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FROM COWGIRLS
TO SILICON VALLEY

ICONS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

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ICONS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

**From Cowgirls to
Silicon Valley**

Edited by Gordon Morris Bakken

Greenwood Icons



GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Icons of the American West : from cowgirls to Silicon Valley / edited by Gordon Morris Bakken.

p. cm. — (Greenwood icons)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-313-34148-9 (set : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34149-6 (v. 1 : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34150-2 (v. 2 : alk. paper)

1. West (U.S.)—History 2. West (U.S.)—Biography. 3. West (U.S.)—In popular culture. 4. Frontier and pioneer life—West (U.S.) 5. Popular culture—West (U.S.) I. Bakken, Gordon Morris.

F591.I36 2008

978—dc22 2008006650

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2008006650

ISBN-13: 978-0-313-34148-9 (set)

978-0-313-34149-6 (vol. 1)

978-0-313-34150-2 (vol. 2)

First published in 2008

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881

An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To
Allan G. Bogue
of
Madison, Wisconsin

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Series Foreword

Worshipped and cursed. Loved and loathed. Obsessed about the world over. What does it take to become an icon? Regardless of subject, culture, or era, the requisite qualifications are the same: (1) challenge the status quo, (2) influence millions, and (3) impact history.

Using these criteria, Greenwood Press introduces a new reference format and approach to popular culture. Spanning a wide range of subjects, volumes in the Greenwood Icons series provide students and general readers a port of entry into the most fascinating and influential topics of the day. Every title offers an in-depth look at 27 iconic figures, each of which captures the essence of a broad subject. These icons typically embody a group of values, elicit strong reactions, reflect the essence of a particular time and place, and link different traditions and periods. Among those featured are artists and activists, superheroes and spies, inventors and athletes, the legends and mythmakers of entire generations. Yet icons can also come from unexpected places: the heroine who transcends the pages of a novel or the revolutionary idea that shatters our previously held beliefs. Whether people, places, or things, such icons serve as a bridge between the past and the present, the canonical and the contemporary. By focusing on icons central to popular culture, this series encourages students to appreciate cultural diversity and critically analyze issues of enduring significance.

Most important, these books are as entertaining as they are provocative. Is Disneyland a more influential icon of the American West than Las Vegas? How do ghosts and ghouls reflect our collective psyche? Is Barry Bonds an inspiring or deplorable icon of baseball?

Designed to foster debate, the series serves as a unique resource that is ideal for paper writing or report purposes. Insightful, in-depth entries provide far more information than conventional reference articles but are less intimidating and more accessible than a book-length biography. The most revered and reviled icons of American and world history are brought to life with related

sidebars, timelines, fact boxes, and quotations. Authoritative entries are accompanied by bibliographies, making these titles an ideal starting point for further research. Spanning a wide range of popular topics including business, literature, civil rights, politics, music, and more, books in the series provide fresh insights for the student and popular reader into the power and influence of icons, a topic of as vital interest today as in any previous era.

Preface

Icons of the American West exist in the American mind focused on the Old West and a New West. The Old West, sometimes called the Wild West, was a place where white Americans clashed with American Indians in the great battles of the Indians Wars; men and women made fortunes and as often failed in enterprise, men fought gun battles in mining towns and cattle towns, and the gun was the law of the land. The Old West was the stomping ground of mountain men, great Indian chiefs, crack shots, and pioneers rushing to California for gold. The Old West also was the place where the environment was pure and where the conservation and preservationist movements started. It was an eden to be exploited for enterprise, but it contained holy places in nature that had to be preserved for all generations.

The New West is a place of incredible imagination. It is the built environment of Disneyland and Las Vegas. It is a place where all of the world could exist in a valley. It gives the nation dynamic women who become iconic politicians and peace advocates. Presidents with clearly Western packaging forged in Hollywood dominate the American political imagination. Computers and software spring from the minds of Westerners who build empires. Environment still tops the list of priorities for Westerners and its national parks are symbols for the nation. New environmentalists emerge and women take their place at the head of the movement. Indian chiefs now wield economic clout backed by Indian casinos. Western women now sit in the state house and in the Congress. The New West is an exciting place because it is home to people of vision, whose imaginations have changed the image of the West.

The First Peoples of the West were American Indians. War chiefs, particularly of the late nineteenth century, were iconic because of their deeds and Hollywood's images—Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse are practically household names. They defeated George Armstrong Custer at the Little Bighorn in 1876, and popular literature and art depicted Custer's Last Stand as heroic for over a century. On closer inspection, Custer lost because of a failure of reconnaissance,

communications, and command. Geronimo and Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce waged strategic retreats and tactical surprises in their wars with American forces. Sacagawea was an exceptional woman who enabled Lewis and Clark to conduct a successful expedition over the Louisiana Purchase. These American Indians earned a place in American memory for their exploits in the nineteenth century in the Old West.

In the New West of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, American Indians are part of the gaming industry. They participate in state and national politics. They manage businesses and tribal enterprises. Their casinos are the icons of the present. Their management of revenues enhances state budgets, builds tribal infrastructure, and advances tribal culture.

In the Old West, American Indians had extensive tribal trade networks that became the paths others would mark. Explorers like Lewis and Clark found tribal traders to be shrewd bargainers. Later intruders in the West sought fur-bearing animals. The mountain men traded with the First Peoples, fought them, and marked their lands on maps and in memory. The paths they marked out became the highways for the Mormon pioneers. Brigham Young led the Latter-Day Saints to Utah and established a kingdom initially free from the religious bigotry and violence they had experienced in the Midwest. The discovery of gold in California resulted in a mass migration of Americans to California. The migration was so dramatic that “seeing the elephant” became an iconic phrase forever linked to the Gold Rush to California.

The West was a place of extreme violence or as Ned Blackhawk put it, “violence over the land.” Intertribal violence characterized Western life for many tribes. The efforts of the American government to press tribes into confined spaces furthered violence. George Armstrong Custer’s military defeat at the Little Bighorn in 1876 left a cultural marker for the American mind. There, iconic personalities Custer and Crazy Horse met in deadly battle using the iconic weapons of the West, the Winchester rifle and the Colt Single Action revolver. Western violence was more than deadly combat. Gunfighters, gun violence, and crime marked many a Western town. Outlaws and lawmen became popular figures of pulp fact and fiction.

Helping the American people to imagine this West, Buffalo Bill Cody brought the “Wild West Show” to the nation and the world. Cody featured cowboys and cowgirls, American Indians, and displays of marksmanship. Annie Oakley was the markswoman most remembered from these shows. She demonstrated that a woman could outshoot most men. In broader terms, Annie Oakley reminded Americans that women were very much a part of the West albeit little noticed in pulp fiction. Annie Oakley also believed that every woman should know how to shoot. She personally taught 15,000 women the skills necessary to use firearms. Yet she was committed to ladylike behavior in public. She embraced a version of pioneer life that was genteel, making her public appearances model a female pioneer experience that was as simple as her shooting seemed to the audience. It was not the reality of pioneer life facing the elements and the soil.

In reality, women were pioneers in the American West contributing to every facet of life. Many women were authors of local and national fame. Fannie Baker Darden became known as the “Poet Laureate” of Columbus, Texas. Eliza Wood Burhans Farnham published her *Woman and Her Era* in 1864, Mollie Evelyn Moore Davis’s came out in 1867. Sara Winnemucca’s *Life Among the Paiutes* and Mary Hallock Foote’s *The Led-Horse Claim* found print in 1883. Sophie Alice Callahan’s *Wynema* came out eight years later. Mary Hunter Austin’s *Land of Little Rain* started to fascinate readers in 1903. Alice Eastwood’s *A Handbook of the Trees of California* came out two years later. In 1906 Elsie Clews Parsons’s *The Family* and Bertha Muzzy Sinclair’s *Chip of the Flying U* were published. Willa Cather’s *O Pioneers!* won critical acclaim in 1913. Hildegarde Flanner’s *Younger Girl and Other Poems* and Ruth Murray Underhill’s *White Moth* hit the bookstores in 1920. Nine years later Ruth Leah Bunzel’s *The Pueblo Potter* was published joined three years afterward by Ella Cara Deloria’s *Dakota Texts*. In 1934 Gladys Amanda Reichard’s *Spider Woman* was released to the public followed in 1935 by Mari Sandoz’s *Old Jules*, a tale of life on the Nebraska frontier. Nina Otero Warren’s *Old Spain in our Southwest* (1936) told of Hispanic roots in Western soils. Similarly, Cleofas Martinez Jamamillo told cultural tales in *Cuentos del hogar/ Spanish Fairy Tales* (1939) and Elsie Clews Parsons analyzed American Indian religious practices in *Pueblo Indian Religion* (1939). Two years later Agnes Morley Cleaveland’s *No Life for a Lady* arrived at bookstore shelves. Betty Freidan shook up gender relations with *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) identifying the problem with no name. Numerous other women were successful authors such as Octavia Butler, *Crossover* (1971), Leslie Marmon Silko, *Laguna Woman Poems* (1974), Maxine Hong Kingston, *The Warrior Woman* (1974), Phyllis Schlafly, *The Power of the Positive Woman* (1977), Margaret Coel, *Chief Left Hand: Southern Arapaho* (1981), Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/ La frontera: The New Mestiza* (1984), Linda M. Hasselstrom, *Going Over East* (1987), Amy Tan, *The Joy Luck Club* (1988), Janet Campbell Hale, *Bloodline* (1993), Wilma Mankiller, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (1993), and Delphine Red Shirt, *Turtle Lung Woman’s Granddaughter* (2002).

Women joined the professions and made substantial contributions in the West. Harriet Bunce Wright was a teacher and co-founder of the Wheelock Academy, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. Mary Avery Loughridge was a teacher at the Koweta Manual Labor Boarding School, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory. Mother Magdalen Hayden was the first superior of the Sisters of Loretto in New Mexico Territory. Elizabeth Fulton Hester was a founder-teacher at the Muskogee Day Nursery in Indian Territory in 1856 commencing seventy years of service to American Indians in Oklahoma. Mary Bridget Hayden was named Mother Superior at the Osage Mission School, Indian Territory in 1859. Abigail Scott Duniway won election to President of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association in 1873. In 1877 Elizabeth Culver became the first female school superintendent in Hamilton County, Kansas. Mary E. Foy won appointment as the first Los Angeles City Librarian in 1880. In 1878 Clara

Shortridge Foltz was the first woman admitted to the California Bar. Mary Elizabeth Lease was admitted to the Kansas Bar in 1885 and Ella L. Knowles passed the Montana Bar examination with distinction in 1889. In 1914 Gloria Bullock graduated from the University of Southern California Law School starting a distinguished career in the bar and on the bench. These professional pioneers showed America that women could achieve at high levels in the professions.

Women also distinguished themselves in politics. Jeannette Rankin of Montana was the first woman elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1916. The people of Montana returned her to the House in 1940 and she became the only person to vote against declarations of war in World War I and World War II. Rankin devoted her life to the cause of world peace. Minnie Grinstead became the first woman elected to the Kansas legislature in 1918. Oklahoma voters sent Alice Mary Robertson to the House in 1921 and Texas voters put Miriam Amanda Wallace “Ma” Ferguson in the governor’s seat in 1924. The next year Emma Grigsby Meharg was appointed the first female Secretary of State in Texas and Edith Eunice Therrel Wilmans was appointed to the Texas Supreme Court. In 1926 Texas voters sent Margie Elizabeth Neal to the state senate, the same year that Laura Scudder introduced “Mayflower Chips” to California inaugurating a dynamic food business. Arizona voters sent Isabella Selmes Greenway to the House of Representatives in 1929 and four years later Kathryn O’Loughlin of Kansas joined her. California voters sent Helen Gahagan Douglas to the House in 1945. She later became Richard Nixon’s U.S. Senate opponent and “the pink lady.” Many other women won election to Congress, and in 2007 Nancy Pelosi achieved the distinction of being the first woman elected Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The West inspired artists who represented both its scenic beauty and its colorful people. Frederick Remington and scores of other artists gave America their impression in images that remain iconic. The scenic beauty also inspired people like John Muir and Harriet Monroe to campaign to preserve natural monuments to nature’s designs. Yosemite Valley and the Hetch Hetchy were two ends of their campaign. In the New West Yellowstone National Park and Grand Canyon National Park continue to draw thousands of tourists to view these natural wonders. Environmentalists like Jeanne Marie Souvigney and environmental advocacy groups like the Sierra Club and the Greater Yellowstone Coalition continue to fight to maintain a nature for future generations of Americans. Suzanne Lewis became the first female superintendent of Yellowstone in winter 2002. Lewis is now one of many women serving in the Park Service providing visitors with a view of the wonders of nature and protecting our cherished national parks.

The New West is the site of built scenic wonders that draw millions to them. Las Vegas, Nevada, emerged in the mid-twentieth century as a neon metropolis of entertainment. Its nightlife centered in the casino continues to lure millions to this desert icon. Strong Western competition for these entertainment

dollars centers in the growing number of Indian casinos. Disneyland in Anaheim, California, was another part of the built environment that lured tourists to the West.

The New West also produced innovators of national repute. Politicians like Ronald Reagan, Ann Richards, Diane Feinstein, Barbara Boxer, and Barbara Jordan captured the American imagination. Aviation pioneers like Glenn Martin made the West famous for aircraft. Bill Gates, Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, and Sandra Kurtzig brought computers and electronic innovation to national prominence.

The outlaws and iconic lawmen of the Old West retained their national reputations preserved in film, fiction, and history. In the New West, modern policing was the territory of innovators such as Eugene Biscailuz, the Los Angeles County sheriff to the stars. Biscailuz put deputies into the air and modern policing techniques on the national stage. Biscailuz was sheriff from 1932 until 1958, and “he transformed the department into a professional law enforcement agency.” He pioneered the practice of putting good prisoners to work on honor farms and ranches in an effort to rehabilitate them. Cecilia Rasmussen penned this October 21, 2007, description in the *Los Angeles Times*, “Long arm of this lawman bridged a city’s history: Eugene Biscailuz was descended from settlers; his long, colorful career as sheriff was marked by modernization.” He did more than create “the volunteer Aero Squadron, now an official county search and rescue team.” Biscailuz recruited Hoot Gibson and Howard Hughes as pilots for the Aero Squadron. He was a “descendant of Jose Maria Claudio Lopez, a Spanish soldier at the San Gabriel Mission,” and French Basque sheepherders. “During Prohibition, Biscailuz was one of an influential band of revelers who called themselves the Uplifters Club.” Members included Will Rogers, Walt Disney, Spencer Tracy, Clark Gable, Harold Lloyd, and Daryl F. Zanuck. Biscailuz was, as Cecilia Rasmussen so ably described, an icon of the American West. He “was virtually a ‘human bridge’ between the old Pueblo de Los Angeles and the huge metropolis of today, and his identification with the city ranked with its orange groves, motion pictures and passion for progress.” His Western-style hat and boots placed him in the West he left so important a mark on in Los Angeles.

The New West is also the place where recreation and environment combine to create ideal places to live. Bozeman, Montana, is one such place where people can find the world in the Gallatin Valley. Despite the Montana winter people find all that is desirable for quality life in a cultural setting with recreational opportunities within easy reach.

The Old West set the stage for the New West we find in fact and fiction. This work is divided into two volumes with the first dedicated to exploring the icons of the Old West and the second identifying the icons of the New West of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Read volume 1 with care as you will find it prelude to volume 2’s New West. It is the last best place for many Americans.

Timeline

- 1784 John Jacob Astor arrives in New York. He would make a fortune in the fur trade.
- 1785 William Ashley born.
- 1787 Sacagawea born.
- 1801 Brigham Young born.
- 1804 Jim Bridger born.
- 1805– Lewis and Clark explore the West with the help of Sacagawea.
- 1806
- 1806 John Colter, Joseph Dickson, and Forest Hancock travel up the Missouri River to the Yellowstone River on the first fur-trapping expedition.
- 1807 Manuel Lisa commands a fur-trapping expedition up the Missouri to the mouth of the Bighorn River.
- 1808 John Jacob Astor founds the American Fur Company.
- 1809 St. Louis Missouri Fur Company formed.
- 1823 Mexico grants Stephen Austin the right to settle in Texas with three hundred families.
- 1824 Jedediah Strong Smith discovers South Pass.
- 1826 William Ashley sells the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.
- 1829 Fannie Baker Darden, “The Poet Laureate of Columbus, Texas” born; Geronimo born.
- 1832 Harriet Bunce Wright is teacher/co-founder of Wheelock Academy, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory.
- 1833 Lydia Maria Child publishes *An Appeal for that Class of Americans Called Africans*.
- 1836 Sarah Josepha Hale becomes editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*; Eliza Hart Spalding and Narcissa Whitman become the first two white women to cross the Rocky Mountains on their way to Oregon; Emily Morgan [Emily D. West] becomes “The

- Yellow Rose of Texas” for her exploits in the Texas war with Mexico.
- 1838 John Muir born.
- 1839 Mary Avery Loughridge becomes a teacher at the Koweta Manual Labor Boarding School, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.
- 1840 Crazy Horse born in the season of Stole-One-Hundred Horses; Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce born.
- 1841 Nancy Kelsey departs Missouri for California with the Bartleson/Bidwell Company.
- 1844 John C. Fremont’s expedition visits Las Vegas.
- 1846 Susan Shelby Magoffin sets off down the Santa Fe Trail.
- 1847 Tamsen Donner dies in Donner Pass, the victim of a man who would not ask for directions; Mary Bridget Hayden arrives at Osage Mission Government School; William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody born; Brigham Young leads the first group of pioneers from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley.
- 1848 Women’s Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, New York; James Marshall discovers gold at Sutter’s Mill in California; Gold Rush to California begins.
- 1849 Elizabeth Blackwell receives a medical degree from Geneva College; Gold Rush to California begins.
- 1850 The Deseret Dramatic Association founded in Salt Lake City.
- 1852 Vicar Apostolic Jean-Baptiste Lamy accompanies the first Sisters of Loretto to New Mexico with Mother Magdalen Hayden as their first superior.
- 1853 Sisters of Loretto open the Academy of Our Lady of Light in Santa Fe.
- 1855 Sara Robinson arrives in Lawrence, Kansas. Brigham Young dispatches thirty Mormons to Las Vegas to build a fort.
- 1856 Elizabeth Fulton Hester, teacher/founder of Muskogee Day Nursery, begins seventy years of service to American Indian people in Oklahoma.
- 1859 Mary Bridget Hayden named Mother Superior at Osage Mission School; Clear Creek, Colorado, and “Comstock Lode” in Nevada strikes continue migration to mining regions.
- 1864 Eliza Wood Burbans Farnham’s *Woman and Her Era* published; John Muir left the University of Wisconsin; On June 30, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill granting Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias to the state of California as an inalienable public trust. This was the first time in history that a federal government had set aside scenic lands simply to protect them and to allow for their enjoyment by all people; town of Bozeman, Montana, founded.

- 1865 The first all-women's college founded at Vassar.
- 1867 Kansas legislature refuses to extend voting rights to women; Mollie Evelyn Moore Davis's *Minding the Gap* published; Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) founded.
- 1868 Laura de Force Gordon delivers her first speech for women's suffrage in California.
- 1869 Wyoming Territory passes a female suffrage statute; Eagle Woman takes over the Grand River Agency trading post; National Woman Suffrage Association founded; American Woman Suffrage Association founded; Transcontinental Railroad completed; Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution opens in Salt Lake City.
- 1870 Utah Territory passes a female suffrage law.
- 1871 Lawrence, Kansas, Friends in Council founded; Lizzy Johnson buys land and cattle and registers her CY brand.
- 1872 Yellowstone designated the first national park in the United States; Victoria Woodhull runs for President of the United States; William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.
- 1873 Abigail Scott Duniway named president of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association; [Women's] *Home Companion* founded; Winchester introduces Model 1873 to the American public.
- 1874 Women's Christian Temperance Union established; Occidental Mission Home for Girls opened by the Presbyterian Church to Minister to Asian females in San Francisco; Women's Christian Temperance Union (WYCU) emerges as a national organization from its Midwestern roots; Sharps Buffalo Rifle becomes a favorite of Western hunters; Joseph F. Glidden patents barbed wire.
- 1876 Oakland Ebell Society founded; Annie Oakley outshoots Frank Butler in a demonstration of world-class marksmanship; George Armstrong Custer loses the Battle of the Little Bighorn; Chiricahua Reservation closes and Geronimo's raids from the Warm Springs Agency, New Mexico, begin; William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody kills a Cheyenne warrior, perhaps Yellow Hair, at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska.
- 1877 Salt Lake City Lady's Literary Society founded; Elizabeth Culver elected first female school superintendent in Hamilton County, Kansas; Chief Joseph and 800 non-treaty Nez Perce trek 1500 miles through Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming Territories; Brigham Young dies.
- 1878 Clara Shortridge Foltz is the first woman admitted to the California bar; Buffalo Calf Road led Cheyenne in battle against the United States Army.

- 1879 Frances Willard named president of the WYCU; Teddy Blue Abbott sets out on his “mixed outfit” trail ride.
- 1880 Mary E. Foy appointed the first Los Angeles City Librarian.
- 1881 First suffrage bill introduced in Arizona Territorial Legislature.
- 1882 Association of Collegiate Alumnae founded; Buffalo Bill Cody introduces the “Old Glory Blowout” in North Platte, Nebraska.
- 1883 Washington Territory extends voting rights and jury service to women, but the statutes are declared unconstitutional by the Territorial Supreme Court; Caroline M. Severance founds the Los Angeles Women’s Club; Sarah Winnemucca’s *Life Among the Paiutes* published; Mary Hallock Foote’s *The Led-Horse Claim* published; *Ladies Home Journal* founded; Eugene Warren Biscailuz born; William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s Wild West Show opens in Omaha, Nebraska.
- 1885 Mary Elizabeth “Hell Raising” Lease admitted to the Kansas bar; *Good Housekeeping* founded; severe winter destroys range cattle industry.
- 1886 Rebecca Lee Dorsey opens a medical practice in Los Angeles; Geronimo surrenders to General Nelson A. Miles.
- 1887 Congress disfranchises women in Utah Territory with the Edmunds-Tucker Act; Congress passes the Dawes Act or General Allotment Act further depriving American Indians of land.
- 1889 Ella L. Knowles passes the Montana bar examination with distinction; Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr establish Hull House in Chicago.
- 1890 Wyoming is admitted as a state with women suffrage, the first in the nation; General Federation of Women’s Clubs founded.
- 1891 Sophie Alice Callahan’s *Wynema* published; Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles founded; Katherine Drexel founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Colored and Indian People.
- 1892 Sierra Club founded in San Francisco.
- 1893 Colorado amends its constitution to grant women the vote.
- 1896 Utah enters the union with woman suffrage; Idaho adopts a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution; woman suffrage lost at the polls in California.
- 1898 Freda Ehmann starts the Ehmann Olive Company in Oroville, California; W.S. James’s *A Cowboy’s Life in Texas* published.
- 1900 Carrie Nation starts her prohibition campaign at the Cary Hotel in Wichita, Kansas; Donaldina MacKenzie Cameron becomes superintendent of the Mission Home of the Women’s Occidental Board of Foreign Missions in San Francisco; William E. Colby named secretary of the Sierra Club.

- 1901 William E. Colby leads the first Sierra Club High Trip into Yosemite.
- 1902 St. Frances Xavier Cabrini visits Denver.
- 1903 Women first compete at rodeo at Cheyenne Frontier Days; Mary Hunter Austin's *The Land of Little Rain* published; Women's Trade Union League founded.
- 1904 Annette Abbott Adams is the first woman to graduate from the University of California Law School (Boalt Hall).
- 1905 Alice Eastwood's *A Handbook of the Trees of California* published.
- 1906 Elsie Clews Parsons's *The Family* published; Bertha Muzzy Sinclair's *Chip of the Flying U* published.
- 1908 Woman's Club of Huntington Beach, California, founded.
- 1910 Frances Marion signs a contract with Bosworth Studios; Alice Stebbins Wells becomes the first policewoman of the Los Angeles Police Department; Thomas Byron Story builds the Story Mansion in Bozeman, Montana.
- 1911 California extends the franchise to women; Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York kills 146 workers, mostly women.
- 1912 Kansas and Arizona extend the franchise to women; Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* published.
- 1913 Montana and Nevada extend the franchise to women; Willa Cather's *O Pioneers!* published; Raker Act authorizes the flooding of the Hetch Hetchy Valley.
- 1914 Gloria Bullock graduates from the University of Southern California Law School.
- 1915 Alice Stebbins Wells organizes the International Association of Policewomen; Woman's Peace Party founded; Joseph Nisbet LeConte elected president of the Sierra Club.
- 1916 Annie Webb Blanton becomes the first female president of the Texas State Teachers Association; Jeannette Rankin of Montana elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1917 North Dakota and Nebraska extend presidential suffrage to women.
- 1918 Minnie Grinstead becomes the first woman elected to the Kansas legislature.
- 1919 Grand Canyon becomes a national park.
- 1920 Nineteenth Amendment ratified giving women the right to vote; Nellie Trent Bush elected to the Arizona legislature; Hildegarde Flanner's *Younger Girl and Other Poems* published; Ruth Murray Underhill's *White Moth* published.
- 1921 National Woman's Party starts a state-by-state campaign for an Equal Rights Bill; Sheppard-Towner Act passes in Congress to provide maternal and infant health education; Alice Mary

- Robertson (R, OK) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1923 Aimee Semple McPherson opens the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles; Mae Ella Nolan (R, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Congress holds hearings on an Equal Rights Amendment; Winchester ends production of Model 1873 after 700,000 sold.
- 1924 Miriam Amanda Wallace “Ma” Ferguson elected governor of Texas.
- 1925 Emma Grigsby Meharg appointed first female secretary of State in Texas; Edith Eunice Therrel Wilmans appointed to the Texas Supreme Court; Florence Prag Kahn (R, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1926 Margie Elizabeth Neal becomes the first woman elected to the Texas Senate; Laura Scudder introduces “Mayflower Chips” to California; Anne Martin is a delegate to the 5th Biennial International Congress of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.
- 1928 Boulder Canyon Project Act signed into law.
- 1929 Florence “Pancho” Barnes wins the First Women’s Air Race in Glendale, California; Ruth Leah Bunzel’s *The Pueblo Potter* published; Isabella Selmes Greenway (D, AZ) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1930 Jessie Daniel Ames helps found the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.
- 1931 Ruth Winifred Brown elected president of the Oklahoma Library Association; Gloria Bullock is the first woman appointed to the California Superior Court bench.
- 1932 Helen S. Richt graduates from the veterinary medicine program at Kansas State University; Ella Cara Deloria’s *Dakota Texts* published; Amelia Earhart makes her solo flight over the Atlantic.
- 1933 Kathryn O’Loughlin (McCarthy) (D, KS) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Francis P. Farquhar elected president of the Sierra Club.
- 1934 Gladys Amanda Reichard’s *Spider Woman* published; Ansel Adams joins the Sierra Club board of directors.
- 1935 Sarah Tilghman Hughes becomes first woman to serve as a Texas District Judge; Mari Sandoz’s *Old Jules* published.
- 1936 Katherine Cheung obtains her commercial pilot’s license; Nina Otero Warren’s *Old Spain in Our Southwest* published; Mary McLeod Bethune named Negro Affairs Director of the National Youth Administration.
- 1937 Nan Wood Honeyman (D, OR) elected to the United States House of Representatives.

- 1938 Lorna Lockwood elected to the Arizona legislature.
- 1939 Cleofas Martinez Jaramillo's *Cuentos del hogar/Spanish Fairy Tales* published; Elsie Clews Parsons's *Pueblo Indian Religion* published.
- 1940 Jeannette Rankin of Montana wins a seat in the United States House of Representatives a second time.
- 1941 Agnes Morley Cleaveland's *No Life for a Lady* published.
- 1942 Charolette Winter King wins a seat on the South Pasadena City Council; Maria Tallchief becomes America Prima Ballerina with Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.
- 1944 Mildred Jeffrey and Lillian Hatcher lead the United Auto Workers Women's Bureau.
- 1945 Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1946 Guy McAfee opens the Golden Nugget casino on the Las Vegas "strip"; Ben "Bugsy" Siegel's Flamingo casino holds its grand opening.
- 1947 Rose Hum Lee completes her doctorate at the University of Chicago; Georgia Lee Lusk (D, NM) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Sandra Kurtzig born.
- 1948 Marie Callender starts selling her pies commercially to Long Beach, California, eateries.
- 1949 Georgia Neese Clark Gray named United States Treasurer; Reva Boone (D, UT) elected to United States House of Representatives.
- 1950 Steven Wozniak born.
- 1953 Ivy Baker Priest appointed United States Treasurer; *Kinsey Report* issued; Gracie Pfost (D, ID) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1955 Adlai Stevenson exhorts Smith College graduates to become republican mothers; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon founded the Daughters of Belitis in San Francisco; Rosa Parks refuses to sit in the "colored" section of a Montgomery, Alabama, bus; Edith Green (D, OR) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Bill Gates born.
- 1958 Donna Joy McGladrey starts teaching in Alaska.
- 1959 Ruth Handler creates Barbie; Catherine Dean May (R, WA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1960 Alice Ramsey named "Woman Motorist of the Century"; Julia Butler Hansen (D, WA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1963 Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* published; Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, issues its report and only Marguerite Rewalt supports an Equal Rights Amendment; Equal Pay Act becomes law.

- 1964 Civil Rights Act of 1964 becomes law.
- 1966 Barbara Jordan elected to the Texas Senate; National Organization of Women founded; Ivy Baker Priest elected treasurer of California; Lera Thomas (D, TX) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1967 Ronald Reagan elected California governor.
- 1968 Shirley Ann Mount Hufstedler appointed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals; Kuniko Terasawa receives the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Zuiosho-5th Class.
- 1969 Hattie Burnstad is named Washakie County, Wyoming, teacher of the year.
- 1971 Octavia Butler's *Crossover* published; Ann Willis Richards manages the successful campaign of Sara Ragle Weddinton for the Texas House of Representatives.
- 1972 Barbara Jordan elected to the United States House of Representatives; Sarah Ragle Weddinton is the first woman elected to the Texas House of Representatives; Title IX of the Higher Education Act becomes law increasing access to higher education for women, particularly athletics; Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm runs for president of the United States; the journal *Women's Studies* founded; the journal *Feminist Studies* founded; Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution approved by Congress; Patricia Schroeder (D, CO) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1973 Sarah Ragle Weddinton successfully argues *Roe v. Wade*; Billie Jean King defeats Bobby Riggs in a tennis match; Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D, CA) and Barbara Jordan (D, TX) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1974 Leslie Marmon Silko's *Laguna Woman Poems* published; Mary Ann Graf is the first female graduate of the University of California, Davis enology program; March Fong Eu elected California's first female secretary of state; Sandra and Ari Kurtzig found ASK Computer Systems Company.
- 1976 Steven Wozniak and Steve Jobs demonstrate Apple 1 computer in the Jobs family garage; Ann Willis Richards elected Travis County Commissioner and serves Texas until 1982.
- 1975 The journal *Signs* founded; Congress mandates that United States military academies admit women; Shirley Pettis (R, CA), Martha Keys (D, KS), and Virginia Smith (R, NV) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Bill Gates founds Microsoft Corporation.
- 1976 Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Warrior Woman* published.
- 1977 Rose Elizabeth Bird becomes the first female Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court; United Nations International

- Women's Year declared; Phyllis Schlafly's *The Power of the Positive Woman* published.
- 1978 Sally K. Ride joins NASA.
- 1979 Mildred Imach Cleghorn named chair of Fort Sill Apache tribe; Dorothy Wright Nelson appointed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals; Ruth Murray Underhill's *Papago Woman* published.
- 1980 Kathleen M. Conley is the first woman to graduate from the United States Air Force Academy; Ronald Reagan elected president of the United States.
- 1981 Margaret Coel's *Chief Left Hand: Southern Arapaho* published; Linda Hogan's *Daughters, I Love You* published; Molly Ivins takes a job with the *Dallas Times Herald*; Bobbi Fiedler (R, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Court of Appeals decides *Florida v. Butterworth*.
- 1982 A sufficient number of states fail to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment; Ann Willis Richards elected Texas state treasurer.
- 1983 Barbara Boxer (D, CA), Sala Burton (D, CA), and Barbara Vucanocick (R, NV) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Sally K. Ride is first female in space on the shuttle *Challenger*; Greater Yellowstone Coalition founded.
- 1984 Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza* published; Cynthia Holcomb Hall appointed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.
- 1985 Jan Meyers (R, KS) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1987 Linda M. Hasselstrom's *Going Over East* published; National Museum of Women in the Arts opens in Washington, DC; Wilma Mankiller becomes Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation; Nancy Pelosi (D, CA) is elected to the United States House of Representatives; United States Supreme Court decides *Cabazon Band of Mission Indians v. California* ushering in Indian gaming.
- 1988 Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* published; Dr. Mae C. Jemison becomes first African American woman in space; Congress passes the Family Support Act to collect from "deadbeat dads."
- 1989 Joyce Kennard appointed to the California Supreme Court; Patricia Schroeder's *Champion of the Great American Family* published; Jolene Unoeld (D, WA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1990 Ann Willis Richards elected governor of Texas; Maxine Waters elected to the United States House of Representatives.

- 1991 Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder's rider to a Department of Defense bill leads to the assignment of women to combat aircraft.
- 1992 Dianne Feinstein (D, CA) elected to the United States Senate; Ann Willis Richards chaired the Democratic National Committee.
- 1993 Barbara Boxer (D, CA) elected to the United States Senate; Mary Crow Dog's *Ohitika Woman* published; Janet Campbell Hale's *Bloodlines* published; Karan English (D, AZ), Anna Eshoo (D, CA), Jane Harman (D, CA), Lucille Roybal-Allard (D, CA), Lynne Schenk (D, CA), Lynn Woolsey (D, CA), Elizabeth Furse (D, OR), Eddie Bernice Johnson (D, TX), Karen Sheperd (D, UT), Maria Cantwell (D, WA), and Jennifer Dunn (D, WA) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Wilma Mankiller's *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* published.
- 1994 Kathryn M. Werdegar appointed to the California Supreme Court.
- 1995 Eileen M. Collins of San Antonio, Texas, becomes first woman to fly the space shuttle; Zoe Lofgren (D, CA), Andrea Seastrand (R, CA), Juanita Millender-McDonald (D, CA), Helen Che-noweth (R, ID), Darlene Hooley (D, OR), Sheila Jackson-Lee (C, TX), Enid Green (Waldboltz) (R, UT), Linda Smith (R, WA), and Barbara Cubin (R, WY) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 1996 Janice Rogers Brown appointed to California Supreme Court.
- 1997 Ellen Tauscher (D, CA), Loretta Sanchez (D, CA), Lois Capps (D, CA), Diana DeBette (D, CO), and Kay Granger (R, TX) elected to the United States House of Representatives; Maria Tallchief receives Kennedy Center Honor.
- 1998 Patricia Schroeder's *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place is Still a Mess* published; Lois Capps (D, CA), Mary Bono (R, CA), Barbara Lee (D, CA), and Heather Wilson (R, NM) elected to the United States House of Representatives; California voters approve Proposition 5, the Tribal Government Gaming and Economic Self-Sufficiency Act of 1998.
- 1999 Dawnine Dyer named "Mentor of the Year" by winemakers; Team USA wins Women's World Cup of soccer; Eileen M. Collins becomes the first woman space shuttle commander; Shelley Berkley (D, NV) and Grace Napolitano (D, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.
- 2000 United States Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R, TX) named Border Texan of the Year.
- 2001 Rosario Marin named United States Treasurer; Susan Davis (D, CA), Hilda Solis (D, CA), and Diane Watson (D, CA) elected to the United States House of Representatives.

- 2002 Delphine Red Shirt's *Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter* published.
- 2003 Representative Nancy Pelosi (D, CA) named House Democratic Whip.
- 2007 Representative Nancy Pelosi named Speaker of the House of Representatives, the first woman ever to serve as Speaker.



Legendary horse bandit Joaquin Murieta. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Banditry in California, 1850–1875

Paul R. Spitzzeri

Banditry, both by individuals and by groups, flourished in frontier California from the 1850s through the mid-1870s. Especially prominent during the Gold Rush period, bandits committed robberies, murders, and other criminal acts throughout the state with the more prominent of them becoming icons in the state. Chief among these were Joaquin Murieta and Tiburcio Vasquez, who remain figures of fascination for some who claim them to be “social bandits” or heroes. As social bandits, Murieta and Vasquez, it is claimed, were fighting against the American conquest of California and American and European mistreatment of native Spanish-speaking Californians (or *Californios*) and Mexicans. Others dispute the social bandit label and contend that the mythical and legendary status of Murieta, Vasquez, and others assigned to them in recent decades obscures the idea that they were instead common criminals. Murieta and Vasquez have even become part of popular culture with their stories, real or imagined, represented in films, art, theater, and literature.

Although Murieta and Vasquez have received the lion’s share of the attention from California’s era of banditry, there were many others who were well known in their time, including Americans and Europeans. Among these were Jack Powers, John “Red” Irving, and Tom Bell. Although they did not have the status of social bandit attached to them, these men were, to lesser degrees, icons in California as well. In a number of cases, bandit gangs included members from different ethnic groups.

Contributing to the rise of banditry were major changes in California after the American conquest in 1846–1847. The discovery of gold; the flood of gold-seekers and immigrants who followed; mistrust, hatred, and misunderstanding among the many ethnic and racial groups who lived in Gold Rush-era California; the difficulties in providing a stable government; and the lack of professionalization in the criminal justice system were among many factors that enabled bandits to operate in California. As the criminal justice system developed and professionalized, banditry began to wane, so that by the late 1870s it was not nearly as significant a threat as before.

Still, the iconic status of some bandits, particularly Murieta and Vasquez, continued to resonate with many. Purported histories, novels, movies, plays, songs, works of art, and other elements of popular culture continued to perpetuate the perception of bandits as romantic and often sympathetic figures. In many ways, this followed traditions about bandits from other portions of the world, especially Europe.

The foment of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, however, gave a fresh impetus for reclaiming the iconic status of the California bandit. The Chicano movement, especially, tended to embrace the rebelliousness of figures such as Che Guevara, Hernando Villa, Murieta, and Vasquez. This was not limited to political activism or popular culture, however, but also extended to some academics, who first sought to establish a link to the theory of the social bandit as exemplified in the work of British historian Eric Hobsbawm. Although the Chicano movement peaked in the early 1970s, the idea of Murieta and

Vasquez as social bandits persists even as some historians have taken pains to counter the concept in recent interpretations.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Perhaps because of its small and relatively homogeneous Spanish and Mexican-era population, California experienced little documented banditry before the American conquest and the onset of the Gold Rush. A primary contributing cause to the change in the California environment that fostered the rise of banditry was the Mexican-American War. The campaign generated much controversy in the United States when war was declared in 1846, led to great political and social upheaval within the Mexican territory of Alta California during the campaigns of 1846 and 1847, and left a lingering atmosphere of conflict and tension between the native Californians, often called *Californios*, and the American conquerors. It has often been stated that the conquest and persistent difficulties between Americans and Europeans and Californios and Mexicans led many of the latter to turn to banditry in response. What is little recognized is that some of the most notorious bandits in California in the following decade were soldiers mustered out of volunteer service with American forces. One example is John “Jack” Powers, son of Irish immigrants, who joined the New York Volunteers regiment commanded by Captain Jonathan D. Stevenson.

A second factor in banditry’s ascension was the timely coincidence of James Marshall’s stunning discovery of gold at Coloma in January 1848, and the ratification just days later by the Mexican Congress of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which formally ended the war. This led to an even more transformative effect on California: the immigration of a couple hundred thousand gold seekers, settlers, and others within a few short years. As with any immigrant population, embedded within the new arrivals were those who would find banditry an alluring avocation, particularly as the promise of golden riches proved to be elusive to almost everyone who dug for the precious mineral. As the new arrivals streamed in from Mexico, Chile, China, the eastern United States, and Europe, people who had never lived among such an assemblage of different races and ethnicities found themselves at odds with others who spoke strange languages, dressed in different clothing, observed unfamiliar social practices, and had varying views about the right to settle in the newly obtained American territory. Consequently, intense racial and ethnic prejudice and violence was present in the gold fields and other portions of California almost immediately. It has been claimed that these conditions fostered the rise of banditry. There was, however, an economic impetus with the Gold Rush that fed the motivations of bandits, whether they found no luck in the gold fields or quickly realized that there was money to be earned in robbery among the merchants and suppliers of all types who thrived on trade in the gold-producing

region; in the major cities and towns, such as San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, and Los Angeles; and on the vast cattle ranches of central and southern California. Typically, the more urban bandits were loosely organized, such as was the case with the Hounds and Sydney Ducks in San Francisco, while rural bandit gangs would associate under a leader but were otherwise not generally organized in any specific way.

A third element to the rise of banditry in California was the near absence of effective political and judicial authority, especially in the years between the conquest in 1846–1847 and the admission of California into the union in September 1850. Although almost immediately there were calls for California to be admitted as a state, Congress could not efficiently address California's status in the years following the conquest. The Missouri Compromise had governed the admission of alternating free and slave states since 1820, but California's unusual status as geographically north and south greatly complicated matters. In 1847 and 1848, the matter did not seem as pressing as it became after the hordes of gold seekers began to pour into California in 1849. The government of California had been left to the military with governors appointed and then deciding to largely leave the political and legal systems of Mexico in place. These systems, however, had functioned fairly effectively for decades with a small, fundamentally homogeneous population. After 1848, California teemed with new residents from around the world, deeply suspicious of each other but relatively unfettered by the restraints of government and law. By mid-1849, influential citizens, many of them arrivals within the previous year or two and faced with a seemingly intractable deadlock in Congress, decided to take matters into their own hands and write their own constitution and create their own government, goals which were accomplished at the end of 1849 and into the early months of 1850. Forced to act, Congress finally enacted the Compromise of 1850, which concerned a whole range of issues involving conquered Mexican territory after the war, including the status of slavery. California was admitted to the union on 9 September 1850 as a free state. Yet, the previous spring, civilian governmental and judicial systems had been put into place through elections and begun their operations.

A related issue was that, even with American-style systems of government and jurisprudence enacted, the early 1850s was an era in which, because of low taxation and a lack of widespread monetary and material support for the administration of justice, the effectiveness of crime prevention was limited. This was an era in which peace officers, who were elected and lacked any training, were few and underpaid, lawyers often were admitted to the bar without any formal education or training, and judges were not nearly the respected authority figures they later became. Most jails were flimsily built wooden, brick, or adobe structures allowing generally easy escapes for some prisoners, and state prisons, such as at San Quentin and later Folsom were built with cost rather than efficiency in mind and were heavily overcrowded

soon after construction. Without a well-funded, professional criminal justice system, California was particularly ill equipped to deal with the presence of banditry in a rapidly growing, gold-producing state. This condition was hardly limited to California, as the United States as a whole lacked a sense of professionalization in the administration of criminal justice, though there was a gradual movement toward it from the 1850s onward. In addition, there was a heavy reliance on extralegal resolutions to criminal behavior, leading to a strong movement for popular justice, such as popular tribunals mimicking the legal courts, and lynching. This was also a national phenomenon in 1850s America, where popular justice was in its heyday. As a result, especially in the 1850s, California was rife with examples of popular tribunals, in which citizens held trials with judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, witnesses, and the like in some imitation of the established courts, and vigilantism, in which citizens tended to dispense with any formalities except, perhaps, for a public meeting and storm a jail, seize a suspected criminal, and execute them, usually by hanging or firing squad. It is notable that, in those cases where vigilantes explained their actions, they almost always justified their actions by stating that they were acting to uphold, rather than circumvent, the law. The common complaint, moreover, was that the law was ineffective and weak, which was often an accurate statement because of the lack of support given to the administration of justice.

The heyday of the bandit coincides with the salad days of the Gold Rush. Consequently, as gold production dropped government became more established and effective. As the administration of criminal justice became more financially and socially supported and professionalized, reported instances of banditry declined, even if the romance associated with it lived on. The capture and execution of Vasquez in 1874–1875 has generally been considered to be the end of the era of banditry that started during the Gold Rush years.

THE GENESIS OF BANDITRY IN CALIFORNIA, 1848–1855

On 4 December 1848, the first documented incident of banditry doubled as a horrific massacre at the Mission San Miguel. Two Irish-born former military men, Peter Raymond, formerly with Frémont's California Battalion, and Peter Quinn, a sailor with the Navy, were implicated in a murder at Sutter's Mill, the very birthplace of the Gold Rush. Raymond, who escaped after being captured in this homicide, fled with Quinn to Mission Soledad where they joined forces with three other men, including another ex-soldier from Stevenson's New York Volunteers (the same regiment that brought famed bandit Jack Powers to California). The five men, with an Indian guide, then descended south to San Miguel where they were welcomed into the home of William Reed and his wife Maria Antonia Vallejo. The six visitors stayed one night and headed south the following morning, but Reed's boast about his

cache of gold from his months in the gold fields led them to double back and try to relieve Reed of his bounty. Not content with mere robbery, the six men enacted one of the worst massacres anywhere in America at the time. Ten people including the family and employees were murdered. But by chance famed mountain man James Beckwourth happened to stop at the site and discovered the horrible tragedy. Racing to Monterey, Beckwourth found a young Army lieutenant, William Tecumseh Sherman, later a Civil War hero as a Union Army general, and related what he had found. Military governor William Mason was notified and sent Lieutenant Edward O.C. Ord south to investigate. Either brazenly or foolishly, the murderers ventured south and entered Santa Barbara in broad daylight. By then, news of the San Miguel massacre had spread and a posse of fifteen men, twelve of them Californio, from Santa Barbara descended on the six desperadoes. In a battle on a beach south of the mission town, one posse member and three of the bandits were killed. The remaining three men from the gang were seized then taken to town for a popular tribunal. The day after Christmas, with a jury of twelve and Lieutenant Ord representing military authority, the three prisoners were adjudged guilty and sentenced to death by firing squad. The execution occurred on 28 December and ended the first documented incident of banditry in American-era California.

In the meantime, a cadre of soldiers mustered out from Stevenson's regiment of New York Volunteers created a loosely confederated gang called the Hounds. Although not, perhaps, bandits in the sense of those who rode through California committing crimes, the criminal activities of the Hounds in San Francisco certainly merits referring to them as close in kinship to bandits. Through much of 1849, the ruffians, many of whom had associations with New York street gangs, even called their headquarters "Tammany Hall." After a particularly vicious attack on Chilean residents, Americans and Europeans who had generally tolerated their presence cracked down and broke up the gang. One of the alleged Hounds was former New York Volunteer Jack Powers.

There was any number of especially violent depredations carried out by bandits throughout the Gold Rush years and afterward. Some of the names of these desperadoes are unknown to history, such as the gang of nine Mexicans and one American who committed two brutal robberies, including several murders, in Amador County in August 1855 that led to a bloody two weeks unprecedented anywhere else in an otherwise unusually violent California. As horrendous as these attacks were, the responses, fueled by anger, hysteria, and paranoia, were about equally so—Latino men were strung up somewhat indiscriminately or by the machinations of an American looking to usurp a Latino's mining claim. Eventually, some of the accused bandits were tracked down to the area near Columbia in Tuolumne County where more gun battles and hangings of suspects occurred. By the time the bloodletting was finished, some twenty-three persons had been killed, either victims of the bandits, members of the gang, or innocents accused of involvement.

FIRST AMONG ICONS: JOAQUIN MURIETA (Ca. 1830–1853)

Murieta is as shadowy a figure as any in California history. Much of the elusiveness in finding tangible examples of his existence is due simply to the transitory and anonymous nature of life in rural California in the early 1850s and the fact that bandits operated on the fringes of society, while a significant part is due to his several biographers. The earliest and most influential of the Murieta chroniclers was Yellow Bird, also known as John Rollin Ridge, a half-Cherokee native of Georgia who was, as a child, part of the Indian Removal to Oklahoma. In his *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854), Yellow Bird immediately lays out the template for Murieta's future iconic status by identifying him as "the Rinaldo Rinaldini of California." Rinaldini was a bandit on the French island of Corsica in the 1770s identified by some as driven to rebel against both French domination of the former Italian-held island as well as against the modern conventions he loathed. Rinaldini was, in fact, just one of many famous bandits throughout the centuries in Europe, including Stenka Razin in Russia, Marco Sciara in Naples, Perot Rocaguinarda in Spain, Johann Buckler in Germany, Louis Dominique Cartouche in France, and Robin Hood and Dick Turpin in England. There was also a more contemporary development of a romance around bandits in Mexico, which coalesced from the period of the war of independence from Spain onward. Yellow Bird's immediate attempts to determine Murieta's pedigree among iconic, romantic, and legendary bandits suggests more of a literary rather than historical motivation for the book.

The descendants of Yellow Bird's heroic Murieta included a variety of unknown and undistinguished writers, but also numbered two of the nineteenth century's most influential historians, Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore Hittell, whose massive histories of California remain important sources of information. Both liberally used Yellow Bird's biography, though Hittell did note that unreliability was the order of the day when it came to documenting Murieta's life. Bancroft was more romantic chronicler than historian in his discussion of Murieta, offering little specific information as to Murieta's activities. Eventually, the iconic force of Murieta was rendered onto the dramatic stage and motion pictures to become some part of popular culture, which further blurred the line between history and myth. All followed the Yellow Bird template in identifying revenge for racist actions (stolen land, ravished mistress/wife), with the latest of the films, an unsold television pilot from 1969 starring Ricardo Montalban, boasting the tag line "The Man Who Didn't Give a Damn."

Documentation about Murieta is very difficult to find. There are some references to him in many California newspapers, but the tendency of the press to reprint "accounts" from unnamed sources, the reliability of which are impossible to determine, makes for a problematic association of fact with someone as inherently mysterious as Murieta. For example, one press account

from 1853 stated that Murieta was from Jalisco state in Mexico, identifying the particular town, and that he was thirty-five years of age. Other sources identify Murieta as a native of Sonora, which seems plausible considering that most of the early arrivals in the Gold Rush were highly experienced in gold mines, but the attribution is not definitive. Other statements from newspapers claim Murieta was well educated and spoke English fluently. Another newspaper reference from spring 1853, albeit derived “from several sources” and purporting to be in Murieta’s own words, notes that the bandit had declared himself the victim of American prejudice and robbery in the mines. This account is the only contemporary newspaper that relates injustices committed against Murieta that might have provided the impetus for his career in banditry. There is, however, a likely antecedent in Yellow Bird’s work, claiming that in 1850 Murieta swore revenge against Americans after his half-brother was lynched and Murieta whipped in an accusation and punishment by Americans for horse thievery. This came from a serialized story by “Dame Shirley” (Amelia Clappe), whose version of a Mexican who was whipped and sought revenge against his American oppressors is almost exactly mimicked by Yellow Bird. Elements of the story later included an assertion that Murieta’s Sonora-born sweetheart (or wife) Rosita (or Rosalia) was raped and Murieta tied to a post and whipped by Americans. Notably, though Yellow Bird has Murieta frequently reinforcing his hatred for Americans often with dialogue. There are a number of examples, though vague, where the bandit is described as robbing Chinese, German, and French victims, though these crimes were, perhaps, purely for financial gain as opposed to the reaction against racism imputed to Murieta by the author. At one point in the narrative, a party of travelers robbed by Murieta happened to be rather neatly divided into a group of four Frenchmen, six Germans, and three Americans.

Yellow Bird, having identified the impetus for Murieta’s criminal career, claimed that Joaquin methodically tracked down members of the mob that whipped him and killed his brother and exacted his revenge. The author also identified some of Murieta’s confederates, including the “monster” Manuel Garcia, or “Three-Fingered Jack”; the youthful Reyes Feliz, whose sister was purported to be Murieta’s lover; a man known only as Claudio; Joaquin Valenzuela; and Pedro Gonzalez; and claimed that there were more than fifty men—an incredible number—in the Murieta gang.

It appears that Murieta’s first exploit was committed in fall 1851, if a later confession by an accused criminal said to be Joaquin’s brother-in-law is accepted. This robbery, committed east of Los Angeles, involved twenty-nine horses. This was followed in November 1852 by the crime that led to the aforementioned confession. General Joshua Bean, commander of a volunteer force that brutally ended a conflict with southern California Indians the previous year, was established at the mission town of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, as proprietor of a store and saloon. Living with him was his brother, Roy, later the notorious “judge” of Langtry, Texas. Joshua Bean was shot and killed as

he was returning to his home after attending a maromo [dance]. In the aftermath, six men were arrested, all said to be members of the gang led by Salomon Pico, relative of ex-governor Pio Pico. In the investigation that ensued, it was reported that Murieta was in San Gabriel that evening with a woman named Ana Benitez, though it was not clear if he had any involvement in the events surrounding Bean's death. Benitez, however, claimed that one accused man, Cipriano Sandoval, confessed his involvement in the incident to her and Murieta. Another accused man was Reyes Feliz, the same person mentioned in Yellow Bird's story, who claimed he heard two men identify Murieta as the assassin. Another witness, identified as part of Pico's gang, testified before the tribunal that another man was with Benitez and that she had said Joaquin was in the San Joaquin to sell stolen horses. Evidently, based on Benitez's testimony, Sandoval along with four other men, including Reyes Feliz (who admitted to being associated with Murieta), was tried by a popular tribunal, adjudged guilty, and lynched. Interestingly, Yellow Bird's narrative had Feliz left behind somewhere north of Los Angeles mortally wounded from a bear mauling and begging Murieta to leave him to die, faithfully attended by his wife. Later in the manuscript, however, Feliz reappears in Los Angeles, recovered from his wounds, attended by his prototypically devoted wife Carmelita, and accused of complicity in Bean's death, for which he was hung. In Yellow Bird's story, Feliz approached death beatifically and leaped to his death from the platform before the trap was opened. Moreover, Carmelita, who wandered through the mountains wailing in grief and torment, was found dead, stretched upon a rock as if in sleep.

Notably, as suspects were being rounded up in the Bean incident, some one hundred horses were stolen from the San Gabriel area. According to a Los Angeles judge, one of the thieves was said to be Murieta. It is notable that, in Yellow Bird's life of Murieta there is ample dialogue provided between the bandit and his henchman Claudio about the need to kill Bean for his harassment of Claudio, who had been, in this account, thwarted in his attempts to commit robberies in the area. Moreover, Yellow Bird introduces Harry Love into the story at this point as a deputy sheriff of Los Angeles. The murder of Bean is deemed to have occurred away from the village of San Gabriel with Bean wrestled from his horse by Murieta and Three-Fingered Jack, killed and left on the spot. Yellow Bird even embellished his account by claiming that Three-Fingered Jack robbed and killed two Chinese camped near San Gabriel, a highly unlikely event because there were almost no Chinese known to have been living in the Los Angeles area at the time. This one example illustrates the issue of Yellow Bird's account being a romantic legend rather than anything connected to history, even given the lack of documentation available about the bandit.

As Yellow Bird moved closer in the narrative to the fateful year of 1853, the violence and desperation in his story increases, although, as throughout his story, the worst excesses are not those of Murieta, who retains thereby his

heroic posture, but the brutish and monstrous Three-Fingered Jack whose capacity for grotesque killing is graphically detailed by Yellow Bird.

In addition, there was a frenzy in the gold fields during spring and early summer 1853 that led to reports of virtually any robbery or murder in the area to be the work of Murieta. It was also supposed that Murieta had committed depredations in other parts of the state, including Los Angeles, where the local newspaper in fall 1852 reported him to be present at the mission town of San Gabriel during the murder of General Joshua Bean.

Eventually, the hysteria about Murieta led Governor John Bigler to issue a \$1000 reward for “Joaquin Carrillo.” As attributed Joaquin crimes mounted, a new proclamation raised the bounty to \$5000, but confusingly indicated that there were five Joaquins covered under the provisions, including Valenzuela, Botiller, Carrillo, Ocomorenia, and “Muriati.” On 17 May 1853, a posse known as the California Rangers was appointed by legislative fiat and organized under Captain Harry Love, a figure of some shadowy repute in his own right. While the establishment of the reward and organization of the posse is about the most reliable information of all about Murieta, even as it named five different men as targets, the posse itself only contained one man who had any claim of knowing Murieta by sight. Consequently, when the posse in July killed a man purported to be Murieta and, among others, one of his notorious henchmen known as Three-Fingered Jack Garcia, it was decided to preserve by pickling the hand of Jack and the head of the man alleged to be Joaquin. These gruesome relics were toured throughout the state to try to establish proof of the identity of Murieta and Garcia. One problem was that the appearance of the five Joaquins in the governor’s proclamation noted that Murieta had black hair and eyes, while that of the man killed by the Rangers had lighter color in both. There was considerable suspicion voiced among the press about the authenticity of the head in the jar, but Love received a \$1000 reward and a \$5000 appropriation by the legislature for his work. To this day, stories persist that Murieta eluded capture and went to Mexico to live out a full life. Meanwhile the pickled head in the jar is assumed to have been destroyed in the great San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, only adding more to the legend of Murieta, of whom so little is factually and historically known.

HEIR TO JOAQUIN: TIBURCIO VASQUEZ (1835–1875)

Compared to Murieta, Tiburcio Vasquez is a well-documented figure, much of this being attributable to the length of his career, the fact that he was captured alive and processed through the machinations of law, and that interviews of him were conducted after his capture and published. Still, Vasquez is no less a romantic figure if not as much a myth and legend, and he may, in some ways, be the first criminal celebrity in California who experienced some

of his fame while still alive. Yet he appears to have attracted little attention until over twenty years after he first identified his entry in banditry. His crimes were largely out of the public eye and seemingly minor until the Tres Piños robbery in 1873, which led to the death of three men and for which Vasquez was convicted of murder and hung at San Jose in 1875. After his capture near Los Angeles in spring 1874, Vasquez was the subject of a play in that city within weeks, interviews with him were published in local newspapers, photographs of him sold to raise funds for his court defense, and hordes of visitors, including the curious and well-wishers, visited him both at Los Angeles and San Jose, where his trial was held.

Vasquez stated in interviews that he was a native of Monterey, the Spanish and Mexican-era capital of Alta California, born 11 August 1835. By 1874, his parents were dead, but there were three brothers and two sisters. In Monterey County in the 1850 census, there is a Tiburcio Vasquez who appears as a fifteen-year-old boy in a household that does not have a parent. This does not square with Vasquez's own recollection that he sought his mother's blessing to embark on a criminal career about two years after this, so the attribution is uncertain. Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft believed that two men, also named Tiburcio Vasquez, were the father and grandfather of the bandit. The elder was born in 1777 at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and the second was born in 1793 and the dates seem close together for them to be father and son, but possible. Bancroft notes the second Tiburcio was alive as late as 1855 and lists ten children born between 1825 and 1840, but none named Tiburcio. A biographer of the bandit, Eugene Sawyer, gives names of four of Vasquez's siblings, only one of which matches the names from Bancroft's list. In short, Vasquez's pedigree is not known, but more of his background is available than for Murieta.

According to a Los Angeles interview in 1874, Vasquez commenced his career as a robber in 1852, based, he claimed, on an incident at a dance where he and other Californios were subjected to racial abuse. From that incident, Vasquez remarked nearly a quarter century later, he chose banditry as his vehicle to fight for social rights for himself and his fellow countrymen. The bandit went on to say that he received his mother's blessing for his wish to become a robber and stated that the first victim of his "defense" was the theft and money and clothes from peddlers in his home county of Monterey.

It is, however, five years later that Vasquez first enters the official public record for a crime committed against another Californio. After stealing a mule and nine horses with an accomplice named Librado Corona from Juan Francisco of Los Angeles County (this hearkens back to the question about Vasquez's status as a social bandit when his victim was of the same general ethnicity), the bandit was tried and convicted on a grand larceny charge in Los Angeles. He was sentenced to five years at San Quentin, but after less than two years in prison Vasquez joined a prison break in June 1859. He fled to Amador County in the gold country but was caught and returned to prison within

two months. Vasquez remained at San Quentin, appearing there in the 1860 census, was the subject of a pardon petition that was rejected, and completed his sentence in 1863. In an interview with San Francisco journalist George Beers, Vasquez stated that he returned to his mother seeking gainful employment as a ranch laborer, but that suspicion of him led him to return to crime. By his own description, Vasquez's robberies involved stagecoaches and other conveyances and houses. Specific information about his activities from 1863 to 1873 is sketchy and his crimes attracted little attention. In 1866, he was arrested and convicted on charges of cattle thievery in Sonoma County and returned to San Quentin for his second stint, serving his term until release in June 1870. Notably, when Vasquez associated himself with compatriots such as Cleovaro Chavez, who continued his criminal career after Vasquez's execution, and Abdon Leiva, who figured prominently in Vasquez's downfall, he also took up with a French native named August de Bert.

After 1870, Vasquez attempted more daring robberies, such as a \$30,000 robbery from cattle baron Henry Miller and a holdup of a Southern Pacific Railroad payroll train between Gilroy and San Jose, before the Tres Piños incident. Yet these and his final attempt at robbery, of a sheep rancher near Los Angeles in spring 1874, were all failures and an examination of Vasquez's career does not show a list of prominent robberies. Instead, the rumor of Vasquez's exploits fed by his own shows of bravado in his jailhouse interviews appear to have been fodder for future interpretations of his stature and nature as a bandit rather than the record of his banditry.

The affair in the San Benito County hamlet of Tres Piños, south of Hollister, in August 1873 was the result of a botched robbery of a store, leading to the deaths of three men. Interestingly, Vasquez, whose capture was in no small measure due to Leiva (whose wife had an affair of some duration with Vasquez), claimed that it was Leiva and another man who committed the killings before Vasquez and Chavez arrived on the scene. Regardless, what was left of the gang rode south toward Los Angeles where another robbery was planned to get them money to go to Mexico. For a time in September, a posse led by Santa Clara County sheriff John H. Adams and Los Angeles County sheriff William R. Rowland chased after Vasquez and his gang, during which time Abdon Leiva turned himself in to authorities. Vasquez, however, was able to elude capture in the rough San Gabriel Mountains north of Los Angeles.

Thwarted evidently in his plans to go to Mexico, Vasquez stated later that he went back north to Tulare and Fresno counties and then eastward to Inyo County to commit further depredations. By then, Governor Newton Booth had issued two proclamations providing for rewards for the capture of Vasquez. The first, after the Tres Piños murders, was for \$1000. The second, issued in January 1874, was for \$2000 dead and \$3000 alive. In the meantime, Sheriff Adams negotiated a \$5000 appropriation from the state legislature to form a new posse and commence the chase of Vasquez. Meanwhile, Vasquez had returned to the San Gabriel Mountains occasionally, according

to one source, staying at a home west of Los Angeles at the base of the Santa Monica Mountains.

In mid-April, Vasquez and his gang attempted their last robbery together, selecting Alessandro Repetto, a sheep rancher in the hills of today's city of Monterey Park, a few miles east of Los Angeles. Believing that Repetto had a large sum of cash from the sale of wool, Vasquez confronted the rancher in his home only to find that there was no such sum. Instead, Vasquez sent a son or nephew of Repetto to Los Angeles to withdraw funds the rancher had at the bank of Temple and Workman. One version of the story has it that when the young man entered the bank and was visibly nervous, bank president F.P.F. Temple called in Sheriff Rowland and the whereabouts of Vasquez was discovered. The boy was entreated by the sheriff to return to the ranch, with Rowland to follow in close pursuit, but not to reveal the sheriff's presence. The story further observed that Temple, moved by the young man's concern for the fate of Repetto, allowed him to leave and warn Vasquez before Rowland gave permission, thus allowing the bandit to flee.

Whatever the particulars, Rowland arrived at the Repetto ranch not long after Vasquez's departure so that in giving chase Rowland found himself within sight of the bandit and his gang. During the chase, Vasquez even stopped to quickly relieve a group of men of valuables after they finished work laying pipes for the Indiana Colony, a new settlement soon renamed Pasadena. For several days, Vasquez and Rowland were engaged in a wild cat-and-mouse chase through the San Gabriel Mountains, prompting rumors of Vasquez's appearance in several Los Angeles area sites in a microcosm of what was reported with Murieta throughout California in spring 1853. In this encounter, as with the previous September, Vasquez made another escape after a dangerous journey down a very steep canyon.

An interesting component to Vasquez and the chase by Rowland that is not part of the Murieta story is the degree to which the former may have been given aid by his fellow Californios, a point discussed by some of the Los Angeles newspapers.

In late March, meanwhile, the legislature appropriated another \$15,000 to bring Vasquez to justice and Alameda County sheriff Harry Morse, who had been part of the Adams posse the previous summer, formed a posse to find Vasquez and headed down to Los Angeles to confer with Sheriff Rowland. A second proclamation by Governor Booth raised the reward for Vasquez to \$6000 if returned dead and \$8000 if alive. When Morse met Rowland, the latter assured the former that he would capture Vasquez if the bandit remained in Los Angeles County and Morse returned north.

Finally, on 14 May 1874, a farmer named D.K. Smith rode into Los Angeles from his place on the plain west of Los Angeles and reported that Vasquez was at a nearby house situated near today's famed Hollywood. To avoid arousing Vasquez's suspicion, Rowland conspicuously remained in Los Angeles while sending an undersheriff and several men to capture the bandit. Using a

little subterfuge in concealing themselves in the bed of a wagon that happened to be driving by, the posse members surrounded the house, interrupted Vasquez at a meal, and captured him as he tried to run by bringing him down with a few gunshots.

Vasquez's tenure in the Los Angeles jail immediately brought immense interest in the notorious bandido, who found himself in an unprecedented position of criminal celebrity. From newspaper accounts and histories, it appears that most visitors were there out of curiosity, although there were reports of women, including, to the disgust of a Los Angeles merchant, white women, bringing Vasquez flowers. A Los Angeles newspaper publisher, Benjamin Truman of the *Los Angeles Daily Star*, who secured the first interview with the bandit, quickly offered a little paperbound book titled *Life, Adventures and Capture of the Great California Bandit, Tiburcio Vasquez*. A Los Angeles photographer printed five hundred copies of a portrait taken of the bandit, with part of the proceeds apparently designated for the subject after his capture, and other sittings were held in San Francisco to provide funds for Vasquez's court defense. The nature of Vasquez's celebrity even extended to the world of commercial advertising, as, for example, a Los Angeles dry goods and clothing merchant placed an ad in a paper that stated the bandit recommended the store and its fine and complete stock of items. Finally, the enterprising proprietor of the Merced Theater rushed a farce called "The Capture of Tiburcio Vasquez" into production, which was positively reviewed in one paper for its clever use of burlesque and close enough resemblance to the facts of the capture. Also of note was a card taken out by Vasquez in a newspaper that claimed that he was approaching death and counted himself an unfortunate and sinful person, but innocent of the crimes of which he was accused, if not indicted. Accordingly, to prepare for a fair and impartial court proceeding, Vasquez issued the card as an appeal for a defense fund.

Tiburcio's Tale

"My career grew out of the circumstances by which I was surrounded. As I grew up to manhood, I was in the habit of attending balls and parties given by the native Californians, into which the Americans, then beginning to become numerous, would force themselves and shove the native-born men aside, monopolizing the dance and the women. This was about 1852. A spirit of hatred and revenge took possession of me. I had numerous fights in defense of what I believed to be my rights and those of my countrymen . . . I went to my mother and told her I intended to commence a different life. I asked for and obtained her blessing, and at once commenced the career of a robber. My first exploit consisted in robbing some peddlers of money and clothes in Monterey County."

From a May 1874 Los Angeles jailhouse interview with *Los Angeles Star* publisher Benjamin C. Truman, reproduced in Truman's *Occidental Sketches*, 1881.

The next day, however, on 23 May, Vasquez was taken from jail and sent by railroad to San Pedro Harbor south of Los Angeles, where he was sent aboard a steamer for San Francisco and his extradition to the Sheriff of Monterey County, which then included Tres Piños in its jurisdiction, although the new county of San Benito was soon created with Tres Piños within its boundaries. In mid-June, several indictments were handed down by the Monterey County grand jury. After a July hearing, the proceedings were moved to San Jose, presumably to establish a less prejudiced setting, and the trial postponed until January 1875. After four days of prosecution witnesses the people rested. The only witness testimony for the defense was that of Sheriff Adams and Vasquez himself, who tried to assign blame primarily to Leiva as responsible for the murders.

On 7 January, after three and a half hours of deliberations, the jury returned its verdict of guilty, with ten jurors calling for the death penalty and two recommending life imprisonment. At the time, unanimity was not required for a capital case. After a dramatic lecture by Judge David Belden, the sentence of hanging was set for 19 March. There was a quick appeal to the state Supreme Court with Vasquez's counsel claiming that Belden's jury instructions went too far afield from his mandated instructions on applicable law. The opinion offered by Justice Augustus Rhodes succinctly dismissed the claims by Vasquez's attorneys, ruled that Judge Belden's instructions were well within the law, and upheld the conviction.

At nearly the eleventh hour, three days before the scheduled execution, Governor Romualdo Pacheco, the only Latino governor in California state history who had recently ascended to the office from lieutenant governor when Newton Booth was elected to the U. S. Senate, received telegrams from prominent citizens in San Jose and Los Angeles, including District Judge Ygnacio Sepulveda, asking for a commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment out of concern for potential violence in the wake of Vasquez's hanging.

Consequently, the execution was carried out on 19 March with two sisters, a brother, and several nieces present. As Vasquez approached the gallows, his attorney produced a letter addressed to the bandit's associates in crime. In the missive, Vasquez denied murdering anyone, but seemed to take some responsibility for the commission of those crimes under his leadership. Moreover, he warned against actions of revenge for his death and called upon his colleagues to learn from his example. Another letter addressed generally to parents advised them to look at his example in raising their progeny and then turned to religion as Vasquez accepted his fate. It was reported that although he had maintained an imperturbable calm thus far, Vasquez wept at the conclusion of this second letter before recovering his wits to sign the documents. With a glass of claret and a cigar consumed, Vasquez rapidly ascended the gallows stair and was calm until, by some accounts, the black cap covering his head was lowered and the bandit showing an alarmed look uttered "*Pronto!*" or "*Be quick!*" Then, the platform door was opened and in a wink of an eye,

Vasquez was left hanging, his neck broken. After twenty-five minutes, the body was cut down and turned over to family members who buried him at Santa Clara Cemetery, where he still rests. For some in Los Angeles, the capture and death of Vasquez signaled the end of a violent era in that part of California and, for the most part, banditry was in decline.

THE TEFLON BANDIT: JACK POWERS (1827–1860)

If there was an American corollary to Murieta, Jack Powers perhaps best qualifies. As with Murieta, Powers has been described as handsome, dashing, and charismatic. Documentation concerning his involvement in banditry, however, is somewhat elusive and seems to be more by association with other known bandits and his penchant for making enemies than on hard evidence. Well known as a gambler and horseman, whose one hundred and fifty mile race in under seven hours in 1858 was statewide news, Powers was almost constantly in suspicion of criminal activities from his arrival in California in 1847 until he fled the state under accusation of wrongdoing in 1858. His reputation as a bandit and criminal remained long after he was murdered on his Arizona ranch in 1860.

The son of Irish immigrants and born in New York City, Powers makes his appearance in public records in summer 1846 when he signed on with the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, commanded by Jonathan D. Stevenson. He gave his name as John A. Powers and his age as nineteen and was following an older brother and brother-in-law in the regiment. A hint of Powers's future nonconformity seems to be a notation on his army record as a deserter, after he snuck ashore before his ship left Governor's Island where the regiment was trained and didn't return for roll call. After over five months at sea, Powers arrived in San Francisco in early March 1847, by which time hostilities in the brief campaign in California had ceased. The New York Volunteers were sent to various portions of California for garrison duty in the newly occupied territory, with Stevenson given command of southern California from his headquarters at Los Angeles. Powers was transferred to a different company and sent to Santa Barbara, which would be his main area of residence for his ten years in California. In short order, Powers's company became notorious for its lack of discipline, love of gambling and drink, and bad relations with the Californios of Santa Barbara, prompting military governor Richard Mason and his aide William Tecumseh Sherman to travel to Santa Barbara and attempt to instill some order and discipline.

In spring 1848 news of the discovery of gold reached Santa Barbara, followed within a couple of months by word that a peace treaty with Mexico was signed, meaning that American forces in California would be mustered out soon. This happened in September, prompting most soldiers to head for the gold fields at a time when, other than Sonoran, Chilean, and Peruvian miners,

few others from the outside world had yet made it to California to prospect. It appears that Powers spent the last couple of months along the Stanislaus River digging and made enough money (or took enough work) to convince him to take his bounty and head for San Francisco. The latter was a far different place than the dusty, nearly uninhabited hamlet Powers had first seen less than two years before. By the end of February 1849, the first of the 49ers arrived by steamship and San Francisco began its rapid, rollicking ascent into a full-fledged Gold Rush city.

Many of the New York Volunteers had set up a headquarters and clubhouse in the form of a tent, naturally bearing the sign “Tammany Hall” on it, close to the Mexican-era plaza at Commercial and Kearney Streets. Though they called themselves “The Society of Regulators” they were more commonly known by the notorious moniker of “The Hounds,” a group that, in the rapidly urbanizing setting of Gold Rush San Francisco, could be equated with a very large group of bandits. The mayor of San Francisco in 1849 was former New York Volunteers chaplain Reverend Thomas Leavenworth, and the sheriff was regimental sergeant John Pulis. Powers arrived in San Francisco and naturally became associated with his former Army comrades-in-arms. Pulis frequently used the Hounds in his capacity as sheriff to enforce writs and orders. More often, the Hounds preyed on Chilean miners and others who were the target of demands for protection and general unruly raids. In July 1849 a raid on the Chilean settlement turned particularly violent as about a hundred Hounds destroyed tents, seized property, and killed and wounded several persons. Although previous acts of violence and lawlessness by the Hounds had been tolerated, this affair led Sam Brannan and other prominent citizens to muster a vigilante force to disperse the Hounds. Seventeen men, including Powers, accused of being involved in the attack on the Chileans were seized and held aboard a ship in the harbor, a common tactic for jailing persons since no jails then existed in San Francisco. A public tribunal was held, and though there were nine convictions, several men including Powers were acquitted.

Realizing that the city by the bay was not a welcome place for the time being, Powers returned to the gold fields in the Mokelumne region and mined for several months, evidently returning with a healthy amount of cash. He then returned to San Francisco where he remained until spring 1851, when he decided to make his way back to Santa Barbara. Soon after his arrival in the mission town, Powers decided to settle on a ranch north of town that was claimed by Richard S. Den, an early American resident of the area. Eventually, Powers was forced off the ranch, although Den later lost his own claim to the property. At one point, violence broke out over the dispute leading to the death of one of Den’s ranchmen. Powers’s biographer includes a quote attributed to him about his efforts to reform being thwarted by those trying to prevent him from doing so and that, if he were left alone he would live a good life, but if not, he would become bad and desperate. Notably, Powers is quoted as saying that if his claim to the ranch were invalidated he would no longer

seek to reform. In many ways, this resembles the rationale given by Tiburcio Vasquez in his claims that his attempts to settle down were denied by those out to get him, thereby forcing him back to a life of crime.

His denied land claim, his fondness with drinking, horse racing, and gambling, as well as his associations with questionable Californios and former soldier friends continued to cast suspicion on Powers regarding the many robberies that were committed along the El Camino Real (King's Highway), the main north-south road through the Central Coast. One of the supposed locations of Powers's misdeeds was the stretch of the El Camino Real near present-day Los Alamos between Santa Barbara and Santa Maria. Rumors abounded that after bandit Salomon Pico left California for Baja, California, Powers took up with the members of the disbanded gang and that among Powers's most prominent criminal associates were Pio Linares, Rafael Herrada, and Joaquin Valenzuela (Ocomorenia), the latter being one of the five Joaquins who were the subject of Governor Bigler's reward in the hunt for Murieta. Powers's prowess as a horseman lent credence in many minds that he was able to commit crimes in wide-ranging locations because the speed he could reach on his horses could provide him an alibi for being far from the scene of the incident. In later years writers such as Stephen Powers (no relation), who was a federal Indian ethnologist, and Charles Nordhoff, whose books on California were widely read, both treated Powers as a known brigand and bandit. Both claimed that prominent ranchers (in Nordhoff's case Edward F. Beale of the El Tejon Rancho, north of Los Angeles) related that Powers and his gangs entered their properties. Yet both sources claimed that Powers behaved toward them in a courteous and chivalrous manner, not unlike how Murieta was often described.

There were at least two incidents where Powers was charged with a crime. In summer 1853, Powers was indicted by the Santa Barbara Grand Jury for alleged involvement in the killing of a man by Powers's longtime friend Patrick Dunne, another former New York Volunteer. After a trial in Santa Barbara resulted in a deadlock, the charges stood although the case was transferred to Los Angeles in a change of venue. There, Powers and Dunne were tried in District Court, but with the indictment the only evidence presented against them, the two were acquitted and released. Three years later, after Edward McGowan, a police court judge said to be implicated in the famous 1856 murder of San Francisco newspaper publisher James King of William that led to the creation of that city's second vigilance committee, frantically left the city by the bay, Powers was present to assist McGowan when the fugitive arrived at Santa Barbara. McGowan, although calling Powers his "guardian angel" also described him as a "bandit and destroying angel." Though McGowan eventually returned to face trial in the King of William assassination and was acquitted, Powers was arrested and charged with harboring a fugitive. This trial was also moved to Los Angeles from Santa Barbara, but in July 1856, Powers was discharged on grounds of insufficient evidence and allowed to return to his home.

Powers's involvement in the McGowan affair incurred the considerable wrath of James King of William's brother Thomas, who took over the management of the *San Francisco Bulletin* after his brother's death. Whatever support Powers received in the *Herald* was countered aggressively in the *Bulletin*, which almost never failed to mention Powers's name without calling him the "notorious Jack Powers."

In January 1857, after a group of bandits known as the Flores-Daniel gang killed Los Angeles County sheriff James Barton and some of his deputies near San Juan Capistrano, Powers was accused of burglary and was the subject of a warrant issued by the county judge in Los Angeles, though rumor had it that he was linked with the Barton murders. Powers went to San Francisco, perhaps to escape, but was found there and arrested. Eventually, a judge there ordered Powers to return to Los Angeles to face a hearing, but without much evidence produced to link Powers to a crime, he was discharged.

Later in the year, further problems from the association Powers had with some less-than-reputable people arose. In November, two Basques looking to buy cattle vanished near Mission San Miguel, although after a few weeks the body of one of them was found. Suspicion fell on a vaquero named Robles who had been with the two men and was known to be a friend of Powers. It was said Powers visited Robles in jail and counseled him. When Robles was acquitted in a court in San Luis Obispo, talk of forming a vigilante group became rampant. Later, after Powers's famed horse race in May 1858, two of his associates, Pio Linares and Rafael Herrada, delivered some horses to San Luis Obispo that Powers bought in San Francisco. Soon afterward, the two men were part of a group that committed a robbery and four murders, which set loose an organized vigilante committee in San Luis Obispo. A manhunt occurred that included a raid at Linares's home and from which he barely escaped. Three men thought to be his accomplices were tracked down and lynched, although there is significant doubt as to their involvement in the attacks. One of these men, in an elicited confession, implicated Powers as central to the murder of the Basque men the previous fall. Finally, at Los Osos Rancho near the coast, Linares was discovered and confronted by the vigilantes. He was killed and two other men were captured, tried by the committee, and hung, although Herrada escaped. Robles, acquitted in the murder of the two Basque men, was found in Los Angeles by a posse led by then-state senator and future governor Romualdo Pacheco, returned to San Luis Obispo, and hung. Before his death, Robles also implicated in a signed confession extracted by the vigilantes the role of Powers in the death of the Basques.

An arrest warrant with a \$500 reward approved by Governor John Weller was made out at the end of May for Powers, who was still in San Francisco, as part of the manhunt, and members of the San Luis Obispo vigilance committee traveled there to make the arrest. Evidently Powers was tipped off by his old friend Patrick Dunne and vanished from the city. Rumors in newspapers during June had him in his archetypal lightning-fast horse ride through

California, so that he was said to be in the Mariposa gold country, in San Bernardino sixty miles east of Los Angeles, and in the San Fernando Valley and Santa Ana in Los Angeles County. Instead, Powers took a steamer bound for the Gulf of California and Sonora in northern Mexico and settled in Hermosillo. According to the *Los Angeles Star* newspaper, Powers was quoted as saying that he would return to San Francisco in two years.

Two years later, however, Powers was dead, though not by law enforcement or a citizens' vigilance committee. Instead, hearing about opportunities to run cattle to a mining area near the Mimbres River in southeastern Arizona, Powers gathered animals and made his way up from Hermosillo only to learn that the mining speculation had failed. Settling in with several hundred cattle at a ranch near Tubac a few miles north of the Mexican border, Powers was killed in late October 1860, perhaps by some Mexicans in his employ. He was buried in nearby Calabasas, which is today a ghost town. Yet Powers's fame continued on years after his lifetime, though he was more kindly recalled as described by his enemy Thomas King of the *San Francisco Bulletin* as a "sporting man."

THE UNITED NATIONS OF BANDITRY: THE TOM BELL GANG

Thomas J. Hodges, whose alias was Tom Bell, was a native of Tennessee who was educated and had some medical training. After serving as a medical orderly with a volunteer regiment from his home state in the Mexican American War, Hodges arrived in California in 1850. Within a year or so, he was convicted of grand larceny in Sacramento County and sentenced to five years in prison, which was then a converted ship at Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. After feigning illness and transferring to the decrepit county jail in San Francisco, Hodges escaped, though he was soon recaptured. Soon after, San Quentin, California's first true prison, was completed and Hodges installed there.

In May 1855, Hodges was part of a group escape from wood-chopping detail and formed a multiracial gang that committed crimes in the gold country from Marysville on the north to the Kings River area in the south. Eventually there were associated with the man who now called himself Tom Bell bandits (including a black man) from several American states, Mexico, Chile, England, Canada, Australia, Sweden, and Germany. Primarily the Bell gang worked in the northern mines, especially around Marysville, Auburn, and the Nevada City area. Express stages and pack trains were particularly lucrative targets, because they usually carried several thousands of dollars. Bell's robberies were carefully planned and choreographed, but after an attempt at robbing an express stagecoach with passengers led to resistance from the driver and the killing of a passenger, the group lost many of its men to a posse, abandoned the northern mines area, and moved south near Firebaugh's Ferry in Fresno County.

A few minor crimes were committed, one of which led to the arrest of some of Bell's most trusted and long-term associates. A new posse, discovering Bell's whereabouts, descended on his ranch in early October 1856 and rounded up almost everyone else associated with the bandit except the leader, who escaped for a few more days. When he returned to his ranch, however, a group of settlers led by a prominent Stockton man, George G. Belt, were alerted to his presence and surprised Bell in conversation with someone. Belt told the bandit to prepare for execution on the spot. Giving Bell time to write letters to a woman who had housed him in California and to his mother in Tennessee, Belt then arranged for a noose and, moving quickly because of impending darkness, lynched Bell from a strong sycamore tree. Members of Bell's gang, meanwhile, continued to be hunted and most of them were killed or imprisoned. One, Jim Webster, was caught and jailed by Henry Plummer, the marshal of Nevada City. Here was a case, however, where the line between bandit and lawman became very blurred. It is likely that Plummer deliberately arranged Webster's escape so that he could claim a reward for his recapture. Whether this was the case isn't known with certainty, but Plummer's future actions showed him to be capable of criminal behavior with the best of them. In 1857 he killed the husband of a woman he was having an affair with. After being convicted of murder and sentenced to San Quentin, Plummer, as Bell had done, faked an illness and received a pardon from the governor. Not long after returning to Nevada City, Plummer killed a man in a drunken gun battle in a brothel and fled the state. It has been said that Plummer turned to crime full time after fleeing toward Oregon and then turning to Washington Territory, where he stopped for a time in Lewiston. In the new mining town of Bannack, Montana, Plummer ran for sheriff, lost the election, and chased off the incumbent with threats of violence. But he was also said to be the leader of a gang of men, called the Innocents, including Bell's former henchmen Cyrus Skinner and Cherokee Bob Talbott, that went on a spree of highway robberies. The famous Montana Vigilantes that was spawned that year brought an end to the thirty-one-year-old sheriff, who was lynched in January 1864. Still, the ruthlessness of the vigilantes, the questionable nature of forced confessions of condemned men who claimed Plummer as the head of the "road agents" gang, and the fact that little direct evidence exists to either implicate or exonerate him leaves the matter of Plummer's criminal career in some doubt.

Rattlesnake Dick Barter, a British Canadian, took some of Bell's men and formed his own gang after Bell's demise. For three years Barter and his men committed a number of brash robberies of stagecoaches and Wells Fargo offices. In battles with his nemesis, Auburn constable John Boggs, Barter escaped arrest and confinement in jail several times. When Barter was finally killed in summer 1859, it was by a Placer County undersheriff in a fight in which Barter wounded a man he thought was Boggs. Having escaped from the battle mortally wounded, Barter had time to sketch a last note that was

found in his hand when his body was discovered. The note read, in part, "If J. Boggs is dead, I am satisfied."

DOUBLE BANDITRY: THE JOHN "RED" IRVING GANG

An unusual example of banditry that had more than one manifestation in a single event is what has been called the "Lugo Case" in Los Angeles during 1851. It can be viewed as a matter of "double banditry" because what led to the incident was a series of raids committed by Indians in the desert areas north of Cajon Pass, some sixty miles east of Los Angeles. Indian incursions into the greater Los Angeles area were frequent and the prize targets were horses. Although not generally referred to as such, there is no reason not to view these raids as acts of banditry.

In the first days of 1851, horse thefts by Ute Indians led by the famous Chief Walkara at the Rancho San Bernardino led to attempts by the family to find and punish the perpetrators. On one such mission Jose Maria Lugo, the owner of the San Bernardino, organized a posse of some twenty men, including ranch vaqueros, Cahuilla Indians who were also employed by the Lugos to guard against such raids, and Lugo's sons Chico and Menito. While ascending Cajon Pass to track down the Indians, the posse came upon Patrick McSwiggin and a Creek Indian named Sam, teamsters in the Amargosa mine owned by Los Angeles investors, in the high desert area above the pass and questioned them as to any sighting of Indians. Evidently the reply was that the Utes were armed with only bows and arrows, and the Lugos continued on only to be confronted by Indians amply armed with guns. In the ensuing gun battle, a member of the Lugo party was killed and the Indians escaped.

When the posse broke up as they returned to San Bernardino, a segment, including the Lugo brothers and three other men, came upon McSwiggin and Sam, whom they believed had deliberately misled them about the Utes and their armaments. According to one of the posse members, Ysidro Higuera, who testified in a trial held for the Lugos, Chico decided to confront the two men and drew his gun. Sam was killed in the first exchange and when McSwiggin sought cover behind his wagon, he was seized, taken out in the open on the road, and shot. Within a few days a detachment of soldiers marching through the pass found the bodies. During a coroner's inquest, the jury could only conclude that the two men met their ends from someone in the Lugo posse. When Justice of the Peace Jonathan R. Scott held hearings to investigate the matter, he ordered Sheriff G. Thompson Burrill to arrest the Lugo brothers. It was during these hearings that Higuera told his story. Representing the state in the hearing was Los Angeles County Attorney (and future District Judge) Benjamin I. Hayes.

Entering into the drama was the fact that Scott and Hayes were just recently legal counsel for Los Angeles jailor George Robinson in a case in which Robinson

and Jose Maria Lugo were charged with assault over an incident that occurred at Rancho San Bernardino. It was alleged that Robinson, who with his wife were guests of Jose Maria Lugo at San Bernardino as they were immigrating to Los Angeles in September 1850, hit his wife during an argument. Lugo intervened and a fight broke out between him and Robinson. The two men were charged in District Court on assault and battery charges and fined \$2.50. Shortly thereafter, Robinson was hired as jailor. The enmity between Jose Maria Lugo and Robinson continued in civil court as the latter sued the former claiming false imprisonment at the San Bernardino ranch home, as well as assault and battery. In June 1852, after two mistrials, the case was continued.

The allegation later surfaced that under Robinson's influence with the motive of revenge against the Lugos Higuera concocted his story about the McSwiggin and Sam murders to implicate Chico and Menito. It was also noted that Higuera was arrested on separate charges of murder and a charge of grand larceny, intimating that he issued his accusations against the Lugos to assist his cause in court. Higuera, in fact, had been found guilty of grand larceny in District Court in summer 1850 and fined \$10. Subsequent to his confession, he faced trial before the Sessions Court in the second larceny case, though there is no known disposition. Another Lugo posse member who Higuera identified as complicit in the deaths was Mariano Elisalde, also charged with the Lugo brothers in the murders.

The accusations against Robinson, Scott, and Hayes were made by Joseph Lancaster Brent, a Los Angeles attorney hired by Jose Maria Lugo, allegedly for \$20,000 (an enormous sum), to defend the Lugo brothers. Brent, whose manuscript on the affair was written in 1900 and published twenty-six years later, claimed center stage in the events that followed his hiring.

In the meantime, months passed, and in April 1851 some twenty-five men, led by John "Red" Irving—said to have been a Texas Ranger during the Mexican-American War—descended Cajon Pass into Rancho San Bernardino. There seemed little doubt that the Irving gang was one committed to banditry, although any specific information about their doings is not known. Once Irving learned about the arrest of the Lugos, however, he offered to storm the jail, free the Lugo boys, and take them to Mexico, where the gang was evidently heading to commit robberies and/or join an expedition organized by the Mexican government to fight Indians in Sonora. The price for this service, according to Brent, was \$10,000, although a newspaper account stated the amount was a staggering \$50,000. Moreover, the attorney wrote, when Jose Maria Lugo refused Irving's offer and instructed Brent to try and get his sons out on bail, Irving sent a lieutenant named George Evans accompanied by a contingent of the gang with a threat that the boys would be killed if the money was not forthcoming.

Brent's narrative continued with the story that as the Lugos brought some friends into Los Angeles as bondsmen, Evans and his men surrounded the simple adobe jail where Chico and Menito were held. Brent claimed that he

told the Lugos that a force of Californios was needed to oppose the bandits and that it was not safe to try to convey the boys to court. Next day, a cadre of Californios was stationed opposite Evans and company and a violent standoff loomed. Suddenly, seemingly out of nowhere, a squadron of fifty soldiers marching north from San Diego arrived in town and were requested to assist in keeping order by Sheriff Burrill while the Lugo boys were escorted to court for the bond hearing. During this drama, as narrated by Brent, Irving arrived in town and was infuriated to find that his plan was not working out. Although Brent claimed that Irving confronted him at dinner and told him he had challenged Fitzgerald and his squadron to battle the next day, Irving ordered his men to leave town and head east, where they stole cattle and horses from prominent local rancheros William Workman, Ricardo Vejar, Ignacio Palomares, and Isaac Williams. Irving then divided his gang again, sending some on the road to the Colorado River and toward Mexico, while he, Evans, and ten others went to seek revenge on the Lugo family at Rancho San Bernardino.

In the meantime, Irving's theft of cattle raised an alarm and a posse was formed to track him down. Simultaneously, a messenger was dispatched to warn the Lugos of Irving's movements, so that when the bandit leader arrived at San Bernardino, he found the ranch house virtually abandoned except for a vaquero who was ordered by the Lugos to call in Chief Juan Antonio of the Cahuilla band of Indians for help. Irving fired on the Indians and rode off with his men, the Cahuillas trailing close behind. With no knowledge of the area, Irving fell into a trap set by Chief Juan Antonio and his men who chased them into San Timoteo Canyon near today's city of Redlands. Irving and his men soon found themselves hemmed into a box canyon with the Indians taking up positions to prevent their escape. Though the bandits attempted to fight back, they were quickly cut down, except for Evans, who played dead and managed to escape.

The following day, the Los Angeles posse, consisting of Americans, Europeans, and Californios, arrived at the scene of the slaughter. It was reported by Brent that many of the former were enraged at the carnage when the charge against Irving was only cattle theft, but the Lugo attorney is the only source for this assertion. The coroner's jury, however, consisting of four Latinos and two whites, came back with a judgment that the killings were justified. The local Indian agent concurred, to a degree, stating that Chief Juan Antonio and his men were acting on the behalf of the Lugos, although he opined that Indians generally should not be permitted to punish whites for their crimes.

In the meantime, the Lugo brothers were subjected to, for the era, a very lengthy journey through the Los Angeles County court system. Indictments brought by County Attorney Hayes through the court of his former law partner, Justice Scott, were found faulty after they were sent to the District Court, which had jurisdiction in murder cases. Scott resigned his office in August after the Lugo brothers' case had been continued in the District Court, and

Hayes gave way to a new County Attorney in the fall. The problems of faulty indictments and new indictments and bench warrants that were challenged by Brent were accompanied by the attempted murder of Hayes in the fall. Rumors spread that the assassin was famed bandit Salomon Pico and in December 1851 the Lugos were held without bail during an examination to determine whether they were involved. This was after they had been indicted in August but advised by Brent to hide because he feared that they would be lynched. Although they were not indicted in the attempted killing of Hayes and, finally, in October 1852 the case was dropped due to a lack of evidence, one source has indicated that Chico and Menito Lugo later joined Pico's gang.

One notable artifact from the Lugo case was a report in the *Los Angeles Star* newspaper from October 1851 in which a deputy sheriff provided the paper with a list of homicides committed in the previous fifteen months. Organized by townships, the list gave the number of forty-four homicides, including at San Bernardino, seventeen persons "including Irving's party, killed by the Indians." This list has been used by historians as proof of Los Angeles's exceptionally high rate of murder per capita, far surpassing that of any city in American history. It is a matter of debate, however, as to whether the fate of the Irving "party" or gang was a matter of homicide in the same sense as other reported homicides rather than an outright battle. Even if the Irving gang numbers were removed from the list, reducing the total number by over one-quarter, and accepting that the remaining thirty-three reported homicides actually were homicides, the list would still indicate a very high rate of homicide per capita.

BANDITRY AND POPULAR JUSTICE: THE SHERIFF BARTON KILLINGS

As banditry waxed and waned, so did popular justice, in which citizens circumvented, though almost always claimed to support, the law and established courts, which were chronically under-funded and short-staffed. Bandits, whether as individuals or in groups, were perennial targets of vigilantes, whose concern for protection of private property and maintaining peace for the public good were not unwarranted. One of the more iconic examples of the response of popular justice against banditry happened in Los Angeles County in 1857.

In early January, a group of bandits commonly known as the Flores-Daniel gang for its leaders Juan Flores and Francisco "Pancho" Daniel engaged in robberies throughout the southern part of Los Angeles County, including the mission town of San Juan Capistrano (now in Orange County). At San Juan, the stores of four men were robbed and one of them, George Pflugardt, was killed. When news of Pflugardt's murder reached Los Angeles, Sheriff James Barton formed a small posse of five men and headed out for the fifty-mile ride

to catch the perpetrators. Barton had been sheriff from 1852 to 1855 and had been through more than his share of rough justice in frontier Los Angeles. In September 1856, however, Barton was elected for one more term and took office in December, just weeks before the Flores-Daniel gang conducted its raid on San Juan Capistrano.

In present-day Irvine, Barton met with what was assumed to be the Flores-Daniel gang, but not in a position that favored him. Trapped in an area in which they were completely surrounded, the posse tried to fight the numerically superior gang. The sheriff and three of his men were killed with the other two posse members barely escaping with their lives. The survivors headed for Los Angeles and the suburban town of El Monte, known for its disproportionate number of vigilantes, to raise an alarm.

What resulted was a massive manhunt that was certainly the largest in nineteenth-century Los Angeles County and probably one of the biggest in California. In particular, the death of the popular, if somewhat reckless, sheriff rocked the community and the response, driven by anger and fear, led to reprisals that led to the deaths of nearly two dozen suspects, many of whom likely had little or nothing to do with the Flores-Daniel gang.

The formation of several posses was largely done on the basis of ethnicity, including groups from the German, French, and Californio portions of society, in addition to a group of Americans from the relatively new suburban town of El Monte led by a future sheriff James Thompson; the mustering of an existing militia under former Santa Barbara County Sheriff William W. Twist; and a new company led by a physician, Dr. John S. Griffin, who assumed general leadership over the entire effort to track down the Daniel-Flores gang.

For some reason, the first acts of retribution were not near the scene of the murders of Barton and his posse members but in the mission town of San Gabriel where four Hispanic men, reported to be members of the Daniel-Flores gang, were captured and executed by citizens from El Monte. One of the lynched men, Miguel Soto, was shot and, perhaps in imitation of the alleged Joaquin Murieta killing, his head was decapitated and taken to Los Angeles. While Soto had been examined in 1856 before a Justice of the Peace for robbery and the attempted murder of militia leader Twist, there was significant controversy over whether Soto and the three others killed at San Gabriel had anything to do with the Barton murders or were lynched because they were thought to be involved in crime generally. The decapitation of Soto further added to the inflamed feelings generated by the incident, which was reflected in the combative reporting between the Spanish-language *El Clamor Publico* and the English-language *Los Angeles Star*.

In the meantime, the company of Mounted Californians led by Andres Pico, which included up to eighty Californios and Indians, were joined by the El Monte posse of some forty men and cornered the accused banditti in Trabuco Canyon. Five men, including Juan Flores, were captured and three temporarily

escaped, though these latter were caught a short time later. When poor security allowed for all of the prisoners the ability to escape, only two of them were recaptured right away and Pico decided to hang the two, Juan Silvas and Francisco Ardillero. Juan Flores, who rode across the county some eighty or more miles, was captured at the Rancho Simi near the border with Ventura County and placed under arrest in Los Angeles. Two other of the gang escaped through Simi Pass. At least fifty persons were arrested and six men were lynched in the initial manhunt. There were, however, other reports of lynching, included three men killed at Los Nietos, southeast of Los Angeles, and, at Santa Barbara, the executions of two other men, one of whom issued a confession to his involvement in the Flores-Daniel gang.

Flores, however, though lodged in jail was soon the subject of a large public meeting about his fate. Said to be without any dissent, the vote generated by the meeting called for the hanging of the bandit chieftain, which was conducted on Fort Moore Hill overlooking the city on 14 February.

Later in the year, Luciano Tapia, arrested on accusation of being in the Flores-Daniel gang, went on trial at the District Court for the murder of George Pflugardt. He was duly convicted and sentenced to death. He and an American named Thomas King were executed one after the other in February 1858.

This left Pancho Daniel, the other leader of the bandit gang. He was arrested in San Jose early in 1858, extradited to Los Angeles, and indicted. His trial began in March, but Daniel secured a continuation of the case to the July term. When the case resumed in the summer, however, problems in jury selection in which the defense challenged on the basis of alleged bias in juror selection by Los Angeles County Sheriff James Thompson, a member of the El Monte posse that sought the gang after the Barton murders, led to another continuation to November. The trial resumed on 22 November but further defense challenges to the jury selection process were followed by a motion for a change of venue. This had been refused by Judge Benjamin Hayes before, but the problem of seating a jury likely led him to agree and the case was transferred to Santa Barbara County, also part of Hayes's district. The citizens of Los Angeles, however, were not disposed to let Daniel leave the county and, on 30 November 1858, seized the prisoner as he was being removed from his cell for the transfer and lynched him. In the register of action for the District Court, the County Clerk pointedly noted that Daniel was "accidentally hung, through the carelessness of some American citizens."

Popular justice continued for another fifteen years in Los Angeles, but reached its brutal pinnacle with the aftermath of the Barton murders. Although there is no doubt that some of its victims were guilty of the crimes they were accused of committing, there is considerably less certainty about the execution of many of the others, including the four men in San Gabriel. A community greatly excited by the San Juan robberies and murder, followed by the killing of Barton and his posse members, could not control their anger, fear, and desire for revenge and excesses seemed to be the order of the day.

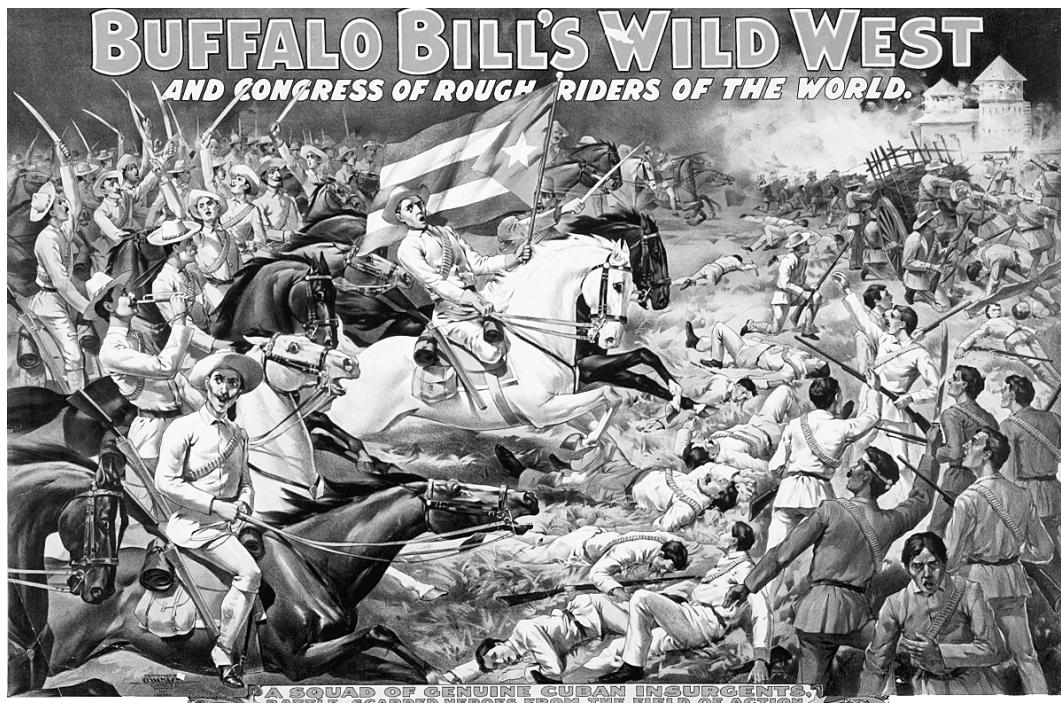
CONCLUSION

The subject of banditry has received surprisingly little attention among academic historians, quite likely because of the lack of documented information about the individuals and, in many cases, the specifics of their activities. It is also probable that the nature of banditry as steeped deeply in legend and myth makes an academic analysis difficult. These conditions, however, have not deterred amateur and popular historians from taking up the topic of banditry, and there is no shortage of books and articles on such figures as Murieta and Vasquez, while American and European bandits are frequently discussed in general works about nineteenth-century lawlessness.

The issue is whether the myths and legends can be sufficiently separated from reliable evidence, even if the iconic presence of the former in the stories of Murieta and Vasquez almost always trumps the latter.

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Circus poster showing battle between Buffalo Bill's congress of rough riders and Cuban insurgents, ca. 1898. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Buffalo Bill Cody

Jennifer Mizzell

William Cody—soldier, showman, entrepreneur, and founder of the Wild West Show—helped shape the popular concept of the American West. By blending historical events such as the Battle of Little Bighorn with mythical portrayals of the West inspired by dime novels and melodramas, Cody entertained late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century audiences with what many people believed an authentic representation of the Wild West. Turn of the century audiences, uncertain about the future and nostalgic for the past, looked to the Wild West Show as both a vehicle for escapism and as an adventure back in time. What many audiences failed to realize, however, was that Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was, in fact, very modern, both in its concept and in its relationship with American mass media and culture. Buffalo Bill inspired a new form of celebrity, understood the powerful link between American culture and media, and offered Americans new memories of their own histories.

EARLY LIFE

William Frederick “Buffalo Bill” Cody was born near LeClaire, Iowa, on 26 February 1847. In 1854, while the country was in the midst of growing pro- and anti-slavery tensions, the Cody family moved to the Kansas territory and settled within the Salt Creek Valley. Cody's father Isaac was a Free Soil Democrat. Yet the Salt Creek Squatters Association, an organization that worked to maintain order and settle claim disputes in the territory, was controlled primarily by pro-slavery men. The tension between Isaac Cody and his pro-slavery neighbors escalated into violence and in September 1854, Isaac Cody was stabbed during a claim dispute with pro-slavery man, Charles Dunn. Isaac Cody survived the attack, but remained the target of pro-slavery violence.

According to William Cody's own memoir, as a boy, Cody saved his father from a trap set by his enemies. After learning of the danger that awaited his father, who was away from home, the young Cody decided to meet Isaac before he returned to Grasshopper Falls and warn him of the impending threat. Sick with the flu, he got out of bed and onto a horse. He traveled over nine miles, fleeing a gang of men who recognized him as the son of an abolitionist. Eventually, Cody stopped at the home of a family friend, who, noticing the vomit-covered horse, put Cody to bed. Later, the friend related that he had communicated with Cody's father and that Isaac Cody's return date had been postponed. Yet Cody insisted on carrying the message to his father. In 1879, Cody retold the story of his ride to rescue his father in *The Life of Buffalo Bill*. Cody's 1879 account, however, excludes the help he received from the family friend and ignores the fact that Cody's father was not in any real danger.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS

Cody's autobiographical accounts tend to omit many details of his early life, primarily those that threatened to diminish the character of Buffalo Bill, the American Hero. Cody's account of his efforts to save his father from ambush by pro-slavery men, for example, excludes many details later added by Cody's sister, Julia.

After Isaac's death in 1857, Mary and Julia Cody, Cody's mother and sister, continued to work on the Cody farm, renting out rooms in the family house to help raise money. Cody sought employment as a teamster. Guerilla warfare continued to escalate in Kansas and Missouri, however, and by 1862 Cody joined "The Red Legs," a paramilitary group and the self-proclaimed protectors of Kansas. Yet many of the Red Leg expeditions involved instances of robbery, including theft of property belonging to pro-Union settlers. Frequently away from home, Cody returned to the family farm in 1863 to care for his sick mother. Following the death of Mary Cody, Cody grew despondent and turned to drinking. After recovering from his binge, Cody alleged that he unknowingly awoke as a soldier in the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

During the Civil War, Cody claimed to have witnessed heavy combat and to have been employed as both a scout and as a spy. During this time, according to Cody, he renewed his friendship with James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, who was also serving as a spy. According to official military records, however, Cody served as both a hospital orderly and a messenger for the Freedmen's Bureau in St. Louis.

After the Civil War, Cody returned home and resumed employment as a stage driver. In 1866 he married Louisa Maude Frederici, the daughter of an Austro-Italian immigrant. After the war, Cody hoped to start a new family and to reverse the financial ruin his family had suffered at the death of Cody's father. Cody returned with his new bride to his mother's home in Leavenworth, Kansas. Mary Cody died during the war in 1863 and the house was under new ownership. Cody rented the house and transformed it into a hotel called the Golden Rule House. Cody hoped the hotel would prove a lucrative investment, capitalizing on the rising numbers of travelers moving through the area. The business venture failed due, in part, to Cody's own poor money management skills.

As Cody's hotel venture fell short of success, his marriage, too, suffered. At first, the Codys shared a home with Cody's sister Eliza and her husband. After Cody's sister and brother-in-law moved out, Cody's younger sister Helen moved in, depriving Louisa, as she saw it, of her own home. In addition, Cody's financial problems aggravated the tension between Cody and his now pregnant wife. Louisa, the daughter of merchants, had anticipated a fairly settled and comfortable life. Disappointed by her husband's failures, unable to get along with her sister-in-law, and frustrated by the want of her own

house, Louisa Cody was left to give birth to her first daughter, Arta, alone. After Golden Rule House failed, Cody left his wife and sister and started out for Salina, Kansas.

According to Cody, his first year away from Louisa was spent “railroading, trading, and hunting.” With a mind to make money, Cody was open to a variety of employments including the resumption of various odd jobs and failed business ventures. It was at this time, however, that Cody first acquired the moniker “Buffalo Bill.” Although the name “Buffalo” was not uncommon on the Plains, the name assigned to Cody was inspired by one of his many business schemes; that is, as a supplier of buffalo meats. Even before his fame as an entertainer, the nickname “Buffalo Bill” already made Cody a celebrity on the frontier.

After a series of unsuccessful business endeavors, Cody teamed up with William Rose in 1867 to found a town near Fort Hays. The partnership between Cody and Rose began when the men were contracted to grade track for the United Pacific Eastern Division. The new town was founded along the railroad track and given the name “Rome.” Cody and Rose designed the town, cleared the land, graded roads, and offered free lots to potential settlers. Eventually the town consisted of thirty houses, saloons, and stores; including one owned by Cody. Cody immediately sent word to Louisa, boasting that he had settled and was now worth \$250,000. Soon Cody’s wife and new baby joined him in the Kansas frontier. Unfortunately Rome’s success was short-lived. After a failed attempt to negotiate Rome as the next town site for the railroad, Cody witnessed the town’s dissolution as men tore down their homes and buildings and moved to Hays City, the site of the new railroad stop. Cody and Louisa followed the Rome settlers to Hays City and attempted to set up business in a new hotel. Within several months, Louisa left her husband and moved back to St. Louis.

After Louisa’s departure, Cody took up buffalo hunting, an occupation that garnered little respect. In June 1868, Cody invited Louisa to meet him in Leavenworth. Louisa agreed and arrived with the baby. The meeting was brief and after an argument, the couple agreed, according to Cody, that they were not suited for each other. Louisa returned again to St. Louis. Back in Hays, Cody, a successful buffalo hunter, took up scouting for the military as well. Civilians were frequently hired by the army to serve as scouts, teamsters, and guides. In the spring of 1868, Cody was promoted to detective to help catch deserters and thieves. During his service as a low-ranking army detective, Cody rode alongside his old friend Deputy Marshal Bill Hickok.

