort Robinson Breakout Survivors

DENISE LOW & RAMON POWERS



The authors each bring a unique professional expertise into the joint project. The book is divided into six chapters, providing a content overview, giving detail about their style and art, biographies on each artist and an epilogue. In this way, each pictograph is presented, shown in its original color, which explains the cost of the book as well as its merit. The four notebooks comprising this art reside in different places, including Norway and the Kansas State Historical Society. In doing their diligent research, the authors for the first time present the pictographs together as one set.

The authors do a good job of explaining Cheyenne history, the division between Northern and Southern Cheyenne, and the engagements with the U.S. military that the two tribes had, beginning with Sand Creek in 1864 and ending in aftermath fights following George Armstrong Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn in 1876. The result was the 1877 government order of Northern Cheyenne down to the designated reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Thirteen months later 353 Northern Cheyenne men, women and children fled their Southern reservation after failing to get permission to return to their northern roots. The Northern tribe never acclimated to the Southern agency. Eventually the fleeing group split up, with 149 Cheyenne arriving at the Lakota Red Cloud Agency near Fort Robinson, Nebraska, six weeks after leaving Oklahoma. Upon learning they were to be returned to Oklahoma, the incarcerated Cheyenne broke out of their building at Fort Robinson late in the night of January 9, 1879. Almost half of the Indians were dead within two weeks.

The pictograph artists were soon charged with forty settler murders in Kansas, victims of the Cheyenne trek north. They were housed in the jail at Dodge City to await trial. It was during this time that Bat Masterson gave them four notebooks in which to do their Pictograph Ledger art. The four notebooks were left with Dodge City citizens when the Indians were transferred to Lawrence.

This book is highly recommended for persons interested in Indian pictographs, as well as anyone interested in the final days of this era of the Cheyenne Nation.

– Jeff Broome

We Do Not Want the Gates Closed Between Us – Native Networks and the Spread of the Ghost Dance, by Justin Gate. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2021. 376 pages, illustrations, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$45.00

For anyone interested in the complexity of reservation life under colonization by the U.S. government, in the interruption of social life of the various tribes, of new interaction between tribes which had been adversaries for centuries before the arrival of white people, this study is enlightening. The author assumes considerable knowledge of tribes and their displacement to reservations and the many agreements, major and minor, between the tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Yet he discusses issues with enough information to enable a clear following of his study. Although primarily looking at tribes in the U.S. territory, he does tie in tribes extending into Canada. He notes that the Canadian tribes are on reservations by the 1880s and 1890s, the main time frame of his discussion. The book includes extensive notes relating a tremendous amount of study which would provide the serious researcher with access to the author's primary sources.



The primary point is the spread of the Ghost Dance at the end of the 19th century, but to describe how this occurred requires an extensive discussion of tribal connection, peace between former antagonists and ties between tribes separated by hundreds of miles. He describes how the Indians made use of the U.S. mail, made accessible by the establishment of post offices at all of the various agencies. Using the mail required being able to put communications on paper, which oftentimes were pictograph letters, letters in native written language, and especially the use of English. The learning of English mostly occurred at Agency schools, with children being separated from their families all the way from the western plains to Carlisle, Pennsylvania and Hampton, Virginia.

The appearance of the Ghost Dance late in the century is tied to one man who is seen as a prophet, Wovoka, from Walker River Reservation in western Nevada. The interesting point is how quickly the new religion spreads through the tribes. All coming back to the

author's point that communication was common, crossed tribal boundaries, enabled by the Post Office and travel by train. The author speaks to the fears of the whites, the control of Indian economies by the agents and calls for military intervention, of which Wounded Knee is the horrific result of fear and lack of concern for Indian activity.