After a brief career sleuthing for the military, Cody returned to west Kansas and took up work as a scout and hunter for the U.S. Tenth Cavalry. By 1869, Cody had become popular with the local press. Despite the myths surrounding Cody’s military exploits during the Indian Wars, though, Cody never actually served as a soldier. The lifestyle of a scout was distinctly different than that of the common soldier. Scouts not only functioned outside the military

chain of command, they also lived relatively private lives and garnered greater pay than the average soldier. In addition, Cody supplemented both his income and his celebrity by giving and selling Indian ornaments and captured horses to followers. Scouting was a way for Cody to repair his wounded finances and to differentiate himself from the common soldier, but even as a scout Cody was not exempt from battle; during the 1860s, Cody was involved in at least nine conflicts.

In 1868, Cody volunteered to courier a message from General Philip Sheridan to troops in Fort Dodge, ninety-five miles from Fort Hays. Sheridan received notice that two local Indian tribes were in the process of relocating from the area around Fort Larned. Sheridan feared that the Indians were moving in preparation for an attack on neighboring settlements. Cody covered 350 miles in sixty hours without respite, carrying messages both to Fort Dodge and to Fort Larned. Sheridan, impressed with Cody's ride, proclaimed that Cody's service was indispensable in the campaign against the Indians and appointed Cody as chief of scouts for the Fifth Cavalry.

In late 1868, Cody and the Fifth Cavalry encountered a band of Cheyenne Dog Men north of Fort Hays. Cody and the cavalry followed the Dog Men through a moving battle into Nebraska. Eventually the Indians dispersed, however, and Cody and the cavalry returned to camp. That same winter, Cody and the troops joined Sheridan in his offensive against Indian warriors. Cody scouted for General Eugene Carr and at the end of the campaign in 1869 Carr kept Cody on as his scout. In May 1869, Cody battled bands of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. Carr commended Cody's courage and skill as a scout and petitioned for a bonus of one hundred dollars for Cody as a token of his admiration and approval.

Within the same month, Cody along with 400 men, including 150 Pawnee scouts, set out to track a band of Dog Men who had kidnapped two women and an infant in northern Kansas. During the expedition, Cody was involved in numerous skirmishes with Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. In one instance, Cody and a crew of scouts chased a Sioux riding party sent to stampede the army mule herd. The chase continued into the night and resulted in the killing of two Sioux raiders. When Cody and the scouts returned to camp, however, Carr was infuriated. Instead of complaining to Cody, though, Carr voiced his frustration to another scout, warning that separating soldiers from the main army was a common Sioux tactic. On 11 July, Carr embarked on a mission to overtake the retreating Cheyenne, fleeing from recent skirmishes. Within three days, Carr's troops clashed with the Cheyenne, crushing the Dog Men and rescuing the only surviving captive, Maria Weichell. Cody's career with the Fifth Cavalry continued through the fall and after 1869, the military kept Cody on as chief herder for Fort McPherson's livestock.

Within the same year, Cody invited Louisa, their daughter Arta, and two of his sisters to stay with him in Kansas. Hostilities between Indian tribes and the military had declined and Cody was now in a position, at least financially,

to care for his family. Cody's invitation was accepted and the family settled at Fort McPherson. Cody oversaw the construction of a small house and Louisa, hoping to help supplement the family income, opened a dressmaking business. A year after reuniting with her husband, Louisa gave birth to a boy, Kit Carson Cody. The Cody family, having finally achieved middle-class status, settled into their new lifestyle.

During the 1870s, Cody scouted both for military expeditions and wealthy hunting parties. In 1872 Cody was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor after leading a detachment of the Third Cavalry into a skirmish with Sioux raiders outside a Sioux Indian camp. Eyewitness accounts commended Cody's bravery and quick thinking, defending his party. Cody's reputation had so preceded him, one onlooker commented, that there was no need to describe Cody's brave feats; rather, all the public needed to know was that Cody had behaved as he usually did. Years after his death, however, the military revoked Cody's medal, claiming that Cody had been a civilian scout rather than a soldier when he earned the award.

On 7 July 1876 Cody and the Fifth Cavalry received word of the defeat of General George A. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry at Little Bighorn. The Fifth Cavalry, determined to prevent additional losses at the hands of the Cheyenne and the Sioux, traveled 150 miles, intercepting a band of Cheyenne at Warbonnet Creek. The Cheyenne engaged the Fifth Cavalry in battle. During the skirmish, Cody dressed in full stage regalia, allegedly shot and scalped Cheyenne chief Yellow Hair. The confrontation between Cody and Yellow Hair was apparently an accident. Many of the details of the encounter have been muddied by unreliable accounts, including the version depicted by Cody in his Wild West Show. Despite the controversy over exactly how the fight between Yellow Hair and Cody unraveled, however, it seems certain that Cody killed the Cheyenne warrior. After the encounter, Cody sent word to Louisa describing the event in eccentric detail and announcing that he planned to send Yellow Hair's arms and scalp to a shopkeeper for display in the front window.

Cody's early penchant for showmanship and his skill as a guide and a buffalo hunter meshed well with his "Western" persona. During the 1870s, for example, Cody's careers as an entertainer and as a scout frequently overlapped. By 1868, railroads advertised buffalo hunts in hopes of both attracting passengers and devising an effective solution for the problem of buffalo herds crowding the railroad tracks. Passengers aboard trains were encouraged to hunt buffalo and trains often stopped to give their travelers a clear shot at the buffalo from the tracks. Tourists were drawn to the buffalo hunts in hopes of experiencing the West; that is, the popularized West that they had seen and heard about in paintings, novels, magazines, and newspapers. Tourists who dreamed of living the Western life flocked to the buffalo hunts in hopes of making a mark, albeit small, upon history. Yet buffalo hunting via train little compared to the experience and excitement of a mounted buffalo hunt.

Cody's familiarity with mounted buffalo hunting preceded his days as an army scout. In fact, Cody had taken railroad agent and Rome nemesis William Webb on a buffalo hunt in 1867. According to Webb, Cody was the best scout he had ever seen and hunting on horseback was the only true way to hunt.

Horseback buffalo hunting represented much more than the fulfillment of fantasies or the expansion of the tourist industry, though. Guided hunts helped cultivate an exclusive social environment, a sort of clique comprised of hunters not defined by urban social mores such as class or tradition. For a guide, satisfying the position of both leader and a hired hand was often an ambiguous task. Cody's strategy for navigating the precarious social terrain was to play practical jokes. For instance, Cody's most remarkable "joke" was the staged Indian attack. In 1871, Cody organized a mock attack, instructing his Pawnee guides to ambush himself and his companion "Mr. McCarthy." The joke backfired when McCarthy fled his false attackers. When Cody finally overtook his client, troops had already been dispatched in pursuit of McCarthy's phony assailants.

Cody's guiding persona, therefore, infused aspects of both the Western hunt and Wild West showmanship. In 1871, Cody guided a hunting party for Philip Sheridan comprised of various prominent Americans including lawyers and financiers. Cody conscientiously prepared for the hunt, appearing in a fringed buckskin suit, a crimson shirt, and sombrero, holding a rifle atop a white horse. Cody maintained his performance throughout the hunt, relating tales of Indians and hunting around the campfire at night and showing off his hunting skills by killing a buffalo on horseback.

In 1872, Cody led another famed hunting party for Russian Grand Duke Alexis. According to one newspaper's account, Cody met the grand duke astride a horse and clothed in a buckskin suit. Cody traveled with the grand duke's party for the fifty-mile hunt terminating at Camp Willow Creek. Cody's importance in the grand duke's party was limited, however, by the presence of George A. Custer. For the remainder of the hunt, Cody occupied a more peripheral position, edged out by Custer's celebrity. Cody did not linger long in Custer's shadow, however, and after the hunt with the grand duke came to a close, he accepted an invitation to visit New York. By February 1872, Cody was on his way to New York City.

CELEBRITY AND THE WILD WEST SHOW

In New York, Cody was immediately drawn to the theater. Ironically, Cody's arrival in New York coincided with the opening of the play "Buffalo Bill" by playwright Fred G. Maeder. The play opened at the Bowery Theater and starred actor J.B. Studley as Buffalo Bill. Studley, realizing that Cody was in attendance, notified the crowd that the real Buffalo Bill was in the audience. Cody was eventually called to the stage to make a short speech. Cody, later

recalling what it was like to stand before an audience for the first time, said he made a desperate attempt to speak, but he could no longer recall his exact words. After the short speech, Cody bowed and dashed from the stage.

In fall 1872, Cody along with several scouts was invited by writer Ned Buntline to Chicago. Buntline persuaded Cody to play the role of the real Buffalo Bill on stage. After the scouts arrived, however, it became clear that Buntline did not have a script. After the play's backer reneged, Buntline personally rented a theater for a week and led the scouts to a hotel where, within four hours, he produced a script. Cody and the scouts worried that they would not be able to memorize their lines in less than six months. Yet, under the critical eye of Buntline, they memorized their scripts in time and in four days, opened the play titled "Scouts on the Plains," before a mixed audience comprised of Philip Sheridan and the Chicago aristocracy.

Reviews of the play were dismal. Critics noted the stiffness of the actors, the violence, and the confusing, whirlwind plot. Still, the play continued to tour, traveling throughout the Midwest and Northeast. Eventually the group began to fracture and two members split to start their own theater company. Cody continued on, however, under the name of his new theater company, Buffalo Bill Combination. The Buffalo Bill Combination toured for another ten years, Cody playing the lead role of Buffalo Bill. Cody's early stage career was extremely successful; not only did he gain popularity, but by 1880 Cody's annual profits peaked at \$50,000.

In 1872, Cody visited St. Louis to star in "Scouts of the Prairie." He reunited with Louisa again, who, along with their three children—daughter Orra Maude was born in 1872—traveled with Cody and the show. In 1873, the Cody family moved to West Chester, Pennsylvania. Louisa, however, continued to travel with Cody and the show and in 1874, the family visited and eventually settled in Rochester, New York. Despite the reunion between Louisa and Cody, family life was anything but tranquil. In 1876, Cody's five-year-old son died of scarlet fever and two years later Louisa moved with Cody's two daughters to North Platte, Nebraska.

Cody continued to work on the stage until the birth of his Wild West Show in 1883. Cody's fame had been on the rise since the early 1870s when he first appeared before a New York audience in "King of the Border Men." Newspapers profited from Cody's celebrity, embellishing the adventures of Buffalo Bill, including an account of the hunt with Grand Duke Alexis. In many ways, Cody seemed to transfer his "Western show," that is, his performance as a scout—telling stories and staging Indian attacks—to the East. Much of Cody's early theater work consisted of impromptu acting and filling in the gaps between forgotten lines with storytelling and campfire narrative. Cody, thus, successfully entertained Eastern audiences with Western tales, and after his apprenticeship with Buntline, Cody turned to managing his own theater troupe. Cody's stage plays seemed to blur the line between the theater and the frontier. In 1877, for example, troupe members abandoned Cody's theater

company after being seriously injured during a scene. The actor who had been scripted to play the scalped Indian Yellow Hair claimed that he had been pressured and deserted by Cody and the troupe. The distraught actor reacted to Cody's alleged abuses by starting his own theater company, but without Cody, the actor's new troupe failed to draw as great an audience as that of the "authentic" Buffalo Bill.

Cody's theater work, therefore, embodied a new form of entertainment, one that blended authentic history and events with Cody's trademark storytelling and the stage. The *New York Times* mused over Cody's new approach to theater, calling it "Drama of the Future" in which contemporary history is portrayed by the actual actors involved. Approximately ten years after Cody's first appearance on stage, he participated, along with a contingent of Pawnee actors, in the initial dress rehearsal for the Wild West Show in Colville, Nebraska. According to contemporaries, after a mule-drawn Deadwood stagecoach rolled into the arena, Cody invited the town council and mayor to take a ride in the coach around the show grounds. The coach circled three times before the Pawnee actors charged after it. Buffalo Bill and a rescue party followed, sending the mules into a frenzy. The entire scene whirled past the crowd, the mayor waving from the window of the coach to be let out, but the mules would not stop until they were entirely exhausted. Once they came to a stop, the mayor leaped from the coach and charged toward Buffalo Bill. Fortunately for Cody, another actor distracted the mayor before he unleashed his anger on the show's star.

One of the most attractive characteristics of Cody's show was its sense of authenticity. What the Wild West Show offered, however, was a mixture of fact and fantasy. Many portraits of Cody were taken before painted backdrops depicting western terrain. Although clearly fabricated, the backdrops were regarded by audience members as authentic representations of the West, drawing out the rugged and therefore "Western" attitude of the person in the photograph. Thus the presence of Indians helped emphasize the authenticity of Cody's Wild West Show. In fact, Cody's initial plans were to make Indians the main feature of the show.

As Cody's show grew in size, he acquired a partner, William "Doc" Carver. The Wild West Show, in its maturity, opened with a parade featuring Indians, cowboys, elk, and buffalo. Following the parade, the show began, comprised of three series of acts: races, historical reenactments, and exhibitions of skill and talent, which included acts such as rope demonstrations and bronco riding. Unlike the contemporary circus, the Wild West Show mixed historical memorabilia, Western props, and authentic historical characters, such as Indians and a Deadwood coach, with showmanship and entertainment. The Wild West Show was at its most popular in cities and urban centers, where Cody—on horseback and armed with a gun—amazed audiences, many of whom had never learned to ride. The show also symbolized the fleeting nature of the frontier and triggered the nostalgia for the frontier past. The Wild West Show,

therefore, blended aspects of the past and the present, a modern circus depicting historical events as entertainment for the new urban centers.

The Wild West Show, not surprisingly, had its share of strong personalities. Doc Carver, for instance, was an excellent marksman but only a substandard performer. His shooting was inconsistent and in one instance, after failing to hit a series of targets, Carver lost his temper, broke his rifle on his horse's head, and attacked an assistant. In addition, Cody and his crew had a penchant for drinking, which resulted in poor performances and missed shows. The failings of his show seem to reflect Cody's shortcomings as a manager.

While Cody struggled to balance his performance career with his managerial career, his personal life continued to unravel. Beginning with a lawsuit against his cousin who had allegedly sold family property that belonged to Cody's grandfather, the decline of Cody's personal life continued with the deterioration of his marriage. Louisa, according to Cody, had grown jealous of his stage career and particularly of the show's actresses, whom Louisa claimed to have seen Cody kissing. After Louisa returned to North Platte in 1878, Cody continued to support his wife, sending her \$3500 to resettle. Four years after Louisa returned to Nebraska, Cody began work on a new ranch also in North Platte, named "Scout's Rest." Cody increased his land holding by four acres and populated it with cattle, horses, new trees, a large Victorian home, and a barn with the words "SCOUT'S REST" painted across the top.

Despite Cody's move to North Platte, Louisa refused to share a home with her husband and declined invitations to live in the house at Scout's Rest. In 1883, Louisa gave birth to a daughter, Irma, but the relationship between the Codys remained fairly precarious. Cody mortgaged his properties to support his show and his new ranch, and was infuriated when Louisa refused to sign the mortgage papers for her home in North Platte. In addition, Louisa had taken the money given to her by Cody and invested it into other properties under her own name. In September 1883, Cody wrote to his sister announcing that he planned to divorce Louisa, whom he accused of attempting to ruin him financially. Cody eventually dropped the divorce suit, however, when his daughter Orra died a month later.

While Cody struggled to keep his marriage intact, the Wild West Show was in danger of falling apart. Cody's finances suffered thanks to his inability to settle differences with his new partner. In addition to financial qualms, Cody also wrestled with negative publicity after the *Chicago Tribune* reported that audience members who attended the show in October 1883 questioned the "respectability" of its multiethnic cast, comprised of Indians and Mexicans. In 1883, Cody and Carver parted ways and two years later Cody won a lawsuit over the use of the name "Wild West." As a result, Cody hired a new theater manager, Nathan Salsbury, whose experience in entertainment ranged from variety shows to musical theater. The combination of Salsbury's managing experience and Cody's familiarity with the melodrama helped reshape the narrative of the Wild West Show. Despite the show's entertainment value, it

still lacked a single, clear direction, in particular the inclusion of a single conclusive ending.

Ethnicity in the Cast

The cast of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show included Indians, white "American" cowboys, and "vaqueros" of Mexican descent. Actors were often dressed in costumes that emphasized their different ethnicities. Yet actors also frequently blurred racial lines to appear in various roles during the season.

The first change Salsbury demanded of the Wild West crew was sobriety. Cody agreed with Salsbury and together they worked to enforce abstinence and order. Salsbury then went to work reorganizing Cody's show and providing it with the sense of direction it clearly lacked. By 1885, Salsbury had added an orchestra that included musicians dressed in Western costume, which began each show with "The Star Spangled Banner." The Wild West Show also adopted a new closing scene known as "The Attack on Settler's Cabin." The scene featured Cody rescuing a white family or white woman and children from an Indian attack. In this way, the Wild West Show appealed to a conservative middle-class audience who considered the home a place of salvation and virtue.

In 1884, the Wild West Show opened in New York and embarked on an Eastern tour, traveling down the Mississippi by steamboat. While en route, the steamboat collided with another boat, resulting in a loss of equipment, including the show's animals. The actors and the crew survived, however, and were able to salvage the Deadwood stagecoach. Despite the boat accident, Cody and the Wild West Show continued to New Orleans and opened on time. Within two weeks, Cody replaced the show's lost property and purchased new livestock, as well as a buffalo. In September, Cody and the Wild West Show received an endorsement from Mark Twain. According to Twain, the show transported him to wilderness of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains. Twain called the show "genuine" and urged Cody to send his show abroad. It is generally agreed that many of the attractions sent from America to Europe were unbelievable, said Twain. If Cody were willing to send the Wild West Show to Europe, he could prove that American entertainment was, in truth, rather authentic. Within two years, Cody accepted Twain's suggestion and traveled with the show across the Atlantic to England.

In spite of setbacks in New Orleans, the Wild West Show, with the combined efforts of Salsbury and Cody, continued to grow. In 1885, Anne Oakley joined the show. Oakley, who harbored an aversion to lowbrow entertainment, was attracted to the Wild West Show for its "wholesomeness." For Oakley, the show's frontier hero embodied heroism, not the overt sexuality common in burlesque shows or circus features. In contrast, the Wild West

Show's now famous "Attack on Settler's Cabin" exemplified the importance of protecting the family and preserving domesticity.

Oakley was hired to replace shooter Adam Bogardus, who quit the show during its run in New Orleans. Salsbury offered Oakley a three-day trial with the show in Nashville. At the end of the trial, Oakley was hired and Salsbury and Cody immediately went to work promoting their new star, ordering \$7000 worth of advertisements. The fact that the Wild West Show chose to advertise Oakley as an individual star reveals the degree to which Cody and Salsbury recognized Oakley's value. Oakley's appeal, as a young woman heading up a shooting act, satisfied the show's unusual relationship with both the exploitation of violence and the preservation of the family.

Oakley's act tested the boundaries of the traditional female role and included stunts such as aiming a gun at her husband and shooting the end of a cigarette from her husband's mouth. The combination of Oakley's femininity and shooting skill was a winning match for the Wild West Show. Cody and Salsbury did not hesitate to hire other female actresses, including "the California Girl," Lillian Smith. Oakley's embodiment of female virtue, however, outshined Smith's shooting skill. Smith eventually left the show in pursuit of a love interest. It was clear that tension existed between Oakley and the other female actresses. In 1887, the tension became so great that Oakley left the Wild West Show and embarked on an independent European tour. It was not until 1889 that Oakley returned. Oakley remained with the show until 1901.

The acquisition of Oakley was a precursor to the reinvigoration of Cody's efforts to acquire both famous and more "wild" Indians for the show. In 1885, with the help of General William T. Sherman, Cody obtained permission from the Indian Office to take Sioux chief Sitting Bull on tour. Sitting Bull, however, was unsure about joining the show until, according to Salsbury, he saw a postcard of Oakley. Sitting Bull had seen Oakley perform in 1884, had nicknamed her "Little Sure Shot," and, according to Oakley, had adopted her as his daughter. Sitting Bull joined the Wild West Show for the 1885–1886 season. Under contract with the Wild West Show, Sitting Bull earned fifty dollars a week, with two weeks in advance and a \$125 bonus. Cody also agreed to allow Sitting Bull to bring an additional five men at twenty-five dollars a month and three women at fifteen dollars a month, along with his interpreter, William Halsey, at sixty dollars a month. Sitting Bull also retained all rights to his photographs and autograph, which he sold as show souvenirs. Sitting Bull's routine consisted of riding a horse around the arena during the show's opening parade.

In 1885, Cody and Salsbury organized a banquet in Boston to which they invited twelve journalists. The banquet was designed to provide the journalists with a "Western experience," complete with a roasting ox, primitive silverware, tin plates, and neither tables nor chairs. Sitting Bull attended the banquet, and after the meal, answered the reporters' questions. The banquet was successful and the journalists printed glowing reviews of Cody, Sitting

Bull, and the Wild West experience. The 1885 tour was profitable for both Cody and Sitting Bull, yet Indian Agent James McLaughlin feared that the chief's growing popularity and profit from the show increased his influence on the reservation. After 1886, Sitting Bull was barred from the show and returned to his home at Standing Rock.

The Wild West Show closed for the season in September. Instead of disbanding the cast and storing the equipment, however, Cody and Salsbury moved the show indoors to Madison Square Garden. Cody and Salsbury, realizing that most New Yorkers had seen the show during its regular run, hired art director Steele Mackaye to revamp the show's narrative. Mackaye rearranged the traditional acts into a new theme tracing the history of American expansion from the colonies to the West, called *The Drama of Civilization*. British artist Matt Morgan was also hired to paint realistic backdrops for the indoor show. Morgan's vitae included a collection of Civil War paintings on display in St. Louis. Morgan's work with the Wild West Show was unique in that the paintings measured at approximately 40 feet high and 150 feet in length. Mackaye also required that the paintings be curved into a panorama.

Buffalo Bill's show at Madison Square Garden was a success. One of the show's central acts, added in 1887, was titled "Custer's Last Rally." The reenactment of Custer's fall appealed to audiences' fascination with the waning frontier and received a valuable endorsement from Custer's widow, Elizabeth Bacon Custer. With the addition of the reenactment of Custer's death, Cody's show at Madison Square Garden blended Morgan's artistry with the myth and history of Little Bighorn. Cody's donning of a red wig and portrayal of Custer effected audiences in a way that inspired respect and reverence. In addition, the illusion of the panoramas made audiences feel as if they were witnessing a historical event in realtime. The show at Madison Square Garden closed in February. The Wild West Show, however, was still on the ascent. Before the show closed, Salsbury and Cody made an agreement with the American Exhibition in London and on 31 March 1887, the Wild West Show boarded the ship *State of Nebraska* for Great Britain.

EUROPEAN TOUR

Buffalo Bill, along with 209 passengers, 200 horses, 18 buffalo, and a collection of mules, donkeys, steers, and deer crossed the sea for London. The trip was difficult for the Wild West crew, with frequent seasickness and the deaths of buffalo and elk. Eventually the Wild West Show arrived at Gravesend and immediately began rehearsing at the showground near the American Exhibition in West London. Not only had Cody and Salsbury ensured that the show received substantial advance press, the American Exhibition itself coincided with Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, celebrating Victoria's fiftieth year on the throne. Prime Minister William Gladstone and the Prince of Wales

both attended advanced showings and a substantial crowd of hunting enthusiasts, including the Duke of Beaufort and the Prince of Wales, flocked to the show.

Cody's reputation as a scout and as a hunter was advantageous for the showman in England as well as in the United States. Cody's connections with English hunting enthusiasts prompted an introduction to the Prince of Wales. The prince agreed to attend the show's rehearsal on 5 May, and Cody and Salsbury rushed to assemble a makeshift royal box. Before the show, the prince was asked to signal the opening. Following the prince's signal, the Indians let out a yell and swept around the arena on horseback. The prince leaped from his seat and leaned over the edge of the box, enthralled. After the show, the Prince of Wales asked to tour Cody's stables, was shown Cody's old horse, Charlie, and offered cigarettes to the Indian Red Shirt. The prince was also introduced to Annie Oakley, who, failing to acknowledge royal etiquette, promptly shook hands with the prince and Princess Beatrice. The prince, however, seemed not to take offense, and he later recommended to Victoria that she request her own private showing.

Hunting, popular with the British upper class, was associated with courage, masculinity, and individualism. Cody's own persona and the character of the Wild West Show appealed to British hunting enthusiasts who shared similar ideals and interests.

On 11 May, Victoria arrived at the exhibition flanked by a sizeable entourage. The show opened with the presentation of the American flag, as the orator explained, as a token of peace and friendship to the world. The queen, along with the royal party, rose and bowed before the flag. Cody later proclaimed that the queen's presence at the Wild West Show marked the first time since the Declaration of Independence that an English monarch had saluted the American flag. In addition to a private showing, Victoria also requested a private meeting with Annie Oakley, Lillian Smith, and the "chief" of the show Indians, Red Shirt. Victoria's visit to the Wild West Show triggered a flow of royal audience members, eager both to see Buffalo Bill's show as well as to please the queen by accepting her endorsement.

On 20 June, the Prince of Wales along with the king of Denmark, the king of Saxony, the king and queen of the Belgians, and the king of Greece attended the show. During the Deadwood stagecoach scene, the stage circled the arena with four kings and the Prince of Wales as its passengers. After the show, Cody shared a joke with the future king of England. The prince teased Buffalo Bill that the showman had probably never held four kings like those in the coach. Cody retorted that although he had experience with holding four kings, the four royal dignitaries and the Prince of Wales made a unique royal flush. The joke, which was popular throughout the country, as well as the queen's endorsement of Cody's show, helped inspire the Wild West Show's enormous success in England in 1887. Moreover, the Wild West Show appealed to many British citizens who had long been inundated with romanticized tales of Buffalo

Bill and the American frontier. When Cody finally arrived in England, the British public flocked to the show to see the “authentic” Buffalo Bill.

Two months after the show arrived in England, Cody took a coach ride through Oatlands Park with famed British actors Henry Irving, John Lawrence Toole, and writer and future author of *Dracula* Bram Stoker. Cody’s relationship with Irving opened a way for Cody into English society. The thin, pale Irving, too, benefited from his friendship with Cody by using his association with Buffalo Bill to bolster his masculinity. In this way, Irving hoped to acquire more masculine and authoritative stage roles. In 1887, Cody took the show’s cowboys and Indians to see Irving on stage. The cast of the Wild West Show attended the play in costume at the Lyceum in London. Red Shirt, “chief” of the Indians, and Buck Taylor, “King of the Cowboys,” were seated in the royal box, and Irving, realizing the advantages of having Buffalo Bill and members of the Wild West Show in the audience, invited the cowboys and Indians onstage after the show.

As the friendship between Cody and Irving grew, the society columns traced Cody’s movements in and out of the English upper class. Irving was invited to attend a pre-showing of the Wild West Show before it opened to the public and was granted a private box seat at the show arena. Irving, in turn, hosted dinner parties in Cody’s honor and often accompanied Cody to socially significant dinners at trendy London clubs.

Bram Stoker, as well, maintained a relationship with Buffalo Bill. Yet in comparison to the bond between Cody and Irving, the link between Stoker and Cody was much more formal and muted. Stoker received an autographed photo of Cody in 1887, as well as a complimentary season ticket to the Wild West Show for its next London season in 1892. Stoker also received gifts from Cody and Salsbury, including Indian arrowheads.

Advertisements for the Wild West Show in the United States publicized the show’s success in Europe. An 1895 show poster with the title “World’s Wondrous Voyages” featured a map of the North Atlantic world with a red line tracing the show’s movement through Europe. The poster applauded the show’s popularity on two continents and its travels across 63,000 miles. The poster also featured images of European cities such as Glasgow, London, and Hamburg. Other posters and billboards featured images of “Distinguished Visitors to the Wild West,” members of the royalty, and images of Cody saluting European “Presidents, Pope and Potentates, Statesmen and Warriors” with his hat.

In addition to England, the Wild West Show traveled to the European continent where it made its Italian debut in Rome. The show, however, did not appear in the Coliseum, but appeared instead before an audience of 65,000 at the amphitheater of Verona. Members of the show also paid a visit to the Vatican, where they met Pope Leo XIII. The Wild West Show company, comprised of both cowboys and Indians, mixed with the enormous crowds present for the celebration of the anniversary of the Pope’s coronation. American newspapers called the meeting between the Pope and the Indians a gathering

between the Christian pontiff and the heathens. Newspapers also noted the effect that Rome had on the otherwise rowdy company, inspiring the cowboys to bow and one Indian, Rocky Bear, to kneel at the cross and receive a blessing from the Pope. Before arriving in Rome, Cody wrote to a friend, describing the Wild West Show's time in Europe as the trip of his life. Cody also bragged about his triumph over P.T. Barnum, whom he accused of following the Wild West Show overseas. Cody's boast reveals both the intense level of competition between entertainers and Cody's own impression of himself, that is, of an able and blessed manager and showman.

In May 1888, the Wild West Show closed in England and returned to Staten Island. After arriving in New York, the show ran for two months in Erastina, Salsbury, in the meantime, was already planning a second European tour. In 1889, the Wild West Show traveled to Paris and opened in the shadow of the Eiffel Tower at the Exposition Universelle. After the show closed in Paris in November, the troupe continued to tour the continent, stopping in Lyon and Marseilles, and on New Year's Day performed in Barcelona, Spain. Due to an influenza epidemic and low audience turnout, the show in Spain was cut short and relocated to Naples, Italy, for three weeks. Afterward, the Wild West Show continued to travel, playing to audiences in Rome, Florence, Bologna, Milan, Venice, Germany, Austria, Munich, Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Hanover, Braunschweig, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart before the tour ended in winter 1890.

While Cody was abroad his personal life did not improve. From 1885 through 1886, Cody and Louisa occupied separate homes in North Platte, Louisa staying at the house in town while Cody resided at the famed Scout's Rest Ranch. Cody's daughter Arta attempted to reunite her parents by pleading with her father to forgive her mother and to return home. In 1885, Cody met artist and widow Mollie Moses during a show in Illinois. Cody introduced himself to Moses as a bachelor, explaining that although he had yet to obtain a divorce, he and his wife were effectively separated. Cody and Moses maintained a brief, yet close correspondence, often exchanging gifts. In 1886, Cody invited Moses to meet him at St. James Hotel in St. Louis, but the relationship did not progress far and before the end of the year the correspondence had ceased.

Throughout 1886, Cody's married life remained hostile and tense. He continued to feud with Louisa and through most of late 1886 and early 1887, Cody stayed away from his home in North Platte, leaving directly from Madison Square Garden for England. While he was abroad, Cody corresponded with his sister and brother, but not with his wife. Cody perhaps attempted to hide the condition of his personal life from public view by taking daughter Arta with him to London. Arta also traveled to the Continent and enjoyed a two-week tour of Italy with her father. While Arta was away on the Continent, however, Cody was often in the company of American actress Katherine Clemons. Cody complimented Clemons's physical beauty and the two maintained

a relationship for over five years. Clemons posed for pictures with members of the Wild West Show in London and traveled with the troupe throughout Europe. In 1891, Cody loaned Clemons Wild West actors and supplies, including members of the management staff, Indians, and trained horses, for the melodrama the *White Lily*. Although the play received average reviews, Cody funded its tour throughout the English provinces. The play never opened in London.

As Cody's married life continued to decline, so did his finances. Despite Cody's abundant income, he was never truly wealthy. Cody's inability to hold onto money, in fact, was the root of many arguments between Cody and Louisa. Much of Cody's funds were invested in properties such as Scout's Rest. Whatever other monies Cody accrued were spent on personal items like the four-in-hand coach he drove through the streets of North Platte. Cody also gave money to friends and employees, as well as to relatives and siblings, including money to fund Louisa's house in town, as well as financial support for his sister Julia and her husband.

The nature of the Wild West Show, as well, made its profit unpredictable. Not only were ticket sales necessarily volatile, but care for the show, the purchasing of new animals, the cost of feed, providing transportation and lodging for members of the cast and crew, and supplying salaries all took a toll on Cody's final profit. Cody was also compelled to compete with contemporary shows and circuses, which required additional publicity funding for increased numbers of elaborate posters and billboards.

On the outside, the Cody family of North Platte appeared content. Cody and Louisa both attended and hosted dinner parties and socials in Buffalo Bill's honor. Cody was also well connected among the lawyers, doctors, and merchants of North Platte. Yet Cody's time in North Platte was always stressful. In 1889, Cody confided to his sister Julia that he could no longer tolerate the tension between himself and his wife. When Cody asked for his sister's advice, Julia insisted that if he remained patient, the tension would subside. Both Cody's sister and her husband persuaded Cody not to separate from Louisa. He remained with his family for the remainder of the year. In 1890, Cody left for Europe.

In the 1890s, perhaps to compound Cody's troubles even more, the Wild West Show was criticized for its treatment of Indians. By the 1880s, reservations were established to enforce conformity, promote "Americanization," and to limit Indian mobility. The Wild West Show, therefore, offered many Indians a way to both earn money and to travel away from the reservation. Engaged with the Wild West Show, Indians such as the Lakota could not only travel to the East Coast, but also to Europe. Moreover, Cody granted the Indians who joined the Wild West Show considerable freedom. While on tour or with the show camp, many Indians participated in walking tours or outings that lasted for several days at a time. Freedom of religious expression, as well, was afforded the Indians in the Wild West camp. Although the Indians had

learned to disguise their rituals in public, camp visitors noted the presence of “Indian steam baths,” or sweat lodges where Lakotas offered prayers. The Indians’ participation in the Wild West Show allowed many Lakotas to preserve aspects of the culture that were banned at reservations. Dancing on reservations, for example, was forbidden in 1883. Yet these dances continued at the Wild West camp and were featured in the show.

The Wild West Show also offered a way for many Indians to supplement their incomes. On Sioux reservations, most Indians depended on rations from the United States government. In the 1880s, government rations were reduced in an effort to force Indians to become more self-supporting. Instead of inspiring Indians such as the Lakota to become more independent, however, the decrease in rations resulted in widespread famine. The Wild West Show, therefore, offered Lakota the opportunity to escape the poverty of the reservations and to rescue their families from destitution. In the Wild West Show, the average wage for Indians was \$25 per month and for those designated as translators or chiefs, from \$75 to \$125 a month. This salary stands in stark contrast to the \$8 per month earned serving as a policeman on the reservation. Indian women, as well, were paid \$10 and could earn upward of \$35–\$40 depending on the status of their husbands or the numbers of children they brought into the show.

While the show was on tour, Cody also protected the Indians’ properties back home. In 1891, Cody asked that an agent at Pine Ridge reservation look into complaints made by show Indians that other Indians had appropriated their land. Cody also settled disputes between individual Indians and white farmers. When Calls to Name, a Lakota woman whose property had been stolen by a white man named Davidson, received word from her family concerning Davidson’s claim to her horse and colt, she asked Cody to intercede for her. Not only did Cody contact the agent, he also wrote to General Nelson Miles requesting that the general help protect Calls the Name’s rights and property.

Reformers and assimilationists, however, did not regard the Wild West Show as a positive or beneficial outlet for Indians. Many reformers feared that Cody’s show was demoralizing and dangerous. Reservation agents claimed that Cody was corrupting the Indians’ innocent minds, stealing them from the reservations, where they were pure, and returning them full of vice and knowledge of gambling, venereal disease, and alcohol.

Although Cody successfully fended off many of these complaints, in 1890 the show ran into hard times. That year in particular witnessed an increase in the number of Indian injuries and deaths. When the show returned to New York, five Indians resigned before the tour’s end to return to their homes. The show paid for the Indians’ journey and they were driven by the show’s stage driver, Fred Matthews. On the way to the reservation, Kills Plenty fell ill. The trip was postponed as Kills Plenty had to be hospitalized. The fallen Indian died soon after.

Many onlookers looked to the Wild West Show as a bastion of Indian cruelty. The assistant superintendent of immigration in New York, General James

O'Beirne, claimed that he had spoken to the show Indians while they were waiting at the Port of New York. According to O'Beirne, the Indians confided that they had decided to return because they had been treated badly and received bad food in the Wild West Show. The retired general forwarded his report to the press, suddenly placing the Wild West Show at the center of controversy. Newspapers ran headlines charging Cody and the show with mistreatment of Indians. Cartoons accompanied the articles depicting Uncle Sam protecting resentful Indians fleeing Europe and the Wild West Show.

Due to accusations of Indian cruelty, the government launched an investigation into the show's treatment of Indians. In fall 1890, several Indians including No Neck, Rocky Bear, and Black Heart were called on to testify before an inquiry in the Office of Indian Affairs. The Indians, however, denied the accusations made against the show and noted the differences between life at Pine Ridge and with Cody. The inquiry concluded in Cody's favor, and it appeared that the charges were due in part to hostility within the show's Indian community itself. The Indians whom O'Beirne met at the Port of New York also made accusations against other Indians, including Rocky Bear, who served as chief, and Bronco Bill. Rivalries among show Indians, in fact, were fairly common.

Other Indians attacked the show, in part, due to the competition on reservations. Red Cloud, for example, prevented the hiring of many Oglalas in 1887, forcing Cody to hire an additional fifteen men before the show left for Europe. In 1889, Red Cloud continued to assert his influence among the show's Indians by demanding that each Indian pay him twenty-five cents a month for their places in the show. In 1901, the Oglala Tribal Council requested that the government disallow the exhibition of Indians, claiming to borrow the language of white critics, that the Indians returning from the show brought home disease and poor habits. Other Indians like graduate of Carlisle Indian School Chauncey Yellow Robe feared that the Wild West Show betrayed Indians into becoming drunkards.

THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR

In 1891, after Wounded Knee, Cody and Salsburg, unsure if they would be permitted to hire Indians again, looked elsewhere for actors to take on the Indian role. By spring, Cody and Salsbury recruited twelve Cossacks, six Argentine gauchos, and two detachments of regular European cavalry, English and German. The newly outfitted Wild West Show began its tour in Germany, where it received praise from Kaiser Wilhelm II. In 1892, the show returned to London and performed another show at Windsor Castle for Queen Victoria. At home in the United States, the show enjoyed an increase in publicity thanks to growing interest over the show's new format. In 1893, the Wild West Show appeared at the Columbian Exposition.

The primary attraction at the World's Columbian Exposition was the White City, a series of neoclassical buildings that depicted the victories and accomplishments of America. The Wild West Show, however, was located immediately outside the fair, designated by fair organizers as the space for attractions too similar to circuses and unfit for inclusion in the White City. Cody had great success, despite his show's peripheral location. With its new additions in mind, the show boasted a new name: "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World." The Chicago press described Cody as a gentle giant, enormous in person, but friendly and polite in manner. Not only was Cody a genial showman, but he was also a protector of domestic harmony and, particularly emphasized during the Chicago season, a friend of all children. When Cody learned that Exposition organizers were struggling to coordinate a free picnic for the impoverished children of Chicago, he offered to fund the event, as well as a parade and a day at the Wild West Show for children from Chicago's various charitable institutions. Cody's willingness to pay for the children to attend the Exposition was a successful publicity scheme and increased Cody's popularity with the press. It helped draw a sizeable number of spectators to the show. Audience members allegedly stopped at first sight of the Wild West Show, assuming that it was the fair, and left without moving on to the White City. Overall, during 1893, it is estimated that Cody and Salsbury sold over three million tickets.

In addition to European soldiers, the new Wild West Show also featured African American soldiers. In 1895, Cody and Salsbury developed a new show inspired by African American history, perhaps hoping to attract an African American audience. The show, titled *Black America*, opened in 1895 and claimed to portray African Americans in an authentic light. *Black America* traced the legacy of African Americans through slavery, to soldier and to citizen, yet depicted slavery as a necessary component of African American progress from "savage" to citizen. Despite Cody's high hopes, *Black America* failed and closed within weeks of its opening.

By 1894, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show camp housed a total of 680 people. The show's camp became its primary attraction, drawing audiences into its complex settlement comprised of numerous people, cowboys, buffalo, and Indians. The Wild West camp consisted of a series of tents, organized into rows along paved streets. Along the streets were gardens and flowerbeds. Cody's tent, which was the size of a small farmhouse, was outfitted with a telephone, curtains, desks, easy chairs, and a refrigerator. Conversely, Indian tipis consisted of a dirt floor and a fire, which one spectator described as at once both a chimney and a house.

By the time the Wild West Show had traveled to Brooklyn, New York, in 1890, the borough had adopted electric lighting. When the show arrived, Cody and Salsbury invited nearly 200 members of the New York Electrical Society to tour the Wild West camp's electrical works. New floodlights had been installed by the Edison Electrical Illuminating Company to light the

show. Cody hoped the new electrical works would help boost profits. During the show's stint at Coney Island in 1883, one of the features was advertised as Grand Polytechnic and Electric Illuminations.

In the mid-1890s, Cody decided to expand his real estate experience from building ranches to founding towns. Along with real estate partner George Beck, Cody announced that he would establish a new settlement in Bighorn Basin, Wyoming. The site for the town of Cody was fairly remote, resting behind the Wind River Mountains. The neighboring settlement, Red Lodge, was a two-day ride north into Montana. Arta Cody's husband Horton Beal joined Beck and Cody in founding the town. Cody, however, provided the greatest financial support for his town-founding venture, funding the growth of the Bighorn Basin with profits from the Wild West Show. The town of Cody sat on 28,000 acres at the forks of the Shoshone River. In 1897, Cody and Salsbury teamed up to develop an additional 60,000 acres north of the Shoshone River, opposite the Cody town site. Cody and Salsbury planned to build a series of farms and towns alongside a new canal, which Cody planned to develop once the town of Cody was established.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show served as a chief source of advertising for the new settlement. Advertisements for Cody, Wyoming, were printed inside show programs. One pitch claimed Cody town was where Buffalo Bill returned in the off-season to relax. Another pitch noted Cody's clean air and open spaces, unlike the crowded urban centers. Cody also had its own newspaper, the *Shoshone News* to circulate the town's advertisements. In addition, in 1899, editor J.H. Peake was hired to run a new paper, the *Cody Enterprise*. Newspaper advertisements for Cody, Wyoming, featured a caricature of Buffalo Bill inviting visitors to enjoy the land and water within the exquisite mountain valley. Cody continued to expand the town, founding a livery stable, and initiating projects on various coal and gold mines, as well as oil fields. In 1902, Cody opened the Irma Hotel, named after his youngest daughter. The hotel reportedly cost \$80,000 to build and furnish. The town continued to grow and in 1902, stood alongside the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad.

In addition to investing in the new town, in 1902 Cody invested in a gold mine at the Campo Bonito mine works in Arizona. Drawn to the mine by Colonel D.B. Dyer, member of New York's Union League Club, Cody became an instant investor. In 1903, a gold strike was reported and gold continued to appear in steady although small waves. Cody worked hard to attract investors to the mine. He offered guided trips to the mines, advertising the experience to potential investors as an authentic taste of Western mining. Despite Cody's efforts to woo investors with his showmanship, the mine remained a financial failure. All in all, Cody personally invested approximately \$200,000.

Despite the efforts of Cody and Beck to promote their new town, settlers were slow in coming. Although there was a popular interest in Cody, evidenced by the many letters from prospective settlers inquiring about the weather, quality of the land, and job availability, settlers remained hesitant

about settling in the town of Cody. While Cody was grappling with the success of his town venture, he was also struggling with a series of personal setbacks. In 1903, Salsbury, who was on substantially poor terms with his longtime partner, died. By the start of the twentieth century, the relationship between Cody and Salsbury had grown tense. In 1901, realizing that he was dying, Salsbury composed a history of his career with Buffalo Bill. Salsbury's account of his time spent with the Wild West Show was caustic. Although Salsbury did not intend to publish the piece, he claimed that if he had, the title would be "Sixteen Years in Hell with Buffalo Bill."

Cody was also facing another domestic trial, which culminated in a divorce suit against his wife. Louisa Cody refused to grant her husband a divorce and the testimony from the battling spouses spiraled into a public scandal. Cody accused Louisa of threatening to poison him and of refusing to admit his friends into their home in North Platte. In addition to these charges, Cody claimed that Louisa refused to sign mortgages, which significantly hindered his ability to carry on his business, and that his wife had accused him of murdering their daughter Arta, who had died a year earlier. Cody's character suffered much during the trial, from accusations of his poisoning Arta to accounts of severe and perpetual drunkenness. Cody's efforts to secure a divorce from his wife failed and to escape the ridicule of the public eye, Cody left the United States for a two-year tour in Europe.

In 1904 and 1905, Cody and the Wild West Show traveled to Scotland and to France. In 1906, the show opened at Marseilles and in 1907 the show finally returned to the United States. Most newspapers, to Cody's relief, ignored Cody's divorce scandal and emphasized the legacy of Buffalo Bill. Still, it was clear Cody's home life had taken a toll on his public persona. The Wild West Show, for example, no longer made references to families or promoted Scout's Ranch. Advertisements for the show no longer featured aspects of Cody's personal life. The show's famous domestic thriller "Attack on Settler's Cabin" also vanished.

As Cody's show was in transition and as he grew more distant from Louisa and his family, Cody's town-founding efforts also suffered. Cody, Wyoming, with completion of the Cody Canal, was fairly self-sufficient. Cody, therefore, turned his attention to a new prospect; the town of Ralston. Ralston was situated east of Cody and across the Shoshone River. Cody hoped that Ralston would yield a sizable profit and waited impatiently for the Reclamation Service to build a canal. The canal was delayed, however, and despite efforts by Cody to speed the process, government officials withdrew their support from Ralston and settled on a new location between Ralston and neighboring Garland. Cody petitioned Wyoming's governor, Wyoming's congressional delegation, and President Theodore Roosevelt to stop construction on the new town, fearing that it would hinder Ralston's success and largely diminish its value. Despite Cody's effort, however, plans to found the new town, Powell, progressed.

LATER YEARS

After the death of James Bailey in 1906, whom Salsbury had hired to help manage the show while it was on tour, one-third interest in the Wild West Show was sold to Gordon “Pawnee Bill” Lillie. Lillie admired Cody and looked forward to working with him, while Cody, tired of managing the show without a partner, hoped to alleviate his troubles with additional help. When Lillie joined the show, however, Cody was weighted down by financial woes. Cody owed Bailey’s heirs \$12,000. Lillie, however, negotiated a deal with Bailey’s heirs, purchased their portion of the show, and paid off Cody’s debt. Lillie then permitted Cody to buy back half of the show, allowing Cody to remain part owner. With the two Bills at the helm, the show became known as “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Pawnee Bill’s Great Far East.” The show retained many of the Wild West Show’s characteristics, except for the addition of “A Dream of the East,” which featured animals such as elephants and camels, as well as belly dancers and Arab warriors. The blending of the frontier with the Orient was an enormous success and during a two-week run at Madison Square Garden in 1908, the show sold out.

In 1910, Cody took advantage of the new show’s popularity and announced his upcoming retirement. Instead of retiring immediately, however, Cody would embark on a three-year tour. At each tour stop, Cody would announce his performance as the last in that location, therefore drawing, he hoped, an even greater audience. Show programs featured the headline: “Buffalo Bill Bids You Goodbye” and another leaflet included information on Cody’s various business ventures, including the town Cody, Wyoming. In 1910, the show grossed approximately \$400,000 and in 1912 earned an additional \$125,000. Despite earning a substantial profit, Cody’s financial troubles continued. The money Cody lost on the Arizona mines grew into an enormous debt. An investigation in 1912 revealed that a worker had been tampering with the mine to make the ore appear richer. Louis Getchell, who had drawn Cody and D.B. Dyer to the mines, was required to forfeit his job. Cody, however, was reluctant to press charges, fearing that the publicity would attract negative attention.

Also in 1910, Cody was persuaded by his daughter Irma to return to North Platte. Cody’s return to North Platte triggered reports that he and Louisa had reconciled. In spite of accounts from Louisa’s friends and family, who claimed that Louisa had expressed the desire to reunite with Cody, Cody’s efforts to meet with his wife were thwarted. By the next year, however, Cody and Louisa, with the urging of their children, had reconciled.

In 1913, Cody, in need of more money after the Wild West Show’s slow season, turned to Henry Tamman, owner of the *Denver Post* and the Sells-Floto Circus, for a \$20,000 loan. The agreement between Cody and Tamman included both the loan and Cody’s assent to enter a partnership with Tamman’s circus, therefore abandoning Lillie the following season. Cody denied that he

had entered an agreement with Tamman, but Lillie, already alienated, left the Wild West Show and returned to his ranch. Days before Cody's deadline to repay Tamman's loan, the show arrived in Denver. Tamman immediately filed suit against the show. While in Denver, the show and all of its cash and property were seized. Lillie, who had enough money to pay Cody's debt, refused to help the partner who had betrayed him. Friends of Cody purchased his horse, Isham, and sent it to Cody's ranch as a gift. Yet news traveled fast that Buffalo Bill and the Wild West Show were bankrupt.

Cody, now under contract to Tamman, traveled the country with Tamman's Sells-Floto Circus. Cody's salary was \$100 a day, along with a portion of the show's ticket proceeds. While involved with Tamman, Cody also experimented in film. With the support of Tamman and Tamman's partner Frederick G. Bonfils, Cody founded "The Col. W.F. Cody Historical Pictures Company." In September 1913, Cody began filming his movie, "The Last Indian War." The film, however, was a flop. Cody toured with the Sells-Floto Circus for two years until Tamman informed Cody that his debt had been repaid. Tamman soon changed his mind, however, and claimed that Cody still owed \$20,000. Cody and Tamman finally agreed that if Cody remained with Tamman's circus through the 1915 season, Tamman would stop siphoning payments from his salary. At the end of the year, Cody was unemployed.

Cody continued in show business and founded a new show at a ranch in Oklahoma: "Buffalo Bill Pageant of Military Preparedness and 101 Ranch Wild West." Cody toured with his nephew William Cody Bradford and the show, a modest success, closed in November 1916. Following the show, Cody, feeling unwell, traveled to Denver in search of medical help. At Glenwood Springs, Cody hoped that mineral baths would help restore his health, but after four days, his status remained the same. On 10 January 1917, William Cody died. Cody's posthumous wishes included his burial in a hill overlooking the town of Cody, but Tamman, who offered to pay for the funeral, would permit Cody's burial only in Denver. In June 1917, Cody was buried in a hole in Lookout Mountain, overlooking Denver and the Great Plains.

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Chief Joseph, wearing warbonnet and several necklaces, ca. 1903. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Chief Joseph

Vanessa Gunther

One of the most recognizable native leaders of the American West is a man who has taken on almost mythological dimensions—Chief Joseph of the Chopunnish or Nez Perce. A contemporary of Geronimo, Joseph, in the American mind then and now, seemed to be Geronimo's polar opposite. Where the Apache were considered warlike, the Nez Perce are largely remembered as a peaceful tribe. However, as is the case with most myths, reality and fact are often at odds; such would be the case of Hinmahtooyahlatkekht, or Thunder Rising in the Mountains, and the Nez Perce Indians. Archeological evidence suggests that the Nez Perce have lived in the region east of the Columbia Plateau in Washington and west of the Bitterroot Mountains in Idaho for more than 6000 years. However, the storied history of the Nez Perce in the American mind did not begin until 1806, the year Lewis and Clark stumbled into their camp. After spending time with these strange men, who they initially considered might be descended from dogs because of their smell and facial hair, the Nez Perce pledged their undying friendship to them and by extension to America as well. A few decades later, the Nez Perce startled the nation when they asked for missionaries to come to their land and explain the "book of heaven" that seemed to be so important to the white man. By the late 1830s and into the 1840s missionaries descended on the people of the plateau with the intent to Christianize and civilize the Indians. The willingness of some of the Nez Perce to ally with the Americans and to adopt Christian ways would lead to a schism within the tribe, and the creation of one of the iconic images of the West: Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, the "Red Napoleon."

Joseph was born to be a leader among his people, but not the type of leader many supposed him to be. He was the son of Tuekakas, or Old Joseph, a Cayuse Indian who had married into the Wallowa band of the Nez Perce tribe and over time rose to a leadership position within the band. When the Reverend Henry Spalding and Marcus Whitman established Protestant missions in the land of the Nez Perce and the Cayuse in 1836, Tuekakas was among the earliest supporters of the new religion they brought with them. Within a few years, Tuekakas had been baptized and renamed Joseph. His passion for the religion of the white man had earned him a privileged position with Spalding, one that would be further rewarded when on 12 April 1840 his wife, Khaphkhoponomi, gave birth to a boy who was also quickly baptized and named Ephraim, who would later be called Young Joseph. Little information survives about the childhood of Young Joseph. He was the eldest of two sons born to Tuekakas and Khaphkhoponomi (in 1843, Ollokot, or "Frog" was born). As the son of the Wallowa Nez Perce chief, Young Joseph would be groomed to become a leader of his people. However, here the story of Joseph begins to diverge from the myth. The leaders of the Nez Perce, despite hereditary leadership roles, retain their positions only through the consent of the people. Additionally, a Nez Perce tribal chief was not the war chief. The tribal chief was responsible for the safety and well-being of the tribe; although all Nez Perce boys were taught to ride and use a bow and arrow, Young Joseph

was not to be a war chief. That responsibility fell to his younger brother Ollokot.

Young Joseph began his life near the Spalding mission in the Wallowa Valley, where, because of his father's devotion to Christianity, he was afforded privileges unavailable to other Nez Perce children. He was allowed to play with the white children and began the rudiments of an education at the mission school, where he learned to write his name. However, internal divisions among the increasing numbers of white settlers who came to the lands of the Nez Perce caused many of the Nez Perce, including his father, to question their commitment to the white man's religion and ways. Their suspicion was compounded in summer 1842, when Dr. Elijah White arrived in the Wallowa Valley as the first U.S. official in the Pacific Northwest. White had been appointed as the subagent for Indian relations in the Oregon country. Shortly after his arrival, he established a series of rules that would govern the Indians' behavior. Although the Indians would be required to obey the rules without question, it appeared the white man would not. Additionally, White attempted to appoint a leader over all the Nez Perce, a man who had been educated by missionaries at the Red River school named Ellis. The appointment of Ellis as the chief of all the Nez Perce flew in the face of tradition, and he was often treated with open contempt by his own people. When Spalding wholeheartedly supported the dictates of Elijah White he also sanctioned this reversal of the traditional leadership roles of the Nez Perce. Conflict over tribal rule would not be the only issue that would impair the relationship between the Nez Perce and the whites. As additional settlers filtered into the area squabbles broke out among the missionaries over land and even the proper interpretation of the religion they brought with them. To the Nez Perce, it no longer seemed the white man's religion or his ways had much to offer the tribe. Subsequently, Old Joseph moved his people back to their traditional lands and his band returned to their ancestral ways. However, Christianity had taken hold in the Nez Perce tribe, and although many traditionalists returned to their old ways, another faction remained behind and wholly adopted Christianity and the ways of white civilization.

Though the abrupt change in Young Joseph's upbringing would ensure that he would be raised within the traditional values of his people, simple withdrawal from the presence of the missionaries and the white settlers could not isolate him from their influence. In 1847, the Cayuse, disgruntled by the influx of a seemingly never-ending train of immigrants and the outbreak of disease that left many of their numbers dead, massacred the residents of the Whitman mission. The attack threatened to plunge the Columbia Plateau into war. As the largest of the tribes in the area, the Nez Perce were key to determining whether the war would spread or be limited to the Cayuse tribe. With Tuekakas as the appointed spokesman for the Nez Perce, a peace was brokered and a general Indian war against the settlers was avoided. At seven years, Young Joseph, would not likely have been privileged to accompany his father to the

council but would have been aware of his father's wish to remain at peace with the white community.

As Young Joseph grew he, like all Nez Perce boys, maintained a respectful distance from his father. He was schooled in horsemanship and hunting, most likely by his uncles or other male members of the tribe. However, Joseph would not be a warrior. His responsibilities were to protect his people with words and deeds, not actions. To learn these skills he would observe his father and the other head men during councils. Among the young boys who were his contemporaries, he was designated as their leader. To reinforce his distinctiveness among them, he refrained from their games and dressed differently. By the time he had reached adolescence he went on a spirit journey to identify the spirit that would guide him throughout his life. It was this guide, or *wayakin*, that Joseph would need to rely on while fulfilling his responsibilities to his people. Despite the gravity with which Young Joseph was charged to execute his responsibilities, the time for his leadership was years in the future.

Tuekakas and the other Nez Perce leaders may well have wished to have been left alone, but conditions in the Pacific Northwest were changing dramatically throughout the decade of the 1850s. With each passing year the buffer zone that existed between them and white settlement shrank. The Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 allowed all male residents over the age of eighteen to claim 320 acres of land from the public domain. As if this were not enough to draw settlers into the region, in 1851 gold was discovered in the Rogue and Umpqua Rivers of Oregon, and later throughout what would become Washington State. Each subsequent discovery brought more settlers into the region and conflict over land use often erupted into war. By the time the Washington Territory had been established in 1853, Indian agents had begun to filter through the area making treaties with a number of tribes that dispossessed the Indians of their lands in return for promises that invariably were never honored. Although isolated from these occurrences in the Wallowa Valley, Young Joseph could not escape their influence in his life. To preserve their lands and way of life, fifty-seven Nez Perce leaders, including Joseph's father, agreed to a treaty in 1855 that traded a portion of their traditional land for the promise of perpetual peace with the whites. As the heir apparent to his tribe, Young Joseph was there to witness his father's participation in this council and saw his father concede to the wishes of the whites to preserve peace for their people.

The peace that the Nez Perce brokered in 1855 would be short-lived. By 1860 gold had been discovered on Nez Perce land and the predictable influx of thousands of rapacious miners flooded into an area that had previously seen limited white settlement. This intrusion resulted in depredations on both sides. By 1862, the United States government could no longer afford to ignore a conflict that threatened to ignite the Pacific into an all-out war while it was busy fighting the Civil War in the East. A new treaty was needed, one that would accommodate the new settlers at the expense of the Nez Perce. The Nez Perce met in council to discuss the wishes of the government. Tuekakas, as the

representative of the Wallowa people, brought Young Joseph with him as an observer. In what would become known as the Thief Treaty, the U.S. government proposed that the Nez Perce land holdings be reduced to about one-tenth of their original size. To secure the Nez Perce concessions, the government alternately offered promises of schools and teachers mixed with threats and coercion. Despite his conciliatory past, Tuekakas refused to sign the treaty, as did the majority of the non-Christian Nez Perce. However, the treaty was signed by Lawyer (Hallahhotsoot), a Christianized Nez Perce. The treaty preserved the lands of the Christianized Nez Perce by creating the Lapwai Reservation, while sacrificing the lands of the non-Christian Indians. The treaty also divided the Nez Perce into two factions, the Christianized treaty Indians, who numbered about two-thirds of the total tribe, and the non-treaty Indians. When the non-treaty Indians returned to their home in the Wallowa Valley, Young Joseph was aware of his father's sense of betrayal at the hands of the settlers and the government.

Although the political situation was changing around them, the 1860s were years in which Young Joseph would grow to manhood and take a wife. Around the time the bands of the Nez Perce met in 1863 to discuss the Thief Treaty, Joseph took his first wife. In 1865, his wife Toma Alwawonmi, or "Springtime," gave birth to a daughter, Hophoponmi, or "Noise of Running Feet." With their band relatively isolated from the settlers who increasingly claimed the area, it would have seemed that the white world was far away from the Indian world that the Wallowa Nez Perce enjoyed. They lived according to the rhythms of the land, with hunting parties moving occasionally into the Great Plains to hunt buffalo. During his lifetime Joseph only accompanied one of these parties into the Plains. By 1869, Tuekakas's health was failing, and Joseph increasingly assumed the responsibilities of leadership within the tribe.

The Thief Treaty would have little initial impact on the Wallowa band for most of the 1860s; however, when the Civil War ended and the transcontinental railroad project was completed, surveyors began to appear in the region. It was apparent to Tuekakas what would come next, but he also knew that his ability to lead his people much further was fading. Taking a cue from the surveyors, who piled stones to denote areas they had surveyed, he began piling stones and poles at the edges of the land claimed by the Wallowa to identify that this was their land. He also instructed Young Joseph not to agree to sell the lands of their ancestors and to refuse to accept any gift from a white man so he would never be accused of having sold the land. Young Joseph promised his father that he would not sell the land and that he would protect the people as he had been raised to do. In August 1871, having done all that he could to preserve the land for his tribe, Tuekakas died leaving Joseph, at age thirty-one, as the leader of the Wallowa Nez Perce.

Tuekakas's death would serve as a dividing point for the Wallowa Nez Perce. Though they had been party to the 1855 treaty and were aware of the 1863 treaty, the Indians in the Wallowa Valley were still largely untouched by

white settlement until the year after Tuekakas's death. As winter 1871–1872 approached, the band left the high country of the Wallowa Mountains for their winter retreat in the Imnaha Valley along the Snake River. When the band returned to their summer camps in the Wallowa Valley in 1872, whites had already built cabins along the waterways and were pasturing their herds in the fields. When confronted by Joseph and the Wallowa, the settlers pointed to the 1863 treaty that had been signed by Lawyer. Despite the attempted intercession by an Indian agent named John Monteith, the Indians and the white settlers came to an impasse. Eventually, the Nez Perce agreed that the settlers could stay, so long as no more came. By early 1873, news of the Modoc War in northern California had made settlers and the government wary of non-treaty Indians and a permanent solution to the dispute was sought. Agent John Monteith and Superintendent of Indian Affairs T.B. Odeneal recommended that the lower part of the Wallowa Valley be set aside for whites for stock-raising and the upper valley be reserved for the Nez Perce. On 16 June 1873, President Ulysses Grant approved the designation and ordered part of the Wallowa Valley to become part of the Nez Perce reservation. However, although the Indians, the settlers, and the agents agreed that the Nez Perce should have the upper valley, the executive order signed by Grant reversed the land grant and the settlers were granted the upper valley.

In 1873, Joseph had been advised of the executive order dividing the land. Despite assurances that the settlers would leave the valley when they had been paid for their improvements, conflicts between settlers and the Nez Perce grew. Through the summer a war of words was waged in the Western press denouncing the decision of the government to allot the lands to the Indians. By 1874, despite an executive order establishing a reservation in the Wallowa Valley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edwin P. Smith wrote that "nothing more would be done toward establishing a reservation" in the valley. The government ceased its efforts to oust the settlers from the valley, but did not inform Joseph of the change in plans. Relations between the settlers and the Nez Perce became increasingly more hostile; little was needed to ignite the region into a war. The first of the sparks occurred on 1 September 1874 with the appointment of Oliver Otis Howard as commander of the Department of the Columbia. Howard was a highly moralistic man who had distinguished himself during the Civil War; however, his tactics in dealing with the Indians who resided within his command would prove to be lackluster and unrealistic. The second spark occurred on 10 June 1875, when Grant rescinded the executive order that had established the Wallowa Valley as part of the Nez Perce reservation. The non-treaty Indians met in council to discuss the change in status, but agreed not to go to war against the whites. By summer 1875, the government gave approval for a wagon road to be constructed through the valley. Joseph protested, but nothing was done to halt the construction.

The final spark that ignited the Nez Perce war occurred on 23 June 1876, when a rancher, A.B. Findley, and two escorts, Wells and Oren McNall, confronted a

hunting party and accused the Indians of stealing his livestock. Though several accounts of the event remain, none corroborates the other. The end result, however, was the murder of a Nez Perce brave named Wilhautyah, or “Blowing Wind.” At Joseph’s insistence the men were brought to trial by the middle of September, but acquitted of the murder by an all-white jury when the Indians who had witnessed the murder were not called to testify. Conditions in the valley were now at a boiling point. The military and the settlers were keenly aware of the recent massacre of the Seventh Cavalry at the hands of the Sioux chief Sitting Bull only three months before. Fear and panic gripped the region and was exacerbated by Joseph’s insistence that the settlers leave the valley or face attack by the Nez Perce. To prevent further conflict, and in response to mounting pressure from the settlers who refused to abandon the Wallowa, Howard determined to remove the non-treaty Nez Perce to the Lapwai Reservation. This was despite growing evidence that the Indians had a greater legal claim to the valley than the government and that the 1863 treaty with the Christianized Indians had not extinguished their rights to the land. When Joseph and the non-treaty Indians refused to leave, Howard called for a council in May 1877. There he announced to the Indians that they had thirty days to present themselves to the Lapwai Reservation or face the wrath of the U.S. Army.

Despite repeated attempts at conciliation, Joseph and the non-treaty Nez Perce were now presented with a task that would have been almost impossible to perform. However, try they did. Pushed by Joseph, the non-treaty bands did begin their journey to the Lapwai Reservation in June 1877, but some of the young warriors, stung by the fact that the Nez Perce had seemingly lost their rights as men, broke away from the group and massacred several settlers in the area. Their actions resulted in what Joseph and his father had long tried to forestall—a war. Believing the authorities would offer no quarter to the Indians now, the bands voted in council to abandon their traditional homes in favor of a new home with the Crow or the Sioux who had escaped to Canada following the slaughter of the Seventh Cavalry. It was from this point on that a popular myth was created.

Through the summer and into the fall of 1877 more than 800 non-treaty Nez Perce traveled over 1500 miles through Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming territories. Along their journey they successfully eluded five U.S. Army detachments. When Nez Perce were forced into a military encounter, they proved to be exemplary warriors, easily besting the soldiers who had been sent against them. The trail cut by the tribe was marked by the blood of settlers who stood in the way of the sojourners. Each instance of Indian military prowess and each failure on the part of the U.S. Army were monitored by the American public through the correspondence of Thomas Sutherland, a young reporter who accompanied Howard on the trail to capture the Nez Perce. As news of the drama played out in the press, pressure mounted on the government to succeed. At the same time, Sutherland’s reporting created an American myth—Joseph as

the Chief of the Nez Perce. In the press, he alone was responsible for the deprivations and the defeat of the U.S. Army. Joseph became the “Red Napoleon,” a man whose stature was likened to that of Sitting Bull and who generated fear in the hearts of those his band encountered. However, none of this was true.

The Nez Perce Indians elected their leaders on their march to freedom, and although Joseph was a camp chief, responsible for the well-being of the people while in camp and the maintenance of the horses, he was not the main leader of the refugees, nor did he lead any military engagements. Joseph repeatedly counseled instead for peace and surrender to the American authorities over their continued flight and war. Along the trail Joseph only infrequently fought against the soldiers that dogged their path. He was widely criticized by his own people for abandoning his wife and newborn infant during one raid; at another he was unable to fight because he had no weapon and instead huddled on a river bank cradling his infant daughter in his arms while the warriors fought off the advancing army. In another instance, he took settlers into his own camp to protect them from members of the band who wanted to kill them. Although Joseph did engage the army when pressed, he was not the military leader, or even the primary leader of his people. As a young man, Joseph had been raised to lead his people in peace, to protect them and see to their needs. Though he knew how to wield a rifle, he was not a warrior, a distinction that made no sense to the American mind and subsequently resulted in the creation of the myth that has endured for almost a century and a half. The primary leader of the non-treaty Nez Perce was Looking Glass, or a half-breed Indian named Poker Joe, both of whom would be killed in the final days of the odyssey.

When the end came for the Nez Perce they were camped in a canyon thirty miles from the border of Canada, in an area known as the Bear Paw. Looking Glass had refused to post guards, believing the Nez Perce had outdistanced the army and were safe. The people were preparing food and supplies to take with them into Canada, where they intended to ally with Sitting Bull and the Sioux. While engaged in their labors they were surrounded by a detachment led by Colonel Nelson A. Miles and pinned down. An impasse of almost a week followed, during which time General Howard and his forces joined with Miles. The Nez Perce met in council to discuss a course of action and Joseph announced he would cease fighting. Though many of the other chiefs chided him for trusting the soldiers, Joseph was adamant—no longer could he watch while his people were slowly killed around him. His own daughter, Hophoponmi, had escaped with some of the horses when the siege began, and he was uncertain of her fate. Perhaps a cessation of hostilities would allow him the opportunity to search for her. The U.S. military was all too willing to end the chase and the embarrassment they had endured over the past several months. An agreement was reached that would allow the members of the tribe to cease fighting and present themselves to the military authorities. Joseph’s negotiation was intended not to surrender the Nez Perce to a superior foe, but to end

the fighting between two equal and opposing forces. In addition, those who did not wish to present themselves to the military could follow another chief, White Bird, who opted to continue to push on into Canada. By the time Miles recognized that the Nez Perce had only partially surrendered to him, White Bird and the other Nez Perce were safely in Canada.

Joseph is famously credited with stating, “I will fight no more forever” at his surrender to Miles and Howard on 5 October 1877. This again has become part of the myth of both Joseph and the Nez Perce. Though Joseph did utter something close to these words, it was to his own people during the council meeting to discuss the imminent end of their flight. When the final count of the Indians was made, 87 men, 184 women, and 147 children had given themselves over to the control of the U.S. military. Two of the women who accompanied him were the widows of Looking Glass, who Joseph would take as his own wives. Under the terms of their surrender, they were to be returned to the Wallowa Valley the next year, where they would resume the lives they had left behind. There would be no punishment for the flight, or for the depredations that had occurred during the ordeal.

Although these terms had been agreed to by Nelson Miles, they were not agreed to by the U.S. government. The military, under the command of William Tecumseh Sherman, had been clearly outmaneuvered and outfought by a group of “savages.” The demand for land in the Wallowa Valley had not lessened because of the events during summer 1877, and concerns about hostile Indians, especially those who might ally with Chief Sitting Bull to attack U.S. interests in the West, had not been abated. The U.S. Army moved Joseph and his people several times in the ensuing weeks, first to Fort Keogh in Montana, then to Fort Lincoln in the Dakota Territory, and then to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas, where they were housed until July 1878 when the Department of the Army transferred the Nez Perce to the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory, modern-day Oklahoma. There they would be given over to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. During each of these transfers the property of the Nez Perce was gradually reduced to nothing until they arrived at the Quapaw Agency destitute. The hot and humid weather of both Kansas and Oklahoma combined with a lack of food had rendered the Nez Perce almost incapable of caring for themselves. Joseph, his wife, and his infant daughter, who had been born during their flight, fell ill. During the flight and the stress of the journey from Bear Paw to Indian Territory, many of the Nez Perce died, leaving the young orphaned and the elderly too ill to care for themselves. At one point Joseph and his wife adopted an orphaned boy when his mother died. Despite the best efforts of Joseph and his wife, the boy would soon die as well.

At each stop along the way, Joseph continued to look after the welfare of his people. To any of the many thousands of curious white people who came to see him during his incarceration at Fort Leavenworth he related the promise that had been made to return his people to the Wallowa Valley and asked

for their assistance. None came. Instead conditions for the Nez Perce would only worsen. At the Quapaw Agency, they were given over to Hiram Jones, a man singly known for his corruption and greed. To combat the man who literally held the life of the Nez Perce in his hands, Joseph enlisted the aid of a former enemy and settler in the Wallowa Valley, Arthur Chapman. Chapman had been hired as an interpreter for the Nez Perce, and as he traveled with them over the course of several months he evolved into their champion. Encouraged by Joseph, Chapman spearheaded a letter-writing campaign that condemned the conditions on the Quapaw Agency and demanded the Nez Perce be returned home. To keep the plight of the Nez Perce at the forefront of the minds of the government and the American people, the Nez Perce raised funds themselves to send Chapman to Washington, DC, to address Congress on their behalf.

While Chapman was politicking for the Nez Perce, the divisions that had resulted in the flight were to come back again. Three Christianized Indians from the Lapwai Reservation were dispatched to the Quapaw Agency in an attempt to further divide the people and to encourage the non-treaty Indians to adopt Christianity and the way of white civilization. For those who were compliant there was the possibility that they would be allowed to return to their home in the north. Recognizing that the survival of the Nez Perce was at stake, Joseph petitioned to be able to go to Washington, DC, himself to plead the case of his people. In January 1879, permission was finally granted and Joseph, Chapman, and Yellow Bull, a sub-chief, made their way to the nation's capital. Along the way Joseph proved himself to be adept at using the newspapers to his advantage, and by the time he arrived in Washington, a much different portrait of the Nez Perce and the reason for their flight had emerged, one that garnered considerable sympathy for the Nez Perce. Joseph would meet with President Rutherford B. Hayes and members of his cabinet to relate the story of his flight and again to insist that the promises the government had made to his people be honored.

Although Joseph and his supporters kept the plight of the Nez Perce in the press, the government did little. Hiram Jones was relieved of his duties as agent for the Quapaw Agency and a more sympathetic agent was installed. By the middle of 1879, the 418 souls who had followed Joseph out of the canyon in the Bear Paw had been reduced to 370. By the following year the divisions between the Christianized Nez Perce and Joseph's Nez Perce had become even more acute. To survive in the harsh weather conditions of Oklahoma, the tribe was forced to adopt agriculture and stock rearing. In addition, funds for the Indians were limited and could not meet their needs. This forced many to seek work in the white world. As this happened, a gradual shift in the leadership of the tribe occurred. One of the Christianized Nez Perce, Reuben, emerged as the leader, and Joseph was relegated to a secondary position among his people. For the Nez Perce their increasing devotion to Christianity was seen as a mark of civilization, and the Presbyterian Church that supported

the agent who served them in Indian Territory took up the cause to return them to their home in Idaho. Return to the cool valleys of Idaho could not come soon enough; since their surrender and captivity in Indian Territory, the Nez Perce were unable to maintain their population. Their children died shortly after birth or in the womb. Within a few years almost 100 graves would appear—a constant, sad reminder of what they had lost. The elderly succumbed to diseases that they were unfamiliar with, and the real possibility that the tribe might become extinct loomed greater with each passing year.

As the months stretched into years several forces came together to finally get the Nez Perce back to their homes. The relentless use of the media by Joseph at every opportunity was often overshadowed by the same efforts on the part of the Christianized Nez Perce to return their brethren to their northern home. The Presbyterian congregations across America, noting the wide conversion of the Nez Perce in the Indian Country and their sharply declining numbers, also took up pen to petition the government for their release. Finally, Nelson Miles, the man to whom they had surrendered in 1877, took up their cause. Only he spoke with greater authority than he had in 1877; by 1880 Miles had been promoted to General and in 1881 was made the Commander of the Columbia.

The combined efforts slowly began to bear fruit. In June 1883, thirty-three people were allowed to relocate to the Lapwai Reservation and to take up residence with the Christianized Nez Perce. Joseph was not among them. The government had hoped this small gesture would be enough to put the issue of the Nez Perce behind them, but it only served to strengthen the cause. By July 1884, Congress approved the transfer of the remaining Nez Perce to their homes in the north. However, since hostility still remained in the Wallowa Valley among the whites, it was decided to send the Christianized Indians to the Lapwai Reservation, and the remaining non-Christian Indians to the Colville Reservation in Washington. The following spring 268 Nez Perce made their separate journeys back to the north. One hundred and fifty would voluntarily go with Joseph to exile in Washington and live on the Colville Reservation.

The Colville Reservation offered little hospitality for Joseph or the Nez Perce. The land was already home to several tribes, most of whom had been displaced by white settlement. Additionally, the reputation Joseph had been saddled with as a renegade Indian caused the settlers in the area to complain about his presence.

By the time the Nez Perce had returned to their homeland, the attitude about the Indians had changed. By 1887, the Dawes Allotment Act would attempt to divide the reservations into individual allotments to foster individuality among the Indians and to open up new land for settlement. Though Joseph was given an allotment on the Lapwai Reservation, he never claimed it. Instead, for the remainder of his life he continued to push the government to compensate the Nez Perce for the loss of their property and the return of

the Wallowa Valley. His struggle was aided by Nelson Miles, who would eventually be promoted to Commander of the Army, and Wild Bill Cody, who met Joseph during one of his many trips to the East Coast to push the government into action. Nothing would come of their efforts. Joseph was allowed to return to the Wallowa Valley only once after his return from the Indian Territory. The year was 1901, and he had been given hope that the government might consider granting a small reservation to his people. However, white settlement in the area and protest against the return of the Nez Perce was too great.

Unable to return to the land of his ancestors and beaten by a life of hard living, Joseph's health began to deteriorate. On 21 September 1904 he directed his wife to retrieve his headdress as he was preparing to die. When she returned, he had already passed on. Joseph was buried in the Colville Reservation. In his sixty-four years he had achieved a measure of celebrity in the white world as the Red Napoleon, architect of one of the most embarrassing failures on the part of the U.S. Army. Once his true nature was revealed, his name became synonymous with the "noble savage." However, throughout his life, although he was not able to honor his promise to his father to keep the land of their ancestors, he remained steadfast in his devotion to his people. For this devotion he would pay a tremendous price: All of the nine children Joseph fathered during his life would precede him in death, as would the unknown number of orphans he brought into his home. Hophoponmi, the daughter who escaped to Canada during that fateful week at Bear Paw, was returned to the Lapwai Reservation in 1878 and married George Moses in 1879. She would never see her father again. Joseph would marry four times during his lifetime; two of his wives, those he took after the death of Looking Glass, would survive him and live out their final days on the Colville Reservation. The iconic image of the man who had bested the U.S. Army had been exchanged for one of the Indian, exhausted by unrelenting advance of civilization, who had surrendered.

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Cowgirls at rodeo, AZO Photograph postcard of Rene Harley, Fox Hastings, Rose Smith, Ruth Roach, Mabel Strickland, Prairie Rose, Dorothy Morell, 1921. Photograph by Ralph R. Doubleday. Courtesy of the Museum of the American West, Autry National Research Center. 89.145.6.Western History Collections, Norman, Oklahoma.

Cowboys and Cowgirls

Taran Schindler

In 1893, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show opened its tenth season just outside the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Advertised since its original performance as an authentic portrayal of Western life, the Wild West Show featured a mix of Western-style scenes. Amid the fair's record-breaking crowds, there to celebrate the cultural arts, technology, and the 400 years since Columbus's arrival, William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody brought to a larger audience than ever the figure of the American cowboy. Fleshed out in colorful clothing and characterized by unique skills and stunning heroism, his presence was integral to Cody's expression of the West. The cowgirl was there, too. Her athleticism and bravery demonstrated by her roping, riding, and skills of derring-do. The Wild West performance immortalized cowboys and cowgirls as American champions. Once low-wage, hard-working cattle herders and ranch hands, their ascent to such a fabled position is a curious one. It begins during the heyday of American cattle ranching and is driven into the twentieth century by a web of popular and sophisticated forms of cultural expression.

To many people, settling on a single interpretation of these late nineteenth century characters is almost impossible. The cowboy easily and equally calls to mind campfires and harmonica tunes, stampedes and whirling lassos, heroic deeds and mysterious identities, and fast-drawing gun-slinging justice. The cowgirl, too, evokes several different characterizations. At once, she's the plucky Wild West show performer or, in the same arena, she's an independent, professional athlete challenging the expectations of Victorian domesticity. Sometimes, too, she is a tough but beautiful vigilante riding astride her horse righting wrongs across the fictionalized West, or she's a tomboy who knows her animals and can handle her gear as well as any man.

Clearly, these multiple images are conflations of history and story. In examining that history and looking to the sources of the story, the unique trajectory from ranch workers to symbols of American identity can be followed. It begins, of course, with cows and the culturally mixed origins of American cattle culture. It is extended through the efficient creation and dissemination of the mass-marketed dime novel and the equally efficient production of Buffalo Bill's Wild West as well as later similar Western reenactment exhibitions. Concurrently, elite late nineteenth century Eastern American circles recognized the popularity of the cowboy and, in more sophisticated expressions, deepened his character and furthered his ideological role as authentic denizen and unbeatable guardian of Western space.

Although the cowgirl character was not perpetuated in the same way, her historic participation in Western reenactment shows and in the parallel development of Western rodeo competition asserted her real presence on the range as well as providing the vehicle for her image of independence and competence into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The cowboy rode into American consciousness in the decades after the Civil War. Although Westerners were certainly aware of cattle drives and herdsmen, it was through military movement, East-West migration, journalism, and even early train travel and tourism that word was carried East of the rough, uniquely clad horsemen who pushed longhorn stock through the American West. At this time, thousands of cattle grazed the open ranges of the Southwest. In seasonal shifts, the animals were rounded up and moved through the Oklahoma Territory to railroad access in Kansas and Missouri or into the fertile ranges in Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. By the second half of the 1880s, however, when overcrowded herds, fencing issues, and railroad expansion forced an end to open-range ranching, what seemed to be the cowboy's short tenure also seemed to be coming to a close.

The cowboy's sudden appearance and stunted career gives an impression that American cattle culture covers only a less than thirty-year period. It is true that the post-Civil War drives marked the high point of the presence of both cowboys and cattle on the range. Importantly, however, the cowboy's (and later the cowgirl's) distinctive look, his specialized skills, his tools and trappings, and the animals he kept came from a long history of cattle culture in North America. These same attributes leave a strong legacy on the modern ranch and rodeo culture as well as in the popular modern literary and cinematic genre of the Western. J. Frank Dobie, the prominent and popular early twentieth century Western historian, observed that "the cowboy became the best-known occupational type that America has given the world. He exists still and will long exist, though much changed from the original. His fame derives from the past."

Early History

The American cowboy's past begins in the mid-sixteenth century when the Spanish first brought horses and cattle into North America. In 1494, on his second journey, Christopher Columbus introduced a herd of cattle to the island of Hispaniola. The animals thrived in the warm climate on lush grassland. In less than ten years, small agricultural and stockbreeding ranches were established throughout the West Indies. In 1519, in search of gold and infamous for his brutal conquest of the Aztec population, Hernán Cortéz brought eleven stallions and five mares to the mainland of New Spain. These small, tough Spanish-bred Andalusians are ancestors to horses used in American cattle ranching today.

Close to the same time that Cortéz was making his presence known, the first cattle were brought to the mainland by soon-to-be lieutenant governor of New Spain, Gregorio de Villalobos. His herd was followed by the import of countless

head of cattle. Of the several different breeds that had been relocated to New Spain, one proved most able to acclimate in the hills and grassy regions of the area south of what is now the state of Mexico. This light-bodied, narrow-muzzled variety had long legs and wide spreading curved horns. Not particularly well designed for work, this descendent of the Andalusian fighting bull and ancestor to the Texas Longhorn was more in demand for its hide, tallow, and meat.

New Spain

New Spain was an area of the North and South American continent that was ruled by Spain from 1535 to 1821. It extended from what are now the Cayman Islands to nearly all of the Southwestern United States, and even parts of British Columbia and Alaska. In 1821, Spain's land holdings decreased with the independence of Mexico and in 1898 when Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam were ceded to the United States after the Spanish-American War.

The early sixteenth century in New Spain was marked by the abundance of cattle on the open ranges. As the longhorns multiplied rapidly, Spanish ranchers needed a system to protect their herds from theft, predators, and natural injury. This task was perceived by both wealthy cattlemen and religious missionaries as menial labor meant for unskilled workers. It fell on the non-Spanish population: a motley crew of converted Indians, Africans, and Caribbeans. Known in Spanish as *vaqueros*, this socially outcast and very poor labor force learned to ride horses and control livestock with ropes and prods. They were the original cowboys.

Nineteenth-Century History

The next centuries of northern migration, shifts in Mexican and American national borders, and economic opportunity drew the vaquero and his profession into the United States by way of California and Texas. Eighteenth-century California was Spanish land. Cattle from Mexico were driven northwest originally to supply the missions and forts with small herds for food and supplies. Vaqueros had come to California with the young herds but as the cattle population grew and ranching became the primary industry in the region, extra handlers were in demand. Despite a law that forbade Indians the right to horses, the mission padres, very much in control of the economy, bent the rule and trained Indian converts with the skills of the vaquero. When Mexico gained independence in 1821, mission lands were required to be returned to the public. To protect their vast assets, the padres at the twenty-one missions liquidated their herds into hides, tallow, and jerky. Although a percentage of vaqueros left the mission herds for work on privately owned large ranches or

haciendas, the responsibilities of many Californian vaqueros changed from growing and protecting beef to skinning, fat production, and beef brining. From 1830 to 1842 total mission herd count dropped from close to 535,000 to 28,220 cattle.

Cattle Rendering

Tallow or rendered cow fat was traditionally used for cooking and in the making of candles and soap. Richard Henry Dana's classic novel *Two Years before the Mast*, published in 1840, offers an image of the hide and tallow trade. His adventure story is based on his experiences at sea from Boston, around Cape Horn, and up the California coast. Not only does Dana paint a picture of the danger and beauty of mid-nineteenth-century sailing life, but he also includes timely descriptions of vaquero culture and his participation in the cattle rendering trade.

At the same time the California cattle industry was in decline, wild cattle were thriving across grasslands in Texas and land was readily available. During the years as a Republic, Texas's borders extended into what are now New Mexico, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, covering over two million acres. When Texas became a state liberal land policies still held, for a time, from earlier days. Original homestead agreements from 1836 offered white families living in Texas 7600 acres and immigrant families arriving between 1836 and 1837 were offered 1280 acres. Even though state congressional policies in 1854 reduced homestead plots to 160 acres, the ethic to acquire land quickly was in place. With state-supported land subsidy, a wealth of wild cattle, and a wide-open range, Texas in the 1850s had become a state of ranching landholders. An 1860 census reported that Texas was home to one-eighth of all American cattle. Over the decades, Mexican vaqueros had been hired to handle these great herds and, as the beef industry flourished, it was their skills that were passed to a new American crew.

Cowboy Ancestry

Most of the new Southwestern cowboys were white. They were Texans or migrants from Southeastern states. In a moment of evident cultural exchange, these European American cowboys acquired skills rooted in Spanish, West Indian, and Mexican experience. The Texas cowboy may have been continuing African American, Irish, and English colonial traditions as well. The origins of the word "cowboy" point in several directions. Cattle raising had long played a part in the agrarian culture of the American colonial South. African and métis—or mixed-heritage—slaves and indentured workers herded cattle as far north and as far to the east as the Appalachian foothills

in northeastern Mississippi. On foot, not horseback, and with dogs for assistance, these herders were known as “cow-boys.” Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Eastern cow-boys crossed the Mississippi River. Once this far west, Southern ranching and vaquero traditions most likely had an influence on each other.

The term “cowboy” also appears in second-century Irish history where it was defined as it is today, as a horseman or a cattle herd. Over 500 years later, Irish cowboys who ran afoul of British law were offered to serve their sentences in jail or in America as indentured farmhands. At this time, cattle raisers in the American colonies used the terms “cow-keeper” and “drover” to separate themselves from the reputation of the Irish cowboy troublemakers.

During the American Revolution, the term “cow-boy” remained an unpopular term for those seeking American independence. Calling themselves “cow-boys,” a contingent of Royalist Tories stole American colonists’ cattle to feed British troops. A half century later, during the Texas Revolution, Texan soldiers known as “cow-boys” raided cattle from Mexican ranches along the Rio Grande. After the war, former soldiers remained in the southern region to round up wild cattle for sale in central Texas and Louisiana. An 1874 publication promoting the cattle trade noted that the average cowhand was called a “cow-boy.” It wasn’t until the turn of the century that the use of the hyphen was discontinued.

As a whole, cowboys were displaced farmers, former soldiers, and, in general, young men in search of work outside of urban areas. At the time cowboys were beginning to drive the Texas longhorn north, the occupation’s history of mixed ancestry was still apparent. Mexicans were an ongoing presence on Western ranches. For Texan ranchers, Mexican cowboys promised expert skills and they worked for lower wages than their Anglo partners. Indian cowboys also had a hand in the mix. References to Pawnee herders have been documented, and late in the nineteenth century, the northern Dakota and Montana tribes adopted a ranching culture. Typically, however, mid-century Indian ranch hands were from the five resettled Eastern tribes with previous herding experience. Chickasaw, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole managed cattle on Oklahoma lands.

Following the Civil War, African American former slaves migrated west in large numbers. Carrying with them ranching experience from the Southeastern back country, many became cowboys on the open Western range. African American cowboys are a well-known part of ranching culture but because cattle, not cowboys, were counted, statistics are difficult to glean. Memoirs from the time period do note an African American presence. Cowboy Teddy Blue Abbott recalled a “mixed outfit” on an 1879 trail ride and Charlie Siringo, in his 1885 autobiographical account *A Texas Cowboy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony*, recalls interactions with black cattlemen. On a trail ride of 2500 head of cattle and twenty-five cowboys, he and “negro Gabe” controlled a herd through a rising river and at a

different time, he was told to wait for “Ike Word, an old negro . . . who was the best roper in the crowd.”

Round Up and Trail Drives

During the post–Civil War years of Southern Reconstruction and Western expansion the cattle culture grew in Texas, especially in the southern region below the San Antonio River. At the same time, the demand for beef was growing in the rapidly industrializing Northeast. To transport beef-on-the-hoof to Eastern markets, and later, to farther Western urban centers, cowboys led thousands of head of cattle up from Texas on long trail drives to northern railroad access points. The trail drives coupled with the seasonal round up of cattle were the cowboy’s two most definitive tasks.

To the mid-nineteenth century Western rancher and cowboy, the open range meant the vast open public lands that rolled out as far as a hungry cow could graze. It also meant the more proximal lands closer to each separate home-stead or ranch. Cowboys regularly monitored their home territory, sending wandering cattle to more central areas. However, open range cattle could roam as far as 150 miles. In order to maintain the individually owned herds, each spring and fall cowboys spent a month out on the range, gathering and separating or “cutting” cattle, branding new calves, and driving herds closer to their home range for security or for preparation for the trail. In 1920, cowboy Hiram G. Craig, quoted in David Dary’s informative and detailed text *Cowboy Culture*, remembered a round up from 1881: “The men, so sent out, all going in different directions, formed a veritable spider’s web, with the round up grounds in the center. As soon as the boys would ‘whoop-em up,’ the cattle were on the run, and would make for the grounds.”

The trail drives secured their place in the cattle industry in 1867 when Joseph McCoy, an Illinois stockman, arranged with local government to build stockyards on the Kansas-Pacific railroad in Abilene, Kansas. The location was specifically chosen to protect in-state cattle from the potentially devastating Texas Tick Fever—a condition that arched the back, dropped the head, clouded the eyes, and eventually killed or permanently weakened non-Texan cattle. Kansas law required cattle imports to remain west of the sixth principal meridian, close to present day Mahaska. Farther Western stockyards grew in the Dodge City area, especially for herds heading to Denver and further north.

After a round up of market-bound animals, cowboys spent months on the trail. The most well-ridden cattle routes were the Chisholm Trail, the Western Trail, and the Goodnight-Loving Trail. The Chisholm Trail was partly blazed by Cherokee-Scottish trader, guide, and cattle driver Jesse Chisholm. Before the war, Chisholm led a gold-mining expedition up the Arkansas River, through eastern Oklahoma into Kansas, near Wichita. Later he pushed that trail south to the Red River. The full trail eventually extended north from San Antonio,

Texas, through Wichita to the Abilene railroad. Within the first year of the Texas-Kansas drives, 75,000 cattle were steered north. At its highest point, three years later in 1871, the Chisholm Trail fed over 700,000 cattle into Abilene. After 1872, however, the trails were forced west. Abilene residents felt that the cattle industry upset the local economy and that year, too, the animal quarantine boundary became more restrictive.

While the Chisholm Trail was still used to move cattle as far as Wichita, the Western Trail took cattle from San Antonio to Dodge City in western Kansas. Later, Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving together and separately mapped a course from west Texas to Denver, Colorado, and further north to Cheyenne, Wyoming. Goodnight was a ranching pioneer in the Texas panhandle region. He began ranching in 1876 with his wife, Mary Ann "Molly" Dyer Goodnight. Seven years later, Goodnight and British partner John G. Adair and his wife Cordelia Adair had 700,000 acres. Their JA ranch was the largest ranch at that time in Texas.

The Goodnight Ranch

In 1883 the Goodnight-Adair JA Ranch was the largest privately owned ranch with 700,000 acres. Two years later, the investment firm Taylor, Babcock, and Company received over three million acres of Texas land as payment for the three million dollar subsidy the firm fronted for a new state capital building. At its peak in 1887, the ranch, known as the corporate XIT ranch, employed 150 cowboys, maintained 1000 horses and a cattle herd of close to 150,000. The brand XIT is either a Roman numeral reference to the ten Texas counties represented in the ranch's land holdings or it may more simply imply that it was the largest ranch in the state.

The Goodnight-Loving Trail, and other cattle routes as well, inspired commercial activity at their origins and at their northern rail destinations. In Denver and in Cheyenne, as in Abilene, Wichita, and Dodge City, stockyards brought business that, in turn, invited banks and merchants. At trailhead towns, cowhands could spend their wages on new clothes and the tools of the trade.

Clothing, Equipment, Specialized Skills

Cowboys needed durable, utilitarian clothes. Without the space to carry extra items and always working outside in all weather, the cowboy made sure to be efficiently dressed. However, cowboy W.S. James remarked in his 1898 memoir *A Cowboy's Life in Texas, 27 Years a Maverick* that the "cowboy . . . had his flights of fancy as clearly defined as the most fashionable French belle." Most essential for the practical or the fanciful cowhand was a hat to protect

from the sun and rain. Typically made from wool, the width of the brim and the depth of the crown have been key factors in cowboy style. Boots with a high-wedged heel were popular in the earlier years when cowherds stood in their short-stirrups. Later, in the late 1870s, when longer stirrups allowed the rider to sit comfortably straight in the saddle and ride for longer periods, a lower heeled, square-toed boot was worn.

The cowboy's work required freedom of movement. Wool pants, homespun and later store-bought, were tucked into the top of the boot. In this fashion, a wide pant leg never caught in the stirrup or on thorny plants. A belt instead of over-the-shoulder suspenders fixed pants at the waist. To free the arms, a leather vest worn over a collarless wool shirt replaced the sleeved jacket. Rounding out the distinctive outfit was a cotton bandanna, loosely tied at the neck to provide ready access to a dust mask. A cotton rain slicker and tarp, heavily oiled with linseed oil for waterproofing, were often on hand.

Dressed and ready for the range, the cowherd gathered up the necessary gear. Reflecting the connection between vaquero traditions and American herding, much of the cowboy's equipment and techniques have Spanish or Spanish-derivative names. Eighteenth-century vaqueros and their American protégés used a leather rope called a *reata* to catch a cow over the head and around the neck. To a California vaquero this rope was a *lazo*. La reata became the Anglicized lariat and the lazo is a lasso. Today the two are interchangeably used to refer to the cowherd's rope. After the animal had been roped, the lariat or lasso was quickly looped around the horn of the saddle before the cow had run the length of the rope. The cowboy had "dallied" or "dolly welted" the lariat. In Spanish, he had *da la vuelta* or "given a turn" to the rope. When the cowboy was on the trail or working a round up, he would change his tired horse for a rested one at the *remuda* or *remuda de caballeros* or "relay of horses." Once in the saddle, leather chaps, or *chaparreras*, would protect the rider's legs from chaparral, cactus, and other prickly brush prevalent across the Southwest.

Cow herding demanded top riding skills. Cowherds would ride horses provided by large ranching operations while others had their own mounts. In the mid-1870s, the Plains saddle or Western saddle was the most widely used. It featured a low saddle horn, two cinches, leather side fenders, and narrow stirrups. Well-set in the saddle, a cowboy would ride into the herd, turn the horse toward a cow to be separated, and then, without upsetting the herd, urge that single animal forward. Once cut from the herd, the animal often met with another of the cowboy's specialized skills.

For private ranchers to identify their herd, each animal was marked with the ranch's particular symbol or brand. Branding cattle was a harsh process. Calves and unbranded adults known as mavericks were cut from the herd and held down while hot irons seared the ranch's brand onto their side. Often, at the same time, calves were dehorned, had their tails cut, and, in the case of young bulls, were castrated.

Mavericks

Mavericks earned their name from the unbranded cattle of Texas rancher, Samuel A. Maverick. In the mid-1840s, Maverick had settled in Matagorda County where he acquired his original herd as a payment for a debt. Not particularly interested in raising cattle at the time, he neglected his animals and let them roam unbranded. Other ranchers and neighbors knew unmarked cows as "Maverick's." When he sold his herd, to the benefit of the new owners, any unbranded animals found in the area were considered "Maverick's" and claimed as part of the sale. Used in American vernacular speech today, a maverick is an independent and original thinker.

In contrast to the acrid smell and rough work of branding, herding work often required a much more tender skill. On the trail, cattle were nervous. Crowded, in unfamiliar territory, and often tired and thirsty, the animals were quick to react to sudden movements, changes in weather, and disturbing sounds. In panic, cattle "mill" in a circular formation. The motion can become fervent and can break into full stampede. One way to control the animals was to sing to them. The cowboy's songs were sung loudly over the bellowing animals. The songs, typically sung without musical instruments, were simple but the lyrics reflected life on the range as well as future hopes and dreams.

Cowboy Songs

Andy Adams documented in his *Log of a Cowboy*, published in 1903, that the cowboy's songs sounded "like a hybrid between the weirdness of an Indian cry and the croon of a darky mammy. It expresses the open, the prairie, the immutable desert." American film stars Gene Autry and Roy Rogers popularized the image of the clean-cut, singing cowboy. Folklorists, musicologists, and historians have more authentically preserved cowboy songs and poetry. Through the 1930s, John A. Lomax Jr. cataloged countless songs and poems from various Western cattle herding traditions and, in present-day, the Western Folklife Center in Elko, Nevada, keeps manuscript and audio archives. The art form is still thriving in cattle communities across the United States. Each year poets, both young and seasoned, male and female, share their poetic interpretations of the modern Western range at the National Cowboy Poetry Gathering also in Elko, Nevada.

*What keeps the herd from running,
Stampeding far and wide?
The cowboy's long, low whistle,
And singing by their side.*
—anonymous, cowboy song

Women's History on the Range

The cowboy's way of life was a fusion of diverse cultural traditions and hard outdoor work, American expansion, and economic opportunities. Written between the lines of history is an assumption that the cowherd's craft—the riding, roping, and cattle know-how along with the specialized clothing and riding gear—was exclusively a male thing. Lost in the shadow of a myth of masculinity have been the cattle women of the West. Within the last twenty-five years scholars have found a rich legacy of working women behind the image of the Wild West performing cowgirl. It is true that most of the people who worked the round ups and the trails were men and as Renée M. Laegreid addresses in her 2006 text *Riding Pretty*, ranch work was a masculine sphere. However, when Molly Dyer Goodnight and Cordelia Adair rode into the ranching West, they were not the first and would not be the last women in the area who actively participated in business management as well as in the daily tasks of mid- to late-nineteenth century ranching.

Over the course of the cattle boom, women drove supply wagons, rounded up horses, stood in for absent husbands, and managed their own herds. Some even rode the trail. Willie Matthews, at age nineteen in 1888, masqueraded as a boy and worked, with noticeable skill, as a cowboy in New Mexico and Colorado for four months. At this time, while the term "cowboy" implied the occupation of a cowherd, the term "cowgirl" was not yet a part of ranching culture. Instead, the women who did similar or the same work as men were ranchers, ranch women, or in some cases, cowboys as well.

Ranching in the West provided a unique environment for the Victorian woman. In an age when women were expected to live by standards set by the domestic virtues of "True Womanhood," Western women were learning the physical and business aspects of ranching in their own homes. Often located on an isolated homestead in a remote region, family-run ranches needed all members to complete the daily responsibilities. Out of this necessity, Western women were able to drop some of the restrictive ideologies of passive femininity and submission. Instead, they learned to ride at a young age, participated in the chores of the ranch, and if so inclined, worked outdoors with livestock. Typically, work was designated according to ability not gender. Alice Greenough, an early twentieth-century cowherd and rodeo cowgirl, remembers in *Cowgirls*, Teresa Jordan's 1979 collection of biographies, her father encouraging her to work for a neighbor who was looking seasonal laborers. "She'll work just like a man," her father assured. Her work out-of-doors was not unusual for a woman in her situation nor did it suggest she was unfeminine for pursuing it. Greenough was in a place in which she learned both the ways of the home and the ranch.

Cattle culture had been offering such opportunities for women for close to a century. In the late eighteenth century several women in southern Texas owned and managed large ranching operations. Into the next century, as ranching grew, Mexican women became more involved with handling animals,

riding longer distances, and, noticeably more politically active and independent as well. Mexican legend holds one woman in particular, Dona Maria del Carmen Calvillo, in high esteem. In addition to her independent management of her ranch in Floresville, Texas, she made peace with neighboring Indians and provided shelter for Santa Ana's army in the battle for Texan independence.

The Homestead Act of 1862 drew men and women to the West. Between 1862 and 1934 thousands of individual women participated in this surge. Unlike domestic employment available to women in more populated areas, homesteading provided a liberating environment. Some of the women who made land claims were married and used homesteading to supplement their families' assets. However, many were single or widowed, finding in Western land cultivation and ranching real physical freedom and economic opportunity.

The Homestead Act

The Homestead Act of 1862 was designed to encourage agricultural development in the American West. The United States federal government authorized a plan that granted 160 acres of Western land to an adult over the age of twenty-one. The act stipulated that the land was to be lived on for five years. Within that timeframe, the land was to be cultivated and a home, no smaller than twelve by fourteen feet, was to be built. After the designated period, if the homesteader had met the criteria, he or she could apply for ownership and the title to the land.

Ranching opened doors for women, who out of necessity or personal interest chose to raise or work with livestock. Still, their participation in the field, as nineteenth-century women, was not without challenges. Victorian decorum dictated not only her social behavior but also her participation in physical activity and her manner of dress. In the early years of American ranching the sidesaddle

The Sidesaddle: A Spanish Tradition

The sidesaddle came to the American West from two separate but related traditions. In eighth-century Moorish Spain women traveled in a basket-like attachment at the side of a horse. Hundreds of years later, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Spanish with their horses headed for North America in search of gold. By this point the basket had evolved into the sidesaddle and was seen as a symbol of aristocracy. At the same time, Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon married into the British royal family carrying her riding traditions with her. The sidesaddle made its way into North America through both English and Mexican migration.

was the appropriate seating for a woman on horseback. Riding in this fashion allowed a woman's long riding skirt to fully cover her legs that were resting to the left, her right leg set slightly higher than her left. For a working woman on horseback, the saddle and the skirt limited her mobility and comfort.

In the later part of the 1890s, attitudes were slowly changing toward the expectations of women in society. Nevertheless, women who chose to ride astraddle for work and for pleasure did cause a stir. The terms themselves—"astraddle, astride, clothespin style"—took on sexual connotations. The medical community considered the position a strain on women's reproductive organs and a catalyst for uterine prolapse. Medical journals also claimed that women's rounded thighs were not strong enough to grip the saddle and, overall, it was unattractive to see a woman in this position.

Despite public reactions, riding women in the West went on with business. With the change of saddle, the divided skirt became popular. First, it featured the same long, full flare as the riding skirt but with a seam up the center. In 1895, Evelyn Cameron, rider and Western photographer, rode through Miles City, Montana, in this divided skirt. She documented in a letter, excerpted in Teresa Jordan's *Cowgirls*, that even though her outfit was as full as the traditional skirt, she was given a warning against wearing such attire in public and if she persisted she might face arrest. Not long after Cameron's run-in, divided skirts were seen regularly in Miles City as well as in other Western locales. The skirts became shorter and more tailored until the World War I years when jodhpurs and pants made their way into the Western woman's riding habit.

**Lizzie Johnson, Cattle Rancher, and Molly Dyer Goodnight,
Manager and Conservationist**

The shifts in clothing and riding style are tangible examples of freedoms offered to ranching women. Less noticeable but immensely valuable examples of women's independence can be found in the life and ranching career of Lizzie Johnson and in the conservationist thought of Molly Dyer Goodnight. In 1865, at age twenty-four and unmarried, Johnson was teaching school and keeping the books for local cattlemen in Lockhart, Texas. She continued both careers in several different Texas towns and, reportedly as a counter to boredom, she wrote pulp fiction for newly mass-marketed dime novels and series. Although she wrote under a nom-de-plume, several of her stories are known to have appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. With her bookkeeping experience and her association with prominent cattle brokers whom she had known through family connections, she began investing her money in cattle industry stock. Her investments grew quickly, and by 1871 she had purchased land and cattle and had registered her own CY brand in central Texas. By 1879, she had a crew of cowboys and was regularly sending her

herds up the trail for sale. That year she married Hezekiah Williams, a widower and a former preacher who had taken up the cowboy life. In an unprecedented agreement, prior to her marriage Lizzie Johnson had Hezekiah Williams sign a premarital contract stating that all of her assets, including any future equity, belonged to her. He entered the cattle industry at her urging but as a couple they maintained separate business accounts. In addition to her independent financial arrangements, she was the first woman to take her own brand up the Chisholm Trail. At least twice, possibly a third time, riding in a horse-drawn buggy, she and her husband drove her cattle into Kansas.

In the early 1880s, Molly Goodnight settled with her husband Charles Goodnight on their JA Ranch in the Texas Panhandle's Palo Duro Canyon. Not only did she manage business transactions for the ranch she also served as the only medical doctor for the local area. For five years, until a trained physician was encouraged by the Goodnights to build a practice nearby, Molly Goodnight prescribed a creative combination of available medicinals and folk remedies to her family, staff, and neighbors. Outside of this work, Goodnight took a strong interest in the shrinking buffalo herds in the region. Almost as soon as she had settled in the Panhandle, she began to adopt abandoned buffalo calves and bottle-feed them. In the next several years more calves as well as mature buffalo were added to her domesticated herd. Her buffalo came to be known as the Charles Goodnight Herd. Despite carrying her husband's name, it was her forethought, in part, that was instrumental in saving the Southern Plains buffalo from extinction. Today, many of the descendants of these animals live in Caprock Canyons State Park in the Texas Panhandle.

Although women, for the most part, were not an itinerant labor force, there is no lack of evidence in placing women as working partners in the cattle ranching culture. Their positions as managers and investors as well as their riding and animal husbandry skills add new facets to the character of the pioneer woman. Instead of being understood only as a mother, wife, or a saloon-style prostitute, women played key roles in the development of the land and the nation's economic growth.

The End of Open-Range Ranching

The cattle ranching boom that carried so many men and women to the West came to an end not thirty years from its outset. Ranching had promised wealth and into the early 1880s investors were seeing rapid return. At that time, cattle were pulling in \$35 a head. However, by 1884 the success of the beef market had crowded the range and created a surplus of cattle. Trade prices dropped rapidly to \$8 a head at the end of 1885. Already taking severe losses investors, ranchers, their seasonal laborers, and their cattle met with the extremely severe winter of 1885–1886. Hundreds of thousands of animals died. Cattle shipped the next year were in poor condition and brought in even lower prices. From Texas through Montana, overgrazed grassland and then

the depletion of the herds dramatically changed the lives of cattle ranchers and their crews. As the ranching world began the process of reparation, several concurrent events brought a sure end to the open range culture identified by seasonal round ups and trail drives.

Joseph F. Glidden, a farmer from Illinois, received a patent in 1874 for his specialized design for barbed wire. Although not necessarily the first to consider wire barbs as fencing material, he held the first patent and was the first to produce it on a mass scale. Originally it was used to keep open range cattle from wandering into homesteaders' cultivated fields. Western ranchers, on the other hand, were wary of the sharp device. Injured animals were more susceptible to infections and the strands of wire limited movement across grazing land. For a time, ranch land remained unfenced.

After the winter of 1885–1886, the structure of the range took a new shape. To slowly nurture meat back into a competitive market and to let the range recover from earlier overgrazing, ranchers kept smaller herds. Barbed wire fencing was used to control the movement of the herds away from new growth and into secured pasture. To supplement the animals' diet, sections of ranch land were fenced and cultivated for feed. With cattle contained and crops to support, wells were dug and windmills raised to provide on-site access to water.

Cowboys' tasks went from riding the round up and trail to digging wells, growing and harvesting hay, and setting fences. Many carried bandage kits out into the field when stringing wire fences. Wire barbs could cause injury even through long sleeves and leather gloves. The fenced ranges met mixed reactions from those working the smaller ranches. One Texas cowboy commented in 1884 that he was sickened by the thought of potatoes growing where animals should be grazing. Farms, enclosed pastures, and fenced water holes, he felt, were the ruin of the country.

The expansion of the railroad industry also had direct effect on the ranching world. As ranching territory moved farther north into Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, rail lines also reached farther across the West and into the mountain regions. Although cattle were still pushed on foot to rail hubs, the trail drives from ranches to rail access were much shorter. The semi-nomadic life of the cattle driver shifted to a more ranch-based culture within the boundaries of fenced ranges.

Cowboy Reputation

During this same time, when ranchers were pushing the limit of capacity of the Western grasslands and the dynamics of the range were in flux, the public impression of the working cowboy was at an all-time low. In Lincoln County, New Mexico, in 1878 cowboy ranch hands representing local ranchers were pitted against a posse organized by a wealthy and politically influential mercantile and banking house. After one young, prosperous ranch owner was murdered over debt issues, allegiances were tested. Later known as the Lincoln

County War, the cowboys, including Henry McCarty—sometimes known as William H. Bonney or “Billy the Kid”—were overwhelmed by a coordinated effort between the merchant’s gunmen and U.S. troops. Though many escaped alive, including Billy the Kid, their actions against the U.S. military coupled with public action against powerful money-holders made them outlaws and forced them to disperse. News of this event only deepened a negative image of cowboys already being reported in popular journals. In an 1875 *Lippincott’s* article, journalist Laura Johnson had called cowboys, “rough men with shaggy hair and wild, staring eyes.”

Only a few years later in fall 1881, cowboys faced off with local law enforcement in Tombstone, Arizona Territory. Allegedly disturbing the peace and breaking a local ordinance that prohibited possession of firearms, a cowboy named Ike Clanton was arrested by local sheriff, Wyatt Earp. After his release, Clanton threatened retaliation on local law officials. In what is now infamous as the “Gunfight at the O.K. Corral,” Earp, his two brothers, and J.H. “Doc” Holliday were on the defensive against Clanton and five other men. Newspaper coverage reported “A Desperate Fight Between Officers of the Law and Cow-Boys.” Earp’s two brothers and Holliday sustained injuries but three of Clanton’s men were killed, including his brother. The others ran. No doubt this incident, so closely following the conflict in Lincoln County, perpetuated an image of the cowboy as renegade and violent. In his first Presidential Address presented on 6 December 1881, President Chester A. Arthur drew attention to the disruption of the peace in the Arizona Territory by “a band of armed desperadoes known as ‘cowboys’ [who] have been engaged for months in committing acts of lawlessness and brutality.”

The cowboy’s reputation as dangerous and fearsome was replaced only a few years after President Arthur’s pointed remark. In 1885, as a recognized historian, Theodore Roosevelt explained the rowdy cowboy’s behavior as a celebration at trail’s end. In the following year Joseph Nimmo, chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, wrote in a *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* article that cowboys possessed courage and physical alertness, were skilled horsemen, and, despite a rough appearance, a majority of them were “true and trusty men.” An 1887 British newspaper reported the cowboy to be “a gentleman.” The shift from outlaw to honorific reflects the growing nostalgic and romantic perception of Western life consciously promoted in Eastern media. While Western men and women were experiencing the realities of the end of open-range ranching as well as increased violence between the U.S. Army and Indians, urban Easterners were looking toward a fictionalized West to diffuse tensions associated with rapid industrialization.

Eastern Economic Collapse and Urban Anxiety

The decades flanking the Civil War were marked by rapid economic and social change. The young American nation went from being a land-based agrarian

society to an industrialized, financially sound player in world markets. In under a century, the swift rise of industrial capitalism in the East built a system of manufacturing and factory labor. At the same time the country doubled in size, eradicated the original occupants of the Western plains—the American Indian and the buffalo—and replaced them with cattle, ranches, and railroads. The Jeffersonian ideal of an agrarian, egalitarian republic of white farmers was overshadowed by real private investment, big business, and a hierarchical labor system.

Although Eastern factory conditions were poor and advancement opportunities for the working class very low, American economic prosperity, as a whole, sustained its upswing over the course of the Civil War. In the years between 1868 and 1873 Southern agricultural reconstruction proceeded, rail tracks were nearly doubled, and a new immigrant work force labored for the lowest wages while still maintaining high production of material goods. Attesting to the continued flow of money, in the early 1870s, Eastern investors took note of the large sums of cattle money passing through Western banks. The National Live Stock Journal of 1871 documented that the prior year had brought \$3 million into Kansas City banks. At that time, seven railroads passed through Kansas City, where stockyards, livestock exchange, and meat packing operations secured the wealth in the region.

In an early attempt to attract Eastern and European investment in cattle ranching, the Union Pacific Railroad in Omaha published the first how-to stock raising guidebook, *Trans-Missouri Stock Raising: The Pasture Lands of North America*. Then, just as rail corporations and the stock raisers began joint promotion, the bottom dropped out of the railroad market. On 18 September 1873, the Philadelphia banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., overextended to the Northern Pacific Railroad, declared bankruptcy. The next day, nineteen other banking firms collapsed. The New York Stock Exchange closed for ten days. With the Panic of 1873 in full swing, prices fell, bonds defaulted, and credit became difficult to obtain.

Although Eastern industries felt the effects of the 1873 economic depression for over six years, Western cattle ranching and the railroad rallied significantly faster. Only a year after the crash, American and European investors again saw promise in Western cattle raising and innovations in railcar refrigeration were also well under way. Flush with new capital, cattle ranching became a cattle industry. But as soon as the vast herds again took over the West, open-range ranching was hindered by overgrazing and severe winter weather. As a result, cowhands were pushed into different lines of work. At the same time, Eastern working-class urban men and women were facing crowded domestic conditions, labor strife, new immigrant populations, and racial tensions as well as the social constraints dictated by Victorian society. To counter urban anxiety, popular culture was finding entertainment and diversion in mass-marketed dime novels and in the theatric interpretations of the West suggested in new melodramatic stage productions.

The time was right, according to folklorist Beverly J. Stoeltje, for a unifying, national symbol of American identity. By the early 1880s, an image of the cowboy emerged on the East Coast. Built concurrently on popular literature and performance, the cowboy image underscored American freedom and self-sufficiency as well as white authority and virility. Through the cowboy ideal, the congested white, middle-class, urban population could indulge in a fantasy of a Western life of space and free agency.

FICTIONALIZATION OF COWBOYS AND COWGIRLS

The Dime Western and Buffalo Bill's Wild West

The emergence of the cowboy, and eventually the cowgirl, as illustrations of virtue, strength, and independence were hinged on the introduction of new, mid-century printing technology as well as a chance meeting in 1869 at Fort McPherson, Nebraska, that brought together two very different men.

The steam-powered cylinder printing press of the antebellum era reduced labor expenses and could print 1100 sheets per hour. At the same time, paper costs were cut with the introduction of inexpensive wood-pulp production and upgrades in transportation systematized delivery and dissemination, allowing printed materials to reach a wide audience. These advancements made the mass-production of books possible, and in doing so, promoted the act of reading as a popular middle-class activity.

In 1860, the New York publishing house of Beadle & Adam used the steam-powered press to print the first dime novel. The house of Beadle was already known for its inexpensive pocket-sized paperback handbooks including *Beadle's Dime Letter Writer* and *Beadle's Dime Book of Beauty*. The first novel, *Maleaska or the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, written by Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, set a sentimental and sensationalized plot of miscegenation in the familiar landscape of the James Fenimore Cooper's Hudson River valley. Advertised as the first of a series and offering a controversial subject, the novel sold 65,000 copies in its first few months and continued to sell into the next century. Ingeniously marketed as series, dime novels promised more than each issue actually delivered therefore securing the purchase of future installments. Beadle & Adam took full advantage of this by diversifying into many similarly named series including *Beadle's Dime Novels*, *Beadle's New York Dime Library*, *Beadle's Half-Dime Library*, and *Beadle's New Dime Novels*. Beadle & Adam published twenty-five series, and the other companies produced even more.

As popularity of the format grew, the dime novels took on a standard presentation. Foregoing the pocket design, the dime novel became a quarto booklet—its broadleaf pages folded four times to measure 12.5 inches tall and 9.5 inches wide. Typically 100 pages (or fifty pages in the *Beadle's Half-Dime*

Library series) with woodblock cover art and a formulaic plot often featuring historic characters, dime novel publishing houses including Beadle & Adams, Street and Smith, and Frank Tousey provided the general reading public, for over sixty years, with action-packed stories filled to the brim with dangers, romances, and opportunities for heroism.

William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody

When Edward Zane Carroll Judson met William F. Cody, acclaimed hunting guide and a U.S. army scout, at Nebraska's Fort McPherson, he was well aware of the success of the dime novel format. Judson, who was more often known as Ned Buntline, had been a Know-Nothing Party activist and a temperance lecturer. Eventually, he found his niche as a writer. In fact, he was an extremely prolific writer of pulp fiction and sensationalized journalism. Buntline's writing had appeared in the New York literary magazine *Knickerbocker*, and in the early 1840s, he started his own paper, published in Kentucky, called *Ned Buntline's Own*. He made it known that he could produce six dime novels a week and could pull in \$20,000 a year.

The Know-Nothings

The Know-Nothing Party was the popular nickname for the American Party, a short-lived political movement that supported a strong anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic platform. It formed in New York and was most active between 1852 and 1856, at one point representing one million members. Its reactionary stance toward immigrants aimed to place only native-born Americans into public office and its reformist, middle-class foundation pushed temperance and Bible study in public schools. The movement split over slavery issues and by 1860 was a nominal political force. The "know-nothing" moniker reflects the exclusive and secretive origins of the movement. If a member was asked about his political associations, the proper response was "I know nothing." In American vernacular today, the term "know-nothing" is used in political arenas to criticize anti-immigrant and xenophobic directives.

When the two men met, Cody was returning from an excursion as a hunting guide and scouting for the army. Buntline may have been returning from a temperance tour or he may have been there specifically to gather material for his fiction. Although Buntline's purpose at the fort is historically unclear, the upshot of the interaction was a dime novel, published in December 1869, in which Buntline used Cody's personal moniker Buffalo Bill and was loosely based on the scout's frontier life. The story, *Buffalo Bill, King of the Bordermen*, exalted Cody's life in the army and as an Indian fighter. In a plot that resembled nothing like an authentic scout's experience but advertised as truth,

Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok rescue Cody's mother and sisters from outlaws and their Indian accomplices. In the style of dime fiction, the story was understood as both sensationalized journalism and entertainment.

Wild Bill Hickok

James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok was born in Troy Grove, Illinois, in 1837. He served in the Union Army during the Civil War, and then made a living as an Indian scout before earning fame as a Kansas lawman and a gunfighter. In the only "quick draw" fight on record, in 1865 Hickok killed Davis K. Tutt Jr. in a duel over gambling debts. As sheriff and marshal in several Kansas towns, he was involved in a series of gunfights, one in which he accidentally killed a friend. In 1876, in a saloon in Deadwood, Dakota Territory, he took the last available seat at a poker table, with his back to the door. He was shot from behind and killed. His poker hand of two Aces, two 8s, and a Jack, became known as the "Dead Man's Hand."

At the same time the novel left the reader curious about the dangers and possibilities of the West it also drew attention to the authentic Cody and amplified real press coverage of him as a guide and scout. As interest in the West and in Buffalo Bill grew, New York playwright Fred Maeder adapted the novel for the stage as a play called simply *Buffalo Bill* in early 1872. It was staged at the Bowery Theatre, a popular venue with the working-class Irish and other immigrant populations. Cody himself was present on opening day and he was invited to the stage to speak. In a cataclysmic moment, when the audience met the real Buffalo Bill, the actor's version and the real man's character were difficult to distinguish.

Meanwhile, Buntline had maintained connection with Cody. After the success of *Buffalo Bill*, he encouraged Cody later that year to come East to take the role of Buffalo Bill in his new play, *Scouts of the Prairie*. Cody eventually assented and went to Chicago with a young, light brown-haired, blue-eyed cowboy-turned-scout, John Burwell "Texas Jack" Omohundro Jr. The two men were joined by a group of other actors including Italian dancer Giuseppina Morlacchi and actress Elve Carfano. Both Cody and Omohundro were cast as themselves in a plot that included Irish, German, and Mormon negative stereotypes; Indian dancing and fighting; the daring rescue of a white woman; and, more important, featured Texas Jack as a scout with impeccable lassoing skills. For the first time, Eastern audiences were introduced to a "real cowboy."

Melodrama and plays about the Western frontier were new in the 1870s. Buntline's original novel, his play, and the stylized performances of historical characters reflected a working-class turn toward theatrical interpretation of popular issues and demonstrated commercial medias that could capitalize on

the public's particular curiosity of frontier life. Additionally, popular reviews reported both Cody and Omohundro as exceptionally handsome men whose "bearing and glances mark their long familiarity with the free life of the prairie." Riding this crest of popular culture, Buntline saw means to promote his theater troupe by using his stage characters in his serialized dime novels. Cody and the recently married Omohundro and Morlacchi performed in three more of Buntline's plays. Buntline underscored their stage personas in print, taking special interest in Omohundro's cowboy skills in *Texas Jack; or, Buffalo Bill's Brother* and *Texas Jack, the White King of the Pawnees*, and *Texas Jack's Chums; or, The Whirlwind of the West*. Both a promotional tool and an entertainment in its own right, the dime novel offered a mass readership an image and an invitation to see an authentic cowboy hero of the West.

Cody was not a cowboy. However, prior to his theatre experience he had honed a reputation as an elite hunting guide and frontier showman. He had designed a series of celebrity buffalo hunting tours that included army escorts, staged Indian participation, and riding and shooting lessons as well as lavish accommodations, fine food, and evening entertainment. In this fashion, by 1872, he had already led several groups of American businessmen and political leaders as well as the European royals Lord Adair, Earl of Dunraven, of Britain and the Grand Duke Alexis, son of Russian Tsar Alexander II, on well-publicized big-game hunts. The hunts delivered an impression of the West that had all the features of dime novel excitement. The press, however, reported the events as true to Western life and in doing so, confirmed Cody's authority of the region. He even began to distribute photographs of himself in full frontiersman's regalia with his hunting trophies or with groups of hunters who wanted to remember their Western adventure. By the time Buffalo Bill Cody was cheered to the Bowery Theatre's stage, the audience already understood his image of the West as truth.

Over the next decade he built a successful theater troupe of his own, "The Buffalo Bill Combination." His performances repeated the common melodramatic theme of the capture and daredevil rescue of a white, virtuous woman and always featured Cody as Buffalo Bill. The shows met packed, typically male, audiences ready to cheer and applaud the actor's heroism. Cody's popularity encouraged further dime novel tales. He produced several of his own and Ned Buntline offered a few more issues, but a prolific Beadle & Adams writer, Prentiss Ingraham, pushed out Buffalo Bill tales and later cowboy dime Westerns well into the 1890s.

The Wild West

Cody took full advantage of the popularity of his persona. Proving both a keen sense of business as well as showmanship, he created a new form of traveling public entertainment that combined the melodrama of theater and the thrill of dime novel action. His show took place in an outdoor arena

that emulated the authentic intrigue, dangers, and tribal mystique of the Western frontier. With the help of talented performer Nate Salsbury, who eventually became his stage manager, Cody introduced an outdoor variety show called the “Old Glory Blowout” on 4 July 1882 in his hometown of North Platte, Nebraska. The original show featured hundreds of cowboy contestants in shooting, riding, and bronco-busting events and a small herd of buffalo was used for a mock hunt. On the heels of the success of this event and his stage career, Cody aimed to package his show as authentic, educational entertainment.

In 1883, the show opened in Omaha, Nebraska, as “The Wild West.” Quickly becoming “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” it featured a range of acts meant to demonstrate Western life. Although the show’s souvenir program underscored the performance’s realism, Cody’s production employed working cowboys to act in renditions of Western conflicts in which they would rarely, if ever, have participated. In “The Deadwood Stagecoach Attack” and in “The Attack on the Settler’s Cabin,” Buffalo Bill and a band of cowboys fought off Indian attackers and in another act, “Cowboy Fun,” cowboys exhibited their riding and roping skills but without cattle. All three of these acts remained in the program over the course of the show’s phenomenal nearly thirty-year run.

In Cody’s fictionalized arena, the popular perception of cowboys as renegade and violent was replaced with an image of a hardworking and just hero who helped to extend civilization across the country. Cody purposefully separated his performers from the reigning negative national stereotype. In print, in his first program he included an article written earlier by Texas Jack Omo-hundro that insisted the cowboy had been “little appreciated” and misunderstood as a cattle rustler and instead was truly a hardworking, honest man who deserved respect. In action, cowboys conquered wild, raiding Indians and were staged in skits that set white cowboys against vaquero-style cattle rustlers.

The process of making the cowboy an appealing champion of the arena dramatically distanced him from his authentic working ancestry. The cowboy hero became racially white, and instead of cattle he protected the physically weak but socially and economically powerful westerly march of Eastern culture. Cody’s production gave flesh to the action hero depicted in dime novels in the form of the cowboy. As a group, his cast represented a national guard. In a stirring presentation, as the show’s finale, Cody and his cast would gallop around the arena beneath a banner that claimed them as “Rough Riders of the World.” In individual skits, the audience saw the cowboy as defender of civilization. At one point, Cody hired a striking six-foot-five Texas cowboy, William Levi “Buck” Taylor. In the show, Taylor was promoted as “the Centaur Ranchman of the Plains” and then “King of the Cowboys.” Taylor became the first cowboy star from Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show to be featured in a dime novel series. Prentiss Ingraham wrote the first issue, *Buck Taylor, King of the Cowboys; or, The Raiders and the Rangers*, in 1887.

The Cowgirl Makes Her Entrance

For Cody, his audiences readily received his rendition of a cowboy as a general character or as a celebrity like Taylor. In 1885, when he hired a young woman sharpshooter from Ohio who called herself Annie Oakley, he was in the position to formulate a popular image for Wild West women as well. Oakley joined Cody's cast when she was twenty-five and remained in the program for the most part of sixteen years. Her headlining performances as an expert shooter and as a skilled rider suggested a new position for women in the arena. In Cody's original acts, women were vulnerable matrons or young, screaming victims of Indian savagery. Oakley's stand-out skills placed her, instead, alongside the male heroes of the show. However, it was the combination of her risky athleticism and her on- and offstage emphasis on femininity, clean living, and devotion to her husband Frank Butler that led to her rapid popularity. At the same time she represented the virtues expected of women of the era, she called to mind the courageous women who were truly invested in the West as homesteaders and ranchers.

In performance, Oakley would girlishly skip and wave into the arena and throughout her career continued to wear modest calf-length dresses. Offstage she rarely drank, kept up a daily fitness routine, and on occasion gave tea parties and practiced needlepoint. On public record she promoted women's health through athletics and encouraged women's participation in "arenic" sports but openly remained outside of women's suffrage efforts. To both the women and the men in the Wild West audience her mastery of a traditionally male skill balanced with an unerringly feminine presentation made her an easily admirable figure. Oakley's overall appeal did enlarge Wild West audiences. She was a petite woman who ably handled the staged chaos of the show. Her presence gave the impression of safety and control, and, in turn, invited more women and families to enjoy the Wild West Show. Inspired by heightened publicity and the commercial return, Cody and stage manager Nate Salsbury hired more skilled women performers. For a short time Lillian Smith, another sharpshooter known as "the California Girl" rivaled Oakley in the arena. Unlike Oakley, she was flashy and flirtatious. After only two years, in 1889 she left Buffalo Bill's Wild West for a similar production. Georgia Duffy joined the cast in 1887. As a bronc rider she was billed as a "rough rider" from Wyoming but like Oakley, remained firm in her more traditional appearance. She wore a long dress with a corset but did dress up with boots and hat.

Bronc Riding

Bronc riding was a typical task for the open-range cowhand. Broncs, or horses that had never been saddled, tended to reject riders by arching and bucking. The perseverant cowhand could break the bronc by remaining on its back for consecutively longer periods of time. Wild West shows featured bronc riding as entertainment. American rodeos include bronc riding as a competition.

Let any normal healthy woman who is ordinarily strong screw up her courage and tackle a bucking bronco, and she will find the most fascinating pastime in the field of feminine athletic endeavor. There is nothing to compare, to increase the joy of living, and once accomplished, she'll have more real fun than any pink tea or theater party or ballroom ever yielded.

—May Manning Lillie

Over the course of the program, Cody advertised women participants under a variety of different names. Women were “Wild West Girls,” “Prairie Women,” “American Frontier Girls,” and, at one time, “a bevy of beautiful Rancheras.” Della and Bessie Ferrell were “frontier girls” and Emma Lake Hickok, stepdaughter of Wild Bill, demonstrated an “Exhibition of Fancy Riding.” She amazed audiences with her riding skills as she performed in the horseback version of the traditional quadrille dance the Virginia Reel. Eventually, *cowgirl* became the most popular term for women in Wild West-style performances.

Wild West Shows Beyond Buffalo Bill

Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show was the first to present Western reenactment entertainment. His program set

the tone and created parameters for “Western arena realism.” His success encouraged other promoters to offer similar productions. Over the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, there were countless small traveling shows and local reenactment celebrations. There were some that did reach similar popularity as Cody’s design. In 1888, Gordon Lillie launched “Pawnee Bill’s Historic Wild West” with his wife, sharpshooter and rider May Manning Lillie.

Gordon Lillie had been an agent and teacher at the Pawnee Indian reservation in Kansas. He had also been an avid dime novel reader. When William Cody came to the reservation in 1883 to recruit Pawnee for his show, Lillie signed on as an interpreter. When he opened his own show he maintained Cody’s white cowboy versus outlaws or savages scenario though he pushed the scenes to a new limit of staged realism that often included circus-like gore. His acts included “Catching and Hanging the Horse Thief by Cowboys and Mexicans,” and an Indian cremation ceremony. In another skit, a cattle rustler was dragged behind a team of horses. Lillie added further flair to his show with Chinese, Japanese, and Arab performers. Pawnee Bill’s Historic Wild West failed as a large production but provided entertainment for smaller audiences. Lillie stayed in business into the nineteen-teens. His final venture was a merger with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1908 when Cody’s show was flagging. The two Bills staged a show that combined Cody’s heroic ensemble with Lillie’s more exotic images. As “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Pawnee Bill’s Far East” the production continued until 1913.

Another successful Wild West show opened in 1905 when the Miller Brothers of the 101 Ranch began to produce large-scale Western reenactments on their 110,000 acres in the Oklahoma Territory. Their project, specifically designed

as a tribute to what was perceived as a passing phase of American history, went on the road in 1907. The Millers were dedicated to an already nostalgic image of the cowboy and the West. The show carried a strong anti-Mexican sentiment and foreign-born, non-white actors were not welcome. Despite this apparent whitewashing of the West, or on account of it as a sign of the times, the 101 Ranch caught President Theodore Roosevelt's attention—he acknowledged their show as a realistic portrayal of the ranching life.

The Miller's show attracted cowboy and cowgirl performers from all over the country. By the 1880s, cowboy work was much less in demand. For men, traveling performance with steady pay was an attractive option over seasonal ranch work or laboring in the stockyards and meat-packing plants. For women in the early twentieth century social restrictions were relaxing. The advantages for women suggested in Buffalo Bill's production could be more easily played out. Women leaving home for Miller's Ranch were looking forward to their own incomes, the chance for travel alone or with husbands, and a lifestyle beyond the domestic sphere. Lucille Mulhall was a headlining performer with the 101 Ranch at the same time she was proving herself a champion on the early Western rodeo circuit. Mulhall had learned her roping and riding skills on her family's Oklahoma ranch and, at age twelve in 1897, she began appearing in public. In 1900 the press proclaimed Mulhall as "America's First Cowgirl."

Other women headed for the adventurous life that Miller's promised. Originally a rodeo contestant, at the turn of the century Lulu Belle Parr chose to focus all her attention on Wild West shows, including the Millers' production. She was one of the first cowgirl champion bronc riders and was known for her unique and elaborate riding outfits. Twins Juanita and Etheyle Parry from Riverhead, Long Island, made their way west in the early nineteen-teens. They performed as trick and fancy riders with the 101 Ranch company. Unfortunately, Juanita Parry was killed in a riding accident in New York City's Madison Square Garden during her performance in the Wild West segment of the Barnum and Bailey Circus.

Rodeo

At the same time Wild West shows were building a fictionalized world through inspiring and reassuring Western images, the parallel development of rodeo was offering a celebration of authentic ranching skills through competition. Key to the success of the Wild West shows was the notion that through the enactments they provided public historical education. In this light, the shared experience of spectators built a collective mythologized knowledge and memory of the West. Rodeo, on the other hand, began outside of the public sphere. It was originally a forum for ranch hands to socialize and prove their expertise. However, as rodeo evolved into a spectator sport, it took on some of the Wild West show's glamour as well as a sentimental tone of nostalgia. As it became

more of a commercialized, consumable product, it offered outsiders an exaggerated glimpse of the physical prowess and open-air freedoms considered characteristic of the cowboy and cowgirl's trade.

Early rodeo-style competition can be traced back to eighteenth century vaquero traditions. After a day's work or during slow seasons hacienda vaqueros would informally compete. More structured steer-roping and bronc-riding competitions have been documented through the 1830s and 1840s in Mexican Texas and California. After the Civil War ranch crews were staging competitions across the American Southwest. Cowboy Teddy Blue Abbott remembered looking forward to the round-up season for its social aspects. Round-up season was a time for cowboys not only to work but also to catch up on gossip, gamble, compete in horse races, bronc riding, and roping contests. Testament to its Mexican and round-up origins, the term "rodeo" comes from the Spanish *rodear* or "to surround." In 1888, Prescott, Arizona, held the first rodeo on record to charge admission and award trophies to its winning contestants. Among countless local and regional rodeos, two of the largest events, Cheyenne, Wyoming's "Frontier Days" and Pendleton, Oregon's "Pendleton Roundup," begun in 1897 and 1911 respectively, are still major competitions and well-attended events.

Rodeos became a combination of traditional skills, sport, and theatrics. Some early male rodeo contestants had experience as working cowboys although women who had not traditionally been hired cowhands honed their skills in ranch chores and demonstrated them at local fairs. This was the case for Lucille Mulhall who succeeded both as a rodeo steer-roping champion and Wild West headliner with Miller's 101 Ranch. Later, in the 1912 Pendleton Roundup, another 101 Ranch star Tillie Baldwin amazed audiences with bulldogging and other rodeo feats.

Bulldogging

Bulldogging became a rodeo event that mimicked a bulldog's herding instinct. Bulldogs, specially bred with flat noses and extended under bites, could follow roaming cattle into hard-to-reach thorny areas. The dog menaced the cow until it lowered its horns to fend off its small attacker. Once in this position the dog could latch onto the soft tissues of the cow's face and subdue the animal until a cowhand with a rope could reach the stray.

Bill Pickett, an Oklahoma cowboy of black and Indian descent, performed with the 101 Ranch and was integral in the formation of rodeo competition. In 1905, Pickett was the first to demonstrate a technique called "bulldogging" in which a contestant brought down a steer by leaping onto its back from a running horse, twisting the animal's head then biting its lip or nose to bring it to the ground. This technique was modified, especially in women's events, to

using only the twisting motion to bring the animal down. In the early 1900s, a young Pennsylvania-born hopeful joined Miller's company and formed himself into both a Western showman and rodeo contestant. Later, Tom Mix would take his cowboy persona to the silent screen and become one of the most renowned cowboy performers of all time.

Women and Rodeo

Interestingly, at the turn of the century rodeo offered men and women the same opportunities. In her informative text *Cowgirls of the Rodeo*, Mary Lou LeCompte points out that the equal treatment received by women in rodeo reflected the same family-run ranch ethic in which everyone, regardless of gender, participates. Rodeo cowgirls competed against men in bronc riding and steer roping and entered relay racing, trick riding, and trick roping contests. Women's events were popular. They were featured at the major rodeos and usually a part of smaller-scale functions. Rodeo cowgirls were the first American women athletes to receive pay for their participation. It is estimated that from 1890 and into the 1930s, more than 450 women held professional careers in rodeo.

Rodeo changed for women during the Depression years. With decreases in financial backing, rodeos cut women's events. In 1924 at the Pendleton Roundup a group of champion cowgirls including steer-roping record-setter Eloise "Fox" Hastings and one of the first Cheyenne Frontier Days cowgirl bronc riders, Prairie Rose Henderson, petitioned to compete in all the same events as cowboys and for the same prize money. Their request was denied. Additionally, in 1929 at Pendleton, bronc rider and crowd favorite Bonnie McCarroll was trampled to death in the ring. Her death, following others that were equally tragic, spurred a movement to eliminate women from all bronc-riding competitions. Pendleton complied and others followed. Rodeo women experienced further setbacks when that same year the Rodeo Association of America formed and neglected to set rules that would allow women to continue to compete. Finally, in 1936, the Cowboys' Turtle Association, later the Professional Rodeo Cowboy's Association (PRCA), formed and excluded women entirely. Without a place in the professional organization of the sport, by the early 1940s women's participation as contestants was at a low. Through the World War II years, women were less active in the arena as contestants and more often presented as "sponsor girls," who, often chosen for their appearance, took part in exhibitions and other supportive aspects of the rodeo. After the war, women in rodeo pushed to return to the arena. In 1948 the Girls Rodeo Association, later the Women's Professional Rodeo Association, was established. The group succeeded first in placing women's barrel-racing competitions into the programs of larger professional rodeos and by 1967 had secured barrel racing as an event at the most prestigious rodeo competition, the PRCA's National Finals Rodeo. Today, barrel-racing women are some of

the highest rewarded rodeo contestants and women's participation in other PRCA events, though not without obstacles, is on the rise.

Barrel Racing

Barrel racing is a women's event designed specifically for rodeo competition. The rider and horse loop in a cloverleaf pattern around three barrels placed in a triangle. With the clock as the judge, the contest requires exquisite riding skills, a sure-footed horse, and practiced communication between horse and rider.

THE COWBOY CAPTURES THE AMERICAN IMAGINATION

At the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Wild West and rodeo cowboys and cowgirls headlined across the nation. In a single generation, the signature characteristics of open-range ranching had become traditions of the past. The men and women who experienced the closing of the range also witnessed the introduction of a mythologized interpretation of the West. As national concerns changed, it was the image of the fictionalized rugged cowboy that replaced the Indian fighter and scout as a public protector. Popular culture had reinforced the West as a place that required physical strength, industriousness, and knowledge of the land. More important, the West was also understood as the antidote to the reformist and domesticated urbanized East. It was a masculine realm that upheld silence, space, and free will. Popular imagination saw the cowboy as embodiment of these qualities. Needless to say, women's authentic and fictionalized experiences on the range were eclipsed as the cowboy became the heroic provider of safe passage across the rough Western land.

The Cowboy and Literature

To a nation dedicated to the extension of Eastern cultural thought across the West, the image of the cowboy as part of the West and as an escort across it was indispensable. When historian Frederick Jackson Turner announced, at a meeting of the American Historical Association held at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, that the frontier had been pushed as far west as possible and was now closed, the academic world turned toward this cowboy image for reassurance.

Turner's frontier was a westward-moving geographic line that lay between "savagery and civilization." Turner stated that the frontier's "existence, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain[ed] American development." To Turner and other theorists who saw

the American national character to be a result of a Euro-American settlement process, the closing of the frontier put American national identity in crisis. In response, American elite educated circles elevated the cowboy from his popular image into more sophisticated cultural expressions. Although artists Frederic Remington and Charles Russell centralized the cowboy in both celebrations of the West and in melancholy images of its passing, author Owen Wister went further. More than featuring the cowboy as the human actor on the range, in his 1902 publication of *The Virginian*, he imbued his cowboy character with the archetypical qualities understood to be the range.

Very loosely built on the tensions of the Johnson County, Wyoming, Range Wars *The Virginian* is primarily a romance. Wister's cowboy, the Virginian, who is never named, is strong, silent, and quick-witted. His pursuit and courtship of the recently arrived Eastern schoolmarm drives the story. *The Virginian* sold 50,000 copies in the first two months. The popularity of the novel was integral to the shift that turned the cowboy of popular culture from a Western hero to a national icon.

The Johnson County War

At its height in 1892, disagreements between small homesteaders and large, wealthy ranchers in Johnson County, Wyoming, had escalated into armed civil conflict. Smaller ranchers accused of rustling cattle from the larger operations chose to retaliate by driving their cattle to market instead of participating in the big-business marriage between wealthy ranchers and the railroad lines. Larger ranchers, already determined to acquire homesteaders' land and further angered by their effective efforts to organize, hired a band of mercenaries to remove the local ranchers from the area. Known as the Johnson County War, murders, hangings, and shoot-outs ensued between the hired killers and a local sheriff's posse until President Benjamin Harrison sent the U.S. Cavalry to intervene.

Beyond his romantic motivations, the Virginian exemplifies the transformation from the limited future of the Southeast to the realized masculine potential on the Western range. Strains of the Virginian's Southeastern birth are retained in his slow drawl and courteous air but he has fully dedicated himself to life in the West. Although striking good looks and a fine physique firmly establish him as the cowboy hero of popular culture, his ease of movement across the wilderness, loyalty to his rancher boss, and his own plans for acquiring land expand his character. Moreover, his perseverant and controlled passion for the schoolteacher and ability to disarm his adversaries with a sharp wit and cool demeanor underscore a current of virility admired by both men and women.

In an era that upheld geographic expansion and revived masculinity as crucial to American national identity, the Virginian became a vessel to hold and demonstrate these Western ideals. Late-nineteenth-century medicine had identified a nervous condition brought on by anxieties of the urban life called “neurasthenia.” Studied and publicized by “nerve doctor” Silas Weir Mitchell, his prescription for a cure was based on gender, overtly supporting the Victorian premise of male and female spheres. For neurasthenic women, he recommended the return to domestic life including bed rest and removal from public life. For men, however, he suggested Western travel, grappling with nature, and self-discovery through literature and exploration.

Among many late-nineteenth-century Western travelers, Wister was diagnosed as a neurasthenic. His travels became the foundation for his writing and it was not a coincidence that he created his exquisitely male cowboy character at the same time as the theoretical closing of the West. For those concerned about the loss of the frontier, the Virginian—the “young giant, more beautiful than pictures”—preserved its revivifying qualities. In the “Letter to the Reader” that serves as the novel’s introduction, Wister writes that he tells a story of “a vanished world,” one that has succumbed to the inevitable transformation from agrarianism to industrialism. This imagined emasculation by the loss of the frontier is reversed through Wister’s exaltation of the cowboy, the “last romantic figure on our soil.” In this figure, the potency and promise of the open range remains accessible.

Owen Wister firmly established the image of the cowboy as a heroic and intrinsically American character. Western fiction that followed Wister’s cowboy took cues from the Virginian’s rugged masculine grace. Like Wister, Clarence Mulford was an Easterner who was known for his well-designed Western tales that centered on courageous cowboy heroes whose riding skills and gun-slinger natures drove the storylines. Most remembered for his Hopalong Cassidy cowboy hero, Mulford was at the helm of the new genre of Western fiction. Using popular cowboy autobiographies and other published information that offered images of life in the West, he published over forty Westerns. In 1912, Zane Grey secured his position in the Western written genre with *Riders of the Purple Sage*, in which his virile, gun-savvy, romantic, and sympathetic cowboy protects Protestant America against corrupt Mormon forces. Close to two million copies were sold and Grey went on to write fifty-six more top-selling Western novels. With similar swagger, Frederick Schiller-Faust, also known as Max Brand, pushed the cowboy-against-villain scenario into the modern era of the 1920s. Other early Western writers chose to illuminate the cowboy’s connection to his environment. Although the cowboy’s trail-riding life and pioneering experiences were exalted by Emerson Hough and Frank Spearman, the poetic prose of Harvey Fergusson and former cowboy Eugene Manlove Rhodes offer further romantic impressions of the cowboy’s labor and his place in nature. The many-faceted cowboy hero of the early Western genre provided foundation for modern interpretations of his place

in society. Later twentieth century writer Louis L'Amour often placed his cowboy in defiant stance against the decadence and amoral directives of big business while Larry McMurtry, in his 1985 Pulitzer Prize-winning Western *Lonesome Dove*, removed the glamour of the West, making his cowboys susceptible to the nuances and dangers of the range.

Less well known are the early twentieth century Western literary selections written by women that feature ranching women. Essentially a subgenre of the standard Western novel, women authors began producing domestic Westerns. In 1908 Bertha Muzzy Bower launched her *Flying U Ranch* series that upheld competent ranching women and other professionals. Bower wrote for thirty years. Her works, including this fifteen book series as well as over fifty other novels and 150 shorter stories, reached a readership of two million. As a best-selling author, her novels matched the success of some of the more popular male writers.

Bower's domestic Westerns rarely featured a truly independent female character. Writing from a modern perspective, most of her women were professionals and often associated with ranch management. Other women authors of domestic Westerns featured more specifically riding, roping, shooting cowgirl characters equally adept at leading wagon trains and running ranches as they were with household tasks. However, the heroines' competence in these novels was emphasized as a support structure for her male counterpart. Most of these female characters were married or planned to marry and honored the traditional domestic relationship.

After World War II, the premise of the domestic Western was revised. Reflecting the rising number of women in the workforce, domestic Westerns featured business-minded women who maintain their individuality as single people or within marriages. Among many women writers who developed this new image for female characters, Vingie E. Roe set an original example in *The Golden Tide* (1940) and Lillian Bos Ross followed with *The Stranger* (1942). Roe's novel features a group of Western women who find strength in their numbers and, although many wish to marry, they are all more interested in personal exploration and career opportunities. Ross's heroine is a mail-order bride who challenges her husband's expectations of marriage and eventually changes his mind.

In spite of the legacy of women writers who pushed the edges of the Western literature, there is no doubt that male authors dominated the genre. The social concerns and theoretical projections of the day extolled a male hero in a male environment. Overshadowed by ideology, fictionalized Western women heroines would remain characters confined to text while the male cowboy hero's Western life became integral in the definition of the American experience.

The Cowboy in Early American Film

At the same time that Wister was elevating the cowboy from the melodramatic and inflated heroism of the Wild West and rodeo arenas, the nascent

American silent film industry presented the first on-screen narrative. *The Great Train Robbery* produced in 1903 was a Western. Although it was filmed in rural New Jersey, it featured cowboy heroes who fought off train robbers. The film's popularity was an opportunity to transfer the popular and new literary Western genres immediately to film. The first decades of the twentieth century were filled with Western action-adventure film cowboys. Typically performing in non-stop demonstrations of athleticism and bravery, among many early silent Western actors, Max Aronson (who became Gilbert "Broncho Billy" Anderson), William S. Hart, and Tom Mix offered a range of heroic cowboy swagger.

Max Aronson as Broncho Billy created the first film cowboy hero. After a small role in *The Great Train Robbery*, Aronson changed his name to Gilbert Anderson and co-founded the Essanay production company. Despite his average appearance, he cast himself as the lead character in most of the company's 375 films. In the role of Broncho Billy he attracted an ardent following as the good-bad cowboy or the hard living man who finds reason to change his ways permanently or temporarily to help a less fortunate.

William S. Hart refined Anderson's character. As a trained Shakespearean actor he brought subtlety and emotional projection to the good-bad cowboy. He also was devilishly handsome by the standards of the era. His real acting ability and physical appeal resonated well with popular understanding of the cowboy hero. Hart quickly became one of the first idolized movie stars. Cowboy and memoirist Charlie Siringo admired Hart for his honorable portrayal of a "bad cowboy turned good." In a unique exchange between the authentic cowboy and his fictionalized counterpart, the two became friends. In 1924, Hart hired Siringo as a consultant on Western life for his final film, *Tumbleweeds*.

Tom Mix followed Hart's film success but departed from the well-established good-bad man. Hardly a trained actor, Mix began with Miller's 101 Ranch and rodeo competition. In exaggerated Western attire he played a straightforward action hero and he did his own stunts. His cowboy character appealed to a younger audience, especially boys. In response, Mix's films focused on the chase over actual violence and scenes of the seedier side of cowboy life were reduced. Eventually appearing in over 300 films between 1909 and 1935, he became a true superstar. As an actor and public persona he was featured in a comic book series and on cereal boxes. By the end of his film career, he leased his name to a weekly radio series and to the Tom Mix Wild West Circus.

Anderson, Hart, and Mix were the reigning cowboys of the silent screen. By the late 1920s, a new type of on screen cowboy hero appeared. After World War I, the hero of Western melodramatic silent film gave way to a less flamboyant, more controlled cowboy. He was built on Wister's Virginian, Grey's Lassiter, and other literary heroes as well as the masculine worlds of influential wilderness writers Jack London and Ernest Hemingway. The new on-screen cowboy was pensive and lean. He was cool yet simmered with masculinity.

With the exciting onset of sound film his silence was emphasized by limited dialogue. Actor Gary Cooper launched his career as this cowboy, successfully portraying the Virginian in a 1929 film adaptation of Wister's novel. John Wayne carried this character in over 200 films over the course of his thirty-year career. From his early star appeal in the classic film *Stagecoach* (1939) to his seasoned leadership in *Red River* (1948), and from his loner attitude and aggressive perseverance in *The Searchers* (1956) to his paternal presentation in *The Cowboys* (1972), Wayne's cowboy character and the actor himself dominated as a symbol of mental agility and physical prowess.

During the World War II years, the cowboy image took on a moralizing component. During the Depression movie houses felt the pinch as attendance dropped. In an effort to make cinema more enticing, the double feature was introduced. Inexpensively made "B-Westerns" were churned out to supply second films. By the 1940s, actors had played the same role so often their characters, like Buffalo Bill Cody experienced a half century before, blurred with their real identities. In this light, singing cowboy characters Roy Rogers and Gene Autry picked up where Tom Mix had left off. The actors themselves were seen as the squeaky-clean characters they played. Appealing primarily to young boys, teenage girls, and family audiences, through the 1940s and into the 1950s these actors set aside the grit of the West and instead promoted health, hygiene, and the upstanding life.

The cowboy of film is perpetually reincarnated. As the image moved into the later twentieth century, its formulaic parameters became less rigid. In Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), more complex issues obstruct a standard plot of heroic shootout and rescue. In Clint Eastwood's version of *Unforgiven* (1992) the central character mocks his own imperfect skills, and in Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990) the central cowboy-type character faces his loss of patriotism. Challenging traditional perspectives even further, the characters and audiences of both John Schlesinger's *Midnight Cowboy* (1969) and Ang Lee's *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) are asked to face sexuality issues. The cowboy in film still resonates as a hero but one built with facets of human fallibility, not simply formed on mythologized masculine inclination.

The Cowboy in American Politics

Although Wister was boosting the cowboy into more literary circles and *The Great Train Robbery* was amazing cinema audiences, the cowboy hero was making its way into national politics as well. Theodore Roosevelt went west in the 1880s for inspiration after the sudden loss of both his wife and mother. He spent time as a ranch hand then as a rancher in the Dakota Territory. As a historian, he upheld the buckskin-wearing cowboy as an extension of the heroic frontiersman who began the advance of white civilization across the continent. In his own frontier thesis, he found the cowboy to be an essential part

of building the economic viability of the West. Ultimately, as an American male in search of vigor, Roosevelt found value in the hard work and outdoor life of the herdsman and adopted the cowboy's style as his own.

In addition to his personal experiences, Roosevelt recognized the mass appeal of the heroic cowboy image. During his tour with the U.S. Cavalry during the Spanish-American War, he borrowed from Buffalo Bill's Wild West when he led his "Rough Rider" regiment of Western cowboy recruits in Cuba in the Battle of San Juan Hill. When he became president after the assassination of William McKinley he continued to hone his Western persona. On his presidential trips back west he publicized his horseback rides, hunting expeditions, and rodeo attendance. As a result Roosevelt was well received by cowboy communities who treated him to "chuck wagon" breakfasts and provided escort in presidential parades and through populated areas. At his 1905 inauguration, Roosevelt honored the group of fifty cowboys who celebrated his election with invitations to the White House where he greeted them along with a group of Harvard graduates and a few former Rough Riders.

Roosevelt became the first "cowboy president." His association with authentic cowboys coupled with his Western-style presentation had a lasting impression in the Oval Office. Roosevelt had successfully combined the qualities of the popular and more sophisticated character into a national image that unexpectedly drew political support. As a Rough Rider he emulated the Wild West cowboys who paved the way for civilization, as a political candidate he represented the competitive spirit of rodeo, and as an ersatz Westerner who found value in the "strenuous life" and promoted "virile qualities necessary to win in . . . actual life" he reflected the nostalgic and romantic cowboy-master of the range.

At first, Roosevelt's association with the West was met with a negative public response. The cowboy image had only recently been recognized in more elite social circles and still implied unrefined recklessness. When Roosevelt took office, Republican senator Mark Hanna of Ohio expressed a concern held by many with his near-legendary comment, "Now look! That damned cowboy is president." However, it did not take long for Roosevelt's personality and evident political competence to earn him praise. A *New York Times* editorial found him unique, energetic, and equally capable as a soldier, a Western cowboy and rancher, and a distinguished scholar. By the time Wister's *The Virginian* became a national bestseller, Roosevelt's cowboy persona took on new meaning as a symbol of the charismatic American everyman. For publicity and personal interest, presidents that followed Roosevelt maintained a connection to Western imagery. A judge and man of letters, President William Howard Taft expressed an interest in horseback riding. Despite his 300 pounds, he spent vacation time at his half-brother's Texas ranch. Former university professor Woodrow Wilson enjoyed Western films and the sharp-witted political commentary of cowboy comedian Will Rogers.

Later twentieth-century presidents followed the trend. Texan Lyndon B. Johnson celebrated his ancestral connection to trail-riding cowboys. He brought

his saddle to the White House, used his Texas property as a political retreat, and often appeared in public wearing informal Western attire. At the end of the Cold War it was Ronald Reagan, former cowboy film star and skilled rider, who took the cowboy image back to the height of Theodore Roosevelt. As president during the collapse of the Soviet Union, Reagan epitomized the heroism of the freedom-loving, independent American cowboy. Most recently, amid bipartisan concern over the image suggesting an overly simplified perception of hero and villain, George W. Bush has taken on the cowboy persona in a similar manner as Johnson. Bush has upheld the image especially following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack in New York City and Washington, DC, during the Republican National Convention in 2004 as well as throughout the U.S. military offensive in Afghanistan, Iraq, and across the Middle East.

In only half a century, the American cowboy was transformed from an itinerant laborer to an internationally recognized symbol of power and freedom. The iconic American cowboy emerged from the conflation of the mass-marketed dime novel with Wild West show reenactment and from the convergence of literary interpretation, political posturing, and the theoretical closing of the frontier. The cowgirl is absent from this lasting mythology. Although popular expression pushed the cowgirl image into view, she remained a novel, or at times exotic extension of the masculine, fictional West. It is the ideologically driven image of the male cowboy and his Western world that took root at the core of American identity. Today, the specialized worlds of women's rodeo, country music, and women's activist groups separately celebrate the cowgirl as a subculture heroine of independence and equality. On a broader scale, as both an icon and a device, the cowboy remains a powerful image that reflects the concerns of the nation and suggests idealized, romanticized solutions.

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General George A. Custer. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

George Armstrong Custer

Shannon D. Smith

Long after this generation has passed away, long after every vestige of the merciless Sioux has passed from the continent, long after this Yellowstone country has become the seat of towns and cities and a prosperous civilization, the name of Custer and the story of his deeds will be fresh in men's memories. The story that comes to us to-day with so much horror, with so much pathos, will become a part of our national life.

—New York Herald, 12 July 1876

George Armstrong Custer was an officer of the United States Army during the Civil War and Plains Indian Wars. The flamboyant, ambitious officer was famous, and infamous, well before his last fatal conflict with Indians on 25 June 1876 at the Battle of the Little Bighorn that is universally known as “Custer’s Last Stand.” For decades after his death, Custer was lionized by the American public, and his image as an exceptional officer and perfect Victorian gentleman was jealously guarded and managed by his wife Elizabeth “Libbie” Bacon Custer. She published three major books and countless articles lauding her husband’s life in the fifty-seven years she survived him. Custer is a Western icon not only for the reality of his actions in the Civil War and on the Western frontier, he is iconic because his romanticized, larger-than-life story—one that has evolved from over a century of myth-building—has come to represent America’s changing perception of the U.S. expansion into the West. He remains one of the most fascinating, controversial, and recognizable characters in Western history and

is a prominent subject of military scholars, Western historians, fan clubs, historical reenactors, and the popular media. Writers frequently point out that more books and articles have been written about Custer than any other American, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln.

EARLY LIFE

Custer’s parents, Emanuel Henry Custer and Marie Ward Kirkpatrick, were married in 1836. They were both widowed and their marriage merged his three children with her two to form the new family. Emanuel Custer was a blacksmith and farmer of Pennsylvania Dutch background who followed family members from his birthplace in Maryland to New Rumley, Ohio, a frontier town laid out by his uncle two decades earlier. The Custers had two children who died as infants before George Armstrong Custer was born in New Rumley on 5 December 1839. The blended family was not unusual in that era and Custer later said of his older siblings that he could not recall who was his mother’s or his father’s. After George, who was called “Autie” because that was how he pronounced his middle name as a toddler, the Custers had four more children: Nevin, Thomas, Boston, and Margaret. Biographers agree that the Custer family was playful and fun-loving, an unusual characteristic among the normally prim, formal, even harsh, German-descended Pennsylvania Dutch. His father frequently played practical jokes on his children

that became a trait of the entire Custer family, especially George who was a notorious prankster throughout his life.

Upright men in frontier communities belonged to local militias and Emanuel Custer was no exception. He took four-year-old George to the meetings of the “New Rumley Invincibles” where the boy wore a velvet suit with showy buttons made by his older sister Lydia. Soon he was marching and holding a weapon exactly as described in the manual of arms, and the militiamen were said to have called him “a born soldier.” Custer’s father was religious—he helped found the community’s Methodist Church—and a man with strong political opinions that he voiced freely and frequently. He was proud to be a well-known Democrat in a region of Whigs where he enjoyed debating the political issues of the day with anyone who would listen. When Custer was still quite young, his family moved a farm outside of New Rumley where Emanuel kept up his blacksmith business. Growing up on a farmstead in the middle of ten children shaped George into a strong and vigorous young man. He and his brothers wrestled, fought, teased, played hard, and worked hard. When he attended school a few months every year, Custer was known as a good athlete with a happy disposition, though not necessarily a great student.

Democrats versus Whigs

During Andrew Jackson’s presidency (1829–1837) the first well-organized political parties came into existence. The Democratic Party, with Jackson himself as the rallying point, brought about radical changes, including a presidency that for the first time threatened to overshadow Congress. Prior to Jackson, the presidential veto had been interpreted as something the president could only do if he considered a bill unconstitutional, but Jackson eventually established the precedent that the president could veto a bill on basically any grounds.

The Whig party was formally organized in 1834, bringing together a loose coalition of diverse groups united in their opposition to what they called the tyranny of the president, “King Andrew” Jackson. For most of its history, the party was concerned with promoting internal improvements, such as roads, canals, railroads, deepening of rivers, etc. This was of interest to many Westerners in this period, isolated as they were and in need of markets. Abraham Lincoln was a Whig for most of this period.

On the other hand, Democrats of this era supported states’ rights and were generally opposed to limitations on slavery in the south. The Whig Party ultimately broke down as a result of sectional antagonism over slavery and states’ rights and by 1854 most northern Whigs had joined the newly formed Republican Party and southerners joined the Democrats.

When he was ten, Custer's oldest sister, Lydia, married David Reed and moved to Monroe, Michigan. Lydia soon became homesick and convinced her parents to send George to live with her. Unlike the Custer family's relative prominence in New Rumley, the Reeds were not considered part of the upper-class society of Monroe. This made a lasting impression on Custer. While doing yard work and other odd jobs for one of the town's most powerful and wealthy citizens, Judge Daniel S. Bacon, he met Elizabeth Bacon, known by everyone as Libbie. Custer hung around the Bacon house as much as possible but was never received or allowed to formally meet Libbie because he was not of the Bacon's social class.

At fourteen, Custer entered Alfred Stebins's Young Men's Academy. By now, he had developed the ambition and drive for which he would later become famous; he finished at the top of his class when he graduated two years later. He then obtained a position teaching in a one-room schoolhouse not far from New Rumley, where his salary included room and board with a well-to-do farmer. There Custer fell in love with a farmer's daughter, Mary Holland. Acutely aware that social standing was a major factor in life—reinforced by his experience with the Bacons and Holland's father's apparent disapproval of his relationship with Mary—Custer decided to apply to the United States Military Academy at West Point. There he could get a free education and his position as a soon-to-be officer would give him immediate social standing—a necessity if he hoped to marry into the Holland family. Custer had to overcome long odds to get the appointment, for he was the son of a prominent Democrat and the local congressman, John A. Bingham, was a Republican. Fortunately, Holland, who seems to have wanted distance between Custer and his daughter, was a powerful Republican and pulled strings with his friend Bingham and Custer received one of Ohio's appointments for 1857. His mother was not happy at the thought of her son being a soldier, but his father was extremely proud and supportive and sold the farm so he could give Custer \$200 for expenses to travel to the academy in New York. Upon completion of his five-year program at the military academy, he would be an officer in the army and would be welcome in the highest society functions and received in homes where he was previously shunned. More than the desire for battle and military acumen, Custer desired status and social prominence.

WEST POINT

Custer was seventeen in 1857 when he entered West Point. Though he was younger than his classmates and weaker academically than many of his East Coast counterparts, Custer had more life experience. He had lived away from home, earned his own keep, and traveled more than most of the incoming class of cadets. He was physically fit, handsome, and meticulously groomed; indeed,

his flamboyance was immediately evident to all who met him. But Custer's greatest strength was his personality and ability to make friends; he had a ready smile and was playful and constantly on the lookout to pull off a practical joke.

Much has been made of Custer's lackluster performance at the academy. He was last in his class, he barely graduated, and he was always in trouble. To remain at West Point, cadets were required to maintain their grades and were under constant observation to ensure strict adherence to military discipline. If a cadet acquired more than 100 demerit points—known as “skins” to academy insiders—in any six-month period, they were expelled. Custer is famous for having gone semester after semester with demerits in the high nineties. Typical skins for Custer were things like being late to supper, throwing snowballs, using a “loud and boisterous voice,” and trifling in ranks while marching from parade. Famous for his wavy blonde hair, which he kept longer than his fellow students—he was called “Curly” or “Cinnamon” for the scented oil he used to groom it—Custer’s long locks once cost him two demerits for “hair out of uniform at a guard meeting.” Many have wondered how a student who was, to all appearances, undisciplined and completely indifferent to his studies and rank in class, became the man whose name is synonymous with ambition, determination, and drive for glory. However, recent evaluations suggest Custer was a very controlled jokester who knew exactly how many skins he had accumulated at any given time. In one six-month period he received ninety demerits within the first three months and went the remaining three months without a single one—a tremendous accomplishment for even the most diligent, focused cadet. His last semester he came closer to the limit than any previous period with ninety-seven skins, a feat demonstrating the control for which he had “trained” during the previous four years.

As for his studies, Custer did the bare minimum required for passing. Of 108 candidates for admission the year he entered West Point, only 68, including Custer, passed the entrance exam. Of the 68, only half graduated—22 cadets resigned to join the Southern cause at the start of the Civil War, and a dozen were expelled for academic or disciplinary causes. Of the remaining 34, Custer came in dead last. While his low rank might be attributed to sub-par preparatory education as compared to cadets from larger East Coast cities, it appears more likely Custer exercised the same amount of self-control demonstrated in his disciplinary highjinks. He always knew where he stood and did just enough to ensure he would not flunk out. His West Point years did, however, launch a lifetime of writing and it seems as if he knew he would be famous one day, for most of his prolific outpourings on paper were about himself and his adventures.

Although Custer was at the bottom of the class academically, he was at the top when it came to popularity. He was irrepressibly jovial and exuberant.

My career as a cadet had but little to recommend it to the study of those who came after me, unless as an example to be carefully avoided.

I knew Gen. Custer well; have known him intimately from boyhood, and, being on opposite sides during the late war, we often met and measured strength on the fields of Virginia, and I can truly say now that I never met a more enterprising, gallant or dangerous enemy during those four years of terrible war, or a more genial, whole-souled, chivalrous gentleman and friend in peace, than Major General George A. Custer.

—Brigadier General (Confederate States Army) Tom Rosser, Custer's West Point Classmate in "A Word for Custer. By Gen. Rosser, of Minneapolis, Formerly of the Confederate Army," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, 13 July 1876

His classmates, above and below, loved him. Though the national polarization over slavery divided the academy, he was perfectly positioned to have friends from both sides of the political divide. Custer was a pro-South Democrat from Ohio and he believed that the greatest threat to the Union was the new Republican Party's hard-line stance on abolishing the expansion of slavery. However, he was thoroughly pro-Union, and though he counted many Southern cadets as his closest friends and he was not opposed to slavery, he believed secession was treason. Because he was so fun, outgoing, and happy-go-lucky and was friends with both Northern and Southern boys, he was one of the most popular cadets to come from the academy.

THE CIVIL WAR

When Custer entered West Point, cadets underwent a five-year program, but everything changed as Southern states started to secede the union. Soon, Southern and Northern cadets were faced with a daunting choice. Southern boys could resign their future commission with the army to return home and join either their state militia or the Confederate Army, both of

which offered a substantially higher rank and pay scale than the cadets would have after graduation. A similar option was open to the young men from the North, their state's hastily assembling volunteer forces needed officers and they could enter higher ranked and higher paid than they could hope for in the regular army after graduation. Most grappled with breaking the oath of allegiance to the United States they took on entry to the academy as well as abandoning the years of sacrifice and hard work they had under their belt. Slowly but surely, however, the Southern boys, many of them Custer's closest friends, left to join the Confederate cause.

Cadets leaving for the war were exhilarated and eager to get to the battle-fields. The boys who remained, including Custer, were miserable. They all believed this would be a quickly settled conflict and viewed it as an opportunity for recognition. The class ahead of Custer immediately petitioned the Secretary of War to be graduated a few months early, which was granted, and Custer's class followed suit. The War Department desperately needed officers to recruit and command the rapidly filling ranks of enlisted men, so permission was granted and on 24 June 1861 his class graduated one full year early.

A few days after their commencement, while waiting for their official orders and assignments to arrive, Custer was serving as Officer of the Guard when two younger cadets got in a fight. Rather than break up the ruckus, Custer ordered the boys to have at it in a fair fight. The Officer of the Day came upon the melee and immediately arrested Custer for neglect of duty. The next day, his classmates departed for active duty in Washington, DC, while Custer sat in the guardhouse waiting for his court-martial. Several of his classmates had powerful contacts in government who intervened on Custer's behalf and two weeks later he was released with a reprimand and orders to report immediately at the nation's capital.

THE BOY GENERAL

Custer's Civil War service launched his name into the public eye and into the world's history books. Even if he had not gone on to infamy in the Indian wars of the Great Plains, he would still be famous for his achievements and escapades on and off the field of battle. To understand the Custer of the West one needs to understand his Civil War experience—it shaped his every move during the last decade of his life on the frontier. Probably the greatest factor that influenced his decisions and brought him the fame and glory he sought was that he was so young—he was just twenty-one when the Civil War broke out. His excitement and enthusiasm for battle reflected the sense of immortality that accompanies youth. The fact that he remained unscathed while leading men in some of the most violent and chaotic battles of America's bloodiest war only served to increase his confidence. His audacious battlefield antics, coupled with the astonishing number of times he was in the right place at the right time, bolstered the young officer's reputation on and off the field and became known as "Custer's Luck."

From his first day of service, Custer was exposed to the war's highest commanders. In Washington, DC, he waited for hours in the chaotic halls of the frenzied war department before he finally met with the officer who would determine his assignment. The officer casually asked Custer if he would like to meet General Winfield Scott, the general-in-chief of the army, who had a well-known soft spot for West Point cadets. Of course, Custer was thrilled to meet the old general who was in charge of the entire army on his first official day as a commissioned officer. Like all of Custer's future commanders, Scott liked what he saw in the confident, high-spirited young man and offered him the opportunity to go directly to the front lines to deliver a personal dispatch to the commander of Union troops in Virginia, General Irvin McDowell. So, instead of drilling new recruits as he later found out his classmates were doing at that time, Custer rode to the front lines and was temporarily attached to McDowell's regiment and participated in the Battle of Bull Run, the first

This officer is one of the funniest looking beings you ever saw, and looks like a circus rider gone mad!

—Lt. Col. Theodore Lyman, Gen. George Meade's aide-de-camp, describing Custer in a letter to his family

major battle of the war. Although Bull Run was a complete defeat for the Union forces, battlefield reports mentioned the newly commissioned second lieutenant (commonly referred to as a "shavetail" in the army) and his outstanding leadership and bravery displayed on the field. The shavetail did not remain so for long, as Custer was soon promoted to first lieutenant. While his fellow cadets remained in the capital city, the student who came in dead last in their class and was awaiting court-martial when they left for duty had already made his name.

Custer's famous "luck" had more to do with his ability to take advantage of the frequent opportunities for recognition that came his way than simple happenstance. One day, Gen. George McClellan and the entourage of staff and dignitaries that accompanied him at all times were astride their horses on the bank of the Chickahominy River when McClellan said, as much to himself as any of his fellow travelers, "I wish I knew how deep it is." Custer was at the back of the column when the general's question passed down the line and immediately drove his horse into the river and, after crossing and returning, yelled, "That's how deep it is, General" and rode back to his place in line. McClellan is said to have called Custer forward on the spot and offered him a position on his staff. Working directly for McClellan, Custer continued to take every opportunity to distinguish himself. When the general could find no one willing to go up in a hot air balloon to observe enemy positions, Custer gladly volunteered for the dangerous duty. He earned a reputation as a decisive, courageous man who could be depended on, characteristics that were greatly appreciated by the six generals on whose staffs he served during the first two years of the war. He also built a name for himself as a great leader in battle. Custer's critics point out that his units suffered high casualties and suggest his successes were more a result of dumb luck than his tactical or leadership skills. However, Custer was never considered to be careless about the lives of his men, and his battlefield casualties were comparable to other units that saw a lot of action. The ghastly death counts in the later battles of the war were more attributable to the "total war" annihilation strategy implemented by the senior command of the army—as time progressed, they began to view the huge casualties as the unfortunate cost of victory.

If serving under Custer was dangerous during the Civil War, it did not seem to affect the morale of his men who were nearly universal in their admiration and confidence in him—particularly his fellow cavalrymen. Throughout the war Custer's troops were devoutly loyal to their notoriously brave commander. He shared in every danger that his men faced and the victories, recognition, and prestige they earned under his command generated a strong sense of pride. Custer was regarded as one of the hardest

working—and hardest playing—officers in the army. He was certainly one of the most ostentatious. Custer's uniform reinforced his flamboyant, devil-may-care image. He had studied Napoleon's military tactics, where he learned that extravagant uniforms distinguished the light cavalry and impressed soldiers and civilians. Shortly after he took command of his first cavalry unit, his outfit began to evolve until by the time he led troops in Gettysburg he always wore a conspicuous crimson kerchief at his neck and a huge, floppy hat and oversized boots—both Confederate-issued prizes he picked up on the field and wore for their symbolism and flair more than comfort. Soon his men began to sport the same crimson kerchiefs until it was a proud feature of his entire command. Custer's shoulder-length hair was perhaps his most recognizable feature, which coupled with his unique style and his flair for the dramatic quickly attracted war correspondents and the public eye.

COURTSHIP

During the first two years of the war Custer returned to Monroe several times—either on sick leave or on furloughs. Custer was frequently recognized on the streets and received in the social circles where he was formerly excluded and he finally managed to catch the eye of Elizabeth Bacon. But he also caroused like most young soldiers and was known to get quite drunk. In late 1861, after a full day of revelry, Custer staggered home on the sidewalks of Monroe, getting sick, falling down, and generally making a spectacle of himself. Unfortunately, he happened to walk past the Bacon residence in this inebriated condition while both Libbie and her father were at the window. Custer's image was damaged nearly beyond repair, especially in Judge Bacon's eyes. That night, Custer's sister, Lydia, took him aside and convinced him of the shame he was bringing to his and his family's name. The twenty-one-year-old pledged then and there to abstain from alcohol—a pledge he honored for the rest of his life. Custer knew, however, that it would take more than a pledge of abstinence to redeem himself to the Bacons. Several months later, when her father caught on that she and Custer were mingling at social events, the Judge shipped Libbie off to visit friends in Toledo. For the next two years Custer and Elizabeth Bacon carried on a surreptitious written relationship while Custer pursued the glory and promotion he would need to be able to ask the judge for her hand in marriage.

When Custer returned to active duty in February 1862 he had more motivation than ever to garner a name for himself—he desperately wanted to win the love of Libbie and needed the approval of her father. After several victorious cavalry raids against Confederate positions in northern Virginia and conspicuous successes in the Peninsula Campaign, General McClellan made Custer his aide-de-camp and promoted him to the rank of captain. In 1862 and 1863

Custer distinguished himself in several major battles and became known as one of the cavalry's best commanders. In June 1863, newly appointed general-in-chief of the army George G. Meade reorganized the Cavalry Corps. That opened three new brigadier general commander positions and on the recommendation of his immediate commander, Custer received one of the generalships and command of the nearly 2000 men of the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division of the Cavalry Corps. At the age of twenty-three, the cadet many considered to be one of West Point's worst graduates ever became the youngest general in the Union Army.

Though it was an appointment in the volunteer ranks—he remained a first lieutenant in the regular Army—Custer's promotion was highly publicized, especially back in his hometown of Monroe. After leading his brigade in the Battle of Gettysburg, Custer's achievements were published in newspapers throughout the Union. Following a stunning victory over Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry in which he had his horse shot out from under him—one of a dozen such unlucky mounts during Custer's Civil War service—he rode up to his commander, who had seen the whole skirmish, and cavalierly stuck out his leg to show where his boot had been torn by the bullet that killed his horse and glibly asked for a fifteen day leave-of-absence. The general gave him twenty-five. So, in September 1863, the proclaimed "Boy General" whose picture had recently appeared in the most read paper in the nation, *Harper's Weekly*, returned to Monroe to see if he had made an impression on Judge Daniel Bacon. Within a few weeks Custer convinced Libbie to accept his proposal of marriage, but it took several months and many letters for Custer to convince her father he was mature enough and held enough promise to be worthy of his prized daughter. When his promotion to brigadier general was confirmed in Congress, Custer finally won the judge over and on 9 February 1864, in a large wedding said to be the most splendid in the state of Michigan, George Armstrong Custer married Elizabeth Clift Bacon. As they discussed in detail in their correspondence prior to the wedding, Libbie retained her maiden name and would forever be known as Elizabeth Bacon Custer.

MARRIED TO THE ARMY

Custer's marriage to Libbie shaped his future, and his legacy, even more than his Civil War experience. The newlyweds began their army life in Custer's brigade headquarters near enemy lines in Virginia. There, Custer introduced his young wife to his two servants, a young boy named Johnny Cisco who tended the general's horses and many pets, and Eliza, a "contraband," or slave who escaped and found work with the Union army. Eliza served the Custers for the next five years, freeing Libbie of all household chores and enabling her to join her rambunctious husband on an adventure at a moment's notice—a

request Libbie insisted her husband made throughout their married life. As the wife of one of the most well-known and successful officers in the army, she soon found herself in the best circles both in the field, where she regularly enjoyed Custer's various commanders' elegant six-course meals, as well as when they visited the nation's capital. Indeed, the Custers enjoyed many privileges that officers of similar rank rarely attained. Unlike the horse-drawn wagons, called ambulances, in which other officer's families traveled, Libbie wrote to her father that she and her Autie rode in a fashionable carriage with two magnificent matched horses and a silver harness the general had captured the previous summer.

Ambulance Wagons

Ambulance wagons, or wagons especially designed for the transport of sick and wounded, evolved rapidly during the Civil War in response to the massive casualties incurred in battle. There were many types of designs, but the essential nature of the wagon was the ability to reconfigure the inside to accommodate as many injured men as two horses could pull and to transport medical equipment and supplies to the battlefield. Most had many drawers and benches that could be shifted around the box of the wagon and a tent to attach to the rear for doctors to perform triage or field surgeries. During and after the war, the ambulance became the primary means of transporting civilians attached to the army. Officers' wives traveled by ambulance along with all their worldly goods, the space and number of ambulances assigned depended upon their husband's rank and the number of wagons available to the unit.

Libbie was instantly one of the young general's greatest assets. Shortly after their marriage the couple rode to Washington on a train specially prepared for the army's newly appointed general-in-chief, Ulysses S. Grant. This opportunity to connect with power was not lost on either of the Custers, both of whom were exceptionally sociable and confident in the presence of the most important of people. Libbie would later write that she found Grant talkative and funny though many saw him as quiet, shy, and even sullen. Luck continued to follow Custer, for within the first two weeks of their arrival in the capital he was featured twice in *Harper's Weekly*, giving the Custers even more visibility as they entered the social circle of Washington's elite. The flamboyant general received so much attention Libbie wrote to her parents, "I find it very agreeable to be the wife of a man so generally known and respected." Mrs. Custer was in her element as the elegant and attractive wife of the army's most dashing officer and decided to take a room in a boarding house while her husband returned to the front.

Grant quickly began to implement changes in the Union military strategy and replaced Custer's commander with Major General Philip H. Sheridan—who

remained devoted to Custer throughout the remaining years of his life. Sheridan was eager to place more emphasis on cavalry operations—where Custer was clearly the army’s star—and “Little Phil” had his eyes set on neutralizing Jeb Stuart’s Invincibles, the Confederate Army’s famous cavalry unit. After several months of cat-and-mouse skirmishes, Custer met Stuart on the battlefield on 11 May 1864, and in another stroke of Custer’s famous luck, Sheridan came upon the field just as the Boy General led his men in a charge Sheridan called “brilliantly executed.” During the course of the battle, Jeb Stuart—the South’s equivalent to Custer in popularity and success—was mortally wounded. Sheridan sent congratulations to Custer while he was still on the field, and thus began a lifelong relationship of mutual respect and support between the two celebrated cavalrymen. Meanwhile, Libbie also made lasting impressions on the political and military elite. While accompanying a powerful Radical Republican congressman—whose favor she was cultivating on behalf of her husband—to an event at the White House, she was introduced to the president. After they shook hands, Lincoln recognized her name and asked if she was married to the officer who “goes into a charge with a whoop and a shout?” When she affirmed, the two joked about whether marriage would make her husband more cautious—Libbie insisting that it would not be so. Shrewdly, before she left the affair she told one of Lincoln’s secretaries to tell the president if women were allowed to vote he would have hers.

In April 1864, Grant began to implement his new strategy—later called the “total war” strategy. There would be no occupations; in his mind the only way to bring the war to a close was to completely annihilate the Confederate armies on all fronts. As long as the Union could maintain the will to win, he could replace the Union’s huge losses of men where the South, on the other hand, could not. During the Wilderness Campaign in May, Custer lost nearly 800 men, one-third of his brigade, demonstrating to Grant that the young cavalry leader was a good fit for his total war strategy. Custer’s exuberance and ferocity in battle was unmatched. Leading his cavalry, standing in his stirrups with saber raised and his band playing in the background, the Boy General’s antics made for great victories and even greater publicity. The war-weary Northern populace, reeling from the staggering numbers of casualties, was eager for good news and Custer was just what Lincoln and Grant needed. In October, after another classic Custer charge drove back a last-ditch attack by the weary Confederate cavalry in the Battle of Cedar Creek, Sheridan nominated Custer for another promotion—a “brevet” position of major general.

CUSTER’S “GLORIOUS WAR” COMES TO AN END

After the battle of Cedar Creek, Custer received his promotion in a grand ceremony in Washington where he presented the captured Confederate flags

Brevet Promotions

Brevet promotions were extremely common in the U.S. Army during the nineteenth century. In recognition of their gallantry in battle or to fill higher positions until receiving formal authorization from army headquarters, an officer would be awarded the right to wear the insignia of the brevetted rank, but would not receive the corresponding pay or authority. During the Civil War almost all senior officers received at least one brevet and they frequently held several different ranks simultaneously, such as the case of Custer at one point being a brevet major general of volunteers, an actual brigadier general of volunteers, a brevet lieutenant colonel in the regular army, and an actual regular army captain.

to the secretary of war, Edwin Stanton. Major General Custer returned to the front lines and soon sent for Libbie to join him in the palatial tent that served as his home base. Sheridan probably noticed that Custer became melancholy almost to the point of distraction if he was away from Libbie for too long and not engaged in battle. He wanted to keep his successful protégé happy and productive, so Libbie became a fixture in Custer's headquarters on the front. In spring 1865, Libbie was back in Washington where she attended another ceremony in which her husband's captured flags were once again handed over to the secretary of war.

In April, Custer captured the train station and nearly thirty major artillery guns at Appomattox, effectively cutting off Confederate General Robert E. Lee's desperately needed supplies and shortly thereafter the beleaguered commander requested terms for surrender. Custer himself accepted the flag of truce. In the Appomattox Court House, General Lee and General Grant negotiated the South's surrender and afterward officers purchased items as souvenirs from the room where the generals had signed the peace contract. Sheridan paid twenty dollars for the table on which the document had been signed and gave the table to Libbie Custer along with a personal note honoring her husband's contributions to the surrender. By early May the war was over and on 23 May the 80,000 men of the victorious Army of the Potomac paraded through Washington. Custer, resplendent and flamboyant as usual, was at the front of his division where he dramatically reared his horse in front of the presidential reviewing stand.

A DIFFICULT TRANSITION

Custer's extraordinary Civil War experience could be called an American fairy tale. Although Custer as a historical figure has drawn a tremendous amount of criticism over the years, most agree his overall performance in

My Dear Madam, — I respectfully present to you the small writing-table on which the conditions for the surrender of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was written by Lt. General Grant, and permit me to say, Madam, that there is scarcely an individual in our service who has contributed more to bring about this desirable result than your very gallant husband.

—General Philip Sheridan to Libbie Custer, 9 April 1865

the North-South conflict was spectacular. It also determined his future because every decision he made was based on attempting to either recreate the thrill of battle or regain the prestige and success he lived during the war. His phenomenal rise in ranks at such a young age left an indelible impression on his, and his wife's, psyche. They would forever assume their elite and celebrity status—which would sometimes cause them great difficulty. Custer also came to the West having led mostly professional cavalrymen and having held a rank and recognition factor that commanded authority. With a super-abundance of confidence, a large and devoted staff, and plenty of victories, he kept his men's morale fairly high and rarely faced major disciplinary problems. That was all about to change.

Custer's first postwar assignment was to join his mentor, General Sheridan, in the Department of the Gulf to put down defiant Confederates in Texas, enforce Reconstruction policies imposed by Congress, and to protect the Mexican border from invasion by

forces loyal to the French-backed Emperor Maximilian of Austria. The Custers traveled to Alexandria, Louisiana, where he took command of his newly assigned volunteer troops to prepare for their march into Texas. The Confederates in Texas had already surrendered so Custer's mission would be primarily one of occupation to control Southern sympathizers to ease slaves into the free world being defined for them. His forces would also serve as a demonstration of power to the puppet Maximilian's Mexican government.

The Emperor of Mexico

The Archduke Maximilian of Austria was proclaimed Emperor of Mexico in April 1864 with the support of a group of Mexican conservatives and Napoleon III of France. The United States refused to recognize his government and once the Civil War ended in May 1865, U.S. leaders, uncomfortable with a French monarchy as a southern neighbor, manned posts along the border and supplied weapons to opposition forces led by Benito Juárez who eventually deposed and executed Maximilian in 1867.

From the start, Custer's command was in trouble. His troops were all volunteers who served in the Western theater during the war and they were ready to be mustered out and go home. Under normal circumstances volunteers were not inclined toward regimented discipline—something Custer had never experienced before. When the twenty-five-year-old West Pointer marched in,

pompously demanded their abject obedience, and began to make examples of insubordinates through excessive and extreme discipline—punishments almost to the point of absurdity—the camp nearly erupted in mutiny. Desertions, which plagued Custer throughout his Western assignments, began to mount, so the general began to apply even more stern punishments. After he executed a farm boy from Illinois with no previous record of insubordination for attempted desertion, Custer hoped he had laid down the law and stemmed the flow of runaway soldiers. Instead, it appears his actions in Alexandria and on the subsequent hellacious march into Texas drove many of his men to risk everything, including their lives, to get out from under his apparent tyranny.

When he marched the division through the humid, subtropical piney forest of east Texas in the heat of July, Custer forced his men to wear their wool uniforms because his quartermaster had not ordered enough cotton shirts and pants. He also demanded they march in close formation to prevent desertions and raiding and foraging in the farms and towns they passed. While his wife rode in a custom-outfitted ambulance or on one of Custer's many horses, men were dropping like flies. Of the seventeen ambulances on Custer's 240-mile march to Texas, ten were eventually filled to capacity with men sick from dysentery, heat stroke, and other ailments. Custer's staff used the remaining seven, five for equipment, one to transport Libbie, and one hauling the Custers' menagerie of dogs. While the officers carried enough quinine to keep the nasty and virulent "breakbone fever" virus at bay, the enlisted men were forced to suffer the excruciating symptoms through the long hard march. It is easy to see how Custer earned the reputation of mistreating his enlisted men—a charge that would follow him through the rest of his days.

The haggard, worn-out column finally reached Camp Hempstead, Texas, where Custer and his division settled in to await orders. Conditions for the enlisted barely improved in camp, and many men wrote home urging their families to pressure their state governments to intervene. Soon newspapers in Iowa and Wisconsin—home of the volunteer units Custer now commanded—featured stories of the one-time hero's abuse of their state's valiant soldiers. When their governors and legislators complained to Stanton and Sheridan, Custer's devoted commander remained loyal to his protégé, stating that the disciplinary measures were all necessary and appropriate. Sheridan apparently failed to notice the numbers of men who had yet to recover from the trip. The regimental returns for one Wisconsin unit recorded twenty-six of eighty-three men were ill a few days after arriving in camp.

While in Hempstead, Custer received notice he had been brevetted major, lieutenant colonel, and brigadier general in the regular army, and Sheridan assured his favorite officer that he was pressing hard for him to receive a permanent rank of major general. By now, the army was well into the demobilization process—nearly one million volunteers needed to be mustered out of service during the first twelve months after Appomattox. The first step in

re-garrisoning the regular army was to rebuild the officer corps and a frenzy of veteran regular and volunteer army officers vied for the commissions that were about to become available. But there were more high-ranking volunteer and brevetted officers than there were available positions. Regular army officers, like Custer, who had held high rank in the volunteers reverted to their regular grades, while volunteers who now aspired to a regular army career applied for the percent of vacancies apportioned to them. All contended for brevet grades in recognition of wartime services, which were not empty honors because an officer could be assigned to commands based on brevet rank. By early 1866, officers who were generals at the close of the war a few months earlier found themselves as colonels, majors, and sometimes even captains, while colonels and majors found themselves lieutenants. Probably because of the bad publicity covering Custer's treatment of his soldiers in Texas, Sheridan was unable to secure his appointment as major general and on 31 January 1866 the Boy General received notice his rank had reverted to his regular grade of captain, his salary of \$8,000 per month dropped to \$2,000, and he was ordered to return to the East Coast.

The Reconstruction Controversy

Reconstruction is the term for Congress's attempt to resolve the issues of the Civil War, especially how to return secessionist Southern states into the Union and enforce the new legal status of the freed slaves. Violent controversy erupted all through the south and the Union Army served as an occupying force to enforce Reconstruction policies. "Reconstruction" is also the common name for the entire era of U.S. history from 1865 to 1877.

In early March the Custers moved in with Libbie's parents in Monroe. Custer left his wife in Michigan and went to New York and Washington, DC, where he was wined and dined by wealthy businessmen and powerful politicians while exploring his career options. Many pressed Custer to enter politics, while others encouraged him to join their businesses—they all wanted to cash in on his fame. It didn't take long to determine that an elected office was not going to pan out for him in the current political environment—his pro-slavery stance did not sit well with the Republicans in power—and a Wall Street position that would afford him and Libbie the lifestyle to which they had grown accustomed did not materialize. Watching unemployed volunteer officers hang around army headquarters desperately seeking an appointment of any grade, Custer came to believe his commission and reputation to be his most valuable possessions. Sheridan did not give up on his campaign for Custer. He found a sympathetic ear in Secretary Stanton, who had a personal affinity for both Custers, and though Sheridan sought at minimum a colonelcy, on 28 July Custer was appointed Lieutenant

Colonel of the Seventh Cavalry. After five more months of exploring career opportunities, he finally accepted his appointment and joined the Seventh Cavalry at Fort Riley, Kansas, in January 1867.

CUSTER'S FIRST INDIAN WAR

A few weeks after the close of the Civil War, General of the Army Ulysses S. Grant appointed fellow Civil War hero William Tecumseh Sherman to command the Military Division of the Missouri, essentially the territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains north of Texas. Sherman's main concern was to protect the construction and operation of the transcontinental railroads from attack by Indians, who were surrounded and pressured by white expansion and were preparing to fight for the land they had left. Sherman ultimately implemented the total war strategy that brought the Union victory in the Civil War. The goal would be to not only defeat the enemy's military, but to also destroy the resources that enabled the enemy to continue warfare. For the Plains Indian nations, this would mean elimination of their primary source of food, shelter, and clothing—the buffalo. Sherman knew that the intercontinental railroad would be completed in about a year, speeding up the settlement of the West, improving military efficiency, separating the large buffalo herds, and ultimately sealing the fate of the nomadic Plains Indians. By the time Custer arrived in Kansas, the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific Railroads were nearing completion and buffalo hunters had begun the systematic destruction of the Plains Indian's way of life. But the so-called "Indian Problem" was just heating up.

Custer reported at Fort Riley in early January 1867 just as news of a disastrous battle near Fort Phil Kearny on the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming Territory made it to the post. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel William Fetterman and eighty men were overwhelmed and killed by a superior force of Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapahoe warriors led by Lakota Chiefs Red Cloud and Crazy Horse. Sherman wanted to take on the northern Indians but Washington was attempting to settle the dispute through treaty negotiations. So he decided to focus attention on the southern Plains tribes—he would drive them out of the way of white travel and onto reservations by force or by bribery, and if war was required then Custer was the man Sherman wanted. Sherman appointed General Winfield Scott Hancock commander of the Department of the Missouri, and ordered him to launch a large-scale campaign in Kansas and Nebraska. Sherman believed that Hancock's leadership and Custer's tactical skills would bring about a quick victory and demonstrate that the Fetterman debacle was an anomaly. Unfortunately, none of these men had experience

*First clear off the buffalo,
then clear off the Indian. For
the gold, we must act with
vindictive earnestness against
the Sioux even to their total
extermination, men, women
and children.*

—U.S. Army General William T.
Sherman in a telegram to
President U.S. Grant

fighting Indians. Discounting the Fetterman incident as being caused by an incompetent commander, they all brought an inflated view of their own—and their army's—superiority against their new foes, especially Custer who received so much glory and adulation at such a young age. It is not surprising, then, that the subsequent mission was an unequivocal fiasco.

Hancock immediately launched a campaign to move Indians away from the railroads. When negotiations with Pawnee Killer, a Cheyenne chief and the first Indian leader he encountered, broke down, Hancock refused to listen to the advice of the local Indian agent and marched his entire division of 1400 men to Pawnee Killer's village to force his people to move next to Fort Larned in south-central Kansas. The agent explained that this dramatic and uncalled-for action would terrify the Cheyennes—mostly survivors and relatives of the Sand Creek massacre by volunteer forces just three years earlier. But Hancock did not relent. When the column neared the village, Hancock ordered Custer to surround it to prevent any Indians from escaping. Custer and his men crawled to the edge of the camp only to find the entire village abandoned. Hancock was furious and ordered Custer and his cavalry to give chase. But soon the tracks spread in all different directions and Custer learned his first lesson in Indian warfare: Given a head start his opponents were nearly impossible to catch, even with women and children along. For several more days Custer pursued small war parties but they all managed to elude him while running amok up and down the stage line. Hancock could not believe Custer had been in pursuit so long and found no Indians. Beside himself in anger, Hancock decided to burn the abandoned village of over 250 tipis. Hancock and Custer had set off a war and soon Indians were attacking whites all along the Kansas frontier.

THE COURT-MARTIAL

The utter failure of his first frontier mission and the moribund situation at his headquarters in Fort Hays, Kansas—a pitiful, poorly supplied outpost—brought on a desperate melancholy and Custer wrote to Libbie, “Come as soon as you can . . . I did not marry you for you to live in one house, me in another.” Foretelling future troubles he wrote, “I almost feel tempted to desert and fly to you.” While waiting for Libbie to arrive from the East, Custer spent the month of June wandering the plains of western Kansas seeking to engage a significant force of Indians to repair the damage to his ego and his reputation. As he moved farther west, and farther from Libbie, he became morose. His need for her at this time was almost an obsession. Disregarding specific orders to proceed as far as Colorado in pursuit of hostile bands, Custer decided to make a temporary camp halfway to the state line and send small detachments out looking for Indians while he sent word to Libbie to meet him at Fort Wallace, a few miles south of his camp. He sent a detachment to the fort and another

to scout the area. For the next week, in a comedy of errors, Custer moved around the region, looking for Libbie or at least a letter from her, while searching for Indians. After a grueling, sixty-five-mile march north through barren, waterless land in which several dogs and mules died of thirst, his column arrived at the Platte River, near the stage coach and telegraph line, but still there were no signs of Indians. Custer telegraphed back to Fort McPherson and found out Sherman was livid that he had not gone west as planned and ordered Custer to return to Fort Wallace which was practically under siege by the Indians Custer could not find. Though he was in trouble, Custer was glad to head back to the fort. He was concerned about his wife traveling through hostile territory and also worried about a unit of ten men Sherman mentioned in the telegraph that were trying to bring him his new orders. That night, he ordered his men to prepare to return to Fort Wallace the next morning, across the same desolate and dangerous landscape they had just barely survived. Thirty-five men deserted in the middle of the night rather than face the journey; they were close to the roads leading to the Montana goldfields and the temptation was too much. Custer, desperate to get to Libbie, did not give chase and that noon, about fifteen miles into the march, thirteen more soldiers turned back north—deserting in broad daylight. Realizing that the remaining men were likely thinking the same thing, Custer had his officers chase down the deserters with orders to shoot to kill. Only three men were finally caught and were brought back gravely injured and thrown in a wagon—one would eventually die. Custer soon faced more problems when his company found the detachment Sherman sent to find him and deliver his orders, all ten men had been killed and mutilated after what appeared to be a lengthy chase by Pawnee Killer and his warriors. Custer learned another lesson in Indian warfare: It was futile to try to outrun their faster horses; soldiers should turn and fight if they wanted a chance.

The next day, Custer led a weak and weary column into Fort Wallace, a post that was under nearly constant attack and could barely supply Custer's division's needs. He had covered nearly 1000 miles and had not killed an Indian, while more than 200 whites in his territory had fallen to the warring Cheyennes and their allies. But, more important to Custer, he finally heard from Libbie—she was clear across the state at Fort Riley. Claiming he had to get to Fort Riley to order supplies, he turned right around and raced 100 tired men and horses 150 miles in a nonstop mission to the next post to the east, Fort Hays. Some of his soldiers could not keep up and two stragglers were picked off by Pawnee Killer's men, but Custer did not return to support them or retrieve their bodies. He left ninety-four of his exhausted men at Fort Hays and continued his reckless dash to Fort Harker, where, after 500 miles and almost no sleep, he caught the 3:00 a.m. train to Fort Riley and nine hours later walked into Libbie's room. They quickly prepared to return to Fort Wallace. Before they could depart, however, Custer received a telegram informing him that he was under arrest for deserting his post while it was under attack.

Generals Sherman, Sully, and myself, and nearly all the officers of your regiment have asked for you . . . Can you come at once?

—Telegram from General Philip Sheridan to Custer,
24 September 1868

He was also charged with excessive cruelty and illegal conduct for ordering his officers to shoot the deserters, for leaving the two men who were killed by Pawnee Killer, and for pushing his men beyond human endurance. He was eventually found guilty on all counts, and suspended from rank and command for one year—without pay—and in June 1868, the Custers returned to Monroe. There, Custer wrote his Civil War memoirs and hunted and fished and generally relaxed while contemplating his future.

Meanwhile, Sheridan assumed Hancock's command of the Division of the Platte and had no better

luck on the Kansas frontier than his predecessor. His search-and-destroy missions proved ineffective against the Indians who had killed hundreds of settlers in the previous few months. Buffalo killers had reduced the southern herd and the army and the agents for the southern tribes were pressing hard to bring them onto a reservation one way or another. In the north, Red Cloud's Lakota allied with Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe bands, defeated the U.S. Army, and brought the United States to terms; the army agreed to abandon the forts on the Bozeman Trail in return for Red Cloud's acceptance of peace. When the soldiers marched out of the posts later that fall, Red Cloud would "touch the pen" to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The southern tribes hoped to duplicate Red Cloud's success by launching an all-out war—but Sheridan was about to apply the full force of the army's total war strategy on the Kansas Indians and the central Plains were about to erupt. Sheridan needed his point man, the man who helped him burn through the Shenandoah—he needed Custer. The general secured a reduction of Custer's sentence and on 24 September 1868, Custer received a telegram from Sheridan imploring him to return to the front as soon as possible.

WASHITA

Custer, of course, was ecstatic and raced to the frontier. Sheridan wanted to execute a winter campaign and Custer was eager to take on the challenge. Sheridan gave him free reign "to act entirely on your own judgment," and Custer moved to Fort Dodge, Kansas, to assume command of his Seventh Cavalry. He spent a month preparing his men for the mission and departed in November for the Oklahoma panhandle. After establishing a base camp, he began to reconnoiter the area. On 27 November 1868 Custer's Osage scouts located a trail, and Custer followed it without stopping until dark. There was enough moonlight to continue their pursuit and the unit eventually reached the village of Cheyenne chief Black Kettle. A survivor of Sand Creek,

Black Kettle sought to protect his people by coming to the Washita to join the peaceful tribes away from the railroad. But many of his young men continued to raid white settlements.

Crawling through snow in the bitter cold, Custer crept up on the camp and, after hearing a baby cry, determined that this time his targeted village was not empty. He ordered his men to surround the village and launched the attack at daybreak. Drawing on his Civil War successes, he charged in with sword in hand and his omnipresent band playing in the background and caught the sleepy village off guard. Witnesses claim around 150 Cheyennes were killed, including Chief Black Kettle. Custer set about burning every last item in the camp and ordered a unit of soldiers to kill the village's 800 Indian horses. Twenty of his men, under the command of Major Joel Elliott, were missing, but seeing a growing number of mounted warriors on the hills in the area, Custer decided to march back to Sheridan to report his grand victory. Custer's name would soon be back in the Eastern papers; this time the Boy General was called a great Indian fighter. Just like his Civil War experience, Custer's panache and charisma made for great reporting—his Western exploits would keep him in the limelight through the few remaining years of his life.

The incident at Washita was controversial from the beginning. Custer's men were divided between those who supported their commander and enjoyed the public accolades for their victory and those who resented Custer for abandoning Elliott and his men, who were later found to have been surrounded and killed. This rift between officers in the Seventh Cavalry would remain. Some contemporaries, including humanitarians back East and soldiers who were sickened by the slaughter, labeled it a massacre, as do most historians, but most newspapers proclaimed it as a great victory after several years of army debacles on the Plains. The fact that the Cheyennes had killed several white captives when Custer's attack began justified the attack in many Americans' minds. Custer relished the attention and didn't seem to mind the criticism—with the exception of an unsigned letter from one of his officers published in the *St. Louis Democrat* that accused him of abandoning Elliott's group. When confronted, Captain Frederick Benteen freely admitted to writing the letter; he had resented Custer for quite some time.

The Custers spent the next two and a half years at Fort Hays. Custer's star was shining again, perhaps even more brightly as an exotic Indian fighter. He was an avid hunter and entertained numerous dignitaries as they passed through. He especially loved hunting buffalo, claiming it was as exciting to chase buffalo as Indians, and became a well-known guide for the rich and powerful who came west to hunt the great animal before they disappeared. Libbie wrote a romantic and detailed account of their idyllic years at Fort Hays in *Following the Guidon*. Custer, however, became bored with commanding a post in a peaceful region and, after toying with resigning, he took a leave in spring 1871 to see what prospects there were for him in the East.

He spent several months in Washington and New York and discovered he was as popular as ever—even more so it appeared. Though he received several offers, he could not shake the lure of the West and returned to the Seventh Cavalry. His command was sent to Kentucky in September and Custer became even more bored than he was up in Kansas. He read of the conflicts with Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull of the Lakota bands on the northern Plains and he longed to secure an appointment to bring these last “hostile” bands under control.

A Cross-Country Tour with the Grand Duke of Russia

In January 1872, Sherman asked Custer to guide a buffalo hunt for the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia. The two men had many common interests and soon became fast friends. The Duke invited Custer to continue on his tour and Sherman readily agreed. For the next month the men traversed the West by horse, train, and steamship, always in the most lavish style possible and at the expense of the royal tourist. They rode on top of railcars and shot dozens of buffalo as the train passed through the Plains at twenty miles per hour and spent hours playing cards and racing horses. They met Libbie in Louisville, and the couple enjoyed Alexis’s generous hospitality as they steamed down the Mississippi to New Orleans where they spent a week enjoying opulent balls and dinner parties.

THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION

In February 1873 Sheridan assigned Custer the duty he had so desired: He was to take the Seventh Cavalry to Fort Abraham Lincoln in North Dakota to protect the Northern Pacific Railroad as it inched westward just as her sister lines had done a few years earlier. The rail line was soon to enter territory that had been promised to the Lakota in the Treaty of 1868 Red Cloud had so successfully negotiated. Though Red Cloud’s and many other bands had moved to agencies on reservations, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull led bands that were still roaming the territory the United States was conveniently calling “unceded Indian Territory.” Sheridan wanted Custer to protect the developing railroad—just as he had done in Kansas. Indians who had agreed to the 1868 treaty believed their lands stretched to the Canadian border, but American negotiators had left the northern boundary intentionally unclear. This land was called “unceded” territory where the United States did not recognize Sioux ownership but did not deny their hunting rights. Both “treaty” and “non-treaty” Indians—groups who had not signed the treaty—held fast to the belief in their exclusive rights to this land. Politicians and businessmen interested in expanding into northern Dakota Territory, however, rationalized that

Indian lands ended on the southern border of the Yellowstone and demanded army protection for the westward-moving rail line. Sherman and Sheridan, having seen the southern and central railroads solve their "Indian problems" on the central Plains, were happy to oblige and attached Custer and his Seventh Cavalry—their Indian fighting division—to the 1873 Yellowstone expedition led by Colonel David S. Stanley.

The huge expedition consisted of nearly 2000 men with Custer's Seventh leading the way. The column spent the summer supporting a team of Northern Pacific engineers who surveyed the future route of the railroad. Custer enjoyed every moment of the entire trip—even without Libbie at his side. He wrote hundreds of pages of letters to his wife describing the magnificence of the land and his exciting adventures in exquisite detail. He fell in love with the "perfectly delightful" land where he had never seen better hunting. On 31 July, Custer had his first encounter with the Sioux when a small group of Lakota under the leadership of Crazy Horse attempted to lure Custer and twenty men into a trap. Both parties had learned from the Fetterman fight: The Indians hoped to duplicate their success with decoys luring the army into a trap; the cavalry were not about to fall for the trick. A few days later, Custer's scouts discovered the trail of a large Lakota village on the move between their regular summer encampments. Custer took off with his cavalry, and after a two-day march, caught up with the Lakota who had just crossed the Bighorn River. The current was too much for the cavalry's horses and after a humiliating day of attempting various strategies at crossing, Custer gave up and set up camp. The Lakota, who had no trouble crossing with all of their families and possessions in tow, watched from across the river and decided to attack the next morning. At daybreak, Indians began to shoot at Custer's camp from across the water and warriors began to ford above and below to circle the cavalry. Seeing his predicament, Custer formed his men in ranks, pulled out his sword, struck up his ever-present band, and charged at the pressing warriors who were so surprised they took off in all directions. Both sides had casualties but both could claim victory. The Lakota, bands who were loyal to Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, assumed they had repulsed their enemies, while Custer was confident that he had cleared a path for the railroad and taught his new opponents a lesson. The Indians, following the last of the Lakota leaders who refused to accept life on a reservation, moved on to their regular winter camp. Custer and the Yellowstone Expedition wound their way back to Fort Abraham Lincoln where a spacious new home—the first one of their own—was awaiting the happy officer and his wife.

Libbie joined her husband at Fort Lincoln in fall 1873 just as the depression, or "Panic of 1873," engulfed the nation. Northern Pacific construction ground to a halt as the economy and the railroad company's stock value plummeted. Custer, who had befriended many executives of the Northern Pacific during the summer's expedition, became a spokesperson for attracting settlers to Dakota Territory. The company had massive tracts of land granted by the

government that could be sold to potential settlers if they could be convinced of the prospect of a better life. Custer wrote articles for Eastern magazines expounding on the fertility and beauty of the region. Meanwhile, Grant, who was now president, was desperately seeking a solution to the nation's economic woes. The most promising solution was to pump money into the economy by adding to the treasury's gold reserves. For years the Black Hills—in the heart of the Sioux reservation—had been rumored to be filled with vast deposits of gold, but the government actively prevented potential miners from entering the Indian's legal territory. The Panic of 1873, however, changed the federal government's position. General Sheridan proposed sending a column into the Black Hills to establish a fort and quietly look for gold—under the pretense that non-treaty Indians had attacked settlers in Nebraska. Indian agents and others with close ties to the reservations pointed out the "remarkable quiet" throughout the territory for the previous year and vehemently protested this explicit violation of the treaty. But Grant needed to bring an end to the depression, and if a gold rush couldn't solve the problem it could at least divert the

Crazy Horse

"Crazy Horse" is the somewhat confused English translation of Tasunke Witko (Tah-Shoonkeh Weetko), the name of the Oglala Lakota warrior and spiritual man who became famous for his successful military tactics and his determined resistance to the white man's invasion of the northern Great Plains. Tasunke Witko was an important family name handed down from Crazy Horse's father and grandfather. Crazy Horse led the decoys in luring eighty soldiers to their doom at the so-called Fetterman Massacre on 21 December 1866. This and other successes in the Lakota's siege of the U.S. Army posts along the Bozeman Trail forced the United States to abandon the trail and negotiate the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Crazy Horse steadfastly refused to join the growing numbers of Lakota bands moving to the treaty-defined "agencies" on the reservations where the people depended on rations from the government for their existence. His leadership attracted many followers to remain in buffalo country, where they continued to hunt, fish, and wage war against enemy tribes as well as whites. He ultimately united with Chief Sitting Bull to fight U.S. encroachment into treaty-defined unceded territory, including the Black Hills. He was involved in all of the major battles with the U.S. Army in this war, including Custer's famous last fight. The army eventually stepped up their pursuit of Crazy Horse's bands and in winter 1877, his tribe, weakened by cold and hunger, finally surrendered at the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska where he attempted to negotiate for a special reservation for his people. A few weeks later, he was murdered in a scuffle with soldiers who were trying to imprison him in a guardhouse.

nation's attention. Sherman's proposal was publicized throughout the country, and Custer quickly asked for and received command of the entire expedition.

THE BLACK HILLS EXPEDITION

On 2 July 1874, Custer started out from Fort Lincoln with a force of over 1000 men. Scientists, geologists, and newspaper reporters accompanied the column. The mission was to explore the Black Hills, locate a potential site for a fort on the western side, find a route to connect the post to Fort Laramie on the south, and report back to Fort Lincoln by the end of August. Of course, the unofficial charge was to determine if there was gold in the Black Hills. The expedition arrived on the western side of the hills in the vicinity of present-day Custer, South Dakota, on 22 July where the army explored and the accompanying miners looked for gold, which they found in small quantities in French Creek. The Expedition eventually covered much of the western and north-central Black Hills before returning to Fort Lincoln at the end of August as ordered. A historian wrote of Custer's highly publicized report on the Black Hills, "It would be difficult to frame language better calculated to inflame the public mind and excite men to enter this country or die in the attempt." News of gold found in French Creek eventually attracted tens of thousands of miners to the Black Hills. In response to protests made by those seeking to protect the Indians' legal claim to the land, Custer countered that the Indians weren't using the land so they should make way for the whites who would. The army made a few half-hearted attempts to hold back the gold-seekers from the treaty-guaranteed land, but eventually they were unable to quell the vast numbers of would-be miners on their way to the goldfields. The government eventually determined it would be much more practical and probably a lot easier to suppress the Indians than the miners and thus set the stage for Custer's famous "Last Stand."

Claiming Lakota Lands

The Lakota arrived in the Black Hills in the 1700s after a gradual migration from Minnesota. They ultimately drove other tribes from the region and claimed the land, which they called *Paha Sapa*, for themselves. After the final Plains wars brought the defeated Lakota onto reservations, the United States claimed that terms of surrender included a purchase of the Black Hills, but the Lakota never accepted the validity of this purchase and the area remains under dispute to this day. In 1980, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Black Hills were illegally taken and over \$100 million was owed to the Lakota. The Lakota Nation refused the settlement, as they wanted the return of their land instead, and they still demand the return of the Black Hills to this day.

THE LITTLE BIGHORN

For the next two years the United States lobbied the Lakota to sell the Black Hills, which created a great amount of dissension among the many bands throughout Lakota territory. Some believed that it was already lost so they supported the idea of negotiating as high of a price as possible out of the government. Others, mostly followers of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, were steadfast in their refusal. In summer 1875, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, a peace-supporting chief who had brought his people onto a reservation to save them, traveled to Washington, DC, to meet with the president. The Lakota leaders believed they were going to present their grievances to the "Great Father," but all President Grant wanted to discuss was selling the Black Hills. The leaders would never agree to a deal of this magnitude without the consent of their people so they returned to their reservations. That fall, the government attempted several times to negotiate a sale but the Lakotas who were willing to negotiate made such unreasonable demands that no deal could be brokered. Plus, the so-called "hostiles," Indians living off the reservation mostly in unceded territory north of the reservation, were threatening the pro-sale Indians. With nearly 15,000 whites living in the Black Hills and no treaty or sale in sight, Grant called a confab with his military and administrative leaders to come up with a solution, which was announced in early December 1875. Grant announced that the hostiles in the unceded territory were the barrier to U.S. access to the Black Hills so he was ordering that all Indians were to move onto reservations by 31 January 1876 or he would send his military to bring them in by force. Indian agents on the Lakota reservations knew that the order would not bring in Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull and they were right. January 31 came and went and the army began to plan a spring campaign to force the hostiles to the reservations.

As plans were developing, Custer was called to testify before a congressional investigation that ended in an indictment of President Grant's secretary of war. The "Sioux expedition" was scheduled to commence in a week, and Custer believed this was going to be the greatest, and probably last, Indian campaign; he told his brother Tom he would "rather have died than missed it." But the embittered president believed Custer's testimony was politically motivated and that he may have even been harboring thoughts of running on the Democratic ticket in the next presidential election—an idea that prominent Democrats floated past Custer on several occasions. For many reasons, not the least of which being he was angry with Custer, Grant would not authorize him to return to Dakota to lead his men. Typically, Custer simply convinced someone in the War Department to write him out an order and left town without Grant's approval. Custer was stopped in Chicago on 3 May and placed under arrest, and General Alfred Terry was placed in charge of the campaign. For days Custer groveled and begged and implored his superiors—Sheridan, Sherman, and Grant—to release him. Terry, who knew he needed

Custer's Indian-fighting experience, finally interceded and Grant relented. Custer was not, however, allowed to command the entire expedition, only his Seventh Cavalry division, but he didn't care as he knew he would have free reign once out in the field.

The expedition would entail a three-pronged attack. Custer's column, with Terry in command, would head west from Fort Abraham Lincoln and follow the Yellowstone River. Another column, led by General George Crook, who led a disastrous winter campaign just a few months earlier, would try again by moving north from Fort Fetterman to the Little Bighorn River. Major General John Gibbon would lead the third column coming down from Fort Ellis in Montana. Because all of the officers involved were certain that any one of their groups were capable of conquering the Indians in the region, they did not incorporate much more tactical or strategic planning into the mission.

The Terry-Custer column departed from Fort Lincoln on 17 May 1876. The Crook column made the first encounter with the Lakota and their allies on 17 June in a six-hour clash on the upper branch of Rosebud Creek. Though Crook claimed victory, he lost twenty-eight men and had fifty-six wounded to contend with so he retreated to his base camp on Big Goose Creek. The other two columns had no idea where Crook was and would not hear from him until mid-July—weeks after the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Meanwhile, Terry, who had never been on the Plains or fought Indians, was exhausted from the month-long overland journey and decided to manage the conflict from the comfort of a steamboat on the Yellowstone. After confirming there was significant Indian activity in the area, Terry drew up detailed orders for Custer and Gibbon—they could have used information from Crook regarding the size of their opponent's forces but it isn't likely that the officers would have changed their plans. Gibbon and Terry would go back up the Yellowstone and come into the Little Bighorn Valley from the north. Custer would take the Seventh Cavalry up the Rosebud and block Indians from leaving the valley to the east.

On 25 June, Crow Indian scouts informed Custer of a large encampment of Lakota. Based on all of his previous experiences, Custer decided to attack the village immediately. Custer knew he was outnumbered—though he did not know by how much—but he was confident in the superior force of his cavalry over an unsuspecting village of warriors and their families. He split his forces into three battalions—one led by Major Marcus Reno, one by Captain Frederick Benteen, and one by himself—and left a company to guard his supply wagons. Custer sent Reno to attack the village from the south and Benteen was ordered to go west and engage any hostiles he encountered, and Custer would go north and come down into the village to support Benteen in a classic pincer strategy, much like was originally planned with the three large columns.

Reno ran into serious resistance and was forced to retreat after losing nearly a quarter of his command. Meanwhile, Custer came upon the Lakota camp

and commenced his own strategy. Evidence suggests he was attempting to capture women and children like he had done in his Washita attack. When Custer saw the size of the village he sent a message to Benteen to come as quickly as possible and to “bring packs, p.s. bring packs!” meaning mules packed with ammunition. Benteen, however, ran into Reno and the two units were engaged in a defensive position on the other side of the village where they remained besieged for nearly two days and lost over one-third of their men. This freed many of the Indians in this skirmish to join the forces fighting Custer’s battalion. From this point on Custer experts speculate that he may have attempted a diversionary attack on the village and deployed other companies to scale ridges above the camp to buy time for Benteen or Reno to relieve him. But relief never came and what was left of his column retreated to higher ground. After a lengthy defensive battle, the cavalry companies on the hills eventually collapsed and fell back together on what is now called “Custer Hill” where the few remaining soldiers exchanged fire with the Indians until the last man fell. Custer, two of his brothers, his nephew, and his brother-in-law were among the 225 soldiers who were killed in the course of about twenty minutes.

THE CUSTER MYTH

Custer as a man and his demise in his so-called Last Stand would have made America’s history books and his name would have lived on in perpetuity, but he is a true icon of the West because of the way the nation, and the world, has reacted to his story. Immediately after his death, what has come to be known as “the Custer myth” began to take shape. Myths are powerful stories, beliefs, or traditions that grow up around something or someone and come to represent the ideals and institutions of a society. In essence, a myth embodies how a people view themselves. As a society’s worldview changes over time, so do the versions of its myths. Custer’s myth is no exception. As one Custer expert wrote, the Custer myth was “built like other myths, upon the actual deeds and events, magnified, distorted and disproportioned by fiction, invention, imagination, and speculation.” The story became a reflection of America’s view of the West.

For decades, due to the extraordinary and prolific efforts of his wife, the Custer myth was built around heroic and valiant soldiers fighting heathen savages. Living fifty-seven years after her husband’s death, Elizabeth Custer published three books and lectured extensively to defend and embellish his reputation and promulgate an idealized and romanticized home life with her hero. Her image as a devoted wife and respectable upper-class lady—and a widow to boot—was reinforced by the Victorian values of the day. Proper women were considered morally unimpeachable and no honorable man would challenge her integrity. Thus most of her husband’s critics were kept at bay for half a century out of respect for the widow’s devotion. As one future investigator

complained, "All who stood in the way of her appraisal were made to appear as cowards or scoundrels."

Because most of the previous publicity surrounding Custer romanticized him as a nearly invincible warrior, the defeat at Little Bighorn was a major shock to Americans. They needed an explanation. Were previous portrayals wrong? Had he changed? Who or what was to blame, the officers who did not come to his rescue, or the unfair advantage in numbers of the Indians? For decades, Custer remained America's popular Boy General, martyred at an early age while advancing the nation's civilizing agenda. The nation needed to believe that the actions taken to pacify and control the Indians were justified and Custer represented that rationalization. However, over time, facts began to leak into the story and the myth changed. Gradually, shifting attitudes toward American Indians and U.S. treatment of them also impacted the myth. People began to revisit his actions from Washita to Little Bighorn and argue that he represented the U.S. agenda to eradicate the Indian. The ideas that Custer made serious tactical and strategic mistakes were woven into the myth. People began to question Custer's actions and motivations during the battle of the Little Bighorn, claiming they were impulsive and foolish and reflected his desperate desire for adulation and his aspirations for glory. Was he planning on running for president and seeking another wildly successful battlefield victory to elevate his image so he could easily defeat the scandal-ridden Grant administration? After all, he had a Democrat-owned newspaper reporter along to cover his mission. Others continued to praise him as a fallen hero who was betrayed by the incompetence of his subordinate officers. The controversy over who is to blame for the disaster at Little Bighorn rages to this day and will continue to captivate the attention of people around the world.

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Scene in Geronimo's camp, before surrender to General Crook, 27 March 1886.
Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Geronimo

Vanessa Gunther

There are few young children in America who have not made a leap of faith while shouting out the name of one of the Apache's greatest war chiefs—Geronimo. As a symbol of defiance and bravery few can match the almost bulldog expression Geronimo affected in Ben Wittick's 1887 picture. Like all icons there are often discrepancies between what we perceive and what is real. In truth the image that is most often remembered of the great Chiricahua chief was taken the year after he had surrendered to U.S. forces and was being held at Fort Pickens in Florida, separated from much of his family and his home in the American West. To further cloud this image, Geronimo, or *Goyathlay*, translates as "one who yawns," hardly the proper moniker for generations of thrill-seeking prepubescent children, or one of the Apache's greatest leaders. It is uncertain where the name Geronimo was derived from; it was not the name given to him by his parents when he was born into the Bedonkohe band of the Chiricahua Apache near the Gila River in what is today Arizona sometime around 1829. There is speculation among historians and Geronimo's contemporaries that his name was the mutilation of his Apache name by the Mexican soldiers and traders who occupied the land of the Apache until the middle of the nineteenth century. Other reports claim that Mexican soldiers would call out to St. Jerome before entering battle with the fierce war chief in order to build their confidence. Over time Geronimo took to shouting the name himself to unnerve his opponents whenever he entered into battle against them. While each tale is possible, it is more probable that Geronimo's name was mangled by the Mexicans since St. Jerome is more known for his scholarly attributes than his military talent. Whatever its root cause, the name stuck and in his later life was adopted by members of his own tribe.