By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the Ghost Dance movement does not sustain. To assign one reason is not possible, but certainly a skepticism about the origin from its primary prophet Wovoka seems reasonable. — David Hartman

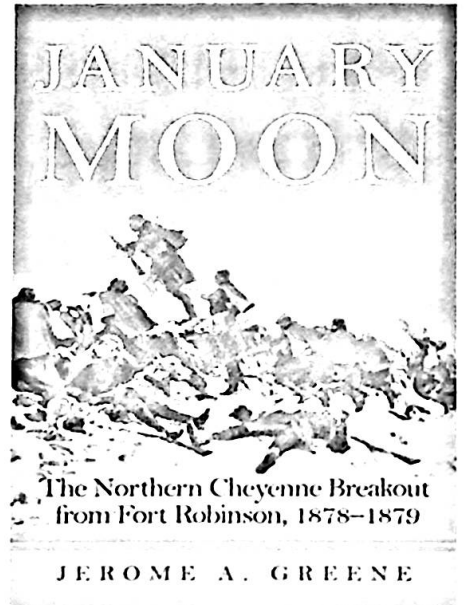
January Moon – The Northern Cheyenne Breakout from Fort Robinson, 1878-1879, by Jerome A. Greene. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 352 pages. Hardcover \$32.95.

On my first visit to Fort Robinson, seeing the newly built reproduced barracks where the Cheyenne were housed before the breakout, I thought of the stories I read concerning the incident. I flashed back to John Ford's movie, *Cheyenne Autumn*, the theatrical version of this story. Thankfully, author Jerome Greene gives a true look at this tragedy—the plight of the American Indian, their struggle to keep their land and their fight to keep their culture.

"On the night of Sunday, September 9, 1878, Dull Knife and Little Wolf led a procession of aged men, women, and children, with their ponies and dogs, setting out for their home in the north." Greene's description of Fort Robinson and the country around it give clarity to what the 1878 area looked like. This made my visit to Fort Robinson more vivid. The Cheyenne reached Fort Robinson in October 1878 with winter upon them. The vacant cavalry barracks there gave them shelter from the arctic cold. Those barracks soon became their prison. In the early weeks of their captivity, they were treated with tolerance and care but were guarded with rigid oversight. They asked to go to the Red Cloud Agency and there they would be able to rejoin family members that intermarried with the Sioux and then live in peace. This of course was not even considered by the powers to be. The Cheyenne were then locked in the barracks both night and day. After a son of Dull Knife, Bull Hump, fled the barracks to find his wife at the Red Cloud Agency, the tolerance of the soldiers disappears and stricter vigilance was put in place.

The night of their escape: The breakout is described well, filled with all of the remarkable will and desperation on the part of the Cheyenne to escape. In rags and tatters, with temperatures below zero, they began their escape with hope and trepidation. They knew that if they could make the ridge, they would have a chance to be free. The bloody ensuing battle is the fight that desperate people will undertake when their situation is hopeless, with death being the only answer.

They were only thought of as savages that scalped and mutilated their enemies. They were stopping the great American expansion and were in the way. The way to deal with them and to steal their prized land was to put them on reservations where they could be watched and guarded.



The final insult came from the Army inquiries that totally whitewashed what occurred. Because they were Indian and considered prisoners, no real punishment came to those involved. Yes, the Cheyenne were fighting not only for their lives but for the future of their children. Jerome Greene does a masterful job of giving a comprehensive well-written account of yet another tragic treatment of the American Indian.

—Ralph Melfi

The Great Heart of the Republic – St Louis and the Cultural Civil War, by Adam Arenson. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2015. 340 pages, maps, pictures, index, extensive end notes. Paperback \$25.00

This book, originally published by Harvard Press, is republished by University of Missouri Press for its insights in understanding why St. Louis repeatedly underachieved its potential as a great American city. Author Professor Arenson writes that political riffs that he calls “cultural civil wars” undermined St. Louis’ chance to be the economically dominant city that bridged the cultural and political divides among the Northern States, Southern States, and the emerging American West.