The Chiricahua Apache are generally divided into four related bands, although some historians and Geronimo himself identified six. For modern discussions, two of the bands have been integrated into larger bands and the number is generally agreed to remain at four. The Chokonen, or central Chiricahua tribe, controlled territory in southeastern Arizona near and within the Dragoon, Dos Cabezas, and Chiricahua Mountains in the west, the Gila River in the north, the Sierra Madre Mountains in the south, and portions of New Mexico in the east. The Southern Chiricahua, Janeros or Pinery Apache, controlled the mountains along the modern Mexican and American borders. The Eastern Chiricahuas, also known as the Mimbres or Mogollon Apache, lived along the Rio Grande in New Mexico in the various mountain ranges that dot the region. Lastly, there were the Bedonkohe, the tribe into which Geronimo was born. The smallest of the Chiricahua tribes, their territory was northeast of the Chokonen lands near the Gila River and the Mogollon Mountains. Each band was supported by sub-bands, which were identified largely by the landmarks of the area in which they lived. Many of these smaller bands would suffer almost total annihilation at the hands of Mexican and later American soldiers during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The Bedonkohe would be one of these bands. In the early 1860s the Bedonkohe were adopted

into the other Chiricahua tribes when their numbers fell to levels that could not adequately sustain their people. Geronimo and his followers were adopted into the Chokonen tribe and followed one of the Apache's greatest chiefs, Cochise.

In his autobiography, dictated in 1905–1906, Geronimo stated that he was born in June 1829 into the “mountainous country which lies west from the east line of Arizona and south from the headwaters of the Gila River.” Today this area would be part of Gila National Forest in New Mexico. Other historians, most notably Angie Debo, identified his date of birth as 1823, and the place near what is today Clifton, Arizona. Debo largely determined this site because “the Gila does not head in Arizona,” and because of the traditions of the Bedonkohe themselves, wherein the site of an individual’s birth was considered sacred and would be visited throughout their lives. It is possible that Geronimo, a man well versed in the traditions and religion of his people did not want the place of his birth defiled. Of his early life, Geronimo described an almost idyllic existence of warm sun, gentle breezes, and the shelter of trees. To his parents Tablism and Juana he was the fourth of eight children. Such a large family would have been highly unusual among the Apache and it is possible that Geronimo’s designation of siblings also included his cousins because there is no distinction in the Apache language between the two. As he grew he helped his parents toil in the fields where they grew corn, beans, melons, and pumpkins. The early childhood memories of Geronimo were recorded when he was between the ages of seventy-six and eighty-two, and almost twenty years after he had been removed from his homeland by U.S. authorities. Although Geronimo’s memories of agricultural toil may be accurate, there is considerable debate among historians over whether the Apache ever engaged in agricultural activity of the intensity that Geronimo described in his autobiography. Though they did engage in some agriculture, it was limited in its scope. However, the Bedonkohe lived in relative isolation in the mountains and perhaps found greater reward in agricultural pursuit than did their cousins.

Geronimo was born at a time when the relationship between Hispanics and the Apache was changing. By the late eighteenth century, Spain’s policy in the Southwest had evolved from attempts at colonization to eradication of the Apache. After a series of futile and destructive wars the Spanish came to realize the limitations of their attempts at elimination. In 1786, Spain adopted the *Instrucción*, a cohesive plan to disrupt the Apache’s traditional food gathering and cultural patterns, by providing food and other goods to them. In time it was hoped the Apache would forget their old ways and adopt the more sedentary lifestyle of a peon. For forty years this policy kept the Spanish and the Apache at relative peace. However, when the war for Mexican independence broke out in 1810, Spain was incapable of devoting many resources to its northern territories. The overall Hispanic population declined dramatically and those who remained were mired in poverty. Soldiers often went without pay, food, or even adequate clothing. The limited rations that many of the

Indians had come to depend upon was reduced or eliminated. By the end of the Mexican struggle for independence in 1821, the Apache had returned to raiding the settlements and driving off livestock to sustain themselves. Faced with what could easily prove to be a widespread war, the government asked the villagers to donate cattle to feed the Indians, and forestall further raiding. For the Mexican villagers this request highlighted their considerable weaknesses and added to the growing animosity between the Apache and the Mexicans.

By the time of Geronimo's birth, the ration system developed under the *Instrucción* had declined to the point of near nonexistence due to the disastrous policies of the early Mexican government. Within a few years, the Apache had returned to raiding the Mexican villages and depredations abounded on both sides of the conflict. The Mexican military responded with a series of punishing attacks that forced the Apache to sue for peace in 1832. In the ensuing treaty between the two nations, the Mexicans offered no rations to the Apache, but instead limited their territory and expected the Indians to sustain themselves with hunting and agriculture. In the arid Southwest, this hard-line treaty was destined to fail as the land proved incapable of producing an adequate food supply for the Apache people. Within a year the raids had begun again. It was during this time that Geronimo's earliest recollections of farming began. Over the next several years the various bands of the Apache and the Mexican army engaged in a series of skirmishes that killed hundreds. Mexican troops often resorted to trickery to gain an advantage over the Indians by luring them into negotiations for peace, but then slaughtering those who came to talk. By 1842, the bloody conflict was largely ended when another treaty was signed that called for rations to be given to those who agreed to peace. However, the years of conflict had resulted in little trust between the parties and the wealth generated by the raids would prove to be hard to overcome for Indians and unscrupulous traders alike. For Geronimo these negotiations occurred at a time when he was coming of age, but his autobiography does not mention the raids. Since most Indian men went on raids only after securing the safety of their families, it is possible that Geronimo's recollections of this time were absent of the conflict that raged around him because his father had died when he was "but a small boy" and his mother never remarried. Although it was traditional for the bounty from these raids to be shared among the people of the tribe, Geronimo's experience with the raids of the early 1840s would have been only peripheral.

By 1846 Geronimo was a young man of seventeen and had entered into the council of warriors. This process normally began when a boy was about the age of seven. A male relative would give the boys their first bow and arrows and thus began their tutorial in the ways of the Apache warrior. With his mentor's approval and direction, a boy would be encouraged to join with other boys in hunting small game. Over time new tasks and activities were introduced that would hone their hunting, riding, and fighting skills. Each of the

tasks was intended to teach obedience and responsibility. Once a boy had proven himself capable of these tasks, he would be allowed to travel with a group of warriors as part of a raiding or war party. These initiates would not fight, but would serve the warriors and learn from them. After several such outings, those boys who had distinguished themselves would be admitted into the warrior class. Only after joining the ranks of the warrior could a young man marry and enjoy the freedom afforded to the adults in the band. In 1846, Geronimo reached this milestone in his life and as a member of the council of warriors was able to marry the "fair" Alope, a young woman who had captured his heart. However, the price for his transition to manhood was steep; the bride price set by Alope's father was a small herd of horses. Geronimo paid the price and took his new bride home. Within a short period of time they would have three children, and Geronimo's family would expand to include the care of his aging mother.

While Geronimo's autobiography does not mention the conflicts that occurred between the Mexicans and the Chiricahua Apache following his induction into the council of warriors, raids and massacres continued to characterize the relationship between these two people. Though it cannot be said with certainty that Geronimo was involved in the raids, as a young man ready to distinguish himself in battle it would be have been unusual for him not to have participated. Geronimo himself was quiet on the subject; his autobiography characteristically underplayed or ignored his role in most of the conflicts he was engaged in throughout his life. However, it would be folly to believe that events such as occurred at Galena in 1846 would not have made the young warrior thirst for revenge. At the Mexican village of Galena, James Kirkner, a trader and former ally of the Indians, enticed them to come into the village to negotiate a peace between the warring factions. Mescal flowed freely and soon the Indian warriors were drunk. With their adversaries incapacitated, Kirkner and his men began the systematic slaughter of most of the Indians present. Reports indicated that as many as 130 Chiricahua Apache were murdered in this massacre. Mangas-Coloradas, chief of the Bedonkohe, was present but escaped the slaughter. The loss of his leadership would have robbed the Apache of another of their great chiefs. Geronimo could well have been among the warriors present—this would have been around the time of his initiation. Although his presence at the Galena massacre is in question, his participation in the revenge raids by the Chiricahua that fall is not. According to Nah-delthy (Jason Betzinez), who fought with Geronimo and was imprisoned with him in Florida in the 1880s, Geronimo was one of several legendary Apache warriors, including Cochise, Mangas-Coloradas, and Benito who "increased their reputations in the (following) battle" at Galena.

During the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) a raid and retaliation pattern characterized the relationship between the Mexicans and the Chiricahua. However, the necessity of fighting two foes at the same time left Mexico at a distinct disadvantage. By the time the hostilities between America and Mexico

had ended and the Southwest was annexed into the United States, the Indians had gained the upper hand. Following the conclusion of the war in 1848 American troops were stationed near the border of Chiricahua territory. However, the entry of these new players into the world of the Apache would have little initial impact on the Chiricahua. The inhospitable terrain of the Southwest enticed few Americans to settle in the region; subsequently, the Apache continued their raids into Mexican territory. In his autobiography, Geronimo reported that he did not see his first white (American) man until 1858; however, it is widely believed that he most likely confused the date. Geronimo recounted his life story some fifty years after the events took place and an infallible recollection of his early life would be unheard of. Additionally, the Chiricahua were a non-literate culture, the timetables that governed the white world would have meant little to them. The Bedonkohe, under the leadership of Mangas-Coloradas, met with American military forces during the Mexican-American War and peacefully traded with them. The Apache took pains to establish friendly relations with the Americans to preserve their traditional way of life. It is possible that Geronimo was present at some of these exchanges, but because he was only a young man, he would not have taken part in any of the discussions. Because the meetings were subdued they may have had little impact on the young warrior. By 1851 American surveyors had entered into Chiricahua territory and again they were met by the Apache, including Geronimo.

When the American surveyors came into Chiricahua territory, Geronimo reported in his autobiography that they peacefully traded with the Bedonkohe, and even shook hands and “promised to be brothers.” This clearly European custom gained widespread use among the Western tribes when dealing with non-Indians. Geronimo’s mention of this practice in his autobiography may have been intended to portray the Apache as innocent victims in the events that he would recount next. At the time of his contact with the American surveyors Geronimo also reported that the Chiricahua were at peace with the Mexicans. Geronimo’s recollection that peace existed between the Mexicans and the Apache fifty years after the fact has been questioned. His memory was clouded either with the passage of time or because the Bedonkohe made their home in remote mountain areas and their contact with the Mexicans was limited. Whether age or proximity was the cause, reports of Indian and Mexican depredations continued throughout the late 1840s and into the 1850s. However, because the Bedonkohe believed they were at peace, in 1851, the entire band traveled into Mexican territory with the intention of trading. The presence of women and children in this trek lends credence to Geronimo’s contention that they were at peace. The goal of the tribe was to reach Casa Grande in the state of Sonora. However they stopped off at a place the Indians called Kas-ki-yeh to trade. While the men were engaged in trade, Mexican troops surrounded the lightly defended Indian camp and attacked. They easily overwhelmed the few warriors who had been left to guard their

possessions and their families and then began the slaughter of the women and children. When the main trading party returned to the camp, they found the gruesome remains of their loved ones. To compound the tragedy the troops had destroyed their supplies and weapons; the Bedonkohe found themselves defenseless in hostile territory and vulnerable to further attack. For Geronimo the impact of the slaughter at Kas-ki-yeh was profound—killed in the attack were his wife Alope, their three children, and his aged mother. Geronimo swore to revenge the loss of his family and thus began the most personal of wars, waged at times almost single-handedly by Geronimo against the Mexicans and one that would last for almost the next twenty years.

Over the next year the Bedonkohe regrouped and solidified alliances with other Chiricahua Apache tribes. By 1852, Bedonkohe, Chokonen, and Nedni warriors left their homelands in Arizona and slipped into Mexico. Outside the Mexican village of Arispe the warriors killed several men who had been sent to speak with them, sending a clear message that this was a war for revenge. The following day the Chiricahua engaged in a pitched battle against Mexican troops. By the end of the afternoon the Mexicans troops were routed and the massacre of Kas-ki-yeh had been avenged. For Geronimo, the battle marked his elevation to war chief within the Bedonkohe. The battle however, did not assuage the hatred he felt toward the Mexicans, and almost immediately after returning home he was again on the warpath. Geronimo's hatred of the Mexicans was a mostly singular affair, no one else had lost as much as he had at Kas-ki-yeh, and few felt the same burning need to continue to exact retribution. Because of this, only a few warriors agreed to accompany him on his forays into Mexico. The early years of this personal war bore little fruit for Geronimo as he was often the only warrior who returned from these raids. Within his own tribe many held him personally accountable for the loss of these warriors, and he was rewarded with the enmity of some members of his tribe. However, Geronimo's desire for revenge also earned him the enmity of the Mexican soldiers and villagers to whom his name became equally synonymous with death and established him in the minds of Mexicans and later Americans as the iconic image of the savage Indian, and of native defiance.

During the time Geronimo began his personal war, his band merged with the Mimbres, most likely because the profound losses they had incurred in the previous years left them vulnerable to attack. The leader of the combined tribes would be Mangas-Coloradas who better than most could remember the horror of Galena and sought peace for his people. To forestall any hostilities that might erupt between the Americans and the Indians several Chiricahua leaders including Mangas-Coloradas agreed to a treaty of peace that allowed for the free passage of Americans through their land. Since most white men were merely using the Apache land as a conduit to get to California, their presence had little impact on the day-to-day lives of the Chiricahua. As such the treaty was little more than a goodwill gesture between the two groups; this goodwill would not last. Though Geronimo was not a signatory to this

treaty, as a member of the combined tribes he honored the agreement with the Americans but continued raiding into Mexico. Following the loss of Alope, he married two women, Chee-hash-kish and She-gha, and began to rebuild his shattered life.

By 1855, the government had persuaded some of the other Apache bands to agree to land cessions. As with the Chiricahua treaty, its impact on the daily lives of the Indians in the Southwest would be minimal because of the limited white settlement. Geronimo's band was not involved in these negotiations; however, in 1858 he and his band met with American soldiers and agreed not to commit depredations in the region. The following year that agreement would be tested when Americans resumed the mining of copper in Mimbres territory, and the year after that gold was discovered near Santa Paula. A rapid influx of Anglos and Mexicans into the territory followed, along with a concomitant rise in violence against the Indians and a sharp reduction in the game on which they depended for survival. With their survival threatened bands began raiding the settlements, but Mangas-Coloradas continued to push for peace. An all-out war with the Americans would result in further hardship for his people and would further reduce their numbers. In summer 1860, Mangas-Coloradas was at Pino Alto offering assurances of the peaceful intentions of the Chiricahua when he was seized by the miners, tied to a tree, and whipped mercilessly. This foolish action resulted in a bloody war that demonstrated the combined might of the Chiricahua bands.

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 forced the United States to reallocate most of its soldiers to the East, which left the Southwest with few trained soldiers for defense. Although the Confederacy attempted to seize the Southwest early on in the conflict to gain access to ports along the Pacific and the mining resources, their attempts were thwarted by military volunteers from California. By 1862, the Confederates had been pushed out of the Arizona territory and Union forces, led by James Henry Carleton, moved to control the warring Indians, either by annihilation or forced confinement on reservations. Carleton's limited forces found themselves hard pressed to achieve their mission and the situation began to spiral out of control. As conditions deteriorated, duplicity on the part of the Union forces became common and the results predictably disastrous. In early 1863, American forces approached Mangas-Coloradas with a proposal for peace. When the peace proposal was presented to the tribe, Geronimo opposed it, but to test the sincerity of the Americans the tribe was divided into two factions. One led by Mangas-Coloradas would accept the American offer of peace, and the other would remain in their homelands until they were sure the peace treaty would be faithfully adhered to. The Chiricahua were wise to be cautious, once Mangas-Coloradas was within the control of Union military forces, General Joseph Rodman West, a subordinate of Carleton's, arrested him. Later that evening the military reported that Mangas-Coloradas was shot while trying to escape. The army surgeon then removed his head, boiled it, and sent the skull to the East for study. To the Chiricahua

such betrayal under a banner of peace was, according to Geronimo, “Perhaps the greatest wrong ever done to the Indians.” The murder of Mangas-Coloradas elevated Geronimo to a leadership position within the tribe, and only inflamed the hostilities between the Chiricahua and the American.

The murder of Mangas-Coloradas resulted in a fury of depredations against settlers in the Arizona territory. Allied with the Chokonen band, led by Cochise, the Bedonkohe, now led by Geronimo, and other Chiricahua bands raided with impunity until the end of the Civil War. Once the war in the East had ended however, troops and settlers returned to the region, this further incursion into Chiricahua territory only escalated the violence further. By 1870, it became apparent that the government would need to approach the situation differently if the region was to be settled safely. Under president U.S. Grant’s celebrated but ultimately disastrous peace policy, the government dispatched Special Agent William Arny to negotiate an end to the hostilities. After meeting with various bands of the Apache, Arny persuaded several of the Chiricahua bands to agree to live on reservations of land if rations and other support were provided. Geronimo while aware of the negotiations did not take part in the treaties, but did move with the tribes to the designated areas. In 1871, the United States approved \$70,000 for the purchase of rations and supplies, but also sent General George Crook into the region to oversee the transition of the Indians onto reservations.

For George Crook, Grant’s peace policy was both carrot and stick. The government would provide the rations and the land to those Indians who agreed to the terms of the policy. Those who refused the peaceful overtures of the government would confront the might of the military. Crook sent word to the various tribes that they were obligated to be on their reservations by February 1872 or face retribution. To the chagrin of Crook and the benefit of the Apache, the government dispatched Brigadier General Oliver Otis Howard on a mission to evaluate the conditions in the Southwest. Howard reevaluated the suitability of the lands that had been set aside for the Indians and conferred with the bands that had failed to heed Crook’s warning to move to the reservations. He pointedly sought a meeting with Cochise to encourage a peaceful resolution to the conflict that had raged for too long. Cochise and the leaders of his allied bands, including Geronimo, met to discuss the issues and on 13 October 1872 a final agreement was made. The Chiricahua would remain on their homeland and would receive support from the government to offset the loss of game and land that would be given over to settlers. In exchange, there would be peace between the Chiricahua and the settlers. By spring 1873, the Southwest was largely at peace. Although reports of depredations still filtered in, most were the result of outrages perpetuated by Americans and the predictable retaliation by the tribes. The peace held until 1875 when the government changed its tactics in dealing with Native Americans to open up more lands for settlement and embarked on a new policy, concentration.

The policy of concentration called for the government to collect onto small tracts of land several tribes of Indians, many of whom were traditional enemies. This policy would be carried out despite the promises and treaties made by the government that had guaranteed the Indians access to their traditional lands in perpetuity. For the Americans, the promise of the wealth held in the lands and the desire for increased settlement outweighed the desire to honor the treaties. These new reservations were universally dismal, poorly supplied, and grossly overcrowded. Predictably the change in policy resulted in conflict. At the center of the conflict would be Geronimo.

By 1876, it was time for the removal of the Chiricahua. Cochise, the primary chief of the Chiricahua, had died in June 1874, and his demise had restructured the authority within the tribes. While Cochise had designated his son, Taza, as the new leader of the Chokonen, his leadership was contested by members of his own band. This internal conflict allowed Geronimo to assume greater authority among the Chiricahua tribes. When presented with the new policy of concentration Geronimo and his followers left the reservation and hid out in the Alamosa. Instead of seeking a mutually beneficial agreement to deal with the Chiricahua, in June 1876 the Chiricahua reservation was closed. For the Chiricahua, this meant their traditional lands would be given over to white settlement; there was nowhere for them to go except to crowd onto reservations with other Southwestern tribes. Since these new reservations were overcrowded and barren, the life the government now proposed for the Chiricahua would be one of poverty and despair. The job of convincing the Indians to relocate fell to Agent John Clum, a man who would prove to be ill suited to the position entrusted to him. When he was unable to persuade the Chiricahua to relocate, he began a prolonged campaign of character assassination, with Geronimo as his target. To Clum and the other Americans gathered in the small settlements of Arizona, Geronimo became the convenient target for any depredation that occurred in the region. As a result his name became synonymous with a war that would rage for the next decade.

Using the Warm Spring Agency in New Mexico as a base, Geronimo and other “renegade” Indians raided into Arizona and across the Rio Grande into Mexico from 1876 to 1877. Reports indicate that he drew rations, and brought stolen horses into the reservation. In early spring 1877 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued orders for Geronimo’s arrest and removal to the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona where he was to be held under a charge of murder and theft. Indian police on the Warm Springs Reservation complied with the commissioner’s order and Geronimo along with several of his followers was arrested. To compound the matter, additional orders were given for the Warm Springs Chiricahua who were under the leadership of Victorio to also be removed to the San Carlos Reservation. By late May 1877, Geronimo, his sub-chiefs, and the Warm Springs Apache had been removed to the San Carlos Reservation. Once there the civil authorities failed to take control of Geronimo and he remained a prisoner of Agent John Clum. By June 1877,

Clum resigned his position as Indian agent over a salary dispute. When the new agent arrived on the reservation he ordered the release of Geronimo and the other chiefs. The chaos generated by the commissioner's order had resulted in little more than further confusion and ill will.

By spring of the following year, conditions on the overcrowded and arid San Carlos Reservation had become intolerable. On 4 April 1878 Geronimo, his immediate family, and Juh, the leader of the Bedonkohe, and several followers quit the San Carlos Reservation. Within a year, missteps on the part of the government agents pushed several more Indians away from the agency. Without a safe haven and denied access to their traditional homelands, these Indians had little choice but to raid to feed their families, the cycle of depredations had begun again. As before the government proved largely incapable of managing the crisis. Eighteen months later, the government sued for peace and Geronimo and Juh again returned to the San Carlos Reservation. Although Geronimo had temporarily agreed to stay his hand, his agreement for peace was not binding on the other Chiricahua bands. Raids by the Warm Springs Chiricahua under the leadership of Victorio continued to plague Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico. Victorio's rampage forced retaliatory action by the Mexican and American authorities. On 14 October 1880 a Mexican army force led by Colonel Joaquin Terrazas ambushed Victorio's band at Tres Castillos in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, killed seventy-eight including Victorio, and enslaved sixty-eight women and children. Of the original band, less than twenty survived the attack. The following year the decimated band sought assurances from the Americans for their safety if they returned to the reservation. None were given.

Rebuffed by the American authorities, the Warm Springs Apache, now led by their war chief Nana, joined with warriors from the Mescalero Chiricahua band and returned to the warpath. Fear of the rampaging Indians meshed with the rise of a messianic figure named Noch-ay-del-klinne who promoted the eradication of the white settlement on native lands and combined to create near-hysteria in some Southwestern communities. Despite the devastation brought on by Nana and the marauding Chiricahua, Geronimo remained peacefully on the San Carlos Reservation until 1881 when the U.S. military began to flood the area with soldiers. Centuries of betrayal and duplicity convinced Geronimo and Juh that a trap was being set, and he fled with his band to the Sierra Madre Mountains. A short while later they were joined by Nana and his band. Convinced that another band of Warm Springs Indians led by Loco needed rescuing from the San Carlos Reservation, on 19 April 1882 Geronimo led a small army of warriors and forced the reluctant Indians to join with their renegade forces. With their numbers now swelled to between 400 and 500, mostly women and children, the Chiricahua fled to Mexico to escape the troops that would certainly follow. In their path they left a swath of death and destruction. A week later they had crossed the international boundary and rejoiced in their deliverance. Their celebration would be premature.

Combined U.S. and Mexican military forces dogged the slow moving bands and forced them into several engagements. The most devastating was at Aliso Creek in Mexico when seventy-eight Indians were killed and thirty-three taken into slavery. Believing they had devastated the Indians' fighting ability the Mexicans did not pursue the Indians and ordered the American forces to return to America. This small grace allowed the Indians to make their way into the Sierra Madre Mountains where they were reunited with Juh and the rest of the Chiricahua. Despite the tremendous losses they had incurred on their journey, the renegades still had a large force with which to defend themselves within a mountain hamlet that had up to then been impregnable. So comfortable was Geronimo in this mountain fortress that he married his fourth wife, Zi-yeh, possibly as a replacement for Chee-hash-kish, who had been among those captured by the Mexicans.

The Chiricahua raided into both Mexico and southern Arizona, at times with seeming impunity. However, the unity they enjoyed would be short-lived; many of the Warm Springs Chiricahua they had rescued feared an all-out attack by the Americans and wished to return to the reservation. Additionally, Juh removed his band from Geronimo's camp to return to Arizona, and though the bands would meet periodically over the years, Geronimo was left with a band of eighty warriors and their women and children. Although the reduction of his fighting force did not immediately portend problems for Geronimo, the reassignment of General Crook to the territory of Arizona would.

As an experienced Indian fighter, Crook was well aware of the military prowess of Geronimo and the Chiricahua. At the same time he was aware of the purpose of his reassignment: to remove a band of Indians who were an impediment to settlement in the region and whose persistent raiding had strained the relationship between the United States and Mexico. Crook's assignment notwithstanding, he also knew that many of the complaints leveled by the Indians against the American settlers had merit. In summer 1883 Crook and his forces boldly entered Mexican territory to capture Geronimo and return the escaped Indians to the San Carlos Reservation. Wary of the precarious situation with a population, both American and Mexican, that wanted nothing less than the blood of the Indians and his trespass across an international boundary, Crook proceeded cautiously. Under a banner of peace he managed to convince Loco's band to return to San Carlos in July, and Geronimo had given him assurances he would round up his forces and come in soon after.

However, Geronimo would not present himself to the authorities at the U.S./Mexican border until late February 1884, a full seven months after his agreement with Crook. His surrender had been delayed by more raiding in Mexico to secure the livestock his people would need to sustain themselves and the death of Juh, the co-leader of the Bedonkohe people. When he finally arrived Geronimo's band consisted of twenty-six warriors and seventy women and children. They settled along the banks of Turkey Creek under the watchful eye of Captain Wirt Davis. However, it seemed conflict would be inevitable.

Stung by army regulations that prohibited their consumption of intoxicants or the right to deal with tribal members according to their own traditions, Geronimo abandoned the camp in 1885 and returned to Mexico and the Sierra Madre Mountains. The U.S. military crossed the international border in hot pursuit. Despite negotiations and another agreement to surrender, in March 1886, Geronimo slipped away from the Americans and with forty followers, twenty warriors, fourteen women, and six children. The group would eventually divide into even smaller bands to decrease their chance of capture and to increase the speed with which they might travel. Eventually, Geronimo was left with a core band of six men and four women. Geronimo's escape prompted the army to assign General Nelson A. Miles, who had recently defeated the Nez Perce in the Northwest as the new commander of the Arizona territory.

Geronimo believed that the American and Mexican military only pursued him for the purpose of killing him. Subsequently, he and his band were "reckless with their lives" and intentionally killed all Mexicans they came in contact with. While Geronimo was wreaking havoc throughout Mexico and the American Southwest, General Miles, with an eye toward his legacy, called for a new policy to remove all the Chiricahua to a location outside the Southwest. This would remove the Chiricahua from their home territory, and once they were gone settlement could proceed as planned. Miles's proposal would become policy for the War Department; however, no suitable location had been suggested for the Chiricahua relocation. With this new plan in place Geronimo found himself relentlessly pursued and with few options. At one point almost a quarter of the U.S. military troops—5000 men—were engaged in the hunt for Geronimo. By late August 1886, Geronimo had simply run out of places to go. While being pursued by Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood in Mexico, Geronimo met with his tormentors under a flag of truce. Impressed with the young lieutenant and weary from the constant need to flee, Geronimo agreed to return to the United States and surrender. After an anxiety-ridden week, Geronimo did as he had promised and gave himself up to Nelson Miles on 4 September 1886. A series of missteps and broken promises followed as the Chiricahua and their leader were transferred from their homeland to various locations—San Antonio, Fort Marion, and Mount Vernon Barracks—before they were finally settled at Fort Sill in Florida in October 1894. For the next twenty-seven years the Chiricahua would be prisoners of the U.S. government.

Geronimo would be taught to range cattle and raise crops, which he successfully did and sold much of his surplus to the post. Over the years, Geronimo adapted to, but it can never be said accepted, his confinement at Fort Sill. His repeated requests to "go home" went unheeded, and it can be imagined that some sympathy was due this aging man who longed only for the comfort of his native lands. In time he was afforded considerable freedom within the fort and allowed to leave for occasions such as the Trans-Mississippi and

International Exposition in 1898, the Pan-American Exposition in 1901, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. It seemed the government had found Geronimo, the prisoner, was a marketable commodity, proof of the nation's conquest of the Wild West. Geronimo's movements were limited only by his occasional reluctance to conform to the rule prohibiting the consumption of alcohol. In 1904, Geronimo's wife Zi-yeh died of consumption and the following year he married for the fifth time at the age of seventy-six to a woman named Sousche (Mary Loto). Their marriage, however, lasted only a year before the couple separated. Sometime between 1905 and 1906, Geronimo married for the last time to a woman named Sunsetso. After several years as a prisoner he converted to Christianity, but continued to practice elements of his native religion as well. The lifelong battles of Geronimo would come to an end on 17 February 1909. After several years of decline, the once-feared warrior fell from his horse after a night of heavy drinking. Unable to move he lay on the cold ground until he was found the following day. By then the cold had seeped into his chest and within a week he was dead from pneumonia. Although Geronimo's imprisonment at Fort Sill lasted from 1894 to 1909, the Chiricahua would not be free to leave the fort until 24 August 1912 when their status as prisoners of war was lifted and they were allowed to leave. However, the Chiricahua Apache were still not allowed to return to Arizona because of public sentiment against them there. Despite the passage of more than a hundred years, Geronimo remains an iconic image of the Indian warrior. These images belie the role he also played in the conflicts that rocked the Southwest for almost thirty years, that of peacemaker.

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#357. "We have it rich." - Washing and
panning gold, Rockerville, Dak.
Old-timers, Spriggs, Lamb and Dillon at work.
Photo and copyright by Crabil, 1889.

"We have it rich." Washing and panning for gold in a stream. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Gold Rush to California

Susan Badger Doyle

James Marshall's discovery of gold in California in 1848 was a critical turning point in American history. His inadvertent discovery impelled hundreds of thousands of people from around the world to rush to California in search of instant wealth in one of the largest migrations in history. The California Gold Rush was the five-year period from 1848 to 1852. In this brief period, anything seemed possible. It was a time of boundless enthusiasm when individuals with the simplest tools had equal access to gold. From the beginning, the excitement that gripped the nation and the world has been called a fever, a mania, and a contagion, but "gold rush" perfectly describes the phenomenon, as men rushed by the thousands, then hundreds of thousands, to get to California as fast as they could. It was like a giant lottery for anyone who could get there. And getting there became a significant part of the gold rush experience. The California Gold Rush was unprecedented in history, and its consequences still resonate today.

GOLD DISCOVERY

At the end of 1847 California was an isolated, distant region occupied by the U.S. military and awaiting the signing of the treaty ending the war with Mexico so that civil government could be established. Colonel Richard B. Mason was the military governor at Monterey, the capital. Monterey was the largest settlement in California with 1000 residents. It was also the commercial center of the region, but San Francisco was fast becoming a serious competitor. Formerly named Yerba Buena and renamed in January 1848, San Francisco had 800 residents and many new businesses and buildings.

Until the Mexican War, California was a thinly populated peripheral province of Mexico that was connected to America by the New England shipping trade. Beginning in the 1820s, Americans came by ship or overland on southern trails and settled in California in towns or on ranches, often marrying local women. The first American emigrant party to travel overland to California over the route that later became the California Trail was led by John Bidwell in 1841. From that tenuous beginning through 1848, the total number of emigrants who traveled the California Trail was 2700. At the end of 1848, the non-Indian population of California was about 7000 Spanish-speaking Californians, called Californios, and 6000 Anglos, mostly Americans. The Indian population is unknown but certainly exceeded the number of whites. California might well have continued its slow growth and marginal status but for the discovery of gold that changed everything.

In January 1848 James W. Marshall was in charge of a work crew of Indians and Mormons recently discharged from the army's Mormon Battalion who were building a sawmill for his partner John Sutter. The site of the sawmill was on the American River at Coloma, about forty-five miles east of Sutter's Fort at Sacramento. During the construction of the mill, the ditch or tailrace

under the mill that carried water from the waterwheel back to the river needed to be deepened. Each night the workers diverted the river through the tailrace to scour it out, and in the morning the flow would be stopped for construction to continue.

In the morning of 24 January Marshall went to the tailrace to inspect its progress. He saw a few flecks and pea-sized pieces of yellow metal shining in the shallow water of the drained ditch. He reached into the icy water and picked one up, then another and another. Soon his men found more pieces. Suspecting it was gold, but not certain, they tested the metal. They pounded pieces with a hammer, and they flattened but didn't crumble. The camp cook placed some in boiling lye, and they didn't tarnish. A few days later Marshall took some nuggets to Sutter, who looked gold up in an encyclopedia and tried the recommended tests. Confirmation that the metal was gold only upset Sutter, who didn't want his workers distracted or goldseekers invading his property.

Sutter wanted to keep the discovery a secret until he could obtain official title to the mineral rights, but by then it was too late. Within weeks Marshall's and Sutter's men left their jobs to search for gold along the American River and its tributaries. The two weekly newspapers in San Francisco, the *Californian* and Sam Brannan's *California Star*, published the first announcements of the discovery in March. The *Californian* printed a short item on the back page on 15 March, and the *California Star* followed with a skeptical response on 25 March. The reports gained strength when the *California Star* published a six-page "extra" issue promoting the advantages of California on 1 April. The section on gold declared it could be "collected at random and without trouble." Brannan organized an express mule train to carry 2000 copies of the extra issue back to Missouri, in hopes of generating overland travel to the goldfields and business for his expanding miner's supply stores.

Although people in San Francisco had been hearing, reading, and debating about the gold discoveries for nearly two months, the spark that finally ignited the gold rush in California was on 12 May when Sam Brannan walked up Montgomery Street to the plaza, holding a bottle filled with gold pieces over his head and shouting that it was gold from the American River. Seeing Brannan's gold was the proof it took to convince people that the rumors were true. The next issue of the *Californian* on 17 May described the "considerable excitement" sweeping through the town as "gold fever."

THE ONSET OF GOLD FEVER

Gold fever spread like wildfire across the region. By mid-June most of the men in San Francisco had gone to the mines. Most businesses and churches closed, crews abandoned their ships, and a majority of the soldiers and sailors stationed in San Francisco and Sonoma deserted. The city was so vacant that the *Californian* temporarily suspended publication on 29 May, as did

the *California Star* two weeks later. The papers were publishing again by late August, and they merged in the fall, but in July San Francisco was like a ghost town.

News of gold on the American River reached Monterey, 100 miles south, at the end of May. At first most were disbelieving. But slowly convincing reports and samples came in, and most of the residents rushed to the mines. From Monterey gold fever spread south to Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego. However, southern California was predominantly Mexican, composed largely of native Californios. In spite of the distance and knowledge they would possibly be an unwelcome minority in the goldfields, more than 1000 made their way north in the fall.

As men from all over California flooded into the mountains, gold strikes were made on other rivers. John Bidwell made one of the richest strikes of the gold rush on the Feather River, not far from his ranch. Rich strikes were made on the Yuba River, Bear River, Weber Creek, and the Trinity River. Two thousand miners were in the goldfields in June, and the number doubled in July. By fall 5000 men and a few hundred women and children were scattered along the rivers, streams, and dry gulches from the Trinity to the Tuolumne, a distance of 400 miles.

Meanwhile, two government officials investigated the escalating events in California and sent reports to Washington. The first, Thomas O. Larkin, U.S. consul in San Francisco, traveled to the mines on the American River and was impressed by the quality and amount of gold being found. He sent two letters to Secretary of State James Buchanan in June. Knowing his news would be hard to believe, he included considerable facts, statistics, and assessments. The military governor of California, Col. Richard Mason, also decided to visit the mines. Accompanied by Lt. William T. Sherman, later the famed Civil War general, he started from Monterey on 17 June. They arrived at Sutter's Fort on 2 July. They visited the lower mines at Mormon Diggings, and then went up the river to Coloma. They spent several days examining mines in the area with James Marshall before returning to Monterey. Mason, too, anticipated skepticism and disbelief among his superiors in Washington when he wrote his official report. As supporting evidence, he sent 230 ounces of gold along with his report by special courier who traveled via Panama to Washington. Two weeks later he sent another courier with a duplicate of his report, but without any gold, via Mexico.

Word of the rich gold mines spread at first by sea and reached ports in the Pacific Ocean months before it reached the eastern United States. Orders for supplies urgently needed in California went by ship to Hawaii in July, and immediately ships headed to San Francisco with eager miners and whatever goods could be found. When the news reached Oregon in August, thousands of men, some with their families, left on ships or by wagon for California. Most of these went to the Trinity River mines in northern California. Another rush came from Mexico as thousands from the state of Sonora reached the

southern mines during the summer and fall. In the fall ships began arriving from Peru and Chile. In December word reached Australia and China, although the first goldseekers from those countries didn't arrive in San Francisco until spring.

At the end of 1848, California had radically changed. The non-Indian population of California had increased from pre-gold discovery level of 7600 to nearly 20,000 at the end of the year. One of the most intriguing aspects of the gold discovery is that it happened in a foreign country. James Marshall's discovery on 24 January was nine days before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on 2 February, by which the United States acquired California and large parts of the Southwest from Mexico. When the news that it had been signed finally reached Monterey, the capital of California, on 6 August, the ensuing celebrations were somewhat anti-climactic in the frenzied atmosphere of the gold rush and rapidly changing character of the population.

ALERTING THE NATION

The first communications about the discovery of gold in California reached Missouri at the end of July, carried in Brannan's express mule train. St. Joseph and St. Louis newspapers printed excerpts, particularly the mention of gold being collected "at random and without trouble." Newspapers across the Eastern states began printing more letters and reports "from the gold regions," and any other news they could get from California. Many newspaper editors downplayed the stories about gold, others discounted them as too unbelievable, and some warned readers that the California promoters were merely trying to increase migration to the region. As a result of the conflicting reports, public interest was slow to overcome skepticism. To most Americans, California was a distant and relatively unknown place that had recently been acquired by an unpopular war. There was too little hard evidence to support the astounding claims appearing in the newspapers.

Earlier in the summer, the U.S. military dispatched several couriers to carry news of the discovery to Washington. The first, famed mountain man and scout Kit Carson, arrived in Washington on 2 August with letters and a copy of Brannan's *California Star* "extra." But no mention was made of gold in his extensive press coverage along his journey or in Washington. Navy lieutenant Edward F. Beale was also sent to Washington with a small amount of gold and official reports. He went by way of Panama and arrived on 18 September. Two days later he met with President James K. Polk. He told Polk about Marshall's discovery, but Polk didn't believe him. However, publication of the letters he brought from U.S. consul Thomas O. Larkin and Monterey mayor Walter Colton in New York and Philadelphia papers sparked a great deal of public interest, particularly Colton's statement that the California streams "are paved with gold." Finally, the first of two messengers sent by

Governor Mason, not the one bringing gold, arrived 22 November. By then Polk apparently realized the importance of the reports from California.

A dramatic shift in public opinion came when President Polk delivered his annual State of the Union message to Congress on 5 December. He spoke confidently and authoritatively about the “abundance of gold” in California. The gold also offered him a way to defend the Mexican War that resulted in the acquisition of California, saying the reports indicated the mines were more extensive and valuable than anticipated, as if he’d known about the gold all along. Two days later the second courier from Governor Mason arrived with the 230 ounces of gold, and Polk put it on display at the War Office. In the end the president’s confirmation, the gold on display, and the full details of Governor Mason’s enthusiastic report published throughout the country convinced the public that something extraordinary was happening in California. The national reaction was immediate and tremendous. Unrestrained exuberance pervaded the press. Foreseeing the momentous events about to unfold, *New York Times* editor Horace Greeley proclaimed the dawning of “the Age of Gold.” The rival *Herald* described the atmosphere in New York as “gold mania.”

WORLDWIDE GOLD RUSH

The news of unlimited gold in California, free to anyone who could get there, sent shockwaves around the world, setting off the greatest international gold rush in history. When President Polk’s message reached London on 22 December 1848, it was published in the *London Times* along with “gold fever” stories from American newspapers. In January 1849 a report in Liverpool stated “the gold excitement . . . exceeds anything ever known or heard of.” Thousands sailed for California from England, Ireland, and Scotland, joined by thousands more from across Europe, predominantly from France and Germany. Goldseekers from Sonora, Mexico, continued coming to the southern mines, and ships from Chile and Peru sailed into San Francisco. In the spring ships began arriving from China and from Australia in the fall. The first ships reached San Francisco in April. Hundreds more arrived by year’s end. In total, 41,000 passengers landed at San Francisco in 1849.

AMERICAN GOLD FEVER

In the eastern United States, the effect of the news of gold in California was electric. Through winter and spring 1849, articles appeared in virtually every newspaper in the country about immigration to California. A nine-part series titled “The Golden Chronicles” in the January to April editions of the *New York Weekly Tribune* typifies the wild fervor in these articles. On 20 January

the first article in the series announced that gold fever “exceeds anything of the kind ever witnessed in this country.” Even more than editorial enthusiasm about the prospects in California, printed letters from the 1848 gold miners inspired Easterners. A letter from Peter Burnett, who led a wagon train from Oregon to the goldfields, raved, “The gold is positively inexhaustible.”

A significant characteristic of the goldrushers is that most of them did not go to California to settle there but rather to find wealth. Their journey was an adventure rather than a commitment to a new life. They called themselves “argonauts,” after the mythical Greek heroes who sailed on the *Argo* with Jason in search of the Golden Fleece. In the same way, they perceived themselves as adventurers engaged in a dangerous but rewarding quest. They called California “El Dorado,” the mythical land of gold, or more often, the New El Dorado.

An expression that gained popularity during the gold rush is “seeing the elephant.” Although it was used in America as early as 1834, the expression came to symbolize the uniqueness of the gold rush. Its meaning is difficult to precisely explain today, but it was understood by all goldrushers. It roughly meant “to have seen it all,” but it was also used more broadly to express the uncertainties and difficulties of the journey and life in the mines. Many different references to the elephant were common. Those going to California were “going to see the elephant.” During the journey travelers reported seeing “the elephant’s tracks” or “the elephant, from the tip of his trunk to the end of his tail.” Overlanders who turned back reported they “had seen enough of the elephant.”

GETTING THERE

The California Gold Rush began in the eastern United States at the beginning of 1849. The immediate problem was getting there. Goldseekers from the East followed three main routes: by sea, around Cape Horn or by way of Panama, or on Western overland trails. The sea routes from New York, Boston, and other East Coast ports were the most popular at first because ships left long before conditions on the Plains allowed overlanders to begin traveling. The sudden surge of goldrushers wanting to go by sea routes in early 1849 created an unprecedented demand for passenger ships. Steamers, schooners, brigs, and even old whaling ships hurriedly announced sailing dates to carry passengers and cargo to San Francisco.

Few women and children made the voyage, and the men who sailed were usually well off. The cost of passage on a ship was high, as much or more than most men made in a year. For those who took goods to sell in California, the price was negligible compared to the profits that could be made. Those who couldn’t afford an individual fare or wanted to economize joined a joint-stock company. The cost of joining one of the hundreds of companies that set sail in

1849 ranged from \$300 to \$700, and for one Boston company it was \$1000. Companies usually had thirty to fifty members, although larger associations that bought ships had as many as two hundred. The members usually agreed to bylaws, articles of association, or a constitution and elected officers, which often disintegrated under the rigors of the journey.

Sailing to Central America and crossing the Isthmus of Panama was the quickest sea route. The average time from New York to San Francisco was three to five months, but later the travel time was reduced to two months or less. The first leg of the trip was a voyage of 2000 miles from East Coast ports to the landing at Chagres, Panama, at the mouth of the Chagres River. There they hired native boatmen to take them and their baggage forty miles upstream in dugouts to one of the small settlements in the middle of the isthmus. From there they rode mules on winding trails twenty-six miles through dense jungle to Panama City on the Pacific Coast. Travelers risked contracting malaria, yellow fever, or other tropical diseases in the trek across Panama. Once they reached Panama City they had to wait—many for six weeks or more—for a ship to take them 3500 miles to San Francisco.

Sailing around Cape Horn was a voyage of 17,000 miles that took five to eight months. Accommodations on the ships were crowded and uncomfortable. Violent storms off the cape were a constant threat. In part because the uninterrupted route around the cape allowed passengers to take more gear and even trading goods, more forty-niners chose it over the Panama route. Also because it was the older, established route for the New England whaling and trading ships, it was more familiar.

Although thousands left on ships in winter and early spring 1849, most California-bound forty-niners traveled overland on two major routes during the spring and summer. The central route, the main overland route, left from jumping-off places along the Missouri River. Known today as the Oregon Trail, California Trail, or Mormon Trail—depending on the destination—it went up both sides of the Platte River, up the Sweetwater Valley, and over South Pass. Routes to California departed from the South Pass route at various points and crossed the Sierra Nevada into Northern California. The trail was 2000 miles and took four and a half to five months. Thousands of gold-seekers also traveled on southern routes, on either the Santa Fe Trail or routes from Arkansas and Texas. These routes then crossed New Mexico and Arizona to destinations in southern California.

THE OVERLAND JOURNEY

The most popular way of getting to California in 1849–1852 was on one of the overland routes. Traveling by wagon was more affordable and convenient for most mid-nineteenth-century Americans than ship passage. It also carried on the tradition of American westward expansion that began in Colonial times.

In 1849, 30,000 goldseekers traveled the Platte River route—the California Trail—and another 20,000 went on the southern trails. After that traffic dropped off sharply on the southern routes but continued strong on the Platte route. In 1850, 45,000 emigrants traveled the California Trail but dropped to less than 10,000 in 1851. A peak occurred in 1852, when more than 50,000 emigrants crowded the trail. More families traveled in 1852, as the newly created state of California became more attractive as a place to settle. Thereafter the numbers of overland travelers declined and the pattern of predominantly family migration in the 1840s resumed as overlanders traveled to settle on the Pacific Coast and regions in between.

The California Gold Rush initiated a new form of migration that overshadowed the agricultural and religious migrations that characterized earlier overland travel to Oregon and Utah. Goldrushers went to California for the economic opportunities in the goldfields. In contrast to the extended families who were the basis for agricultural migration to Oregon, more than 80 percent, and at times 95 percent, of goldrushers were men. They were predominantly young, and they tended to travel alone, in single family units, or with acquaintances. Initially most of the men going to California did not perceive their destination as the place to establish a new life. Rather, they went to accumulate property that could be brought back home. The move was seen as temporary, and once sufficient money or gold was obtained, the adventurers intended to return home. If they stayed, they usually turned to other occupations and sent for their families to join them.

White, middle-class Americans dominated the gold rush as they had in agricultural migration, but in contrast to the more homogeneous rural and small-town emigrants in the 1840s, goldrushers were ministers, doctors, lawyers, craftsmen, merchants, store clerks, as well as laborers, farmers, former soldiers, and even gamblers. They were a cross-section of typical Americans. Although the majority were native-born, a large minority were born outside the United States. Goldrushers also came from a broader geographical area of the country, and more were from urban Eastern areas. Many were immigrants, mostly from northern Europe and Canada. A number of blacks made the overland journey, and though their presence was not considered unusual, very little information is available about them. As a result, the gold rush overlanders comprised a broader range of age, class, and ethnicity than agricultural emigrants.

Raising the money to make the journey wasn't always easy. Many goldseekers mortgaged or sold homes and farms, used their life savings, or borrowed from friends or family to buy a share in a company or an outfit of their own. For those with families, making the decision to go to California also wasn't easy. It often meant hardship for the family left at home. Special arrangements had to be made, and the social and economic life of communities was disrupted when great numbers of men left. Although it is evident that an unprecedented number of men decided to go, we will never know how many stayed home in response to the opposition of family and community members.

Once the decision was made to go to California, almost all men going overland joined an organization. One type was the joint-stock company, in which each man contributed an equal share to fund the purchase of wagons, teams, and provisions. Names like the Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association, Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company, Washington City and California Mining Association, and Waterford Mutual Mining Association indicated groups of ambitious businessmen, not merely adventurers, in contrast to those like the Buckeye Rovers or the Experiment Club. Others traveled in more loosely organized traveling companies in which property was individually or jointly owned. Still others worked for their passage as hired hands or purchased fare on one of the few commercial passenger lines that were organized during the gold rush. The hired teamsters usually made the trip successfully, though most passengers on the commercial lines had a disastrous experience.

Those starting from home had to assemble a wagon and team, food supplies, bedding and clothing, firearms, and other essentials. Wagons used on the Western trails were smaller and lighter than the big Conestoga wagons used in earlier periods in the East. Emigrant wagons were composed of a box with bows and a cover that sat on running gears. The majority of wagons throughout the emigrant-trails era were drawn by oxen, but during the gold rush the use of mules increased dramatically. As trail animals, oxen were slower, but they had greater pulling power and performed better in rough uneven terrain than mules. They also required less training, needed simpler equipment, and generally had more endurance and patience. Mules were faster than oxen but not as strong and needed special feed. Despite their sometimes bad temper, mules were popular with forty-niners because speed was their main priority. Another enormous advantage was that mules could be used as pack animals. A great number of goldrushers resorted to packing when their wagons broke down, trail conditions deteriorated, or just to gain additional speed.

THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL

California Trail travelers left their homes in early spring and headed for the departure points on the Missouri River known as jumping-off towns. Before 1849, nearly all wagon trains departed from Independence, Missouri. St. Joseph was the center for gold rush travelers in 1849 and 1850. By 1852, the favored jumping-off town was Council Bluffs, Iowa, which continued to hold the lead thereafter. The reason for the shift in popularity from Independence to Council Bluffs is that the Missouri River bears westerly as one goes upstream, so that the jumping-off points upstream were closer to the trail along the Platte River.

Although many brought their own wagons and provisions from home, a large percentage of goldrushers in 1849 and 1850 came from towns and cities

rather than farms and reached the jumping-off towns on steamboats from St. Louis. Individually or in a company, they needed to purchase most or all of their equipment and supplies. Outfitting overland travelers was the main business in Independence, Weston, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Council Bluffs. Merchants sold wagons, animals, equipment, provisions, and all types of articles needed for overland travel, but often at exorbitant prices. Some overlanders outfitted by buying animals, wagons, and supplies for bargain prices at street auctions that flourished in these towns.

The earliest overlanders began arriving at the Missouri River towns in March to wait for the grass on the trail to be high enough to meet the animals' needs. The optimal time to start from the Missouri River jumping-off points was mid-April to mid-May. Each spring thousands of people camped on the outskirts of the towns while they waited to cross the river, creating instant tent cities that just as suddenly evaporated when all had departed. Ferries operated at several places from Independence to Council Bluffs. St. Joseph had two ferries, one in the town and the other a few miles upstream. Long lines of wagons waited at these ferries during the peak crossing times. Newspapers carried daily reports of trains arriving and departing, as well as the latest ferry and steamboat information.

Once across the Missouri River, feeder routes from the ferry crossings came to the Platte River and continued up both sides on what has been called the Great Platte River Road. The trail passed notable landmarks, first Jail Rock and Courthouse Rock, then Chimney Rock, the most recognized on the entire trail, and Scotts Bluff. The trail next came to Fort Laramie, a fur-trading post that was converted to a military fort in June 1849. Fort Laramie was the most important supply post on the Western trails prior to 1849 and continued to be during the gold rush. West of the fort the trail entered foothills the emigrants called the Black Hills and began a gradual climb toward the Rocky Mountains.

Travelers left the North Platte in the vicinity of present Casper, Wyoming, after crossing at one of the fords or ferries. A dry, alkaline stretch of trail brought them into the Sweetwater Valley and to Independence Rock, one of the most anticipated landmarks on the trail. Thousands of overlanders carved or painted their names on Independence Rock or nearby Devil's Gate. From there the trail gradually gained elevation to South Pass, a wide shallow pass on the continental divide. South Pass, the pass that Lewis and Clark searched for but never found, was the key to the entire central overland route and marked its halfway point. The ascent to the pass was so gradual that most travelers could not identify where they crossed the continental divide. But a few miles further at Pacific Springs they noticed the waters flowing toward the Pacific Ocean.

Not far to the west, travelers began facing an array of forks in the trail, shortcuts, and cutoffs leading to California. At Parting-of-the-Ways, the right fork went by way of the Sublette Cutoff due west to the Green River, then on

to the Bear River and Fort Hall, a Hudson's Bay Company trading post on the Oregon Trail. It was a shorter trail but crossed desert and mountainous terrain. The left fork was the easier, established trail to Fort Bridger, Jim Bridger's well-known supply post. From Fort Bridger, routes went northwest toward Fort Hall or southwest toward Salt Lake City. Most forty-niners traveled the Sublette Cutoff, although many turned off on the newly opened Hudspeth Cutoff beyond Soda Springs that went west and intersected the California Trail near Raft River, bypassing Fort Hall.

The California Trail went south from Raft River to City of Rocks and then entered the dreaded Great Basin. Most of the travelers who went to Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City took the Salt Lake Cutoff back to the main trail at City of Rocks. From City of Rocks the California Trail went south and struck the headwaters of the Humboldt River, then followed its winding course for three hundred miles until it disappeared into the alkaline Humboldt Sink. The Humboldt River, then also known as Mary's River, offered the only practical route for wagons across the Great Basin. The long tedious trek, choking dust, temperature extremes, poor water, and harassment by Indians wore down the already exhausted emigrants and their animals. In disgust, many called the Humboldt River the "Humbug" River.

After the grueling weeks of traveling down the Humboldt, the goldrushers came to Big Meadows, the last place with grass and water before crossing the Forty Mile Desert. By this time they were in generally poor condition for the desert crossing. Although many were relatively better off than others, countless travelers had already abandoned most of their property and wagons, lost their animals, and had little or no food left. Most stayed at the meadows a day or two to rest themselves and their animals and prepare for the crossing. The plight of the forty-niners was alleviated in 1850 when enterprising traders from California brought wagons to Big Meadows loaded with provisions to sell at exorbitant prices.

From Big Meadows the trail skirted the edge of the Humboldt Sink, which in wet years was a shallow lake. At the southern end of the sink the trail forked. Two routes crossed the Forty Mile Desert, one to the Truckee River and the other to the Carson River. The two routes paralleled each other across the desert and trail conditions were similar. The difference between them was their route through the mountains on the other side of the desert. The Truckee route was older, but it crossed the river numerous times and was a more difficult mountain passage. After the easier Carson route was opened in 1848, it was overwhelmingly preferred.

The desert crossing was all that the emigrants feared it would be. There was no water on the desert, and mirages tormented them. Virtually all emigrants made the desert crossing in one run of twenty-four hours or more, stopping occasionally to feed and rest their animals. Most started in the late afternoon and traveled all night to avoid the heat of the day but had to travel through scorching heat and hot sands the next afternoon. The last ten miles on both

routes were the worst. Here they hit deep sand, and many had to leave their wagons and lead livestock on to the river, then return. As they approached the river at the end, animals stampeded to the water. Those who crossed earlier in the season fared much better than later travelers. In 1849, relief parties were sent out from California to aid the last straggling emigrants, which saved hundreds of lives.

After getting across the desert, the Sierra Nevada presented the last great challenge before reaching California. Crossing the mountains was one of the most difficult parts of the entire journey. The passes were high, rocky, and steep. To reach the steepest ones, wagons were emptied and pulled up with ropes. From the summit of the passes it was still many miles over sometimes very rough roads to the mining camps and towns. As new camps and towns sprang up after 1849, entrepreneurs and civic boosters opened numerous new trails and routes across the mountains.

A number of goldseekers in 1849 and 1850 sought to avoid the Forty Mile Desert by turning off on the Applegate-Lassen Trail before Big Meadows. This route went north on the Applegate Trail leading to Oregon and then entered California on the Lassen Trail. The route was longer and crossed an equally forbidding desert, the Black Rock Desert. The Lassen Trail crossed the Sierras at Fandango Pass, a hundred miles north of the goldfields. This route proved to be as harsh and difficult as the Truckee and Carson routes, and many late stragglers also had to be rescued east of the mountains in 1849.

DAILY LIFE ON THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL

The overland journey was long, tedious, sometimes hazardous, and often uncomfortable. Daily life on the trail fell into a predictable pattern of breaking camp, traveling, nooning, traveling in the afternoon, and setting up camp in the evening. River crossings, deserts, mountains, and bad roads broke the monotony and challenged emigrants along the journey. The distance traveled each day varied with the kind of draft animals, the terrain, and the weather. Fifteen miles a day was the average for normal traveling conditions with oxen, at a pace of two miles an hour. Men with ox wagons walked alongside, driving the oxen from the left side. Wagons pulled by mules were faster, traveling at three miles an hour, could go farther, and the driver sat in the wagon.

Adequate water, fuel, and grass were important for evening camp. Most travelers used the same campgrounds and often depleted these resources with overuse. Water for people and animals and feed for animals were the most important requirements for the camp. In addition to the care and driving of animals and wagons, goldrushers traveling in all-male groups had to do everything from hauling water, gathering fuel, cooking, mending, washing, arranging the tent and wagon, and other activities usually done by women. The men learned to distribute the domestic duties among themselves or hired a cook.

In the male groups of goldrushers, personality clashes, disagreements, and the absence of the social restraint of home and family often caused heightened tensions, occasionally erupting in violence. Quarreling, fighting, and homicide among emigrants were more common than violence involving Indians. The rate of homicide on the trail was comparable to that in their home communities, although accidental killings on the trail were more frequent than intentional homicide. As at home, most killings occurred between people who knew each other. “White Indians,” white men disguised as Indians, and other white criminals were an occasional threat all along the trail.

More people died on the trail during the gold rush years than all other years in the emigrant trails era. Not only were there more travelers but also the gold rush coincided with the peak cholera epidemic years in the United States, 1849–1852. Cholera was the leading cause of all deaths on the trail. Other fatal diseases included dysentery, mountain fever, measles, and scurvy. The next significant cause of death was accidents. Most accidental deaths were the result of drowning, followed by accidental gunshot wounds. A wide variety of other accidents also caused fatalities. The third most common cause of trail mortality was homicide by fellow emigrants or Indians.

One of the remarkable sights along the California Trail was the enormous amount of supplies and property that travelers threw out to lighten their loads. Even before reaching Fort Laramie, the trail was littered with food, equipment, books, clothing, medicines, furniture, and wagon parts. One man wrote, “There has been enough thrown away on this trip to make a man rich.” Another noted, “If I was going to start again, I would get a light wagon for mules, and gather up the rest of my outfit along the road.” By the time they were on the Humboldt River, many overlanders reconfigured worn-out wagons or made new ones out of leftover pieces, while others abandoned their wagons and packed on what animals they had left.

The overland journey provided goldrushers opportunities for activities that interested them. Many men hunted game or fished at every opportunity. Some collected specimens of rocks, plants, and other natural objects. Some made drawings, and many kept diaries and wrote letters. Thousands carved or painted their names, often with dates and places of origin, on rocks, trees, and other surfaces at numerous sites along the trail. Evenings around the campfires were enlivened with talking, music, and games.

For many the overland journey was a memorable prelude to their gold rush adventure.

GOLD MINING

Whether they arrived in San Francisco by ship or traveled overland, goldrushers still had to get to the gold mines. There were two ways for those who came by sea to get to the mines: by boat to Sacramento and then over roads, or by land from San Francisco over primitive roads. Overlanders coming from the east

had to make their way down the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada over rough roads. Men mined wherever they could. Among the first mining sites were sandy bars where the slower water flow dropped gold.

The source of the gold in California was the mother lode, one of the richest deposits of gold ever discovered. The mother lode was a four hundred-mile belt of gold-bearing quartz in the Sierra Nevada. During the years of the gold rush, virtually all of the gold mined in California came from placers. A placer is a deposit of gravel or sand along a stream or old stream bed containing nuggets and gold particles. The simplest process for placer mining is panning. The pan is used to wash the sand and gravel out of the pan in a stream, leaving the heavier gold particles. The basic tools used for panning are the gold pan, pick, and shovel. These essential tools were so ubiquitous that they became symbolic of the placer mining experience.

Because the fundamental activity in the California placer mines was digging with a pick and shovel, the mines were called "diggings." Placer mining was extremely hard work, involving intense physical labor under harsh conditions. A miner had to stoop or squat at the water's edge or in the water, and his hands were constantly in and out of the ice-cold stream. Washing "pay dirt" in pans was slow and tedious, and machines were used whenever possible. The first machines were rockers, or cradles, which were introduced in 1848. A rocker was a faster way of washing the dirt than using a pan. The long tom, or tom, was introduced in late 1849. It was an improvement over the rocker but took at least two men to keep the gravel and water flowing through the box. A year later the sluice, a series of long wooden boxes, was developed. These mining machines allowed men to pool their labor into larger units, and mining increasingly became a cooperative venture.

From 1849 to 1852 the diggings became more and more crowded. At the beginning of the 1849 season, there were 5,000 miners in the California gold-fields. The number grew to 50,000 at the end of the year, and doubled again by 1852. During these years as the number of miners increased, the claims got smaller, opportunities diminished, and mining became more complex and competitive. The rewards of gold mining were great for some, were decent for many, but the majority barely made a living. An ounce a day was considered a good return, but most made less than that. Still, a miner making \$8 a day was doing eight times better than a coal-miner in the East. On the other hand, prices for everything were astronomical. A loaf of bread that sold for 4 cents in New York, sold for 75 cents in the mines. In Sacramento in 1849, eggs were \$1 to \$3 apiece, apples \$1 to \$5, coffee \$5 a pound, a butcher knife \$30, and boots \$100 a pair.

As mining technology advanced during the 1850s, mining methods became more complex. Beginning in 1853, hydraulics, the process of directing a powerful stream of water against a hillside and washing it away through sluices, and hard rock quartz mining replaced individual placer mining methods. The shift from mining by individuals and small groups marked the end of the gold rush and the beginning of an industry based in expensive and complex mining machinery, heavy capital investment, and wage labor.

MINING LIFE

Although miners continually moved around to new strikes or diggings, mining itself was tied to place, which led to camps with stores, saloons, boardinghouses, and restaurants. Most stores in mining camps were makeshift structures, constructed of logs and canvas. The stores offered a variety of goods and services, sometimes selling merchandise, meals, liquor, and lodging in one place. Mining camps had colorful names such as Poker Flat, Red Dog, You Bet, Whiskey Town, Petticoat Slide, Rough and Ready, Skunk Gulch, and Angel's Camp. Camps were generally within a few miles of a town, to which most miners went weekly. These towns offered gambling houses, saloons, and brothels as well as theaters that presented plays, ballet, and dramatic readings. There were also churches, restaurants, and other stores in the towns.

Like the journey to get there, life in the goldfields was a matter of constantly adjusting to new circumstances and changing conditions. And just as the travelers found it more efficient to join with others, miners tended to organize into mining companies. These groups of men, usually six to eight, lived and worked together for mutual support and labor efficiency. Miners often cooked for themselves, but most camps also had public eating places. Miners' shelters were rudimentary, ranging from wagons or tents to crude frames with canvas sides and roof. Some even built log cabins. The population of mining camps was a heterogeneous mix of Americans, foreigners, and ethnic minorities. They were constantly changing, transient communities of mainly men thrown together under difficult circumstances.

The daily average earnings of placer miners may have been as high as \$20 in 1848, but fell to \$16 in 1849, the price of an ounce of gold. It declined to five dollars in 1852, where it stayed until it fell to three dollars in the late 1850s. It is difficult to calculate an annual income because of the wide variation in actual working days, which fluctuated widely due to illness, traveling about, and weather conditions. Extremely high costs for food, tools, recreation, and transportation further reduced the net value of a miner's earnings. With so many miners in the goldfields, the placer gold that individuals could find was soon depleted. The net earnings of most miners fell so low that a great many of the goldrushers were barely able to make enough to live on and were forced to remain there because they did not have enough money for transportation back home.

THE COMMERCIAL RUSH

Many goldrushers realized that the way to make money was not to work in the mines but to sell something or provide a service to the miners. The mining camps provided a ready-made opportunity. Entrepreneurs, freighters, and mule packers made huge profits bringing supplies to the mining camps.

These commercial opportunities were made possible by the ships that brought goods to California from around the world. The phenomenon of finding more profit in commerce and services than mining has been called “mining the miners.” While very few miners became wealthy, the entrepreneurs were the lucky ones and many made huge fortunes. Notable successes whose products are still well known include Levi Strauss, J.M. Studebaker, Philip Armour, James A. Folger, and Henry Wells and William Fargo. In particular, Wells Fargo and Levis have become popular symbols of the West’s frontier past.

Levi Strauss was born in Bavaria in 1829 and immigrated to New York when he was sixteen. In January 1853 he became an American citizen, and a month later he left for California via Panama. On his arrival in San Francisco he established a successful wholesale business that imported all kinds of dry goods—clothing, underwear, umbrellas, bolts of fabric—and sold them to small stores all over the West. In 1872 he formed a partnership with Jacob Davis, a tailor in Reno, Nevada, who made work pants stronger with metal rivets at the points of strain. In 1873 they patented the copper-riveted “waist overall,” the original name for jeans, made from cotton denim.

John M. Studebaker came overland in 1849 to Placerville, where he made enough from making and selling wheelbarrows to miners to return home and build up the renowned Studebaker wagon company in South Bend, Indiana. By 1875 it was the largest wagon builder in the world, with over \$1 million in sales. From 1902 until 1963 the company manufactured Studebaker automobiles. Philip Armour began as a butcher in Placerville and later became the foremost meat supplier in the nation.

James A. Folger, a Nantucket native, came to San Francisco via Panama with two of his brothers in 1849. His brothers immediately went to mine gold, and James Folger and his partner William Bovee bought a mill to grind roasted coffee beans and spices. They founded the Pioneer Steam Coffee and Spice Mills in San Francisco in 1850. Folger traveled through the California gold camps selling their products, and he took over the entire business in 1859 when his partner left for the gold mines. The company grew, survived the 1906 earthquake, and eventually became the leading coffee brand west of the Ohio River. The spice business was sold to A. Schilling & Co. in 1929. The Folgers Coffee Company was sold to P&G in 1963.

Henry Wells and William Fargo established Wells, Fargo & Co. in 1852 in New York to provide express and banking services in California. The company quickly built up a network of express lines and obtained a monopoly of the express business in the mining districts by 1860 and offered miners secure, honest banking services as well. In 1866 a consolidation of all the major express and stagecoach lines west of the Missouri was negotiated, and several companies, including Ben Holladay’s extensive interests, merged into Wells, Fargo & Co.

Charles Crocker was born in Troy, New York, in 1822. When he was fourteen his family moved west to Iowa, where young Crocker struck out

independently, doing farm, iron forge, and sawmill work. Swept up in the gold rush, he led a party of forty-niners overland to California, arriving in Sacramento in 1850. Two years of gold mining convinced him that opening a dry goods store in Sacramento would be a better way to make money. By 1854, he was one of the wealthiest men in town.

Collis P. Huntington and Mark Hopkins opened a miners' supply store in Sacramento and made fortunes from selling shovels and blasting powder. Later, together with shopkeeper Charles Crocker and grocer Leland Stanford, they became the financing partners of the Central Pacific Railroad. Known as the Big Four, they were the first great Western railroad barons and played a prominent role in California's rapid economic development from the 1850s onwards. Stanford University, Crocker National Bank, Mark Hopkins Hotel, and The Huntington Library are embedded in California's cultural landscape.

Another successful entrepreneur was Sam Brannan, the owner of the *California Star* who started the gold rush in San Francisco in May 1848. Brannan led a party of Mormons who sailed from New York around Cape Horn in 1846 to San Francisco Bay. He began establishing businesses in spring 1848 to take advantage of the rapid changes taking place in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Coloma. When he flagrantly used Mormon Church tithe money for his own investments, he was expelled from the church. Through his diverse businesses he soon became California's first millionaire.

Although the gold rush was mainly an opportunity for men's labor or commercial business, women played an important yet often underestimated role during the period. Women were scarce in the mining camps, and many realized the entrepreneurial opportunities that existed for their much-needed domestic skills and made huge profits. It has been noted that the less rigid social setting in the gold rush that allowed women more economic opportunities was the beginning of the women's movement.

INSTANT TOWNS AND CITIES

San Francisco emerged as California's most important port and city in 1849. San Francisco's economic growth was astonishing. In just one year, its population exploded to 25,000. By 1856, San Francisco was a complex city of 50,000 people, the largest on the West Coast. From 1848 to 1858, San Francisco went through several cycles of boom and bust brought on by a series of disastrous fires, declining gold production, a surplus of imports, and a shortage of warehouse facilities. Unfortunately, there were more bust than boom years. The erratic economic cycles in San Francisco were also influenced by its reliance on the shipping trade, seasonal fluctuations in commerce, and the tendency of merchants to oversupply and glut the market.

At the beginning of the gold rush, hundreds of ships in the harbor were abandoned when the crews deserted to the mines. The bay looked like a forest

of masts. While the empty ships were clogging up the harbor, the rapidly growing downtown business area needed room to expand. Some of the ships were salvaged for their wood to rebuild the city after major fires. Others were towed onto the beach, grounded, and then converted into warehouses, dwellings, and other buildings. One was used as a hotel, until it burned in one of the fires. Another served as a jail.

San Francisco was literally built on the shipping industry. In summer 1851, workers began extending land into the large, semicircular curve of land in the northeast part of the city that was once Yerba Buena Cove. A steam excavator dug soil in the sand hills above the downtown and loaded it into railroad cars that deposited it along the wharves stretching out into the water. Hundreds of the abandoned ships were sunk intentionally and covered with the landfill. In the late 1860s, what remained of the cove was enclosed by a seawall, running roughly along the Embarcadero. In recent decades, as developers have demolished old buildings, excavated sites, or tunneled beneath San Francisco, many of the gold rush ships have been unearthed.

The largest inland towns were Sacramento and Stockton, which developed as distribution centers for the inland valleys and mountain mines. Sacramento supplied the northern and central mines while Stockton was the supply center for the southern mines. Towns sometimes developed from temporary mining camps when they became commercial centers for a district or when large numbers of miners congregated at an unusually rich strike. Placerville, strategically located on the main overland trail, was one of the best-known towns that grew out of a camp in the mining district. Nearly half of the mother lode population lived and worked in the mining district towns.

THE GOLDEN STATE

Mexican War hero General Zachary Scott Taylor replaced James K. Polk as president in early 1849, just as the gold rush was taking off. By that fall, Taylor agreed with those who wanted California to become a state without the usual process of obtaining territorial status first. A territory needed to reach a population of 60,000 to be granted statehood, and California had far surpassed that already. Partly because Congress was deadlocked over the question of slavery in states that would be created in the Mexican cession territory, many felt it was crucial to admit California as a free state. In September 1849 a convention at Monterey drew up a state constitution that prohibited slavery, not for humanitarian reasons but because most of the gold miners feared that slaves would be used in the mines and would compete with the white miners.

California applied to become the thirty-first state, but its admission to the Union would make sixteen free states to fifteen slave states. The proposed admission of California was also complicated by other unresolved slavery issues in the vast Southwestern territory ceded to the United States by Mexico.

After much debate between opposing North and South supporters, a compromise was passed by Congress, known as the Compromise of 1850, to settle the slavery issue and avoid a threatened dissolution of the Union. The compromise had five important measures: California was admitted as a free state; slave trading was made unlawful in the District of Columbia; a harsh fugitive slave law was enacted; the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute was settled; and New Mexico and Utah territories were organized with popular sovereignty, so that when the territories became states the citizens living there could vote on their slavery status.

Zachary Taylor died from typhoid fever in July 1850 and was succeeded by his vice president Millard Fillmore, who supported the principles of the compromise. Congress admitted California as a free state on 9 September 1850, as part of the Compromise of 1850. It was a spectacular achievement. Less than two years, and two more presidents, after Polk announced gold in California in December 1848, California was a state. Although the compromise was a temporary solution forced by California's explosive growth as a result of the gold rush, it had an important consequence. The admission of California as a free state gave the Union the advantage over the next contentious ten years as the nation irrevocably headed toward the Civil War.

The character of California as a state was also a direct consequence of the gold rush. The 1850 census showed that two-thirds of the population in California was born in America and 24 percent were foreign born, compared to 10 percent in the rest of the nation. The majority of foreigners in California were from Latin America. The same census also found that 73 percent of California's population were between the ages of twenty and forty, and 92 percent were men. In 1852 at the end of the five years of the gold rush the population of California was 250,000. The U.S. population in 1852 was nearly 24 million, so 1 percent of the nation lived in California. An astounding amount of gold—more than \$200 million—was mined in the five years of the gold rush. As a result of the gold as well as its popular perception as the land of opportunity, California has long been known as "The Golden State." The phrase was made the official state nickname in 1968.

GOLD RUSH LEGACY

The California gold rush was a revolution with worldwide consequences. The gold rush occurred at a fortuitous convergence of national events, happening at the precise moment the United States achieved territorial expansion from coast to coast and the American economy was in the beginning stages of industrial capitalism. Gold production in California during the gold rush and subsequent years as mining industrialized contributed nearly 45 percent of the world's total output. As a result, all countries of the world were affected by inflation. The gold rush also led to tremendous growth in shipping and trading.

More important, the desire to link California with the rest of the nation led directly to the development of the transcontinental telegraph and railroad. The construction of the railroad was the largest construction project of the time and impacted capital, commodity, and labor markets worldwide. Upon its completion, the transcontinental railroad created the largest unified market in the world. Together, the transcontinental telegraph and railroad mark the beginning of modern America.

The brief period of 1848–1852 was characterized by “gold rush society” in California. It was an unstable period of intense optimism, mobility, and opportunism. The spirit of gold seeking based on hope, opportunity, and luck conformed to the ideals of an urbanizing American culture much better than earlier rural values of pride, thrift, and hard work. Transition to permanent, stable society inevitably occurred within the next decade, but the effervescent gold rush social and economic environment can be seen as a precursor of twentieth-century California, a state with the reputation of being on the cutting edge of high-risk ventures and technological advances. The development of the aerospace industry, Hollywood, Silicon Valley, and the beginning of the biotechnology industry all share the limitless, optimistic atmosphere of the gold rush.

The spirit of the forty-niners is still with us. An enduring legacy of the California Gold Rush is the words and phrases embedded in our popular culture today. “Strike it rich,” “lucky strikes,” “mother lode,” “make a pile,” and “pay dirt” reflect the sense of immense wealth. “The golden years,” “good as gold,” and “solid gold” signify high value, while the term “gold digger” is demeaning. Most of all, the gold rush was the beginning of what has been termed the American dream: the freedom to find personal happiness and success. The goldrushers did not go to California to build a new life or found a new state, they went seeking personal betterment. Whether they found it or not, goldrushers changed the world.

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Hetch Hetchy Dam in Yosemite. Dreamstime.

Hetch Hetchy

Kenneth W. McMullen

The biggest environmental fight in the American West concerned building a dam at the mouth of the Hetch Hetchy Valley. John Muir considered this valley second only to Yosemite in its beauty and ability to refresh the soul. The valley's location, in the western part of Yosemite National Park, became the cause of years of legal fighting, hearings in the House of Representatives and the Senate, and finally an act of Congress to finally settle the matter—somewhat. This fight between Western urban interests against a combination of Eastern and Western preservationists lasted almost fifteen years, and in the process created the modern environmental movement.

The valley lies in the Sierra Nevada Mountains and is part of the Tuolumne River watershed. The Central Miwok tribe used the valley for gathering food and as a temporary summer residence to escape the heat and humidity of the San Joaquin Valley. The name may possibly be derived from *hatch-atchie*—an edible grass seed—or from the idea that the main path into the valley went between two trees—tree being *Hetchy* in the Central Miwok tongue. In the latter case *Hetch Hetchy* meant “the place of two trees.”

In the maneuvering that occurred during the wrangling over the valley, both sides failed to mention, or perhaps even realize, the original natives had already altered the landscape through fire, more than once, to suit their needs long before the white men arrived. The natives periodically burned the brush on the floor of the basin to make it easier to travel. Such burnings increased the grasses and ferns, drawing game animals such as deer. The Miwoks also harvested the seeds, as well as the acorns from the large oak trees.

Later, during the 1880s, as landscape painters discovered Yosemite, some, including William Keith, a friend of John Muir, moved on to Hetch Hetchy, possibly shying away from the competition in Yosemite. Muir sometimes dropped in to see the works based on Hetch Hetchy being painted. If the painting did not resemble the view as Muir remembered it, or if he thought the work did not show enough intensity, he badgered the artists to make the canvas match Muir's mental image of the scene. Others besides the artists appreciated the scenic quality of the valley. Harriet Monroe waxed eloquent concerning Hetch Hetchy's beauty, both in her testimony before the Senate's Public Lands Committee and in a poem. She, and several others, had experienced the valley close up while participating in Sierra Club camping trips held in 1908 and 1909.

Although the valley had scenic value to some, the narrowness of the western end of the valley attracted San Francisco's engineers, because at that spot the valley narrowed to a steep “V.” This narrowness of the river's exit from the valley sometimes caused the basin to flood and create a temporary lake—if the runoff from the snowpack was heavier than normal. Some engineers, after investigating the suggested construction site, thought that narrow passage looked as if it had been created for the specific purpose of a dam.

From early on the city had locked its attention to Hetch Hetchy in spite of its possible legal troubles. One attraction of the river for the city came from

the lack of downriver preassigned agricultural water rights. Many of the other water sources suggested by Hetch Hetchy opponents had potential problems because of the agricultural uses downstream from the projected dam sites.

Harriet Monroe

Harriet Monroe was an acclaimed poet of the early twentieth century and publisher of *Poetry, a Magazine of Verse*, which featured first-time poets including Robert Frost and Ezra Pound. Monroe loved the American West and became a central figure in the battle to save Hetch Hetchy Valley.

In 1899 Monroe visited Arizona, where she became enchanted with the Western landscape. Trips with John Muir and the Sierra Club to Hetch Hetchy in 1908 and 1909 made equally deep impressions. When San Francisco officials obtained a permit to dam the Tuolumne River and make a reservoir of Hetch Hetchy Valley, Monroe joined Muir's Society for the Preservation of National Parks in rallying national support for the valley's protection. She wrote repeatedly to the Public Lands committee, insisting that no government officer who visited Hetch Hetchy would deprive America of it.

As placation, San Francisco offered the government Hog Ranch on the edge of Yosemite in exchange for Hetch Hetchy Valley. Monroe decried the proposal. She also gave powerful testimony before the Senate Committee on Public Lands on 10 February 1909, vividly describing Hetch Hetchy's irreplaceable beauty and questioning why San Francisco should receive this water access without compensating the government or national parks. In 1910 she made similar arguments in a lengthy written statement to Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger, who had visited the valley and begun to question San Francisco's plan.

Ultimately the process became delayed into the administration of Woodrow Wilson, whose secretary of the interior favored the dam. Congress passed the Raker Act in 1913, granting San Francisco authority to flood Hetch Hetchy.

No one but John Muir had fought harder to save Hetch Hetchy. Even in later writings Monroe would longingly recall the splendor of the valley and lament America's great loss.

The city began looking for alternative water sources because the city officials, and the public, wanted to remove their dependency on the private water company—Spring Valley Water Company (SVWC)—that held the monopoly on the closest water resources. A reform-minded mayor, James D. Phelan—elected in 1900—spearheaded the drive for a publicly owned water supply. Many in the city seemed to feel that graft and corruption surrounded the water company and its owners. The city officials and boosters felt that SVWC had committed the “sin”—in the eyes of these self-same San Franciscans—of gouging

the city's residents with its high water prices over the years. Being typical businessmen of the times, the directors of SVWC had taken advantage of unregulated capitalism in extracting a profit from their water company. The San Francisco Charter of 1900 mandated a municipal water system, and civic reformers, led by Phelan, saw Hetch Hetchy as the lynchpin for that system. Because of the way Congress created Yosemite National Park there remained a few private holdings within the Hetch Hetchy basin. Phelan and a few other concerned San Franciscans bought up these private lands; they then deeded the land over to the city. This maneuver allowed the city to file claim to water rights from the valley.

Phelan saw his city as a noble city with its favorable position: on the west the Pacific Ocean and Asia; to the east a potential commercial empire. The mayor envisioned San Francisco creating a domestic imperial presence throughout California and into Nevada. Phelan recognized that for the city to grow it needed water. The city had access to water on three sides, but the salty ocean liquid did not satisfy the thirst. Early on, Phelan fixated on Hetch Hetchy; there were other, perhaps closer, and perhaps better, Sierra Nevada rivers to provide the necessary water, but Phelan only had eyes for Hetch Hetchy and he never deviated from his purpose of obtaining the valley for his city.

In the 1880s, before Phelan became mayor of San Francisco, the state of California commissioned a study of possible water resources that might serve municipal needs. The engineer in charge of the study looked into Lake Eleanor—west of Hetch Hetchy—and at a higher elevation. Later another engineer resurveyed the Lake Eleanor site and its creek, but passed over Hetch Hetchy. At the same time John Wesley Powell—chief of the U.S. Geological Survey—had engaged in his study of Western water resources. Powell indicated that he wanted no part of a plan to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir. Later, with the passage of time and a different administration, the Geological Survey's representative had no hesitation in recommending the valley as a potential water source.

Additionally, the city engineer of San Francisco undertook a two-year study of possible water sources. His recommendations to the city council suggested the Tuolumne watershed with dams at either Lake Eleanor or Hetch Hetchy. Significantly he included the idea that the untamed Tuolumne River with dams at Lake Eleanor and Cherry Creek, plus the SVWC watershed resources, was enough for the city.

In spite of all the other possible locations for the city to get its future water, the San Francisco officials continued to advocate for the dam at Hetch Hetchy. One possible additional factor in their focus on Hetch Hetchy lay in the elevation of Hetch Hetchy—it would facilitate the creation of hydroelectric power.

It needs to be remembered that national park land did not have the same cachet in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century that it has today. If a public body did not control the natural resources, then they might fall prey to privately held, for-profit companies. Based on the city's experience,

San Francisco's officials had a great fear that if the city did not get permission, then SVWC or even the nascent Pacific Gas and Electric might obtain rights to the basin. If that did occur, then the city would remain in the grip of a monopolistic utility corporation.

In January 1903, Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock rejected the city's request to build a dam. He based his decision on the fact that the land lay inside of Yosemite National Park. The city countered that the lake created by the dam would make a scenic attraction leading to more tourism.

When Congress created Yosemite, the bill did not take into account property lines and watershed drainages. In the Yosemite Act of 1905 Congress attempted to rectify this oversight by realigning the boundaries and shrinking the overall acreage of the park. Yet the bill added a little over 100 square miles to the northern part of the park. The report, from which Congress based its action, said the land was needed to protect water rights. The question then asked by both sides was, "Whose water rights?"

A year later the San Francisco Earthquake of 1906 added more pressure to the issue. The city claimed that the SVWC could not, or would not, deliver the water the city needed to fight the blazes that erupted after the quake. The papers published reports that said that at times the fire fighters had insufficient water pressure to combat the fires. The quake and reported water problems in fighting the fires reenergized the dam supporters to submit their petition to Washington, DC, because Secretary Hitchcock had left the position. They expected a favorable decision because the new secretary, James R. Garfield, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, counted among his close friends U.S. Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot.

Pinchot, one of the leading conservationists of the time, sided with the city because he appeared to feel that Hetch Hetchy provided a splendid place for a reservoir for the city. Pinchot's progressive conservationist outlook came with a touch of utilitarianism: the greatest good for the most people. The city hoped, with reason, that if Pinchot supported their petition, Roosevelt might also.

Soon after his appointment, Secretary Garfield traveled to San Francisco to meet with city officials and other promoters of the reservoir; no opponents had been invited and none attended this meeting.

In the petition submitted to Garfield the city stated that it would develop Lake Eleanor first before building the dam at Hetch Hetchy. It also said the city planned on building the dam at Hetch Hetchy only when the populations had grown to the point where the city actually needed the water from the proposed reservoir. But the petition's language did not absolutely bind the city to do so. Once the city received approval from the interior department, the decision-making powers passed from the federal government to the city. San Francisco alone then had the power to determine when it became necessary to build the dam.

Shortly after receiving the city's petition, Garfield approved the plan. Within a brief period of time after Garfield's decision, Congress took on the Hetch

Hetchy issue when it investigated the idea of swapping of land between the city and the federal government. The city proposed exchanging some private land, which then would become part of Yosemite, for Hetch Hetchy, which then would be non-park land. This issue never came to fruition, but it became part of the congressional debates about Hetch Hetchy.

As Congress held hearings about the proposed dam, William H. Taft became president and Garfield left the interior department. Taft appointed Richard A. Ballinger to the position of Secretary of the Interior. Taft also traveled out West, but he met with Muir in Yosemite. Because of Muir's eloquence during their discussions, Taft suggested that Ballinger meet Muir in Hetch Hetchy. Ballinger then traveled to Hetch Hetchy and spent several days with Muir. Afterward Muir told friends that he believed that the valley itself won Ballinger over to their side.

To help with the fight for preserving Hetch Hetchy, Muir and some of his supporters created a new national organization, the Society for the Preservation of National Parks. This organization aimed to create a more national support base than that of the Sierra Club. The advisory council included people from: Appalachian Mountain Club (Massachusetts), Mountaineers (Washington), American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society (New York), *Poetry Magazine* (Illinois), Mazamas Mountain Club (Maine), and former Secretary of the Interior John Noble (from Missouri).

In addition, the General Federation of Women's Clubs became another effective ally for Muir. The clubs had a membership of approximately 800,000 women. Its members flooded the House of Representatives and the Senate with mail and telegrams opposing the building of a dam in Hetch Hetchy. The records of the House and Senate hearings have copies of the multitudinous mail the representatives and senators received, the vast majority of which argued that Hetch Hetchy needed to be saved.

Some small opposition arose even in the city itself. The prestigious Commonwealth Club of San Francisco appointed a committee of its members to investigate the issue in 1909. Their response was that the city should use the Lake Eleanor and Cherry Creek water resources first, and save Hetch Hetchy until some future time when the size of the city's population demanded the expenditures to obtain the needed water.

The new secretary ordered a study by the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) on San Francisco's petition. The USGS report recommended—like the Commonwealth report—the Lake Eleanor and Cherry Creek approach to obtaining water for the city. The report added that if the city needed more water, the city could dam Poopenaut Valley—located about a mile below Hetch Hetchy on the Tuolumne River—for the additional water supply.

Upon reading the USGS report, Ballinger became convinced that the city did not need Hetch Hetchy; it could get by on Lake Eleanor and Cherry Creek. He then demanded the city "show cause" as to why their petition should be approved and set a date for a hearing.

At the hearing Ballinger required the city to report back to his office with a new study that looked at all other possible water resources, and evaluate how the reservoir would impact the national park. Muir and his supporters asked that the Garfield grant be revoked, and that the city be limited to the Lake Eleanor and Cherry Creek water storage resources. The opponents of the dam left disappointed that Ballinger did not completely eliminate Hetch Hetchy from possible use by the city.

In response to Ballinger's demand for a new report and to counter the growing opposition, which had begun to make headway against the efforts of the city officials, San Francisco hired, as a consultant, John R. Freeman. Freeman, a nationally recognized expert on hydro-systems, had assisted William Mulholland on the Los Angeles aqueduct. Getting a delay of several months, Freeman produced a large, very impressive report—the size of which dismayed the Sierra Club members because they did not have the financial wherewithal to research and present their position in like manner.

In his report for the city, to be forwarded to Secretary Ballinger, Freeman argued that Hetch Hetchy had very few visitors—countering Muir's tourist argument—partly because of the mosquitoes. Once the flooding from a dam established the reservoir, the mosquito problem would be gone and the overall tourist experience would be that much better. Freeman also argued that there were no roads to Hetch Hetchy, but after the dam was built there would be a road to the area that would facilitate access by tourists. Part of his report suggested that the creation of a lake by the dam had the potential to augment the beauty of the park and draw many people for water-related recreation.

While Freeman worked to create his report, a controversy developed between Pinchot and Ballinger over issues not related to Hetch Hetchy. The dispute lasted from 1909 through 1911. At the end of the dispute, President Taft had fired Pinchot and Ballinger had resigned. Taft then appointed Walter Fisher to the position of Secretary of Interior.

After a hearing with Fisher during which the city presented the Freeman report, the secretary ordered a survey by the Corps of Engineers. The Corps of Engineers performed their survey and wrote their report with complete objectivity—which did not benefit Muir and his supporters. The engineers were not mentally equipped, nor did they attempt, to consider the national park status of the land. They only examined its potential use as a reservoir. They also did not take into consideration any cultural issues. The report favored the San Franciscans and their future need for water.

After reading the report, and despite its contents, Secretary Fisher ruled that the Department of the Interior did not have the authority to grant the city petition. Thus he let stand Ballinger's "show cause" order.

In 1913 newly elected President Wilson appointed Franklin Lane to the office of Secretary of the Interior. Lane previously worked as a city attorney for San Francisco and had lived in the city. One of his first actions as secretary involved notifying the opponents of the dam that he had decided in favor

of the dam. Additionally he told them that the Interior department would now place all of its resources at the disposal of San Francisco to help the city obtain the necessary approval for the construction of the dam. However, former secretary Fisher's decision that the Secretary of the Interior did not have the authority to grant the petition tied Lane's hands. The matter now had to be resolved by Congress.

The city lined up support among the Progressives in Congress, and, with Secretary Lane's support, succeeded in having Congress pass the Raker Act of 1913 that authorized the city to begin construction of the dam. The act also allowed the city to create and distribute hydroelectric power, but under restrictive conditions. Several lawsuits have been brought against the city in the latter half of the twentieth century accusing the city of violating the Raker Act in regards to the possible reselling of electric power to Pacific Gas and Electric. The construction of the dam began in 1915. Completed in 1923, it did not begin supplying water to San Francisco until 1934. Because the water is delivered unfiltered to San Francisco, no water recreational sports are allowed on the reservoir—eliminating one of the benefits Freeman argued would derive from having the large body of water.

Under the charter amendments of 1900, the voters mandated that the city purchase the SVWC. During the fight, and well afterward, the city and the SVWC negotiated—off and on—trying to agree on a purchase price. When the transaction was complete the city then built the aqueduct.

A few years after passing the Raker Act Congress seemed to have second thoughts about using national park land for municipal water projects. In 1916 Congress passed the Organic Act that created the National Parks Service, in part to try to make sure nothing like Hetch Hetchy happened again. The act requires that the Parks Service conserve the natural scenic beauty, the historic objects, and the wildlife in the national parks. The bill also charges them with making sure that the parks remain undamaged for the enjoyment of future generations.

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James Bridger, American frontiersman, trapper, and scout. Image 1866, from the only known portrait. Eon Images, www.eonimages.com.

Mountain Men

Adam Pratt

The names of the hardy mountain men have become forever linked with the American West and the frontier. Jedediah Smith, Kit Carson, and Jim Bridger seem to tower above the other heroic figures of the West. Serving as trappers, explorers, army scouts, and guides west of the Mississippi River, the mountain men became folk heroes in their own times and part of the pantheon of American myths surrounding the frontier that have persisted for generations. With the exception of a few brave soldiers, several brave Native American warriors, showmen, outlaws, or a wealthy tycoon or two, mountain men had a monopoly on capturing the imagination of those who lived outside of the West. Before they faded into obscurity by the end of the 1840s, mountain men had become synonymous with the frontier, the American West, and the masculine qualities associated with those who lived in the West. Their self-reliance, ruggedness, and independent lifestyle came to define, for those in the East, the qualities of all Westerners.

From the year 1807 until the mid 1840s, mountain men worked primarily as trappers in the newly acquired and sparsely settled Louisiana Territory. A majority of the trappers worked for fur companies that supplied European hat makers with highly sought-after beaver pelts. Working primarily in the Rocky Mountains and the headwaters of the upper Missouri River valley near the Canadian border but also in mountainous areas of the Southwest, ranging from Santa Fe all the way to California, mountain men worked and trapped over a huge swath of territory. After 1840, mountain men turned to new professions so they could stay in the land they called home. Acting as guides, frontier diplomats, traders, and army scouts, mountain men used their knowledge of wilderness survival and mountain geography to safely incorporate a new generation of Americans into the Western landscape. Just as trappers stalked and captured their prey over such an expansive and varied country, so too did the experiences, motivations, and adventures of the individual mountain men differ from one to the next. Despite the assortment of experiences associated with the mountain man, historians and other students of the fur trade have sought to classify or generalize the different types of characteristics associated with the mountain man.

MOUNTAIN MEN STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes abound concerning the nature of the mountain men. Each attempt to define the mountain man is also an attempt, in some fashion, to define the West. The first Americans to study the trappers saw the mountain man through a romantic lens. For these early students of Western and frontier lore, mountain men could do no wrong. They sought a more simple existence, one free from the constraints of civilization, and spent their days not behind a plow but wandering through pristine wilderness communing with nature. Their many skills allowed them to survive in the wilderness as well as to find

profitable employment with the fur trading companies. This interpretation, first attributed to the writer Washington Irving, does little to expand any understanding of the motivations or desires of mountain men but did firmly ensconce the mountain man in a layer of myth. Certainly some trappers did yearn for the freedom associated with living a more simplified life, free from the confines of civilization and society. Yet just as certain, other mountain men saw themselves not as enlightened individuals whose relationship with nature remained pure but as men who struggled against nature to earn a living.

This overly sentimental picture of trappers in the West probably had more to do with Irving's romantic notions of nature and the unsullied purity of the West rather than how any of the mountain men pictured themselves. For these individuals, the West was a natural treasure and those who lived in such a paradise must have taken on the traits of the place they called home. However, despite the mythic qualities associated with this version of mountain men, it became their most popular portrayal especially after their quarry, the beaver, had all but disappeared by the 1840s. With the disappearance of their primary source of income, the mountain men, too, began a slow disappearing act. They survived only in frontier myths and legends perpetuated by Irving and others who sought to glorify the mountain men for their willingness and ability to defy social customs and carve out their own niche in the wilderness.

Another generalization surrounding the mountain man suggests that most of the Western trappers had few redeeming qualities. Mountain men, because they could not find acceptance in civilized society, sought camaraderie from other loners in the wild. Lack of morals in the entire lot of trappers resulted in a class of men so degraded in character that they had reverted back into a stage of barbarism. Rather than an enterprising employee, this version of the mountain man held that the complex market forces driving the demand for beaver pelts were beyond the simple understanding of their primitive minds. Furthermore, the zeal and skill with which trappers sought their quarry ensured the ruin of their profession: The lack of regulations imposed on the fur trade resulted in trappers exhausting their only supply of income by depleting the beaver population faster than it could replenish itself. Their willing participation in the destruction of their livelihood all but proved to the mountain man's detractors that these men could not see beyond the present and were not worth the amount of praise given in the past. Most popular among environmentalists during the 1960s and 1970s, these individuals saw the mountain man as symptomatic of the destructive and wasteful nature of American culture. They also saw within the story of the mountain man lessons for future generations of Americans: Without government protection of wildlife and the environment, they argued, endangered American wildlife would go the way of the beaver and the buffalo.

Most recently, the more popular overview of the mountain man has been one that describes him as a highly motivated individual searching the West for a way to make a decent living. This interpretation of the mountain man's

motives places him squarely within the spirit of the burgeoning American nation and the economic explosion that occurred after the conclusion of the War of 1812. Not only did he seek fortune in the West, but the mountain man also looked to the future and saw the land as an opportunity to spread civilization and American society. Instead of trying to commune with nature or live like an Indian, mountain men understood the expansion of civilization as a positive progression and consciously sought a means of aiding this process. Acting as the vanguards of American civilization, trappers served as frontier diplomats, guides, and traders, acting as intermediaries between the burgeoning American nation and the native populations. Their conscious attempts at nation-building facilitated the ease with which settlers could move to the frontier, expel the natives, and begin clearing land. But the mountain men, according to this view, always understood their role as trappers as a temporary one. The skills learned in the backcountry afforded them the opportunity to begin lives anew in any number of new occupations: farmer, scout, shopkeeper, and even politician. Most understood their occupation as mountain man as temporary, albeit profitable; a profession that would help secure a small nest egg and a reputation to boot. Mountain men thus had little reason to care about the survivability of beavers as a species, just as long as they survived long enough for the mountain man to earn enough money to start his own endeavor. But they did have a large stake in the expansion of the American nation. Mountain men desired the growth of the American nation because with it, mountain men would be assured of their property's protection and prestige in frontier communities.

Through these three generalized views surrounding the mountain man, a composite image of the Western trapper emerges. Certainly they were brave, familiar with the ways of nature, and able to survive in the wild. To a certain extent, they had ambition that drove them to the edge of the map and beyond. They often successfully negotiated, traded, and integrated into the native population. But mountain men also exhibited negative traits as well. They often lived by loose morals and their wanderlust often had the effect of tearing apart families as the mountain man went in search of quarry. They drank away too much of their meager pay and probably lived a violent life. But even these broad strokes do not perfectly define any one mountain man.

THE LIFE OF A MOUNTAIN MAN

Though still romanticized by many, mountain men lived harsh lives in the wild. Despite being able to range freely over land that few or no whites had ever seen, the lives of mountain men were unhealthy, dangerous, and turbulent. Having to rely on skill and their understanding of nature to find and trap beaver, Western trappers had to face the elements in their continual quest to trap game. Throughout the span of the fur trade west of the Mississippi, trappers

had to contend not just with the elements but with hostile Native Americans who resented white incursions onto native lands. Mountain men faced the many dangers of the wilderness because beaver pelts had become very valuable in the eastern United States and Europe. Though usually only the fur company owners—those who could sell large quantities of pelts to hat makers—made large profits. Mountain men could make a decent living depending on their skill as trappers, the types of contract they negotiated with their employers, and how much of their pay they spent on whiskey. Though most never did make enough money to retire, trappers seemed to believe that another season would take them out of the red.

At its heyday in the 1820s and 1830s, about 1000 mountain men actively engaged in trapping. Most of the trappers, almost three-fourths, were of French-Canadian or Creole ancestry. The French had always played an important role in the North American fur trade, but once the French had been expelled from Canada and sold the rest of their land to the United States, their traders worked for both American and British companies, easily alternating their alliance based on who paid the highest wages. The small American minority of trappers usually hailed from Kentucky and Tennessee before moving closer to the Mississippi and then into the Western mountains. The American trappers worked solely for American companies. Eastern Indians, mostly Delaware and Iroquois, comprised another significant minority population in the Western fur trade. The Native American trappers also had few qualms about switching allegiances from one season to the next.

Most mountain men adorned themselves in buckskin outfits and tried to mirror the dress of Native Americans as closely as possible. Because store-bought clothes rarely lasted an entire trapping season, trappers often resorted to wearing the hides of the animals that they had caught. Often depending on strength of arms for their survival, mountain men carried rifles, knives, pistols, and tomahawks. They also carried a “possibles” sack that contained an assortment of essential gear—spare moccasins, blankets, flint, and tobacco. Most trappers also owned at least two horses, one to ride and the other to use as a pack animal to carry furs, traps, and other supplies. Their diet consisted mainly of buffalo meat, a few vegetables, and for many, frequently imbibed whiskey.

Most company trappers worked in teams of two. One man would paddle a canoe or pirogue filled with the men’s supplies and traps, while the other trapper had the unenviable task of wading through cold mountain streams so as not to leave a scent, all the while looking for signs of beaver activity and for suitable locations to place traps. Traps weighed nearly five pounds apiece, constructed of steel with two powerful jaws and a metal spring that when stepped on would snap the jaws shut. Placed four inches or so below the surface of a fast-running stream, the trap was set and then anchored by a chain to a stake planted firmly in the deeper part of a stream. For bait, trappers used a stick covered with castoreum, an excretion from a beaver’s sex glands, protruding from the bank over the submerged trap. When a beaver investigated the bait and stepped on the

trap, it would spring, locking the leg or tail of the creature within the trap's sharp jaws. The captured beaver could swim off but the weight of the trap would inevitably drown the creature. After setting all of their traps, the trappers would return to the traps, remove the dead animals, skin them, and set the traps again. At camp, the mountain men would remove any remaining flesh from the pelt, stretch it on a circular hoop, and dry it. Once dried, the harvested pelts were bundled into bales of almost sixty pelts, ready for sale. This circuit of laying traps, skinning, drying, and resetting traps would continue until they had enough pelts to transport to the trading post or rendezvous.

The best hunts occurred in the spring, when the beaver still had their glossy and full winter coats. The spring hunts usually brought the trappers the most money because of the high quality of the pelts. The fall hunt, though important for both the trappers and their employers, produced furs of lesser quality because the beavers had shed most of their excess fur during the warm summer months. Summer, after 1825, had been reserved solely for rendezvous. In winter, the slowest season, the trappers remained in winter camp. This cyclical schedule soon dominated the trapper's life and the fur trade itself.

Throughout this entire process of laying traps, harvesting pelts, and bringing their haul to a trading post, trappers had to constantly remain wary of their surroundings. Severe mountain storms, especially in fall and winter, could strand trappers in the wild, away from food or shelter. Unwary trappers could also fall prey to Indian attacks or even assaults by wild animals. But a trapper's line of work also suffered from the fierce competition of the fur trade itself. Paid low wages for back-breaking and dangerous work, trappers could ill afford not to work because of hostility toward their employer. Fur traders could easily enough find replacements for disgruntled employees. In the wild, mountain men often resorted to base means to get a leg up on their competition. Theft of traps or pelts left in traps or worse, the outright destruction of traps were the most common forms of sabotage, though oftentimes trappers resorted to violence if one man felt that another was infringing on his territory. International rivalries, especially between American trappers and those employed by the Hudson Bay Company, could also turn violent.

William Ashley revolutionized the fur trade industry when he began engaging trappers to work for his company. Three levels of engages existed; the lowest, manguers de lard, usually applied derisively to rookie trappers. These men tended camp, butchered and cooked meat, and performed other menial tasks about camp. Equipped by the company and paid an annual salary, engaged hunters either hunted meat for the other trappers or directly participated in trapping beaver. The final group, called sharecroppers, also received supplies from the company in return for a share of that hunter's catch at a previously agreed upon price. The sharecropper eventually evolved into the pinnacle of mountain men, the free trapper. Not employed by any company, free trappers equipped themselves but could hunt with a company expedition for the added security. At the end of the season, the free trapper would sell his

catch to the highest bidder. Most trappers, though they desired to turn a profit, never did. Those who successfully navigated the many pitfalls of the fur trade and did wind up wealthy and could retire found it difficult to resist the lure of the mountains and many felt compelled to return to the dangers of trapping.

THE EARLY FUR TRADE AND THE FIRST MOUNTAIN MEN

Mountain men and fur companies formed a mutually beneficial relationship early in the history of European settlement in America. Mountain men provided the furs that companies wanted to sell to Europe, while the companies provided gainful employment and a source of income for the backwoodsmen. But the first mountain men did little of the trapping themselves. Rather, they traded with Indians for the furs that the Indians had harvested for goods. French trappers had a monopoly on the fur trade in the first half of the seventeenth century, ranging the length of the Mississippi and into Canada. In fact, two French trappers learned from Native Americans that the best fur-trapping lands existed far to the north of where they currently trapped. Gaining the support of investors in England and Massachusetts, the two Frenchmen formed the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) in 1670, which dominated the fur trade by the end of the century.

Many American colonists also trapped for the HBC, and after the American Revolution no American company formed to challenge the dominance of the HBC on the frontier. The relatively heavy settlement pattern on the American frontier and continued British presence hindered any American effort to create a large-scale trapping enterprise. However, in 1803, new lands opened to trappers west of the Mississippi River when Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France. Almost immediately, the vast potential of Louisiana became apparent. After purchasing Louisiana, Jefferson sent William Clark and Meriwether Lewis on an expedition to reach the Pacific Ocean, which departed from St. Louis in 1804. The company of hardy frontiersmen, soldiers, and even a slave, the Corps of Discovery returned to St. Louis in 1807 after nearly three years of continuous exploration.

Even though the Corps had not yet returned to St. Louis, Lewis and Clark had consistently sent reports back to Jefferson about the variety and abundance of wildlife in the Louisiana Territory. The news spread quickly throughout the nation and many individuals set out for the West on their own initiative to seek their fortunes, awaiting them, they believed, in the form of beaver pelts. John Colter, one of the members of the Corps, often ranged on his own, hunting, trapping, and learning the lay of the land. In the winter of 1806, Colter received permission to leave the exploration party and join two American fur trappers, Joseph Dickson and Forest Hancock, heading up the Missouri River for the Yellowstone. These three men became the first Americans to enter the fur trade west of the Mississippi River.

Upon his return trip down the Missouri River in 1807, Colter encountered a large party of trappers on the western bank of the river bound for the Rocky Mountains. The most important and influential organizer of the early fur trade industry in America, Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard from New Orleans, had organized the expedition. Lisa, a former Spanish agent in the fur trade for a number of years, became the first person to organize a large-scale trapping party to head west. Colter agreed to accompany the trappers as he had more knowledge of the West and its inhabitants than any living American. Lisa's expedition reached the mouth of the Bighorn River late in the year and immediately began trade with the native peoples living in close proximity to the camp he and his men constructed.

Lisa returned to St. Louis in search of capital and men to trap in the West. Forming the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company in 1809, the primary objective of the company was to construct a trading post at the Three Forks of the Missouri—prime real estate for fur trappers. Guided by Colter to the Three Forks, the expedition had no sooner set up camp than they encountered the first wave of native opposition. Unfortunately for Lisa and his fellow mountain men, the Blackfeet (also referred to as Blackfoot) Indians resided nearby and had no intentions of allowing whites into their territory. After several close calls, Colter escaped with his life and headed back East in early 1810. After Colter left the Three Forks encampment, another member of the Corps of Discovery and a seasoned trapper in his own right, George Druillard, died fighting the Blackfeet. With the loss of leadership, the remaining trappers at the post packed their belongings and floated back to St. Louis.

Colter and Druillard set the standard for the prototypical mountain man of the future. Strong, brave, capable of amazing deeds of stamina, and able to hold their own in a fight, the two mountain men blazed a path for others who wanted to follow in their paths. But strength and the capability to act violently did not solely define the early trappers or their successors. Colter and Druillard also understood nature and the elusive nature of the beaver they hunted. Furthermore, the two also brought many Indian tribes into the American economic network by offering to trade goods for furs. This greatly changed the scene of power relations in the West as weaker tribes could ally themselves and trade with the Americans for firearms along with metal tools and other weapons. For the mountain men, most important, the precedent had been set that would link the trapper to the fur company. Ambitious individuals with the know-how and drive to start a Western fur company stood to profit immensely. But without the mountain men doing the incredibly dangerous trapping, the company owners would not have been able to reap the rewards. Thus, a mutually beneficial relationship developed early in the history of the American fur trade: Company owners needed the services of the mountain men while the mountain men themselves needed an outlet where they could trade pelts for money. Though the company owners profited greatly from the work of the trappers, their wealth could not have been accumulated

had it not been for the grisly work of the trappers. And if the mountain men were taken advantage of by company owners and paid low wages, they were still paid for living the type of life they chose to live.

THE ASTORIANS

Twenty-one-year-old John Jacob Astor arrived in New York from Germany in 1784 with grand ambitions of wealth and power. Entering the fur trade, Astor decided, would fully enable him to accomplish these goals. In 1808, he formed the American Fur Company and created a strategy to not just compete with the Hudson Bay Company, but to dominate the fur trade in North America. He planned to construct a series of trading posts from St. Louis all the way to the mouth of the Columbia River that would mirror Lewis and Clark's route to the Pacific. Unfortunately for Astor, no path had been blazed between the headwaters of the Missouri to the Columbia River nor had a feasible route through the Rockies been discovered. To secure a post at the mouth of the Columbia River before the British could move in, Astor hired a ship to sail several of his employees to the location so they could construct a fort and trading post. He also determined to send an overland party to find a more viable route through the mountains.

The overland party led by Wilson Price Hunt, who knew little of the wilderness or how to survive in it, somehow managed to arrive at the Pacific coast relatively unscathed. The party, consisting of nearly sixty trappers, left St. Louis in late October 1810. Originally planning to follow the exact route of Lewis and Clark, Hunt soon learned that the Blackfeet Indians had become particular about who could travel through their lands. Not wanting to provoke a conflict with potential future customers, Hunt chose a roundabout and often difficult path through the Rockies. By the time his expedition reached the mouth of the Columbia in February 1812, a journey of sixteen months, the sea-going party had already landed and had completed construction of a fort aptly named Astoria.

Astor's grand scheme envisioned Astoria as the keystone in a vast trading network that, he hoped, would eventually span continents. Signing a treaty with the Russian consul, Astor agreed to supply the Russian outpost of Archangel if the American company could market Russian furs; and both parties agreed to territorial agreements concerning trapping. Furthermore, both the Americans and Russians understood the magnitude of the competition offered by the British Northwest Company (soon to be annexed by the HBC), and planned on joining forces to pinch the British out of the lucrative fur grounds around the Columbia River. Astor also planned for Astoria to act as a trade hub with China, trading furs for even more valuable spices and silks that he could sell for an immense profit in New York. But the crux of his plan rested on the string of trading posts in the interior. These posts would harvest the

furs brought in by trappers employed by the company, but, most importantly, the posts would rely on Indians to supply furs and trade them for goods. The furs would then funnel toward Astoria and would be sent by ship to the Orient or back to New York. Astor's dreams of a trans-Pacific trading empire rested squarely on the backs of the mountain men and their ability to trap and trade in relative safety. The mountain men probably understood little of Astor's scheme and probably could not imagine the wealth he stood to gain if his plan succeeded. Although not forced into labor, their contracts with the American Fur Company stipulated certain terms dealing with payment and length of service. Although a successful trapper stood to profit from his hard work and know-how, those who would gain the most remained Astor and his investors.

The trappers hired by Hunt to trap the length of the Columbia River and trade with the native tribes had little time to work for their employer before international relations changed the course of Astor's nascent trading empire. In 1812, the United States declared war on Britain and the tenuous peace in the Oregon country between the trappers shattered. The Astorians feared that at any time a British warship would arrive and open fire on their trading post. The leaders at Astoria decided to sell the fort in 1813 as well as their assets for a fraction of their market value. Allegiance among the mountain men usually came down to who could pay them more, and with the disappearance of the financial backing of the Americans, most of the Astorians hired by Hunt simply began trapping for the British—many in fact, were Canadian citizens to begin with and felt more loyalty to a British rather than an American company. Loyalty to the highest bidder became a seemingly distinctive trait of the trappers, and many cutthroat business practices emerged as competition between the fur companies became more intense.

The premature dissolution of Astor's trading empire did not completely destroy American trapping in the West, but it had been set back. Astor's venture, though, proved the feasibility of an inland trading network of posts connected by the vast rivers of the interior. Of particular importance, one of the Astorians, Robert Stuart, traveled a new overland route from Astoria to St. Louis in ten months (The route he discovered was seemingly forgotten about and did not see any use again by Americans until 1824). But Stuart's journey proved the viability of creating an overland string of trading posts that trappers could travel to and unload their goods. With each new voyage into the mountains, trappers learned more about the geography of the frontier and essentially helped fill in the map for westward American expansion.

WILLIAM ASHLEY, THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY, AND THE RENDEZVOUS

Born in Virginia in 1785, William Ashley's ambitions stretched beyond what he considered the limited horizons of just the fur trade. A major general of the

Missouri militia during the War of 1812, Ashley also acted as the state's first lieutenant governor from the years 1820 to 1824. Having whetted his political appetite, Ashley desired more power but first needed a source of income to fund his quest for authority. In the fur trade, he saw a means to that end. Over the course of his career, Ashley would personally lead four expeditions of trappers into the mountains in search of lands teeming with beaver. Ashley's greatest contribution to the fur industry, though, was the system he devised for supplying his company with pelts. Although previous companies had their own trappers, most relied primarily on Native Americans to arrive at trading posts and trade the pelts for goods. Deciding that this approach relied too heavily on chance, Ashley instead planned on hiring a large number of trappers to provide his company with furs. His employees, called *engages*, would receive part of their pay in equipment—rifles, traps, clothing, and other necessities—in exchange for half of their catch, while the trappers would be able to sell the other half of their catch to the highest bidder. This revolutionary step firmly cemented the ties between the mountain men and their employers.

Lacking investors, Ashley and his lieutenant Andrew Henry formed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company (RMFC). Ashley first advertised for 100 trappers in 1822 in a St. Louis newspaper and soon enough the ranks had been filled by a motley crew of trappers found in the rough-and-tumble bars and brothels that lined the St. Louis waterfront. Some of his first recruits would go on to have legendary careers as mountain men—particularly Jed Smith and Jim Bridger. The first expedition met with disaster in 1823, however, when some of the trappers snuck into a native village at night, lured by curiosity as well as the possibility of finding sexual partners. One of the trappers became engaged in a dispute and ended up dead. Wanting to expel the white trappers from their lands, the Arikaras then attacked the rest of the party who had to swim to safety to escape. Whereas many would count their losses and turn away from the fur trade after such a setback, the challenge seemed to energize Ashley. In 1824, Ashley organized another expedition that he would personally lead. He had received news that his primary trapper, Jed Smith, had discovered an easy path through the Rockies proved accurate. Ashley also desired an overland route rather than having to go by river and the prospect of facing Arikaras bent on revenge. Proposing an overland campaign to the Three Forks, Ashley successfully used Smith's discovery of the South Pass. After disembarking at the South Platte, Ashley and his men came upon South Pass in April 1825. Though the pass had technically been discovered in 1812 by Astorians returning to St. Louis, it had been forgotten about. Smith's rediscovery made the Rocky Mountains much less of a formidable obstacle, and for years South Pass acted as the only viable route through the Rockies for settlers making their way West. South Pass proved the efficacy of creating a fur trading empire that relied completely on overland travel, free from the constraints of post trading or the trading needs of the Indians.

After crossing the Continental Divide, Ashley divided his expedition into four smaller parties that could trap more territory than one large party. Ashley also had to find a meeting place for the four parties so they could reunite and return the pelts to St. Louis. From his simple instructions to meet later in the year at Henry's Fork west of the Green River in Wyoming, Ashley began the defining tradition of the fur trade. The practical purpose of the rendezvous was to provide a means for resupplying his trappers as well as facilitating the process of gathering for sale all of the furs his trappers had amassed. This also had the effect of keeping trappers in the field year round, so they would not have to return to St. Louis themselves. The longer they remained in the wilderness, the theory went, the more fur they could collect.

But the rendezvous was not just a call to the mountain men. Ashley wisely understood that the native tribes still wanted to trade with Americans. Rather than constructing a string of costly forts like his predecessors, Ashley also invited Indians to the rendezvous so that he could trade all of his goods to natives without having to fear competitor's lower prices. By inflating his prices so much, Ashley assured himself of profits not just from the Indians, but from his own trappers who, he reasoned, could not successfully resist the temptation of whiskey and other intoxicants. Over the next fifteen years, trappers, fur buyers, Native Americans, and not a few outlaws met to trade goods, furs, and tall tales. Although many attended the rendezvous for purely economically driven motives, most went for the camaraderie, drinking, and good times. Because of the hedonistic attitudes that surrounded the rendezvous, it soon earned a well-deserved reputation for notoriety. The men, trapper and trader alike, laid huge wagers on anything that involved competition, from horse races and fist fights to shooting and knife-throwing competitions. They consumed huge quantities of whiskey, sought out pliant native women, and fought anyone who got in the way of their revelry. For many trappers in the wild for so long, the gathering was their primary source of information from the outside world and a chance to reunite with friends. It provided an outlet for their aggressions and anxieties with others with similar concerns. But mostly, the rendezvous acted as an intense celebration that alleviated the boredom and constant wariness of living in the wilderness with minimal human contact. The intercultural contacts between American trappers and Native American peoples served to break down preconceived notions held by both groups, and made the rendezvous a diverse and lively gathering.

Ashley, however, also had the foresight to know when to get out of a business that had no future. After only his second organized rendezvous in 1826, he sold the RMFC and earned a small fortune. Ashley had begun to understand that real money could be made by supplying the trappers and selling their furs to Eastern buyers. Investing capital into the actual trapping expeditions not only drained him of money, but it also took him away from his first love, politics. The buyers of the company, Jed Smith, William Sublette, and David Jackson, all well-respected trappers, took over the business and continued the practices begun by Ashley with the hopes that they too could retire in style.

JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH

Born in 1799, Jedediah Smith differed radically from his fellow mountain men. Smith, a pious Methodist, tried to live as godly a life as possible. When not trapping in the wilderness, he spent his days in close study and meditation of the Bible's lessons. Fortified by his faith, Smith could bear suffering, remain in control of chaotic situations, and provide excellent leadership for the expeditions he led. He never swore, drank, or used tobacco in any form. Whereas most trappers sought to exceed their comrades with tales and braggadocio, Smith allowed his actions to speak for him. Probably his most frightening moment occurred in 1823 on his first expedition for Ashley. While in camp, a grizzly bear attacked Smith, violently throwing him to the ground, which cracked several of his ribs, and swiping at Smith's head. The bear's claws nearly tore Smith's scalp from his head and one of the other trappers, James Clyman, had to sew the scalp back onto Smith's head with thread and needle. That Smith neither complained nor fell ill became a testament to his physical well-being and toughness.

First arriving on the fur trapping scene in 1822, Smith soon proved his efficacy as a trapper, but his primary motive for crossing the Mississippi and entering the Rockies was not simply to perfect his wilderness skills. He had an innate curiosity about the geography of the West, the rivers and mountains, and the people who lived there. He desired an occupation that would allow him the opportunity to explore the tramontane West and make money while doing so. In the fur trade, all of his desires coalesced into a job perfectly suited for Smith. Although he did not fit the majority of the mountain man stereotypes, Smith became one of the most important mountain men not only for his role as proprietor of the RMFC, but also for his many explorations in the West, which paved the way for American settlers to cross the Rockies.

After the incident with the Arikaras, Smith headed West in February 1824 with sixteen trappers under his command on a course for the headwaters of the Columbia River. When snow prevented his party from crossing the Continental Divide, Smith learned from Crow Indians that a much less formidable pass existed. Whereas Smith was credited for discovering South Pass in March 1824, his employer, William Ashley was attributed with popularizing the route. Having passed over the Continental Divide, Smith and his men ably trapped huge numbers of beaver on the Green River. By fall of that year, Smith and his men had collected more than 900 pelts. Smith's journey also brought him into the camp of British trappers employed by the Hudson Bay Company. Although the United States and Britain had agreed to jointly occupy the Oregon Territory, no American trappers had been active there since the Astorians had been expelled in 1814. Though surprised to see Americans in the Oregon country, the HBC could only take extralegal measures to defend their traditional hunting grounds. Smith and his companions did not linger long in Oregon, but their journey by land to the Northwest signaled a changing of the guard for the fur trade in that region.

Having returned to St. Louis in 1825 with Ashley after the rendezvous, Smith led another expedition into the mountains in November of that year. After wintering on the banks of the Great Salt Lake, Smith and his men had a successful season of trapping. The 1826 rendezvous at Cache Valley lasted at least a week and also marked a turning point in Smith's career. After this meeting, Smith himself would partially own the RMFC and would be responsible for the welfare of his employees and his company's profits. Although he was a part-owner of the company, his sense of wanderlust overcame any good business sense when he decided to travel west of the Great Salt Lake and trap unexplored lands. Unfortunately for Smith, the lands he chose to explore contained few beaver. Traveling all the way south to the Colorado River and then east through the Mojave Desert, Smith and his party finally reached Spanish missions in California where they could resupply and rest. Leaving the mission country in January 1827, Smith and his party headed north and trapped beaver all along the San Joaquin River and its tributaries. Returning East for the annual rendezvous without any beaver pelts, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company posted high profits mainly because the other company trappers had brought in large catches.

Returning to California after the meeting of the mountain men, Smith and his men came under attack by the Mojave Indians and suffered greatly. More misfortune befell Smith and his men when they aroused the suspicion of the Spanish governor of California. Placing them under arrest, Smith could not secure their release until December 1827. Finally able to sell his hoarded cache of beaver pelts that he had been harvesting for the past two years to traders in San Francisco, he purchased more than 200 horses and mules. Wanting to put as much distance between his expedition and suspicious Spanish officials as possible, Smith led his men north and they trapped for the next three months. Arriving on the Oregon coast in July 1828, Smith's contingent of mountaineers had become increasingly frustrated because of the rough terrain and constant harassment by Indians loyal to the HBC. Desperate to leave the rocky terrain of the coast, Smith scouted for a ford over the Umpqua River. While Smith had left, 100 Indians had entered the camp offering to trade with the Americans. Their ruse worked and the Kuitish Indians killed all but one of the trappers. Upon his return to camp, Smith barely escaped with his life. Thanks to the quick thinking of his native guide, Smith and his three companions found safety with the HBC. Making their winter camp with the British trappers, Smith returned East and organized an expedition into safer lands—the traditional home of the Blackfeet. Though he had organized a strong contingent of trappers, the Blackfeet eventually forced Smith and his men out of their lands and back toward St. Louis. Their catch, though, provided the company with more than \$80,000.

In 1830, Smith and his business partners returned to St. Louis ready to cash out of the fur trading business. This decision only strengthened in his mind when he learned that his mother had died while he was trying to make his way home.

Causing a crisis for the deeply spiritual man, Smith felt guilty about not being at his mother's side and decided to settle down. Smith desired to publish the journals that he had meticulously kept in the field, and also desired to publish a map of the West, with particular emphasis on its rivers and mountain passes. Selling his share of the company, then, came at an appropriate time for Smith. Having made a sizeable profit at the last rendezvous, Smith and the other owners could retire from the fur trade with money in the bank. Selling their outfit to five partners, noticeably Jim Bridger and Milton Sublette, the RMFC again switched hands.

Bridger's role with the company, however, had not completely ended. Part of the contract required that the old partners supply the new company with equipment so that they could undertake the spring hunt in 1831. Smith and his former business partners Jackson and Sublette wanted to begin a new commercial venture that would supply travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. When the new owners of the RMFC did not arrive in St. Louis at the predetermined time to receive supplies, Smith and his associates turned south toward Santa Fe. When they did finally catch up to Smith and his business partners, both parties agreed to travel to Santa Fe together where the old owners would outfit the new. The baggage train became stranded on the Santa Fe Trail near the Cimarron River. While searching for water, Smith was surprised and surrounded by Comanche warriors. Shot in the back and stabbed by multiple lances, Jedediah Smith, perhaps the most skilled and influential mountain man, died in 1831 at the age of thirty-two.

JIM BRIDGER AND THE RETURN OF ASTOR

Born in 1804, James Bridger became one of the most revered of the mountain men. Beginning his career in the West at the young age of seventeen, Bridger joined William Ashley's expedition up the Missouri River in 1822. Though young, the other members of the brigade recognized his potential. His skill as a trapper only increased over the years, as did his understanding of the geography of the West. Whereas Smith was more of an anomaly among the mountain men, Bridger epitomized most of the trappers. Standing over six feet tall with a powerful frame and piercing gray eyes, Bridger had not just the physique of a man inured to harsh living in the wilderness but the typical hospitable personality as well. Most trappers deferred to his judgment during stressful and dangerous situations and when arguing over the fine points of the West's mountainous geography.

Most of the other mountain men remembered Bridger not for his skill in navigating through the mountains, but for his ability to tell a tall tale. Bridger's good nature became tested only two years after he had helped acquire the RMFC from Smith and his associates. The rendezvous system had grown so popular and so profitable that it was not long before other capitalists wanted

a share of the profits. John Astor and his American Fur Company had returned to the Rockies after their failed attempt at the Columbia. Having come to dominate the trade of the Upper Missouri by the end of the 1820s, Astor turned his sights to the mountains. In 1831—the same year Bridger and his associates purchased the RMFC—Astor's trade empire began to pose a serious threat to the RMFC not because of the skill of its operators, but because of its sheer size and seemingly unlimited capital. Astor's fur trading empire became so vast, in fact, that most simply stopped calling the American Fur Company by its entire name and referred to it simply as “the Company.” The experienced Bridger and his companions consistently brought in higher volumes for the first two years of competition between the two companies, but Astor's lieutenants proved fast learners as they followed the RMFC's trapping brigades, copied their methods, infringed on their territory, and committed outright sabotage. Many mountain men, seduced by the lure of higher wages, defected to the Company in the highly competitive era of the early 1830s.

The 1832 rendezvous, the first time both Company and RMFC officials shared the same grounds, ended successfully for Bridger and his partners. Their supply train arrived in Pierre's Hole before that of their competition. The free trappers and sharecroppers unloaded their pelts with the first caravan, while the other trappers, irrespective of company loyalty, bought Rocky Mountain whiskey. That year also proved memorable because of the fight begun by the mountain men with a band of Gros Ventres. After the trappers had returned to the mountains for the fall hunt, Bridger decided to forego his hunt in an effort to thwart as many of the Company trappers as possible. In late October, however, Bridger's attempts to sabotage the Company men ended when he came upon a party of Blackfeet. Shot in the back by two arrows, Bridger survived the wounds and continued the fall hunt.

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company would prove much less durable. The former owner, William Sublette, had become a devious businessman and planned a scheme that would make him a rich man. Sublette had formed a trading company that competed fiercely with the American Fur Company in the Upper Missouri. After the 1832 rendezvous, Sublette had acquired all of the RMFC's debts in exchange for their supply of pelts. The owners hoped that Sublette would be able to sell the pelts and place the company again on solid financial ground. However, with the growing competition for furs in the West, turning a profit in the fur trade had become increasingly difficult. Backed by the trader-turned-congressman William Ashley, Sublette brokered an agreement with Astor that spelled the demise of the RMFC. Basically, the Company would abandon the fur trade for at least one year and would turn over all of the trade to Sublette. After that time, Sublette would sell his string of posts to the Company. Sublette traveled to the 1834 rendezvous, supplied Bridger and the other Rocky Mountain trappers in exchange for that year's catch, and with the exchange, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company ceased to exist.

The former RMFC proprietors refused to abandon the fur trade and the mountains they loved. William Sublette, having swindled Bridger and his partners, was bought out by the Company, and then convinced Bridger and his partner Tom Fitzpatrick to acquire one of Sublette's trading posts, Fort William, in July 1835. However, at the 1836 rendezvous, the Company finally succeeded in destroying the last vestiges of the RMFC when it bought the strategically located Ft. William from Fitzpatrick. Most of the original trappers and proprietors that had begun working for William Ashley in the 1820s saw the writing on the wall. Many offered their services to the American Fur Company, while others abandoned the mountains altogether. Fitzpatrick turned to guiding missionaries through the mountain passes on their way to convert Indians in Oregon. Jim Bridger, however, stayed in the mountains and continued life as a free trapper. In late 1839, Bridger left the mountains for the first time in seventeen years and visited St. Louis. Gaining the support of influential suppliers in that city, Bridger organized an expedition to the 1840 rendezvous to trade goods for pelts. While at the gathering, Bridger encountered groups of parties—one a set of missionaries bound for Oregon, the other a group of settlers headed for California. At rendezvous that year, the West's past collided with its future. No longer the sole domain of natives and a few hardy trappers, the West had been opened, ironically enough, by the trappers and their explorations. Reports of the fertile valleys in California and the Oregon Territory lured settlers across the Rockies. Having discovered routes through the mountains and then popularizing those routes, mountain men played a role in the changing nature of Western settlement.

THE END OF THE FUR TRADE AND THE MOUNTAIN MAN'S NEW ROLE

The revelry surrounding the rendezvous lasted formally for only fifteen years. By 1840, the beaver population in the West had been reduced to a small fraction of its once abundant numbers. However, other factors outside of the mountain men's control acted on the decline of one of their favorite pastimes. Technology and fashion sense had caught up with the mountain man's trade. European and American fashion no longer desired hats made from beaver pelts; instead, hatters in the late 1830s and early 1840s began making hats from silk. The whimsical demands of fashion in faraway lands put an end to the fur trade. Prices for fur decreased by more than half in most Eastern cities, and the large fur companies could hardly stay afloat. The rendezvous system became an economic encumbrance rather than a profitable reaping of furs.

Understanding that the rendezvous system could no longer turn a profit, Bridger turned his energies to trading with Indians. On the western bank of the Green River, Bridger began constructing a fort to facilitate trade between his venture and the Shoshone. Quite fortuitously, a large party of emigrants

arrived at Bridger's post in July 1821. Accompanied by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, the settlers found that some of the trappers associated with Bridger could supply their wagon train with necessary goods and provisions, albeit at a steep price. This encounter provided a new direction for the mountain men to take: With the beaver gone, their future lay not in exploiting the mountains' resources further but by aiding (and exploiting) settlers who wished to cross the mountains. Bridger abandoned the fort he had been constructing and returned into the wild to hunt in spring 1842. On his return East to sell his furs in the summer, Bridger came to Fort Laramie and encountered another party of settlers heading for Oregon. Fitzpatrick and Bridger guided the settlers to Ft. Hall on the Snake River. Their skills as frontier diplomats paid off when the caravan came into contact with a large party of Sioux rumored to be out for white blood. Fitzpatrick and Bridger successfully negotiated with the Sioux and even commenced a friendly trading session between the two peoples. The settlers, guided by the two seasoned mountain men, would become the first group to successfully navigate the entire length of the Oregon Trail.

Bridger soon enough realized that gainful employment in the future could be found in guiding and trading with settlers, but still found it hard to abandon trapping. In 1842 he partnered with Louis Vasquez and they built Fort Bridger on the banks of the Green River squarely on the route travelers would take to cross the mountains. Taking on the role of trader only reluctantly, Bridger found it difficult to resist the call of the mountains and continued to trap. In 1847 he briefly aided Brigham Young and other Mormon settlers on their way to the Great Salt Lake. With the cession of California to the United States at the conclusion of the Mexican War coupled with the discovery of gold, the "forty-niners" poured into the mountains on their way to California.

With the increased number of settlers in the West, the army also beefed up its number of troops to protect the settlers from Indian attacks. Despite previous friendly relations with the Mormons, Bridger felt betrayed when Brigham Young and his church expanded their territory west to include Bridger's fort on the Green River. In 1853, the Mormons, who believed Bridger had stirred up the Shoshones against them, sent a posse after the mountain man. Barely escaping, his fort was confiscated by the Mormons. Seeking revenge, Bridger acted as the guide for Albert Sidney Johnston's column in 1857 when it sought to impose federal authority on the Mormons. Though peaceful negotiations had concluded before the army could arrive at the Great Salt Lake, Bridger felt like he had been cheated because he never recovered his property. Bridger acted as a guide for several other military expeditions, including the Reynolds Expedition in 1859. Serving in the army for eight additional years, Bridger retired and spent the rest of his days on his farm in Missouri, where he died in 1881.

KIT CARSON AND JOHN C. FRÉMONT

Just as Jim Bridger and the rest of the mountain men had to diversify and shift their focus from trapping to guiding by the early 1840s, so too did Christopher Houston Carson. Having already trapped with Bridger and Fitzpatrick for nearly nine years before the 1840 rendezvous, Carson understood that trapping had no future before many of his other colleagues. By accident, Carson met the army officer John C. Frémont on a steamboat bound for Independence, Missouri, in 1842. Frémont had been commissioned by the Corps of Topographical Engineers to explore and survey the areas surrounding South Pass. Though it had been used by settlers for many years and Frémont could have found his way without Carson, the mountaineer managed to talk his way into Frémont's expedition. Much of the expedition required Frémont to take scientific measurements, record the flora and fauna, and to make contact with the native tribes. Though most of the information Frémont gathered amounted to much of anything new, his greatest attribute lay in self-promotion and his reports made it seem like he, with the help of Carson, had accomplished an impressive feat. Frémont's reports garnered fame for both explorer and guide, and the two became fast friends.

Most of Frémont's and Carson's future expeditions would take the tone of their first. Carson remained fiercely loyal to Frémont even after it became obvious that the officer had grander ambitions and his self-aggrandizement was merely a means of achieving those goals. The expedition in 1843 nearly proved disastrous for Frémont and his men. Frémont, convinced that quicker passage existed from the Plains to the Green River, led his party on a voyage. When stymied by the mountains, Frémont moved further north to try another attempt at crossing the Rockies at the onset of winter. Rather than turn around, Frémont decided to cross the Sierras in January 1844. Barely surviving the trip, Frémont and his party reached California and safety. Satisfied that no other route through the mountains existed, Frémont, though he did not discover the Great Basin, popularized it as a land with no outlet to the sea. This meant that the Columbia River was the only river to span the Rockies, and securing it became all the more important for the burgeoning United States.

Frémont's expedition of 1845–1846 met with trouble when it arrived in a politically turbulent California. Still part of Mexico, Californians had recently rebelled against the central authority in Mexico City and had placed a native Californian in charge. Frémont's arrival, or rather the arrival of an armed American military expedition, caused further tensions. Granted permission to make winter camp away from the coastal settlements, Frémont and his band were also allowed to tour those villages on their way north. The Californians instantly became suspicious of Frémont's actions due to his group's rude actions toward the civilians. The Mexican military commander reneged on his permission for the Americans to camp in California and told them to leave.

Feeling betrayed, the Americans constructed a makeshift fort on top of a hill and Frémont even planted the American flag. With rumors of war between Mexico and the United States already spreading, the situation grew tense. The Mexican authorities, though, realized they could not dislodge the Americans, while Frémont came to see the egregiousness of his actions. Able to retract his small band without a serious international incident erupting, Frémont retreated back to the east to continue his scientific measurements of the mountains.

When President Polk did declare war against Mexico in May 1846, Frémont wasted little time in exploiting the confusion in California for his own advancement. Creating four companies of troops with himself in command, Frémont began a campaign of filibustering in California against Mexican troops. Though the Americans did not experience much action, Carson and his friend made a name for themselves by resorting to brutality and outright slaughter. With American victory in California as well as Mexico, the war ended in less than two years. The United States had secured territory spanning the entire continent. Acting as a courier between Frémont and his supporters in St. Louis and Washington, Carson carried important dispatches to the capital. His return trip spanned the entire continent and pioneered not just the concept but the practicality of an overland mail route connecting the two coasts.

Carson's journey from Washington to San Francisco secured his place in the memory of the American West. Yet without the pioneering spirit and physical endeavors of the mountain men who had come before him, Carson's journey would have been impossible. What began as a career to hunt beaver in the relatively pristine wilderness west of the Mississippi in the early nineteenth century evolved into one of the most important professions in the history of the West. Mountain men acted not just as trappers and soldiers, but explorers and guides as well. Their acquisition of knowledge during their years of trapping translated into practical and useable knowledge for those who desired to make their way to the Pacific. Mountain men not only discovered the paths that would lead Americans to the Pacific Ocean, but they guided these individuals, protected them, and often served as mediators between whites and native people. Though many trappers continued to serve the army during the 1860s as Indian agents and translators, even that role soon disappeared as the government herded Native Americans onto reservations.

Having explored the reaches of the Rocky Mountains and the river valleys of the Pacific Coast in search of valuable beaver pelts, having guided travelers overland to their new homes, mountain men became relics of a bygone era. But the mountain men were partially responsible for their own demise. Their zeal and skill at trapping nearly resulted in the extinction of beaver. Likewise, their wanderlust and hardiness allowed them to explore even the most remote locations. When the news of each new discovery filtered to the East, settlers could ably travel west with a relatively accurate picture of Western geography and a route through the wilderness. As the map filled in, the

need for explorers dwindled. Once again, mountain men had themselves destroyed their own purpose. Taking on the new roles of guide and trader, mountain men sought to eke out a living in the land they knew and loved. Although partially responsible for their own demise because of the skill and tenacity with which they undertook their work, mountain men also succumbed to outside forces. Western expansion, the discovery of gold, and Manifest Destiny in particular propelled Americans, determined to carve out their own existence, across the continent. Though mountain men had been the forerunners of the Western settlers and gold miners, the sheer volume of settlers undermined the need for guides. Routes became popularized, wagons rutted the ground, and settlers filled the valleys where the trappers once hunted, and mountain men disappeared from the landscape.

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JOHN MUIR

John Muir. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

John Muir

Kenneth W. McMullen

By the time of his death, John Muir had become one of the most well-known figures in the young movement to save the Western wild lands from destruction. Although, starting in 1868, he lived in the West, as he fought to save the lands of the West he found himself, more often than not, fighting Westerners over the best use of the land in contention. The West had been conquered by people who forced the land to give up its resources. They saw no need to set aside land that happened to have some scenic value to urban dwellers. Since Yosemite Valley lay in fairly close proximity to California's gold country, some people thought the land had been taken by the national government because of some supposed huge deposits of gold. Why else would anyone want claim to the mountainous land?

Muir arrived in the West already a man enamored of the natural world, and although he started out in his youth loving the outdoors, another path also opened for him, a path for which he had superior talent and which for a time seemed destined to take Muir away from the wild lands.

Muir was born in 1838 in Dunbar, Scotland, the third of eight children. His father, Daniel Muir, owned and operated a small store. His father brought the family to the United States in 1849. Daniel's move to the United States grew out of his joining the Disciples of Christ denomination. The group was somewhat new in Scotland, and the founder had already emigrated from Scotland to America to start new communities of believers there. Daniel hoped to join with one of the newly established Disciples of Christ settlements. Instead Daniel Muir settled in Wisconsin where few Disciples had yet settled. In addition to his work at farming, Daniel Muir became an occasional speaker at the Sunday services, as the Disciples in the area did not have regular clergy.

Even before he moved to America, John had fallen under nature's spell. In Scotland, he and his brothers escaped from studies and chores to roam the area investigating the natural phenomenon of the local landscape. Muir eventually put aside the fundamentalist religious beliefs he received from his father and replaced them with a new calling: extolling and documenting nature, and its scenic wonders. Muir also rejected other viewpoints of his father. Daniel Muir refused to have any adornments in his homes. He called such things "pagan idols." John, on the other hand, loved to fill his home with pictures, fine rugs, nice linen, and embroidered items.

During this time in Wisconsin, two neighbors exerted a powerful influence on him. They opened up to him the world of literature, the world of Milton and Shakespeare, of poetry and prose. Before this his readings came primarily from the Bible because his father distrusted any other writings.

As he grew up on the farm, he frequently devised small versions of water wheels and mechanically moved lumber saws. Ironically, he created inventions designed to cut down and destroy forested areas, the very things he spent most of his adult life trying to save. A part of inventiveness, John also built various one-of-a-kind clocks, some of which remained working for over fifty years. He additionally created thermometers, devices to measure humidity,

and barometers. His devices attracted enough attention that his reputation spread throughout the surrounding countryside.

In 1860, another neighbor encouraged John to take his creation to the State Agricultural Fair with the hope that an owner of a machine shop would hire him. At the fair he won an award that carried with it an honorarium of fifteen dollars. Afterward he worked for several months as a mechanic in the Madison locale. By this time John had decided that life on a Wisconsin farm had no appeal for him.

He sought and gained admittance to the University of Wisconsin, where he studied for two and a half years. His course of study included chemistry, botany, and geology. His interest in botany remained with him his entire life. At one point, moved by the sick and wounded soldiers at the Civil War hospital at nearby Camp Randall, Muir planned to study to become a doctor to serve his fellow, suffering human beings. But the natural world still held sway over Muir and he never pursued this career.

With the support and encouragement of one of his professors, Dr. Carr, John studied glaciation through the writings of Louis Agassiz. In addition, Increase Lapham, a regent of the university, influenced John through Lapham's own conservationist activities. Lapham recognized the danger of forest depletion and campaigned throughout the state of Wisconsin arguing for the need to save the forested areas. A few years later, Muir made the same arguments supported by his observations taken during his travels throughout the United States and Canada. While at the university Muir read the writings of Alexander Humboldt. These writings influenced him so greatly that he sought, at various times in his life, to undertake some of the same journeys that Humboldt took.

He left the university in 1864 without receiving a degree. The uncertainty of the Civil War draft helped prompt this move. He spent several months with his family, and when he did not get selected by the draft, went to Canada to wander through its untamed lands. He did not return to school to finish his degree.

During these Canadian travels he traversed the Holland River swamp in the province of Ontario. There Muir came upon a *Calypso borealis*—the rare lady-slipper—for which he had been searching. This incidence of beauty surrounded by the rank bog seemed to Muir such a sublime moment that he sat down and wept. The singular beauty of the *Calypso* helped to serve as a catalyst for him. He came to believe that he could read the matchless goodness and omnipotence of the Creator through the beauty of the natural world. This occurrence sealed within him the conviction to spend his life devoted to the propagation of the gospel of nature. He completely turned away from the Christian faith of his father and found his spiritual meanings in the natural world. As part of his convictions, Muir came to believe that wild things are worthwhile for their own sakes.

Already he had begun to keep journals of his impressions of what he observed during his meanderings. He filled his journals with sketches of the

special plants he encountered on his travels. Besides plants, Muir also made drawings of especially striking landscapes such as the ones he made of the rocky mounts in Yosemite Valley.

After leaving the *Calypso*, John went to visit with his brother who lived near Niagara Falls. Lacking funds to continue his journeys, John worked for several months in a factory making broom handles and wooden rakes. Then he moved onto Indianapolis where he found employment in the manufacturing of wheel hubs, spokes, and other carriage parts. At both locations he invented mechanisms that speeded up the manufacturing process. He never patented his inventions because he felt that all such work belongs to the whole human race, and no one person should make a profit from it.

Also at both locations Muir taught classes to children about nature and what he knew of the sciences. This duality of love—for mechanical design and nature—created an internal struggle for Muir. He loved the inventive process, but he loved to be out in nature exploring and botanizing. An injury to his right eye as he worked in the Indianapolis factory convinced him to devote his life to the natural world.

In 1867 he left Indiana and headed south to tramp through the wild places on the way to the Gulf of Mexico. He had in mind, as Humboldt had, to travel all the way to South America. However, he became ill when he reached the Gulf Coast, and although he recovered enough to reach Cuba, his illness forced him to abandon his trip to South America. He booked passage for New York City, and upon arriving there boarded another ship for the Isthmus of Panama. From Panama he went to California and arrived in San Francisco in March 1868.

He spent that first summer in the Golden State working odd jobs in the San Joaquin Valley while observing the flora of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. He later took a job in a sawmill in Yosemite Valley. The mill was unique in that the owner and Muir chose not to cut any live trees but only use naturally fallen timber. There had been a great storm in 1867 that blew down so many trees that Muir reckoned the downed trees would keep the mill busy for many years.

While still working in the mill, in 1871, Muir met Ralph Waldo Emerson. Muir tried to convince Emerson to leave his party and go hiking and camping in the mountains, but Emerson, due to the objections of his friends, declined. Later Muir came to the conclusion that Emerson and the Transcendentalists only accepted nature as something for human beings to use. Muir never became a Transcendentalist although he did hold some similar philosophical beliefs. Through these years of working in the mill and taking other jobs in the vicinity, Muir continued to explore the mountain range.

His observations made during his explorations led him to challenge the current belief that Yosemite Valley came into existence through a subsidence of the valley floor as expounded by Josiah Whitney. Muir believed that the action of glaciation formed the valley. To buttress his arguments, Muir collected evidence

from the valley floor and took measurements of the snow pack, and tracked the movements of the glaciers he found within the boundaries of the park.

The strong association of John Muir with Yosemite Valley and the national park has caused many to believe that Muir played a role in the formation of the park itself. Although Muir became an active defender of the park and sought publicity for it, he had little to do with its formation. President Abraham Lincoln created the park in 1864 when federal legislation set much of the current park acreage aside and passed control over to the state of California. The state had governing authority over the park while the land still remained in federal ownership. Frederick Law Olmsted, in California during the late 1860s, became one of the first state commissioners, and helped develop policies and long-range goals for the park.

While living in the valley Muir began to write articles concerning Yosemite and its beauty. Many of these published works appeared in nationally known publications. Horace Greeley published one of Muir's first major pieces, titled "Yosemite's Glaciers," in the *New York Tribune*.

Due to personal problems, Muir left Yosemite in 1873 and moved to San Francisco. He never lived in Yosemite again, although he made many trips to the valley and surrounding mountain ranges in the remaining years of his life. He continued to read and became influenced by John Ruskin, the English art and social critic, and George Perkins Marsh's book *Man and Nature*. Ruskin's work led Muir to believe he needed to be more proactive toward the preservation of the wild lands he loved. Muir paid special attention to Marsh's book because of its conclusions. George Marsh had traveled extensively as an American diplomat, and his observations led him to the judgment that over-harvesting of forested areas and lack of replenishment led to the destruction of arable lands with deleterious effects on civilization. The book came to be regarded as the cornerstone of the conservation movement. It popularized the concept, to which Muir subscribed, that society had the responsibility to intelligently use and renew the natural resources in the United States.

While he resided in the San Francisco Bay area Muir spent much of his time writing. He wrote both articles and books, always striving to awaken America to the need to protect the scenic beauties of the natural world. After a period of writing, Muir often left for an extended Western trip—up to and around Mt. Shasta, through Utah, or up to Alaska. After each trip he returned to the Bay area and wrote of his travels and discoveries.

As he stayed in the Bay area Muir made many friends, including the Strentzel family. The family made their living from their orchards in Martinez, near the eastern end of San Francisco Bay. He had many discussions with the father, Dr. John Theophile Strentzel, but after some time his attention became focused on the daughter Louie. After an extended time of letter writing and courtship, John and Louie married in 1880. Muir's family grew to include two daughters, Wanda and Helen. John and Louie lived in a house on Dr. Strentzel's land.

In the 1880s, Muir became concerned with the widespread abuses of privately held forested lands. He began to favor federal ownership of wilderness lands that possessed exceptional scenic regions. In the spring of 1889 Muir met Robert Underwood Johnson, publisher of the *Century Magazine*, which had already published some of Muir's articles. Johnson expressed interest in the Yosemite area and accompanied Muir on an extended camping trip in the park. During the trip Johnson became enamored of Yosemite and pressed Muir on how to save it from being despoiled. The men agreed that the federal government needed to take possession of more of the land around the park. They reached an agreement whereby Muir would write two articles for *Century* to publish and Johnson would join Muir in a campaign to protect Yosemite. As part of Muir's fight to save the wild lands, he organized the formation of the Sierra Club in May 1892. The club selected Muir as its president, a position he held until his death in 1914.

Several times, various governmental agencies and commissions invited Muir to join their organization. Muir always refused. He recognized that remaining a private citizen, one with no aspirations for political office, allowed him to be both advocate and critic. Additionally he probably realized that if he joined a commission, he ran the risk of being co-opted by the political maneuverings of the other people involved.

In participating in the wilderness preservation activities, John Muir became friends with Gifford Pinchot. Pinchot rose to public awareness as a member of the National Forest commission, and two years later he obtained the appointment to be the head of the Department of Agriculture's Division of Forestry. He later spearheaded the formation of the National Park Service.

During the late 1800s Muir and Pinchot worked in tandem for the common goal. While Pinchot worked from within the governmental Forest Commission, Muir, through his writing, agitated from without. In this manner Muir proselytized the general public on the desirability of saving forests and wilderness areas, while Pinchot guided the government's decision-making process in setting aside the desirable tracts of land for preservation and conservation.

At the end of the nineteenth century disagreements arose between conservationists and preservationists. Conservationists believed in a scientific use and management of the nation's natural resources, especially the large tracts of Western land. They approved of controlled livestock grazing, a better approach than the unfettered grazing practices of the time. The preservationists wanted as close to no use of the land as possible. The conservationists' approach carried with it some small aspect of utilitarianism: the greatest good for the greatest number. Muir differed with Pinchot in that Muir believed that some lands must be preserved in pristine condition with no logging or grazing. Muir further believed that sheep grazing constituted a greater danger to the natural areas than logging, because trees could be replaced but the grazing habits of sheep destroyed habitat almost beyond recovery. (His attitude toward sheep grazing may have been influenced by the fact that one of his

earliest jobs in California consisted of shepherding sheep. He called them “hoofed locusts.”)

The relationship became further strained as Muir changed his opinion of federally managed forests. After 1900 Muir became disenchanted with how the federal government managed the forestry reserves. He came to the conclusion that allowing the forests to be used—no matter how carefully—was incompatible with wilderness. This belief hardened through the early years of the twentieth century. To use Yosemite as an example, Muir believed that it should be preserved as a wilderness just for the sake of it being a wilderness, as opposed to Pinchot who would try to save the natural world but would put human needs above the natural.

However, it is important to note that by preserving the land as wilderness, Muir did not necessarily mean in a pristine condition. He saw nature as a wilderness vacation spot, a place of contemplation; he favored building a small number of roads into scenic areas so people could enjoy them. This Muir felt would save the lands from “commercialism.”

As an activist for preserving nature, Muir involved himself in several environmental issues, such as control of Yosemite National Park acreage, the size of the park, and the proposal by the city of San Francisco to build a dam within the boundaries of Yosemite.

Although Muir came to distrust the national government’s policy toward forested reserves, he had greater concerns toward the politicians in California and the interests of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Fearing that eventually the railroad, through the state politicians it controlled, would gain access to the resources inside the park, Muir led a fight to have the state of California release its governing authority, which then allowed the control to pass back to Washington, DC. This he accomplished in 1905.

During the American Civil War, when Congress first created Yosemite Park, Congress made no attempt to lay out the boundaries in a practical manner in light of privately held lands. Instead the Conness Park Bill stated the boundaries in terms of the grid lines of latitude and longitude. By doing so, many private holdings became part of the park. This allowed timber and various grazing interests to start logging and grazing the herds within the park—on public land, not just on the private lands.

The secretary of the Interior convened a commission in 1903, which, in 1904, recommended that over 542 square miles be removed from the park, mostly on the western, southern, and eastern boundaries. The commission recommended adding some land to the north to keep the Tuolumne watershed from despoilment. Congress adopted these measures in the Yosemite Act of 1905. Muir fought the removal of land from Yosemite National Park for any purpose. He remained skeptical of the motives of those who wanted to change the boundaries. He believed that Western commercial interests sponsored such acts to somehow obtain access to the natural resources residing in the mountainous region. But the biggest fight for Muir concerned San Francisco’s

petition to build a dam across the Tuolumne River and flood Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir to meet the future fresh water needs of the city.

Muir and his supporters felt outrage at the suggestion of building a dam at the end of Hetch Hetchy because the valley resided within Yosemite National Park. He rejected the concept of using park land to satisfy the thirst of San Francisco. It must be noted that although he fought vigorously against the dam in Hetch Hetchy, Muir did not fight against the dam that created Lake Eleanor—eventually part of the whole water system built for San Francisco—even though that land also fell within the park boundaries. The beauty of Hetch Hetchy had taken hold of Muir's soul and he fought to keep the valley wild.

Muir fought against the dam with all the vigor and rhetoric of an evangelical preacher—which he was—of the gospel of the wilderness. He believed that Americans focused on materialism and ignored the more meaningful aspects of life—nature untouched by human hands, or at least only a little touched. His passions may have actually hindered his efforts—he felt too deeply about Hetch Hetchy to explore a compromise whereby San Francisco could develop Lake Eleanor first and hold Hetch Hetchy in reserve for later. Muir did not have it in him to compromise and thus gain time for later maneuvering.

The Hetch Hetchy Valley held a special place in Muir's life. His trips there tended to reinvigorate him. During the fight over the dam he visited the valley several times. Although he appreciated the efforts of artists to publicize the beauty of Hetch Hetchy, he believed that the individual must visit the valley to truly appreciate its worth. This belief had validation. Of the four men who held the position of secretary of Interior during the fight, the two who visited the valley in person ruled against San Francisco and against flooding the valley.

Recognizing the scope of the fight, Muir worked to build a constituency to assist him in the saving Hetch Hetchy—the various nature clubs and walking clubs throughout the country. Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson also convinced J. Horace McFarland to join the fight to save Hetch Hetchy. McFarland had become famous for helping to stop Niagara Falls from becoming a hydroelectric facility. The well-known poet Harriet Monroe also became another ally in the fight. She had camped in Hetch Hetchy while attending one of the extended camping trips to the valley sponsored by the Sierra Club.

Although the vast majority of the membership of the Sierra Club supported the fight against building the dam, a few supported the city's efforts—including Warren Olney, one of the founders of the Sierra Club who resigned from the club over this issue. The meeting that founded the Sierra Club took place in Olney's office. After Olney announced his decision to support the dam, Muir regarded him as a Brutus.

Pinchot also supported San Francisco's efforts, seeing them as a beneficial use of natural resources. This support seemed to be the breaking point in the relationship between Muir and Pinchot. Muir felt betrayed by Pinchot; because they had worked together on so many issues before, Muir supposed that Pinchot felt as he did. Muir argued that the park land needed to be preserved as

a wilderness just for the sake of its wildness. Pinchot wanted to save the natural world whenever possible but he placed human needs above the natural.

Although many national newspapers and periodicals supported Muir, the Western publications—especially the San Francisco ones—did not. They saw him as someone who refused to help out the needy people of the city whose water supply was in the hands of a greedy private monopoly—the Spring Valley Water Company. The city's papers portrayed Muir as a wild, impractical nature lover, or an uncompassionate human, or, worse, a tool of the water company.

As an example of the local pressure on Muir and his supporters, the Sierra Club attempted to hire an engineer, who also taught at the University of California in Berkeley, to refute the city's plans. After signing the contract and agreeing to assist the Sierra Club, the engineer asked to be let out of the agreement because the president of the university pressured him not to help Muir. The university president, Benjamin Wheeler, supported the efforts of the city and also happened to be a friend of Pinchot.

Although the club gained much favorable publicity nationally and made a positive impression with its supporters' testimony in the various hearings in Washington, DC, ultimately Muir and his supporters lost the battle. In 1913 Congress passed the Raker Act, which authorized San Francisco to build its dam and flood the valley. Many of Muir's friends thought that losing the battle for Hetch Hetchy took a lot out of him, and eventually contributed to his death. With failing health and a lung infection, John Muir died on 24 December 1914, a year after President Woodrow Wilson signed the Raker Act.

By the late 1800s, Muir had become a leading, if not the leading, spokesperson in the United States for the protection of America's wilderness regions against spoliation. Muir viewed the untouched mountain areas and forests as places of essential beauty that need to be preserved for their natural scenic quality. Muir primarily wrote to support the idea of preservation—although his concept of preservation has significant differences from that of the preservationists of today—of the wilderness and areas of natural beauty.

Muir, through his writings and attempts to save wilderness areas, strove to draw urban Americans out of their cities and into the untamed splendor of Nature in the American West. In his later writings, especially *Our National Parks*, Muir moved away from the idea that the wilderness is a spiritual area for an individual to the concept that exposure to the wild places had beneficial aspects for groups of people as well. The Sierra Club sponsored several extended group camping sessions, led by Muir, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains in general, and Yosemite in particular—specifically two trips to Hetch Hetchy during the battle to save the valley. He knew that city-dwellers needed to come to the mountains and forests to escape the stress of their modern, city life and to refresh themselves. In this, Muir faintly echoes the Transcendentalists of Emerson and Thoreau.

Even though Muir died in 1914, death has not stilled his voice. His writings remain popular and have been quoted to support the establishment of forest

reserves and wilderness areas, and opponents to logging on federally owned land use Muir's words to buttress their cause.

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Annie Oakley, ca. 1889. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Annie Oakley

Glenda Riley

The renowned sharpshooter Annie Oakley was neither born in the West nor lived there. Yet her name and legend are an integral part of the mythical Old Wild West. With hard work, nerve, and luck, Oakley became a nationally known “Western” figure during the late nineteenth century. With the help of her husband and business partner, Francis E. Butler, and her employer, William F. Cody, she gave shape not only to the image of the receding frontier, but to that of its white women settlers.

Little in Annie’s birth pointed to her future. On 13 August 1860, she was born Phoebe Ann Moses, or Mauzee, the fifth surviving child of a poor farm family in Darke County, Ohio. By the time Annie was four, she had two more siblings. When she was six, Annie’s father died of pneumonia, leaving her mother with seven children under age fifteen. Feeding and clothing them was a daily struggle that kept Annie out of school. Instead, she worked with her mother Susan cooking, sewing, and farming. Annie also trapped and, with her father’s old Kentucky rifle, shot game. She then spent time as a worker and seamstress at the Darke County Infirmary and with a farm family. After returning home as a teenager, Annie resumed hunting, selling the surplus to a local shopkeeper, who in turn sold it to Cincinnati hotels.

Later, in a 1926 autobiography, Annie remembered these years as happy ones. They culminated in two significant events. One, which filled her heart with “joy,” was handing her mother enough saved nickels and dimes to pay off the farm’s mortgage. The other was defeating vaudeville shooter Francis (Frank) E. Butler in a match probably held near Cincinnati in 1875. Butler, however, recalled the match as taking place in 1881 near the town of Greenville. Gallantly, the trounced Butler invited Annie and her family to the theater that night to watch him shoot. Thus began a courtship that led Annie to marry Frank, ten years her senior and a master of shooting and staging.

On 1 May 1882, Annie joined Frank on the stage of the Crystal Hall in Springfield, Ohio. She filled in for Frank’s ill partner and was supposed to, she explained, “hold the objects as he shot.” “But,” she continued, “I rebelled;” she insisted on taking every other shot. This first appearance, which received what Annie called a “generous reception,” led her to choose Oakley as her stage name, learn new shots from Frank, and sew her own modest costumes that concealed her slight frame. Standing five feet tall and weighing 110 pounds, Annie wowed audiences of men and women.

To escape the growing seamy side of vaudeville, Annie and Frank looked for new venues. They appeared with circuses, where Annie shot while riding horseback. In 1884, Frank, who increasingly dropped to the background where he handled business matters, noticed an advertisement for a new enterprise, a rodeo-drama called Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West. But impresario William F. Cody refused to hire either Annie or Frank; he already employed the fine shooter, Captain Adam H. Bogardus, and his four sons. When Bogardus left the Wild West in March of the following year, Frank and Annie tried again. After watching Annie shoot, Cody’s partner, Nate Salsbury, hired her on the spot.

THE "SHOW" BUSINESS

In 1885, Annie Oakley entered what she called the "show" business. She recalled: "There was I facing the real Wild West, the first white woman to travel with what society might have considered an impossible outfit." With Frank's careful management, Annie never compromised her modesty or her honesty. Although she now wore a cowboy hat with a six-pointed star, she continued to dress in blouses, skirts, and flat shoes. And every one of her growing repertoire of feats was honest. When she shot a cigar out of Frank's mouth or an apple off their dog's head, no concealed wires pulled the cigar or the apple.

Even though Annie and Frank's first summer season with the Wild West was easygoing and prosperous, the second was problematic. The troupe spent the summer months at a new open-air arena and amphitheater erected by the Staten Island Amusement Company at a resort named Erastina near New York City. Here, Annie discovered that Cody had hired another woman shooter, Lillian Frances Smith. From California and supposedly fifteen, Smith appeared only two acts after Oakley. Unlike Annie, Lillian dressed immodestly and fraternized with the men of Cody's troupe. The two women avoided each other at Erastina and during the subsequent winter season at Madison Square Garden. When the Wild West sailed for England in March 1887, both women were aboard. Through a summer season on twenty-three-acre grounds outside London, the two amazed audiences; performed for Edward, the Prince of Wales; and received press reports, which were always favorable to Annie and increasingly critical of Lillian, who was said to lie about her records and use deception in shooting. On 31 October 1887, Annie and Frank left Cody's Wild West. Neither Cody nor Butler commented on the reasons for the split.

During this period, Annie had become a consummate performer. The first season, Annie swung a rifle or a shotgun to her shoulder while Frank loaded traps and released clay birds, which she shot singly at first, then finally four at a time. With rifles and pistols, she shot glass ball after glass ball. Next, she lay down her rifle, threw glass balls in the air, retrieved her weapon, and smashed the balls before they fell. She concluded with a bow to the audience, a kiss blown to the stands, and a perky kick that became her trademark. Later, at the Garden, Annie tried some riding stunts, untying a kerchief from her horse's leg and picking her hat up from the ground, all the while perched precariously in a sidesaddle.

Annie's identification with the American West also emerged during these years. Although neither Cody nor the Butlers ever claimed that Annie came from the West beyond the Mississippi River, her audiences and fans associated her with Kansas, the Dakotas, and even Colorado. Route schedules of the Wild West during the 1890s indicate that Annie went West only with the troupe. In reality, the Wild West toured largely in Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont in the Northeast; in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin

in the Midwest; and in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, DC, and West Virginia in the South. Cody was a savvy producer who realized that non-Westerners would provide the most enthusiastic audiences for his interpretation of the American West.

Undoubtedly, Annie appeared to be a Westerner because she performed with Cody's troupe, who were virtually all Westerners, but also she went along with romanticized publicity meant to attract non-Westerners. During Annie's time in England in 1887, for example, newspapers reported that Annie once had whipped a pistol out of her purse to chase a robber off a Greenville mail train. In addition, Annie dressed and acted like a Westerner, especially to Londoners who had gained their conceptions of Westerners through literature and other print media of the day. Observers who noted Annie's dress, hairstyles, and seat when riding in London's "Row," dubbed her a "western girl" and a "frontier girl." The *London Post* editorialized that although few would care to copy Annie, one had to admit that, "her get-up" was "that of the real wild West." Annie never demurred; instead, she let readers think what they might about her regional background.

Because Annie fit in so well with Cody's company, her separation in late 1887 must have been a jolt. She and Frank also gave up a good salary and a regular schedule. After their departure from the Wild West, they returned to New York City where they rented a small apartment. In trade papers, Frank placed advertisements for financial backers for a proposed stage play—*Little Sure Shot, the Pony Express Rider*—that would star Annie. In the meantime, Frank arranged shooting matches for Annie. One, held in mid-April of 1888 at the Boston Gun Club, proved that Annie was far more than a performer; she was an accomplished athlete as well. The *Boston Daily Globe* reported that at least half of the numerous spectators were "ladies."

The Butlers tried other venues as well. Frank booked Annie for performances in 1887 with Tony Pastor of Philadelphia, who presented family-oriented vaudeville shows. Reviewers loved Annie, calling her "a rattling shot" and a "decided acquisition in the vaudevilles." The following summer 1888, Frank placed Annie with Pawnee Bill's Wild West, where she got along famously with the other female shooter, May Manning Lillie. By fall, Annie and Frank talked about taking a touring company on the road performing *Deadwood Dick, or the Sunbeam of the Sierras*. Along the way, Annie also shot matches and exhibitions, winning and setting records even when competing against male shooters.

Although Annie and Frank made vigorous efforts to earn a living and build Annie's reputation, they missed Cody's Wild West. Meanwhile, Lillian Smith, now with a slipping reputation due to critics' charges that she used trickery and illusion in her act, left the Wild West. Shortly afterwards, Frank Butler and Nate Salsbury had a meeting, in which they agreed that Annie and Frank would sail to Europe with the Wild West in spring 1889. The European tour turned out to be wildly successful for the Wild West and for Annie. Her season

in Paris flew by in a whirl of accolades, command performances, thousands of flowers, and hundreds of gifts. A circuit through Europe and a return to France followed.

1890 AS A TURNING POINT

In 1890, the Butlers returned to a United States increasingly bedeviled by such problems as urbanization, industrialization, and growing population. In that year, the U.S. Census Bureau declared that by virtue of population density the American frontier was closed, over and done, to be added to the chronicles of history. This declaration proved a turning point for such Western expositions as Cody's Wild West. Cody, who considered himself a historian of sorts and the Wild West far more than entertainment, seized the opportunity to broaden his presentation of the disappearing Old West. He and Salsbury created a series of dramatic sketches: "The Attack on the Settler's Cabin," "The Rescue of the Deadwood Stage," "The Pony Express," "The Buffalo Hunt," and "Custer's Last Fight."

At the same time, Cody recognized that his audiences included huge numbers of women and girls. During the historical skits, women were often hysterical victims or were invisible altogether. To offset this presentation of Western women, Cody turned to Annie Oakley, urging her to add additional exploits to her act, which he moved up to second spot on the program. Part of Annie's job was to reassure the female part of audiences by showing women that frequent and noisy bursts of gunfire were harmless to them. Annie began by shooting a pistol, gradually moving up to shooting full charges in a rifle and shotgun. Publicity agent John Burke noted that, "Women and children see a harmless woman there, and they do not get worried." Annie did more than this; she represented strong white women of the frontier who could face and conquer adversity. Cody reinforced Oakley's message by adding other women who performed complicated drills on horseback, did bareback tricks, and even rode untamed broncs.

As Frank and Annie honed her act, they incorporated five basic elements: guns, horses, heroes, villains, and the American West. First, it was clear that Annie was skilled with that Western symbol, the gun. She shot an apple off their dog's head, shot the ash off a cigarette Frank held in his teeth and a dime out of his fingers, shot holes in playing cards, and leapt over a table and shot two glass balls already in the air when she jumped. She also aimed her rifle over her shoulder and using a mirror, hit targets behind her back. Reviewers called her "marvelous," "superb," and "intrepid."

Second, Annie revealed her skill with horses. She became a female cowboy who could easily handle that mainstay of Western life, a horse. She trained one to follow her up flights of stairs, into theater freight elevators, and onto stages for performances. She trained another, a "difficult" horse, to kneel and

bow and to shake hands. Yet another fractious horse would, at the least pressure of her rein, draw up a forefoot and drop to one knee in a salute.

Third, like a good Westerner, Annie was a hero, always acting in a clean-cut and honest manner. When, for example, a controversy arose over whether Oakley broke glass balls with bullets or with scatter shot, presumed by many to be easier, Frank made a public statement, explaining that she used shotted shells, containing about two hundred tiny pellets. These shells had a short range and fell harmlessly into the arena, leaving in safety audience members, performers and animals, and nearby buildings. But, Frank added, Annie fired real bullets at stationary targets with backdrops. He noted that neither he nor Annie ever used artifice in any act or stunt.

The fourth component of Annie's act was the presence of villainy. It was clear that Annie possessed power and could vanquish any villain who might appear. Explosions of gunfire, smoke and fire, and glass shards drifting from above convinced audiences that she, the hero, could triumph over any evil she faced.

The last factor, the West, united the above four into an effective package. Guns, horses, heroes, and villains appeared many places, including vaudeville and circuses. In the Wild West arena, however, they had a special twist; they were part of the legendary American West. Annie and Frank cooperated with this dramatization of the West. She wore a cowboy-style hat and dresses that, as one observer noted, "reminded one very forcibly of the wild West." She also adopted Western tack and Western-style guns, frequently ornamented with tooled silver, and she courted publicity that identified her with the American West.

These strategies proved very effective in labeling Annie a true Westerner. When the Wild West returned to England in 1891, the strains of a new song, "The Wild West Waltz," dedicated to Annie Oakley, filled the air. Stories abounded concerning Oakley foiling bank robbers, shooting crazed wild animals at close range, and shielding the defenseless against harm. Some people who spoke with Annie even reported that she spoke with a delightful "Western" accent. To the English, this simple Ohio farm girl was the model Western woman.

At home, a similar process occurred. A prime instance of such publicity concerned Annie's friendship with Chief Sitting Bull. The two had first met in March 1884. On a ten-day tour of St. Paul, Minnesota, Sitting Bull attended a variety show at the Olympic Theater that included Annie Oakley. When she skipped onto the stage, his bored expression changed. With interest, he watched her perform such stunts as knocking corks from bottles and snuffing out candles. The next day, Sitting Bull requested a meeting with Annie, but she initially refused. When the two finally got together, they liked each other immensely. She thought him a kindly "old man" and he thought her a wonderful little woman. Through an interpreter, Sitting Bull christened her "Watanya Cecilla," or "Little Sure Shot," and adopted her to replace a daughter who had died after the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876.

Frank quickly recognized the publicity possibilities in the incident. Frank fully understood the public appeal of the West to people caught between a wanning frontier and the emerging machine age. His subsequent press releases established Annie as the “girl of the western Plains,” as some reviewers already called her. He revealed that not only had Annie become friends with the most feared Indian chief of all, but that Sitting Bull had given her the pair of moccasins he had worn at the Little Bighorn.

In summer 1885, Cody’s publicity agent John Burke enlarged on what Frank Butler had started. After complicated negotiations with the secretary of the Interior, Cody had gained permission for Chief Sitting Bull and several others from the Standing Rock reservation in Dakota Territory to travel with the Wild West for the summer season. Burke personally brought Sitting Bull to Buffalo, New York, boasting, “He is ours. I have captured him.” Shortly, Annie marched up to Sitting Bull, asking if he had received some coins and a red silk handkerchief she had sent. He replied in the affirmative, adding that he was anxious to resume their friendship.

During that summer, Burke was able to capitalize on the “Little Sure Shot” name that the chief had given Annie years before. After Sitting Bull returned to Standing Rock, Burke described Annie as the chief’s adopted daughter. When Sitting Bull was fatally shot in 1890, it was said that at the sound of gunfire the gray trick horse that Cody had given the chief sat down and lifted its front leg to shake hands. Both Cody and Oakley mourned the chief. Yet Cody retrieved the gray trick horse, which he rode in performances, and Annie frequently spoke of the chief to reporters and showed them the invaluable Indian artifacts he had given her when leaving the Wild West. Although they loved and respected Sitting Bull, their entrepreneurial sides saw that their stories were too useful to bury along with the chief.

There is little doubt that Frank and Annie were aware that every element of her act and her life would determine the numbers of people who would come to see her shoot with Cody’s Wild West. As a result of their continuous work on what would now be called their “performance text,” during the 1890s Annie and Frank were phenomenally successful. Annie’s influence was felt in many ways. For instance, because Annie was an athlete as well as a performer, women emulated her by learning how to shoot and joining gun clubs. One commentator remarked that Annie constituted “another living illustration of the fact that a woman, independent of her physique, can accomplish whatever she persistently and earnestly sets her mind to overtake.” Annie accomplished all this yet retained a “proper” Victorian persona. She never wore trousers, let her hair flow down her back, and always rode side saddle. She was a woman’s woman, not a pseudo-man.

Despite their popularity, Annie and Frank were aging and were tiring of the relentless travel, training, performing, and conducting interviews and photograph sessions. A reporter friend of Annie’s wrote that the rigors of the business were wearing Annie down; that Annie had told her, “It used to be fun, but I don’t believe I care for it so much nowadays.”

In addition, the “show” business was changing, inside the Wild West and out. In 1894, James A. Bailey replaced the ailing Nate Salsbury as manager of the Wild West. With his circus background at Barnum and Bailey, he introduced animal acts and sideshows. In the meantime, Cody’s increased drinking and talk of divorcing his wife Louisa must have been repugnant to the Butlers. Too, Cody was falling deeper into debt, in part because he gave freely to his friends and partly because he founded a town in Wyoming named after him. On the larger scene, 1892 marked the beginning of basketball and the building of the first Ferris wheel for the Chicago World’s Fair. The following year, Florence Ziegfeld introduced steamy acts to vaudeville. And Thomas Edison experimented with his phonograph, radio, and moving pictures. Edison even captured some of the Wild West troupe, including Annie Oakley, on film.

As the world of entertainment changed, discontented Americans of the 1890s were poised to flee to new forms of amusement. Many felt burned out from a series of cataclysmic national events: one of the worst economic depressions in American history in 1893, labor strikes and their repression in 1894, and the Spanish-American War in 1898. People wanted an escape, however temporary it might be. Unfortunately, the dawning of a new century did not promise much relief. In 1901, President William McKinley was assassinated.

At the Wild West, Cody relied upon Oakley to draw crowds. He issued a splendid new poster proclaiming Annie “The Peerless Wing and Rifle Shot,” picturing her wearing medals and surrounded by such mementos as silver loving cups. Still, things did not go well for the Wild West. After a series of accidents, the troupe’s train to Virginia collided with another unit. The crash threw Annie out of bed and slammed her back against a trunk. She was taken to a Newark, New Jersey, hospital where doctors who performed five operations declared that they had “never seen such fortitude displayed by any previous patient.”

LEAVING THE WILD WEST

To Frank, the time was right to leave the Wild West. In an undated letter to Cody, Frank did not mention the accident. Instead, he expressed his regrets, adding that he and Annie had longstanding plans to try other pursuits. Frank planned to represent the Union Metallic Cartridge Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. He would travel while Annie shot exhibitions and perhaps taught ladies to shoot. As it turned out, in 1903 the *Chicago Examiner* and the *Chicago American* erroneously reported, “Annie Oakley Asks Court for Mercy—Famous Woman Crack Shot . . . Steals to Secure Cocaine.” Other newspapers picked up the story from the Publishers Press telegraph without checking its veracity. Although most apologized, beginning in 1904 Annie spent the next six years suing the fifty-five offenders. By 1910, she had either won or settled with fifty-four of them. This was not about money, for Annie’s

expenses were high and settlements modest. Annie strove to restore the wonderful reputation that she and Frank had worked for years to establish.

After years of trials, the Butlers felt they needed to change their lives. In 1909, Frank resigned from the Union Metallic Cartridge Company. Annie was about to make a comeback with Vernon Seavers's Young Buffalo Show. Between 1911 and 1913, the Butlers traveled with Vernon Seavers. In 1911 alone, they logged 8226 miles. With the exception of adding lariat twirling to her act, Annie proceeded as usual. Wearing a cowboy hat, a dress resembling buckskin, and her sensible flat shoes, she astonished audiences with her shooting abilities. Frank fell into his role as manager and publicity agent, now putting aside his usual modesty to proclaim Annie a "world champion" and "one of the highest salaried arenic attractions in the world."

The year 1913 was Annie's last in the Wild West arena. In that year, when Annie was to make a much-heralded appearance in Greenville, Ohio, the *Greenville Courier* urged every Darke County resident to attend, displaying their "love" for Annie, "one of our own." A few weeks later, on 4 October 1913, Annie played her last show in Marion, Illinois. Between 1885 and 1913, she had carved herself an enviable reputation as a performer, athlete, and person.

In 1913, Annie and Frank retired to a home in Cambridge, Maryland. Frank, age sixty-three, loved the place; to him, it was a "sportsman's paradise" only "two hundred miles from Broadway." But Annie displayed what her niece called "a restless spirit." At fifty-three, Annie had energy to spare. She hunted, shot, and wrote for hunting magazines, but it was not enough. In response, Frank organized an automobile tour in 1915. Along the way, they counted six stranded traveling shows. When they encountered Buffalo Bill Cody, who had sold the Wild West in 1913 to pay debts and now performed in shows he did not own, Frank pronounced Cody "quite feeble" and surely near his end.

During the next two years, Annie and Frank experimented with other retirement spots, including Leesburg, Florida, and Pinehurst, North Carolina. It was in Pinehurst that Annie and Frank learned of Cody's death. On 10 January 1917, Cody died at his sister's home in Denver. A lengthy funeral procession followed Cody's riderless white horse, with pistols and rifle hung from the empty saddle, accompanied by some 100 cowboys.

In her grief Annie wrote a stirring eulogy recognizing Cody's larger-than-life image and the effect it would have on people, especially Americans, for centuries to come. She wrote, "He was in fact the personification of those sturdy and lovable qualities that really made the West, and they were the final criterion of all men, East and West."

Even though Annie could see Cody's contributions to the evolving image of the American West, she was too close to Cody and the Western legend to recognize her own role. When she and Cody joined forces, the American frontier enjoyed a well-established image, but it was flat, appearing in literature, art,

and popular print media. Cody's genius lay in dramatizing the romanticized Western frontier in three dimensions. His epic figures were of flesh and blood who acted out the Western saga in front of spectators' eyes. Noise and smell reinforced the aura of reality, and scenery transported the spectator to a Western scene. Annie Oakley added the female element, much appreciated by the women and girls in Wild West audiences. Oakley portrayed a Western woman who could handle guns and horses, yet maintain her modesty and femininity, thus appealing to audiences as a lady.

When on that important day in 1885 that Salsbury hired Oakley for Cody's Wild West, no one could predict that Oakley and Cody would be linking their careers for the next seventeen years. Perhaps a partnership of sorts was inevitable because Cody and Oakley shared numerous qualities. Neither was a native Westerner, an experienced actor, or an accomplished producer. Both came from the Midwest, both helped support their families after the death of a father, and as youngsters trapped and shot small game, leaving little time for schooling.

Cody and Oakley were a good match in other ways as well. Because of their impoverished childhoods, they dedicated themselves to earning a respectable income. They also supported such values as hard work, loyalty, honesty, and generosity to those in need. Unsurprisingly, Cody and Oakley liked and respected each other; he called her "Missie," and she addressed him as "Colonel." He even wrote in Oakley's autograph book that she was "the loveliest and truest little woman, both in heart and aim in all the world." Later, Oakley depicted Cody as "one of the nicest men in the world."

Moreover, Cody and Oakley were talented, attractive people with an instinct for what pleased audiences. Although Cody knew more about the West than Oakley, both became adept at portraying the West in a way that would please and impress viewers. Both were so highly attuned to their audiences that they did not hesitate to modify bits of their performances and even themselves to fit audience tastes and the times. Cody, for example, had to forego some of the historical points he hoped to make about Indian culture. Oakley, who was a sensational shot when standing on her head with her skirts strapped around her legs, refused to execute such an "unladylike" feat in public. Instead, Annie taught shooter Johnny Baker to do the trick. In 1893, Cody created the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. At the same time, Oakley learned more difficult exploits and even shortened her skirts as fashions changed.

Cody and Oakley were also instinctual showpeople. Cody strove for authenticity included convincing audiences they had been transported temporarily to the West. For a man of inventiveness, such as Cody, sounds and smells were easy. For example, the vignette known as "The Prairie" opened with Cody chasing real bison. In 1887, the Smithsonian ranked Cody's herd as fourth largest in the nation. Scenery was a bit more difficult. To re-create Western vistas, Cody used every artifice, including elaborate painted backdrops set up in the arena, to enhance the historical sketches played out in front of them.

Some of the backdrops were remarkable in size and detail, depicting a rocky terrain with old-growth forests, yet showing every rut and every leaf. Oakley, too, used props and elegant stage scenery when she appeared apart from Cody's Wild West. Because Oakley and Butler had to earn a living during the winter months, or the off-season of the Wild West, they produced a number of Western plays starring Annie. Of course, sounds and smells were less attractive in theaters than in open-air arenas, so Oakley and Butler relied on scenery and lighting to re-create the frontier West. One of their productions was *Miss Rora*, a melodrama that played American and English theaters the winter of 1896–1897 and was billed as “illustrative of life on the frontier.” The West of *Miss Rora* was a domesticated place where guns were used in play and horses were pets. On theater stages, Annie shot glass balls thrown in the air, as well as a variety of other objects. Oakley even rode her horse Gipsy on stage, although Gipsy's hoofs sometimes broke through stage floors.

A later production, *The Western Girl*, opened in November 1902. In addition to guns and horses, Oakley and Butler incorporated lavish, spectacular scenery, painted on high-grade linen cloth, which advance publicity explained reproduced the “days of the wild and wooly West.” One of the most spectacular scenes was the canyon of the Colorado River by moonlight, which, advertising noted, added a touch of realism to this “startling picture of the Wild West.” Annie used her own horses on stage, especially Little Bess—whom she rode—and several others that pulled the old Leadville stagecoach, which looked like Cody's much-celebrated historic Deadwood stage that appeared in virtually every Wild West performance. Oakley and Butler had learned well from Cody, yet they went one step farther. Their West, presented indoors on a theater stage, seemed even more accessible than Cody's arena West.

Yet Cody and Oakley were far more than showpeople. Cody and Oakley were teachers who imbued millions of adoring fans—mostly white—with their performance subtexts, or tropes. First, Cody and Oakley became leading interpreters of Manifest Destiny and of its casualties, American Indians. Unwittingly, Cody and Oakley underwrote imperialistic principles and presented American Indians as primitive “others.” Second, Cody and Oakley gave their audiences a clear visualization of the type of men and women who helped make the West part of the United States. By creating the cowboy and the cowgirl and characterizing them as living ideals of white manhood and womanhood, Cody and Oakley helped shape the Victorian era's debate concerning proper gender roles for men and women.

Because Cody's Wild West claimed to give a historically accurate picture of the development of the West, he, and later Oakley, had to address the prevailing philosophy of Manifest Destiny, meaning that God intended white settlers to “civilize” the West and its peoples. Because Cody and Oakley viewed the West as a frontier where white expansion fueled all action, their interpretation promoted the tremendously popular idea of white people struggling and eventually conquering the West, its earlier inhabitants, and its resources.

Always with their eyes on the bottom line, they tried to present what their audiences wanted—successful white conquest of the frontier.

Cody preceded Oakley in rodeo-drama performances by only a few years. After experimenting with rodeos and shooting shows, in 1884, Cody convinced stage entrepreneur Nate Salsbury to become a partner in “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West—America’s National Entertainment,” to open that spring. Salsbury provided solid management and asked Cody to curb his drinking and to fight less with his wife Louisa. Although Cody agreed with the wisdom of these requests, he found them difficult to fulfill. Salsbury also recommended stronger themes, which pleased Cody, who now hoped to do more than just recreate an authentic West. In this and succeeding seasons, he presented what he called an “object lesson” that would inform and “instruct” audiences regarding the “nation’s progress.”

Cody intended to attract viewers and to help them develop a patriotic allegiance to white expansionism in the West. Clearly, Cody reflected his era, which was one of Manifest Destiny, a term first used in 1845 meaning that the movement of whites westward was a sign of progress and divinely inspired. According to this view, by “settling” the West (as if American Indians and Hispanics had not already done so), white immigrants developed American national character, including such qualities as persistence, hard work, and a kind of benevolence—that is, giving native peoples white religion, technology, and white values. Although Cody the individual opposed damaging policies toward American Indians, Cody the showman encouraged destructive actions by portraying Indians as a primitive and “vanishing” race.

In 1886, Cody and Salsbury adopted a new and enlarged format that made the themes of Manifest Destiny and declining Indian peoples even clearer. As was his policy, Cody included authentic Plains Indians who, in their buckskin, beadwork, and feather headdresses, were colorful and dramatic. Although Cody hoped the appearance of these Indians would be educational, he learned that to keep audiences interested he had to present them in a theatrical manner, representing them as inhibiting white “progress” and “civilization.”

Cody was slightly more progressive regarding Western women. Annie’s own emerging image, which leaned heavily toward the American West, fit Cody’s agenda perfectly. From her initial season with Cody in 1885, Annie Oakley was the premier female shooting star, who carried out the Western theme in her costume, a buckskin-like dress (never trousers), and a cowboy-style hat with a star pinned to it. She also presented Westerners as family oriented. Although Western individualism counted for a lot, it was grounded in family. For instance, Annie always included Frank and their current dog in her act. When Annie shot a coin out of Frank’s fingers or an apple off their dog’s head, she emphasized the trust and love that could exist between family members. Too, in an era when one out of every fourteen to sixteen marriages ended in divorce, and with Cody chronically teetering on the brink of divorce, Annie and Frank demonstrated ideal harmony and a unity that would result

in a fifty-year marriage. Moreover, in between show seasons, Annie and Frank spent time with her family in Darke County, Ohio. An 1892 newspaper notice announcing that the Butlers would “pay a somewhat extended visit to her mother” gave a characteristic view of Annie’s and Frank’s family relations.

In 1886, Cody and Salsbury decided to stage the Wild West for a long run at the recently constructed open-air arena and amphitheater at Erastina resort on Staten Island. The revised program proved so popular that the Wild West played at Erastina for a full six months. Within four weeks, the Wild West attracted 14,000 people a day to a 12:30 performance or a 7:00 show under artificial lights. Such crowds not only meant profits for the Wild West, but added up to millions of minds to absorb the Wild West’s messages. To help audiences grasp Wild West themes, publicity agent “Arizona” John Burke wrote a “Salutary,” which appeared at the beginning of program booklets. Burke claimed that the “pressure of the white man,” especially in settlement and railroad building, worked with “the military power of the General Government” to destroy the “barriers behind which the Indian fought and defied the advance of civilization.” In addition, during performances Cody repeated his slogan “An Enemy in ’76, A Friend in ’85,” meaning that although Indians and whites had once been enemies, they could now learn to be friends.

Like Cody, Annie Oakley and Frank Butler thought of themselves as friends of American Indians. Their connection with Indians began in March 1884, when Sioux chief Sitting Bull saw Annie perform at the Olympic Theater in St. Paul, Minnesota. The next day he requested a meeting with her, during which he christened her “Watanya Cecilla,” or “Little Sure Shot” and declared her his adopted daughter. Before Frank and Annie had even thought of seeking employment with Cody’s Wild West, Sitting Bull had identified Annie with his West, the Plains of Dakota Territory. In return, Annie sent Sitting Bull coins and a red silk handkerchief, but she did not see the chief again until they appeared together in the Wild West in 1885. During that season, Annie listened to Sitting Bull’s complaints and seemed to be the only person who could bring him out of frequent depressions. Sitting Bull’s laments related to his people at Standing Rock. Army troops, he told Annie through an interpreter, had trespassed on Sioux hay and timber lands. He also talked about cattle ranchers who counted twice each cow intended for Sioux consumption and agents who gave Indians “half-and-half instead of sugar—the other half being sand.”

In October, Sitting Bull announced his intention to leave the Wild West and return to Standing Rock. He said goodbye to Annie and gave her several Indian artifacts. Annie promised to write. In 1887, she commented that Sitting Bull had “made a great pet” of her. She added, “He is a dear, faithful, old friend, and I’ve great respect and affection for him.” In 1890, after Sitting Bull’s death, Annie defended him. “His disposition was neither aggressive nor cruel, nor would he have molested anyone if he had not been first molested.” Years later, in 1926, Oakley was still upset by the way whites had treated Sitting Bull.

"Had he been a white man," she declared, "someone would have been hung for his murder."

During their sixteen seasons with the Wild West, Annie and Frank befriended other Native Americans. On one occasion, Pawnee Long John, who Annie said had been "shaking dice with a Mexican," gave her his money to hold so he could avoid gambling. Frank, too, spent time with the Wild West's Indians, even learning to speak a bit of Sioux. He told stories that placed American Indians in a favorable light and invented games for them to play in camp. Apparently, Annie and Frank liked a number of the show's Indians. Had they been told they acted in paternalistic ways, they would probably have been hurt. Had they been accused of exploiting Sitting Bull by allowing mention of him in advertising they might have responded that they did so with great pride and sympathy.

Yet Cody, Oakley, and Butler must have been aware of the national debate about "Indian reform" that was emerging. Many reformers—largely Easterners and a number of former abolitionists—opposed the phenomenon of "show" Indians. In 1893, the board of managers for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, who, like Cody, called exhibits "object lessons," denied Cody permission to perform on the fairgrounds. Board members objected to what they thought of as Cody's popularized representation of the history and culture of American Indians. In response, Nate Salsbury leased a fourteen-acre area outside the entrance to the fairgrounds and had bleachers constructed that would hold 18,000 people. To the seventy-four Sioux Indians from the Pine Ridge reservation already in the cast, Cody added another one hundred from Pine Ridge, Standing Rock, and Rosebud. He knew that recent white-Indian conflicts in the West had whetted people's curiosity about Indians. Capacity crowds at the Chicago site must have convinced Cody that Indian reformers and others who opposed the use of "show" Indians in Wild West performances were wrong in disliking what the Wild West taught people about Native Americans.

At the same time that Cody and Oakley developed a characterization of American Indians, they invented personalities for white Westerners as well. Another social issue of the day concerned proper gender roles and acceptable characteristics of manhood and womanhood. Cody and Oakley offered their opinion by casting the answers in the form of Western characters, notably the cowboy and cowgirl.

Cody worked on the cowboy's image, transforming him from a rough manual worker who engaged in low-paid, seasonal labor into an American hero. In an era when men, from office clerks to factory workers, wondered what had become of guns, horses, macho behavior, tough talk, and noble hearts, Cody offered a model of manhood—the American cowboy—to assuage men's fears and give them a historical image with which to identify. His cowboys dominated horses and cattle, used their guns to run off toughs, always triumphed over Indians, and won fair damsels.

At the same time, Cody and Oakley created the cowgirl. After all, if Cody wanted to attract female customers, he would have to include women in his Wild West. Because popular culture indicated that women in the West often fell prey, especially to Indians, Cody included female victims who screamed and wailed through such mini-dramas as “The Attack on the Settler’s Cabin.” But this was not enough for late-nineteenth-century viewers who saw assertive women everywhere they looked: in jobs, professions, politics, and reform activities. Even though American women had not yet achieved the right to vote, many of them found ways to metamorphose into what were then called “New Women,” who went where they wished and did what they pleased.

Cowgirls were also appealing because Western women were very effective in expanding traditional female roles. Western women often rode horseback and handled firearms. During the 1890s, women went West as homesteaders; in Colorado they accounted for 11.9 percent of all homesteaders and in Wyoming numbered 18.2 percent. Some women ran ranches, wrangled cattle, and drove herds to market, whereas others worked in shops, for newspapers, and in factories. Also, 14 percent of Western women were in the professions, whereas nationally only 8 percent of women were professionals. In 1889, for example, Ella L. Knowles passed the Montana bar examination with distinction, began practicing law in Helena, and actively campaigned for Populist goals and for woman suffrage.

Even as early as the mid-1880s, Cody must have realized, as humorist Josh Billings later put it, that in the West “wimmin is everywhere.” A male-dominated Wild West would not have the appeal or generate the profits Cody wanted. After Annie’s hiring in 1885, Cody introduced Oakley to his all-male white cast as the “first white woman” to work for the Wild West. Although Cody had worried about Annie’s ability to lift heavy rifles and feared that male cast members might heckle and take advantage of her, his fears were needless. Annie was a strong, talented shooter who, rather than becoming a disreputable “show” girl, wanted to preserve her “ladyhood.” Even without Frank’s considerable assistance, the intrepid Annie would have maintained her ladylike comportment and reputation.

Cody, too, wanted to stress femininity. Although in 1899 he stated that women should have the right to hold paid employment and to vote, he did not believe they should wear what he called “bloomer pants” or ride bucking horses. He also wanted to avoid irritating early audiences needlessly. Thus, he billed Annie and others he hired, such as Emma Lake Hickok, Lillian Smith, and Della Farrell, as *ranchera*, prairie beauties, and natural flowers of the American West, at the same time explicitly denying that cowgirls were “new women.” Rather, they were spirited, athletic young women with exceptional riding and shooting skills. Only a few rode their horses astride. Annie Oakley refused to ride astride, which she declared a “horrid idea,” but others did so, using men’s light roping saddles.

As the first female cowgirl, Annie had a large task before her. For women ranging from shopgirls to wealthy matrons, Annie wanted to model what she saw as the best and most enduring of female characteristics. Consequently, she often surprised people. In 1888, for example, a reporter who expected to meet a “strong, virile, masculine-like woman, of loud voice, tall of stature and of massive proportions,” discovered that Annie stood five foot tall, weighed just over 100 pounds, and spoke in soft, cultured tones. Annie cultivated her ladylike image by wearing her hair long and loose and by avoiding makeup, as well as jewelry and medals, which she put on only for publicity photographs. When other arena cowgirls adopted split skirts, bloomer outfits, and trousers, Annie wore her calf-length skirts, leggings, and sensible low-heeled shoes. Even when Oakley retired from Cody’s Wild West in 1901 and later toured with Vernon Seavers’s Young Buffalo Show between 1911 and 1913, she still wore her usual clothing, meaning no trousers or bloomers.

In all likelihood, Oakley’s Midwestern and Quaker background encouraged her to think of herself as what Victorians called a “true woman.” Certainly, she saw no gain to be had in perpetuating her image as an uncultured, gingham-clad farm girl from Ohio. Instead, she displayed the five characteristics associated with true women, who should be modest, married, domestic, benevolent, and a civilizing force. First, despite her fame, Annie was successful at remaining modest; she preferred that Frank handle her publicity. Second, Annie and Frank developed what was then called a companionate marriage, based on equality and pliable roles. In an era when the divorce rate had skyrocketed to about one out of thirteen marriages nationally—with the highest divorce rate in the Western states—Annie and Frank remained happily married for their lifetimes. Regarding the third characteristic, Annie tried to be domestic. She hosted tea parties and informal receptions in her tent, which she furnished with a Brussels carpet, couches, a rocking chair, and satin pillows. Between shows, Annie often sat in a rocking chair doing fine embroidery. But when it came to full-scale housekeeping, Annie admitted that her talents and interests lay elsewhere. Annie was far better at the fourth characteristic, benevolence, giving money and gifts to everyone from family members to orphans. Because of her own impoverished childhood, Annie was determined to share whatever she earned with others. Last, Annie was a civilizing force who refused to let even the roughest roustabouts or canvasmen get away with cursing, smoking, or drinking in her presence.

Obviously, Annie Oakley set high standards for women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She entered a male domain and competed with men on their own terms, yet remained ladylike in appearance and demeanor. She was an athlete who watched her diet and exercised daily; people referred to her as tiny, dainty, or girlish. These depictions pleased Annie, who did not want to be thought of as a “new woman.” Nor was she a supporter of woman suffrage because she feared that “not enough good women would vote.” Perhaps her only regret was the she and Frank did not

have children. As a good Victorian woman, Annie never talked about the topic, but she loved children and lavished attention on them, from relatives to strangers.

As the nation's first cowgirl, Annie answered questions that women of the era asked about femininity. She set a middle and just course, navigating between unusual achievements for a woman and all the trappings of what was then called a "woman's sphere." Oakley could shoot, ride, and perform a wide variety of authentic feats, yet she could also be traditionally feminine in appearance and conduct. As a result, she won respect from colleagues, friends, family members, and fans. She showed women how to capitalize on the opportunities opening to them during the late 1800s and early 1900s without totally deserting the world of women and becoming lost somewhere in between women and men. In other words, she subtly subverted customary gender expectations to serve her own ends, but was so graceful about it that most people applauded rather than criticized her.

Oakley's image of athletic ladyhood appealed especially to women attending colleges and universities that encouraged its female students to take part in such athletic games as tennis, basketball, and competitive shooting. Also during the 1890s, the bicycle craze hit. Oakley was partly responsible in that she brought an unassembled bicycle from England to the States. She also designed a modest outfit, in which unseen garters held down the skirt, and was soon riding and shooting from bicycle-back in the arena. Baseball followed—not for Annie, but for thousands of young women who played in amateur, semi-professional, and professional teams, such as the Bloomer Girls of Texas. It was women like these who emulated Oakley, believing she had just the right blend of athleticism and femininity. In England as well women applauded her; as one journalist said in 1892, Oakley "won the hearts of the ladies" with her singular shooting and feminine appearance.

Perhaps Oakley's ladylike demeanor was the reason that dime novelists, who generally preferred racier characters as prototypes, virtually ignored her. The one exception was the *Dauntless Dell* series by Prentiss Ingraham. Dell, like Oakley, could ride and shoot, yet she never cursed, never drank or smoked, and dressed modestly in a blouse, knee-length skirt, tan leggings, and "small russet shoes, with silver spurs at the heels." Although the adventures of *Dauntless Dell* now sound old-fashioned and melodramatic, they were an important part of the emerging cowgirl image. Dell idealized feminine virtues in a time of wrenching change, whether it be on the Western frontier or the Eastern urban frontier. Dell, alias Annie, modeled bravery, assertiveness, ladyhood, and loyalty. She never let down a friend, and she always triumphed over evil. This was the way Cody and Oakley wanted Western women and their counterparts in the Northeast and South to think of themselves.

Clearly, by the early 1900s, Cody's and Oakley's Wild West was more fantasy than reality. The Wild West was now often referred to as the Old Wild West, indicating that its time had come and gone. At the turn of the twentieth

century, the real Old West was giving way to an increasingly urbanized and industrialized “new” West.

Cody’s and Oakley’s Wild West was a social construction that fit its times. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the romanticized Wild West appeared widely to be a carefree and promising region, an image that had many adherents and few critics. It was in that milieu that Cody and Oakley became historians of sorts, presenting their version of westward settlement and instructing white citizens, immigrants, and children in the American national ideology. They also reinforced in peoples’ minds the erroneous image of a largely homogenized West, its harmony disrupted only by supposedly wild and disappearing Indians who gave way to cowboys and cowgirls, all with idealized attributes of manhood and womanhood. Although Cody’s and Oakley’s rendition of the West was not as “authentic” as Cody had hoped, it was highly usable, meaningful to many Americans at the turn of the twentieth century and still meaningful during the early twenty-first century.

THE FINAL YEARS

Although Annie Oakley followed Cody’s lead in life, she had no intention of doing so in old age. When in January 1917 a *New York Tribune* reporter described her as a little old lady who sat and knitted, Annie was beside herself. She fired off a letter saying she had never knitted. Rather, she had spent her adult years fighting an “uphill battle” in the arena “to live down” widespread prejudice against female performers. She thanked the many “good American people” who had given “their approval and applause.” Annie concluded that she hoped her story would encourage those who were “just beginning the great battle of life.”

When on 11 February, almost four hundred people watched Annie shoot at Pinehurst, North Carolina, not one of them could have thought of her as a has-been. She shot money out of Frank’s fingers, split a potato sitting on Dave’s head (their dog), scrambled five eggs in midair, cracked nuts, and shot over her shoulder by aiming in a mirror. When a reporter asked Annie for a copy of her program she replied that she and Frank had none; they put together “an impromptu shoot” and kept going as long as the audience wanted.

When America entered World War I in April 1917, Annie was ready to help. She offered, as she had during the Spanish-American War of 1898, to put together a regiment of volunteer women shooters to provide “home protection.” When she got no reply from Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, she volunteered as an instructor of soldiers in proper weapon handling and shooting. Again rejected, Annie joked that she would go on the vaudeville stage, billed as the shooter the U.S. government turned down. She finally found her niche with the War Work Council and War Camp Community Service. Paying their own

expenses and carrying their own supplies, Annie and Frank went from camp to camp, demonstrating shooting procedures to new recruits. Annie said that this service made her “the happiest woman in the world.”

The Butlers also enlisted Dave, who raised funds for the Red Cross. During 1918, Dave searched out money that people wrapped in handkerchiefs and hid within one hundred yards of the performance area. Wearing a blindfold, Dave sniffed out the money, which all went to the Red Cross. Annie and Frank said that if Dave failed, they would give a like amount of money to the Red Cross. Not once did Dave miss finding the hidden cash.

After the war ended in 1918, Annie and Frank returned to The Carolina hotel in Pinehurst. Annie shot exhibitions for charities ranging from schools to tuberculosis asylums. She also taught women how to shoot. In 1921, the Pinehurst newspaper reported that since 1915, Annie had instructed 2000 women a year, including some 800 in 1921. Early in 1922, when shooting an exhibition, Annie hit 100 targets in a row, which the *New York Times* called a new world’s record. Annie also continued such long-term regimens as exercising daily, eating nutritionally, and spending time with friends like comedian Will Rogers and vaudevillian Fred Stone and his family.

Annie’s life might have continued this way had it not been for two horrendous events. The first was an automobile accident in Florida on 9 November 1922. A car in which Annie and Frank rode overturned, pinning Annie underneath. Annie had a fractured hip and a splintered right ankle. For the next six weeks, Frank lived in a room across from the hospital. When Annie returned home, she was fitted for a steel brace. The second disaster occurred on 25 February, when an automobile veered, hitting and killing Dave, the “Red Cross Dog,” as he walked along the roadside with Frank. Both tragedies led to an outpouring of letters, telegrams, and flowers from fans who had not forgotten Annie Oakley, or Frank and Dave.

Life changed for the Butlers, who took up residence at the Lakeview Hotel in Leesburg, Florida. Although doctors had told Annie that she would never shoot again, she daily exercised her legs, enduring severe pain. In March 1923, Annie resumed shooting, wearing her steel brace and making some shots with her left hand. Shortly afterward, the couple traveled to Ansonia, Ohio, to spend the winter with niece Bonnie Blakely and husband Rush. Annie seldom spoke of her achievements and started to disperse her possessions and documents, including her medals and other memorabilia.

The following year, 1924, Annie and Frank, aged sixty-three and seventy-three, respectively, felt well enough to travel to North Carolina to help establish a gun club at the Mayview Manor in Blowing Rock. There, eighteen months after Annie’s accident, she hit ninety-eight out of one hundred clay pigeons. Later, Annie and Frank moved to Dayton to be near her family. They still took interest in local shooting matches. They also thought about writing a will and Frank urged Annie to pen a memoir, which she finished in 1926.

When Will Rogers appealed to former fans to write to Annie, a deluge of letters and telegrams followed. Some thought of Oakley primarily as an entertainer. A Cleveland man wrote that he had first seen Annie with the Wild West in 1897 or 1898. Others remembered Annie as a sport shooter. A Florida man said that as a boy he had filled a trap with clay pigeons for a match where she, the only female competitor, had taken first prize. Others characterized Annie as a lady, one who spread her benevolence far and wide. A female well-wisher hoped that Annie's spirit would help her through hard times. Many more saw Annie as a Western woman. A California man commented that he first went West in 1881 and, like Annie, was "nearing the end of the trail."

During the summer of 1926, Annie and Frank returned to the Blakeley farm. When Frank spoke of going to Pinehurst for the winter, Annie urged him to go ahead, promising him she would follow when she felt strong enough. Feeling poorly himself, but wanting to please Annie, Frank first went to New Jersey but was too unwell to go on. He called Annie's niece, Fern Swartout, for help. Frank went to Fern in Michigan, where she put him to bed and cared for him, as Annie had asked when and if the necessity arose.

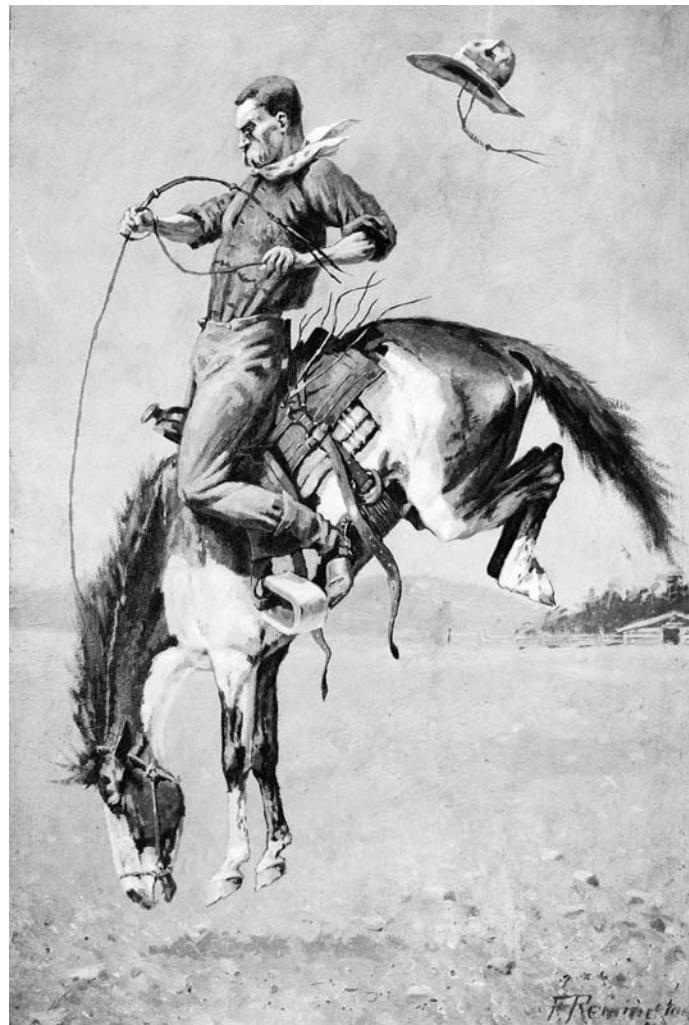
At home, Annie worsened. She gave away many of her remaining possessions and did not resist when her sister Hulda moved her to a house in Greenville, where she died in her sleep on 3 November 1926. In Michigan, Fern noted that when Frank heard of Annie's death, he stopped eating. Frank died on 21 November, eighteen days after Annie. Tributes and flowers poured in from fans and admirers. At a simple ceremony on Thanksgiving Day the two were buried in the family plot at Brock Cemetery near Greenville.

In the years since her death, Annie's story has taken on many dimensions, some accurate, some less so. Books, stage plays, motion pictures, and museum exhibits have interpreted her achievements in different ways. Most well known is the musical *Annie Get Your Gun*, which opened on Broadway in May 1946, with Ethel Merman playing Annie. In 1950, Barbara Stanwyck starred as Annie in a film version of *Annie Get Your Gun*. Since then, innumerable versions of the musical have played all over the United States and a good part of the world.

Today, in the early twenty-first century, Annie Oakley is primarily remembered for her immense contributions to Cody's Wild West and to the image of the Old Wild West. Despite Annie's Ohio background, she is thought of as a Western woman. Clearly, Annie Oakley became a Western icon not because of her origins, but in spite of them. Oakley looked like a Westerner and acted like a Westerner, thus the public accepted her as one. People at home and abroad also took in her rendering of Western women as strong, courageous, and able to defend themselves and others. In Oakley's case, representing the American West was a state of mind rather than a place of residence, allowing her to ably and effectively cast the Old Wild West into a form with widespread and lasting appeal.

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Cowboy on a Bucking Bronco, by Frederic Remington. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Frederic Remington

Marie Watkins

I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever. . . . Without knowing exactly how to do it, I began to try to record some facts around me, and the more I looked the more the panorama unfolded.

Close your eyes and most likely you will see this picture of the West: rugged cowboys, hard-riding bronco busters, fierce Indian warriors, and devil-may-care cavalrymen. This picture of the West is primarily derived from the late nineteenth-century artist Frederic Remington. His works, however, represented something beyond their purely formal qualities, both to his contemporaries, as well as today's audience. Likewise, his art assumed varying degrees of cultural importance. It is the cultural meanings of Remington's art that bestow value beyond its aesthetic appeal. This urbane Eastern artist took the morally flawed real

West and made it heroic: a place and its peoples existing in the wild and unsettled frontier where time is forever suspended. He blended history and myth into an iconic image that was later appropriated by Hollywood filmmakers, television producers, and Wall Street advertising agents. Remington became the epic mythmaker of the American West.

By the 1880s the “winning of the West” was for all practical purposes accomplished. Thriving cities replaced frontier towns, Indians were banished to reservations, barbed wire fenced in the open range, and blue overalls displaced the jingling spurs of the cowboys. America’s future became its past. The demise of the great Western drama now evoked nostalgic longing and regret. Remington enters the West at this point in time. Traveling to Montana in 1881, the nineteen-year-old Remington met an old wagon freighter who colorfully recalled the days of his youth as they sat around a campfire one night. The old man confirmed Remington’s worst fears when he declared the West was gone. Years later, in 1905, the artist told a reporter he thereby resolved at that moment to preserve the past, and indeed his panorama of the West unfolded for all America.

At the time of Remington’s premature death in 1909 at the age of forty-eight, his repertoire included over 3000 paintings and drawings, twenty-five bronzes, eight books, a Broadway play, two novels, and more than 100 magazine articles and stories. Remington towered as the most popular Western artist at the turn of the twentieth century, his Western imagery turning into a metaphor for the collective identity of America. From that time onward the American West became a place where life imitates art. Remington’s West came to stand for America’s Old West, and in particular the Wild West.

As early as 1892 Remington had clearly established his far-reaching influence as an artist-historian.

Eight years later, in 1900, the artist returned to the Southwest and Colorado. It was not the West he expected to see. Remington vowed he would never go West again because the West had failed to stay the same as the pictures he had painted. Remington had fallen victim to his own artistry, along with the nation.

Ironically, the New York-born Remington had limited experience of the “old West” that he wanted to depict so realistically in his art. He most often relied on what he had heard, not what he had seen. To be sure, he had served as an artist-correspondent in the last gasp of the Indian Wars. With brief excursions to Arizona and Mexico, he covered the Apache campaign and followed the trail of Geronimo. He had a short stint in Canada during the Metis unrest, and was in Dakota during the Sioux Ghost Dance War for the Battle of Wounded Knee that calamitously and tragically sealed the end of the Indian Wars. Unlike the life and death struggles that filled his art, Remington never saw action on these assignments. That would come with his posting to Cuba. With the Spanish-American War, his art and reality would mercilessly collide, forever tempering his visions of the glories of war. Nonetheless, his Western experiences alone were invaluable to his career. In particular, they enhanced his reputation as a recorder of history.

Writers and journalists repeatedly embellished Remington’s life in the frontier and vouched for his reliable reporting. In essence, Remington had his own public relations firm with Eastern writers. For them, the artist had taken on the guise of the stock-type characters in his works, and he, too, was being packaged as a commodity. Remington became a positive brand image along with his art. For example, under the pen of Orison Swett Marden, successful author of motivational books in the early twentieth century, Remington became a cow puncher in Montana; a profitable mule rancher in Kansas; and a cowboy, guide, and scout in the Southwest. Another writer of the popular press added to Remington’s growing legend:

[He] was once a ranger on the limitless prairies, a hard-riding, rough-living, free-fighting cowpuncher—for do not lose sight of the fact that Frederic Remington has put himself and his own experiences in very nearly every picture he has drawn or painted. “He rides like a Comanche,” said one of his friends “He knows as much about horses and cattle as any man alive. And so he should, for he spent most of his youth in the saddle, rounding up mavericks, chasing and being chased by the red men, and hobnobbing with scouts, pioneers, miners, and picturesque freebooters of the plains.” (Maxwell, 1907)

With twisted truths, Remington became larger than life. He was on his way to becoming a legend.

In his pictures of life on the plains, and of Indian fighting, [Remington] has almost created a new field of illustration, so fresh and novel are his characterizations. . . . It is a fact that admits of no question that Eastern people have formed their conceptions of what the Far Western life is like, more from what they have seen in Mr. Remington’s pictures than from any other source, and if they went to the West or to Mexico they would expect to see men and places looking exactly as Mr. Remington has drawn them.

—Art critic William A. Coffin, 1905

It would have been difficult, if not impossible for a reader to know how much was fact and how much was made up to fill the imaginations of Eastern readers. Perhaps it did not matter where the truth ended and the fiction began because by the turn of the century Remington and his art had become the Wild West. Rather than dry historical facts of Western history, the public preferred the meaning of the art and its artist. Even so, with conscientious chroniclers' biographical profiles like these how could anyone question the veracity of his Western art? Yet some did, mainly Westerners who had a bone to pick with an Eastern artist who was depicting their territory and challenging their views of artistic significance. They would dispute the factual accuracy of his art, especially the descriptive details.

Aesthetic quarrels such as these are not unusual in the history of Western American art, much less the history of art itself. One can readily turn to Renaissance Italy or closer to home in America with numerous vociferous artistic clashes. Although authenticity is a slippery concept, it has been and continues to be in some quarters a primary filter in assessing and interpreting Western American art. During Remington's era at the turn of the twentieth century, in a time of rapid transitions and the attendant loss of the frontier, many Americans found themselves seeking something both primordial and permanent. The concept of authenticity provided a means of defining such cultural values. Paradoxically, the standard of authenticity is culturally constructed and subject to constant change. Even more problematic is that it can only be defined in terms of its opposite. According to this binary structure, authenticity is indeterminate. On the one hand, the test of authenticity evaluates the work of art in terms of its truthfulness scale, or its qualities of documentation. On the other hand, as what is perceived as truth changes, so does its opposite. This paradox is endemic to the study of turn-of-the-century Western representations. The source of this conundrum lies in the origins of American art history itself.

Progenitors of Western American Art

America's frontier began in the East. The frontier was a dynamic process of expansion, a spasmodic imaginary line that continually moved westward on the continent, rather than a carefully delineated geographical region.

This shifting frontier took on different meanings and images, resulting in a vast array of art created and produced to fill imaginations and satisfy the curiosities of the public.

During the period of conquest and colonization in the sixteenth century, Europeans wanted to know what the New World and its inhabitants were like. Artists including Jacques Le Moyne (ca. 1533–1588) and John White (ca. 1540–ca. 1618) recorded the people, animals, and plants they encountered in precise detail. American art was thus born as an art of documentation. The need for understanding the New World and promoting colonization

tempered, however, these artists' representations. Often they depicted native peoples with the body type and stance of Greek and Roman statues. In contrast to mainstream American art, their Western subject matter had the common threads of realism and truth running through it. Or so it seemed. It was assumed that Western representations must be accurate. More recently, however, art and cultural historians have questioned the accuracy of such representations. As they see it, such imagery is derived from the values of the artists, patrons, and viewing audiences of the East (and Europe).

Rather than being categorized as narrative history painting or genre painting within the canon of American art, Western imagery was winnowed away from an encompassing American aesthetic. Western American art would seem a natural fit for history painting because history paintings do not necessarily portray an accurate or documentary description of actual events, for example Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851). Remington's works, in particular, portray the universal themes of the human spirit of which history paintings are so fond—heroic quest; struggle and sacrifice; virtues of courage, loyalty, and honor; the value of friendship; man against man; man against nature. However, this subject matter became consigned to records and interpretations of American history, essentially removed from aesthetic consideration. Authenticity and accuracy of detail became the core concepts of critical analysis (and remain for some today) for Western American art. Ultimately, authenticity was derived from firsthand Western experience: those who personally observed or lived in the West. The ability to determine authenticity was through the accuracy of detail. The details testified to the reality, that is, the documentary realism of the work of art. The rigor of factual accuracy as established by the New World artist-naturalists became the critical visual determinant among the artist-explorers (or pioneer artists), the progenitors of Western American art.

By the 1830s more and more artists began to explore the West and brought back visual proof of a dramatic new frontier to their patrons and an Eastern urban audience. They performed a heroic act in leaving the security and confines of the studio for the boundless West where they journeyed thousands of miles amid perilous terrain and unknown native peoples. George Catlin (1796–1872), Alfred Jacob Miller (1810–1874), and Karl Bodmer (1809–1893) were among the best known of the artist-explorers. These older established artists had a remarkable influence on later artists, including Remington. Through their paintings, especially those of Bodmer and Catlin, artists were encouraged to venture West and paint the Plains Indians. Moreover, these images became reference works for the illustrators who never left their Eastern studios, but hastened to meet the popular demand

Few people even know the true definition of the term "West," and where is its location?—phantom-like it flies before us as we travel, and our way is continually gilded, before us, as we approach the setting sun.

—George Catlin (1796–1872)

for Plains Indian imagery. Each artist shared a Romantic heritage but brought distinctive styles to their representations of indigenous cultures and Western lands. They argued unremittingly, with some theatrics thrown in, over the veracity of their pictures. By the time of Remington's generation, viewers were conditioned to look at Western American art as an instrument of information not cultural refinement, like stained glass windows for the medieval viewer.

In 1830, George Catlin, a former lawyer turned painter, was supposedly inspired to venture westward by a delegation of Western Indians traveling through Philadelphia. Catlin described how he zealously set out under his own volition to paint members of every Indian tribe in what he perceived as uncivilized country. In doing so, he believed he was documenting a dying race for posterity. The slap-dash technique of Catlin implied his urgent sense of mission to record one more face and likeness for posterity before fast-advancing civilization destroyed them. Catlin recognized his own limitations. Rather than stressing his artistic acumen, Catlin went to great lengths to promote the truthfulness of the ethnographic facts that he recorded in more than 600 paintings. Often he attached certificates of authenticity to his paintings. Official personages, including military officers and Indian agents, signed testimonials that they were not only present when Catlin painted the work but also vouched for the accurateness of the image. His best portraits capture sympathetically the individual's humanity as seen in *The Dog, Chief of "Bad Arrow Points" Band* (1832). On the whole, however, his interest was not primarily in individuals, but in a total record of Indian civilization.

Prefiguring Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Catlin took his Indian Gallery of paintings, artifacts, and sometimes Indian performers on the road in America and Europe. In his attempt to educate the public through his art, Catlin angered some Americans by his criticism of Indian policy. Wielding as much if not more influence than his paintings were Catlin's publications, such as the two-volume heavily illustrated *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, published in London in 1841. Viewed as historical documents, Catlin's paintings and illustrations shaped public attitudes toward native populations and Western lands. His art became part of the visual iconography of the West. Remington would later read his books and study his art. Catlin's publications, including *Letters and Notes*, were part of Remington's library as reliable source materials.

Catlin's excessive attempts to fend off criticism of his art, however, were to no avail. Some detractors maintained Catlin chose his Western subject matter due to his inability to compete skillfully with other artists of his generation. The same charges would also be leveled at Remington decades later. Artistic egos flared as Catlin's paintings achieved acclaim for their historical and scientific value. Alfred Jacob Miller flatly stated that it was fortunate for Catlin

that few had traveled westward because his works were filled with “humbug.” Karl Bodmer seconded that view, calling Catlin a charlatan.

In 1837 Miller left the confines of a New Orleans French Quarter studio on Chartres Street to record the adventures of his patron, the Scottish nobleman Sir William Drummond Stewart. Miller traveled 1500 miles through partially uncharted territory from St. Louis to the heart of the Rocky Mountains to record Stewart’s adventures as a dashing nineteenth-century romantic figure. Stewart was bound for the boisterous annual fur trade rendezvous at the Green River, Wyoming, where trappers and Indians came together to sell their furs to Eastern traders. Miller was among the first to depict the mountain man or fur trapper in his buckskin-clad adventurous lifestyle embodied in *Louis—Rocky Mountain Trapper* (undated), *Setting Traps for Beaver* (1837), and *Trappers* (1858). The mountain man, the first Western hero, lived in harmony with the exotic wilderness. Symbolizing courage, self-reliance, and individualism, he would become a type in Western iconography. This free-spirited, legendary loner was on his way to extinction, long gone before Remington made him part of his standard Western types. Initially the mountain man represented the frontier, but he would be supplanted by the cowboy by the end of the nineteenth century. Remington proved adept at rendering both cultural icons.

It’s not hard to imagine the mountain man today. However, the image we have is of Remington’s toughened stoic figures at bay in a perilous land, not Miller’s lissome young men posed as classical gods at play in a pastoral setting. Firsthand experience did not necessarily represent truth. Remington’s trappers were created from his imaginings, unlike Miller who had lived among the trappers. For example, when Remington saw the photograph of the real-life mountain man Henry Chatillon he was disappointed. Chatillon’s physiognomy did not live up to his expectations. Remington had planned to use him as a model for illustrations in the respected historian Francis Parkman’s reissued classic *The Oregon Trail* (1892). Nonplussed, he wrote Parkman that Chatillon looked more like a Boston fisherman than a wild rider of the Plains.

Parkman, who knew Chatillon, responded enthusiastically to the liberties Remington took in rendering the mountain man for his book and acknowledged that if the trapper were still alive he would be partial to the artist’s portrayal. In this case, Remington’s semblance of reality proved superior to the supposed truth derived from Miller’s firsthand experience and observation. Reality could not measure up to his visual transformation of the ideal.

Among Remington’s best representations of the trapper is the tension-filled twenty-eight-inch bronze *The Mountain Man* (1903) that fits Parkman’s description. A trapper on horseback makes his way down a precipitously steep incline, where one false move would tumble horse and rider to their deaths.

The supporting function of the base dissolves into a steep rocky cliff uniting figures and landscape into a dynamic sloping movement. Survival in this forbidding terrain is a judgment of his character. Leaning back in the saddle the trapper grasps a tail strap, balancing with consummate skill as the horse cautiously makes its way over the narrow, sharply inclined, rock-strewn ground. Man and animal are one in their strength and endurance. In this work, Remington created the memorable icon of the mountain man: fearless, self-reliant, alone, rootless as the ground he traverses. He exemplifies Darwinian survival of the fittest, a man who survives on his senses, a breed of man larger than life. He is beyond the reach of Eastern civilization and its social control as the ground gives way at a sharp incline behind him. Only a being such as this, wearing the fur cap and buckskins made from the hides of the wild animals he has killed, could survive in a raw and unforgiving nature. His realistic character is conveyed through the artist's inclusion of a mountain man's basic accoutrements such as bear traps, axe, bedroll, and rifle.