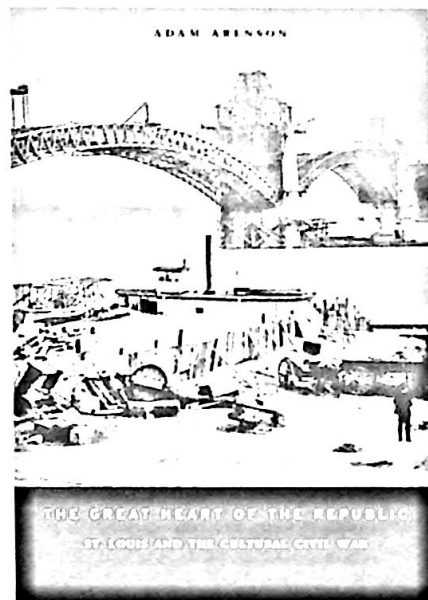
A brief examination of the city’s founding and its Great Fire of 1849 shows that a city could be happily situated on the crossroads of national growth. Fur traders brought the richness of the West to the city that exchanged those goods for supplies from the industrializing North and the agricultural South. The early recognition that railroads could sustain this nexus of growth provided enough encouragement for investors to survey a route to Santa Fe and the Pacific by way of Cochetopa Pass in the San Juan Mountains near Gunnison. But alas, a tragedy stunted rail growth and diverted prosperity to Chicago and Omaha.

Slavery advocates sparred with Free Soilers over how the bounty of recently seized Mexican lands could be developed: large slave-worked farms vs. free homesteads. Politically, each side held the other in checkmate. The lives of Missourians on both sides of the slave debate were wantonly shed in Bloody Kansas. Missouri splits, with rural areas supporting the Confederacy and urban St. Louis holding steady in the Union. Within the city, the Irish supported the Confederacy while the Germans supported the Union. These cultural divisions carried over into self-destructive nonresolution of the place for the emancipated in post-Civil War St. Louis society—an opportunity became a liability.

St. Louis had a chance, a slim one, to become the new national capital after the war. But the proposition that St. Louis represented the best of the South, the North and the new West failed under close examination. Old Washington D.C. was as good a place as any to hammer out punitive Southern Reconstruction and massive national support for Northern and Western growth.

As the author shifts attention to the modern era, the reader rejoices that the Busch family brings Budweiser to the suffering city. The author presents a good microcosm of life and race relations during and immediately after the Civil War and the book is worth the read just for that.

— Dan



Shannon Women of the New Mexico Frontier 1846–1912, by Cheryl J. Foote, Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. (Reprint with only the introduction changed.) 198 pages, notes, reference list, index. Paperback \$19.95.

Foote used the memoirs and letters of several Anglo women who lived in New Mexico during the second half of the nineteenth century to tell their stories. The various women are wives of missionaries, soldiers, and a scientist.

The chapters on soldiers include both enlisted men and officers' wives. One unusual inclusion was the story of an officer's wife who was abused by her husband especially when he was drinking. The Army supported her by helping her escape the situation. I found this chapter very enlightening and unusual as domestic violence is not often covered in pioneer women's memoirs as the topic was considered taboo.

The difference in living conditions between officer and enlisted men's wives is very stark and representative of a caste system. Enlisted men's wives worked very hard as laundresses, servants and nurses. Many were not literate so there is less known about them. Officer's wives were pampered in comparison, with better living quarters and servants.

Missionary wives also had a difficult life. They came to New Mexico as partners in their husbands' ventures. Many missionaries developed schools with the wife as the teacher. Because missionaries were poorly paid, these women could not hire anyone to tend to their families while they were teaching so it was necessary for them to fulfill two demanding roles—housewife and teacher. Feelings of isolation and fear of dying in this strange New Mexico country permeate the stories of these missionary wives. Army posts on the other hand offered soldiers' wives more opportunities for social interaction.

The scientist was an ethnologist and his wife was educated in anthropology. Following his death, she took over his work and became successful in her own right. Matilda Stevenson went on to found the Women's Anthropological Society of America. She was driven to record what she determined to be the disappearing aspects of the Native American way of life. Although her work is considered to be valuable, many question her methods.

I found this book very interesting and engaging, however, I agree with comments made by the author in her new introduction regarding two significant areas she would improve if she were writing the book today. First, Foote says she would more clearly emphasize the contributions that these women made to the Americanization of the territory; secondly, she would have included more about the impact on the culture of Native Americans and Hispanas in the region to give them their own voice rather than just showing these people through the eyes of the Anglo women. I believe the reprint would have benefited from some re-write touches in these areas and wonder why they bothered with a reprint without doing this.

– Leslie Karnauskas