Miller, too, portrayed the frontier with the romantic sensibilities of his generation. Unlike Parkman and Remington, who viewed Native Americans as more savage than noble, Miller represented them as the idealized "noble savage." It is the larger intellectual and social context of any given period that fosters perceptions of Indians and the West, or for that matter, any people in any region. For Miller, *Crow Indian on the Lookout* (undated) embodied the ideal primitive man embodying the virtues of wilderness life.

He described this individual as unaware of his natural elegance. Indian society was part and parcel of the frontier fur trade life Miller painted. He often represented Indian women partially dressed or nude, as playful woodland nymphs who had the appearance of dark-skinned Caucasians. *Snake Girl Swinging* (undated) is candidly erotic in the Rococo tradition of Watteau, while *Indian Girls Making Toilet, Scene of the River "Eau Sucré,"* *Indian Woman Sleeping*, and *Waiting for the Caravan* (ca. 1837) are sisters to the odalisque and harem scenes in the Orientalist paintings of French artists Delacroix and Ingres, which Miller likely saw while in Paris in 1833–1834. Miller's paintings convey little of the impending doom of native cultures that he recorded in his diaries; rather they depict a land of romantic adventure, filled with nature's innocence.

There was little time for frolicking in Remington's West. Within his masculine domain that overflowed with violent life and death struggles, the "noble savage" and women have little place. Indians tended to be fierce adversaries and impeders of civilization. However, now that the Indian Wars had passed, he wrote of his respect for the Indians because they gave no quarter and asked no quarter. He admired their nobility of purpose to fight to their death for their land. His later works showed a change in attitude by empathetically depicting a quieter human nature as in the tender *The Love Call* (1909), and the elegiac *When His Heart is Bad* (1908). His West was never a place for a woman, possibly because, as Remington readily acknowledged, he didn't

paint women because he didn't understand them, but not because they weren't there. An exception is the extraordinarily romantic nocturne *Waiting in the Moonlight* (1907–1909). This painting may be interpreted as a tragic romance set in the West rather than the love-triumphs-over-all cliché of the sweetheart riding off in the arms of her cowboy. A traditional adobe dwelling with support poles, a favorite prop of Remington's Southwestern settings, forms a backdrop in this barren land. Pale moonlight streams down on the apparitional couple in the nighttime tryst. The mounted cowboy leans from his saddle toward his standing lover who turns away. The fluid brushwork of narrow tonal range suppresses the details, creating a canvas of tension and mystery. The viewer is left to wonder if this is a love story of yearning, perhaps of the tragic love of star-crossed lovers. Or indeed, what has gone awry between the two characters?

It would be easy to denigrate Miller's romantic, misogynist, and racist practices, just as Remington's art abetted racial and cultural dominance, and leave it at that. But to be fair, the artistic results need to be placed in the context of their respective eras. These artists did not live in the multicultural times of today. Their art expresses the dominant ideologies of their respective time periods. Beneath the historical subject matter, the paintings' topical relevance would have been understood by the contemporary viewer. In particular, the popular magazines and journals in which Remington's illustrations appeared presented a tacit understanding of current national attitudes, trends, ideas, and events. It was art created for urban middle-class and working-class audiences. Western art has provided us with some of our grandest visions and some of our darkest dreams. It is the complexity and the ironies of this art that makes for interesting dialogue today, attempting to penetrate the imagery and understand the impact of the West both then and now.

In 1832, the twenty-four-year-old Karl Bodmer accompanied his patron, the German gentleman-scientist of Humboldtian tradition Alexander Philipp Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, to document his explorations and observations in the Upper Missouri country that Catlin had recently traversed. While Bodmer's and Catlin's paintings shared similarities of peoples and places, Bodmer's superior European artistic training produced more precise renderings of anatomy and colorful material culture, hence a greater impression of the truth. Bodmer's representations were clinically executed records showing human specimens in ethnological detail. Works such as *Iron Shirt, Mehkskehme-Sukahs, Piegan Blackfeet Chief* (August 1833) accompanied studies of animal and plant life, as well as details of the geology and geography of the Upper Missouri. As directed by Prince Maximilian, Bodmer thoroughly recorded all aspects of their travels, which resulted in the widely acclaimed scientific publication *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1832–1834*. Parkman praised the accuracy of Bodmer's art to Remington. Unaware of the book, Remington went directly to a library and determined that Bodmer was a better draftsman and scientific source than Catlin.

Remington, however, opted to move from reporting to more complex constructions whether to create a national form of history painting or to contribute images to the American myth.

Catlin, along with other artist-explorers, gathered depictions of Indians in the manner that naturalists assembled plants, animals, and minerals. In this sense, the portraits served as cultural exemplars, not to be viewed as art but as scientific specimens like other natural phenomena. Perhaps that is why naturalist John James Audubon also entered the heated fray. Taking offense at Catlin's christening as "the Audubon of the Indians," he denounced Catlin's work as a fraud and nonsense. It was the accuracy of facts that drew the ire of his rivals, not his slap-dash artistry. And Catlin was not without blame. By promulgating the truth of his paintings, he downplayed their artistic merit. He explained his unrefined painterly technique as compliant with his urgent sense of mission to record one more face and likeness for posterity. For him, time was of the essence to capture the vanishing race. Moreover, he justified his style with the vagaries of working in the privations of the frontier. His challenging artistic process notwithstanding, Catlin painted each individual and captured their dignity of bearing. Nonetheless, a division was taking place between American artists: the art of Western artists was to be judged on its documentary elements, not its aesthetic ones.

Factual accuracy would continue to permeate Western subject matter, unlike that of other artistic schools. Like Catlin, Remington too would build his career on factual accuracy and take center stage in rancorous artistic rivalries within the Wild West school. It would also be his undoing in the later stages of his career, when he sought acclaim as a fine artist rather than a purveyor of historical records—a visual historian. Also like Catlin, Remington brought some of his troubles on himself.

Contemporary Artistic Rivals

Remington was proud of his artistic achievements, and deservedly so. Open the popular magazines of *Harper's Weekly*, *Outing*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, or *Harper's Monthly* from the mid-1880s through the 1890s and Remington was there. No less, his gripping illustrations played counterpoint to the prose of the best of contemporary Western writers, including William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody, Bret Harte, John Muir, Frances Parkman, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister. Remington, too, wrote his own Western narratives. It is not without significance that his rise to the top was meteoric among the denizens of popular visual culture. Unequivocally, he attributed his achievement to his personal experience with typical bravado that he knew the West better than anyone else. It was Remington's West for a while. But by 1903, fellow Easterner Charles Schreyvogel (1861–1912) had moved into his artistic territory, and he had come to stay. Moreover, other up-and-comers, including Charles M. Russell (1864–1926) and Maynard Dixon (1875–1946) were trailing close behind from the West.

In 1891, after five years in the profession, Remington, now the sage illustrator, graciously offered guidance to the sixteen-year-old Dixon who wanted to break into Western illustration. He had sent Remington, whom he admired above all other illustrators, his sketch books. Remington's response to the rising young

*By gad a fellow has got to
race to keep up now days—the
pace is fast.*

artist is revealing not only in its genuine openness but also in his philosophy of art and his attitude regarding the subject of popular illustration at this time. Like a caring father to his son, Remington, fast approaching forty, wistfully wrote "your letter and books are here and I have quite enjoyed your sketches. I hardly know what to tell you—I do not 'teach' and unused to giving advice—the only advice I could give you is to never take anyone's advice, which is my rule" (Hagerty, 1998). He kindly acknowledged that Dixon's technical skills were better than his at that age. But straight away he counseled on the challenges and frustrations of the profession, writing that "if you have the 'Sand' to overcome difficulties you could be an artist in time—no one's opinion of what you can do is of any consequence—time and your character will develop that." Surprisingly, Remington recommended a formal artistic education, which he himself had rejected. "Most every artist needs 'schooling,'" he encouraged, but "I had very little—it is not absolutely necessary—it is best to have it" (Hagerty, 1998). Concerning artistic style, he insisted to "[b]e always true to yourself—to the way and the things you see in nature—if you imitate any other man ever so little you are 'gone'" (Hagerty, 1998). Remington followed his own advice throughout his career. For him, the subject matter was a constant that he would not relinquish. But technically he would readily attempt something new. One need only compare the loose, dappled impressionistic painting *Pool in the Desert* (1907–1908) with the hard-edged clarity of color and form of *The Blackfoot War Party* (1887). It is hard to believe that they are by the same artist, except for their figural subject matter of Indians.

Remington kept himself well informed of new developments in contemporary art through fellow artists, exhibitions, books, and lectures. He understood the competitive art world and the rapidly changing progressive art movements.

He numbered members of The Ten, a rebellious American Impressionist group, among his circle of friends. He keenly sought their guidance and criticism, especially that of J. Alden Weir, with whom he had studied at the Art Students League. Remington also valued the opinions of Robert Reid, Childe Hassam, John H. Twachtman, and Willard Metcalf. Of all the French Impressionist art that he saw, he appreciated and studied the work of Claude Monet, whose paintings he had seen in Paris in 1893. Observing the works in the same natural light in which they were painted enhanced his understanding of Monet's technique. Remington also socialized with art critic and Tonalist painter Arthur Hoeber, who critiqued his work and also kept him abreast of the latest gossip in New York art circles.

Study good pictures—do not imitate them—read books and good literature and work work work.

—Remington to Maynard Dixon (1875–1946)

More of a maverick, Remington never felt the need to join a group, preferring to observe other artists' approaches and then place his own personal vision on his art. Supplementing Remington's drive to improve his technique and understanding of the material properties of the media was a strong work ethic. All through his life, on most days, Remington could be found at his easel from eight A.M. until mid-afternoon. He advised young Dixon to do the same.

As well throughout his career Remington fervently studied artworks independently, particularly that of European military painters Louis-Ernest Meissonier, Jean-Baptiste-Edouard Detaille, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, and Vasili Vereschagin. Although some of Remington's works are derivative of their subject matter, it does not diminish him or his art at all. As Picasso once famously said, "Bad artists copy. Great artists steal." Remington, like other artists, would find a model, dissect it, analyze it, and reconstruct it. Under the time constraints of the commercial art market of illustration, models would be a vital resource.

Remington also warned Dixon of the capriciousness of the art market that he knew all too well. Although riding high at this time, he knew that he was at a turning point with his specialization in depicting the winning of the West. The military conquest had ended. As a result, imagery of the violent clash of cultures was on the way out, or so it seemed. He felt pressed to find other subject matter and new markets to offer to his publishers and public. He explained to Dixon that being an artist would not bring wealth, but perhaps happiness, because he was in control of how he spent his time. Most important, he admonished the young artist to respect the illustrator's art for it was as rewarding as that of the painter and most likely more financially secure. Soon, however, Remington would find illustrating others' narratives too narrow and displeasing. Showing in major art venues since 1888, he sought distinction beyond that of the foremost popular illustrator. It would prove to be a long hard trail to follow. But he obstinately pursued it to its end, in due course receiving limited critical favor as a sculptor and subsequently as a painter. Nonetheless, he remained practical. He reconciled that illustration was the bread and butter that provided the comfortable life he had achieved and enjoyed.

Dixon followed Remington's advice, and in many ways his career would parallel Remington's life choices. In 1893, Dixon's illustrations began to appear in the San Francisco *Overland Monthly*, to the pleasure of the public. In less than two years the publication proclaimed that Dixon now wore the mantle of the master. The young artist went into illustration because of Remington, but later he turned from storytelling imagery to that of the spiritual and introspective. Like Remington, he moved with facility from illustration to

painting, experimenting with impressionistic and tonalist techniques. Dixon was also influenced by cubism and social realism, styles that Remington did not live to see. Dixon began to apply postmodern principles to Western landscapes, evident in *Study in Cubist Realism* (1925). The words cubism and realism are antithetical, but Dixon seemingly integrated them in his technical exploration. Although he used angular shapes, the work is not strictly cubist. Rather, the shapes are abstracted. A transition from the polarization of value and color eliminates the middle values, thus allowing an extreme contrast which is unlike analytical cubism, its stylistic model. The spaces in this painting clearly define a foreground, middle-ground, and background. The foreground shapes, which are larger and a little brighter, transition into the middle-ground to smaller shapes and slightly duller colors, and the background is a strip of sky plane. Two verticals create a frontal plane that put the landscape behind it.

The suppressed details, flattened space, and simplified and faceted forms, as in *Earth Knower* (1931–1932) and *Men and Mountains* (1933), are representative of Dixon's distinctive mature style. Akin to Remington, he never subscribed to a particular school of art, but Dixon lived long enough to develop his modernist style. His Western art predecessor had offered good advice and Dixon had taken it to heart.

An aesthetic pioneer, Dixon expanded the West. Intuitively, Dixon knew his destination, whereas Remington had difficulty trusting his own instincts. Dixon's growth as an artist was linear and direct, while Remington's vacillated more between realism and the new direction in art. In the end Dixon became the artist that Remington aspired to be. He was the true visionary. Ironically, Remington arguably ended up with the larger reputation.

With Remington's changing styles, one wonders whether if he had lived longer, he too would have eventually rejected Western drama for poetic formalism. He turned briefly in that direction with a series of *plein air* landscapes in 1908. Yet he was at odds with himself to create a personal style. He commented that "these transcripts from nature fellows who are so clever cannot compare with the imaginative man in long run" (Dippie, 2001). It was the subject matter that mattered most to Remington. As far as he was concerned, his landscapes were hardly ever beautiful. Nonetheless, he admitted how much he prized the work. Moreover, Remington himself doubted the marketability of his impressionistic and tonalist landscapes, especially as he saw that The Ten were lacking in sales, although their work met with the critical approval that he keenly wanted. He thought that one could not have seen a better modern showing than theirs in 1908. Yet several of them were in desperate financial straits as Remington noted in his diary. In fact, one member of The Ten, Reid, went bankrupt.

He faced the traditional schism between art and money. Remington was conflicted because he needed the income. He, too, knew his public wanted Western imagery.

Got me pigeon-holed in their minds, you see; want horses, cowboys, out West things, won't believe me if I paint anything else.

Perhaps typecasting was a boon for Remington in a manner, for he maintained recognition and salability in a precarious profession. The drawback was with the Eastern art establishment, who did not want to consider Remington beyond the role of an illustrator of Western subject matter, which they considered middlebrow. Even more so, the greatest drawback may have been Remington himself. He was too competent and too facile. Maybe with less ability he

would have been a more visionary artist. Having reached the end of his skill, he was at a loss. Moreover, if he had not painted the West, he would never have achieved his iconic status. Given his competent but undistinguished manner of painting, if he had painted the subject matter of The Ten, for instance, he would simply be another name added to the list of American Impressionists.

In contrast to his support for Dixon, Remington had no warm words for Charles Schreyvogel, except in the heat of anger. Unintentionally, Schreyvogel hit one sore point after another where Remington was concerned. First, Schreyvogel was a latecomer to the world of the Wild West. He did not begin to paint Western subject matter until 1893, and second, it wasn't just any Western subject matter but that of Remington's action-packed narratives with charging cavalry, crackling gunfire, and resounding war whoops on the Plains. To have seen battles like these at this point in time, Schreyvogel would have had to buy a ticket to Buffalo Bill's Wild West, something he could have done that very year at the World's Columbian Exposition (the Chicago World's Fair), which was celebrating America's progress from its frontier origins. Remington, like half the nation, attended the fair where he exhibited fifteen drawings, along with writing and illustrating the article "A Gallop through the Midway" for *Harper's Magazine*. Sometime during the 1890s, when Schreyvogel visited the sensational Wild West productions, he became friends with its creator Buffalo Bill Cody. The artist used the Wild West performers as models for his art. Thus Schreyvogel came by his material secondhand, a flaw in the eyes of Remington.

Schreyvogel, like the fair-going public, had the rare opportunity to see an Indian in the flesh. Most Indians were confined to reservations and were removed from the day-to-day life of the majority of European Americans. Buffalo Bill's Wild West on the outskirts of the Chicago fair offered an alternative view to the exposition's ethnographic displays, although each maintained that they edified along with being entertaining. In Chicago, the Wild West performances repeatedly presented to packed crowds the unfolding drama of American civilization. Cody insisted the acts were exactly the way these events had occurred and as they were recorded in the annals of history. In truth, the shows suspended time and reenacted his vaudevillian version of the winning of the West, not unlike his artist counterparts Remington and Schreyvogel.

Cody paralleled Remington's ability to make Western icons. This showman's presentation of the Old West, however, impacted more immediately and more viscerally because of its theatricality and entertainment. Millions saw Buffalo Bill, but how many saw Remington's art or would be so inclined, especially to see his paintings? It would be impossible to record who saw Remington's illustrations and paintings, but it is implausible they numbered more than those who attended the Wild West performances. It was in the nature of his delivery to the public that Cody reigned supreme in creating his vision of the West. Looking at images is a passive engagement unlike the "real time" Wild West show.

Cody reinvented and reinvigorated the last frontier, perpetuating a continual renewal that enshrined and placed value on the winning of the West in the American consciousness. Ultimately, the program conveyed the same message as did the fair's ethnographic presentations—that the American Indians, heroic warriors of a vanishing race, must submit to a superior, progressive civilization. Their passing ignited a public longing for things Indian. Buffalo Bill and Remington, and now Schreyvogel, had tapped into a lucrative popular market that fed the public's nostalgic longing for the passing of the frontier and its inhabitants.

In Remington's eyes, the upstart Schreyvogel committed his second faux pas in painting *My Bunkie* (1899), which was clearly derived from Remington's 1896 sculpture *The Wounded Bunkie*. This painting portrayed bravery under fire as a mounted cavalryman rescues his fallen comrade. The painting won the esteemed National Academy of Design's Thomas B. Clarke Prize for figure painting in 1900, an honor that Remington coveted but never received. It gained further merit by being praised in the introduction to a collection of reproductions that included *My Bunkie*. Its author proclaimed that Schreyvogel had never worked as an illustrator, reproducing his imagery for the popular press. This comment of the divide between illustrators and painters hit too close to home for Remington, who was intently trying to transform his professional persona. Remington began to make a list of factual inaccuracies in Schreyvogel's art.

Schreyvogel continued to garner critical praise. Words that had been typically applied to Remington's work were directed toward Schreyvogel's paintings, as shown in the 1901 critic's remark that no one depicted the West more accurately. Then, in 1902 Remington's own publisher, *Harper's Weekly*, crowned Schreyvogel "The West's Painter-Laureate." Remington was bristling and contacted his friend Owen Wister, to condemn Schreyvogel in writing because he was confusing the public with a West he had never seen and could not understand.

In 1893, just as Dixon was beginning to make a name for himself as a Western illustrator, Schreyvogel embarked on the first of several trips to the West to make sketches, write detailed descriptions, take photographs, and collect artifacts that would enable him to bring a historical reconstruction to his

studio paintings. In contrast to their opinion of Remington's work, other contemporaries, while acknowledging Schreyvogel's historical distance from his subject matter, applauded his painstaking research.

Fellow Western artists William Jones and Edwin W. Deming, on visiting Schreyvogel's studio in 1902, went one step farther. They directly compared him to Remington: "He does things western, especially where Indians and soldiers are fighting. . . . His pictures are like Remington's only far better. This statement has reference only to the pictures in action. In atmosphere, and cowboys and ponies, Remington is king" (Dippie, 1994). King or not, Remington was not about to tolerate any royal pretenders. Early in his career Remington established himself as the foremost American military artist. He remained enamored of the military his entire life, a legacy from his childhood hero worship of his father's military exploits. The very same year that James and Dewing praised Schreyvogel's military art, Wister championed Remington as the soldier-artist in his sole publication of poems *Done in the Open*, illustrated by Remington: "[Remington] with his piercing and yet imaginative eye has taken the likeness of the modern American soldier and stamped it upon our minds with a blow as clean-cut as is the impression of the American Eagle upon our coins in the Mint. Like the Mint, he has made these soldiers of ours universal currency, a precious and historic possession" (Wister, 1902). Remington coined the imagery and considered Schreyvogel's art counterfeit representations of the West.

Although Remington had moved on from military imagery to that of other Western subjects by 1895, not everyone had grown tired of soldiers in conflicts on the frontier. What was one to do with a royal pretender but crush him in his ascendancy? Remington had bided his time long enough and devised a plan to bury Schreyvogel: It would be in the details of his paintings. Remington believed that his personal version of Western reality was plainly dependent on realistic details and his cultural influence was wide and practically unassailable.

On 18 April 1903 the *New York Herald* pushed all the right buttons, igniting Remington's jealousy. The newspaper published a spread on Schreyvogel's latest painting with the heading: "'Custer's Demand,' Schreyvogel's Latest Army Picture. Artist Made Famous by 'My Bunkie' Produces a Picture of a Historical Event in Indian Warfare." The journalist went so far as to hail Schreyvogel as "the Painter of the Western Frontier." Those were fighting words. Remington's moment had arrived. Nine days later in a letter to the *Herald*, Remington launched an all-out, vitriolic attack against the authenticity of his rival's painting *Custer's Demand* (1902), which depicted a peace parley between General George Armstrong Custer's staff and their Kiowa counterparts. No one loved controversy more than a newspaper and the *Herald* printed Remington's letter under the headline "Finds Flaws in 'Custer's Demand'/'Half Baked Stuff' and 'Unhistorical' Are Frederic Remington's Comments/Officers' Arms and Accoutrements Taken as the Basis for the Artist Attack." Conflict sold.

Remington was back in the headlines with the *Herald*, egging on a showdown. He stated the criticism was harsh but it all came down to who knew the West the best. Concerning the vital details of the painting as incorrect, Remington therefore regarded Schreyvogel's work inauthentic—one of the worst charges one could level at a Western painting and its artist. Remington charged that the painting was, in short, “half baked stuff” and filled with errors. He proceeded to list the faults, which were all details: pistol holders, ammunition belts, war bonnets, hats, boots, stirrup covers, saddlebags, saddle cloths, uniform colors, the height of Custer’s horse. Remington viewed these pictorial details as wrong, and therefore judged the painting inauthentic, adding that Schreyvogel was hallucinatory.

A national controversy ensued over Western art. For Remington, the battle peaked when Elizabeth Custer, General George Armstrong Custer’s widow, and the respected Colonel John Schuyler Crosby defended the authenticity of the painting. *Herald* headlines blared, “SCHREYVOGEL RIGHT, MRS. CUSTER SAYS.” Crosby was actually present on that auspicious occasion with Custer and had advised Schreyvogel in his research. Moreover, Crosby’s military trousers served as Schreyvogel’s model. The aristocratic Crosby, of distinguished military and government service, did not stand quietly by, but counterattacked Remington with scathing commentary that included his knowledge of the details. “[C]ertain facts that I know, and Mr. Remington could not, because I was present at the moment Mr. Schreyvogel depicts on canvas and Mr. Remington was riding a hobby horse, which he seems to do yet” (*New York Herald*, 1903). Harsh words for a man who “knew the horse.”

Crosby proceeded to take apart Remington’s charges detail by detail. And who could doubt the word of the beloved widow who admired Schreyvogel’s paintings? Remington retreated, expressing his regrets, although his last private words on the subject appeared in a letter: “I despise Schreyvogel.” His rival, who never entered the debate except to remark publicly that Remington was “the greatest of us all,” remained a gentleman to the end. He not only paid tribute to Remington’s work when he was alive but also at his death when he sent a telegram to Eva Remington expressing, “My deepest sympathy for the great loss to you and to our nation” (Dippie, 2001).

The accuracy debacle proved the adage that there is no such thing as bad publicity. The prestigious art gallery M. Knoedler & Company in New York City, exhibiting *Custer’s Demand* during the controversy, saw a considerable increase in gallery goers during the spring and summer. That fall the painting traveled to the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, DC. Again, it drew a large following, including veterans of the Seventh Cavalry and other Western commands who, according to the newspapers, viewed the painting, talking quietly in tones of veneration. Among the spectators were President Theodore Roosevelt and his wife, who intently scrutinized *Custer’s Demand* with admiration on several occasions. Roosevelt extended a luncheon invitation to Schreyvogel to dine with him at the White House. They were then to view

the painting at the Corcoran, so that, as Roosevelt wrote, he could applaud Schreyvogel's aesthetic, attention to accurate detail, and erudition of the historical event. At their meeting, Roosevelt confided to Schreyvogel that his friend Remington had behaved not only foolishly in his newspaper assault, but also was clearly wrong in his assessment of the painting's details. Roosevelt and Schreyvogel became friends. His artistic reputation continued to grow with much acclaim and respect, rivaling Remington in the first decade of the twentieth century (Horan, 1969).

What Remington did not consider was critiquing the painting for its artistic merit, where he may have had room for argument. The irony is that by the turn of the century, Remington had begun to leave behind his literal interpretation of the West. Primarily this was in response to the critics' dismissal of what they perceived as a dry, detailed, and unimaginative documentary aesthetic. Now focused on light and color, a more painterly approach that was without exacting detail, he arguably created some of his best works. He was devoting his efforts to pure painting rather than factual accuracy. One could argue that one factor that separates the illustrator from the artist is priority: For the illustrator it is the factual—technique is used to reinforce the “truth.” For the artist the act of painting, the emphasis on the medium, is its own truth; subject matter may or may not be relevant. But where Schreyvogel was concerned he fell back on an older personal standard.

Visualization of the drama of the frontier proved to be a dynamically competitive artistic venue, whether in paintings, illustrations, books, magazines, or Wild West shows. Remington was reluctant to surrender any of his popularity and recognition. Although he was weaning illustration from his repertoire, he would never completely give it up. The Schreyvogel controversy also reveals that despite Remington's desire to be perceived as a fine artist, he still thought and looked with the eyes of an illustrator. This argument reflects the fluid nature of accuracy within the details of the paintings and calls into question the static, unchanging picture ideal of the West we are saddled with today. Though as his paintings were beginning to show, details would never be as important to him after this. His style was changing. Some, however, were still focused on the particulars of his past.

The standards to which Remington held Schreyvogel accountable would be held up to Remington with even more vehemence and malice. A contemporary of Remington, Emerson Hough, author of Western fiction and history, sarcastically put into perspective the influence of Remington's detailed works on a mass audience in 1908: “If Mr. Remington today wanted to add a cubit to the tail of the American bison, or to establish a Western horse with five legs, he certainly could make it stick” (Hough, 1908). This statement was a resounding backhanded slap, especially by someone who had only lived a year and a half in the West at this time and who implied only a real born and bred Westerner would know the difference.

Again, authenticity was derived from firsthand Western experience, namely those who lived in the West and inherently knew the real thing. Consequently, Remington's personal Western observations were sporadic at best, thus making him an outsider to his Western audience and critics. The ability to determine authenticity was through the accuracy of detail. The details testified to the reality, that is, the documentary realism of the work of art. Hough probed Remington's soft spot.

Hough teamed up with Texan photographer Erwin E. Smith, both itching for a fight with Remington. They connived to bring down the interloping Easterner who reigned as the most honored Western artist, not only with vehement criticism of his accuracy, but with the promotion of the up and coming Montana artist Charles M. Russell. In turn, they hoped to hitch their struggling artistic wagons to this rising star in the Western art firmament. Both Russell and Remington were unaware of this crafted competition. As Remington was leaving the world of illustration behind, Russell was making his entrance.

The Western press had already begun their own image management of Russell to differentiate the two artists in their native son's favor. In 1901, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* anointed Russell "the Cowboy artist." Not only did the journalist laud Russell as a "realist" who knew "his Indians, his plainsmen, his broncho, and cayuse, and his cattle," but also his innate artistry, untainted by teaching, as if he sprung forth a fully-fledged artist like Athena from Zeus's head (Hassrick, 2000). This lack of formal training would continue to be a note of pride in Western critiques for both Russell and Remington. For critics, it was Russell's lack of artistic refinement that made his work believable. Both American and European artists influenced his imagery. Among these were Carl Wimar, from his hometown of St. Louis, Eugene Delacroix, and Horace Vernet. In particular, Russell studied art in public venues and from books and the popular press.

For Westerners, especially Montanans, Russell painted the West as it was. They saw him as the beloved "Cowboy artist" untainted by eastern art tradition.

Russell's distinction as a documentary artist perseveres. In the 1960s, a leading Russell authority affirmed that accuracy of the minutest element distinguished Russell's work from that of all other Western artists. Moreover, the author assured the details were exactly as Russell had seen because his memory was infallible. Although Russell may have had an unfailing memory, he wrote to a friend in 1918 that he studied Indians from pictures. Russell relied on other artists' work, including Remington, and Indian artifacts rather than firsthand knowledge. He established his authenticity through realism of ethnographic details, as in *Squaw Travois* (1895) and *Returning to Camp* (1901). Russell was very much a detail man. "You want to paint things

The effete east has her Remington, but the glorious west has her Russell.

—Butte Miner, 11 October 1903

The west is still a great country, but the picture and story part of it has been plowed under by the farmer.

—Charles Russell

as they are, as you see them,” he explained to a Montana reporter for the *Anaconda Standard* in 1901. “It seems to me that a painter can’t have too much detail,” he said, adding that “[h]e should have a mastery of it and make his pictures true” (Dippie, 2002). Russell and Remington never witnessed much of the West they painted so realistically. It had disappeared together with the pioneers of progress they now despised.

Although Russell and Remington seemed joined at the hip in the public mind’s eye, their subject matter bears only a surface semblance. First and foremost, Russell was a Westerner. He celebrated his heritage, a lifestyle of the everyday and common that was more encompassing than Remington’s episodic clash of civilizations and days of courage and valor played out on the Plains. Russell’s art, as cultural historian Brian Dippie so perfectly describes, is like a lost lover lamenting the past.

His was a true yearning for days gone by. Perhaps in an attempt to heal his soul and spirit, his art came from deep inside himself. Russell, the former cowpuncher, knew his horses and lovingly painted and sculpted them in realistic detail.

Hough and Smith placed Russell’s authenticating in counterpoint to Remington’s “faking” as they assessed his art. In 1907, Hough penned to Smith that he personally relished the opportunity to expose Remington as a fraud in any way possible. They chose the image of the cowboy for Remington’s denouement. In his 1908 *Collier’s Weekly* essay “Wild West Faking,” Smith pounced on Remington’s inaccuracies of the cowboy, citing as an example *No More He Rides*, a cover illustration for the earlier 1901 *Collier’s Weekly*. Hough cunningly chose to use the words from Russell’s earlier assessment of the work. Russell had the reputation of not being critical of other artists’ work. But in this instance, Russell incisively observed that he had never seen in real life ranching anyone able to rope with a quirt hanging from his right wrist the way Remington had depicted. Hough’s poisoned barbs hit their mark dead center, temporarily bringing down Remington. He unburdened his heart in his diary: “There is one thing a man who does anything in America can figure on—a d____ good pounding. It seems to be one of the penalties of achievement” (Dippie, 1994). With his confidence shaken, Remington immediately burned a cowboy painting sitting on his easel that he was reworking. This, along with other works, he deemed failures. Remington was particularly vulnerable at this time because his aesthetic values had shifted from that of illustrator to fine artist. “My old enemies come to haunt me,” Remington confided in his diary, “I am helpless. I would buy them all if I were able to burn them up” (Samuels and Samuels, 1982).

A year later, Smith followed suit, attacking another of Remington’s iconic cowboy images—the highly acclaimed bronze *Broncho Buster* (1895)—for its

erroneousness. Smith compared it to one of his own photographs, *A Pitching Bronc* (1907). He proceeded to list the mistakes, including inappropriate positioning of the cowboy's feet and hands, that a cowboy like himself and Russell would know better. Ironically, scholars have shown that various painted and sculpted bronco riders of Russell are similar to Remington's popular bronze, an artist he was known to use as a model. Nonetheless, Smith's expert observation of the details of the *Broncho Buster* was that the man who created the sculpture was indeed an artist, not a cowboy nor a rider. Inadvertently, Smith acknowledged Remington for what he was zealously seeking at this time in his career, recognition as an artist.

The controversy engendered by Remington's work and that of his contemporaries persists in our own time. In 1988 the exhibition *Frederic Remington: The Masterworks* concluded its national tour in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Thomas Wolfe was certainly right in Remington's case: You can't go home again. Most critics ravaged the exhibition. The theme of the show was aesthetics as opposed to content. The hopes of having Remington's work taken more seriously as art than as a function of its subject matter was circumvented, however. *The New Yorker* warned its readers in "Goings On About Town" in an acerbic artistic assertion: "From the vague and documentary to the laughably impressionistic to the corny and moonlit, Frederick [sic] Remington's paintings of Indians chasing cowboys, his lackluster illustrations for *Harper's*, and his clichéd bronzes of riders on horseback are unworthy of serious attention by a major art Museum" (*New Yorker*, 1989). Although aesthetic judgments are arguable, Remington created those clichés, which hold a powerful sway over the emotions for some. As Dippie has clearly established, Remington's ability lay in creating the typical through invention, repetition, and refinement. His interchangeable imagery with illustrations, paintings, and sculpture realized a cultural resonance. Moreover, it is other artists who took Remington's art and turned it into clichés. And to be pedantic, the critic misspelled the artist's name.

Although he gave two of the paintings a lukewarm acknowledgment, John Russell—chief art critic for the *New York Times*—backed up this dismissal of the art works. He preferred, however, to attack Remington for his character, or lack thereof. He lambasted the artist: "Remington has traditionally been regarded as a popular favorite whose work is of no aesthetic interest whatever . . . as a man [he] was just awful . . . almost unfailingly ignoble" (Russell, 1989). "Bloated lout" and "poor blown-up barrel of nothing" rounded out the critic's character assassination. There was some truth in Russell's moral posturing. Physically, Remington had become extremely overweight in his forties, a contradiction for one who believed in the turn-of-the-century strenuous life ethic. Regarding his moral ethics, there is no question that he mirrored vehement racist attitudes of his generation. Writing to his equally

The West is dead! You may lose a sweetheart, but you won't forget her.

—Charles Russell

prejudiced friend and sometimes employer Poultney Bigelow, who brought out the worst in him, Remington nastily ranted, “Never will be able to sell a picture to a Jew again—did sell one once. You cant glorify a Jew—coin ‘loving puds’—nasty humans—I’ve got some Winchesters and when the massacrинг begins which you speak of, I can get my share of ’em and whats more I will. Jews—injuns—chinamen—Italians—Huns, the rubbish of the earth I hate” (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). Remington adamantly subscribed to the public opinion that held immigrants responsible for the social unrest and labor problems of the period.

The ostensibly refined East, where Remington created nostalgic Western life-and-death scenarios in the comforts of his New York studio, was at this time far from quiet and peaceful. It was simmering with urban crises. Social conflict was spilling over as evidenced by class warfare, the Pullman strike, mass immigration, and Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Remington illustrated urban unrest in *Mounted Policemen Arresting Burglars Uptown in New York* of 1889 and he covered the Pullman strike in May of 1894 for *Harper’s Weekly*, providing both copy and illustration. *Giving the Butt: The Way the Regular Infantry Tackles a Mob* is from the Pullman strike. In his accompanying article “Chicago under the Mob,” Remington labeled the strikers as a “malodorous crowd of an archistic foreign trash” and lauded the military use of force to maintain order. Eva Remington wrote to a friend, “Frederic was in Chicago during the riots & enjoyed every minute of it. He is always happy if with the troops” (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). What his wife expresses and Remington depicts conform with the dominant political currents.

The Republican ideological response to America’s crises was social Darwinism, emphasizing struggle as a necessary component of progress to civilization. Struggle meant progress. Moreover, the construction of national heroes was vital to the success of the Republicans at the close of the 1890s. In the process of constructing this Republican ideology, America’s most recent past, the Western frontier, became the cultural ballast for the future. The struggle for the West took on mythic proportions and became a compelling national symbol. It evoked progress, the future, and spiritual renewal of the nation. Three forms of popular culture sustained this ideology: Buffalo Bill and his Wild West Show, Western dime novels that culminated in Owen Wister’s *The Virginian*, and Remington’s frontier imagery. These three forms of visual culture defined Western life for millions of Americans, both then and now. The Western hero was nationalized; the American identity formed.

Grasping the Western experience as uniquely American, Remington selectively chose Western subject matter for his imagery of America. He would ensure that “Old America,” as he lovingly called it, would be seen by posterity as standing steadfastly against what he believed was a fast-crumbling America in the wake of mechanization and foreign immigration.

For his contemporaries, one could still enter the “authentic” Old America in Remington’s realistic paintings and explosive bronzes. *The Intruders* (ca. 1900),

a heroic last stand, exemplifies his early painting style while the bronze sculpture *The Outlaw* (1906) is one of his most daring technical achievements. In both of these works one could relive the heroic epic of death-defying adventures. The Western myth defined who we were as a people. Moreover, the dehumanizing effects of the Industrial Age could be forgotten for a few moments as one contemplated a Remington artwork. Remington took them (and us) from our uneventful mundane lives by elevating the mundane into the heroic. In Remington's "Old America" individual heroes existed where the common man made a difference. He was strong, self-reliant, honest, and independent—core American values still esteemed today.

From Remington's artistic vision that depicted the theme of the winning of the West, a mythos took hold of the American psyche whose long-lasting effects are still debated today. The 1991 National Museum of American Art exhibition *The West As America*, which has taken on a mythic persona itself, drew the moral outrage of two polarized groups, the traditionalists and the revisionists. The show challenged traditional iconic imagery raising questions about the relationship between Western American art and myths and the meaning of history. In particular, the ideologies behind the production and consumption of the art were pressed forward. Many viewers did not like their Western history deconstructed and thought the interpretations historically inaccurate. In short, they were incensed. They were presented with a West that was less than heroic. The attempts to reconcile the mythical West to the reality of American expansion reached an impasse. The most controversial section of the exhibition quashed the big three's—Remington, Russell, and Schreyvogel—realism, exploding perceptions of historic fact not only into that of myths but also attitudes of cultural and racial superiority. Cherished heroic icons were toppled. A struggle over the meaning of the art ensued and continues today.

Images of the Old West are a vital part of American culture, as the repercussions from this exhibition demonstrated. Now that the pendulum of the analysis of Western art has swung between the extremes of historicizing the art to excoriating it, the question begs what will be the direction and significance of Western American art studies in the future. Remington continues to play a prominent role causing us to look at a more inclusive story that tells of both pride and shame. Remington's work, along with other Western artists, is an ideological lightning rod.

I am going to do America.

The Cowboy

Conflating history and myth, Remington's works celebrate individual valor, parts that made up the whole of a perceived national achievement in the conquest of the frontier. An ideological inventor, Remington innovated and reconstructed

*With me cowboys are
what gems and porcelain
are to some others.*

the tradition of America. His Western types, his men with the bark on, became American icons. In particular for the public, the inextricable iconic image is that of the cowboy. This popular relationship began with Remington's 1888 illustrations of Roosevelt's series on ranch life in the West in *Century Magazine*. Remington recalled that

when he created these images "most people didn't know whether cow-boys milked dairy cattle or fought in the Revolution" (Maxwell, 1907). The public, however, would soon become experts. The cowboy, the low wage-earning common drover who lived a rough and unstable existence from 1865 to 1895, would become a mythic American folk hero. He represented the idea of freedom in the vast expanse of the West.

Unquestionably, Remington immortalized the cowboy. Remington's cowboys, however, were not of the glamorous Hollywood variety. They were not pretty faces. He found the faces of the men he met on his Southwestern travels unique from their sun-scorched exposure. Lined and worn faces are plainly visible in early illustrations of cowboys such as *An Arizona Type* (ca. 1888), *The Texas Type of Cowboy* (1888), *A Montana Type* (ca. 1888), *Old-Style Texas Cowman* (ca. 1888), *A Texan Cowboy* (ca. 1888), and *A Mexican Vaquero* (1890) and in paintings such as *The Puncher* (1895) and *The Cow Puncher* (1901). Remington easily transformed these stock characters into action-driven narratives of everyday chores that are fraught with danger where one misstep leads to death. Like characters from the *Iliad*, the cowboys continuously perform tasks of courage. For instance, in the painting *The Cowboy* (1902), a cowhand, precariously balanced in the saddle, stampedes wild horses down a dicey boulder-filled slope. In a later well-executed oil, *The Stampede* (1908), the cowboy is literally part of the stampede where not only is he in danger of being trampled but struck by lightning in a blinding thunderstorm. He desperately fights to control his wild-eyed mount frantically racing along the potholed ground amid the routed night herd. A slip from his horse with a foot still caught in the stirrups, he could be dragged to death, a common accident among cowboys. Remington summed up this nocturnal stampede scene as nature without mercy. Here was the cowboy that Roosevelt, like the artist, held in such high regard.

Remington had help in the cowboy's apotheosis in the public's mind. Wister, along with Roosevelt and Remington, formed a Western triumvirate of sorts. Friends who had their differences but nonetheless supported one another's portrayal of the vanished, mythical West that each nostalgically venerated.

Wister's Western novel *The Virginian* (1902), which he dedicated to Roosevelt, was one of the most widely read works of fiction of its day. That "slim young giant, more beautiful than pictures," as Wister described the protagonist, helped establish the cowboy as an American folk hero. The novel was illustrated fittingly, first by Remington and later by Russell. Roosevelt

acknowledged that Remington not only had the greatest talent of the trio but also the greatest influence. Writing to Remington in 1895, Roosevelt remarked that Remington and Wister were doing the best work among contemporary American artists and authors.

The cowboy inspired Remington, the man, and Remington, the artist. For him, the cowboy was the perfect exemplar of manhood. He hoped the Westerner's sturdy traits would become more fashionable in the East. Likewise, Roosevelt and Wister believed the manly virtues of the cowboy were necessary for the continued success of America. They feared culture had vitiated out males back East. It is useful to examine Remington's sculptural representations of the cowboy in this context, as well as to discuss the uniqueness of the compositions and the political undertones of the iconography. With his sculpture, Remington comes closer to expressing the iconic because he isolates the figure, unlike his paintings which use iconic themes. The paintings do not express the iconic because he does not isolate the figure enough or make enough of the figure. Furthermore, the three-dimensionality of the sculpture has a presence that flat paintings do not. Paintings are illusions of space and depth whereas sculptures create space and depth.

Although having no formal training in sculpture, Remington attempted his first bronze work on the encouragement of a neighbor. The result was the twenty-four-inch *Broncho Buster* of 1895. With this first sculpture, Remington created the most memorable image of the American cowboy. He broke the established historical formula of the equestrian statue, an example of which is the ancient Roman sculpture *Marcus Aurelius* (161–180 CE). Remington's dynamic composition was unique. No one had ever sculpted a three-dimensional cowboy on a wildly bucking horse. This bronze, however, can trace in every line of its pedigree to Remington's illustration of a bronco buster attempting to tame a wild horse in Theodore Roosevelt's 1888 article in *Century Magazine*. From his experience in the Dakota Territory, Roosevelt described the life of a bronco buster as one who deserved high wages because he would never grow old in his perilous line of work.

The asymmetrical work was balanced without a central support column. Exploding with energy, the wild-eyed horse rears on its hind legs in frantic motion to unseat the cowboy who clutches reins and mane in his left hand and with extended right hand holds a menacing quirt. The result of the

[Cowboys] are smaller and less muscular than the wielders of an ax pick; but they are as hardy and self-reliant as any men who ever breathed—with bronzed, set faces, and keen eyes that look all the world straight in the face without flinching as they flash out from under the broad-brimmed hats. Peril and hardship, and years of long toil broken by weeks of brutal dissipation, draw haggard lines across their eager faces, but never dim their reckless eyes nor break their bearing of defiant self-confidence.

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1888

*It was still the Wild West
in those days, the Far
West, the West of Owen
Wister's stories and
Frederic Remington's
drawings, the West of the
Indian and the buffalo-
hunter, the soldier and the
cow-puncher. That land of
the West has gone now,
"gone, gone with lost
Atlantis," gone to the isle
of ghosts and of strange
dead memories.*

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1893

contest of wills is suspect as the right foot dangles free from the stirrup, while the left foot barely touches the other. The rider's individual skill is pitted against the brutal power of the animal. Remington transformed a cowboy performing a ranch chore of bronco busting into an American icon. The universal theme of struggle is the subject of this equestrian statue. Remington reworked this piece over a ten-year period and with his attention to detail changed arm positions, quirts and reins, and even replaced the original smooth-surfaced leather chaps worn by Southwestern cowboys with the roughly textured woolly chaps of the Montana cowboy. The artist was delighted with his initial sculptural efforts.

For Remington, however, who was obsessively concerned with the imminence of death and predisposed to view life in terms of decline and defeat, bronze would offer an opportunity to stop the onward rush of time. In essence, he was prescient. Immediately following its first casting in 1895, the *Broncho Buster* enjoyed immense

popularity at Tiffany's of New York, which subsequently became the first commercial market for Remington's bronzes. Over one hundred casts sold during the artist's lifetime. It became the most popular small bronze of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in part derived from the publicity of the Rough Riders' presentation of this bronze to Roosevelt, who had greatly admired it. The President wrote with great understanding of the cowboy's skill that "Only those who have ridden a bronco the first time it was saddled, or have lived through a railroad accident, can form any conception of the solemnity of such experiences. Few Eastern people appreciate the sky-rocket bounds, grunts, and stiff-legged striking" (Remington, 1889). Today the *Broncho Buster* resides prominently in the Oval Office.

To complement the *Broncho Buster* both thematically and compositionally, Remington designed *The Wicked Pony* (ca. 1898) as a companion piece. Again the cowboy's task of breaking a horse becomes a life-and-death struggle. Although in dire peril of being trampled by threatening hoofs, the thrown cowboy with strong will and determination still grasps the ear of the fiercely kicking horse. A viewer of the bronze asked Remington how the cowhand could possibly have escaped alive, as the horse was not struggling for its freedom, but to kill. Remington answered, "He didn't. He was killed—I was there and saw it" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982).

It is likely Remington could have seen this tragedy while out West. One may also speculate that he also saw the metaphorical death of the American frontier. Moreover, the sculpture could be viewed as an analogue of contemporary events. Remington, as well as many of his contemporaries,

perceived America being trampled and crushed by the tremendous influx of immigrants. Whatever its interpretation, this tragic subject proved unpopular with the public. It did not uphold their romanticized view of the brave cowboy with good triumphing over evil.

The Rattlesnake also demonstrates boldness in the combination of composition and technique. In fact, Remington considered this bronze his favorite work. In the 1905 version as the rearing horse recoils from the snake, the rider wearing woolly chaps shifts forward in the same direction as the horse, attempting to control the animal, stay in the saddle, and hold onto his hat simultaneously. A mundane ride on the range becomes another life-and-death battle where the cowboy's abilities and self-reliance are placed in a contest against a dark side of nature.

The cowboy and his horse again confront nature and its power in *The Norther* (1901). Here Remington has depicted the constant struggle and hard life associated with life in the West by emphasizing isolation and suffering. In contrast to the volatile action of the other works, *The Norther* turns inward to itself, standing quietly as if the figures are frozen still by the blizzard. Blasted by the bitterly cold wind, both hunched cowboy and horse close their eyes. The subtle details of the roughly textured winter coat of the horse work together with the tightly wrapped rider whose right hand is tucked under his left for warmth. With this gesture, Remington elicits the bone-chilling cold of the freezing air.

Having met the challenge of surface detail, Remington turned to his most complicated figural group, *Coming Through the Rye* (1902). Based on earlier two-dimensional representations, Remington devoted a year to the modeling and an additional five months to its casting. The four raucous horsemen, brandishing firearms, charge forward straight at the viewer on wildly galloping horses, a favorite compositional motif of the artist. Only five of the sixteen hooves touch the base and serve to support the active sculptural group. Tightly integrated, the four cowboys form a cohesive unit. In 1904 *Coming Through the Rye* was remodeled in large scale for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, whose theme was "The Winning of the West." Initially received with modest praise, *Coming Through the Rye* increasingly gained notoriety through the years to become another American icon of the life in the West.

To read the image literally, a group of boozing cowhands after many hard-driven days on the range, ride in and shoot up the town for some good ol' wild cowboy fun. The sculpture's formal antecedents are found in Remington's

[Y]our Virginian will be eaten up by time—all paper is pulp now. My oils will all get old wasting . . . my watercolors will fade—but I am to endure in bronze—even rust does not touch. . . . I am going to rattle through all the ages, unless some Anarchist invades the old mansion and knocks it off the shelf.

—Remington to Owen Wister

“charge theme” in such illustrations as *Dissolute Cow-Punchers* (1888), *Cowboys Coming to Town for Christmas* (1889), the painting *A Dash for the Timber* (1889), and the tempera *Captain Dodge’s Colored Troopers to the Rescue* (ca. 1890). Perhaps the ultimate derivation is the New Testament theme of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—one memorable example is by Albrecht Dürer (1497). Remington was clearly aware of archetypes, shown in his painting *The Last Cavalier* (1895). To carry this analogy farther, one may speculate that this derivation also reflects Remington’s cultural and political views. Such an interpretation in this context has been treated in Remington’s paintings and we can use these observations to interpret the sculpture.

Although he heroicized the cowboy, Remington also assigned him a role in the politics of the time—a role that to us now appears inglorious. Remington feared and disliked the changing face of America. The cowboy of “Old America,” the last pure American hero, was the vanguard of Anglo-Saxon society. Just as the cowboy steadfastly stood against all foes in the past, so he could be a model for Remington’s threatened Anglo-Saxon world to meet the future head-on and turn back the waning tides of American society.

Remington was an avid reader of contemporary theories on social evolution, which at the time was a national preoccupation. These theories confirmed his personal philosophy about immigrants and immigration policy. As the Four Apocalyptic Horsemen were unleashed on a sacred mission to conquer and kill so could Remington’s cowboys save white America. For Remington, as well as for many other Americans at this time, the perception of an Anglo-Saxon world struggling against the onslaught of immigrants was very real. Public opinion held the immigrants responsible for the social unrest and labor problems of the period. Because of this perception, the immigrants became analogous with the so-called Indian savages. It was not unusual for newspapers to refer to laborers and immigrants as “redskins” and “savages.” Even Roosevelt labeled some Caucasians as backward and burdensome, hindering progress. Roosevelt once commented to Remington that he was one person who kept alive his hope in the country. Indeed, modern society was reflected in frontier terms. According to this view, as the cowboys struggled with hostile antagonists such as Indians or nature, so was the Anglo-Saxon world struggling for its survival.

Reiterating Roosevelt’s views that the Anglo-Saxon had become soft, Remington turned to the one Anglo-Saxon who was still rugged, courageous, and self-sufficient, the cowboy. In Wister’s *Harper’s Monthly* series “The Evolution of the Cowboy” (1895), the cowboy is portrayed as knight-errant of Anglo-Saxon lineage. The concept was Remington’s and was written with much input from the artist. Remington illustrated this publication emphasizing this fictionalized heritage with the *Last Cavalier*. This publication marked the beginning of the popularization of the mythical cowboy. The critics also applauded Remington’s illustrations, preferring them to the prose.

From this examination of Remington's sculpture we can become more objective about our past without diminishing his technical skill and visionary prowess. Western art is more than a documentary transcription of the Western experience. Looking beneath the surface of a work of art reveals a rich, multilayered, and figurative meaning of our history. Roosevelt wrote, "The soldier, the cowboy and rancher, the Indian, the horses and cattle of the plains, will live in [Remington's] pictures and bronzes, I verily believe, for all time" (Roosevelt, 1907). And indeed, it is impossible to think of life of the West without visualizing a Remington bronze or painting. For better or worse, Remington defined the American West and he, himself, became part of the myth of the West.

Perhaps Remington and the cowboy myth had become one and the same, and he realized the immortality of that myth. In his one known self-portrait, Remington chose to depict himself as a cowboy. This is an important statement. The artist had fulfilled his boyhood dreams and that of others of his generation, as well as for many today. How many of his public and friends would like to be that cowboy on horseback? In *Self-Portrait on a Horse* (ca. 1890), Remington portrays himself in full cowboy regalia, mounted on a white horse. He sports a wide, up-turned hat brim, fringed cowhide chaps, and a cartridge belt for the rifle slung across his saddle, rope—all worn by the cowboys in his paintings. The ubiquitous scarf and holstered gun are missing, or possibly hidden by the horse's body. He, too, lacks the sun-worn look that he described of the cowboys he knew. However, he is not a department-store cowboy or dude. He is stripped down to essential work gear.

The artist represents himself as a slender man of action—a man with the bark on, as he liked to refer to his Westerners. Here Remington is that exemplar, a classic icon of manliness for his Eastern cohorts. With a slight smile, he stares out at us with self-satisfaction, perhaps even a challenge. With a sense of ownership, he seems to know something that we don't. Once in a fit of pique, Remington reiterated his lament of modernity: "Cow-boys? There are no cow-boys! Indians! They became extinct thirty years ago! The West is no longer the West of picturesque and stirring events. Romance and adventure have been beaten down in the rush of civilization" (Maxwell, 1907). Yet he knew he had made the cowboy more real than reality.

He possesses authority as he literally towers over the viewer. Larger than life, he blocks our way up the steep hillside into this desolate, sun-seared country, this place of freedom, that only the rugged can inhabit. His portrayal offers a variety of interpretations: a sentry on lookout, a knight on his white horse journeying far and wide, a hired gun?

As protective as he was of his artistic vision, one feels that he is charged with guarding the path to the Wild West of nostalgia where only the select may enter.

When closely looking at the self-portrait, one sees that Remington presents himself rather anonymously. His likeness is a superficial account of a sitter.

My West passed utterly out of existence so long ago as to make it utterly a dream. It put on its hat, took up its blankets and marched off the board; the curtain came down and a new act was in progress.

He appears like he is one of his Western characters in a role. There is little intense self-scrutiny. Hiding who he is, we never really get to see Remington. Like much of his art, Remington never moved from exterior description to interior feeling. He did not penetrate outer surfaces to disclose a more mysterious inner domain of emotions. He designed his work to appeal to the sentimental as opposed to the emotional. As he did with his Western world, the artist gives us a snapshot of himself: the effect of the instantaneous and fragmentary.

Remington's chameleon-like appearance and personality allowed him to move with ease among different social strata. Refined Eastern society as well as disciplined American soldiers and rough-and-tumble cowboys openly accepted the artist in their company. Remington entertained his friends at elite clubs, such as the Players Club in New York City, as well as conducted his business with the publishers of *Harper's* wearing Western dress and speaking cowboy lingo. Once out West, although sometimes wearing British attire and speaking the language of a Yalie, Remington adopted the demeanor of his companions.

He included himself in illustrations while on assignment with the cavalry in the Southwest. In *Marching in the Desert* (1888), *Method of Sketching at San Carlos* (1889), and *Marching on the Mountains* (ca. 1889), Remington traded in his cowboy hat for a pith helmet along with his ponderous weight for a more muscular form. A cavalry lieutenant, Alvin H. Sydenham, who met Remington in 1890 in Montana recalled his first impressions of "a fat citizen dismounting from a tall troop horse . . . The horse was glad to get rid of him." He proceeded to describe his attire, quite different from that affected in the self-portrait: "a brown canvas hunting coat whose generous proportions and many swelling pockets extended laterally, with a gentle downward slope to the front and rear, like the protecting expanse of a brown cotton umbrella. And below, in strange contrast, he wore a closely-fitting black riding breeches of Bedford cord, reinforced with dressed kid, and shapely riding boots of the Prussian pattern, set off by a pair of long-shanked English spurs" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). This was not the cowboy looking out at us in the self-portrait. Regardless of his fashion, Remington shared the cavalrymen's monotonous days and exhausting patrols. He vividly described a day's scouting patrol that covered thirty-five miles: "The heat was awful and the dust rose in clouds—men get sulky, go into a comatose state—the fine alkali dust penetrates everything but the canteens" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). The artist sweated with the troopers in the heartless desert sun and braved the cold with them in the northern Plains.

Although his outfit brought smiles to the faces of the soldiers, Sydenham found him to be "[a] big, good-natured, overgrown boy—a fellow you could

not fail to like the first time you saw him." The soldiers also appreciated his humor. Waking up a cavalry officer early one morning in the Plains, Remington asked for a "cavalryman's breakfast." The officer, unsure as to its meaning, questioned Remington who responded "a drink of whiskey and a cigarette." He had coined a new phrase for the military. Remington's unconventional personality extended to his creations, thematically, technically and stylistically (Samuels and Samuels, 1982).

When Sydenham renewed his acquaintance with Remington a year later at the posh Grand Hotel in New York City, he was astonished with the artist's change in appearance: "His crowning glory was a tall silk hat . . . tan kid gloves, patent leather shoes, and a portly stick with a buckhorn handle combined their effect to enforce the disguise." Sydenham recognized the man beneath his cover, commenting, "for nothing could hide his broad good-natured face and laughing blue eyes . . . As far as I could see he was different only in the surface covering from the weighty party who had descended from the horse at the head of the troop that day on the Tongue river" (Dippie, 2001). Remington would have been pleased with this insightful evaluation. Cavalrymen were his heroes, and he was proud to be accepted by them. Respectful of their sacrifice and bravery, he knew the difference between his chosen career and theirs. Upon election as an honorary member of the U.S. Cavalry Association in 1890, he wrote, "My business in life, as a painter and illustrator is to give other fellows the credit that is due for gallantry—I desire no honors of this kind for myself" (Spelt, 1988). And that he did over and over again, whether in the compelling individual portraits of Lieutenants Edward W. Casey, Francis H. Hardie, and Powhatan H. Clarke or the generic troopers dutifully carrying out their missions as in fateful last stands in *Rounded-Up* (1901), charges at full speed with thundering hooves striking the ground in *The Cavalry Scrap* (1909) or quieter moments of the ordinary camp life in *A Cavalryman's Breakfast on the Plains* (ca. 1892). These soldiers are forever in our memories, especially because John Ford has preserved the images of the paintings in his Western films, most notably in his cavalry trilogy, *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950). Remington's beloved cavalrymen live on in these films.

By looking at a chronological series of events that make up Remington's life, we can better understand what shaped the way Remington chose to live and influenced him in his life's choices and the creation of his art.

BIOGRAPHY

Early Life

Born 4 October 1861 in the small town of Canton in upstate New York, the artist was the only child of Seth Pierre Remington, a newspaper owner and

editor, and Clara Bascomb Sackrider Remington. From his father, whom he idolized, Remington developed an ever-abiding affection for the outdoors, horses, and the military, which would ultimately propel him westward and to his career. Remington would forever be enthralled with the cavalry. The soldier would remain a steadfast and lovingly depicted stock character of his artistic inventory. Even more so, a horseman whether in a thundering cavalry charge or herding cattle, would be the unifying element of his Western paintings.

Coupled with stories of his father's cavalry action in the Civil War was the contemporary combat of the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Like the rest of the nation in 1876, the fourteen-year-old Remington was riveted by the breaking news, a site he would visit in 1881 on his first trip to the West. A few months after the defeat of the Seventh Cavalry, Remington entered the Highland Military Academy in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he would fill his textbook margins and sketchbooks with soldiers, one of which was a depiction of this battle. This theme of "Last Stands" resurfaced consistently in the mature artist's work, exemplified in the 1890 oil *The Last Stand*.

Entering Yale in 1878, Remington enrolled in the School of Fine Arts, seemingly to pursue a career in journalism like his father. Instead he excelled in the masculine pursuit of football, a first-string forward on the Yale team, where he was happier than in the classroom. He also took drawing classes, his first formal artistic studies, under John Henry Niemeyer. Typical of a late nineteenth-century studio curriculum, the function of art was to imitate nature, especially achieving proficiency in the depiction of the human figure. Remington began with the time-honored method of drawing from classical plaster casts. Prominently displayed in Niemeyer's studio was the revered French neoclassical artist Ingres's axiom: Drawing is the Probity of Art. This adage, for better or worse, like the sword of Damocles, held sway over Remington's career. His drawing acumen would establish him as an expert illustrator and eventually damn him in the eyes of some art critics. Nonetheless, as Ingres, one of the most recognized painters in all of art history, legendarily advised a young Edgar Degas (also slated for greatness), "Draw lines, young man, many lines, from memory and from nature; it is the way you will become a good artist," Remington would give similar advice to the aspiring Maynard Dixon practically verbatim. After a year and a half at Yale, Remington abruptly dropped out of college after the death of his father in February 1880.

First Experiences West

In August 1881, Remington journeyed to Montana for a late summer adventure, satisfying his youthful desires to go West. This brief Western excursion of a few months was portentous. Remington inadvertently began his career as an illustrator. With youthful exuberance, he submitted sketches from his travels to *Harper's Weekly*, which they published 25 February 1882 as *Cow-boys of Arizona*, albeit redrawn by a staff artist. The young artist had much to

learn, however, not only in creating a successful composition, but also in finding himself and determining his life's course.

Several months later in fall 1882, Remington received a substantial inheritance of \$9000 that rescued him from a tedious government clerking position in Albany, New York. Having succumbed to West fever, Remington knew the only cure for himself—following a westward trail. He immediately headed West again in 1883, this time in search of profit and adventure.

An interval of failed business enterprises followed. For about a year Remington tried his hand at sheep ranching in rural Butler County, Kansas, an endeavor that he would later amend in his life's history to cowpuncher. In early 1884, he moved on to Kansas City to invest in a saloon, a risky undertaking because Remington enjoyed imbibing. That spring he traveled to the Southwest and Mexico before returning to New York to marry his beloved Eva Adele Caten on 1 October 1884, after a five-year courtship. The newly-weds immediately departed for Kansas City, but their life together there was brief. Eva had no idea of her husband's business ventures until she arrived. Remington spent his time drawing, painting, riding, boxing, and in the saloon. He also indulged in the rigorous outdoor life that he not only enjoyed but also thought requisite for the male, like his gridiron days at Yale.

By the year's end Eva, feeling alone and isolated and with her husband facing insolvency, returned to New York. Remington remained behind and opted to spend a few weeks in late summer roving and sketching across the Southwest. By the summer's end Remington rejoined Eva in New York. From that time on, Remington contentedly made his home in the East with his esteemed wife, interrupted by occasional trips out West usually on illustrating assignments for a month's time.

Remington's summer of contrition in the Southwest began a series of fortuitous events that would advance his artistic career. In May, Geronimo led an Apache escape from the San Carlos reservation in Arizona. The public, rapt with the resurgence of the Indian Wars, couldn't get its fill of information, whether in the newspapers or dime novels. The very name "Apache" evoked danger and excitement. Some were fearful that the Indians Wars were not over; others were glad they weren't. Geronimo was on his way to becoming a cult figure, thanks to the popular press. Leaning toward a career as an artist, Remington was in the right place at the right time. With an extensive portfolio from his summer wanderings Remington provided the visual complement of scenes of the Apache war, whether he had closely witnessed it or not. He returned to New York with exactly what the magazine publishers wanted. Remington presented the visual drama and the precise detail.

Remington As Illustrator

In the 9 January 1886 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Remington's illustration *The Apache War: Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail* appeared as full-page cover.

*Here was the real thing,
the unspoiled native genius
[Remington] dealing with
Mexican ponies, cowboys,
cactus, lariats and sombre-
ros. No stage heroes
these. . . .*

—Poultny Bigelow
(1856–1954)

For the first time his drawing had not been reworked and it carried his name. This illustration had that look of historical truth that would typify his style. A lean cavalryman, the apex in the tightly clustered composition, apprehensively scans the horizon for renegades as friendly loin-clothed Apache Indians run parallel to his sides in groups of two; a lone figure on horseback trails behind. This early composition of a double-axis diagonal, moving from lower left to upper right and from lower right to upper left anticipated Remington's mature pared-down pieces with this recurring geometric framework.

For example, within a year *Harper's Weekly's Pima Indians Convoying a Silver Train in Mexico* presented the same

formula. In this drawing, better articulated figures move along a precipitous incline no longer dwarfed by a dominating horizon. The barely clothed Indians have been reduced in number and replaced with fully clad figures in almost identical stances. For the focal point, Remington substituted a mounted Indian on a similar white horse that presses forward at the same gait with head lowered, right front leg striking the ground, the left raised and curving downward. Rather than a lone individual in the vast flat plain bringing up the rear, a mule train edges its way along a steep narrow ledge, which intensifies the jeopardy of the setting. The work also displays another of Remington's preferred compositional conventions: the positioning of three figures with the secondary inclusion of a fourth in the foreground.

Seeing his illustrations in print Remington readily recognized his weak draftsmanship. Thereupon, he enrolled briefly in the Art Students League, from March through May 1886, to improve his artistic skills, a last half-hearted attempt at formal study. Remington gladly abandoned the confines of the Art Students League for boots and saddle as he hastily left in June on a *Harper's Weekly* assignment as a war correspondent and illustrator. He rode along with Company K of the Tenth Cavalry, an African American regiment, in pursuit of Geronimo in the Santa Catalina Mountains north of Tucson. Later, he joined other patrols along the Southwestern frontier, pushing into Mexico. When he returned to New York, he met up with former Yale schoolmate Poultny Bigelow, with whom he had taken Niemeyer's drawing class. Now editor of *Outing* magazine Bigelow was gripped by the rawness of his friend's imagery. He felt as if an electric current had passed through his body from this new visual experience. He saw an unmitigated Western aesthetic in his friend's artistry, and lauded Remington's prowess and spunk.

For this editor, Remington appeared larger than life, the stuff of boyhood yearnings.

This Eastern artist had ridden into the untamed Western country disregarding the danger of marauding Apaches. He exemplified the seemingly distinct

Western traits of his drawn cowboys and soldiers of self-reliance and independence that had shaped American character. Remington took Easterners along for the ride of their childhood dreams and yearnings. Recognizing Remington's market potential, Bigelow immediately signed him on for more. With a commission in hand, Remington was to illustrate a dynamic Apache war series.

Less than a year later, Remington crossed international borders again, this time to Alberta and Saskatchewan, Canada. With a second *Harper's* commission he sought out new Indian material for the month of April 1887. One result, the composite drawing *In the Lodges of the Blackfeet*, appeared in *Harper's Weekly* that summer. Rather than depicting the Blackfoot in their current throes of acculturation to learn agriculture, the artist preferred to portray them as traditional warriors, an image more appealing to him as well as his publisher and public. His Indians were fighters, not farmers, although there were rare exceptions, as in *The Twilight of the Indian* (1897).

Canada's Western frontier exerted a pull on Remington's sensibilities. The artist recognized an internationalism of frontier spirit that would continue to draw him back for subject matter throughout his career. Moreover, he could project his continuing childhood adoration of his father's military exploits and subsequent devotion to the U.S cavalry onto the North-West Mounted Police who had just put down a Metis confrontation with the government. In *Arrest of a Blackfeet Murderer*, printed in the 18 March 1888 *Harper's Weekly*, Remington easily substituted the dashing Canadians for the U.S. Cavalry.

The year 1888 proved critical to his career. The elite *Century Magazine* published Theodore Roosevelt's six-part series "Ranch Life in the Far West," which Remington illustrated, arguably the most important commission of his career. The magazine then sent him to Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, which resulted in three publications that he both wrote and illustrated. The artist had now firmly established a place in the public's imagination. More important to Remington, however, he received national recognition as a painter that year. The National Academy of Design, the most respected of American art institutions that sanctioned subjects and styles, accepted *Return of the Blackfoot War Party* (1888) for its annual exhibition. Remington would continue to show at the Academy through 1895, but with festering disappointment. The Academy elected him as an associate member in 1891, his only recognition from this arbiter of taste, with reviews of his paintings becoming less favorable of his technical ability. It was primarily Remington the man they objected to more than his art—his popularity with the public, his great financial success in a variety of artistic undertakings, and his larger-than-life persona. In other words, he was not one of them. He did not fit into their social ilk, nor did he try.

He had turned himself into a cowboy, and I had become a slave to my desk.

—Poultny Bigelow

International success quickly followed as *Lull in the Fight*, a gripping last stand subject, earned him a silver medallion at the 1889 Paris Exposition. Filled with confidence, Remington began to create some of his greatest large-scale paintings. *A Dash for the Timber* of 1889 introduced the theme of “the charge” that Remington would develop and to which he would continually return. In this painting Remington unified his learning and experience, about which a *New York Herald* critic stated that he had advanced to one of America’s best young artists. It was also the greatest crowd pleaser at the Academy’s exhibition.

Subsequently the American Art Galleries in New York hosted an exhibition of twenty of Remington’s paintings in April 1890 that for the most part received public acclamation. Some critics, however, were still bloodthirsty. The *New York Times* shrieked: “His colors are so shrill and his temperament is so prone to violent movement that a collection of his pictures gives the impression of a thousand discordant noises, yells of battles, screams of dying horses, and the crudeness of existence between a pitiless sky and a pitiless earth, without the compensation of beautiful colors and noble forms. . . . He remains the illustrator in black and white who, with a magnificent but short-sighted audacity, has taken to color. He is not at home with oils and brushes; his paintings hurt” (*New York Times*, 1890). Remington’s national subject matter, his realistic style, and his technical ability did not appeal to all. In the meantime, private sales of paintings were increasing. *Harper’s* publications, in particular, put on a publicity campaign for their showcase artist, often praising the man more than his art. They attributed his realistic images to his personal experiences in the West. The result was that he became a celebrity and he delighted in it. These were the years *Harper’s* acclaimed him as the soldier-artist. Financially, Remington was riding high, too. He was in the national top 10 percent income bracket.

Remington continued to turn out both illustrations and written material for *Harper’s Weekly*, *Harper’s Monthly Outing*, and *Century*, among other publications, during the late 1880s and early 1890s. He traveled extensively on assignments including Mexico, Montana, Wyoming, Dakota Territory, the Southwest, Texas, Cuba, and Europe. The trips were arduous as he wrote of his travails to Eva in 1889, “[T]here is not a square inch of my body that is not [mosquito] bitten—and oh oh oh how hot it is here—I have sweat and sweat my clothes full—I can fairly smell myself—I am dirty and look like the devil and feel worse and there is no help for me . . . all this is very discouraging but its an artist life” (Dippie, 2001). But the toil was paying off. No one could compare with Remington as a Western illustrator. In 1893, Remington chose to have his first one-man show and sale at the American Art Association, in lieu of exhibiting at the Academy. This rebellious decision proved financially lucrative for the artist but alienated him from the Academy all the more. His exhibition sales were equal to the entire sales for the Academy.

Remington continued his typically demanding pace of illustrating, painting, and writing. Unfulfilled with illustration and disappointed with lackluster

painting sales at this time, he added sculpture to his schedule in January 1895. Before he completed his first sculpture in October, he published his first book, *Pony Tracks*, in July. Well received, one critic maintained the book presented a better understanding of army frontier life than any official documents. Remington's prose in this case proved more real than reality, like his art. Quickly following on the heels of this literary accomplishment was the enthusiastic popular acclaim for the bronze *Broncho Buster*, an original subject for this medium. Few sculptors could achieve this measure of success with a first attempt.

Nine months later Remington completed *The Wounded Bunkie* (1896). Narrating one of his favorite themes of the masculine world of the cavalry—man in life and death struggles, the artist translated his “feeling for mud,” as he liked to say, into the tensile strength of bronze. The subject itself also literally evokes feeling and strength as a wounded trooper collapses into the arm of his comrade who protectively rides beside him amid the turmoil and noise of war. This heroic image of friendship emotes the virtues of honor, loyalty, and courage. In this complex composition depicting rapid movement, only two legs of the galloping horses, with flaring nostrils, flapping manes, and surging muscles, support the entire group. Remington again employed innovative techniques to emphasize the dramatic.

Remington also found time to complete his book *Drawings* (1897) showcasing sixty-two illustrations. He received superb reviews. Wister's preface in the picture book compellingly expressed the power of Remington's artistic contributions at this time: “I have stood before many paintings of the West but when Remington came with only a pencil, I forgot the rest: It is Homer or the Old Testament again. If Remington did nothing further, already he has achieved: He has made a page of American history his own” (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). For Wister, as well as many others, Remington remained the epic Western historian.

Remington and the Spanish-American War

Corresponding with Wister, Remington wrote of his hope for war with Spain in his typically bombastic crude language deeming it proper to kill Cuba's Spanish oppressors. However, as an advocate of Anglo-Saxon superiority, he believed the Cubans an inferior race and in need of guidance. Yet for all his racist bluster Remington had gained a respect and admiration for the black cavalry he rode with in Arizona.

Shortly thereafter in January 1897, Remington sailed on a secret trip to Cuba on assignment for William Randolph Hearst's yellow press *New York Journal* to illustrate popular correspondent Richard Harding Davis's copy. The artist found himself embroiled in what became one of the legendary anecdotes of the insurrection. Reportedly, Remington cabled Hearst, “Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war.” To which

Hearst allegedly replied, "You furnish the pictures. I'll furnish the war." And Remington did.

He returned to New York while Davis remained in Cuba sending dispatches to the newspaper. One story became a lurid sensation. Remington supplied the graphic details. Spanish officials, with the implication they were male, stripped searched a young Cuban woman, Clemencia Arango, sailing under the American flag. As in many of his Western illustrations for accompanying text, Remington used his imagination. The artist depicted a very white curvaceous nude woman encircled by three darkened Spanish men. The shocking drawing, printed five columns wide, attracted much attention, leading some to ponder how it avoided censure because some thought the woman more nude than Remington's Indian depictions. Both Davis and Remington had twisted the actual event. A lone Spanish woman had searched Arango. But the damage was done with the misrepresentation. Many, along with Remington, eagerly anticipated the Spanish-American War. "[T]here is bound to be a lovely scrap around Havana," Remington remarked to Wister, "a big murdering—sure—" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). Remington finally got his wish to see war up close and personal.

Thrilled for this opportunity to see what he perceived as men at their noblest, he arrived in Cuba 22 June 1898. From the deck of a ship, he watched the Second Division hit the beach. Once on land trying to catch up with the infantry, it became all too apparent this was not the kind of fight he had bargained for. Life was miserable with the poor food, fever, and long, slogging marches on foot in the rain and mud. He became completely disillusioned as his letters revealed: "All the broken spirits, bloody bodies, hopeless, helpless suffering which draws its weary length to the rear, are so much more appalling than anything else in the world that words won't mean anything to one who has not seen it" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). He could easily have added "images," too. Remington was finished with his long-winded jingoistic saber rattling. The realities of war were inglorious. The bleeding, shattered bodies were not the stuff of his clean whole canvases.

In July 1898, Remington returned home to Endion, his gentleman's estate in New Rochelle, New York. He came back a confused man, trying to understand what he had lived through. Nothing had looked and felt like the reality of his art and imagination. As far as his future painting was concerned, he told a friend, it would only be floral still lifes in the future. Within six months his weight ballooned to 295 pounds and he was drinking heavily. He entered into a frenetic work schedule—painting, illustrating, sculpting, and writing at the same time. The National Institute of Arts recognized Remington as one of the 100 most prominent Americans in literature and the arts. He was unimpressed. At Roosevelt's prodding, he relinquished still life painting to paint *The Charge of the Rough Riders* (1898), which he had observed with binoculars from the safety of a low bank. It became his most celebrated work

of the war. Removed from the cry of wounded in his quiet studio, he took artistic license. He painted a traditional valiant portrayal of this charge, explaining one attack was like any other. He could not paint the horror and suffering he had witnessed: "I could not get the white bodies which lay in the moonlight, with the dark spots on them, out of my mind. Most of the dead on modern battlefields are half naked, because of the 'first aid bandage.' They take their shirts off, or their pantaloons, put on the dressing, and die that way" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). Most likely, the public would not have wanted to see a painting with such horrendous subject matter either. It was not an image of the gallant American dead.

This soldier-artist had had enough of war. "I have had nothing to do with soldiers since the war in Cuba," he related to a journalist years later in 1907, "I only knew the soldier as a part of my West, and the West and the soldier closed together. The uniformed fighting man passed on and off my board a long time since" (Maxwell, 1907). Seemingly, he never felt the disparity between fact and fiction in his work as he profoundly did with the Spanish-American War. By 1899, the artist was back to business with his frontier imagery.

Becoming a Fine Artist

After a four-year absence, Remington submitted the oil *Missing* (ca. 1899) to the Academy. They remained unimpressed. Remington carried over the simple compositional devices of his early paintings and numerous illustrations, but his technique had improved. As the diagonal procession sweeps the eye far back into the high horizon of the composition, Remington adeptly isolated the real subject within the composition of helplessness. He sets the captured soldier with hands bound behind his back against the landscape. With this major change in composition, the artist has created a focus, not just a plethora of objects and forms that compete with each other as in his early work. The paralleling Indians ride in more space, light, and air amid the parched sagebrush steppe. As a result, the image becomes more convincing as an historical document—that the artist was there and conveyed truthful information to the viewer.

Missing is successful because it appeals to all of the five senses. The viewer sees, hears, smells, tastes, feels the narrative being presented through its visual language. From the surface reality, the viewer responds to this image without the intervention of the intellect. The painting's pervasive literalness with the detail of a lone cow skull in the foreground, a heavy-handed metaphor, directs the eye to the soldier. No doubt is left to his fate that he unflinchingly accepts, a quality true of all of Remington's military men. Life on the frontier was dangerous and violent, a fact they stoically accepted.

However, this image, and others like it, become a metaphor for some, whether the artist intended it or not. *Missing* takes on implied meanings of

duality: savagery versus humanity, wilderness versus civilization. In this clash of cultures, the Indians appear to belong in this remote and barren landscape, the cavalryman an intruder. The Eastern audience would readily identify with the soldier who is part of their heritage. As well this picture supported their mainstream values. It reconciled lamentable acts, making them not only understandable but also acceptable and even heroic.

At the end of the century, Remington found his artistic compass. He wrote to Wister that he had been “trying to paint at the impossible—as Miss Columbia said to Uncle Sam ‘*That was my war*’—that old cleaning up of the West—that is the war I am going to put the rest of my time at” (Samuels and Samuels, 1907). This time around, however, Indians would play a greater and more emphatic role. In February 1900, he completed his second novel, *The Way of an Indian*. In one of the action-driven illustrations, *He Rushed the Pony Right to the Barricade*, the Indians would triumph. Within a few months Yale awarded him an honorary degree as the “most distinguished pupil” of the Art School, with which he was greatly pleased. But he knew what he wanted most was still out of reach—to be a great American artist. He began taking steps to become a better artist, with the hope of a positive side effect in finding favor with the critics.

Remington became more experimental in the presentation of Western subject matter. He labored with a variety of techniques and styles, although he continued to employ his favorite compositional formulae: the double-axis diagonal, the pyramid and its inversion, and running the action directly at the viewer. Color, however, would be his first undertaking—the technique the critics had most ridiculed. Color was no easy feat for a man who had spent much of his career working in black and white. Writing to Wister in the fall, Remington underscored his need to see color with the eyes of a child. Having concentrated on form in his art, he devoted the next two months to the study of color. This was the man who five years earlier had repudiated painting as wasting his time, saying he couldn’t discern a red blanket from a gray overcoat as far as color was concerned.

In October he returned to the Southwest, as he wrote to the famed illustrator Howard Pyle, wishing to improve his color sense. However, upon stepping off the train, he was acutely disenchanted with what he saw. It was the local color, however, that disappointed. He vowed he would never go West again. The region had failed to stay the same as the pictures he had painted. “It is all brick buildings—derby hats and blue overhauls,” he fumed (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). Yet, what resulted from this trip was more significant for the artistic goals he had set for himself. He gleefully wrote he now grasped the essence of color and how to render it effectively. Still he maintained the views of a commercial illustrator, observing, “Color is great—it isn’t so great as drawing and neither are in it with imagination. Without that a fellow is out of luck” (Dippie, 2001).

The painting *Rounded-Up* (1901) shows his beginning efforts with color. It was traditional in theme and composition: a last stand in an inverted pyramid.

The difference lay in the brighter palette. In the dazzling sunlight, men impassively stay the course in a subdued portrayal of a desperate situation. He had foregone his typical pounding action. The reflective light bounces off the alkaline plains floor more than bullets. Soon Remington would become preoccupied with the properties of light at all hours of the day and night to provide mood rather than a literal transcription of objects. Remington closed out 1901 with what he regarded his first fine art exhibition at the acclaimed Clausen's Gallery on Fifth Avenue. He was moving forward in his working methods.

Shortly thereafter, in 1902, he told a friend that he had found the formula for serious art: "Big art is a process of elimination, cut down and out—do your hardest work outside the picture, and let your audience take away something to think about—to imagine. . . . What you want to do is just create the thought—materialize the spirit of a thing, and the small bronze—or the impressionist's picture—does that; then your audience discovers the thing you held back, and that's skill" (Wildman, 1903). His process was no longer the simple description of nature with which he had worked all of his life as he struggled with light and color.

An exclusive contract with *Collier's Weekly* in 1903 allowed him to focus on painting. With this four-year retainer of \$1000 per month, Remington could paint what he wanted while providing twelve color oils per year that the magazine would reproduce monthly. He had the best of both worlds with this contract. His supportive public would have access to his popular work, which mattered immensely to his sense of celebrity. However, as he told Wister, he knew the capricious public had a tendency to forget and needed to be reminded to keep him on their cultural calendar. But the bottom line was he could concentrate on becoming a fine artist. Well-known New York art critic Royal Cortissoz observed a dramatic transformation in his painting that year: "I have seen paintings of his which were hard as nails. But then came a change, beginning with this exhibition of night scenes, where a painter took the place of an illustrator's brittle pen drawings and blaring reds and yellows" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). The critic continued his ebullient praise for Remington's showing at the Noé Gallery on Fifth Avenue. He wanted to slap the artist on his back for creating painterly works filled with life that no one else could do.

Remington realized his artistic goals in the 1904 painting *Pony Tracks in the Buffalo Trail*, a double-diagonal composition. The subject was oft repeated, beginning with his first published illustrations. This time a frontier scout has joined the lead and a cavalry column brings up the rear. Using a similar arrangement to *Missing*, Remington eliminated the distraction of the skull and scattered sagebrush. Moreover, he loosened his style. Previously his works were tighter, perhaps feeling a need to delineate it all. Now with his mastery over drawing, he is so competent that he does not need to delineate everything. He has mastered his technique and is comfortable with it. At this point

he can relax it. Clarity of form and color yielded to broken, bold brushwork; hard contour lines softened.

Nonetheless, Remington remained frustrated with his efforts with color. Writing to a young illustrator, Remington bewailed:

You know how popular I've been. Every place I go I'm the great Fred Remington, but all my life I've planned what I would paint when I had money enough and for ten years I've been trying to get color in my things and I still don't get it. Why why why can't I get it. The only reason I can find is that I've worked too long in black and white. I know fine color when I see it but I just don't get it and it's maddening. I'm going to if I only live long enough. (Samuels and Samuels, 1982)

Remington always maintained a critical eye with his work. When works did not meet his standards, he would frequently destroy them. He was concerned both with contemporary approval and posterity's.

The critics were beginning to take favorable notice. A reviewer at the *New York Times* compared Remington with European artists, a flattering perception for American artists at this time who needed European art credentials to be accepted by the establishment. Reviewing the 1906 Knoedler exhibition, the journalist wrote with admiration over Remington's softened and harmonized compositions that evoked such celebrated French artists as Corot and Pissarro. In particular, he singled out Remington's shades of night to create tones of mystery that he had found lacking in previous works. The respected American Impressionist Childe Hassam also applauded Remington's paintings, declaring they "are all the best things—Nobody else can do them" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). These words meant a great deal to Remington, who aspired to join his friend in the ranks of leading American artists.

Nonetheless, Remington remained dissatisfied with his technical improvements. He believed his illustrations, all 2700 of them, had hindered him in his serious artistic objectives. Two months later in February 1907, he burned another set of paintings because they were not up to his new standards. He attempted to eliminate works from his repertoire in which he feared the entrenched art establishment would find too much of the illustrator. Remington remained trapped between the abyss of the commercial art world and that of high art. *Collier's* did not want the nocturnes the critics appreciated. The magazine wanted narrative action at high noon, like the old Remington. He, however, with enhanced technical proficiency, preferred to develop some of his stories with a limited color palette. He emphasized contrast between light and dark rather than contrast among more strong colors, a far cry from the heavy-handed modeling of his first published illustrations. His nocturnes were much more subtle and sensitive than black and white. The coldness of snow and the reflection of the moonlight through tonal color could never be achieved in the black and white illustration.

Fired On (1907) is Remington's mature palette, a sophisticated palette. The New York critics were unanimous in their approval of this painting shown at Knoedler's. They praised his artistic conception, structural composition, and method of expression. In contrast, they came down heavy on the sunlit pictures. It especially hurt when Cortissoz, who had praised Remington's paintings the year before, now saw the hand of the illustrator again. He spared no words lambasting what he saw as crude color technique. The *New York Times* seconded that evaluation. However, Cortissoz, along with the *Times*, tempered their criticisms. In Cortissoz's eyes Remington redeemed himself with the nocturnes, which demonstrated great progress. He added that Remington should be congratulated for his achievement. The critics believed that the night paintings held the greatest promise in Remington's future. They were correct in their assessment.

The nocturnes at last brought him the critical acclaim he fixatedly sought. His postwar imagery was more reflective; he more often examined tragedy rather than the heroic. The theme of no visible enemy would be consistent in his later art, which crackled with suspense. The tension in his earlier paintings was still there, but shrouded in the darkness of night. This is Remington at his painterly best. Although the nocturnal paintings that replaced the earlier sun-scorched canvases are abstractions of mood and feeling, Remington never forsook narrative content.

The year's end mixed reviews gave rise to an artistic identity crisis. In January 1908, Remington wrote in his diary that he felt he was attempting the impossible because his subject matter required him to be a studio painter not a plein air artist like his academically recognized contemporaries. Yet he saw himself as one with The Ten. Cortissoz, in particular, recognized that Remington had created his own impressionistic style. His understanding of subdued nocturnal color likewise influenced his depiction of the blistering sunlit Southwestern skies. For example, in *Buffalo Runners—Big Horn Basin* (1909), Remington's colors are blended and more tonal rather than chromatic like the French Impressionists. Instead of understanding the impressionist touch or stroke, he mimics it. He does not deal with or clearly grasp the French Impressionist use of color based on the physics of color. In 1908, Remington recorded in his diary that "I have always wanted to be able to paint running horses so you would feel the details and not see them" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). This was a startling statement for an artist who had built so much of his reputation on the accuracy of detail. And indeed, the broken brushed buffalo runners race across the canvas in a double-axis diagonal whipped by the wind in the glaring sun.

He understood this aspect of modernism; he believed true painting was just beginning. He described the new technique he was aspiring to achieve: "Small

Art is a she-devil of a mistress and, if at times in earlier days she would not stoop to my way of thinking, I have persevered and will so continue.

canvases are best—all plein air color and outlines lost—hard outlines are the bane of old painters” (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). He, too, had joined ranks with the critics in dismissing a previously esteemed painter when he casually commented that Bierstadt did not understand harmony. But some critics disapprovingly maintained Remington’s paintings continued to be illustrative. His work was primarily respected for its historical value. A *New York Daily Tribune* critic compared Remington to his predecessor Catlin. He believed Remington’s work would serve as pictorial documents of America’s past as Catlin’s paintings were useful as ethnographical records. This was not the affirmation Remington sought.

He burned more paintings that year as he relentlessly worked with color. By June he found some satisfaction writing in his diary that he completed five paintings that he thought would pass muster. Above all, Remington was pleased with his color discoveries and technique. He happily cited he had learned to use Prussian Blue and Ultramarine properly, and for the first time he created the silver sheen of moonlight. His diligence paid off. At his year’s end show at Knoedler’s he received good reviews. The *New York Globe* enthusiastically told the public to go see his pictures. The reviewer found his works distinctively American along with glowing praise for his color that was more pure, vibrant and expressive. Remington felt he had triumphed. Proudly, and relieved, he told a friend his exhibition was a huge hit. He pronounced himself no longer an illustrator.

He joyously welcomed the new year as he wrote in his diary New Year’s Eve that he had come into his own as a painter, a real artist, at the age of forty-seven. The year 1909 started off right for him. In January, *Craftsman*, a magazine of the arts and crafts movement, extolled Remington as one of America’s most outstanding artists; the journal deemed him a revolutionary in bringing about new conditions in American art. Still he had personal doubts as he wrote in his August diary about the upcoming Knoedler’s exhibition: “I wonder if this bunch will make artistic New York sit up?” Then *Scribner’s Magazine* contacted him about plans for a feature article for 1910 that would examine the whole of his art. This essay would become Remington’s memorial. At the year’s end Remington would be dead of peritonitis.

He had a few months left of heady living. At the height of his artistic prowess, Remington exulted he not only was happier than ever, but also healthy. The aesthetic pieces were coming together. Railroad financier William T. Evans, a collector of the best of American art, purchased *Fired On* as a gift for the National Gallery, Washington, DC. The Fifth Avenue crowd, as Remington called them, was also buying his work. His December show at Knoedler’s opened to large crowds and received rave reviews. Remington was thrilled as he wrote in his diary on 8 December: “[T]he art critics have all ‘come down’—I have received splendid notices from all the papers. They ungrudgingly give me high place as a ‘mere painter.’ I have been on their trail a long while and they never surrendered while they had a leg to stand on. The ‘Illustrator’ phase

has become a back ground" (Samuels and Samuels, 1982). The respect he resolutely sought at last arrived. The *Times*, often his nemesis, affirmed his aesthetic. Other critics followed suit in praise of his style and importance as a historian. One review, however, was ominous: He observed that the shadow of death was close at hand in the faces of Remington's characters, a theme that evidenced genius to him. On 23 December Remington collapsed. Doctors performed an emergency appendectomy on Remington's kitchen table. Peritonitis had set in from a burst appendix. He passed away at 9:30 AM on 26 December.

In his later years Remington tried to separate his art from Remington the man, who made popular copy. "Don't write about me but about my art. It's the art that counts," he implored. "Consider my Art and not myself. I hope the Art is interesting but I assure you I am not. I am utterly commonplace" (Dippie, 2001). Remington was wrong on both accounts. People have continued to write about both the art and the man. He, along with his art, has become part of American legend and lore. He not only created but became part of the Western American myth. He, too, perhaps was prescient as he wrote to a friend a few weeks before his death, "I am the bone in a big art war down here [in NYC] and bones don't have a good time. I stand for the proposition of 'subjects'—painting something worth while as against painting *nothing* well—merely paint" (Spelt and Spelt, 1988). His subject matter—his West—continues to create controversy today.

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Colt Single Action Army Revolver, 1871. Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming; Gift of Brian P. and Ann A. McDonald; 2 February 1999.

Rifles and Revolvers

George M. Stantis

WINCHESTER MODEL 1873

“The gun that won the West.” Though there were certainly many other firearms that took part in the changing of the American West, few can lay claim to having been as innovative, popular, or long-lived as the Winchester Model 1873 (also referred to as the Model 73). It is the lever-action rifle that most people think of when they bring to mind the rifle of the cowboy, settler, or gunfighter. Determined to improve and expand sales with the development of a center-fire cartridge and a firearm to handle them, the development of the Model 73 was the brainchild of Oliver Winchester. With technical innovation and aggressive salesmanship, by the end of its manufacture in 1923 more than 700,000 Model 1873s had been sold, making it one of the most popular and widely used firearms in American history.

The cartridge used in Winchester’s previous model of 1866 (Model 66) was a .44 caliber rim-fire, with a 200-grain lead bullet, a black powder charge of 28 grains, and a muzzle velocity of 1125 feet per second. Development of the new center-fire cartridge allowed for greater powder charges, with combustion of the entire powder column assured because the flame of the ignited primer shot forward along the length of the cartridge case. But with increased powder charges, there were also increased internal pressures the Model 66 was not capable of handling. The new round developed for the new Model 1873 would be designated the .44-40, or .44 WCF (Winchester Center Fire). It was composed of a brass case, primer, 40 grains of black powder, a 200-grain lead bullet, and achieved an average muzzle velocity of 1300 feet per second.

With plant superintendent Nelson King and Oliver Winchester’s newly hired son-in-law Thomas G. Bennett, a project team was assembled in 1870 to develop both the new cartridge and the rifle to handle it. After three years of intense work the completed design of the Model 1873 and the .44-40 was announced to the public, but production problems stalled mass production for another year; with only eighteen Model 73s being shipped in its first year of introduction. Many of the newly incorporated innovations were patents held by King and assigned to Winchester. Thus, from the beginning of production to the end, in 1923, barrel markings on all 1873s read “KING’S IMPROVEMENT PATENTED MARCH 29, 1866. OCTOBER 16, 1860.”

Though many variations and options would be made available, the basic sporting Model 73 was a lever-action, side-loaded, top-ejecting rifle with a twenty-four-inch round barrel, under-barrel tube magazine, American walnut forearm and butt stock, with crescent butt plate. Unlike the earlier Model 66, which had a brass receiver, all parts of the Model 73 were gun-metal, iron, and later steel. Another innovation was a sliding dust cover, which kept debris from entering the internal mechanism at the top of the receiver when the firearm was not in use.

The Model 1873 was an evolutionary design. Its primary appeal was that it allowed the rifleman to fire fifteen cartridges as fast as the lever-action of the new arm could be worked without reloading. In 1875, Winchester began an extensive advertising campaign of its Model 73 in America and Europe, with one result being a most favorable review being written in London's *Field* sporting magazine.

Another advantage was the patenting by Winchester of a reloading tool in 1875 that allowed the owner to reload cases after they had been fired. The new hand-loading tool removed the spent primer, inserted a new primer, seated the bullet, and resized the cartridge to its original factory specifications. This innovation allowed the owner to make his or her own cartridges from components, regardless of how far the individual was from civilization.

Adding to the practical appeal of the Model 73 was Colt's chambering its "frontier" model six-shooter in 1878 with the same .44-40 cartridge as the Winchester. Here was born a combination of rifle and pistol that allowed for the carrying of only one cartridge that was interchangeable between rifle and pistol. It therefore illustrates quite clearly why many early photographs show individuals holding a Model 73 and sporting a Colt revolver slung at their hip. Later, Colt and Winchester 73s were produced in .38-40, .32-20, and the .22 short and long.

Because large government contracts were not immediately forthcoming and seeing that the American domestic market was growing, Oliver Winchester determined to offer the public the Model 73 in various configurations. Winchester was also the first major American firearms manufacturer to offer the public a myriad of factory options.

Standard barrel length for carbines was twenty inches. Special lengths could be ordered from fourteen to nineteen inches, but are considered rare. Carbines with less than the standard length barrel are referred to as "Baby Carbines." It should also be noted that any barrel length could come with a saddle ring.

Rifle barrels came standard with twenty-four-inch round barrels. Octagonal barrels were considered an option, but were found to be popular by a ratio of 6:1 in all calibers. Either round or octagonal barrels could be special ordered in lengths of fourteen to thirty-six inches. Special order short-barreled rifles in either round or octagonal configuration were most often seen at twenty inches. The majority of .22-caliber barrels are found to have octagonal barrels. Heavier than standard weight barrels were also a special, but a not often seen order item. Although part round/part octagonal barrels were offered, they are seldom encountered.

I have been using and have thoroughly tested your latest improved rifle. Allow me to say that I have tried and used nearly every kind of a gun made in the United States, and for general hunting, or Indian fighting, I pronounce your improved Winchester the boss.

—William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, 1875

If there is any one feature in which Winchester guns excel all others . . . it is in their remarkable accuracy. This is due to the excellence of Winchester barrels and to the care taken in targeting them. At the plant of the Winchester Repeating Arms Co. there are ranges from 50 feet up to 200 yards. At these ranges every rifle is shot to test its accuracy, the distance varying according to the caliber.

—Winchester Repeating
Arms Co.

Muskets were produced with standard thirty-inch tapered round barrels. There are some muskets found with barrels three to four inches shorter than standard. Crowning of the muzzle on muskets and carbines was standard. Rifles did not have crowned muzzles on either their round or octagonal barrels, though some may be found with a semi-crown on the outer edges of the barrel.

Full-length tubular magazines were standard for both carbines and rifles, with the musket having its magazine set back three inches from the muzzle. Standard-length carbine magazines held twelve cartridges. Full-length rifle magazines carried a capacity of fifteen cartridges, and muskets held seventeen cartridges in their magazine. Though seldom publicized in its literature, Winchester recommended that the magazines not be loaded to full capacity to avoid cramping the magazine's internal spring. A magazine with half capacity was available, but extremely rare.

Early carbine front sights were integrated with the front barrel band. Later-model carbines had the blade silver-brazed into the slot on the barrel band, with the blade being of nickel steel or brass. By mid-1880 the post front sight was a two-part post integrated with the barrel. Ivory or copper inserts could also be ordered at an extra charge.

Carbine rear sights had a non-adjustable leaf marked 1, 3, or 5. The adjustable leaf rear sight became standard around 1882. Adjustable leaf carbine sights were fitted and graduated for the cartridge chambered in the gun.

Rifle front sights were initially one piece; with later models having two-piece construction with a silver blade inserted into the base that fit a dovetail milled into the barrel. Rear sights were of one-piece construction on early rifles; with two-piece construction following that incorporated a flat flip-up elevator.

Musket front sights on early models were two-piece, with later models offered in a variety of shapes and configurations. Early model rear sights were nonadjustable for windage. Later, rear sights came standard with windage-adjustable military ladder sights.

Through the course of its long production, Winchester offered a variety of sighting options. Because of this, the upper tangs of rifles were drilled and tapped for tang sights. There were also a number of rear sight options that included a variety of express leaf sights, "peek" or peep sights. Front sights too were available in a number of configurations that included various blade inserts, front blades made of different materials, globe front sights, and the

Beach combination sight. All sights not listed as standard were available at an extra charge.

Winchester bright blue was the standard metal finish. Triggers, hammers, and many of the internal parts were case hardened for durability. Color case hardening of some external parts was a special order item. Another special order item was full white nickel plate applied primarily to the frame, side plates, tang, elevator, dust cover, and butt plate; all other parts then being the standard bright blue.

Standard wood for the Model 73's butt stock and forearm was straight-grained walnut. Selected stocks were first oil finished, sanded smooth, scraped to remove any "whiskers," then a mixture of linseed oil and walnut hull oil was applied to add color and finish. If a high gloss was desired, instead of the standard satin finish, additional coats of oil were hand-applied and rubbed. "Fancy grain" walnut was an additional cost item, and came in either burl grain or crotch walnut. The most popular finish was an extra finish of oil to the walnut to bring out the curl, but was not fancy enough to be deemed deluxe.

Throughout the Model 73's production Winchester offered any feature or extra the customer required and could afford, from gold-plated triggers to the fanciest metal engraving and wood checkering. These options were offered as long as the Model 1873 was in production.

Perhaps the most magical of all Model 1873s is the "One of One Thousand" and "One of One Hundred." Winchester announced in its catalog of 1875 that it would be introducing specially made and finished rifles. These rifles would be tested for accuracy, have set triggers, and extra finished wood and metal as standard. All exposed metal parts such as the receiver, butt plate, hammer, side plates, and for-end caps would be case hardened and colored, while all other external parts would come bright blue. Internal parts would receive special polishing, and be found to have matching assembly numbers. The fancy-grained burl walnut would come checkered. These special rifles were offered from 1875 to 1877.

All One of One Thousand rifles have that inscription engraved on the barrel, close to the front of the receiver. The earliest rifles had "1 of 1000" engraved in numerals, although later models were spelled out. Winchester records indicate that there were 136 of these rifles sold. Barrels marked with the One of One Thousand were later assembled and sold in 1881. An even rarer Model 73 variety was the One of One Hundred; only seven are known to have been manufactured and sold.

Manufacture of the Model 1873's component parts was halted in 1919 near serial number 706,000. Assembly of parts was continued until 1923 when the last Model 73 left the factory with serial number 706,610.

The Winchester Repeating Arms Co. have [sic] unsurpassed facilities for producing fancy finished guns of all prices and descriptions.

—Winchester Repeating Arms Co.

Large Caliber Single-Shot Rifles: The Competition

Winchester claimed that their firearms “won the West,” but it was the large-caliber single-shot rifles that put it down for the count. At about the same time that Winchester was introducing its .44-40 cartridge and Model 1873 rifle and variants, companies like Sharps and Remington had shown the world what a large-caliber and black-powder charge could do at 800, 900, and 1000 yards by winning long-range matches in Europe—a feat Winchester at the time could not attempt. The trapdoor, falling and rolling block rifles would become Winchester’s greatest competitor for the American frontier and hunting market. Here were firearms that used bullets almost twice the weight of any used safely in a Winchester before the introduction of the Winchester Model 1885 Single Shot, and whose transfer of energy to the target no lever gun of the time could match. These single-shot black-powder cartridge rifles were the big bores of their day. It is interesting to note that the demise of these large-bore rifles coincided with the disappearance of the buffalo herds they were originally designed to harvest. But now, for more than twenty years, there has been a recurring interest in these “buffalo guns,” and each is now manufactured by a new generation of craftsmen to the same exacting standards that had brought them to prominence more than 130 years ago.

BUFFALO RIFLES

Though any firearm or rifle was used to hunt buffalo, the rifles most considered “Buffalo Rifles” are those that were used by the professional hunters from 1866 to the early 1880s. These firearms are identified as being single-shot black-powder cartridge rifles with an external hammer and weighing between ten and sixteen pounds. Ranging from forty to fifty calibers, the buffalo hunters fired lead bullets that weighed from 400 to 550 grains (there are 437.5 grains to the ounce). Sharps, Remington, Ballard, and the Trapdoor Springfield are just a few of the models and manufacturers that made rifles suitable for the buffalo ranges. Myth and legend has sprung up concerning their long-range accuracy and killing power. In less than twenty years the professional buffalo hunter with his large-bore rifle decimated the vast herds of bison that once roamed throughout the American West.

Even by today’s standards the rifles used by the professional buffalo hunter are accurate and powerful. Their selection of a rifle was dictated by the animal that they were hunting, and by the way in which they hunted the American bison, or buffalo. These are large animals, with males sometimes weighing as much as a ton, and required a heavy bullet that would penetrate deeply. Unlike the Indian and other hunters who chased the buffalo herd from horseback,

the professional buffalo hunter preferred taking a "stand" that allowed them to select their targets and to keep the herd within range. For this style of hunting the rifle could be long and heavy to make that killing shot from 200 to more than 600 yards away; whereas those that chased the buffalo from horseback used lighter and shorter-barreled rifles to maneuver it around the head and neck of a running horse.

PROFESSIONAL BUFFALO HUNTING

When the buffalo hunters first came, the buffalo were found in massive herds, and kills were generally made at 200 to 600 yards. As the herds were thinned the buffalo became more wary of the sight and smell of man, which extended the killing range to 700 and even 900 yards.

In the early period of commercial buffalo hunting between 1870 and 1875, the most widely used cartridge was the .44/75 two and a quarter inch and the .50/70 Government. There was also the .50 two and a half inch and the .44 two and five-eighths inch, but these were not used by the majority of hunters. Weights of the rifle in this period ranged from ten and a half to thirteen pounds, with the average being eleven and a half to twelve pounds. Open sights were used, but a greater percentage of hunters fitted special order peep and globe sights. During this period military rifles chambered in .44/70 and .50/70 were often seen. There increased the number of heavy rifles weighing from fourteen to seventeen and a half pounds and chambered for the .44/90 and .50/100 two and a half inch. These rifles had heavy octagonal barrels between thirty and thirty-two inches, many were ordered with set triggers, shotgun butt stock, and were sometimes equipped with telescopic sights.

After 1875 through 1878 there was a growing number of heavier rifles used. There was also a decline in the number of telescopic sights used, with the front globe sight and tang mounted peep rear sight predominating. During this time the .44/90 was the most

There were several methods to kill buffalo, and each hunter adopted his own. One method was to run beside them, shooting them as they ran. Another was to shoot from the rear. The most successful and profitable method of hunting was to leave your horse out of sight after you had determined the direction and course of the wind, and then get as near as possible. If the herd was lying at rest, the hunter would pick out some buffalo that were standing up on watch and shoot the sentinel in the side so that the bullet would not go through, but would lodge in the flesh. A buffalo shot in this manner would begin to mill round and round in a slow walk. The other buffalo sniffing the blood and following would then not be watching the hunter, and he would continue to shoot the outside cow buffalo. In this way the hunter could hold the herd as long as they acted in this way. And just as a trained cowpuncher would hold his herd with his horse and rope, the hunter would use his gun. This was termed mesmerizing the buffalo so that he could hold them on what we termed a stand, which afterwards proved to

(continued)

*be the most successful way
of killing the buffalo.*

—Details taken from Miles Gilbert, *Getting a Stand*, Ch. 6 (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1993), pp. 78–79.

inch cartridge. That is, a .50 caliber, two and a half inch case, carrying 100 grains of black powder, and firing a 473-grain paper patched or lube-grooved bullet.

Of all the rifles used by the buffalo hunters it is the Sharps Model 1874 that comes most quickly to peoples' minds. The unique profile, with its large side-mounted hammer and distinctive trigger guard that also acted as the falling block lever, is the rifle identified with most of the notable incidents of the buffalo-hunting era. It was with a .50/90 Sharps that Billy Dixon struck one of a group of Indians more than 1500 yards away on the second day of the Adobe Walls Fight (Texas) in 1874.

Actually introduced in 1871, the designation of 1874 came after Sharps began to introduce other models to their line of firearms. Produced for less than ten years, the Model 1874 Sharps has become an American icon and is identified as much with the Old West as is the Colt Single Action revolver or the Winchester Model 1873 lever gun. In fact, it has been contended by some that, "the Sharps made the west safe for Winchester." The reputation of the Sharps far outweighs the actual number made—approximately 6500. Even taking into consideration all the variations, such as the Creedmore, Business Rifle, Long and Mid Range, Military, and Hunter's Rifle, the total production of Model 1874s was between 12,000 and 13,000. The reputation of the Sharps by those that made their living in the hide trade was not only its accuracy, but the fact that the rifle was sturdy and easy to disassemble. A simple pin was pulled from the side of the receiver that allowed the breechblock and extractor to drop out the bottom for inspection, repair, or cleaning. The extractor had an extension that allowed for manual pressure to be applied when removing a stuck case caused by overheating. Due to financial complications, the Sharps Rifle Company closed its doors in 1881 at about the same time the great buffalo herds were on the verge of extinction, and the rifle that killed many of them was potentially responsible for destroying its own market.

One of the most popular buffalo rifles of this era was the Remington Rolling Block; also known as the Remington No. 1. By the time the Sharps Model 1874 was introduced Remington had already manufactured over 600,000 of this model rifle for both the American and foreign military. During the 1870s the Remington Arms Company was working twenty-four hours and producing nearly 1600 rifles for each twenty-four hour period. These military rifles

used cartridge, with the .45 caliber becoming increasingly popular. Weights of the rifles also increased, with rifles generally weighing thirteen and three-quarter pounds to sixteen and a half pounds. The butt stock was of the shotgun type, and the average barrel length was thirty inches. It was during this latter period that mention of the "Big Fifty" becomes more prevalent in the recollections of some of the old buffalo hunters. This reference is to the .50/100/473 two and a half

carried 35.2-inch barrels, and offered to the American public chambered for the .43 Spanish, and .43 Egyptian; while the .50/70 Government carried a 35.5-inch barrel. So lucrative were foreign military sales for Remington that the company allowed the American market to take care of itself. It was from the needs of the buffalo hunters and other American hunters that Remington developed their Remington No. 1 Sporting Rifle.

Remington Sporting Rifles were manufactured from 1870 through 1890. It is because of the diverse needs of the American market that the Remington Sporting Rifles are found in a vast array of calibers and stock configurations. One could order a rifle as light as eight and a half pounds to as heavy as fifteen pounds. Barrel length was twenty-six inches, but could be ordered longer for \$1.00 per two inches added, up to thirty-four inches. Another more common option was single-set triggers. Remington did not drill and tap the tangs of their rifles for peep sight mounting, as was done with other manufacturers. Sporting Rifles came standard with a blade front sight and buckhorn rear, but offered as an option their “combination open and peep sight” mounted on the barrel just ahead of the receiver.

Operation of the action is done by bringing the hammer to full cock, the block is then brought back by using the thumb tab on the right side, inserting the cartridge, then pushing the thumb tab forward against the breech. Disassembly of the action is accomplished by removing a screw on the left side of the receiver and the securing button and driving out two pins. This will then allow for the removal of the block and trigger. It is the simplicity of the action and the myriad of available options that attracted many of the buffalo hunters.

Marlin Ballard was another rifle that saw use by the professional buffalo hunter. The era of the Marlin Ballard was from 1875 to 1890. The history of the Ballard is complex, having been bought and sold many times. Known primarily for their excellent target rifles, the Marlin Ballard was also made in hunting configurations that did see service out West and on the buffalo ranges.

The Marlin Ballard models most likely used by the hide hunters would have been the Ballard Hunter's Rifle 1-1/2 and 1-3/4, the Ballard Perfection No. 4, Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 4-1/4, and the Ballard Pacific No. 5. Each of these rifles was made from the finest materials then available. They could be ordered with barrels that ranged from twenty-six to thirty-four inches and could be chambered for any caliber, including any number of their proprietary or “everlasting” cartridges. Double-set triggers were also standard on some of these models. Its action is not seen as being as strong as many of its competitors, but it was capable enough to handle the pressures of any of the large cartridges of its day using black powder as its propellant.

As a true falling block action, the Ballard is loaded by simply pulling down on the trigger guard; this then lowered the entire two part block, which also housed the trigger assembly and hammer. Disassembly is done by removing the transverse screw on the right side of the receiver which then allows for the entire block and extractor to be removed.

Perhaps one of the first rifles to be termed a Buffalo rifle would be the Trapdoor Springfield. It was developed after the Civil War to save money by reconstructing the large inventory of muzzle-loading Model 1861 Springfields into single-shot cartridge rifles. In September 1865 E.S. Allin was awarded a patent that consisted of milling the breech area of the rifle-musket and attaching a hinged breechblock, or trapdoor. We know it was used as a buffalo rifle because it was the rifle William "Buffalo Bill" Cody used to feed railroad workers building the transcontinental railroad in the late 1860s. It was during this time that Buffalo Bill used his Trapdoor rifle, Leucresia Borgia, to kill sixty-nine buffalo in one day. It operated by putting the hammer on half-cock, pushing up on the thumb tab to raise the block, loading a cartridge, closing the block, drawing the hammer to full-cock, and firing.

The first cartridges developed for the Trapdoor used a 500-grain .58 caliber bullet propelled by 60 grains of black powder, with a muzzle velocity of 946 feet per second. By 1867 the next cartridge developed for this rifle was the .50/70. It was loaded with a 425-grain bullet and 70 grains of black powder. By 1873 the Army redesigned the Trapdoor and developed a new cartridge to go with it, the famous .45/70. This cartridge is still sold today, but originally it was loaded into a 1.1 inch brass case with 70 grains of black powder and a 500-grain lead bullet.

Trapdoor Springfields came in three basic configurations. There was the infantry rifle with its thirty-five and a half inch barrel, the Cadet Rifle with a twenty-nine and a half inch barrel, and the cavalry carbine with a twenty-two inch barrel. Together there were more than 600,000 Trapdoors manufactured by the Springfield Armory.

Development of the self-contained cartridge and the rifles to fire them evolved in time to meet both political and material need. The rifles used by the professional buffalo hunter were tools that met the criteria for reducing the native people's food supply and by supplying meat and hides to a growing industrial nation. Strangely, it is the rifles that are better remembered than the men that wielded them with such deadly efficiency.

COLT SINGLE ACTION

Perhaps no other American-made handgun is as recognizable as the Colt Single Action revolver. It is the sidearm seen and used in a dizzying array of movies, television Westerns, books, and magazine articles. Carried by gamblers, cowboys, soldiers, outlaws, farmers, and lawmen, the Colt Single Action cartridge revolver was the most recognized and popular. It has served as a symbol of an era, and from its acceptance by the U.S. Army in 1873 to its present production, this six-shooter remains an iconic fixture.

The Colt Model P, also known as the Colt Single Action, Peacemaker, or Frontier, is one of the most popular and legendary small arms in American history.

Produced for more than 130 years, and still popular, the Colt Single Action was the result of patents held by Charles B. Richards, with his cartridge conversion of open-top Colt revolvers, and William Mason and his improved ejector. Mechanically, no principal changes were made to the internal workings of the revolver from its earlier percussion models, such as the .44-caliber Colt Model 1860 Army and the .36-caliber Colt Model 1851 Navy.

The Workings of the Colt Single Action

The Colt Single Action is a six-shot, solid frame revolver, as compared to the earlier "open-top" Colts, or hinged framed Smith & Wessons. The frame is two parts, the cylinder frame and the grip frame with the trigger guard, which is all assembled with screws. After drawing the hammer back two clicks to rotate the cylinder, loading is done singly into the cylinder through the swing-out loading gate on the right side of the cylinder frame. Empty cases are ejected one at a time through the opened loading gate by pulling forward on the ejector rod, located in the housing under the barrel. The cylinder can be removed by again bringing the hammer back two clicks and removing the base pin by either unscrewing the base pin screw (as in black powder era guns), or pushing the transverse bar to the right, then pulling the base pin forward.

Evolution came with the adoption of the black-powder center fire cartridge and the incorporation of an integrated top strap that bridged the front and back of the revolver frame. This top strap added strength to the frame, and thus allowed the use of more powerful cartridges. Into the frame the barrel was screwed. The back strap and trigger guard were separate components and were attached to each other, and the frame, with screws. But like earlier Colt percussion revolvers there remained the revolving cylinder, hammer, trigger, mainspring or hammer spring, handspring, and a bifurcated spring that operated both the cylinder bolt and trigger.

The original military contract was for 8000 in 1873; by 1891 the U.S. military had purchased more than 37,000. Chambered for the .45-caliber center fire cartridge, early revolvers were issued to selected state militia and various government departments. All specimens are identified by the "U.S." stamped on the left side of the frame, along with the initials of the inspector, and small initial stampings on other parts. These early Colt Single Actions carried seven and a half inch barrels for the cavalry, and were barreled five and a half inches for the artillery. The first unit to be issued the Colt SA (single action) was the Second Cavalry stationed at Camp Douglas, Texas. On 13 April 1874, they received eighty-four. Now officially introduced to the West, the new Colt SA was advertised by the agent for the Colt Company, B. Kitteredge & Company, as the "Peacemaker," a name synonymous with the Colt

SA. But Peacemaker was not the official name. Colt designated their SA as the Model P. The Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company sold their SAA (single-action army) through a number of traveling salesmen. They also had fifteen to twenty "jobbers" acting as wholesalers, whose job was to handle the large-quantity orders for distribution to individual retail stores. Colt also had sales offices in New York and London.

Serious collectors of the Colt SAA separate the manufacturing history of this revolver into three distinct generations.

First generation Colt Single Action's were manufactured continuously from 1873 to 1940, with a total production of 357,859. But it must be taken into consideration that this period was also divided into two subgroups. They are the black powder-era guns and smokeless powder-era guns, and thus into either black powder or smokeless frames. The difference is that the black powder frame has a screw that angles in from the front of the frame which then holds the base pin in position. This differs from the smokeless powder frame in that the base pin is held in place by a transverse spring-loaded pin. Here a warning should be made. Though the smokeless powder frame was adopted in 1892, the Colt factory did not warranty any of their single action revolvers until 1900. Therefore, if the serial number is below 192,000 then it is a black powder-era frame. Revolvers came with seven and a half, five and a half, and four and three-quarter inch barrels, but the factory offered barrels in lengths from two and a half to sixteen inches on special order, and also offered a special shoulder stock that could turn the longer barreled arms into a carbine. During this period Colt offered more than thirty different chamberings for cartridges from the .22 Long Rifle to the British .476 Eley. Most popular was the .45 Colt, with 158,885 sold in this caliber, followed by the .44-40 (71,291), the .38-40 (50,520), the .32-20 (43,264), and the .41 Colt (19,676). It is an interesting note that many of the Colt SA's most popularly sold calibers were also those chambered for the Winchester Model 1873.

Second generation production Colt "Peacemaker" was in response to the influence of television and movie Westerns. Manufactured from 1956 to 1975, the serial number began with 0001, but ended with the suffix SA. Initially offered in .45 Colt, the .38 Special was added later that same year. In 1958, the .44 Special was added, and in 1960, the .357 Magnum also became available. By 1964, the .38 Special was dropped, as was the .44 Special in 1966. Barrel lengths offered were seven and a half, five and a half, and four and three-quarter inches.

Third generation Colt SAs were placed into production after Colt had an opportunity to retool, rebuild, and refit the machinery that had been used in its manufacturing for more than a century. In 1976, Colt reintroduced the Peacemaker, retaining the standard barrel lengths, and offered in a barrel length of seven and a half inches, and chambered in .45 Colt. Soon afterward four and three-quarter and five and a half inch barrels were offered along with

the .357 Magnum caliber. By 1978, the .44 Special was offered in all three standard barrel lengths, and by 1982 the .44-40 was offered with only the four and three-quarter and seven and a half inch barrels. Serial numbers in 1976 began at 80,000SA, but when the serial number reached 99,999SA in 1978 Colt began a new serial number range beginning with SA1001, and ending in 1993 with SA99,999. From 1993 to the present serial numbers are found with the prefix of "S" and the suffix "A."

With such a long production run the number of Colt SA options and embellishments are innumerable. As standard, the finish was a case colored frame and hammer, with all other parts being deep blued, and with oil-finished walnut grips; between 1882 and 1896, customer requests led Colt to come out with two-piece, black hard rubber, gutta-percha grips with a single holding screw. But the civilian customer had a vast array of special order options that included nickel, silver, or gold plating; grips could be ordered in plain or fancifully carved exotic materials; or engraving that ran from simple embellishment to full and deep coverage of all its exposed metal parts. So varied and expansive are these specially embellished guns that collectors are still discovering new variations. Colt show guns and presentation pieces that are elaborately engraved and may be inlaid with gold and other precious stones and metals consistently won international recognition and prizes. Many of these embellished Colts were presented to foreign presidents, kings, and sultans; and many more were specially made and presented to notable American businessmen, politicians, and famous personalities.

Of interest are also those models which had either the flat-top or standard top-strap frame as the Model P, but produced with special barrel lengths. These are the Buntline Special, Sheriff's, and Storekeeper's models.

Supposedly dime-novel writer Ned Buntline (Edward Z.C. Judson) had these special twelve-inch barrel, flat-topped Colts made as gifts and presented to notable lawmen Charles Bassett, Neal Brown, Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and Bill Tilghman. And though there is scant evidence to prove that these were actually ordered and delivered, there were customers that indeed special ordered Colt SAs with extended barrels. The Buntline is defined as having barrel lengths from ten to sixteen inches. They were generally ordered with a grooved flat-top frame into which was inserted an adjustable leaf sight. They also came with an extended hammer screw onto which a nickel-plated brass shoulder stock could be mounted. Colt had announced this configuration at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, but aside from the first batch, this firearm was never produced in any numbers until the 1960s and 1970s.

At the other end were the Sheriff and Storekeeper models. These are easily identified as having barrels from three to four inches and without having an ejector or rod housing. As a special ordered item they were made in limited numbers through each generation of Colt SAA manufacturing.

Colt used the basic design of its single action throughout its production. A variation from this was the Flat-Top Target models. These are distinguished by having a nonadjustable fixed rear sight mounted on the flat, rather than the more usual radiused top strap, and for having a front sight base into which any variety of sight blades could be inserted and tightened by a screw. Available at first only by special order, these Flat-Top Target models were later listed in both their 1890 and 1892 catalogs. Approximately 917 Flat-Top Target models were made, with the .38 caliber being the most popular.

Western Gunleather

As Americans began migrating West they brought with them their style of carrying pistols and revolvers. Whether one's six-shooter was carried in a California Slim Jim, Mexican Loop, or Buscadero rig, they each evolved in the West in response to their place and times.

Early Eastern hip-belt holsters were generally in the form of a simple sleeve, or cuff. Their simple purpose was to hold the sidearm on the belt, and they were often open-topped and made with thin pliable leathers.

There is some speculation that due to the need to access one's sidearm in a hurry, the rough and tumble mining camps of California led to the development of the California Slim-Jim holster. Popular from the 1850s through the 1870s, the Slim Jim holster was opened-topped and followed the contours of the revolver it was carrying, giving quick access to the grip and trigger. Many existing samples exhibit graceful lines and show the influence of Mexican leather carving and tooling. This contoured design and applied decoration would influence all other Western holster designs to the present day.

Developed in the 1870s, the "Mexican Loop" holster is perhaps the most recognizable of the Western-designed "gun boots," seen most often in photographs of cowboys, lawmen, and outlaws. The Mexican Loop holster allowed for a broader belt loop to accommodate the wider gun belts with their integrated cartridge loops. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had become so popular that the pattern was advertised through the mail-order catalogs of Montgomery Ward and Sears.

The "Buscadero" rig was the invention of the entertainment industry. Its unique suspension and often garishly decorated holster and belt set its wearer apart from the more old-fashioned rigs of lesser characters. The Buscadero dominated Western-themed shorts, films, and TV from the 1930s through the 1970s. It was the rig of most of Hollywood's cowboy heroes and was the precursor to the development of the fast-draw pattern of holster. The fast-draw, like the Buscadero, was worn low on the hip, with the grip near equal to the lowered wrist of its wearer.

The Bisley model was the first major change to the SA design. Colt called it the “Target Revolver model,” and it was first introduced and advertised in England through the Holland & Holland catalog in 1895 where the *Illustrated News* called it “Colt’s New ’95 Model, .455 Caliber Army and Target Revolver in One.” The following year the name Bisley was assured by its having performed admirably at the Bisley international shooting matches in England. By 1898 Bisleys were being offered in every variety of the standard Model P, including Flat-Top Target models, and in eighteen calibers. There were 45,326 Bisley models produced until 1912, when the Colt Company ceased its production.

The Colt Single Action is perhaps the most recognized and collected revolver in the world. And though it has undergone some minor improvements in its long history, it has remained virtually unchanged. There are more books, articles, and movies highlighting the Colt SA than any other revolver. Its identifiable status comes from more than a century and a quarter of production, and by its use by some of the American West’s most notable personalities.

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Statue of Sacagawea and her son, Bismarck, North Dakota. Getty Images.

Sacagawea

Vanessa Gunther

Sacagawea is perhaps one of the most recognizable Indians in American history. Along with Pocahontas, she exemplifies the typical white view of Indian women, amiable to the will of the Anglo-Europeans who seized control of native lands. Because of this, the story of her life often seems to begin and end with the Lewis and Clark Expedition during the years 1805–1806. The assistance she provided to the thirty-two travelers she guided from the Mandan villages in present-day North Dakota to the Pacific and then back again has become emblematic of the conquest of America. In the mind of most Americans this conquest was a fairly neat affair where the Indians either welcomed the arrival of the white man or recognized the futility of fighting against such a foe and assumed a position of subordination. Little could be further from the truth. Although Sacagawea may be an iconic image of the restless nature of nineteenth-century Americans, she has also been an equally iconic image of betrayal to native people much like Malinche, the Nahua woman who assisted Hernán Cortéz in his conquest of the Aztec has become to the indigenous people of Mexico. The story of Sacagawea however, is one of considerably greater fluidity, and speaks of a woman of profound strength and grace whose heart was always with her people.

She was born around the year 1787 in what is now Lemhi County, Idaho, into the Shoshone or Snake Indian tribe. Whether she was given the name Sacagawea at the time of her birth is unknown. There has been considerable debate over whether hers is a truly Shoshone name or a name given to her by the Hidatsa. Her name has been given several meanings, the most common of which is “bird woman,” although it must be noted that this is not what the Shoshone would translate her name to mean. To them, Sacagawea means “canoe launcher.” Little is known about her life as a child, until she entered early adolescence. She was undoubtedly taught to harvest the native plants of the Northwest and to make moccasins and clothing, because she demonstrated these skills during the months she spent with Lewis and Clark. As an infant she had apparently been promised as a wife to a man within her own tribe, and a bride price had been paid by the prospective groom’s family. However, the life that had been planned for Sacagawea by her parents was wrenched from her five years before she encountered Lewis and Clark. In his diary, Meriwether Lewis recounts the event that took her from her people and set her on a course with history. Around the year 1800, Sacagawea and a group of Shoshone were attacked by members of the Minnetares or Hidatsa tribe near Jefferson’s River in modern-day Idaho. It is likely the Shoshone were there collecting birch bark and other food items to store for the winter. Although the Shoshone escaped the initial attack, the Hidatsa pursued them and eventually “killed four men, four women, a number of young boys, and made prisoners of all the females and four boys.” Sacagawea was among the girls taken. For the next five years she would be a prisoner of the Hidatsa and lived in their village near the Missouri River in modern-day North Dakota. Sometime in 1804 she was either purchased or won in a gambling contest by

a French-Canadian fur trapper by the name of Toussaint Charbonneau, who, at the time, was about forty-five years her senior. When Charbonneau was hired by Lewis and Clark to serve as their interpreter during winter 1804–1805, he brought with him his three wives, one of whom was Sacagawea. However, the distinction of being betrothed to Charbonneau apparently was one of convenience for the trapper, and on 8 February 1805, at the insistence of William Clark, Charbonneau married Sacagawea. Three days later, she would give birth to a son, Baptiste.

When the Corps departed the Mandan villages on 7 April 1805, Sacagawea, Baptiste, and Charbonneau accompanied the group. For the next sixteen months, until August 1806, Sacagawea demonstrated her value to the expedition. Six weeks after leaving the Mandan village a squall overturned one of the boats used by the Corps; without the quick action of Sacagawea many of the items carried would have been lost. In addition to this service, she often secured food for the company when game was scarce, served as translator and guide, and provided an unseen aura of protection for the men. As both Lewis and Clark note, her presence was evidence enough to the Indians they came into contact with of the peaceful intent of the group. The relationship between the Corps members and Sacagawea grew into one of genuine affection. When Sacagawea was seriously ill for several weeks in June 1805, Clark tended to her and voiced his concern both for her recovery and of her importance to their mission. Over time, William Clark would assume a greater role in her well-being and later that of her child. On 14 August 1805, Charbonneau was reprimanded over his ill treatment of her, and when the expedition ended in 1806, Clark offered to adopt Sacagawea's child or to provide assistance to the family should they decide to settle in St. Louis.

Perhaps the most poignant reminder of the life that Sacagawea had been torn from came when the Corps met the Shoshone Indians. There negotiations for horses and supplies that were needed to carry the men to the Pacific Ocean were stalled until it was discovered that Sacagawea was the sister of the tribal chief, Cameahwait. Their joyful reunion was marred by the news that virtually all of her family had died, leaving only two brothers and the orphaned son of her eldest sister. Sacagawea, in accordance with Shoshone tradition, adopted the child, who would become known as Bazil. When the expedition left the Shoshone, Sacagawea left Bazil in the care of her brother. She would not see him again for another forty years.

Once the Corps of Discovery had completed its mission to cross the continent and the players returned to their respective lives, the story of Sacagawea's life often ends. However, the relationships developed during the expedition proved difficult to break. William Clark was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in the Louisiana Territory and pressed his services on Charbonneau, encouraging him to settle with his family in St. Louis and even offering again to adopt Baptiste, Sacagawea's son, of whom he had grown very fond. Charbonneau took advantage of Clark's generosity and in late 1806 he left his

family in Clark's care while he trapped furs in the Southwest. It appears that an on-again-off-again relationship ensued over the next five years, with Charbonneau, Sacagawea, and another wife of Charbonneau's alternating residences between the Hidatsa and St. Louis. For many the end of the story of Sacagawea occurs shortly after this time. But the evidence of how much longer Sacagawea lived is contradictory.

In 1811, Charbonneau accepted a job as an interpreter and trapper for Henry M. Brackenridge along the Missouri River. Charbonneau left his younger son Tousant, by his second wife, in the care of William Clark, and then left St. Louis with his Shoshone wife Otter Woman. For the next eighteen months Charbonneau trapped along the Missouri in the vicinity of the Fort Manuel Lisa Trading Post, near modern-day Omaha, Nebraska. Because conditions along the Missouri were frequently unsafe, Charbonneau's wife primarily remained at the fort. At the fort sometime in 1811, his wife gave birth to a child who was named Lisette. Shortly after Lisette's birth it was assumed that Charbonneau had been killed in an Indian attack. A final piece of evidence into the unfolding mystery occurred on 20 December 1812, when John Lutting, a clerk at the fort noted that Charbonneau's wife had died of "putrid fever." It has been assumed that Otter Woman was Sacagawea. Additional proof for this has been a St. Louis Orphans Court record from 11 August 1813 noting the appointment of William Clark as the guardian for both Lisette and Tousant. However, for this to have been the end of Sacagawea's life, it would be necessary for there to be no further mention of her in the historical record. This is not the case. Charbonneau, Sacagawea, Baptiste, and Tousant are mentioned in several additional records. Only Lisette fails to make another appearance.

Scholars note that Baptiste is not mentioned in the court record; the reason for this would be that his mother, Sacagawea, was still alive. According to Missouri law at the time, it was required for both parents to be proven dead for an adoption to take place. Since Charbonneau was known to have three children—Tousant, Lisette, and Baptiste—it would indicate that Charbonneau and one of his other wives had died. Considering William Clark's strong affection for Baptiste, it is inconceivable that he would not have included his name in the adoption order. Additional evidence to suggest that Sacagawea's story continued on well after 1812 can be found; it is, however, not without controversy.

By July 1816 Charbonneau had returned to St. Louis. He again repeated the same itinerant pattern of residence that characterized his life up to this point. In 1820, he again appeared with a new wife, Eagle, from the Hidatsa tribe, but soon obtained employment with another fur trading company that would have necessitated his absence from St. Louis. Charbonneau took both of his wives, Sacagawea and Eagle, with him, but left behind Tousant and Baptiste in the care of William Clark. Clark's records for the year of 1820 note receipts for tuition for both boys. In the early 1820s, while trapping in the Midwest, Charbonneau took a third wife, a member of the Ute tribe. It was this last

addition to the family that ended Sacagawea's relationship with Charbonneau. When Charbonneau reportedly beat Sacagawea in front of his new wife, she abandoned him. Here the story of Sacagawea again diverges; William Clark continued to mention Sacagawea in his diary through the 1820s. However in 1830 he made a cryptic note next to her name in one entry, "dead." Whether this was his belief because he was unaware of her whereabouts or whether he had actually seen her body is not recorded. Another story indicates that Sacagawea was very much alive, and after traveling through the Southwest where she met several different tribes, including the Apache and the California Indians, she eventually settled among the Comanche, a tribal group whose language is similar to that of the Shoshone. There she remained for several years, eventually marrying a man and giving birth to five children, although only two survived their childhood. When her Comanche husband was killed sometime in the early 1840s, Sacagawea decided to return to the Shoshone. Taking her daughter Yagawosier with her, she left her son, now a man, behind with the Comanche.

Sometime around 1843, Sacagawea reappeared in the Wind River Valley and was reunited with the people she had been stolen from almost forty years earlier. During that forty year absence the West had beckoned white settlers by the thousands into the lands traditionally held by the Shoshone. Fur traders and adventurers had visited the area and harvested furs almost from the moment Lewis and Clark returned to the United States. They were followed by missionaries and traders. In the year that she reappeared among her people, Jim Bridger established a fort along the Oregon Trail in modern-day Wyoming that served as a way station for the settlers moving into the area and later as a military outpost during the Indian wars that would rock the region from the 1850–1880s. The once open ranges of the West were becoming congested. As a nation reliant on its horses for survival and wealth, the intrusion of settlers into their valleys and plains threatened the survival of the Shoshone people.

When she returned to the Shoshone, Sacagawea was reunited with Baptiste and Bazil. In the years she was absent, Baptiste had completed his education and some accounts have him living in Europe for several years before returning to the Shoshone and serving as a guide and interpreter. However, he eventually took to drinking and as impressive as his early life might have been, his later life was marked by few accomplishments. Bazil, the son Sacagawea adopted from her deceased sister, had risen to a position of prominence in the tribe. Her own son Baptiste regarded her with some indifference; however, her adopted son Bazil and she became quite close. During the 1850s and into the 1860s, Sacagawea was reported to be living near Fort Bridger and annually came into the fort to trade.

As white incursions into the land of the Shoshone continued, the Wind River Shoshone under the leadership of Washakie agreed to a treaty in 1868 that reserved the valley for them. The Fort Laramie treaty, as it was known, was a seminal event in the history of the Shoshone. The native councils that were called to discuss this treaty also drew Sacagawea out from the past.

Several members of the tribe report that she was at the council meetings and even spoke, urging the Shoshone to accept the reservation and to live in peace with the settlers. Here, however, Sacagawea is known as Porivo, or chief, because of her stature within the tribe. She would have been entering her eighties and would have been afforded great respect by members of her tribe because of her age and because of her past dealings with the whites.

In 1871, Sacagawea, Bazil, and his family moved onto the new Wind River Reservation. Because of her previous contact with whites and the respect they afforded her due to her contribution to Lewis and Clark, Sacagawea became indispensable to the Indian agents who were charged with instructing the Shoshone in agriculture. She continued her relationship with Bazil and lived in his home with his family for the rest of her life. There she remained until she died in 1884 at the age of 97.

The story of Sacagawea's life is perhaps the hardest to reconcile between what is truth and what is wishful thinking. Although much of the documentation that supported her living a long and healthy life has been lost, much still remains. For many the controversy surrounds the fact that much of this information has been taken from the oral histories of the Shoshone people. Among the Shoshone, there is no dispute over Sacagawea's long and storied life. For those who believe that Sacagawea died in 1812 of puerile fever there is even less information, and all of it is based on documents written by white men. Historians have noted that Sacagawea's story is one that changes with the needs of the time. Although Lewis and Clark found her services indispensable, the importance of her presence among the members of the Corps of Discovery has also been debated. With the forced opening of the West, she became an icon for generations of Americans who wanted to believe in the myth that the land was easily yielded to them. To the Indians though, many see her as a traitor to her own people because she helped Lewis and Clark, many others see her as a pragmatic woman, one whose knowledge of the Americans prevented untold bloodshed. In all instances she stands as an icon of the West.

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View of Bridal Veil Falls as seen from Wawona Trail, Yosemite Valley, California. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Yosemite National Park

Kenneth W. McMullen

Of the names that speak to natural beauty in the West, Yosemite Valley probably heads the list. Famous photographers, writers, and artists have publicized Yosemite's grandeur as far back as the mid-1800s. If not completely synonymous with the West, Yosemite has represented an idealized vision of the American West as rugged, untamed, beautiful, and unpopulated. The last descriptor represented a falsehood.

A group of Native Americans populated Yosemite long before other Americans first set foot in the valley. The people, known as the Ahwahneechees (people of Ahwahnee) represented one of the smaller clans of the Central Miwok tribal groups. In Central Miwok Ah-wah-nee meant "place of the gaping mouth," referring to the opening that leads into the valley. It is known that the Ahwahneechees traded with, and sometimes raided, the Paiutes who lived east of the mountains near Mono Lake.

With the advent of the California Gold Rush, whites began infiltrating the area just outside of the valley. When the negative cultural interaction pattern between whites and indigenous peoples took its usual course, it resulted in a serious attempt by the Miwoks to drive the whites from the area around the eastern San Joaquin Valley foothills—the area just outside Yosemite Valley. The native attacks represented their resistance to the whites appropriating anything they wanted—including anything that belonged to the natives.

The officials in Sacramento organized some of the local men and formed the Mariposa Battalion, appointed Major James D. Savage, and made him the commanding officer. Its purpose was to pursue and destroy the Native Americans responsible for the attacks against the miners and settlers along the Merced River. Savage took a personal interest in the mission because he had been the target of some of the attacks, perhaps because he had cohabited with several different native women in the trading post he operated.

Savage's men might have been the first white men to see the valley. Many were taken with its striking appearance. They may have also originated the name of the valley. Dr. Bunnell, a member of the Mariposa Battalion, recorded that one of the men suggested Yosemite for the name of the valley because it meant, "they are killers"—referring to the Ahwahneechees. Another theory holds the name derives from the Central Miwok term for "grizzly bear."

After battles with whites and struggles with the Mono Lake natives, the Ahwahneechees fled the valley in 1853. Later they returned to live in the valley and attempted to survive in their traditional lifestyle while working for the whites that had moved into the area. Some natives found jobs at a sawmill and hotel, located in Yosemite, owned by James Mason Hutchings who at one time partnered with John Muir.

Hutchings helped to promote Yosemite's beauty with his *California Magazine*. Through it publicity artists such as Albert Bierstadt—a member of the Hudson River school—spent two months sketching the valley, and then painted several canvases showcasing the grandeur of the valley.

Although its fame grew, not many came in person due to the difficulty in getting to Yosemite. In the 1850s the trip from San Francisco to the valley

took up to seven days. As the number of tourists slowly increased, some individuals filed claims on land within the valley, and a few built hotels. These land claims caused legal problems well into the twentieth century, though they were consistent with federal land policy in the 1800s. The national government wanted to distribute—sell—publicly controlled land to promote economic growth, and in Yosemite’s case, help bond California to the rest of the United States by placing settlers on the frontier lands.

In contrast to those who claimed the land, the publicity surrounding the park led many to try to preserve its untrammeled beauty. Frederick Law Olmsted happened to be in California in the mid-1800s, trying to organize and run the Mariposa estate. Yosemite’s beauty made an impact on Olmsted to the extent that the creator of New York City’s Central Park decided that Yosemite Valley needed to be saved as a public park. Horace Greeley also wrote about the valley after his visit to Yosemite in 1859. In addition, he advocated protecting the giant redwoods just outside of Yosemite.

Working with California’s senator John Conness, Olmsted and his group convinced Congress to pass the Yosemite Park Act of 1864, which President Lincoln signed on 30 June 1864. The bill set aside Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Redwoods (*Sequoia gigantean*) that Greeley wanted to be saved. The bill also authorized the state of California to oversee the park. The state appointed seven commissioners including Olmsted.

Olmsted assisted the state in formulating guidelines and policies for the maintenance of the park. Although Olmsted returned to the East a few years later, the state eventually invoked all of his recommendations, one of which involved building a road into the park to facilitate tourism.

As with all state programs, the park needed budget allocations and it tended to receive very little money. Sacramento expected, somehow, for the park to be monetarily self-sufficient, even though by 1870 tourism had only reached approximately 2500 per year. Throughout the time the state governed the valley, the park’s management commission battled for funding from the state’s budget. With the lack of funding, the commission relied on special concessions to private parties to raise the monies necessary for park improvements. This state of affairs left the park administration almost no money to police the boundaries of the park and enforce the rules and regulations. By the late 1880s, development for tourism had led to rundown hotels, taverns, land set aside for raising crops, and vegetable stalls. Thus, the ongoing dichotomy between promoting tourism and protecting the beauty of Yosemite started with the first commission to oversee the park, and continues today. From the view of those who wanted to preserve the land—such as John Muir—the commercialism desecrated holy ground.

The interest in nature that sprang up in the late 1800s retained some of the flavor of the Transcendentalists with the love of the countryside and the belief in the healing power of nature. Earlier writings of authors such as James Fenimore Cooper portrayed the wonderful beauty of the untamed land and spoke of it as being more beautiful than the works of man. The movement had as its impetus a need to return to nature for vacations.

One outgrowth of the urbanization of the late nineteenth century was the feeling that the evils of the growing city need to be offset by wilderness areas and parks so Americans could visit these lands and revitalize themselves. In passing, it needs to be noted that the majority of the people who fought to save Yosemite, and later Hetch Hetchy, consisted of middle-class, educated individuals who had no monetary interest in the various wilderness areas they attempted to save.

The struggle to preserve Yosemite became in some ways a struggle between the East and the West. Many of the proponents for saving natural and wilderness lands lived in the East and saw the pastoral lands in a different light than those people in the West. The Easterners saw the forested lands and meadows as places of refuge and renewal from the crowded, noisome urban environment in which many of them lived. Westerners, as a consequence of their experiences in settling the West, saw the land and all it contained as resources to be used in transforming and civilizing the wilderness.

In 1889, John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, publisher of *Century Magazine*, went on an extended camping trip in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. During the trip Muir and Johnson agreed to fight for national control over much of the land surrounding Yosemite Valley to save it from being denuded and destroyed by overgrazing and clear-cutting forestry. Muir was particularly incensed by the mistreatment of the alpine meadows. Their efforts resulted in the Yosemite National Park bill that President Benjamin Harrison signed on 1 October 1890. The act added over two million acres around the valley to the park without changing the status of Yosemite itself. The land added included Hetch Hetchy Valley. The law did not change the status of private holdings that now resided within the park boundaries.

Many residents in the San Joaquin Valley and foothills complained about removing that much land from potential sales. Some wondered if the government knew of valuable resources located in the now protected land and believed that the government did not want anyone else to be able to develop those resources. The bill setting aside the land for Yosemite did not align the boundaries with respect to privately held land. Farmers, herders, and timber interests claimed acres inside the park.

Shortly after he signed the bill expanding the federal holdings around Yosemite, President Harrison signed a directive ordering the U.S. Army to supply troops to garrison and control Yosemite as the army had done in Yellowstone National Park. The U.S. Army, through the efforts of General Philip Sheridan, played a major role in creating and then saving Yellowstone National Park. The army stationed troops within Yellowstone to maintain the park and enforce government regulations. The troops, although part of the War Department, in their duties as park rangers, reported to the Interior Department.

The presidential order caused men of the Fourth Cavalry, Troop I under the command of Captain Abram E. Wood, and Troop K, Captain Joseph H. Dorst

commanding, to be stationed—in the spring through autumn months—in Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Redwoods, respectively. Captain Wood assumed the position of acting superintendent of Yosemite National Park. The troop's first campsite within Yosemite remains designated A.E. Wood Campsite.

Part of the frustration felt by Captain Wood came because the Interior Department replied very slowly, if at all, to the acting superintendent's repeated requests for guidelines on what his men were to enforce and what penalties Wood could assess for the various crimes encountered during the army's patrols.

A lack of accurate maps also hindered his efforts at containing depredations. Not until 1896 did the army complete its first authoritative map of the Yosemite National Park. During the intervening years, the various patrols kept notes of the terrain to help compile a more authentic composite of the territory the troops guarded. The army administered the park until 1916. The civilian National Park Service personnel replaced the army troopers during a two-year transition.

Due to a lack of thorough planning, the bill establishing the 1890 boundaries of Yosemite laid down the limits along gridlines rather than what was practical, what scenic areas needed to be included, or even with an eye toward allowing for the private holdings.

Because of the continued use of the national park lands by persons who owned holdings within the park—such as grazing or logging—in 1903 Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock appointed a Yosemite Park Commission to find a solution.

The commission—named for its chairman Hiram M. Chittenden, who had served at one time as a superintendent of Yosemite Park—proposed that Congress remove from the park acreage along the western, southern, and eastern boundaries of Yosemite. This land included many of the private holdings. The legal fights over private land claims in Yosemite Valley continued up to the 1873 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case *Hutchings v. Low*, which held the government had the right to set the claims aside and regulate the parks to protect the natural beauty.

Worried about the ties between the politicians in the California government and commercial interests such as the Southern Pacific Railroad, Muir and his associates worked to have the state give control of the national park back to Washington, DC. They succeeded, in 1906, in getting the California legislature to pass a bill that relinquished title to Yosemite, and the park reverted back to both federal ownership and control.

Because of construction of a railroad and a road for automobiles leading to the park, visitation increased. To lessen the competitive expansion of facilities, in 1925 the park consolidated the concessionaires into one organization. The park continues to implement the 1980 General Management plan that focuses on integrating the increased tourism with retaining the natural beauty of the valley.

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Brigham Young, Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Brigham Young

Thomas G. Alexander

Brigham Young's ancestors had emigrated in the seventeenth century from England to New England, where they settled. His father, John Young, a native of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, had fought in the Revolutionary War, and his mother Abigail (Nabby) Howe was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. In November 1800, John and Nabby moved to Whittingham, Vermont, where they purchased fifty acres of land. There Brigham was born on 1 June 1801, the eighth of eleven children.

Believing that the Smyrna district of Sherburne, Chenango County, in central New York offered better land than the rocky Vermont soil, the Young family moved there in 1804. Later the same year, they relocated to near Cold Brook or "Dark Hollow." There they struggled to clear land and find enough to eat to hold body and soul together. In 1813, they moved to Aurelius, Cayuga County, where they had lived only two years when Nabby died. Brigham was then only fourteen years old. John with Brigham and part of the family moved to Tyrone, an area on the Tioga River considered wilderness at the time.

Brigham grew up in a devoutly religious Methodist family. His brothers Phinehas and Joseph served as Methodist ministers. As a youth, Brigham listened to the preaching of circuit riders and attended Methodist camp meetings. Brigham developed a friendship with Hiram McKee, who later joined the ministry and with whom Brigham corresponded long after he had moved to Utah. In 1824, Brigham and his wife Miriam joined the Methodist church, apparently attracted by the emphasis on grace, free will, the witness of the Spirit, and Christian perfectionism, and the rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of election. Local people remembered Young for his "deep piety and faith in God."

In 1817, John married a second wife, Hannah Brown, and about the same time he told Brigham, then seventeen, that he needed to provide for himself. Brigham apprenticed himself in Auburn to John C. Jeffries, from whom he learned carpentry, painting, and glazing. From 1817 through 1822 Brigham helped build a marketplace, the local prison, the theological seminary, and the private home of William Brown, which William H. Seward later occupied.

In 1823 he moved to Bucksville (later called Port Byron) on the Erie Canal. He worked for a number of employers before settling with Charles Parks who manufactured furniture, pails, and buckets. Though a self-styled clumsy speaker, Young helped organize the Bucksville Forensic and Oratorical Society.

On 5 (or 8) October 1824 he married Miriam Angeline Works (1806–1832), a daughter of Asa and Abigail Works. They settled in Aurelius where Brigham continued to work at the pail factory. In late 1827 or early 1828, the young couple moved to Oswego, where they remained only a few months. Late in 1828 they moved to Mendon, where a number of his family had already located. In Mendon he developed a close friendship with Heber C. Kimball, who later served with him in the Latter-Day Saints Church's Quorum of Twelve Apostles and as a counselor in the First Presidency.

Events that took place between 1820 and 1830 changed the Youngs' lives. In 1820, 14-year-old Joseph Smith Jr., born in Vermont but then living in Palmyra, New York, experienced a theophany in which he conversed with God and Jesus Christ. Later in the decade, a resurrected being named Moroni led him to some golden plates, which he recovered, translated, and published as the Book of Mormon. Smith translated the prose into a vernacular reminiscent of the King James Bible. The book contains a religious history of some Israelite people who had emigrated from the Near East and who lived on the American continent until the collapse of their civilization in about 400 AD. The central message of the book is the authenticity of the gospel and the atonement of Jesus Christ, and the central occurrence is the visit of the resurrected Christ to these people on the American continent. Continuing in his spiritual quest, Smith and the associates he attracted to his teachings founded the Church of Christ, later renamed The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Members, who are often called Mormons or Latter-Day Saints (often abbreviated LDS), are Christians who believe their religion is the restoration of primitive Christianity, but they are not Protestants.

Smith sent out missionaries to preach the restored gospel, and in April 1830 Samuel H. Smith, Joseph's younger brother, came to Mendon where he gave Brigham's brother, Phinehas, a Book of Mormon. Phinehas read the book and passed it on to the remainder of the family. The book and the teachings of Mormon missionaries converted virtually all of the Young and Kimball families. In April 1832, Brigham, Miriam, and eleven other relatives—all of his immediate family—were baptized into the LDS Church. Like many other nineteenth-century converts, Young began serving as a missionary. He preached in western New York and in Canada.

As neighbors attested, Young had frequently sought religious enlightenment. In Mormonism, Young and his family found answers to troubling questions. The Latter-Day Saints believed in prophetic leadership, continuing revelation, Christ's atonement, universal salvation, and priesthood ordination for all righteous men. Mormons rejected the doctrines of infant baptism and original sin. They also preached a religion that could embrace truth from whatever source, including other religions. This doctrine attracted Brigham perhaps most of all. Brigham also reveled in the expressions of personal piety in the new religion. He and others in the infant church practiced speaking in tongues, the Pentecostal experience mentioned in the Book of Acts.

Early in their marriage, Miriam contracted tuberculosis. To Brigham's intense sorrow, she died from the disease in 1832, shortly after the two were baptized. Her disability left Brigham to care for the household and two daughters, Elizabeth and Vilate, while continuing to work as a carpenter and farm laborer and preaching for the new religion. Vilate Kimball, Heber's wife, helped him care for his daughters.

Members also believed in gathering in covenant communities. During the 1830s, the church established two centers—Kirtland, Ohio, near Cleveland,

and Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, near Kansas City. In fall 1833, Brigham moved to Kirtland where Smith had established the church's headquarters. There Young worked as a builder, and he continued preaching. He helped in construction of the Latter-Day Saints' temple in Kirtland where members participated in the sort of charismatic and Pentecostal experiences Young found enlightening and satisfying. On 18 February 1834 he married Mary Ann Angell (1803–1882), a native of Seneca, Ontario County, New York, who helped rear his two children by Miriam and bore six other children.

Although Joseph lived for most of the 1830s in Kirtland, he had designated Independence as the site of the New Jerusalem, the place for a covenant community and the site for Christ's second coming. He expected members to construct a town; live in an economic system of shared property, goods, and services; and to build temples both for religious and secular purposes. In practice, however, the separation of the two spheres had little meaning throughout most of nineteenth-century Mormonism.

As Mormons poured into Jackson County, they tried to purchase all the property in the area, they preached unusual doctrines, and they seemed to befriend free African Americans. The non-Mormons opposed Mormon settlement, for what reason or combination of reasons is unclear. By 1833, opposition to the Mormons led the old settlers to organize mobs, attack people and burn houses, tar and feather two of the leaders, and kill some of the members. Missouri's political leaders offered little help. Eventually, to escape mob violence, the Mormons fled across the Missouri River to Clay County.

Learning of the mobbing and driving while in Kirtland and believing that Missouri's governor, Daniel Dunklin, would assist in redeeming the Saints' property, Joseph Smith planned a rescue mission. He called on members in the East and Midwest to form a paramilitary unit called Zion's Camp. Members of the unit resolved to travel to Missouri to help recover the property lost to the mobs and to help the members return to their homes in Jackson County. On 5 May 1834, Brigham joined Zion's Camp. The expedition traveled from Kirtland, Ohio, into Missouri arousing curiosity on the way. Missouri's governor disappointed Smith, because when given the opportunity to assist the refugees, he declined to do so. The expedition failed, in part because of a plague of cholera among its members, in part because the governor refused to assist them, and in part because the Missouri mobbers greatly outnumbered them.

On the road to Missouri, however, participants listened to Joseph preach and experienced his charismatic gifts as they traveled from one point to another. Thus participants developed a close relationship with Smith and with each other. It is not surprising that many of the participants emerged as leaders in the fledgling church, some becoming members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.

In February 1835 at age thirty-four, Young was called as a member of the original Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Smith assigned the Twelve to preach

throughout the world and to preside over outside areas organized into districts called stakes in which large numbers of members lived. At first Young and others in the Twelve preached in Ohio, New York, New England, and Ontario, Canada. His family remained in Kirtland, and Young returned there frequently to work and participate in church activities.

Early in 1837, recognizing the need for a circulating medium, Joseph Smith and a number of the leaders proposed to charter a bank in Kirtland. The Ohio legislature refused to grant them a charter, but they opened the bank anyway. It failed because those outside Kirtland refused to accept its notes, and the ensuing depression of 1837 exacerbated the Mormons' economic plight. Its failure and other problems led a group of men to oppose Smith's leadership and to try to unseat him as church president.

Young rejected the dissenters and supported Smith. Fearful of personal injury, Young left Kirtland for the Mormon settlements in northern Missouri in late December 1837. Smith himself fled to Missouri in early 1838.

After most Mormons had settled in northern Missouri in the area around Far West, conflicts between them and other Missourians quickly developed. These led to the defection of a number of prominent Mormons including Thomas B. Marsh, then president of the Quorum of Twelve, and the killing of Apostle David Patten, senior to Young in the Twelve. The defection and death of these two senior members left Young as president of the quorum. As the battle between the Mormons and Missourians proceeded, Missouri governor Lillburn W. Boggs, who had replaced Daniel Dunklin, issued a proclamation ordering the militia to "exterminate" the Mormons or drive them from the state. In the wake of this order Missouri militiamen arrested and imprisoned Joseph Smith and several of the other leaders. Young, who remained as one of the senior Latter-Day Saints still at large, helped organize the forced exodus of the members from Missouri to Illinois.

The Saints gathered first in Quincy, Illinois, and then, after Smith and his associates escaped from custody, they settled on a bend of the Mississippi in Hancock County at a town called "Commerce." They renamed the town "Nauvoo," said to be a word of Hebrew derivation meaning "beautiful place." Some of the Saints settled west of the river in Iowa, and Young moved his family to Montrose, Iowa, in 1839. Young and others contracted a disease they called fever and ague—probably malaria.

Late in 1839, in a sickened condition, Brigham with most of the Twelve left their families on the Mississippi and accepted a call to proselytize for the church in Great Britain. When they arrived early in 1840, they found Great Britain in upheaval. Rapidly spreading industrialization had attracted men and women from the countryside to the cities, and poverty, filth, and disease seemed the lot of most of the working class. Young and his associates in the Twelve together with other missionaries converted hundreds of people.

Heeding Joseph Smith's teaching to gather with the Saints into covenant communities, most of those who remained faithful emigrated from Great Britain.

Those who traveled during the early 1840s gathered in Nauvoo. Later emigrants joined the Saints in Utah after the exodus.

While in England, Young proposed, and the others agreed, to expand the work in other ways. They published a British edition of the Book of Mormon and a hymnal. They also began the publication of the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, appointing Parley P. Pratt, one of the senior members of the Twelve, as editor.

Young and most of the Twelve returned to Nauvoo in April 1841. After their return, Joseph Smith enlarged the responsibilities of the Twelve by laying the major business of the church on their shoulders. The membership of the church ratified this decision in a conference held in August 1841. Thereafter, the Twelve assumed responsibility for calling missionaries, assigning them to their fields of labor, and otherwise directing the proselytizing efforts of the church. Young and the other apostles took responsibility for other matters including the publication of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, a local newspaper, and the *Times and Seasons*, a religious periodical.

Young, members of the Twelve, and others continued to preach Mormonism, and they took care of their own affairs. Young, Heber C. Kimball, Apostle Wilford Woodruff, and others built brick homes in a town that had previously been filled with log cabins. A number of these homes, including Brigham's, have remained and have been restored. Young also joined the Masons as did many of the men in Nauvoo, and he participated as an actor in local dramatic presentations.

During the Nauvoo period, Smith also announced a number of new doctrines. These included temple ordinances called "endowments," which presented a series of dramas explaining how to achieve salvation. In the temple services, members entered into religious covenants in which they pledged an additional degree of righteousness and commitment. Temple ordinances included also vicarious baptism and endowments on behalf of the dead who had not heard the gospel while they were alive and marriage for time and all eternity for the living and the dead. Smith also preached that the existence of each human being reached backward co-eternally with God, that after death the righteous could return to Heaven to live as resurrected beings with God and Christ, and that the faithful could become Gods and Goddesses themselves.

Young and other select members received the earliest endowments in rooms above Smith's red brick store, but under Smith's teaching they came to realize that they must construct a temple to perform the ordinances. Young and others in the Twelve assisted in collecting funds for the temple, and, after construction began, they assisted in building the new edifice.

Smith had already begun the practice of plural marriage himself as early as 1835. In Nauvoo, however, he married a number of other women. As Smith married additional women, including some with living husbands, the practice became an open secret in Nauvoo. In 1843 he began revealing the principle to

a select group, including Young and other members of the Twelve. Young and others resisted the practice at first because it contradicted their moral codes, but most eventually accepted it because they believed Smith was a prophet authorized to reveal God's will to them.

Anti-Mormon activity had begun to rear its ugly head in Illinois as it had in Ohio and Missouri, and the Mormons tended to vote as a block for candidates friendly to them. Disturbed by the failure of the federal government to help them as the Missouri government assisted in driving them from their homes, Smith sought to find out the views on the Mormons of prominent presidential candidates as the 1844 presidential election approached. To do so, he sent letters to a number of them. He received replies from some of them, but none was satisfactory. As a result, in spring 1844, Smith announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. He sent representatives, including Young, on missions to stump for his candidacy throughout the Northeast, Midwest, and upper South.

In the meantime, anti-Mormon rhetoric had turned to violence in Hancock County as it had in Ohio and Missouri. Mobs attacked outlying settlements, burning homes and outbuildings and forcing many of those outside Nauvoo to flee to the city for refuge. Anti-Mormons followed the lead of Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, who urged community violence against the Mormons. Sharp and other anti-Mormons preached that the local citizens should either kill the Mormons or drive them from the state.

While Young and the others were away preaching, internal opposition surfaced as well. A group of dissidents including one of Smith's counselors in the First Presidency published a newspaper—the *Nauvoo Expositor*—in which they denounced Smith and excoriated the practice of polygamy. Outraged by the personal attacks, the city council, with Smith's approval, declared the newspaper a public nuisance and had the city police force destroy the press.

In response to this action, county authorities swore out complaints against Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. Though they at first considered escape, the Smith brothers eventually surrendered to the authorities and were taken to the county seat at Carthage where a judge ordered them jailed.

Illinois governor Thomas Ford had promised to protect Joseph and Hyrum Smith, but on 27 June 1844, a mob made up principally of Illinois militiamen stormed the jail. They murdered Joseph and Hyrum and severely wounded Apostle John Taylor, who was visiting them. In a letter to William W. Phelps following the murders, Ford said that though he deplored the murders he joined with the majority in believing that it was a good thing the Smiths were dead.

News traveled slowly in 1844, but when members of the Twelve and Smith's remaining counselor Sidney Rigdon, who were all in the Eastern states, learned of the murders, they returned to Nauvoo. In a special conference in Nauvoo on 8 August 1844, the majority of the members spurned Rigdon and voted to accept Young and the Twelve as a collective presidency. Some dissidents,

including Rigdon and James J. Strang, organized competing churches, and a number of those who remained in the Midwest, including Joseph's wife Emma Hale Smith and his immediate family, later founded the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints with Joseph's eldest son, Joseph Smith III, as president.

Joseph Smith's death did not end the anti-Mormon violence or the pressure to force the Mormons to flee from Illinois. Young and the other leaders in Nauvoo continued to construct the temple and to give baptisms and endowments in the partly completed structure. At the same time they began to plan for a westward movement. They read accounts of the West from mountain men and travelers, and they studied the reports of John C. Frémont's expeditions, especially of the exploration of the Bear River country and the Wasatch Front, both in present-day Utah. They also read Lansford Hastings's emigrant's guide that proposed a route into the Great Basin as a part of the trail to California.

Continued anti-Mormon violence led most of the Saints to abandon Nauvoo. Young directed the exodus. Beginning on 4 February, the Mormons struggled through the muddy trails of an Iowa spring, making several settlements along the way. In early 1846, the Mexican-American War broke out, and President James K. Polk authorized the recruitment of a battalion of 500 Mormons to assist in opening a route to California. The Mormon Battalion journeyed to California by way of Santa Fe, southern New Mexico, and the Gila River in present-day Arizona. The pay for this battalion helped finance the exodus to the Salt Lake Valley while taking a large number of emigrants West as well.

At the same time, Samuel Brannan, leader of the Saints in New York, chartered passage on a ship, the *Brooklyn*, to take Eastern Saints to California. They rounded South America, touched in Hawaii, and sailed to San Francisco, then called Yerba Buena. They also established a settlement called "New Hope," and Brannan traveled eastward to try unsuccessfully to convince Young to bring the Saints to California.

Instead of pushing on west in 1846, Young and the other leaders decided to winter on the Missouri. They established settlements along the Missouri stretching outward from Council Bluffs, then called Kanesville, on the Iowa side and Florence, then named Winter Quarters, on the Nebraska side. In April 1847, Young led the first group of pioneers westward from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley.

The route west became a journey in which the participants transported themselves not only from the Midwest to the Far West, but also from conventional time to sacred time. In a sense, it recapitulated the exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt to the promised land, except in this case, Young played the role both of Moses and Joshua.

On the way, they met with explorers who had visited the region previously. These included Father Pierre De Smet, Jim Bridger, and Miles Goodyear, who

had established a settlement at the confluence of the Weber and Ogden Rivers at the site of the later city of Ogden, Utah.

Two of Young's colleagues, Apostles Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow, arrived in the valley on 22 July, and the bulk of the original party entered on 23 July. This group began plowing, damming City Creek for irrigation water, and planting crops.

Young had been afflicted with what they called "mountain fever," a disease that later authorities have labeled "Colorado tick fever." As a result, he did not enter the valley until Saturday, 24 July.

The ecology of the valley of the Great Salt Lake elicited divergent responses from the emigrants. Wilford Woodruff thought it a beautiful sight—a fit dwelling for the Latter-Day Saints. Harriet Young, wife of Brigham's brother Lorenzo, however, said that she would gladly travel another thousand miles rather than settle where no self-respecting white man could make a living. Incapacitated and laying in the back of Wilford Woodruff's carriage, Young asked Woodruff to turn around the carriage. According to later observers, he lifted himself to view the valley and told those present that this was the place for the Saints to build their kingdom.

On Sunday, 25 July, members of the party conducted religious services, and for the next couple of days they made a circuit of the valley. Returning to the site where the first group had begun to plow and plant on 23 July, the explorers determined it offered the best place for their initial settlement. On 28 July, Young designated the site for the temple.

Young and his associates laid out the city on a variation of a plan that Smith had devised for Jackson County, Missouri's city of Zion. Blocks were to be ten acres in size and lots were to be large enough to hold gardens and domestic animals like cows and chickens. Young said that he wanted the streets built wide enough so teamsters could turn around wagons with ox teams without having to back them up. Larger farms were located in fields south of the city. At first, because of Young's general policy, no one paid for their town lots or farms. Each occupant paid a \$1.50 surveying fee.

Several additional parties entered the city during the summer and early fall. By the end of the year perhaps 2000 people had immigrated to the Salt Lake Valley.

In August 1847, Young and many of the pioneer party returned to Council Bluffs to bring their families and escort others to their new Zion. In a conference held in December 1847, the members at Council Bluffs sustained him as church president and prophet, seer, and revelator. Young returned to Utah in 1848 and remained there the rest of his life, except for a short excursion to Mormon settlements in Oregon Territory.

In presiding over the church, Young recognized no division between the secular and sacred. He directed the establishment of nearly 400 settlements in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, and California. To preside over ecclesiastical and secular work in the settlements Young called

bishops with two counselors to lead each congregation, which the Mormons called “wards.” Young organized the wards in each county into units called stakes, presided over by a stake president, two counselors, and a twelve-man stake high council. People in the settlements carried out normal tasks such as apportioning land, building homes, planting farms, and constructing irrigation works.

In the larger settlements, Young divided the communities into multiple wards. He organized Salt Lake City, for instance, into nineteen wards. He eventually established a twentieth ward after the development of the Avenues area in the northeastern portion of the city.

Young sent out exploring parties to determine the best sites for agricultural communities and the location of needed minerals and lumber. In general, the people established the first settlements along the eastern edge of the Great Basin on the west side of the Wasatch Mountains, which bisect Utah in a north-south line from Cache Valley on the north to Nephi in Juab County on the south. From Nephi south, high plateaus continue the north-south-trending high country line. Present-day Interstate Highway 15 follows the general line of the Wasatch Mountains and plateaus. Over the next decade settlements first moved north to Davis County, Ogden, and Brigham City and south to Utah Valley and to Sanpete Valley east of the I-15 corridor.

Young used various methods to select settlers for these ventures. In some cases, he or one of his associates read names from the pulpit at conferences. In others, he called someone to lead the settlement and authorized them to select others to go with them. In a number of places, he simply allowed the people to choose to go on their own volition.

Young also envisioned a line of settlements stretching from Salt Lake City to the southern California coast at San Diego. Some of these were designed to supply the Saints with needed commodities. He sent an iron mission to Parowan and Cedar City in southern Utah in an attempt to supply iron for manufactured goods. A lead mission went to Las Vegas Springs near present-day Las Vegas, Nevada, to supply lead. Farming and ranching communities were established in San Bernardino in California and at Carson Valley in what is now western Nevada. Following the discovery of gold at Sutter’s Fort in present-day Sacramento, Young even dispatched missionaries to pan for the yellow metal.

In spite of the proximity to Salt Lake City, because of information from Lansford Hastings and Jim Bridger, Young erroneously believed that freezing cold during the summer made settlement in Cache Valley in northern Utah unwise. As a result, the first settlements there did not take place until several settlers from Tooele petitioned to move to Cache Valley in 1856, long after settlements in southern Utah, western Nevada, and southern California.

Young, himself, occupied the property east of Temple Square. He first constructed a row of log cabins on what is now First Avenue, near the current site of the private cemetery in which he and some of his family members

were buried. During the 1850s he constructed two adobe houses, the Beehive House and Lion House, on what was then called “Brigham Street”—now South Temple. He housed some of his families in these two houses. Between the two dwellings, he built a one-story building that served as his office. Behind these structures, Young developed a compound that included a gristmill, facilities for livestock, granaries, other outbuildings, a store, and a schoolhouse. In addition, Young owned a farm in the southern Salt Lake City and a number of other farms, ranches, and mills. He grazed cattle on public land in Cache Valley. A deed of trust, written in 1855, transferring his property to the LDS Church listed the total worth at \$200,000. Like other deeds of trust written during the 1850s, this was never executed.

Because Native Americans already lived in Utah, the expanding Mormon settlements quickly conflicted with the hunting, fishing, farming, and gathering settlements of these peoples. Salt Lake Valley stood between lands occupied by the Shoshone to the north, Goshute to the west, and Ute to the south. Conflicts occurred almost immediately with the Shoshone to the north and the Ute to the south. The bloodiest of these conflicts undoubtedly occurred in Utah Valley. In fact, after receiving reports from local Mormon leaders, Young authorized what amounted to a war of extermination against the Utes of Utah Valley. He rescinded his order, however, when cooler heads let him know that the settlers had caused most of the problems that led to the conflicts.

What amounted to a virtual full-scale war occurred with the Goshute during the early 1860s. Also during the early 1860s, the U.S. Army under Patrick Edward Connor carried on a series of campaigns that nearly eradicated the Shoshone from Utah. The Mormon militia participated in most of the conflicts with the Utes, including the Walker War of 1853–1854 and the Black Hawk War of 1865–1872. These conflicts and federal policy led to the removal of most of these tribes to reservations. The major exceptions were the Paiutes, who remained in southern Utah but who were eventually settled on reservations in that region, and the Navajo, who remained in southeastern Utah.

Young also presided over the economic development of the territory. He supervised the establishment of a telegraph line, cooperated in building the transcontinental railroad, directed the construction of local railroads, and founded cooperative ventures. Anxious both to mitigate the impact of rowdy railroad construction teams on the community and to accumulate funds for local development, Young contracted to grade roadbeds for the Union and Central Pacific Railroads in Utah territory. His associates recruited workers to construct the railroad grade from various communities in northern Utah. Unfortunately, the railroads declined to pay the full agreed-upon amounts, and in some cases he had to accept ties, tracks, and equipment in payment. These were used to help construct the Utah Central Railroad from Salt Lake City to Ogden, the junction point of the Union and Central Pacific. The church leaders also donated land for the Central (later Southern) Pacific marshaling

yards in Ogden to locate the yards in a Mormon community and bypass Corinne, which had been founded by non-Mormons as a competitor to the Mormon communities.

Young also projected railroads south from Salt Lake City and north from Ogden. The Mormons completed the Utah Southern Railroad to Chicken Creek in Juab County before selling it to the Union Pacific, who completed it to Milford and Frisco in Southern Utah in the nineteenth century and eventually to San Pedro, California, in the twentieth century. The Mormons completed the Utah Northern to Franklin in southern Idaho before selling a controlling interest to the Union Pacific interests who completed it to Dillon, Montana.

Young espoused an economic philosophy of mercantilism rather than agrarianism or laissez-faire capitalism. He wanted to promote the self-sufficiency of Utah's intermountain kingdom. As a result, he had the Saints undertake several activities aimed at promoting self-sufficiency. The agricultural settlements generally succeeded as did some of the mining ventures, such as coal mining at various places and salt mining on Great Salt Lake. Some of the manufacturing ventures failed miserably. John Taylor brought equipment for sugar manufacture from France, but the Saints lacked the technological skill to make it function properly. The group of Welsh, Scots, and English who settled Cedar City succeeded in making a few iron implements, but in general that effort failed as well, and Young released those who wished to leave from their responsibility to the mission. During the 1860s, Young attempted to promote the local growth of cotton and the manufacture of cotton textiles. These ventures succeeded only partially.

On the other hand, some of the manufacturing ventures succeeded. These included the Consolidated Wagon and Machine which produced various implements into the early twentieth century. A number of wool mills, including a mill at Provo, also succeeded during the nineteenth century.

During the 1850s, Young also sent out missionaries to spread the gospel to Native Americans. These missions went, among other places, to Fort Lemhi in what is now Idaho; Fort Bridger in what is now Wyoming; and Moab Harmony, Pinto, and Santa Clara in Utah. With the exception of the three in southwestern Utah, most of the missions failed to achieve their goals and were abandoned, in the cases of Fort Lemhi and Moab after attacks by the local Indians.

Young also worked with his two counselors and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in organizing the church in the intermountain area and in spreading the gospel abroad. Missionaries proselytized in Asia, South America, Oceania, the United States, and Western and Southern Europe. Unlike the current situation in which members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles generally live in the Wasatch Front area and take assignments to supervise missionary and church work in various parts of the world on a temporary basis, Young assigned Apostles to settle in various areas and visit Salt Lake City infrequently for council meetings. Orson Hyde, for instance, established settlements in Wyoming

and in Carson Valley, Nevada, before settling in Sanpete County. After proselytizing in various parts of Europe including Northern Italy, Lorenzo Snow supervised the cooperative settlement in Brigham City. Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman superintended the settlement at San Bernardino, California. Afterward, Rich supervised the settlement in the Bear Lake region of northern Utah and southern Idaho. After Lyman returned from San Bernardino, Young assigned him to supervise settlements in and near Fillmore in central Utah. Young sent Erastus Snow to St. George to supervise the cotton mission. He sent Franklin D. Richards to Ogden to supervise the Weber County settlements. Marriner W. Merrill went to Cache Valley to oversee the settlements in northern Utah.

Young also concerned himself with the educational welfare of the Saints. He instructed each bishop to organize an elementary—then called common—school in their ward. Ordinarily the school children met in the ward meeting-house, though in some cases separate school buildings were constructed. Local people financed the schools from taxes, contributions, and tuition.

Young also promoted various types of recreational activity. Various wards and groups regularly held dances, theater presentations, and concerts that were open to both Mormons and non-Mormons. Young and most of the church leaders eschewed what were called round dances—waltzes, polkas, and other dances in which partners came in close contact. They favored instead square dances, schottishes, and reels. It was said that Young, himself, danced well. Choirs sprang up in various wards, and Young promoted the development of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir which emerged in later years as a world-renowned organization.

Perhaps the most important recreational activity was the theater. Young encouraged the development of theater groups in wards throughout the church. He helped organize the Deseret Dramatic Association in 1850. Most important, he threw his wholehearted support into the building of the Salt Lake Theater. The theater, which was completed in 1862, held an audience of 7500. Young and other church leaders subscribed to boxes at the theater. The theater boasted its own resident company, and it gave employment to a number of skilled artists who painted scenery for its various productions. In addition, the theater hosted traveling companies and became noted as the most important venue between the bend of the Missouri and the Pacific Coast. Young himself believed that the theater could be a great educator and enjoyed, in addition to romantic comedies, Shakespearean dramas. During Young's lifetime, the theater mounted multiple performances of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *Merchant of Venice*.

As leader of the Latter-Day Saints people, Young also ventured into politics. After the Mormons arrived in Utah, they organized the provisional State of Deseret. They drew the boundaries of the state to include all of the Great Basin, Arizona to the Gila River, and a portion of Southern California stretching to the Pacific Coast at San Diego. The people elected Young governor of the

provisional state. Utahns then petitioned Congress to grant them either statehood or territorial status. Consulting with Pennsylvania aristocrat Thomas L. Kane, they concluded that territorial status would burden them with unfriendly outside appointees; they favored statehood.

President Zachary Taylor declined to do anything for the Utahns, but after his death and the succession of Vice President Millard Fillmore to the presidency, Congress organized Utah Territory as part of the Compromise of 1850. Fillmore appointed Young as territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and he split the appointive positions between Mormons and non-Mormons—or Gentiles as they were generally called in the nineteenth century.

Young continued to serve as governor until 1857, and Kane's prediction proved prophetic. Conflicts with federal judges and other Mormon haters led to tense relations with the federal government during much of Young's tenure. Utahns elected Mormons as territorial delegates and as members of the territorial legislature, but many of the presidential appointees—including the majority of territorial secretaries and territorial district and Supreme Court judges—were Gentiles. Frightened by their contact with Utahns, two of the judges and the territorial secretary had fled during the early 1850s.

In 1856 and early 1857, Young had followed the lead of his counselor, Jedediah M. Grant, in promoting a “Reformation” among the Mormon people. The leaders urged the members to renew their commitment to Mormonism by presenting themselves for rebaptism.

They devised a catechism with a series of questions to be asked the members to determine their level of faithfulness. Of the nineteen questions, none asked about the members' beliefs. Rather, all inquired into actions. The catechism asked whether members had committed murder, theft, or adultery, spoken against principles in the scriptures, lied about others, paid their tithing, taught the gospel to their families, bathed frequently, paid their debts, worked six days a week, worshiped on Sunday, taken God's name in vain, or drunken alcohol to excess.

Young also preached some of his most controversial doctrines, some of which the subsequent church leadership has repudiated. These included the notion that Christ's death and resurrection did not cover some of the most serious sins and that to achieve salvation those who had committed murder would have to present themselves to have their own blood shed. In a second doctrine, also repudiated, Young had argued that God, the Father, and Adam were the same person.

In 1854 following the 1853 massacre of John W. Gunnison and his party on the Sevier River, Maj. Edward W. Steptoe led an investigating party to Utah. After investigating the massacre, Steptoe concluded, rightly, that Young and the Mormon leadership had played no part in the massacre, which had been perpetrated by Pahvant Utes in retaliation for the murder of several of their people by a passing emigrant train. Three of the Pahvants were later convicted

of manslaughter, a verdict that upset the presiding judge, John F. Kinney. Kinney had wanted a verdict of first-degree murder.

Following this trial, conditions in Utah deteriorated. Kinney, territorial surveyor general, David H. Burr, and Judge William W. Drummond all sent letters to Washington condemning the Mormons in general and Brigham Young in particular. Drummond's letters, in particular, carried a number of lies including charges that Young had masterminded the Gunnison massacre, the murder of federal judge Leonidas Shaver, and the massacre of former territorial delegate Almon W. Babbitt and members of his party.

Instead of conducting an investigation of these charges President James Buchanan ordered Young's removal as governor, the appointment of Alfred Cumming of Georgia as his replacement, and the dispatch of an army supposed to have been 2500 men (though in actuality much smaller) to escort the new governor. He also replaced all of the Mormon appointees with Gentiles, many of whom were antagonistic to the Mormon majority. Following these removals, no Mormons were appointed to federal positions until after 1890. Fearful of the possibility of army-initiated massacres reminiscent of the treatment they had received in Missouri and Illinois, the Mormons under Young's orders and under the command of Daniel H. Wells prepared to repel the expedition.

In preparation for the defense of Utah, Young sent Apostle George A. Smith to the settlements south of Salt Lake City. Smith told the people to prepare for a possible siege, to muster the territorial militia, and to avoid selling supplies to emigrants. Unfortunately, the first emigrant train to pass through Utah following Smith's southern journey ran afoul of zealots from Cedar City and points south. Led by Jack Baker and Alexander Fancher, the party, whose journey originated in Arkansas, consisted of perhaps 150 men, women, and children and 500 to 800 cattle.

After some conflicts over the unwillingness of the settlers to sell goods to them, members of the emigrant party ran into difficulty in Cedar City. They declined to pay what they considered an exorbitant price for milling some wheat, and they reportedly harassed Barbara Morris, wife of a counselor in the bishopric and mother of a member of the stake presidency. Wanting to chastise the party, stake president Isaac Haight sent some militiamen after them and ordered John D. Lee, then serving as Indian farmer in New Harmony to gather Paiutes to assist in attacking the emigrants. He also called a meeting of the stake high council, and when the high council balked at his proposal to chastise the party, they agreed to send James Haslam to Salt Lake City to ask Brigham Young for his counsel on the matter.

In the meantime, while Haslam rode to Salt Lake City, the militiamen and their Paiute allies attacked the emigrants, who were then camped at Mountain Meadows. The militia killed some of the party, and the Indians suffered some casualties on Monday, 7 September, but they continued sporadic attacks during the week as Haslam continued toward Utah's capital city.

Haslam arrived on Thursday, 10 September 1857, and when Young heard about the proposal, he figuratively hit the ceiling. He sent Haslam south with a letter telling Isaac Haight to let the party pass unmolested. Haslam did not reach Cedar City until Sunday, 13 September.

In the meantime, Haight had sent more militiamen to Mountain Meadows with an order to massacre the party, except children under eight. Under a ruse that drew the emigrants from their hastily built fort of wagons, the militiamen murdered the men, women, and most of the children in cold blood. They saved only seventeen of the small children. Just what role the Paiutes played in the massacre is not clear, but the militiamen did most of the killing.

Some writers have asserted that Young, himself, ordered the massacre. There is no direct evidence that he did so, and the circumstantial evidence also leads to the conclusion that beyond the fact that he had sent Smith south to warn about the coming army and to instruct the people to prepare for possible conflict or siege, there is no evidence of his complicity. Mormon—or Brigham—haters, however, have continued to insist on his complicity substituting rhetoric or seriously flawed logic for evidence.

In 1858, after disputes over the Utah war had been settled, federal officials investigated the massacre, and they had the story fairly well worked out by 1859. Young, himself, also had associates conduct investigations. In 1859, he offered to go south himself to maintain order while the federal judges conducted trials of the accused. Young had the support in these efforts of Governor Cumming and U.S. Attorney Alexander Wilson. Some other federal officials, especially Chief Justice Delana R. Eckels and U.S. Marshal Peter Dotson, spurned Young's help. In 1859, however, Young had Apostles Smith and Amasa Lyman remove the perpetrators from their ecclesiastical positions. After a further investigation conducted by Apostle Erastus Snow and Bishop Lorenzo Roundy, in 1870 the Quorum of the Twelve excommunicated John D. Lee and Isaac Haight for complicity in the massacre. Young reinstated Haight in 1874, apparently because his supporters erroneously convinced the president that the stake president's only sin was his inability to control Lee.

Lee was the only person convicted of the crime. Tried successfully in 1876, Lee was executed at Mountain Meadows in 1877. None of the other perpetrators was tried, in part because of lack of evidence, in part because some of them received immunity by turning state's evidence, and in part because some of them, including Haight, were never captured.

In retrospect, the Mountain Meadows Massacre remains as a blot on Utah's history, and for some on Young's reputation. It is impossible to prove a counterfactual proposition, but some things seem evident. Most probably, without the hysteria generated by the advancing army and fear of a possible repeat of the mobbings and murders of Missouri and Illinois, the massacre would never have taken place.

In the meantime, the good offices of friends of the Mormons and of federal officials settled the conflict. Thomas L. Kane, who had developed sympathy

for the Mormons, secured the support of President Buchanan to travel to Utah to try to negotiate a settlement. Arriving in Salt Lake City on 25 February, Kane met with Young and other church leaders. After securing approval of Young for his course of action, Kane traveled under Mormon escort to Fort Bridger, called Camp Scott by the army, where the army and federal appointees had camped for the winter. He met with Governor Cumming, who agreed to come with him to Salt Lake City.

Instead of a state of rebellion, Cumming found the Mormon community prepared to acknowledge him as governor but so afraid of abuse by the army that they had abandoned the city and fled south. Cumming and Kane began a journey south to investigate the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but word of the incapacity of Kane's father led them to return to Camp Scott. Cumming told the army commander Col. Albert Sydney Johnston that the Mormons had everywhere acknowledged him as governor, but that they feared the army.

An official delegation led by Lazarus Powell and Ben McCulloch came to Utah with a proclamation of amnesty issued by President Buchanan. Young and the Mormons accept the amnesty, Cumming took office, and the federal officials took their places. The army marched through a deserted Salt Lake City and on to Cedar Valley where they established Camp Floyd, named for Secretary of War John Floyd. Afterward the Mormons returned to their homes in Salt Lake City.

During the late 1860s, Young became particularly concerned about the disruption that the coming of the railroad would cause. He and other Latter-Day Saints favored the introduction of the railroad because it would make the gathering of the members easier and more economical. Nevertheless he understood that it would also introduce more of a rowdy element into the Mormon community.

In part to combat the influence of the railroad, in part to promote communitarian economic development, and in part to promote increased spirituality, Young initiated a number of programs during the 1860s. He re-inaugurated the School of the Prophets, a program in adult spiritual and secular education first inaugurated by Joseph Smith in Kirtland. Entrance to the school was by ticket issued by Young and by bishops, and the organization spread throughout the territory. To promote thrift and spirituality among young women, Young inaugurated the retrenchment association, which eventually grew into the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association. This organization promoted a number of educational, cultural, and recreational activities for young women.

During the 1850s, a number of wards had successfully inaugurated relief societies. These were organizations of mature women who sought to alleviate poverty among whites and Indians and to assist in the temporal and spiritual welfare of women and families. During the 1860s, Young promoted the development of a church-wide organization. To do so, he enlisted the skills

of Eliza R. Snow, one of his plural wives and the acknowledged leader of women in the church. The organization continued the sort of compassionate service promoted by the ward organizations during the 1850s and promoted Pentecostal experiences, blessings, and healings among women. During the late 1860s and afterward, the Relief Society promoted woman suffrage that Utah inaugurated with church approval in 1870.

The *Deseret News* editorialized in favor of cooperative merchandizing on the Brigham City model citing British cooperatives as models. As the railroad neared Utah and the potential importation of cheap goods seemed to threaten the kingdom, Young and the church leadership stepped up their efforts to organize cooperative businesses under religious leadership. In December 1868, a group of merchants made a preliminary organization, and in May 1869 the first of the enterprises belonging to Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) opened. Most of the early stockholders were merchants who traded their merchandise for an equivalent value of ZCMI stock. Spreading from this first organization, most of the towns organized similar cooperatives. The larger towns like Ogden and Provo organized more than one, and in Salt Lake City most of the wards organized individual co-ops.

In addition, enterprising women organized and operated a number of cooperative stores. Eliza R. Snow organized the Women's Cooperative Store and Exchange in Salt Lake City in 1876, and women organized similar stores in Ogden, Brigham City, Provo, Parowan, and St. George.

With few exceptions, the men and women organized as producer cooperatives rather than as consumer cooperatives on the British Rochdale plan. Though ZCMI and the local CMIs tended to mitigate price gouging by merchants in a position to take advantage of shortages or monopolies, the profits from the businesses went to the stockholders rather than to the consumers.

Nevertheless, Young and the other church leaders tended to view the CMIs as halfway measures—stepping stones to the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. Young and other church leaders like Apostle George Q. Cannon feared the increasing integration of Zion's economy with that of Gentiles outside the community, and they wanted to promote economic equality among the membership.

The coming of the Civil War in 1861 created a number of particularly severe difficulties for the Mormon community. Workers completed the construction of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861, and Young sent what is said to have been the first message from Salt Lake City. Reflecting on the secession of the Southern states, he said that Utah had not seceded but remained steadfast by the Union.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the federal government requisitioned two units of the Nauvoo Legion for short-term service in guarding the transcontinental mail route in Idaho and Wyoming. Young, himself, encouraged the militiamen to participate in the venture.

These were the only requisitions made of Utahns by the federal government during the war. In fact, the Mormons suffered from the occupation by units of

California Volunteers under the command of Col. (later Brevet Brig. Gen.) Patrick Edward Connor. Decidedly anti-Mormon, Connor established his headquarters on the bench overlooking Salt Lake City at a station he named Fort Douglas after Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas. Connor carried on most of his campaigns against the Shoshone, but he and his adjutant, Maj. Charles H. Hempstead, established an anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Union Vedette*, through which they attacked Young and the Mormon community. They also established a provost office in downtown Salt Lake City ostensibly to prevent the rejection of greenbacks, a paper currency issued by the federal government during the war. It served to harass the Mormons.

Connor also undertook the task of trying to promote the growth of Utah's Gentile community. He did so by granting liberal leaves to his soldiers to allow them to engage in mining, and he and his wife undertook a number of mining ventures themselves. After the war, Connor remained in Utah, founding the town of Stockton south of Tooele in eastern Utah.

In the 1870s Young supervised the organization of communitarian United Orders. In general, members of the church founded four types of orders. These included manufacturing and marketing cooperatives like the one at Brigham City in northern Utah, which had actually been organized by Lorenzo Snow much earlier; United Orders in which each person deeded their property and contributed their labor to the order and received income according to their needs like the one at St. George in far southwestern Utah, which Young organized in 1874; and a cooperative system in which the order owned all the means of production and distribution collectively and the people worked within the system like the one at Orderville in southern Utah. In the cities of the Wasatch Front, many of the wards organized a fourth type of United Order in which they operated cooperative business ventures making goods such as shoes or clothing. In general with the exception of the Brigham City and Orderville orders, most of the orders failed within a year, generally because of the inability of the members to agree on an equitable distribution of contributions and rewards.

He also promoted spiritual welfare. He and others preached and ministered to the members. Meetinghouses were constructed in the various settlements. To provide for sacred ordinances, Young began the construction of temples in Salt Lake City, St. George, Manti, and Logan, Utah, and an endowment house in Salt Lake City. The endowment house in Salt Lake City opened in 1855 and the St. George Temple in 1877, eight months before his death. The other temples were not completed until after his death.

He continued the practice of plural marriage, which Joseph Smith had instituted in Nauvoo. Young married at least twenty-three women besides Works and Angell. By fourteen of them he fathered forty-nine children.

Perhaps Young's most serious difficulty during the 1870s resulted from the activities of Utah Territorial Chief Justice James B. McKean. McKean set as his task the defeat of the Mormon community and the prosecution of Young

and the church leadership for crimes he believed they had committed. To indict and convict Mormon leaders and others, McKean ordered U.S. Marshal Matthewson T. Patrick to pick grand and petit jurors off the street rather than selecting them from lists made from the tax rolls as required by territorial law. With a packed jury, the U.S. attorney secured indictments against Young and other leaders, including George Q. Cannon, Daniel H. Wells, and dissident Henry W. Lawrence for lewd and lascivious cohabitation under territorial law. Significantly, he did not prosecute them under the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act that Congress had passed in 1862 and was directly aimed at the Mormon practice of polygamy. He granted Young bail while announcing from the bench that the case, though called *The People v. Brigham Young*, was really “Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy.” On the testimony of confessed murderer and now-lapsed Mormon William A. Hickman, the U.S. attorney also secured indictments for the murder of Richard Yates during the Utah War against Young, Wells, and Hosea Stout.

In addition Young faced McKean over the divorce petition of one of his plural wives, Ann Eliza Webb Dee Young. Ann Eliza petitioned McKean’s court for divorce. Young replied that he was legally married to Mary Ann Angell, that Ann Eliza was not divorced from James Dee at the time of the alleged marriage, and that the sealing was a plural or celestial marriage and not legal under the Morrill Act.

Instead of just dropping the matter, McKean placed the burden of proof on Brigham and ordered him to pay Ann Eliza \$500 per month alimony pending the outcome of the litigation. Young refused to do so and McKean fined him \$25 and ordered him to the penitentiary for one day for contempt of court. Significantly, Charles Hempstead, Patrick Edward Connor, and numerous other Gentiles came to Young’s defense in the matter. Eventually, however, the U.S. Attorney General ordered the case thrown out of court on the grounds that Brigham and Ann Eliza could never have legally married.

In the meantime another case that undermined McKean’s plans and his illegal method of empanelling jurors reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Shortly before McKean’s appointment, Paul Englebrecht, who owned a saloon in Salt Lake City refused to post a bond for the sale of liquor as in the city ordinance. Jeter Clinton, an alderman and justice of the peace for the city, ordered the city police to destroy Englebrecht’s liquor supply. Engelbrecht sued the city for \$59,000 to recover the value of the liquor. A jury empanelled by the U.S. Marshal from Gentiles found on the street convicted Clinton and ordered him to pay Englebrecht. Clinton appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, which ruled that Utah’s courts must follow territorial law in empanelling juries.

The decision in the Englebrecht case threw out Clinton’s fine, but it also nullified the indictments McKean had secured with packed juries. As a result, the federal officials had to throw out the indictments against Young and his associates.

In 1874 Congress passed the Poland Act that changed the method of empanelling juries. Henceforth both the probate court judges and the clerk of the U.S. district courts were involved in selecting jurors. This meant that the U.S. marshal could still not simply select unfriendly Gentiles from the streets and secure trumped-up indictments. As a result, the indictments against Young and others were never renewed and Young lived a free man until his death.

Before 1840, most Mormon converts had come from New England, New York, the Midwest, eastern Canada, and the upper South. By 1850 that pattern had changed, and the majority came from the British Isles, Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Western Europe. In a significant statistical study, Dean L. May concluded that by the 1860s, the great bulk of Utah's adult population consisted of "recent European immigrants to the Mormon Zion."

Why should the Mormons have felt the need to immigrate to the United States? When people converted to the restored gospel, they accepted more than the obligation to live moral lives, cultivate personal piety, and attend church. They also believed they must flee Babylon and "gather" with the Saints in Zion. The doctrine of the gathering had roots both in the desire to build towns in a new Zion and in the belief that the Saints must seek refuge in covenant communities to prepare for Christ's second coming. As premillennialists, following a period of tribulation promised in the Book of Revelations Mormons expected Christ to return to the earth to rule for a thousand years. Unlike conventional premillennialists, however, the Latter-Day Saints believed that if they gathered with God's covenant people in towns they could avoid the tribulation that would precede Christ's second advent. Moreover, they could build a kingdom that they could turn over to Christ and that would spread throughout the earth as promised in Daniel Chapter 2.

Thus, for religious and social reasons, until forced by U.S. land laws after 1868 to change their patterns of settlement, the Mormons colonized by towns. Following the pattern of most American cities, they generally platted these towns in a grid system oriented to the compass's cardinal points. Although patterns varied, they usually reserved some space in the town center for civic and religious buildings. In a pattern quite unlike most rural areas of the United States, but similar to those of New England and the Spanish Southwest, they divided the land outside the towns into farms and pastures. Like the Spanish, they also developed irrigation systems. After 1868, these patterns changed considerably in part because the preemption and homestead laws required farmers to reside on the land they claimed. Since the Mormons had already laid out most of the core settlements by that time, they tended to homestead in dispersed sites more frequently in Idaho and Canada than in Utah.

In spite of Utah's relative poverty and the efforts of the church leadership to promote equality, Utah was not an egalitarian society. Studies by economists Clayne L. Pope, James R. Kearn, Larry T. Wimmer, and L. Dwight Israelsen have shown that although the nineteenth century Mormons managed to build

a community with relatively greater economic equality than the rest of the United States, wealth and poverty dwelt side by side. Family connections and native ability tended to promote prosperity while foreign birth tended to lead to greater poverty.

Nevertheless, despite the predominant emphasis on action rather than belief, in Sunday sermons and conference addresses, Young and other Mormon leaders discoursed on the gospel and on the way to redemption and salvation. Although a few sermons discussed speculative doctrines such as the belief that Adam was God and the need for murderers to shed their own blood as a part of the atonement, the overwhelming majority focused on conventional topics such as Christ's atonement; the necessity for faith, repentance, and baptism; and practical subjects like charity for others, establishing settlements, and building the kingdom.

Most focused on the mission of Christ as son of God, a member of the Godhead, and redeemer, and on the restoration of Christ's gospel through Joseph Smith. They considered the first principles of the gospel: faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, repentance of sins, baptism by immersion, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. They discussed the fall of Adam, the atonement and redemption through Jesus Christ, and the resurrection of the body. They essayed on the apostasy of Christ's primitive church and its restoration and the restoration of the priesthood through the prophet, Joseph Smith. They emphasized the need for latter-day prophets and for continuous revelation. Some discussed the scriptures, including the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and revelations to Joseph Smith. They discussed Christ's second coming and his millennial reign. They talked about spiritual gifts such as healing, visions, and visitation of angels. They discussed the Godhead, and though they differed in details, they all rejected traditional Trinitarian doctrine and considered God and Christ as separate beings. Some discussed eternal marriage, and Richards argued for plural marriage and for the communitarian United Order. Some of them discussed aspects of the ten commandments.

In comprehending the teachings and practices of Young and Mormon leaders, it is important to understand the relationship of the Latter-Day Saints and the American Indians. We should understand that it is often extremely difficult to make sense out of the association, in part because of ad hoc statements and in part because of the diverse rhetoric and actions that appeared in different contexts. The Book of Mormon places the Indians (called Lamanites in the book) in the House of Israel, and thus Latter-Day Saints perceive them as part of God's chosen people. At the same time, it records that after immigrating to America, the Indians had rejected the Abrahamic covenant and had chosen a life of barbarism. Still, the book promised their conversion to the gospel of Jesus Christ, their redemption through Christ's atonement, and their central role in the establishment of Zion.

Convinced by the Book of Mormon and drawing on meager resources, under Young's leadership Mormons spent enormous financial and human capital in supporting missions to various tribes in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. In virtually every case except short-term relationships such as those cultivated by Jacob Hamblin and his associates with the Paiutes in southwestern Utah and the Hopi in northern Arizona and by Louis Robison, Isaac Bullock, and William Hickman and their associates with the Shoshone in southwestern Wyoming, the missionaries failed to establish good relations with the Indians and the missions failed within a few years.

In most cases Mormons initiated the contact with the best of intentions. At base, although the Mormons considered the Indians equal before God and infinitely perfectible, they viewed their cultures as degraded. Like most nineteenth century friends of the Indians, they held a progressive view of history and they expected that the Native Americans would adopt Euro-American culture. They expected the missionaries to help facilitate this acculturation by close contact and teaching. Thus, although the Mormons respected the Indians, they also viewed them from the perspective of colonialists.

Still, because of the belief in Indian perfectibility, the Mormon view of the Indians differed from that of the average Westerner. Indeed Mormon views were closer to those of the Jesuits since Brigham Young expected the missionaries to learn the Indians' languages and to participate with them in cultural and social activities as part of their proselytizing activities. The Mormons invited the Indians to associate with them and encouraged them to send their children to local schools. The Mormons also ingratiated themselves with the Paiutes by suppressing the slave trade. They also established a system of adoption and indentured servitude and offering formal education to the Indian children.

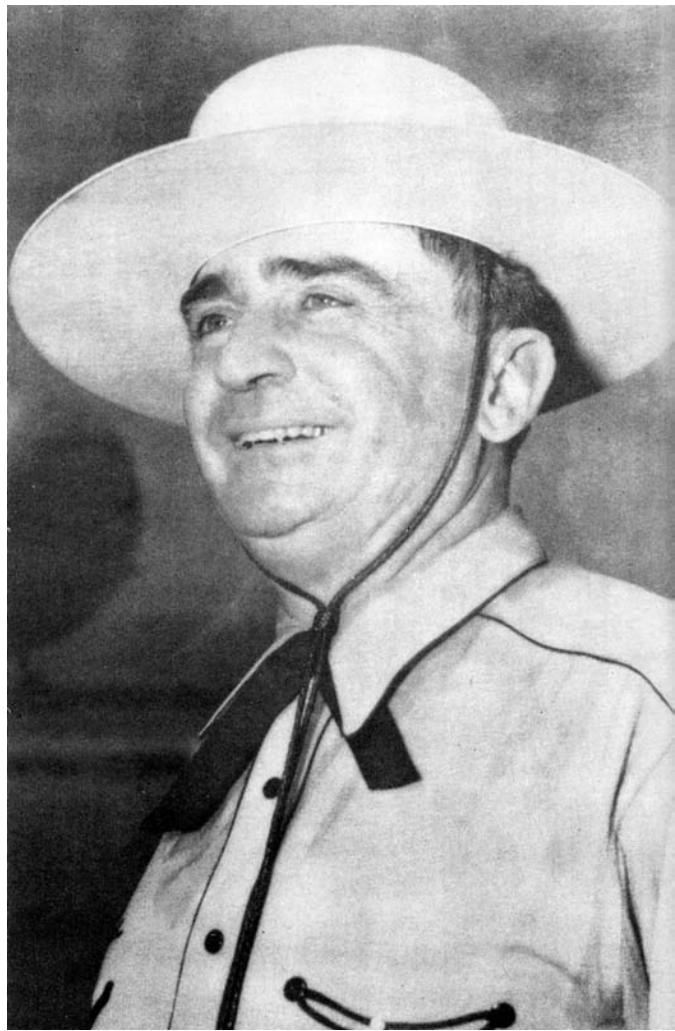
In practice, however, the expansion of Mormon settlements led to the confiscation of Indian lands, the disruption of Indian culture, and the economic decline of the Indian people. With the exception of some like the Paiutes near Santa Clara who had previously engaged in irrigated agriculture and who labored with the Mormons in constructing irrigation works, the Indians rejected the Mormons' efforts to transform them into agrarians. Within a short time, even the Paiutes found themselves dispossessed of their lands and resources. With the disruption of their economic and cultural life, the Indians turned to begging or stealing at worst, or, at best, they became day-laborers in the Mormon towns or on farms.

Near the end of his life, Young's health began to fail. He died 29 August 1877 in Salt Lake City from an abdominal disease then called cholera morbus.

His principal accomplishments include extensive and successful proselytizing activity, maintaining the integrity of the LDS Church after Joseph Smith's death, supervising the settlement of a large region of the American West, and promoting Christianity, economic development, and spirituality among the people.

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Eugene Biscailuz, Los Angeles County Sheriff. Eon Images, www.eonimages.com.

Eugene Warren Biscailuz

John J. Stanley

He [the peace officer] should strive in every way to make himself competent and efficient, and he must always bear in mind that conditions are constantly changing and it is necessary for him to study conditions to keep abreast of the times.

be losing part of Los Angeles, part of it somewhere close to the pulse beat of its heart.”¹

Biscailuz was the sheriff of Los Angeles County, but more than that he was the county’s ambassador. He linked the county’s past with its future. He advanced the frontiers of law enforcement, but he also helped bring Los Angeles to national prominence. He counted many in the Hollywood community as friends. He helped to advance the political career of Earl Warren. He fostered international goodwill with Mexico and Latin America, so much so that he was strongly considered to be the ambassador to Mexico by the Eisenhower administration. Yet, despite all of this, today he is a man who is not much known outside of his beloved sheriff’s department, and though his legacy continues on in the administration of law enforcement throughout the country meriting his status as an icon, the man himself is largely forgotten.

EARLY YEARS

Biscailuz was a man of vision who also had a strong sense of the past. He knew where law enforcement came from and he understood that it needed to keep evolving with the times. Biscailuz’s strong sense of history and appreciation for the law was rooted deep in his family’s past.

His grandfather William Crossman Warren was from Buffalo, New York. He sailed around the Horn in 1850 and settled in Los Angeles at the age of fourteen. He was a descendent of General Joseph Warren of Revolutionary War fame. William married Juanita Lopez, a descendant of Claudio Lopez who first came to San Diego with Portola and Father Junipero Serra in 1768 and later went on to become the first majordomo of the Mission at San Gabriel and supervised its construction.

Warren served as a deputy sheriff under Tomas Sanchez in 1861 and was then elected town marshal in 1862 serving through the tumultuous years of the Civil War. His daughter Ida was born in 1865 and Warren continued his

In 1932, the year he was appointed sheriff, Eugene Biscailuz was referred to as the most popular man in Los Angeles County. In the program for the party honoring his fifty-one years of service in law enforcement in 1958, he was called “Mr. California.” As his retirement approached in December of that year, the county board of supervisors, unable to imagine Los Angeles County without Eugene Biscailuz serving in some capacity, attempted to create a position for him as the official county greeter. One paper expressed the gap that would be left in county government by his departure this way, “It is almost inconceivable that this gentleman should ever retire. Losing him would

tenure as town marshal until 1867. He was turned out of office for two years but was reelected again in 1869.

Unfortunately, Ida did not know her father long. On 31 October 1870 Warren got into a violent argument with Joe Dye, one of his deputies. The dispute resulted in a gun battle that left Warren dead and Ida without her father.

The death of her father was a hard thing for Ida Warren. Over the years she glamorized the story, turning her father into a martyr for the cause of law and order. It was this romanticized tale that Ida would share with her young son Gene along with the badge that her father was wearing the day he died. Biscailuz kept that badge for the rest of his life.

Ida was still in her teens when she married prominent attorney Martin Biscailuz in 1880. On 12 March 1883, she gave birth to her son Eugene Warren Biscailuz. The future sheriff bore the middle name of his slain grandfather. The senior Biscailuz was of Basque heritage and spoke various dialects of that tongue as well as French, Italian, and Spanish which allowed him to garner a rather large client pool. Martin was educated at St. Vincent College and spent several years studying in Europe. His mastery of the variations of Basque served him well when he founded and served as the editor to one of the first Basque newspapers in California, *Escualdun Gazeta*, in 1885. During this time Martin was also serving as a Los Angeles city councilman and was the last man of Latin heritage to hold a seat on the council for decades.

Young Gene inherited his father's keen intellect and his mother's appreciation for California's past. By the age of nine he had read many works by Louisa May Alcott, including *Little Women*, *Jo's Boys*, and *Under the Lilacs*, and he was excelling in school.

The Biscailuz family lived quite comfortably. Then in 1888 Martin won a case in which his client was awarded possession of the Encino Rancho. Biscailuz's fee was \$36,000, a kingly sum at the time. With such wealth the Biscailuz home was expansive, and both maids and a footman were in their employ. But all was not well in the Biscailuz home. The huge award apparently went to Martin Biscailuz's head and he began a slow slide into alcoholism. In July 1893, Ida left him and moved in with her sister amid accusations that Martin threatened her upon learning that she wanted a divorce. A charge of disturbing the peace followed in October as he returned to his sister-in-law's house in a drunken fit and began pounding on the door and doing "other disagreeable things" according to an account in the *Los Angeles Times*. Two days later he was fined in police court for his behavior. This was not the first time that attorney Biscailuz would find himself on the wrong side of the law and it would not be the last. Over the next five years he was in and out of justice courts and jail from charges ranging from misappropriation of funds, petit larceny, and even forging Superior Court Judge Van Dyke's signature on a document. The *Times* first called him "erratic" and later "nutty." He spent time in the county insane asylum as well as the jail. He died in county hospital on 22 June 1899, from tubercular dropsy after being checked in there upon

completion of a six month sentence in county jail for theft. The plight of Biscailuz's father was no doubt a bitter disappointment and embarrassment to him. Biscailuz makes no mention of his father in later years, and all official accounts of Biscailuz's father omit his last few years as a drunk and petty thief.

There was no doubt that Martin Biscailuz's condition took a toll on his young son. Eventually he and his mother left his aunt's house and moved in with his grandmother Juanita Warren. But Gene continued to do well in school. He appeared to throw himself into other pursuits to distract him from his personal grief. Then, in 1896, Ida remarried to Captain Jesse Hunter and Gene lived with them on Hunter's ranch. Biscailuz appeared to get along well with Hunter. The location of Hunter's ranch was two miles from Gene's school so it was quite a trek, but when the weather and roads permitted he rode a bicycle to school. Biscailuz developed a passion for bike riding, and in the spring of 1900 almost won the annual long distance bike race from Los Angeles to Corona and back. Even in retirement, some sixty-plus years later, Biscailuz still received correspondence reminding him of his early love for bicycle racing. Even his obituary referred to his longtime membership in the Los Angeles Wheelman, a bike club. Perhaps all the miles Biscailuz put in on his bicycle helped him work off some of the frustration that he no doubt felt not having his father in his life.

School was another area where Biscailuz channeled his energy. He fostered his passion for history and continued reading voraciously. He was particularly fond of Scott and Dickens. Math was not his strong suit. He attended Professor Kramer's school of dancing, a school that also stressed deportment and courtesy, and Biscailuz applied this well at the local fiestas in town. Years later, as sheriff, his flair in countless parades and at many other civic functions can no doubt be traced to these early days of study under Professor Kramer. By 1898, at the age of fifteen, he began to push his mother and stepfather for more freedom and they permitted him to work at Oliver and Haines bookshop. This was also the year that Biscailuz's father unexpectedly took ill and died.

But another significant event occurred late that same year. Newly elected governor Henry T. Gage appointed former Los Angeles County sheriff Martin Aguirre warden of San Quentin Prison. Aguirre admired Captain Hunter and asked him to come to San Quentin with him and become captain of the yard. When Captain Hunter and his mother left for the Bay Area in early 1899, young Gene stayed behind and moved in with his aunt. Later that year he quit school and began working full time at Oliver and Haines. Gene admired all the leading men of the town who came into the shop, but in September 1900 he took a vacation with a friend to San Francisco. Gene's friend went home but he stayed and lived with his mother and stepfather in San Quentin while he obtained a job in San Francisco at a shop on Montgomery Street and Pine that dealt in paper, books, and stationary.

It was during his time at San Quentin that Biscailuz first spent time with inmates. He developed a unique perspective living within the walls of the prison and even played handball with trustees in the prison. According to his biographers Lindley Bynum and Idwal Jones, who wrote an official biography of Biscailuz in 1950, "The hundreds of games he played there with those men, Gene looks back upon as a solid part of his education."

Another significant, life-changing event occurred to Biscailuz during his time at San Quentin. It was there he met his future wife Willette. Willette's father Henry Harrison, the former sheriff of Marin County, was an officer at San Quentin. He had four daughters and it was the older sister Alice that Gene first had his eye on. But his attention was quickly drawn to Alice's younger sister. Gene was seventeen and Willette fourteen when they met. Two years later, in 1902, they eloped to San Francisco and were married by a justice of the peace. A year later their first daughter Carol was born. At that time, newly elected governor Pardee replaced Aguirre, and Captain Hunter was turned out as well. The job of captain of the yard went to Willette's father, so Gene and Willette's place in San Quentin was still assured, but Gene's uncle John Bacigalupi offered him a job in Los Angeles's oil business and Willette thought the move south would be good for their family.

The return to southern California worked well for Biscailuz. He soon left his uncle's employ and took a job working as a clerk at the River Station of the Southern Pacific Railroad and later at the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Company. Biscailuz was also a joiner. One of the first organizations of which he became a member was The Native Sons of the Golden West and he was soon one of the local chapter's officers where he met many distinguished men of the community. He got involved in local Republican politics and in 1904 helped campaign for a local city councilman. The success of his candidate bode well for Biscailuz and he began to make a name for himself. In 1906, he was campaigning for the first time for himself as a delegate to the Republican convention to be held in August in nearby Venice. It was a hard-fought campaign for the honor and Biscailuz was out pounding on doors and talking to his neighbors. He was elected delegate in August and then again in November. But Biscailuz had yet to find his niche.

DEPUTY SHERIFF

During fall 1906 he campaigned diligently for former sheriff Billy Hammel, who was seeking to return to his old job. After Hammel's election Gene wanted a position as a deputy. In those days, prior to the civil service system, appointments to the office of deputy were awarded on the spoils system. When one man was elected, the deputies of his predecessor were turned out with him. Biscailuz appealed directly to Sheriff Hammel and was informed that he was to be one of the twenty-seven men who would receive a position.

Biscailuz took his oath of office on 7 January 1907. He was twenty-three. No one could imagine at that time, least of all Biscailuz, that this was the beginning of an almost fifty-two-year career in law enforcement. Biscailuz was sworn in with many men who would go on to significant careers in the sheriff's office. There was Major Julius B. Loving, the department's first black deputy sheriff, who was originally made a deputy in 1899 by Hammel but lost his position under White. Loving would rise to the rank of Inspector before he retired in 1937 thus making him also the first black executive in the history of the department. Also sworn in were Frank Cochran, N.M. Sweesy, Dan Crowley, and William Osterholt, who enjoyed long and distinguished careers. Another man sworn in with him was Arthur C. Jewell, a veteran of the Spanish-American War. When Biscailuz became sheriff, it was his friend Jewell who served for over twenty years as his undersheriff. The last man of note was a large quiet man who won some fame as a football star at Stanford University when he was captain of the team in 1901. His name was William I. Traeger. In 1921, Traeger would become sheriff and appoint Biscailuz as his undersheriff.

Biscailuz, the youngest of the twenty-seven deputies sworn in under Hammel, was just happy to have a job as foreclosure clerk in the civil division. His boss, chief of the civil division, was Juan Murrieta. Murrieta first became a deputy under Sheriff Kays in 1887. He served in various capacities from that time on and was often called the "Father of Sheriffs" because of the number of sheriffs he mentored. Young Biscailuz needed a great deal of mentoring. Murrieta reportedly told Hammel that Biscailuz was a good man, but he called him a *chapule*, a grasshopper. He said the young deputy "never moves but he jumps."

Biscailuz thrived on education from his youth. Both formal education and also education through lessons of observation. In 1910, Sheriff Hammel assigned him to provide security at Los Angeles's first air show at Dominguez. Despite the crash of one of the flyers, Biscailuz saw the potential for this new technology. He was also educated by what he saw some of his young peers create at a downtown café.

California was a hotbed of the Progressive reform and nowhere was that spirit keener than in Los Angeles. Five months after Biscailuz was sworn in as a deputy a group of young men, fed up with local politics dominated by the powerful and often corrupt Southern Pacific Railroad machine, met at Levy's Café in downtown Los Angeles. At their core these men were reform-minded Roosevelt Republicans. By August the group met again in Oakland, this time enlisting more supporters from that end of the state; the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League was formed and the Progressive Movement began. League member Hiram Johnson was elected California governor in 1910 and two years later he formed the Progressive Party and was Theodore Roosevelt's running mate in the presidential election.

Though Roosevelt's second-place finish to Woodrow Wilson in the 1912 presidential election was the high-water mark of Progressive politics, its influence

continued in California for decades. Biscailuz thoroughly embraced Progressivism. Its impact is visible in the reform-minded acts he later initiated as sheriff.

Biscailuz benefited from another aspect of the Progressive movement, civil service reform. The California state legislature permitted counties to form their own county charters in 1911, and Los Angeles was the first county to do so. The county charter was passed at the November election in 1912. Progressives in the City of Los Angeles made the difference in the close vote.

The charter took effect on 2 June 1913. One aspect of the charter created a civil service commission. Civil service meant that all the jobs of all current deputy sheriffs were protected and not subject to the whim of the sheriff, and all future applicants must take a test to gain employment. Though current deputies were exempt from taking the exam, it did put them on notice that their profession was becoming more professional and scientific. It was shortly after this time that Biscailuz began to attend law school at USC (University of Southern California).

Though this charter, the first of its kind for a county in the United States, was narrowly supported by the citizens of Los Angeles County, Sheriff Hammel opposed it. One reason was that it limited his ability to hire and fire, but the charter also restructured how the sheriff was to be paid. Prior to the charter's passage, the sheriff could still pocket a great deal of money through the fee system. One principle source of fees was funds from the federal government for housing federal prisoners in county jail. Hammel continued taking these fees after the new charter was adopted in June and the county brought suit against him in 1914. In the tight election for sheriff in 1914, this suit may have contributed to his defeat by John C. Cline.

Cline served as sheriff from 1893 to 1894 and, like Hammel, he also wanted to appoint his own men to office and liked the fee system that so handsomely augmented the sheriff's income. In 1915, Cline was hoping that the courts would overturn the charter and permit him to turn out Hammel's men and continue pocketing fees. The Board of Supervisors set the sheriff's salary at \$5,000 and the county charter mandated that the fees be turned over to the county treasury. These fees had amounted to as much as \$25,000 in the past. Cline was obviously hoping for a favorable ruling on this matter. In January, and then in March, Cline received mixed messages on the charter from the courts. The first decision benefited Biscailuz and his fellow deputies. The second would later help lead to Cline's downfall.

The charter and the sheriff's election in 1914 put Biscailuz and his comrades in an awkward and nervous position. The irony for them was that although they all supported their former boss Hammel for reelection, he opposed the very law that they now were counting on to save their jobs. Each deputy came in early in the morning on 2 January 1915 and took their seat at their desk. Biscailuz later said that the men were afraid to get up lest one of Cline's men take their chair. On 4 January, the Civil Service Commission and the Board of Supervisors dismissed issues raised by certain interpretations of

the state constitution about the legality of the charter. This won Biscailuz and his fellows a stay and then a ruling by Superior Court Judge Works on 25 January made the decision permanent. The job of Biscailuz and all deputies appointed before Cline took office were assured.

Biscailuz continued to rise in the sheriff's department under Sheriff Cline, and his family continued to grow. His daughter Jean Marie was born in 1908 and his son Warren arrived in 1917. By this time he had his law degree from USC he was well established in a number of local civic organizations in addition to the Native Sons such as the Elks, the Masons, and the exclusive Jonathan Club. One friend later said of him, "If there's a service club Gene doesn't belong to, it must be because he hasn't heard of it." But all these memberships increased his visibility in the community, and then Sheriff Cline elevated him to Assistant Chief Deputy of the Civil Division, which increased his stature in the sheriff's department.

FIRST BRIEF FORAY INTO POLITICS

In December 1917, Los Angeles City Councilman J.B. Conwell died. Mayor Woodman wanted the position filled as quickly as possible. The remaining eight members of the city council began to advance names. Biscailuz's name was proposed by Councilman Farmer and on the first ballot Biscailuz won three of the four votes needed to take the seat, but a fourth vote was never sent his way and the post went to another.

That Biscailuz was considered for this seat was testimony to his place in the local Republican Party and his success at making himself known in the community through his various affiliations. The fact that Biscailuz went after the council seat shows his political ambition, but his time had not yet come.

UNDERSHERIFF

In 1919, trouble began for Sheriff Cline and soon charges of malfeasance and corruption were leveled against him. He was accused of a variety of acts of impropriety from fixing speeding tickets for friends and then having their records destroyed, to charging a fee for those desirous of becoming special deputies and then insisting that they go through a company owned by his brother and a nephew to purchase their badges. Ultimately, there were perhaps as many as 9000 special deputies under Cline. This position was chiefly a reward for political supporters and Cline's abuse of it led to further accusations.

The Board of Supervisors went after Cline in earnest in 1920. One of their first assaults was against the special deputies. Their chosen means to wage battle was the creation of a new badge. At this time the badge had an eagle mounted at its top. The new badges would have a bear with the words "Deputy Sheriff,

Los Angeles, California" and a serial number at the bottom. When the supervisors won the badge war, the previous badges issued by Cline were worthless.

But the most serious charge leveled against Cline was that he was still pocketing fees for the detention of federal prisoners. Charges and countercharges were made between the supervisors and Sheriff Cline beginning in 1919 and by the end of 1920 Cline was facing dismissal charges in court. In January 1921, twenty-one counts were filed against him. Then, on 2 March, Judge Monroe ruled against Cline on seven counts, and as a result he was removed from office.

Biscailuz remained detached from these scandals, but it was not possible for all those on the department to not be impacted by them. When Cline was forced from office Biscailuz was an unwitting beneficiary of his misfortune. With Cline gone, it fell to the Board of Supervisors to appoint his successor. There was no shortage of applicants, but the board finally decided on William Traeger. Traeger, a Spanish-American War veteran, Stanford football star, and deputy U.S. marshal, was sworn in with Biscailuz as a deputy sheriff in 1907. He earned his law degree in 1909 and in 1911 left the sheriff's department and became a deputy clerk of the State Supreme Court. He was still serving in this capacity when the supervisors selected him sheriff to complete Cline's term.

Traeger was sworn into office on 9 March, one week after Cline's dismissal. Initially, Traeger felt that an undersheriff was unnecessary, but the administrative details of the job soon began to overwhelm him. On his first day in office he personally handled a major riot in the county's overcrowded jail. Dealing with issues related to the deteriorating and inadequate state of that structure put added demands on his time. The need for a strong number two man readily became apparent. Traeger initially said that he had a number of men in mind, but chose Biscailuz, a man he'd known for fourteen years and who had proven himself both in the sheriff's department and the community.

Biscailuz assumed the undersheriff's job on 1 July. The undersheriff is the department's number two man and oversees its administrative operations. It is the sheriff who determines policy. It is the undersheriff who ensures that this policy is carried out and who oversees day-to-day operations. This role aptly suited Biscailuz and his competence at it delighted Traeger. Managing the minutia of the growing department was not Traeger's strong suit. One of Biscailuz's first tasks was to bring order to the chaos that was the department's handling of its documents and records, but the department had a host of other areas that needed attention. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Biscailuz was to "bring each department of the office up to its highest efficiency; to weave together the police of outlying cities, constables, and the sheriff's office into an effective county police system; to carry into effect plans being formulated to make Los Angeles County an unhealthy place for criminals."² In the aftermath of the Cline regime and with the deteriorating and overcrowded condition of the jail, the task before Traeger and Biscailuz was daunting. The county was also on the verge of a decade of amazing growth.

There were 935,455 people counted in the county census of 1920; by the 1930 census that number was 2,208,492. This population explosion presented serious challenges for local law enforcement and necessitated that it grow with the populace. Additionally, crime-fighting techniques were beginning to take advantage of advances in technology, as were criminals. This required incorporation of new methods and approaches into police agencies. During the 1920s the sheriff's department met these challenges by an explosive growth in its numbers and the subdividing of these numbers into specialized units and details. When Traeger took office in 1921 there were only eighty-two personnel in the department. When he resigned in 1932 there were 850. Together with Biscailuz he put these growing numbers to work.

In response to the issues of jail overcrowding, Traeger established an honor camp on the Rindge Ranch in the Malibu Mountains on 12 April. This camp was for inmates sentenced on misdemeanor charges. The idea of prisoners working during their incarceration was not a new one in the United States, but these work camps were a novel approach in penology. In 1915, the state legislature passed the "Convict Labor Law," which permitted the Department of Engineering to use prison labor to help build California's roads. Though this law provided a purpose for the work camps these were not traditional chain gangs overseen by guards wielding shotguns or holding leashed dogs. Inmates lived in tents and were paid fifty cents a day. They lived on the honor system and were not handcuffed or chained. Guards were frequently unarmed. The task of the men was to improve county roads and they were to be compensated for doing so. The first camp proved successful and it was next moved to a spot on the San Dimas Creek below the San Dimas Dam.

The success of this program was important to Traeger and one of Biscailuz's tasks was overseeing its management. Biscailuz reportedly made routine appearances at the work camp at San Dimas on the weekends to ensure that all was well. Traeger refused to call what he was attempting to do at the camps rehabilitation. He saw it as an attempt to give men their self-confidence back. Whatever it was, 78 percent of the men assigned to the camps during that first year stuck it out and did not wander off. This appeared to be good enough for the Board of Supervisors because they allotted funds for the camp in November 1922. By this time the camp moved on to the Swartout Canyon in the mountains south of Palmdale. By 1931, the sheriff's department operated eight camps, each housing a maximum of sixty men, and the camp model was being replicated in other Western states.

The overcrowded county jail was finally replaced by the new Hall of Justice on 1 February 1926. The sheriff's offices were on the second floor. The third through eighth floors housed courtrooms. The new jail inhabited the ninth through the fifteenth floors. The inmates were so happy to be out of the overcrowded and dilapidated jail across the street from the new one that they conducted a celebratory riot and started a number of small fires the morning they were moved. Biscailuz personally oversaw the move of the prisoners to their new jail.

Within a year Biscailuz and Traeger added another component to their drive to take pressure off the jail. By then the new Hall of Justice Jail (HOJJ) was already at capacity and one of the things that kept its numbers so high was the fact that as soon as many homeless, jobless men were released, they were immediately rearrested by local law enforcement agencies as vagrants. Doing bum or hobo sweeps was nothing new in southern California. In the days before civil service, lawmen and justices of the peace were paid by the head. This was quite a lucrative business and one that put a drain on government coffers. In the 1890s, the county put an end to this practice, but sweeping up men with no obvious means of supporting themselves was still seen as a prudent way to thwart crime before it happened.

On 4 May 1927, Traeger called together many of the most influential businessmen in Los Angeles for a breakfast to enlist their support in dealing with this problem. Traeger's chief concern was finding employment for men who needed a break. This was a logical next step from the work camps. Biscailuz was one of many men who spoke at the breakfast. Among others addressing the group were oil baron E.L. Doheny; George Rogers of Union Oil; D.W. Pontius, vice-president of Pacific Electric Company; and Louis B. Mayer of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios. Doheny pledged \$5,000 as seed money. Many others contributed as well, and Pontius and Mayer said that they would direct their companies to assist men recommended to them by the sheriff find work. The money pledged that day became known as the Doheny Fund. The most visible manifestation of this fund for the next thirty years was a tobacco and confectionary stand located inside the lobby of the Hall of Justice. All the proceeds from this enterprise went to assist jail inmates. Traeger appointed Colonel Robert E. Frith as head of the Contract Office. It was his job to work with local businesses in finding jobs for eligible inmates. Colonel Frith was involved with the work camps at that time, so he seemed a logical choice for this job and held the position until 1939, when the Board of Supervisors abolished his position for economic reasons. But the stand in the lobby of the Hall of Justice continued to operate throughout Biscailuz's time as sheriff.

The problems of rapid growth in Los Angeles County in the 1920s impacted all areas of the sheriff's operations. When Traeger took office there were twenty departments of the Superior Court. By the time he left there were fifty. Each court required a bailiff and prisoners brought to each court needed to be supervised before they were escorted into court for their proceedings. An increase in personnel in this area of the department was a necessity.

To deal with the increasing needs of the growing population in the county, Traeger and Biscailuz decentralized the patrol function and established a number of substations to provide local patrol. The sheriff was responsible to provide police services in all the unincorporated areas of the county and there were far fewer incorporated cities in the county in the 1920s. Even the City of Los Angeles was far smaller than it is today. All this area was under the jurisdiction of the sheriff. To better police the community it was decided to decentralize policing. Prior to this time local communities had their own

constabulary who did their policing. This force was a subordinate and ancillary part of the sheriff's department, but by providing a more formalized patrol function it was felt that better police protection could be provided. By 1929, nine substations were established throughout the county.

Managing this growing police force and ever-expanding jail and work camp system was daunting enough, but the department added a number of other special support details during this time. The Homicide Detail was established in 1921 as a joint operation with the district attorney's office, the coroner's office, and the LAPD. In 1922, details focusing on auto theft, fugitives, and narcotic and liquor law violators were also formed. Later a Farm Theft Detail was created. In 1926, five "airplane" deputies were even sworn in for fugitive pursuit. In 1930, this would become the Aero Detail.

To keep all this straight the Bureau of Records, established in 1921, was consolidated with the Bureau of Identification, created under Sheriff Cline, in 1926. To better keep track of trends and statistics in the county the Statistical Bureau was created in 1925 and then, wisely, a Bureau of Public Relations was established the following year to do a better job communicating with the media and the public. The Laboratory of Criminological Research was added in 1928 to incorporate all the advances of criminal science into one location and then a teletype system was added to give the department a then modern means of rapid communication.

Biscailuz's hand was present in the shaping of all the new changes on the department. Dr. F.W. Emerson was the head of the Department of Public Relations in the 1930s. He wrote the sheriff's department's first history in 1940. This was a sanitized version of the sheriff's department's past. For example, there was no mention of the controversy that led to Sheriff Cline's removal. Emerson was careful in how he spoke of both Traeger and Biscailuz as he crafted his history. Biscailuz only spoke of Traeger in the most laudatory terms and always gave full credit to him for the innovations created while he served as Traeger's undersheriff, but there is ample evidence to suggest that it was Biscailuz who made sure the new changes were effectively managed.

Although Traeger was given full credit for the achievements that took place during his time as sheriff, Emerson wrote: "In this capacity [undersheriff] he played a very important part in the re-organization and improvement of the Department. His progressive spirit and keen understanding of the problems of the County, coupled with his superior executive and organizing qualities, made his service of extremely practical value in the inauguration of the many new and efficient types of official services instituted within the Department during that period."³

Early on in Traeger's administration Biscailuz's administrative skills were widely known within the department, but though he had made a minor name for himself in various circles in the community he was still just the second man in the sheriff's department and not widely known throughout the county.

That all changed in 1923 because of a jilted wife, turned murderer and then fugitive, whose name was Clara Barton.

In July 1922, the body of young, pretty Alberta Meadows was found alongside a lonely road. At first the crime was attributed to someone of unusual strength because Alberta's head was bashed in with a hammer and her body was partially covered by a large rock. It was later learned that her killer was in fact Clara Barton, who murdered Alberta because she was having an affair with her husband. The papers began calling Clara the "Tiger Girl" and she began drawing a popular following. Despite Barton's popularity she was convicted of second-degree murder on 27 November. That should have been the end of Clara's time in the headlines, but instead it was just beginning. On 5 December, she escaped from county jail. Three bars to her cell window were cut, but the hole seemed too small to accommodate her. Some felt that she was assisted in escaping by an admirer. Others thought it was an inside job. Either way she was gone. Four months later the government of Honduras communicated to the department that they were holding Mrs. Barton in that Central American country. An extradition treaty was in place between the United States and Honduras since 1912 and the Hondurans appeared willing to honor it.

Sheriff Traeger assigned Biscailuz the task of retrieving Barton. Biscailuz, fluent in Spanish from his youth and a good negotiator, was dispatched to Central America. His stepbrother, Deputy Sheriff Walter Hunter, was sent with him and Biscailuz's wife Willette also accompanied him as an acting matron. Upon arriving in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, it became evident that retrieving Mrs. Barton would be more an act of persuasion than one of simple extradition. Barton was quite the sensation with certain local members of the press and certain Honduran officials. It was doubtful that she would be made to return to the United States by the Honduran government if she did not want to go. Biscailuz persuaded Barton of the wisdom of returning and dealing with her fate, but getting out of Honduras and then back to Los Angeles was an enterprise worthy of a book in its own right. The party traveled first over the mountains to the Caribbean and then by ship to New Orleans and then train to Los Angeles.

Biscailuz won national notoriety for the return of Barton to southern California and from this point on he was ever in the public's eye. But the trip cost him dearly. Willette took deathly ill and though she recovered the lingering effects of her illness plagued her for the rest of her life and rendered her at times an invalid and some suggest hastened her death in 1950.

Another event that brought Biscailuz local notoriety was the annual picnic hosted by the Sheriff's Relief Association (SRA). This association was founded in March 1924. Its intent was to provide death and disability benefits for deputies who suffered illness or injury. Workers' compensation laws were a Progressive reform. As such, California was one of the first states to adopt them in 1913. Still, there were many circumstances where a sheriff's employee could suffer injury or illness away from the job that would not be covered

by workers' compensation. In addition, the law was not as far-reaching then as it is now. Obvious injuries were covered. Lesser injuries and illnesses were more problematic. The SRA was created to fill this gap. Members were charged dues to gain benefits, but it quickly became evident that a larger funding mechanism was necessary to generate the funds necessary to provide for the needs of members. Sheriff Traeger became the SRA's first president, but Biscailuz played a prominent role and together it was decided that a large picnic would be held to raise additional funds for the SRA's coffers.

The first SRA picnic was held on Sunday, 28 September 1924, at Reilly's Ranch in Sand Canyon, northeast of Saugus. This event was so successful that a second one was held the following year on 4 October 1925 at Whiting Woods, west of Montrose. Over 2500 people were in attendance at the second picnic that raised over \$4000 for the SRA. These barbeques came to be called "Gene's big party," because Biscailuz became their unofficial master of ceremonies. This notoriety added to Biscailuz's popularity gained by the Barton incident and he seemed ready to take the next step.

In 1923, after Biscailuz's return from Honduras, Traeger and he sat down to discuss their political futures. Traeger told Biscailuz that it was his intention to run for governor in 1926. When he did, he promised to throw his support to Biscailuz to replace him as sheriff. Sheriff Traeger was a popular man in his own right. It was not overreaching to think he had a fair chance to be elected governor. His name was known in northern California because of his football fame at Stanford, and his first years as sheriff were well regarded in Los Angeles. In 1921 and 1922, he was also elected grand president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, an important statewide organization at the time.

Bolstered by Traeger's promise, friends of Biscailuz began putting together an unofficial election committee for him in 1925. Biscailuz—Elk, Mason, Native Son, and member of the exclusive Republican Jonathan Club—had many prominent political friends who wanted to see him as sheriff. He was only eight years removed from being pushed for the Los Angeles City Council and he had done nothing but increase his prominence and social standing since then.

In early October 1925, Traeger had a change of heart about running for governor. At first it seemed that this would cause a break with Biscailuz. Biscailuz's people had done a lot of work behind the scenes and an article in the *Los Angeles Times* suggested that it was Biscailuz's intent to resign as undersheriff and run for sheriff against Traeger. Biscailuz was on vacation when Traeger made his announcement on 5 October that he was no longer in the governor's race and would seek reelection in 1926. He made it clear that it was his intention to talk with Biscailuz about the matter on his return.

On 16 November, the two men made separate and then a joint statement pledging their support to one another. Traeger made it clear that the job of undersheriff was Biscailuz's as long as he wanted it. Biscailuz said that he was

completely behind his boss's campaign for another term. Both men said that their long friendship of eighteen years could not be broken by politics. All seemed well. But it was clear that Biscailuz felt blocked by Traeger. He supported his boss. He was loyal. But he was ambitious. He possessed that same competitive spirit that sent him on that long bike race out to Corona and back in 1900 and he wanted a chance to be the top man.

Biscailuz went back to being the loyal adjutant. There are suggestions that Traeger assured him that he would only do one more term before moving on to another office, probably Congress, but though there was not even a hint of rancor between the men, it is clear that Biscailuz felt he was ready to be head man.

On 13 March 1928, and the days that followed, Biscailuz again showed his worth during one of the greatest disasters in state history. At three minutes before midnight on 12 March, the St. Francis Dam in the San Francisquito Canyon, forty miles north of downtown Los Angeles, collapsed. When the dam gave way the wall of water was as high as 125 feet. Over 600 people were killed, though the exact number will never be known because migrant workers squatted in the Santa Clara River bed along the floodwater's path. The water reached the ocean fifty-four miles away at Montalvo in Ventura County at 5:30 the next morning. By the time it arrived, the floodwaters were two miles wide and traveling at five miles an hour. Bodies were discovered as far away as the Mexican border.

Minutes after the dam collapsed, Biscailuz received a phone call from the sheriff's substation at Newhall. He and two aides promptly responded to the scene. There wasn't a great deal to be seen that night, but by morning the scope of the calamity was evident. Biscailuz supervised the rescue and recovery effort, which took ten days. At one point Arthur Jewell came up to him covered in mud. Jewell told Biscailuz that it was impossible to tell who was who because deputies were not wearing uniforms. Sheriff's departments were slower to recognize the importance of uniforms than police departments. Biscailuz told Jewell to remind him of that point later.

Biscailuz proved his worth again during this crisis and once again came to the attention of many. But as 1928 drew to a close, Traeger announced that it was his intention to seek reelection again in 1930. Biscailuz's friends approached him and said that they felt that his prospects looked good if he chose to run against his chief, but Biscailuz was too loyal to consider this option. However, politics in Sacramento produced a different opportunity.

HIGHWAY PATROL SUPERINTENDENT

The various state and interstate highway systems and traffic laws are so common today that it is hard to believe that less than eighty years ago the organization of this vast network of roads and laws was still in its formative stages.

The first California Bond passed for highways was in 1909. The Motor Vehicle Act of 1913 imposed laws requiring licenses and license plates. The Department of Motor Vehicles was established in 1915. Then the California Vehicle Act of 1923 allowed the Division of Motor Vehicles to hire inspectors and officers to enforce the act of 1915. This diffuse group worked in the various counties and had a loose relationship with the various sheriff's departments. As the state's highways continued to spread out and become more sophisticated, the need for a better organization to enforce traffic laws was apparent.

Clement C. Young was a Progressive Republican who was elected governor in 1926, the year that Traeger elected not to run. By the middle of his term he recognized that the defused California motor patrol did not meet the needs of the state. An organized state patrol was necessary. Governor Young held a meeting with Colonel Frank G. Snook, who was the chief of the State Motor Vehicle Department, to discuss the matter and it was decided that a state Highway Patrol was needed under the direction of a competent administrator. Colonel Snook enlisted B.B. Meek, head of the State Department of Public Works, in his search for the Highway Patrol's first superintendent.

It was reported that Snook and Meek considered many candidates throughout the state, but Biscailuz was selected for the job. The Bynum and Jones biography of Biscailuz contends that Snook did not want Biscailuz as the Highway Patrol's first superintendent. They wrote that it was Meek who visited Biscailuz at his home in Santa Monica without Snook to see if the undersheriff was interested in the job. Biscailuz then traveled to Sacramento with Arthur Jewell, his good friend and confidante, for a meeting with Governor Young. Bynum and Jones said that Snook referred to Biscailuz as "that damn Mexican" and harbored a grudge against him mainly because Biscailuz was a southern Californian and not part of the Sacramento inner circle. This sentiment was supposedly shared by others in Sacramento and would later be used against Biscailuz when the political winds there changed.

There was not even a hint of this alleged animosity in Governor Young's official announcement. He said that Meek and Snook acted in concert in the selection process. Given that Snook was the chief of the State Motor Vehicle Department, and technically Biscailuz's boss, it seems odd that the governor would send Meek on an end run around him.

Governor Young's statement went on to add that Biscailuz did not apply for the position and consented to give up his job as undersheriff in Los Angeles "only when it was shown that he could render a real public service in helping to bring about a happier and closer contact between the traveling public and our State Highway Patrol."

Young and Snook wanted a patrol that would rigorously enforce the laws but would also be seen as there to help motorists, not terrorize them. The various county patrols earned a reputation for lying in wait in speed traps and then pouncing on unsuspecting motorists. This was an image that they wanted changed and one that Biscailuz was eager to alter.

At the time Biscailuz assumed the role of superintendent of the Highway Patrol on 1 August 1929 his resume was already impressive. In addition to his twenty-two years of service in the sheriff's department, he was a graduate of the USC School of Law. He was then serving as the president of the State Sheriffs' and Undersheriffs' Association. He was the president of both the SRA and of the Acacia Masonic Club of Los Angeles. He was a past Exalted Ruler of the Santa Monica Elks' Club and he was a past president of the Native Sons of the Golden West.

The job he faced was a daunting one. What Biscailuz inherited was a diffuse system where each of the fifty-seven California counties had their own county motor patrol squads. These squads were, for the most part, connected to the various county sheriffs' departments. This may be one reason why Biscailuz was selected and not someone like August Vollmer, legendary chief of the Berkeley Police Department, who Biscailuz greatly admired. Biscailuz was already well known and regarded by the sheriffs in the state and working diplomatically with each of them was a must if this absorption of personnel within their jurisdiction was to proceed smoothly.

This theme was stressed by Colonel Snook at a meeting in Los Angeles on 28 August in front of thirteen newly selected captains of the patrol. At this meeting the organization of the force was announced as well as manner in which state officers were to behave and how they were going to be trained. Biscailuz and Snook informed the men that the state was to be divided into four districts: Southern, Coast Central, Inland Central, and Northern. A chief was assigned to command each district and a captain to command each county. But officers within each county were free to cross county lines to do their job. The state's borders were to be better manned and improved checking stations were announced as well as way stations for drives across the desert.

Biscailuz felt that it was at the state's borders where people gained their first impression of California and he wanted men there who would "give the motorist a welcome and supply him with helpful information." To this end Biscailuz also announced the "doom of the arrogant, dictatorial highway motor officer." The emphasis was to be placed on being courteous and dignified. Biscailuz wanted his men to be seen as helping the motoring public not haunting them by hiding behind every tree and sign waiting to pounce. He also felt that warnings were as appropriate a tool as tickets to alter public driving behavior. The chief goal set by Biscailuz and Snook was "the elimination from public highways of the intoxicated driver," and provide helpful attention to the "other 98 percent of motorists" throughout the state.

Although many of those considered are men of outstanding ability, Mr. Biscailuz was selected because of his fine personal qualities and the excellent public service rendered for the past twenty-two years in the sheriff's office of Los Angeles. I am convinced that he is the ideal man to carry out the policy which is being inaugurated in our State Division of Motor Vehicles.

—Governor Young, quoted in
Los Angeles Times, 25 July 1929

To assist officers in this task it was also announced that a central school would be established for the training of patrolmen and additional schools in the various districts would follow. This emphasis on the educated lawman was always important to Biscailuz.

In late September, Biscailuz flexed his muscles and tried to assert himself as the top lawman in the state. To this end his reach exceeded his grasp and the various police chiefs and sheriffs statewide pushed back against him. The California Vehicle Act of 1929 stipulated that “every officer, when on duty for the purpose of enforcing the . . . act, shall be dressed in a full distinctive uniform” and shall not “use an automobile for patrolling public highway in the performance of such duty, unless such automobile is painted a distinctive color.” The act stated that officers not in uniform or in a marked car “shall be incompetent as a witness” in any charge involving the speed of a vehicle. The act also defined what an authorized emergency vehicle was. This provision mandated that they be “owned and operated by a police or fire department.” In many ways, this was the most onerous part of the law for state municipalities. To enforce this law, Biscailuz decreed that all police cars in the state were to be painted white with a red star. Glendale Police Chief J.D. Fraser, for one, stated flatly that his agency would not adhere to this decree. The law stated that this mandate determining the color of police cars only pertained to vehicles used to enforce speeding laws and was not applicable to “authorized emergency vehicles . . . when such vehicles are being operated in the chase or apprehension of violators of the law.” Fraser rejected Biscailuz’s efforts to push the law further. Biscailuz had enough on his hands organizing the Highway Patrol without drawing the wrath of sheriffs and chiefs, so the matter was not pursued.

By 1 November 1929 there were thirty automobiles and 275 motorcycles in service. In many counties, like Los Angeles, the motorcycle was the primary tool of the motor officer and remains the preferred tool of most today. Biscailuz hoped to have 500 men in the California Highway Patrol (CHP) by March 1930, but this number depended on the smooth transition of county officers to state control. He also announced that all officers’ uniforms would be two-tone to distinguish them from other policemen in the state. He reiterated that “the highway motor patrol is designed primarily with a view to being of service to the motoring public . . . Safety on the highways and assistance to the public are two cardinal laws of the organization.”⁴

Officers were to be rewarded not for the number of tickets issued but for the reduction of accidents in their assigned patrol areas. In 1930, the first training academy was established on the state fair grounds in Sacramento and classes on laws, traffic patterns, and courtesy were begun to assist officers in carrying out the superintendent’s mandate. Biscailuz traveled the state speaking with all of his men to encourage them. Morale was high and within a year the CHP was doing what Governor Young asked. Traffic accidents were down and the public seemed pleased with the organization.

In November 1930, California elected a new governor. Longtime San Francisco mayor James "Sunny Jim" Rolph was in. Biscailuz, ever the loyal follower, supported Governor Young in the primary in his reelection bid against Rolph. When Rolph won the primary and later the election there was no civil service law to protect him this time. Ever the friend of the press, Biscailuz used a San Francisco newspaperman to sound out Governor-elect Rolph on his opinions regarding the current superintendent of the CHP. It was reported to Biscailuz that Rolph's reply was unprintable. Biscailuz realized that his time in Sacramento was short and some of the political sharks, like Colonel Snook, who were not fond of Governor Young's appointment of him in the first place, began to circle. Biscailuz submitted his letter of resignation before Snook could have the satisfaction of asking for it.

On 9 January 1931, Biscailuz started south for Los Angeles. E. Raymond Cato of the Los Angeles Police Department was named to replace him. Cato and he knew each other and he suggested that Biscailuz drive south in his official car so that the two men could meet and make a formal transfer. This was a kind gesture on Cato's part and it permitted Biscailuz to be honored by the men who served under him for the past year and a half. He received an official escort as he entered each new CHP patrol jurisdiction.

In his year and half as CHP superintendent, Biscailuz had much to be proud of. The agency was organized and now had almost four hundred officers. Morale was high and highway patrolmen were doing what Governor Young asked them to and what the Vehicle Act of 1929 prescribed. There was a bit of irony in the fact that despite Biscailuz's ties to Los Angeles County it did not surrender control of its motor squad and traffic control jurisdiction until 1932, but Biscailuz returned to his home in Santa Monica with few regrets. He did not stay unemployed long.

UNDERSHERIFF AGAIN

Two days after Biscailuz returned from Sacramento he received a call from Harry Carr. Carr was an associate editor of the *Los Angeles Times* who wrote a popular column called "The Lancer." Carr suggested that Biscailuz come by his office for a chat. Biscailuz, out of work and at that moment wondering how he was going to provide for his family, had nothing better to do so he took Carr up on his offer. When Biscailuz arrived he found that Carr was not alone. Also present were Kyle Palmer, the paper's political editor and king-maker, and Ralph Trueblood, the *Times'* editor. Biscailuz was sitting in rather august company. The four men discussed Biscailuz's future. The possibility of a job as goodwill ambassador and greeter at the Mexican border for the Southern California Automobile Club was proposed. Biscailuz's financial situation was such that he actually entertained the idea. But within a few days

the four met again and another offer was laid in front of him. Would he consider a return to his old job as undersheriff?

In the sixteen months that Biscailuz was Highway Patrol superintendent Traeger tried two different men as undersheriff. Chief Criminal Deputy R.H. Harry Wright filled the role from August 1929 until May 1930 then Traeger gave the position to Frank De War. It was suggested that there was some dissention in the sheriff's office while Biscailuz was gone and morale was low. Biscailuz took his old job back only on the condition that something could be done for De War. The eagerness to have Biscailuz back was so great that the position of chief deputy sheriff was created for De War by the Board of Supervisors.

Given the powers at work getting Biscailuz his old job back it seems likely that a number of back room deals and promises were made. It was no secret by this point that Traeger aspired to higher office. Being undersheriff again placed Biscailuz in the ideal position to succeed Traeger should he leave. The *Los Angeles Times* announced his return as undersheriff on 10 February. According to that account, Undersheriff Biscailuz was to serve in a public relations capacity while De War handled all "Sheriff's office activities." Biscailuz and De War were to assume their duties on 12 March. This arrangement lasted until De War was tragically killed on 29 January 1932 when the aircraft he was traveling in crashed into the Tehachapi Mountains on a return flight from Bakersfield, where he was investigating a kidnapping case. The position of chief deputy sheriff was abolished on his death.

Biscailuz toiled again as undersheriff for twenty-one months. In June 1931, he was instrumental in the creation of the Juvenile Bureau of Crime Prevention, the first of its kind in any sheriff's department in the country. This organization was designed to divert youths into more healthy programs and away from mischief that would lead to criminal activity. This program was decades in advance of other youth intervention programs of its kind.

When De War's plane was lost in 1932, Biscailuz led a search party that toiled for days in search of it. He realized that the department needed a co-ordinated search and rescue team as well as a better response from the aero detail. These were both changes that he quickly implemented as sheriff.

In 1932, the Olympic Games came to Los Angeles. Prominent Los Angeles businessman William May Garland was at work for over twelve years making the Los Angeles Olympics a reality. Garland was a friend of Biscailuz's and the undersheriff served on the Olympic Committee. The 1932 Los Angeles Olympics were a rousing success and actually finished in the black despite fears that the Depression and Los Angeles's remote location in the world at the time would prove disastrous. Once again Biscailuz's name was attached to a popular and successful civic venture.

The Olympics concluded on 14 August. On 30 August Biscailuz's political fortune changed again. It was on that day that Sheriff Traeger won the Republican Primary for the Fifteenth Congressional District. On 8 November he

won the general election. Traeger would not become a Congressman until the Seventy-third Congress was sworn in on 4 March, but he did not intend on remaining sheriff until then. He told the Board of Supervisors on 25 November he was willing to resign immediately if they appointed Biscailuz as his replacement.

SHERIFF BISCAILUZ

By the time Traeger presented this proposal to the Board they had already received thousands of signatures urging them to appoint Biscailuz to succeed Traeger. The first of those came from Santa Monica, where Biscailuz lived. On 15 November, Geoffrey F. Morgan, vice-president of the Santa Monica Chamber of Commerce, presented a petition with over 4000 signatures. Other petitions followed.

It seemed logical given Biscailuz's accomplishments in Sacramento, in the sheriff's department and within the community, that the board would appoint him sheriff to complete Traeger's unexpired term. But the board seemed a bit put off by being pressured into making this decision. Traeger formally informed the supervisors of his intentions to resign at their meeting on 28 November. The resignation was to take effect on a day that they saw fit. The supervisors did not want to appear pressured to appoint Biscailuz so they proposed temporarily appointing him to a ninety-day "acting sheriff" position at his old undersheriff's pay while they debated the issue. County Counsel Mattoon upset these plans by telling them that there was no legal authority to do this. If they did not appoint a new sheriff on Traeger's resignation, County Coroner Nance would be compelled to oversee the sheriff's department until an appointment was made. There was also a feeling among some citizens that the sheriff's department had not done enough to deal with gambling, vice, and liquor problems in the county, and because Biscailuz was undersheriff he was seen as part of this failure.

Reverend Gustav Briegleib, chairman of the Los Angeles County Prohibition Board of Strategy, addressed the board. His committee was willing to give Biscailuz a chance, but they expected more action from the sheriff's department. More petitions on Biscailuz's behalf were submitted and the names of three other candidates for the position were also submitted: Charles H. Kelley, chief of police of Pasadena; Al Sittel, United States Marshal; and I.B. English, chief of police of Huntington Park.

Despite the advice of County Counsel Mattoon, the board accepted Traeger's resignation and made it effective 1 December and then appointed Biscailuz to be acting sheriff for ninety days. Two days later they met again on the matter. After County Counsel Mattoon reemphasized that there was no legal authority to appoint Biscailuz to be acting sheriff, it was decided to appoint Biscailuz to the remaining two years of the term, but not before he pledged that he

would do his utmost to make whatever improvements he could within the department to address the concerns of the board and the community. The board then voted unanimously to make Biscailuz sheriff. He was sworn into office approximately 100 feet from where his grandfather William Warren was gunned down in 1870.

Accolades poured in as Biscailuz took office. The account in the December 1932 issue of *The Police Officer and Police Reporter* was typical. It called him “Our Gene” and “the most popular man in the county.” But Biscailuz had work to do. The criticisms of the sheriff’s department that caused the supervisors to delay their vote in his favor lingered. He quickly set to work to address the department’s problems while placing his stamp on the office.

To assist him he chose his longtime friend and colleague Arthur C. Jewell as his undersheriff. Jewell was long used to playing Watson to Biscailuz’s Holmes. Jewell lacked Biscailuz’s creativity and vision, but he possessed similar administrative skills and a similar capacity for loyalty.

In an article written by Biscailuz in *The Police Officer and Police Reporter* the same month that it sang his praises, the new sheriff put his finger on the problem that he and his department faced, the Depression. An increase in crime and vice followed the economic gloom that engulfed the nation. To Biscailuz, “the present day lawman has his task definitely laid down before him . . . He bears a great responsibility in the social and political set-up of the country and it rests upon his shoulders to prepare and qualify himself as thoroughly as possible to satisfactorily handle his important assignment.”⁵ Biscailuz set about ensuring that his personnel had just what they needed to accomplish this objective.

Modernization and Organization

Biscailuz was the driving force behind most of the changes and innovations under Sheriff Traeger, and he continued this as sheriff. Before the end of June 1933 he instituted a flurry of changes and improvements. He established a Forgery-Check Bureau. He put a program together to coordinate the work of the County Constabulary with the criminal division. He increased the Bureau of Public Relations and launched a campaign to educate the public on the work of his office by public addresses at clubs and fraternal, educational, and religious bodies, via newspapers, and on radio. He put together a major disaster organization as well as a plan to meet large-scale county emergencies. He reformed the badge and credential program, which was always a nettlesome problem for sheriffs as Sheriff Cline learned. He put radios into patrol cars and put uniforms on his patrol officers and then the rest of the department. He added three more stations in the late 1930s in Malibu, Lancaster, and Montrose, north of Glendale, and then divided his twelve stations into three areas. And he also formed the Sheriff’s Aero Squadron. This was a significant improvement over the old Aero Detail and involved prominent flyers from throughout southern California.

State Bureau of Identification and Criminal Investigation

He was also appointed to the Board of Managers of the State Bureau of Identification and Criminal Investigation by Governor Rolph to replace Sheriff Traeger. This appointment by Rolph surprised many given his unceremonious dismissal of Biscailuz as CHP superintendent, but Biscailuz's conspicuous fine work as undersheriff running the sheriff's department's Bureau of Records and Identification and helping build it to the second largest of its kind in the United States merited his appointment to the State Board of Managers to replace Traeger. This board consisted of a police chief, a sheriff, and a county district attorney. The district attorney at the time was from Alameda County. He was a fellow Progressive Republican like Biscailuz. His name was Earl Warren. Biscailuz and Warren became good friends as a result of their association on the board.

Uniforms

On 21 October 1932, the sheriff's department put patrol personnel in uniforms for the first time at its Temple City Station. Sheriff's departments in the country did not commonly wear uniforms at this time. The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (LASD) became the first large sheriff's department to do so. Jewell and Biscailuz first discussed uniforming the department while they dealt with the St. Francis Dam disaster and all of their personnel were indistinguishable from civilian rescuers. By January four of the nine substations were wearing uniforms. By 1 May 1933 wearing uniforms was mandatory. Because of the green uniforms the department opted for at the time the men were referred to as the "Fighting Forest Green." The department switched to a tan shirt in 1955.

It was not until 1942 that all women were permitted to don the forest green uniforms. Some jail matrons were allowed to switch out of their white smocks at the end of 1941. When women did begin wearing the forest green uniforms they wore skirts. Almost three more decades passed before women deputies were permitted to wear pants.

Patrol Cars

Despite the controversy about the color of patrol cars that erupted when Biscailuz was superintendent of the Highway Patrol, sheriff's patrol cars were black, not white, and they were unmarked until 1937. At that time a circle with the sheriff's star was first placed on car doors. Other larger trucks and vans had the words "Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles County" written on their side. Also, in 1937, there was a brief flirtation with a two-tone paint scheme on patrol cars with white sides and a black hood, trunk, and top. But this did not last long and solid colors returned. The black and white as is known

today did not become the standard paint scheme for sheriff's department vehicles until late 1956.

In late December 1932, the first patrol car equipped with a radio arrived at Norwalk Station. By March 1933, Undersheriff Jewell reported that testing was underway, using the Los Angeles Police Department's radio system, with radio equipped cars at the Belvedere Station in East Los Angeles. Early radio cars in the early 1930s were only capable of receiving. And for the next five years the sheriff's department entered into an agreement with the Los Angeles and Pasadena Police Departments to provide dispatch services to its patrol units. Pasadena dispatched to the sheriff's Altadena Station because the LAPD system did not provide good coverage in the mountains. In 1936 the department began experimenting with its own two-way radio system. Up until this time there was no way to know whether cars actually received the messages that were sent to them. In 1938, the department got its own radio station, KQBV, and began doing all its own dispatching.

Department Manual

On 1 July 1936, the department issued its first manual. Before this, the department was managed by a diffuse group of orders and instructions. This manual brought them all together. The manual was a scant ninety-one pages and was broken down into eleven sections. These ranged from duties, assignments, procedures, and reports to uniforms, inspections, range qualification, personnel conduct, and disciplinary procedure.

In March of the following year, Biscailuz reorganized the entire department. Prior to this time employees held seventy-six different titles. After the reorganization there were only fifteen. These fifteen showed that there was still a separation between men and women. Four of these ranks were specifically reserved for them: Chief Matron, Assistant Chief Matron, Matron, and Female Deputy Sheriff. Only two women were eligible to promote to a supervisory position at this time and they only supervised other women. This inequity was not remedied until World War II.

Aero Squadron

On 10 March 1933, at 5:55 PM, a 6.25 earthquake rocked southern California near Long Beach. There were 120 deaths and widespread damage. After the ground stopped shaking, Biscailuz wanted a quick assessment of the damage. In January 1930, Traeger created the Sheriff's Aero Detail under Army Reserve Major and Deputy Sheriff Claude Morgan. A detail is by definition a small unit and since it was unfunded by the supervisors, all members of the detail used their own planes. With limited support, Major Morgan often *was* the Sheriff's Aero Detail. Biscailuz called Morgan and told him that many of the roads and communication into the area were impacted and he needed to

know the state of the situation. Morgan took to the air and for the better part of the evening and into the next day he directed rescue efforts into Long Beach and gave Biscailuz the intelligence he needed.

Seeing the value of a full time aerial unit, Biscailuz approached the Board of Supervisors, but in the leanest of Depression years there was no money to support his ambitious plan for a large aerial unit, though the board did grant him the authority to create one. Biscailuz was undaunted and sought out local aviators and businesses to volunteer their aerial services when called on. The idea of being members of an air auxiliary reserve was very tempting. Los Angeles was one of the hubs of civil aviation in the United States and many prominent men signed up. Among the first flyers Biscailuz swore into his Aero Squadron in June 1933 were: Lloyd Stearman, the president of Lockheed Aircraft Company; Jimmy James, pioneer aviator of the Western Air Express; and Lew Gross, the superintendent of the western region of TWA. Goodyear loaned its blimp, the Volunteer. Soon prominent airmen, actors, and others would clamor to be part of the squadron. All members were sworn in as deputies and wore leather aviator jackets and caps and a sheriff's star. In the face of the Depression, Biscailuz's use of a volunteer air force was the only way he was going to create the kind of group he needed to provide coverage for a county as large as Los Angeles.

By 1935, the squadron was so well established that the sheriff's department had established an ongoing relationship with the Army and Navy to provide three planes and pilots each. The Union Oil Company, the Standard Oil Company, Kinner Airplane Company, Lockheed, TWA, Western Air, and Warner Brothers Studios each donated a plane and pilot in addition to the Goodyear Blimp and other planes owned by private pilots. The airplane as a tool in police work was first tried in New York City after World War I, but it took Biscailuz and the Aero Squadron to make it a fixture in law enforcement. Soon police departments from all over the country were coming to Los Angeles to see what Biscailuz was doing and how they might start an aviation squadron of their own. Aero Squadron continued to grow and expand until World War II when it was temporarily suspended due to restrictions on all civilian aviation and the fact that most of its pilots were in the war, but it returned with the roar of newer and faster planes after the war.

In the 1950s, more and more sworn members were added to this unit and in time it lost its non-sworn members altogether and became a regular assignment for deputy sheriffs, most of whom were now flying helicopters instead of fixed-wing aircraft. The Sheriff's Aero Squadron was the pioneering unit of its kind and became the model for all other units of its kind in the country.

Foreign Relations Bureau

Biscailuz understood the ethnic diversity in Los Angeles County, being a child of it himself. He also knew that difficulty and confusion often arose when

people who spoke languages other than English needed police services. His dealings with the Honduran government during the Clara Barton affair as well as various issues that came up with officials of Mexico, and with other governments during the Olympics, made it clear that more needed to be done to communicate with foreign nationals and others who did not speak English or understand American laws. In July 1935, Biscailuz formed the Latin Service Bureau under the leadership of Captain E.E. Duran Ayres. There were then twenty-one Latin consulates in Los Angeles, and it was estimated that the Spanish speaking population at the time was over 200,000. Ayres's job was to coordinate with the criminal office on matters involving Latin Americans, but also work closely with the consulates, especially the Mexican consulate.

The success of the Latin Service Bureau necessitated it expand its scope and change its name. Within a year it was called the Foreign Relations Bureau and began serving the many other foreign nationals in Los Angeles. Biscailuz was the first lawman in the United States to set up a bureau of this kind and as such sanction was sought for it at the national level. In March 1937, Secretary of State Cordell Hull sent a letter to the department lauding the LASD for the creation of the bureau and the good work it was doing. The Foreign Relations Bureau continued providing this valuable service throughout the balance of Biscailuz's time in office and was copied by many law enforcement agencies throughout the country.

Law Enforcement Education

Biscailuz believed deputy sheriffs needed to be students of their craft. However, at the time he became sheriff formalized training in the profession in America was in its infancy. While he was CHP superintendent he helped create the first CHP academy, but in most agencies in the nation law enforcement training was picked up informally through experience. Biscailuz knew the benefit of general education to his people. He earned his law degree from USC while he was in the department, but he also recognized the need for specific education in law enforcement techniques and methods. Efforts in the sheriff's department to develop education programs over the years were sporadic at best. The lack of formal training for police officers was recognized at all levels of government. The California State Peace Officers Association held meetings on the subject and in April 1936 ideas on how to accomplish education for large agencies like the LASD were proposed.

As a result of these meetings Biscailuz formed the Sheriff's Institute of Technical Training in December 1936. It took almost a year before classes began, and then they were not classes on law enforcement techniques and methods but classes conducted by UCLA professors on how to teach. In February 1938, after the new instructors received their training, a ten-section curriculum was developed, which was subdivided into specific areas. Recruit training was not begun until 1940.

Specialized trainings were coordinated with other agencies. The Army and Bureau of Mines gave deputies classes in gas and chemical agents in late 1940. In late November 1941, with World War II raging and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor only weeks away, the FBI conducted anti-subversive training for deputies and other local law enforcement officials. Biscailuz's emphasis on training never wavered during his tenure as sheriff.

By July 1958, Captain H.B. Cramer of the Training and Emergency Services Bureau noted that his personnel were conducting extensive training in a range of fields. The Recruit Academy was now eight weeks long. There was a forty-hour sergeant supervisory school, a roll call training program designed to be conducted at the station level. There was an 8-hour narcotics seminar and ongoing training for reserves. Other courses included an 80-hour Special Enforcement Detail School, a Special Weapons School, a 40-hour Civil Bailiff's School, a similar school for County Marshal, a 16-hour Traffic Law Enforcement School, and a 120-hour Traffic Law Enforcement and Accident Investigation School. There was also a four-hour course in how to roll fingerprints and a telephone training school given to both civilian and sworn personnel.

In 1959, the California State Legislature created the Commission on Peace Officer's Standards and Training. The POST Commission set minimum training and selection standards for law enforcement statewide. By this time the sheriff's department was at the cutting edge in these areas due to Biscailuz's vision and leadership.

Reforms in Penology

It seems that the LASD's jails have always been overcrowded. The county jail built in 1886 did not anticipate the population boom of that period and a replacement was needed by 1903. That jail was woefully inadequate less than twenty years later and was replaced by the new HOJJ in 1926, but then that jail was quickly overcrowded.

When Biscailuz became sheriff in December 1932, the work camp system that was created in 1921 and that he helped nurture was in full operation. Eight camps with sixty men in each were earning fifty cents per day for their labors. By 1932, 10,000 prisoners cycled through the camps. The courts were even sentencing inmates to the camps and the sheriff's department was trying to accommodate these orders. But only sentenced misdemeanants were eligible. The camps worked on the honor system and it was clearly not appropriate for all inmates. Also, as the jail population began to swell during the Depression it became impractical and impossible to continue to send more and more men to the camps, and creating more of them was too costly. The new jail already exceeded its maximum capacity and Biscailuz realized that what was needed was more bed space, but not just more cells, but a type of facility that fostered rehabilitation.

Biscailuz was a Progressive reformer who believed that men could be changed if they were provided guidance and direction. He said that inmates arriving at work camps were often, "sallow and weak men from the city streets." But after their time in the mountain and desert camps they emerged, "tanned, well fed, healthy and physically equipped to begin life anew." Biscailuz remembered the time when he was playing handball with prisoners in San Quentin and viewed prisoners with compassion and humanity. The popular view of the camps was that they worked and few men who left the camps returned to a life of crime.

He brought that same spirit of reform into the main jail atop the Hall of Justice for inmates ineligible for the camps or waiting to be transferred to them. A *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* article from 1934 noted that it was the only jail of its size in the nation where inmates could avail themselves of a regular library two times a week. Prisoners there also participated in a number of programs managed by Jail Inspector J.B. Loving. Loving created an art gallery and held exhibits of prisoner works done that were sometimes attended by Hollywood luminaries. Colonel Firth continued working with local employers trying to find jobs for inmates throughout the 1930s and the store in the lobby of the Hall of Justice raised money to assist inmates.

But Biscailuz saw the stresses at the Hall of Justice Jail. HOJJ was already overcrowded and either a large expansion at a cost of millions was needed or another more economical solution needed to be found. In 1935, Biscailuz used his jailer, Captain Clem Peoples, to float the idea of a jail farm. In June 1937, it was proposed that the county lease a 2400-plus acre ranch owned by Alvin Dunn forty miles north of downtown Los Angeles in Castaic for \$1000 a month, but it took another nine months of debate and dialog before the County Board of Supervisors purchased this property outright for \$160,000. By April 1939, buildings were in place and inmates were working the land. The Honor Farm propelled Biscailuz into national prominence as a forward-looking penologist. Like the road camps, low-level criminals only were sent to the farm, but again the emphasis was on rehabilitation and not punishment.

By 1942, roughly half of this land was put into production, but the wisdom of this large purchase bore other fruit. In addition to growing crops and raising livestock, oil was discovered on the property in 1940 and began turning a tidy profit for the county. The sheriff's main weapons training range was also constructed on other acreage there. Then, in 1950, another maximum security jail was completed there to help alleviate the overcrowding at HOJJ. It was originally designed to hold only 200 inmates but in 1957 Wayside Max, as it came to be called, was increased to hold 900.

With jails now being spread across the county and courts beginning to pop up in many different areas as well, the department needed a better way to transport prisoners. Specially constructed jail buses were manufactured for transporting prisoners in 1937 by the Crown Body Corporation of Los Angeles using a six-cylinder 100-horsepower GMC engine. These buses would also

be used to transport deputies in the event of an emergency. Ford began delivery of special jail buses in 1946, and soon the department possessed a fleet of buses to rival any public bus company.

The addition of the second jail at Wayside and the success of the ranch and the camps still did not solve the overcrowding problems. To help address them, most of the female inmates were transferred to the former military detention facility in the Los Angeles Harbor known as Terminal Island in 1953. Still more male prisoners were transferred out of HOJJ in 1954 to a former juvenile detention facility and flight training school in the high desert at Lancaster seventy-five miles north of downtown Los Angeles known as Mira Loma. But these were only stop-gap measures. The Terminal Island facility was only a temporary fix for the women and HOJJ was beginning to show its age and needed more relief. The last three years of Biscailuz's term in office were taken up with the debate of where to build a new jail for women and a new main jail to replace HOJJ.

Despite the difficulties brought on the sheriff's department by its ever-increasing inmate population, Biscailuz continued to make efforts to reform instead of just warehouse prisoners. There were numerous programs for both male and female prisoners and in 1951 Biscailuz created the Inmate Welfare Fund to help better manage the revenue brought in by the jail store. This fund was overseen by private citizens in addition to the sheriff and again was designed to use monies raised to benefit inmates in the jail.

Reserves and Emergency Response

Ever since the St. Francis Dam failure Biscailuz realized that the county needed an emergency disaster plan. The search for the crashed plane carrying Frank De War highlighted this need. Biscailuz already was working on plans when the Long Beach earthquake struck in March 1933. By May a disaster plan was in place. Again, with money being tight, Biscailuz turned to his civilian friends. The result, in addition to the Aero Squadron, was the Sheriff's Mounted Posse. Although the mounted posse was often used in many official ceremonies, its primary role was to be search and rescue operations. Shortly before World War II, Biscailuz added the Sheriff's Coast Patrol. This sea force was made up of yachts and other small craft. The sea patrol did not survive the war as the mounted posse and air squadron did, but the sheriff's reserve began to grow and spread and provide support in a variety of capacities. The Sheriff's Reserve was formally created in 1941 and its growth was aided by the department's manpower needs in World War II.

In July 1936, Biscailuz helped form and chaired the County Major Disaster Council. This organization's mission was to prepare a coordinated county response in the event of fire, flood, earthquake, or major epidemic. Even before Pearl Harbor the inevitability of the United States's entry into World War II seemed evident. In early March 1941 Biscailuz, members of the Board

of Supervisors and others met and formed the Los Angeles Council Civilian Defense Committee. Biscailuz was its chairman. At the core of this committee were members from the Major Disaster Council. The Civilian Defense Committee met with fire and law enforcement officials from the other municipalities in the county as well as those from the City of Los Angeles.

By September, the committee became well defined with 100 members representing all forty-five cities in the county. It was also reorganized and renamed the Los Angeles County Defense Council. Biscailuz was selected as chairman. Though the City of Los Angeles had its own disaster emergency council and started looking at what to do in the event war came to Los Angeles in September 1939, a member of the Los Angeles City Council was on the County Council and the city pledged to work with the county and all other municipalities in a coordinated effort. After a trip to New York and Washington in October where he met with New York City mayor La Guardia and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, Biscailuz called for air raid drills and training, specifically in fire fighting.

Less than two months later the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor and the United States was at war. The council met and air raid wardens, part of the plan, were put on notice. The days after the attack on Pearl Harbor were filled with uncertainty. An imminent attack on the West Coast of the United States was feared. Many aliens from enemy nations (mostly Japanese, but also Germans and Italians) were swept up and held at the Terminal Island Detention Facility. Sheriff's buses and personnel were often used for the transportation. A call for volunteer police and firemen was made and the sheriff's department mobilized a force of 180 deputies who spent the previous year training in anti-subversive tactics. The sheriff's department formed an Air Raid Precaution Division and then placed sandbag barricades at the entrance to Hall of Justice manned by deputies carrying Thompson machine guns.

Biscailuz was also in the Navy Reserve holding the rank of Lt. Commander. In March 1943, he was briefly activated by the commandant of the Eleventh Naval District and spent fifteen days of special duty in San Diego. Shortly after his return, Governor Warren reorganized defense plans in California and set up a State War Council. This council also prescribed how local defense councils were to be set up. Warren named Biscailuz to the state committee as one of two officials representing the issues of the counties. Los Angeles County set up its own seven member war council as prescribed by the new law and it took over the duties of the County Defense Council. The County War Council was split into two divisions called the Citizens Defense Corps and the Citizens Service Corps. Biscailuz was named commander of the Defense Corps.

At the conclusion of the war the Board of Supervisors passed a special resolution commending Biscailuz for his leadership at the Defense Council and as Defense Corps Commander. Biscailuz's efforts helped ground emergency

response throughout the county. The existence of this coordinated effort facilitated better response to floods, fires, and other civic unrest in the years ahead. By 1958, the sheriff's department had deputies trained as a Special Enforcement Detail. Their job was to respond to events of an emergent or disastrous nature whether generated by nature or man. This unit predated the creation of formal SWAT units by almost a decade and is further testimony to Biscailuz as a law enforcement visionary.

Hobos, Strikes, and Riots

In early November 1936, with the Depression and the Dust Bowl migration West at their height, Biscailuz and a number of other California lawmen met to discuss how to erect a "bum blockade" to keep undesirables from entering the state. Sheriffs and police chiefs talked about patrolling the borders and arresting anyone who could not prove to the arresting officer's satisfaction that they could support themselves. These were dire times. The problem of hobos and vagrants was not new in California, but the perception was that the state was being overrun. Biscailuz was one of many law enforcement executives who participated in meetings and agreed to help deal with this problem. The courts stepped in and ruled that such action by law enforcement was illegal, but it did not stop many from being swept up and arrested for vagrancy.

Biscailuz's progressive views and his enlightened policies on jailing as seen by his road camps, honor farm, and youth camps seem to be in conflict with this "bum blockade." His willing participation in this was testimony to the difficulties created by the Depression not his view of the plight of the down-trodden. There is too much evidence on the other side to permit his stance in 1936 with other lawmen in the state against those fleeing the Dust Bowl to be definitive on his overall position regarding the down and out.

Biscailuz's first encounter with a large labor action occurred in late February 1937. Employees of the Douglas Aircraft Company conducted a sit-down strike inside their plant in Santa Monica. Sit-down strikes began the previous December at General Motors plants in Michigan and spread across the country as a means of compelling management to negotiate for higher wages. At Donald Douglas's plant in Santa Monica, 345 of his 5600 workers brought work to a halt. A force of 350 police and deputy sheriffs were mobilized against them. The strikers were armed with makeshift weapons and tools from inside the plant. Matters were very tense.

Biscailuz entered the plant armed only with the warrant to expel them but promised the men fair treatment and that their grievances would be heard. Accompanying him was Dr. Towne Hylander of the National Labor Relations Board who echoed these sentiments. Biscailuz appealed to the men as a fellow resident of Santa Monica and a man of his word. The strikers agreed to come

out peacefully and were hauled off to county jail. Many lawmen in other parts of the country would have sent in the troops. Biscailuz walked in unarmed and with only a small entourage. The newspaper photographs of the strikers after the standoff was concluded showed most of them smiling as they were taken downtown on buses and then processed into jail.

On 3 June 1943, a group of eleven sailors were attacked by a gang who they described as zoot suiters. The next night over 200 sailors exacted their retribution throughout the streets of Los Angles while law enforcement officials stood by and failed to intervene as this retribution went on for days. The only arrests made were youths dressed in zoot suits, not sailors. Captain Ayres authored a controversial report on Mexican American juvenile delinquency prior to the riots that was both inflammatory and derogatory. There were problems with Mexican youth gangs in 1942, but cultural and class prejudice also existed. These came to a head in the Zoot Suit Riots. Neither Biscailuz nor any other law enforcement leader in Los Angeles escaped some criticism for how this incident was handled.

The goodwill that Biscailuz had with the sit-down strikers in 1937 was nowhere to be seen during the Hollywood studio strikes in October 1945 then again in October 1946. In both strikes, numerous strikers, police officers, and deputy sheriffs were injured as rocks and bottles were thrown and subsequent arrests were made. Biscailuz was hung in effigy in front of the gates of the Warner Brothers' Studios in Burbank in 1945 to protest the sheriff's department's part in ending the picketing of the studio. The 1945 strike went on for months and their forceful end caused recrimination on both sides that spilled over into the following year.

The 1945 strike was noteworthy in that responding deputies wore air raid style helmets to protect them from objects thrown at them. The police officers at the scene wore only their standard caps. The county ordered 11,000 of these helmets for air raid wardens in 1942. Biscailuz attempted to provide his men with whatever new technology and equipment was available. By 1940, deputies already had an arsenal of less lethal options available to them. These included Thompson machine guns, 37 mm tear gas guns, tear gas grenades, and other grenades that were said to be able to completely incapacitate someone within two minutes and leave them sick for days. In the 1950s, regular army-style helmets replaced the old air raid helmets for riot control duty.

Biscailuz went out of his way to tell the Douglas strikers in 1937 that he and his men were only there to execute lawful orders of the court. The Hollywood strike of 1945 went on for months before law enforcement intervened. The sheriff's department only responded to fights when laws were violated and to prevent violence on picket lines. But Biscailuz saw to it that his men had the latest in cutting edge equipment and technology to protect them and due to the high level of media attention that these events generated, the tactics and tools used by the LASD were shown to law enforcement agencies around the nation.

Work with Youth

One of Biscailuz's first acts as sheriff was to strengthen the recently created Juvenile Bureau. Its function was to work with the courts and probation department to curb juvenile delinquency. This bureau was the first of its kind for any sheriff's department and reflected the sheriff's heart when it came to youth. The motto of the Juvenile Bureau was, "Arrest the cause. Not the Youth."

To this end Biscailuz put a number of programs in place. Two of the most visible were the summer camps and the youth deputy program. The first summer camp was set up near Malibu Beach in 1937 with the financial help of Biscailuz's friends in the business and entertainment community and was designed to bring underprivileged boys to an outdoor environment for a good time. But it was hoped, according to Biscailuz, that they were also "returned to their homes with a sharper definition of the proper moral attitude."

These one-time summer camps were fine, but Biscailuz sought something ongoing to engage youth. In 1938, the Junior Deputy Corps was created. Boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one wore uniforms and attended meetings and classes in East Los Angeles, Hollywood, and Lancaster. They were also called on to assist during major disasters and parades. The corps was most successful in the West Hollywood area and by 1941 the 95 percent drop in youth crime in the area was attributed to the existence of the program.

Despite Biscailuz's efforts, crimes committed by youth caused their ranks inside HOJJ to swell. Biscailuz housed sixteen- and seventeen-year-old offenders but he did not want them in and around adult inmates learning how to become better criminals. In 1946, Biscailuz sponsored the construction of a jail barracks facility for youth offenders in the hills east of downtown Los Angeles. Away from adults and out of the overcrowded jail, Biscailuz felt the youth would have a chance to be rehabilitated. Since he could not send them to the ranch this was the next best thing. On 23 August 1949, the Board of Supervisors renamed this juvenile facility Biscailuz Center in honor of the man who devoted so much time and energy to trying to help guide and rehabilitate youth.

Minorities and Women

Biscailuz's career in law enforcement spanned five decades of amazing social change in the nation's history. When he joined the department in 1907 women still did not have the right to vote. Segregation and bigotry between ethnic groups was the norm and would remain so for decades. For example, at the time Sheriff Traeger was appointed sheriff in 1921 he was the president of the Anti-Asiatic Association of Los Angeles. By the time Biscailuz left office in December 1959 the country was moving toward a more enlightened position on race and gender relations and he was at the cutting edge of this change.

When Biscailuz was sworn into office under Sheriff Hammel, Julius B. Loving was sworn in with him. J.B. Loving was the first black deputy in department history. Hammel originally appointed him deputy in 1899, but when Hammel was turned out in 1903, so too was Loving. Like Biscailuz, Loving was protected from discharge when Hammel left office in 1914 by civil service laws. Loving eventually rose to the rank of Inspector under Biscailuz and he ran all inmate programs in the jail. Loving was responsible for the creation of new bunks that increased the housing capacity of the jail and his programs were a central part of Biscailuz's policies of reforming prisoners at HOJJ. Loving was considered a member of the "old guard" and always appeared in photographs with Biscailuz and other deputies who hired on in 1907. Biscailuz's fondness for Loving was evident and the fact that Loving's scrapbook containing photographs and other memorabilia from his career became part of Biscailuz's own personal collection and was donated to him upon his death is testimony to their friendship.

The fact that Biscailuz had one black friend is not in and of itself indicative of an enlightened position toward blacks. It is worth noting that he hired and promoted other blacks to numerous positions prior to World War II. When Loving retired in 1937, he promoted Aaron Holliday, another black deputy, to Jail Inspector in his place. By 1945, there were forty-six black employees in the department. Twenty-seven were deputies. Doris Spears became the first female black deputy sheriff in January of that year.

Biscailuz worked with the NAACP to demonstrate his fairness and equal opportunities in his office. This was not easy. Despite Biscailuz's own enlightened and progressive views the times did not mirror them. The first black deputies were not allowed to work patrol until 1947. The black paper the *Neighborhood News* noted at the time that "Biscailuz is well known for his non-discriminatory appointments because the Negro personnel has increased significantly since he became Sheriff."⁶ In 1954, the NAACP and Biscailuz issued a joint statement declaring that all areas of the sheriff's department were to be integrated, and according to Biscailuz the future assignment of all personnel would be made "on the basis of their capabilities, not because of their race, color or creed."

Biscailuz also held an enlightened position for his time toward the role of women in law enforcement. The first female deputy sheriff in Los Angeles was Margaret Q. Adams, who was hired in 1912. Again it was Sheriff Hammel who swore her in. But the department had many female employees before this. Most served as jail matrons. Watching over the female inmate population remained the primary duty of women deputies on the department. The highest rank a woman could achieve in the department until 1937 was that of Chief Matron. Despite having the overall responsibility for women in the jail system, this rank was only the equivalent of a lieutenant and it was already mentioned that women did not first wear uniforms until almost ten years after men did.

In 1946, Vada Russell, the chief matron, was formally promoted to the rank of lieutenant. It would be another chief matron, Frances Blumfeld, who became the department's first female captain in 1953.

There was a reluctance to put women in patrol throughout the United States. Women peace officers tended to serve in detective capacities, usually working with youth, if not assigned to court or jail duties. In 1956, Biscailuz briefly assigned women to work patrol assignment at Norwalk and Firestone Station, but this experiment did not catch on and women waited until 1972 before they were permitted to work patrol assignments on a permanent basis.

There were numerous deputies of Hispanic heritage in the sheriff's department, not to mention Biscailuz himself. Still, there was a perception that Mexican Americans were not adequately represented. Their numbers in the 1945 were only slightly larger than those of the blacks.

Though the glass ceiling for Hispanics grew higher and faster under Biscailuz than it did for blacks and women—Captain Ed Duran Ayres commanded the Foreign Relations Bureau by 1935 and Captain George Contreras led the Vice Squad by 1939—Hispanic women took longer to enter the department. The first female Latina deputy was Mildred Reyes, who did not join the department until 1954.

Biscailuz's position on women and minorities was far more enlightened than it was for most of his peers. He understood what it was like to be viewed as a minority, as the dismissive assessment of him by some as "that damn Mexican" at the time of his appointment as CHP superintendent attests. He had a strong relationship with the Latin American community and with Latin American countries, and he had a close working relationship with the local black newspapers and the NAACP. Like his friend Earl Warren, he was a Progressive Republican whose actions when it came to race relations reflected fairness and forward thinking far ahead of most other top lawmen of the day.

Contract Law Enforcement

A sheriff department's primary patrol responsibility is the unincorporated areas of the county. The LASD was no different. All the substations created in the 1920s and 1930s were in county areas. The cities in the county had their own police departments. After World War II, California experienced another population explosion. Areas that were open fields and farm land suddenly began to blossom with instant communities. One such area was north of the city of Long Beach and was described as "just open fields" as late as 1951. Yet by 1954, these open fields had a population of 60,000 and the citizens there were ready to incorporate.

When the founders of the city of Lakewood began to look at incorporation they realized that becoming a city came with a price. One expensive price was policing. The sheriff's department patrolled this unincorporated area out of its substation at Norwalk. Future Lakewood city attorney John Todd proposed

contracting for various public services including policing and approached the sheriff's department with his idea. Biscailuz enthusiastically supported Todd's proposal. It took a special act of the state legislature and the governor's signature to authorize it, but when Lakewood became a city on 16 April 1954, the sheriff's department was its police force. Lakewood named a park in Biscailuz's honor due to his support for what came to be known as "The Lakewood Plan."

As new cities formed the contract idea spread. The cities of Norwalk (1957), Santa Fe Springs (1957), Paramount (1957), Pico Rivera (1958), and Rosemead (1959) all contracted with the department and many more followed. Today forty of the eighty-nine incorporated cities in Los Angeles County contract their police services with the sheriff's department. The department also has contractual arrangements with the Metropolitan Transit Authority, the Los Angeles Community Colleges, and the County Courts, as well as arrangements with other local, state, and federal government agencies to provide either policing or jailing services. Other police and sheriff's departments around the country also now provide contract law enforcement, but this idea began in Lakewood and was first brought to fruition by Biscailuz.

Scandals

In a time when corruption in law enforcement was unfortunately commonplace, the sheriff's department under Biscailuz did not escape scandal-free. Personnel conduct and the department's disciplinary process were clearly described in the Department Manual in 1936, and individual incidents were dealt with and appropriate punishment was meted out. Biscailuz meted out discipline as it was necessary, but two noteworthy incidents of scandal occurred during his time in office. Both involved noted gangsters.

In 1940, the charge of favoritism and preferential treatment for gangster Bugsy Siegel was leveled against jail staff. In the fallout of this investigation, jail doctor Benjamin Blank was fired and jailer Clem Peoples was reassigned.

Then, in late 1950, more serious charges were leveled against two sheriff's captains, Al Gausti and Carl Pearson, and Sergeant Lawrence Schaffer in connection with illegal activities involving gangster Mickey Cohen. The Kefauver Committee on organized crime came to Los Angeles and Biscailuz was grilled in front of it. Senator Kefauver compelled him to admit that mistakes were made by his department. Gausti was sentenced to prison for perjury. Pearson was found guilty of removing public documents and got three years probation. Though Biscailuz was exonerated and commended for his forthrightness in dealing with the problems of his department, this episode was a bitter blow made doubly hard because it came less than three months after the death of his wife.

CELEBRITY AND LEGACY

At the time he became sheriff he was called “Biscailuz, the most popular man in Los Angeles County.” This was more than hyperbole and during his time as sheriff all he did was add to this position. He achieved a celebrity status that rivaled any Hollywood star of the day and he numbered many of them as his friends. Tom Mix, Roy Rogers, and Gene Autry rode with him in the sheriff’s posse. Actor Leo Carrillo and he were lifelong friends who first met at St. Vincent’s College. Carrillo was at his side at most events through his tenure as sheriff.

In 1937, Biscailuz was the grand marshal of the Tournament of Roses Parade and rode its length on horseback as he did many Rose Parades in subsequent years. That year also was the first one when the sheriff’s department augmented the Pasadena Police Department by providing parade security. Thus began a seventy-year tradition of the deputy sheriffs lining the parade route on New Year’s Day. One woman wrote Biscailuz a letter in 1958 and said that “a parade was not a parade unless ‘Ol Biscuits’ was in it.”

In March 1941, James Rolph III, son of the governor who unceremoniously dismissed Biscailuz as superintendent of the CHP, called for him to be the Republican Party’s candidate for governor in 1942. Rolph called Biscailuz “a man who has the confidence and good will of the people throughout California.” Rolph also recommended that Earl Warren run for reelection for state attorney general and then try for the Senate in 1944. But Warren had other political aspirations in 1942 and Biscailuz, consistent with his position with Traeger in the 1920s, would not run for office against a friend. Biscailuz’s popularity was at its zenith in 1942. With the leadership role he played in Los Angeles’s defense preparations, and then as head of civil defense after the outbreak of the war, it is not improbable that had Warren chosen the political route Rolph mapped out for him in 1941, Biscailuz might have been elected governor in 1942.

The Sheriff’s annual barbecue, the fundraising engine for SRA, began to draw huge numbers in the 1930s and was only stopped in 1942 by the war and the desire not to put large groups of people in one place. When this initial concern passed, the sheriff’s “big show” took the barbecue’s place as a fundraiser with stars like Abbott and Costello as its masters of ceremony. In 1945, another means of raising money was tried. It was called the Sheriff’s Rodeo. This event was staged at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum and at its peak in the early 1950s it drew crowds over 100,000. The rodeo itself was only part of the attraction. Each rodeo had a grand marshal and a rodeo queen. Grand marshals included Howard Keel, Clint Walker, and Roy Rogers, and queens of the rodeo included Natalie Wood, Debbie Reynolds, and Barbara Stanwyck. There was also entertainment. During Biscailuz’s last rodeo as sheriff in 1958 an up and coming singer named Johnny Cash performed.

In 1953, Biscailuz was featured in an episode of Ralph Edwards's popular television show *This is Your Life*. Thus the life of the popular sheriff of Los Angeles County was shared with the nation. In 1956, Hal Roach created the television show *Code 3* based on real LASD cases. No particular star had the lead. The only recurring character during the show's brief run in 1957 was Biscailuz himself, who gave a brief close to each episode. Thus, for a brief time, Biscailuz was an occasional guest inside the homes of television viewers across the country.

When Biscailuz retired in December 1958, forced out of office only by a law that prohibited him from running due to his age, it was like an institution was stepping down not a man. At the Peace Officers Shrine Club dinner honoring his years of service, Biscailuz was called "America's most famous wearer of the star." He was also hailed at dinners hosted by the local media and local businessmen. Finally, a grand celebration was held in the International Ballroom of the Beverly Hotel with 1200 people in attendance in October 1958. Describing the event, one paper called Biscailuz "a living fable of the West." At this dinner he received scrolls from the governments of Chile, France, Mexico, Italy, and Liberia. Counsels from the first four of these governments spoke and commended him for his years of service promoting international understanding. All the cities in Los Angeles County honored him as did the political leadership from across the state.

Biscailuz was an innovator, a leader, and a man of compassion. He belonged to numerous civic groups and charities and was the chairman of the Los Angeles chapter of the March of Dimes for years. This was one title that he did not surrender when he retired as sheriff.

In retirement he continued to serve the citizens of Los Angeles County as a member of the Old Plaza Restoration Committee. As such he was named vice president in charge of Latin American affairs for El Pueblo de Los Angeles. For his work on the committee helping to preserve Los Angeles history and restore historic Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles, the committee named the building where it held its meetings in his honor only a few days before his death on 16 May 1969. Today, it fittingly houses the Mexican Cultural Institute.

Biscailuz's legacy lives on. Most of the programs in the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department today can be traced to him. The California Highway Patrol and law enforcement agencies throughout the country are in his debt for innovations he began. His advances in law enforcement training, penology, contract law, emergency response, and use of aircraft have been copied across the nation. Though memory of him may have faded, his legacy and iconic status in American law enforcement and in Los Angeles County endures.

NOTES

1. *Los Angeles Examiner*, 28 October 1956.
2. *Los Angeles Times*, 28 June 1921.

3. F.W. Emerson. *History of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, 1850–1940* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, 1940), p. 251.
4. *Los Angeles Times*, 2 November 1929.
5. E.W. Biscailuz, "The Peace Officer's Relation to the Public," in *The Police Officer and Police Reporter* (December 1932).
6. *Neighborhood News*, 27 February 1947.

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Bridger Mountains near Bozeman, Montana. Getty Images.

Bozeman, Montana

Elwood Bakken

Bozeman, Montana, is situated in the Gallatin Valley in southwest Montana. In many ways, the city epitomizes the American West in its natural splendor, its pursuit of intellectual enterprise, and, in recent years, its loss of untamed natural resources and wide open spaces. Bounded on the south by the Madison Range and the Gallatin Range, on the west by the Tobacco Roots, and the east by the Bridger Mountains, Bozeman's skyline is big sky with accents of mountain peaks. The Gallatin Range sports Hyalite Peak and Mount Blackmore. West of Gallatin Canyon the Madison Range tilts to the southwest with Wilson Peak at 10,700 feet and Gallatin Peak at 11,015 feet, dominating the line of sight. Blackfeet, Crow, Flathead, and Shoshone tribes contested over this valley of flowers. Lewis and Clark visited the valley on the way to the Pacific Ocean and named its mountains and rivers after Thomas Jefferson, Albert Gallatin (Jefferson's secretary of Treasury), and James Madison, among other dignitaries of the era. Today high-tech firms, college students, and retirees enjoy the same visual splendor that John Bozeman enjoyed over a century ago.

By this time the train was entering the magnificent valley of the Yellowstone, and I was well content to sit and gaze at the wonderful beauty of the scene. The clearness and brightness of the atmosphere gave a vividness to everything that I had never seen elsewhere. The golden yellow of the grass, the bright red of the brush by the riverside, the blue-black of the masses of pine against the snow, last, and perhaps most beautiful of all, the dazzling white of the snow-mountains, rising up peak above peak into the brilliant blue of this Western sky.

—Isabel R. Randall, 1884¹

From the resident perspective or for the tourist, Bozeman is the gateway to Yellowstone Park. A short drive down the interstate to the Three Forks area puts tourists on the path past the Lewis and Clark Caverns to the west entrance to Yellowstone Park. The beauty of the park continues to attract tourists by the thousands.

Early inhabitants of southwestern Montana referred to the valley as the Valley of Flowers. Prairie grass and sagebrush dominated the lower elevations along with cottonwoods and willow trees. As elevation increased conifer trees like pine, spruce, and fir textured the area with islands of aspen intermingled. Wildlife was abundant and diverse. Today around Bozeman one might encounter deer, elk, moose, bighorn sheep, wolves, coyotes, and bears. The area is also a major stopping point for migratory birds.

There are many rivers that traverse the area. The Gallatin, Jefferson, and Madison all join together to form the Missouri River near Three Forks, Montana. A labyrinth of tributaries supplies these rivers. Fed by snow slowly melting

On the 23rd we followed the valley of Trail Creek twelve miles, to within sight of the valley of the Yellowstone. Approaching the river, the country became more and more volcanic in appearance, with large masses of trachyte lava cropping out from the high ridges on the right and left. Many of these masses showed a perpendicular front of castles, and other objects of interest. Several miles away on the right, in the highest range bordering the valley, is Pyramid Mountain, a snow-capped peak and farther to the southward a long range, also covered with snow. On the left of the valley the foot hills were clothed with beautiful verdure, and the higher summits of the ranges grown up with pine timber. Crossing a low ridge in the afternoon we came in full sight of the Yellowstone valley and steam. The view from this point was extremely grand covering a vista of some thirty miles along the river of the valley of which is here several miles wide, and shut in by volcanic mountains of immense height on the opposite side; these peaks are of a dark lava with ragged summits that stand out in bold relief against the sky.

—Lt. Gustavus C. Doane, 23 August 1870²

high above the valley floor, these waterways feed the brilliant flora and fauna of the area. Not only are they the source of water, but they also provide easy transportation and recreation to local inhabitants just as they did to American Indians and Lewis and Clark.

The beauty and fertility of the valley caught the attention of early emigrants. The rich river bottomland and timber resources that surrounded them told early pioneers this valley could be used to supply the mines of Virginia City and Helena and support any settlers that chose to dwell in the area. On 9 August 1864 a group of men met to formalize a town with the intent of protecting their interests in the area. The minutes of the meeting record that John M. Bozeman was elected chairman and recorder of land claims. On nomination by W.W. Alderson the town was named Bozeman. The cost of filing a claim was \$1 and required the claimant to become a resident within ten days to hold the claim. The next day there were seven claims recorded and more followed that autumn. The meeting also established the town boundaries to organize land claims. The town was not formally platted until 1870 and was then incorporated by the state legislature in 1874.

John Bozeman's name will forever be identified with the town just as Albert Gallatin's name will be fixed on the valley. However, Bozeman's time in the town was brief. Indians allegedly killed Bozeman on 18 April 1867, three years after the founding of the town. Thomas Cover, the gentleman who shared Bozeman's company that fateful day, reported that Indians attacked them while camped on the banks of the Yellowstone River. The details of Cover's story about the day's events could never be confirmed. Some people

And so we were carried smoothly along the blue waters of the Yellowstone, past incipient "cities" of one "store" and a "saloon," past log-cabins and "corrals," and their mean-looking headquarters of great cattle kinds, counting their cattle by the thousand; past bunches of sleek, fat cattle, who live apparently on air (so scanty did the grass appear to my uneducated eyes), past an occasional herd of startled antelope, until we took our last lingering look at this lovely river and struck off across the open prairie for the Great Divide between the valleys of the Gallatin and Yellowstone. After ascending the slopes of the Divide, amidst most lovely scenery, we at last entered the Bozeman tunnel; and I must confess to an uncomfortable feeling at the thought of having the main range of the [mighty] [R]ockies over my head. But we emerged safely at the Bozeman end, and, after admiring the pretty little town, with its odd mixture of small wooden villas and imposing brick structures, steamed slowly out into the famous Gallatin Valley—famous at least in Montana and to all who have heard of Montana, and famous to me, for this is to be my home, amongst the mountains, the cattle, the Indians, and the grisly bears.

—Isabel F. Randall, 1884³

found evidence that suggested that Cover had committed the killing and that his wound was self-inflicted. The conflicting details of the day's events however did not come to light until many years later when most the participants had passed away. Bozeman's death at the hands of Indians was significant in that it created a tangible threat to settlers by hostile Indians in the area. Bozeman's death was a factor in the U.S. government's decision to build a military garrison, Fort Ellis, on the outskirts of Bozeman and in the territorial governor calling for troops to meet in Bozeman to confront the Indian threat.

The arrival of the army was a stabilizing ingredient in Bozeman's recipe for immigration, but the immediate reaction was not. Stories of John Bozeman's death in Montana papers caused a so-called general panic of settlers in the area. In response, the federal government approved a fort south of Bozeman. This thrilled local residents not only for the protection the fort would provide, but also the fort payroll that would come with it. Furthermore, a stationed army garrison now dispelled anyone still having doubts about the longevity of Bozeman.

The U.S. Army arrived in the Gallatin Valley on 27 August 1867. One hundred ninety-five men of the Thirteenth Infantry under the command of Captain Robert S. Lamotte immediately started to construct a stockade for the protection of local inhabitants. The fort was named after Colonel Augustus Van Horne Ellis, who died at the battle of Gettysburg on 2 July 1863. In the next couple years the infantry would be joined by four companies of the Second Regiment U.S. Cavalry under the command of Colonel A.G. Brackett. On

Proclamation

Executive Offices. Virginia City, Montana Territory, April 24, 1867:

To The People Of Montana:

Fellow Citizens—OUR TERRITORY HAVING BEEN INVADED BY THE INDIANS—MURDERS HAVING BEEN PERPETRATED ON THE YELLOW STONE AND ON THE ROADS BETWEEN HELENA AND FORT BENTON—THE DEVASTATION OF ONE OF THE BEST SETTLED AND MOST PRODUCTIVE OF OUR VALLEY, BEING DAILY, IF NOT HOURLY, THREATENED—WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, FROM THE ALARM THAT JUSTLY PREVAILS, A GENERAL DISTURBANCE OF THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY, WITHOUT AS WELL AS WITHIN OUR BOUNDARIES, IS RAPIDLY SPREADING, I HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS MY DUTY TO EFFECT, IF POSSIBLE, A MILITARY ORGANIZATION WHICH SHALL BE EQUAL TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE HOUR AND THE DUTY THEY DEMAND.

ACTING GOVERNOR THOMAS MEAGHER⁴

Brackett's staff was Second Lieutenant Gustavas Cheyney Doane. The fort proved to be a boon for businessmen who traded directly with the fort and for Bozeman's main street merchants. Bozeman residents would supply the fort and the soldiers would spend their pay in the town.

With the addition of a military garrison the town's growth was exponential. By the 1880s Bozeman had come of age for a small Western city. The Metropolitan Hotel on Main Street was the first brick building. In 1872, Walter Cooper had another brick building housing his thriving business on Main. The Spieth and Krug brick brewery was in the 200 block of Main Street adjoining their frame construction saloon. Most important, the brick county courthouse was completed on 11 July 1880. Carey & Lewis's brick yard supplied much of the raw material for the edifices of civilization in Bozeman. Along with all the private sector of town developing, Bozeman also supported religion. Catholic, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches had all formally organized. The Methodists held services in the 1870s, the Presbyterians in 1872, and the Baptists in 1883. Importantly, congregations built churches that continued to fuel the building trades in the city. The first church building opened in 1879. Others, like the First Presbyterian Church, opened their doors in the 1880s.

The creation of Yellowstone Park by the federal government on 1 March 1872 further supplemented the flow of people and money into the city. Only ninety miles from Bozeman the seasons of tourists would be a sure thing. Often referred to as Colter's Hell, people came to see the wonders of the park. The early tourists came on hunting and photography expeditions. The most important event for Bozeman was the arrival of the first Northern Pacific train on 21 March 1883. Now the Gallatin Valley was connected to the outside

world for commerce. The first brick depot took shape in 1891. To decrease the grade of the track into Bozeman, the Northern Pacific started on the John Muir Tunnel, engineered a three-mile ditch to drain the tunnel, and opened it on 22 January 1884. The Northern Pacific now had a fairly easy route from a terminus on Lake Superior to Puget Sound. The products of the Gallatin Valley could now run coast to coast via rails and to markets in Asia and the eastern United States aboard ships.

The railroad's connections to markets spurred a commercial boom in Bozeman. To finance the boom, banks opened for business. The Bozeman National Bank was the first in 1882, quickly followed by the Gallatin Valley National Bank the same year. The Pioneer Savings and Loan Company welcomed customers in 1888. The Rocky Mountain Telephone Company started with twenty-four customers in 1884. To give another semblance of civilization, Bozeman incorporated in 1883, electing a mayor and eight aldermen. The next year a volunteer fire company formed as the Bozeman Hook and Ladder Number 1, and in 1889 the company had a fire chief, William G. Alexander, and a steam engine. The Bozeman Opera House on the corner of Main and Rouse started in blueprint in 1887, opened its doors in 1890 with stage, fire and police department offices, a jail, and a library. The city had arrived and civilization's trappings were clearly visible.

The crash and depression of 1893 hurt local business, but after the Panic of 1907 banking and commerce flourished. Charles Leon Anceney, with a \$38,000 Bozeman bank loan in his pocket, went to Northern Pacific headquarters and bought Gallatin Canyon land for a cattle operation. In 1913, the Anceney family started buying up more acreage and formed the Flying D Ranges, covering ten townships. The Northern Pacific built a branch to the Flying D so that cattle could be loaded at the Anceney stop and unloaded in Chicago two and a half days later. The cattle boom of the Gallatin Valley was underway. It continued after the Anceney family passed on in the hands of Californian James Irvine in 1944 and Texan Robert Shelton in 1971. The Valley of Flowers had produced a cattle empire.

Despite the crash and depression of 1893, Bozeman started another symbol of civilization, a college. In 1893, the legislature passed and the governor signed a bill providing a land grant college for the Gallatin Valley. Governor John E. Richards appointed a five-man executive board of education to determine a site and start a college. To comply with statutory deadlines, the board converted the Bozeman Academy, a private prep school on West Main, into the Agricultural College of the State of Montana. In 1896, the Agricultural Experiment Station swung open its doors on campus and the Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts had over 100 students in its classrooms. Forty-four students graduated in 1904. Higher education was firmly planted on Bozeman soil. In the late 1940s, enrollment skyrocketed due to the G.I. Bill. Returning veterans of World War II caused the student population to increase

by 50 percent. During this period of growth more buildings and land holdings were added to the college. Even today with enrollment above 12,000 students Montana State University-Bozeman students and employees make up a large percentage of the population of Bozeman. MSU offers baccalaureate degrees in fifty-one fields, master's degrees in forty fields and doctorates in seventeen fields.

Furthermore, the university is one of the most common reasons for people to immigrate to the town; it touts itself as having "a national and international reputation for excellence." MSU's slogan today is "Mountains and Minds," a slogan that represents the other reason for migration to the town of Bozeman—recreation. As Montana State University-Bozeman, the University has become a cultural hub that contributes mightily to the intellectual feast that people enjoy in the valley.

The Museum of the Rockies on the MSU campus hosted an ice cream social with ice cream, games, crafts, and traditional Fourth of July festivities on 4 July 2007, at the Museum's Living History Farm. At the farm, visitors could experience the daily life of a Montana homesteader at the turn of the century. Costumed interpreters cook, forge iron in the blacksmith shop, play games, and feed the chickens and other farm livestock. In addition, people could also enjoy the Heirloom Garden and the historic Mandan-style Native American garden at the farm. Inside the Museum of the Rockies, visitors can inspect traditional exhibits about Montana and the American West as well as the prehistoric animals that roamed the land. This is another of the cultural magnets that draws new residents to Bozeman.

The [Story] Mansion was built in 1910 by Thomas Byron Story. T.B. was the son of Nelson and Ellen Trent Story, Montana's first millionaire family. Growing up, T.B. knew of his parents' commitment to Bozeman's civic health.

When Bozeman had dithered about providing land for the state's land-grant college, Nelson and Ellen donated the hill and provided significant additional financial support for Montana State College, now Montana State University.

Building cultural infrastructure, T.B. understood, was good, indeed necessary for Bozeman's future. In 1906, he helped inaugurate a festival celebrating the town's blossoming sweet peas and budding prosperity.

Three years later, T.B.'s exuberance about his own good fortune and the town's (the two were inseparable in his mind) inspired him to join forces with the college's music instructor, Louis Howard, to compose "The Bozeman Sweet-Pea Carnival Song."

—Robert Rydell and Derek Strahn, "What Will Happen to the Story
Mansion at 100?" *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, 29 July 2007

THE LOSS OF NATURAL RESOURCES

In recent years, Bozeman's residents have begun to mourn the loss of their city's natural splendor. Jim Robbins of Helena, Montana, authored a piece in the *Los Angeles Times*, 26 November 2006 edition titled "Circling the Welcome Wagons: Equity-Rich Boomers Who Yearn for Wide-Open Spaces Are Heading For the Rocky Mountain West—Montana In Particular—Where the Locals Are Waiting. With Pitchforks." Robbins argues that in the past settlements sprung up where natural resources were, or followed the paths of highways, railroads, and other easy links to more heavily populated areas. That left plenty of open space in Big Sky Country. In fact, when Robbins came to the area from New York, "it was still a high-country Brigadoon, hidden away from the real world by its location, climate and deficit of jobs. The few cities were islands in an ocean of drop-dead beautiful landscapes." The beauty of Montana started to lure people from urban America to these open spaces. Though the migratory influx has brought positive changes like cultural programs and economic growth, Robbins believes that the new arrivals are becoming "too numerous, paving the way for one of the great paradoxes: They destroy what attracted them." The migration to Montana and the Rocky Mountain West tipped the balance of nature. Too much civilization harmed the natural spaces of Montana. "What is good in reasonable measure is often bad in full measure," the late historian K. Ross Toole once wrote, "and Montana has been a place of full measure."

Robbins observes that, in the 1990s, "for every greedy invader there was a Liz Claiborne or a Ted Turner, welcome neighbors who hired locals, set up charitable foundations and protected their wide-open spaces with conservation easements in which they sold off the right to develop their ranches and defended the land against sprawl—the darkest demon of the New West—in exchange for tax benefits." Some created a mega-trend buying up recreational ranches in the Gallatin Valley, creating local cultural angst with their multimillion-dollar purchases—sums that would take locals "several lifetimes" to save. Furthermore, Montanans who lived simply on \$20,000 or \$25,000 a year and drove old pickup trucks were visually awed when multimillion-dollar houses graced the hills. They heard about owners who bought a personal quarry to supply decorative rock for the construction crews. This kind of spending and construction clearly communicated class differences and that was a shock to locals, who operate under more of a "live-and-let-live" philosophy. For example, the new rich in the Gallatin Valley often fence their property and lock their gates, cutting off access to their lands and sometimes to public lands locals have used for generations. To some locals, this way of life implies little respect for the land and the people residing in the West.

There is much to attract newcomers to the region: good schools, the beauty of nature, uncongested areas, "the fact that you can walk from City Hall to the mountains in 10 minutes, or get into a car and be fishing on a river in 20."

In the Third Coast, in the Rocky Mountain West, nearly “all net new jobs are in service—engineers, architects, maids, waiters,” says Ray Rasker, executive director of Headwaters Economics, a nonprofit research firm in Bozeman, the seat of Gallatin County (the population of which, by the way, has shot up 55 percent in fifteen years). In addition, people moving to the area are drawn by the affordable land. “Following the escape-fantasy lead of retreating celebrities, equity refugees—Southern Californians, for instance, who can’t find anything there for less than a million dollars—are able to buy homes here for \$200,000 or \$300,000 or \$400,000 and effectively retire.” People of modest means in higher-priced areas enjoy a better standard of living on the new property. “It’s the next big land grab,” says Rasker. The change is visible in the countryside, to the discouragement of longtime residents. Certain waterways, once available only to fly-fishing locals, are now heavily crowded with what some locals call “Orvis orgies,” referring to the expensive gear that well-heeled fishermen like to wear. Once a gentleman’s paradise with rod and creel, there are shouting matches and even fistfights on Montana’s trout streams.

“The new migrants are adept at running a global economy,” Rasker says. “They are intelligent and well-traveled. They sell ideas, knowledge and experience. The locals, on the other hand, have bumper stickers that say ‘true wealth comes from the ground.’”

Robbins observes what Jared Diamond outlined in *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (2005). “In the old days,” Robbins noted, “the settlers who ended up in the interior West made their livings by logging and mining and raising cattle. Few gave much thought to the impact that clear-cutting, open-pit gold mining with cyanide and overgrazing would have on the environment. In the 1960s and ’70s, we began to realize the real costs of extraction. It wasn’t just aesthetic, but economic as well: If rivers turned red with mine waste and forests were cut down and trucked away, they weren’t any use for hunting and fishing.” Diamond’s chapter on Montana argues that Montanans have turned that bend in terms of outlawing mine waste pollution.

Another consideration, which Robbins attributes to Andrew Hansen, an ecology professor at Montana State University-Bozeman, is the nascent science that measures the impact of so many people wanting to enjoy hiking and off-road vehicle driving, mountain biking, and bird-watching, of so many people wanting to live near Yellowstone or Glacier or Grand Teton or Arches or Rocky Mountain national parks. Management is the key to preserving the ecology and affording access to visitors. Well and good, argues Robbins, but nineteenth-century policies not based on a twentieth- or twenty-first-century scientific understanding of natural systems need radical adjustment. The Greater Yellowstone ecosystem is more than the Yellowstone Park created in 1872. Research in the past two decades has demonstrated, for example, that it isn’t as simple as mapping out a preserve and allowing development, that it takes another 20 million acres outside to support the big game animals that

live in Yellowstone part of the year but that also depend on far-off river bottoms and wind-scoured valleys for winter range.

Hansen's work also involves the study of "ecological hot zones," meaning places where the biodiversity is richest because habitat, food supply, and other factors come together for a large number of species. He has observed that many of the new homes are being built on exactly the land with the highest level of diversity. "Ecological hot spots are disproportionately on private land," Hansen says. This causes an erosion in resources for almost all species living in the area, depleting trees and forests, and displacing and killing wildlife.

Robbins also cites Dave Theobald, a professor of conservation planning at Colorado State University, who has been measuring the impact since 1995. The disruption in winter range for deer is a major concern, he says. Fences, roads, dogs, and homes force deer to places they might not normally go and to gather in unusually large herds. Theobald recently co-authored a paper citing evidence that the change in natural patterns caused by human sprawl may be contributing to the spread of chronic wasting disease—the wild animal variant of mad cow disease.

Chronic wasting disease is a regional economic problem that threatens wildlife management practices in multiple states. It has become a Wisconsin state issue, and the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* 26 May 2002 edition reported that 36 percent of the deer hunters polled were considering not hunting because of CWD. Tom Hauge, the Department of Natural Resources director for wildlife management, said "considering not hunting and actually not hunting are two different things" because "deer hunting is an emotional thing for people—(that) having to give it up is very hard to do." In its 14 July 2002 edition, Meg Jones's feature "Deer Hunting Spending Expected to Fall" in the *Sentinel* quoted a University of Wisconsin professor estimating a 10–20 percent decline in hunters costing the state \$48–96 million. The estimate was based on a 1996 U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service finding that the average deer hunter spent an average \$875 to hunt deer. Would the hunters turn out? What would the season be for the \$1 billion industry?

The *Wisconsin State Journal* 22 November 2002 edition reported that 688,261 hunters entered the 2001 gun season, but with an "eradication" zone set up in southern counties to kill all the deer and have them tested. Ron Seely, the environmental reporter, found that "somehow it's not the same." Seely reported in the 24 November 2002 edition that the "South-central woods seem quieter than usual on first day." Where had all the hunters gone?

The *Rocky Mountain News* 30 November 2003 edition committed pages 29A–30A to "Wisconsin's Grisly Task: Kill Off the Deer." Todd Hartman reported from Black Earth, Wisconsin, where the eradication continued. He specifically referenced Colorado's efforts to limit the spread in the deer and elk herds. But the news in Colorado was not good, as Hartman noted: Though for years it was believed that CWD had not spread beyond a particular area in northeastern Colorado and southeastern Wyoming, it had recently been

found in several places in northwestern Colorado. Back in Wisconsin, Pat Durkin's "Rest of Nation Watches" column in the *Wisconsin State Journal* 24 November 2002 edition observed that many state agency officials had been seeking information on the CWD eradication program and its findings. Why the interest? Durkin quipped that "something also tells me CWD will disrupt more agency, political and taxpayer-funded careers than any other fish or wildlife disease we've encountered." The point is well known in conservation circles. Hunting license revenues fill paychecks and fund conservation projects such as habitat maintenance.

Well, those culture bearers of Wisconsin did not fail the Badger heritage. The *Wisconsin State Journal*'s 2 December 2002 edition reported that gun license sales only fell 10 percent to 618,945, but the opening weekend kill was down 30,000 over 2001. There might be more bucks left in the Wisconsin woods for 2003, but at least there are still bucks available for conservation. And so they were in 2003 with an increase of 11 percent in resident licenses over 2002 and 6 percent for nonresident hunters. Regardless of Wisconsin hunters, a new study by a Colorado State University economist reckoned the losses from chronic wasting disease at \$100 billion. Melissa Frost sees it moving toward the Greater Yellowstone region. Yet hunters continue to take to the woods.

Robbins similarly observed that the migration had altered the basic balance that fire established. Ecology was now more built than experienced.

CULTURAL AND NATURAL ATTRACTIONS

The surrounding mountains and rivers provide recreational opportunities year round. The two most popular activities are fishing in the summer and skiing and snowboarding in the winter months. The movie *A River Runs Through It* gave viewers a glimpse of what trout fishers have known for decades: The rivers are spectacular. With three rivers in the valley, not to mention the tributaries that feed these rivers, the fishing opportunities are everywhere. The rivers also provide opportunities for white-water rafting and kayaking. Excellent white water is located within an hour from town. Bozeman is also located between three ski resorts. Bridger Bowl is sixteen miles from town in Bridger Canyon. Since 1955, Bridger Bowl has operated as a nonprofit serving the residents of the Gallatin Valley. Big Sky Resort is located forty-five miles from Bozeman in the Madison Range. Big Sky Resort offers all the amenities of a world-class facility. And in 2003 a third resort, Moonlight Basin, started operation. Big Sky also is the home of the Yellowstone Club filled with the millionaires that prefer skiing to ranching in Big Sky Country.

The most impressive feature, and maybe the most unexpected, is the amount of cultural organizations that can be found in Bozeman, which have brought the town national media attention. Bozeman was the subject of a network

television program “Sunday Morning.” The program tried to answer the question of how a small cow town in the West could be home to so much culture. With a population of a little over 36,000 it is very impressive that Bozeman hosts symphonies, an opera company, theater groups, and a ballet. The town also hosts The Emerson Center for the Arts and Culture and Beall Park Art Center. In addition, Bozeman hosts a plethora of museums.

Montana State University supports an orchestra, but in 1968 it was felt that it was time to create an independent orchestra that would encourage more community involvement and outreach to more of the population of Bozeman. The mission of the Bozeman Symphony Society is “to support the performance of symphonic and choral music by a resident orchestra and choir for the benefit of audiences, students and musicians residing in south-central Montana.”

With the high demand for performance culture, Bozeman has what New York or Los Angeles residents want in a city. Bozeman is an all-you-can-eat buffet of performing arts. The Bozeman Intermountain Opera Company performs yearly in town. Montana Shakespeare in the Parks performs in Bozeman at least twice a year. The Equinox Theatre holds performances in town. They also conduct classes in the Emerson for aspiring thespians and a summer camp for kids. The Montana Ballet Company has multiple performances yearly including the Christmas classic “The Nutcracker.” They also have an outreach program that has whet the palette for dance in thousands of rural kids. Their mission statement sums up the collective attitude in Bozeman. “The Montana Ballet Company operates under the belief the arts, in all their forms, have the capacity to enrich the lives of those living in the rural mountain west.”

The Emerson Center not only is the home for many artists’ studios, but also has galleries, performance groups, and other professionals. Their 700-seat theater plays host to many concerts, slide shows, and lectures. Together with the Beal Park Art Center they also offer art education and outreach programs. The *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* includes a long list of cultural events in its print and Internet versions. The Emerson is a community institution and the nucleus for all that goes on in the town.

Housed in the old county jail the Pioneer Museum is a collection of local history. Free to the public the Pioneer’s attractions range from Fort Ellis and early firearms to jail cells and a hanging gallows. There is a replica of a log cabin and collections of farm implements, old cars, and donated personal possessions. The Pioneer has one of the best photo archives outside of the State Historical Society in Helena. Focusing on much broader topics in history is the Museum of the Rockies. Montana’s premiere natural history museum, whose collections not only contain the first free-standing full-size *T. Rex* and the Taylor Planetarium but also include collections on geology, Ice Age mammals, Native Americans, and Montana history, they also have a living history farm. That is a wonderful representation of life in Montana 100 years ago. Jumping into the modern era is the Compuseum—the American Computer

Museum, which is a renowned collection of microprocessors, radios, televisions, and other electrical inventions. Bozeman has a children's museum, which stimulates the young population with hands-on activities and exhibits.

Bozeman was also featured in a *New York Times* article published 9 May 1993 titled "Montana's Cow Town with Charm: Bozeman, In Its Spectacular Setting, Doesn't Want To Be Too Popular." Dan O'Brian describes Bozeman as "a place where the Old West meets the New West and the local economy meets the world economy . . . where solid old saddle horses encounter titanium mountain bikes." The article goes on to say that Bozeman is not generally friendly to new migration trends, but once you visit it is very hard not to emigrate to the town. Obviously, a four-column illustrated article in the Sunday *Times* gave Bozeman national exposure.

Sweet Pea Festival of the Arts

Sweet Pea [Festival of the Arts] is "an endearing tradition in the community," [JoAnn] Brekhus said, and the admission hike [from \$8 to \$10 in advance for three days] is "needed to survive." [Despite the increase,] "The \$10 gate price is still a phenomenal deal," Brekhus said, adding that several festival events, like the parade, Bite of Bozeman and Chalk on the Walk, are free. "What else can you do for \$10 in the community."

Sweet Pea has grown remarkably in 30 years. It started in 1978 with a few thousand buttons for sale—and they didn't run out, Berkhus said. Button prices stayed at \$2 and \$3 for 14 years.

Although the festival got started with help from a Montana Arts Council grant, Sweet Pea receives no government dollars today. It regularly contributes to improvements for the city's Lindley Park, where the festival is held, from playground equipment to picnic tables to planting trees, in addition to paying \$1,995 in rent for the park for three days every summer.

—Gail Schontzler, "Refinancing: Losses Prompt Sweet Pea To Raise Admissions,"
Bozeman Daily Chronicle, 5 August 2007

The Bozeman, Montana, recipe is a unique balance of tradition and change. Traditionally Bozeman attracted people to settle the land and reap its harvest. Today one can still see and feel that agricultural presence. The annual Sweet Pea Festival and Parade reminds residents and tourists of Bozeman's agricultural origins. On a more modern note, the area is also home to a thriving skateboarding scene and has been profiled in national skateboarding magazines. Most recently, the Gallatin Valley Skatepark Association has begun raising money to build a new skate park in the Gallatin Valley Regional Park, inviting all to join its "skateboarding revolution."

Montana State attracts people challenged to stimulate their intellectual growth and enjoy the recreation supplied by the surrounding environment.

The university also ensures the annual ebb and flow of new ideas and town population with the beginning and ending of every academic calendar. A current issue linking Bozeman's past with its future is the Story Mansion. Robert Rydell and Derek Strahn asked in a 29 July 2007 editorial whether the building and grounds would become private property or the university's new home for the Humanities Institute. At the time, MSU had already raised \$500,000 toward buying the property, and it was hoped that a Save America's Treasures Grant from the city would match that amount. An additional sum of \$500,000 in pledges was still needed for the full operation of the property. The university president, Geoff Gamble, was preparing a proposal for the September 2007 Board of Regents meeting to acquire the mansion, but the endowment remains a necessity. Rydell and Strahn support MSU's efforts to acquire the property, arguing, "With its commitment to public programming across all areas of knowledge and the arts along with its commitment to bringing together knowledgeable people for town and campus to discuss solutions to pressing problems facing all of us, the Humanities Institute will put an icon of Bozeman's and America's past to appropriate public and future use." The Story Mansion is an icon in an icon of a town. The mountains and their stunning beauty are the most profound characteristic of the town. This will be the main image that will continue to attract people for the weekend, a few years, or a lifetime.

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

MSU, in the iconic city, continues to expand its reach and further focus the nation's attention on "Minds and Mountains." Whether the Story Mansion or the Gallatin County Skatepark are part of the icon in the near future, readers must travel to the world in a valley to find out. But there are indications of the direction of change. The *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* published a special publication, "Progress 2007," in the 18 November 2007 edition. The special noted the growing sense of community in the city based on neighborhood identification and interaction with government. Downtown Bozeman continued to blend the past, present, and a future based on a Business Improvement District able to tax itself for improvements. The arrival of national chain retailers north of 19th Avenue signaled the arrival of an "economic hot zone." High-tech firms like RightNow Technology and the MSU TechLink Center put Bozeman on the technology map. Bozeman's Deaconess Hospital now serves over 100,000 people in a three-county area and has experienced three percent growth over each of the past ten years. Although growth is evident in the valley, the past is clearly evident in Bozeman's Bon Ton district of large historic homes along grassy boulevards. It is hard not to find all that the world offers in this valley.

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Disney characters Mickey and Minnie Mouse wave to a crowd during the 50th anniversary of the opening of Disneyland in Anaheim, California, 17 July 2005. Getty Images.

Disneyland

Solaiman M. Fazel

Disney cartoon characters were American cultural icons long before Walt Disney opened Disneyland, and in 1955 they were part of a far larger iconography of the American West in Disneyland in Anaheim, California. Frontierland, in particular, perpetuated a deeply rooted and widely shared American attitude about U.S. expansionism into the West. The themes of region, westward expansion, Manifest Destiny, and American triumphalism permeated Frontierland and insinuated itself into Tomorrowland. Disneyland by Richard Francaviglia's lights was a manifestation of American expansionism from the war with Mexico to the Cold War with the Soviet Union. The icons of the West in this theme park eventually made Disneyland an American tourist destination and the park became an American icon.

Disneyland was an urban enclave, a new form of urban recreation for Americans. Like Las Vegas, Disneyland was a mental and special pattern that was distinctively Western. Furthermore, Disneyland imputed a regional urban identity. Cities, colleges, and universities could be located by their proximity to Disneyland. The twenty-first century success of the Anaheim Angels of Los Angeles in baseball and the Ducks' Stanley Cup victory of 2007 are extensions of the Magic Kingdom, but not culturally situated at the heart of Disneyland. Disneyland is a carefully coordinated landscape providing regional themes situated west of the off-ramp for Anaheim Stadium for Angels baseball or the Honda Center for Ducks hockey. Disneyland, according to John M. Findlay, was an orderly aberration in chaotic southern California. It was an antidote to the threatening and chaotic nature of modern cities in general. An *Anaheim Bulletin* story of 3 October 1965 linked Disneyland to Yosemite, the Grand Canyon, and Las Vegas. Disneyland was within a mere decade a national destination for recreation. Like Las Vegas, it was a built environment inviting escape from the realities of urban life and images of natural beauty in plastic miniature.

A BRIEF HISTORY

On Sunday, 17 July 1955, Disneyland was officially opened for the international press preview and Walt Disney gave his famous dedication speech: "To all who come to this happy place—welcome. Disneyland is your land. Here age relives fond memories of the past and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future. Disneyland is dedicated to the ideas, dreams and the hard facts that have created America with the hope that it will be a source of joy and inspiration to the entire world." Today Walt Disney's speech resides on the Disneyland theme park Web site further solidifying Walt Disney's concept of Disneyland. On Monday, 18 July 1955, Walt Disney's biggest dream of all, a magical kingdom called Disneyland that would later become part of the American cultural icon, officially opened its gates to the public. Disneyland is geographically located in Anaheim, California, about thirty

miles south of downtown Los Angeles within the neighboring Orange County. The theme parks rides and attractions were designed for both kids and adults and consisted of various areas with separate themes: Main Street, USA, represented an early twentieth-century town in the Heartland; Adventureland mirrored American exploration of Africa; Frontierland was the American West with all of its images; Fantasyland evoked fairytales and the cartoon images so much Disney; and Tomorrowland imagined the space travel just emerging in reality as well as the marvels of technology.

The theme park also has a steam-powered railroad that encircles the entire park. The railroad resonated with the triumph of technology that the West represented and the iron horse that brought civilization West and commercial connections to the world. Since its inauguration the theme park has been visited millions of fans from around the world, including American presidents, royal families, celebrities of all types, and heads of state from other nations. In 1988 Disneyland officially became Disneyland Park, distinguishing it from the new Disneyland Resort that enabled hundreds to take up temporary residence in the Magic Kingdom. Its sheer success triggered the opening of other Magical Kingdoms both domestically and internationally. The New Orleans Square, The Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh, and Mickey's Toontown emerged on the Disneyland campus. New Orleans Square was clearly another pure American venue and its mixture of cultures more graphically illustrated how mixed-race and culturally diverse America had become in the twentieth century. Winnie the Pooh and Mickey's town were purely linked to Disney's movie and cartoon business that children identified as Disney. Throughout Disneyland the phrase "to all who come to this happy place—welcome" has been adopted as the standard greeting for all the guests.

THE MAKING OF DISNEYLAND

The historical root of Walt Disney's magical kingdom concept goes back to long before the notion of a theme park even began to materialize. Walt Disney's original plan for a theme park was for employees only. To be built on eight acres of land on Riverside Drive adjacent to the Disney Studios in Burbank, California, this small park was for his employees and their families. There they could relax as if at a carnival. Walt's idea emerged on his many outings with his daughters. Disney saw that adults and children had few facilities to mutually enjoy. This simple but revolutionary idea was the humble beginning of what would later become one of the most successful business enterprises in American history.

The original plan included a place where fans could visit the Disney Studios, meet their favorite Disney character, and take pictures with Disney's cartoon characters. Walt acknowledged that his Hollywood movie studio had little to offer to the visiting fans from all over the United States. Walt's thinking included

a small play park with a boat ride and other themed areas. Disney's original plan of a "Mickey Mouse Park" evolved into a larger enterprise concept which was to become "Disneyland." Although World War II put Disney's elaborate plans for Disneyland on hold for a while, those war years allowed Disney to come up with new ideas and creations for his magical park that were displayed on opening day.

As Disney conceptualized of a "magical park," the park grew in size and creativity. Other important sources of inspiration on Walt Disney were the Tivoli Gardens built in 1843 in Copenhagen, Denmark. Other parks serving as models were Dearborn, Michigan's Greenfield Village (finished in 1929) and Oakland, California's Children's Fairyland (1950). Walt visited the Republica de los Ninos (1951) in La Plata, Argentina.

In 1953, Walt Disney took a big step in making his dream become a reality. Walt contracted with Stanford Research Institute to identify an affordable location adjacent to Los Angeles with easy freeway access. He needed open land to build rivers, waterfalls, mountains, jungles, rides, castles, moon rockets, and railways all inside a theme park he called Disneyland. One of the suggestions of researchers at Stanford Research Institute, who correctly envisioned Orange County's potential growth, was underdeveloped Anaheim, California. In particular, a 160-acre parcel of orange groves and walnut trees. Anaheim, a rural Californian city, was located south of Los Angeles in neighboring Orange County near the junction of the U.S. Route 101, which later became the Santa Ana Freeway, I-5, and Harbor Boulevard. Disneyland's exact address is 1313 Harbor Blvd., Anaheim, California. Shortly, construction to the north of the theme park began for the expected traffic that Disneyland was to bring. Two more lanes were added to the U.S. Route 101 freeway even before the park was ready for its opening-day event in July 1955.

Disneyland was an expensive and large-scale project that was never done before and was solely based on the dreams of one man. Walt once said, "I could never convince the financiers that Disneyland was feasible, because dreams offer too little collateral." Walt turned to the American Broadcasting Company for financing. ABC televised Walt Disney's television program and thought the vision could become a reality, at a profit.

Early in development phase, it became clear to Disney that more funding would be needed to finish the project on time and within its scope. Difficulties in obtaining enough funding only from his television show forced Disney to explore other financing options for his theme park. To raise the needed money Disney offered ownership of the park to other investors. Disneyland, Inc., of which Walt Disney Productions, Western Publishing, and ABC each owned shares, owned Disneyland for the first five years of its existence. After the park proved successful, Western Publishing sold its shares in the Disneyland back to Walt Disney. In 1960, Walt Disney acquired ABC's shares and became the sole owner.

On 21 July 1954 construction officially began and the Disneyland project was estimated to cost around \$17 million. It took almost twelve hectic and stressful months before the finishing touches were put on the theme park to meet its publicized opening date of 18 July 1955. During the construction phase, Walt confronted serious questions, including how do you make cartoon characters real in person? That was for Walt's creative side. For his engineering side, and here staff proved significant, how do you build a river for a Mississippi paddle ship in Anaheim? Walt Disney turned to his staff for the answers and used his own imagination and creativity. But he never gave up on his lifelong dream of building a magical kingdom that we now know as Disneyland.

Walt stayed on dream watch and construction engineers turned to their creative business. Some 160 acres of orange groves and walnut trees fell to the bulldozer blade and houses were moved. Disney monitored every detail of the park's construction, and he visited the site in Anaheim on an almost daily basis. Overall, construction went smoothly despite some unforeseen obstacles. For example, the Rivers of America was built on porous soil which refused to hold water. Finally, the solution was to form a river bed out of baked clay to act as the impenetrable pad for the river bottom. Despite the minor setbacks progress continued on a daily basis and key milestones were constantly achieved. Disney purchased \$400,000 worth of trees and shrubs from nurseries in Orange, Los Angeles, Ventura, and San Diego counties, and they were carefully transported to Disneyland and planted throughout the theme park. Walt Disney paid close attention to the details, and if he did not like what his engineers and designers created, he would design it himself. For example, Walt did not like what his designers had done with Tom Sawyer's island, so he took the blueprints home, redesigned the island, and his design was in place on opening day.

Almost a year after the construction phase started, Disneyland prepared for the opening day. The staff worked twenty-four hours per day to get ready. Finally, everything seemed to come together after \$17.5 million was spent on the "Magic Kingdom." Walt's twenty-year dream had come true, and Disneyland was ready to open to thousands of fans who anxiously awaited the wondrous dream of Walt Disney.

MAGICAL PARK IS UNVEILED

Disneyland Park opened on Monday, 18 July 1955, for twelve hours. Ever conscious of media and image, Walt held a special "International Press Preview" event on Sunday, 17 July 1955. Invited guests and the international media toured the grounds with their ever-ready cameras. Disneyland opened with eleven free exhibits and twenty-six rides and amusements. The Special Sunday events unveiled the magical theme park to the world, including the

dedication, televised nationwide for ninety minutes from 4:30 PM to 6:00 PM Pacific time on ABC with seventeen cameras in different theme areas of the park. Art Linkletter, Bob Cummings, and Ronald Reagan, personal friends of Walt Disney, hosted the show. It was arguably the largest television audience ever to see a live televised event. Irene Dunne officially christened the 105-foot paddle wheel streamer of the Mark Twain boat to set the park in operation.

Opening day was a staged spectacular. Six thousand invitations for the grand opening had been mailed, including the personal invitation of all the construction workers and their families by Walt Disney. That day over 28,000 ticket holders were trying to enter the theme park. Counterfeit tickets were only one of many opening-day problems. The theme park was extremely overcrowded as the invited guests were mingled with counterfeit ticket holders. Traffic congestion, now a fact of life in Orange County, frustrated motorists and park goers. On 17 July 1955 the Anaheim temperature was over 110 degrees, causing the press corps to sweat and grumble. Plumbers went on strike leaving the park's drinking fountains dry on opening day. Concrete walkways poured the night before in the rush to opening day were so soft that ladies' high-heeled shoes penetrated the surface, causing further frustration. Food vendors, unprepared for the huge crowd enhanced by those counterfeited ticket holders ran out of grub and drinks. The Mark Twain steamboat was flooded due to overcrowding. One restaurant at the height of the rush hour had its dishwashing machine stop working. A gas leak in Fantasyland shut down Adventureland, Frontierland, and Fantasyland once discovered. Adults and children were anxious to get on the rides, and they were not waiting in lines for their turn.

The press, having experienced all that did not work at Disneyland, lambasted the opening day. Walt was so shaken by the bad press that he invited media to a private opening day or the "second day." "Black Sunday" was the label for the disaster of the first opening day. Disney and his staff of 1955 always used the sobriquet and 17 July morphed into the official opening day in Disneylore. To solidify the myth of 17 July, cast members on the Disneyland campus wear a pin reflecting the number of years since opening day and they wear it every 17 July. For example, in 2006 they wore the slogan "The magic began 51 years ago today." But for the first decade, Disney officially stated that opening day was on 18 July 1955.

On Monday, 18 July, Disneyland opened to the masses, and David MacPherson, who had waited in line since 2:00 AM was the first to enter the Magic Kingdom. Michael Schwartzner and Christine Vess, Walt's children, had their picture taken with Walt. The picture was titled "Walt Disney with the first two guests of Disneyland." All three received lifetime passes to Disneyland. The myth continued.

Despite the problems on opening day, Disneyland management invested additional money, time, and resources to reduce the park's problems, such as the waiting lines that overwhelmed the place in its first months of operation.

Disneyland evolved into an American cultural icon because Walt's staff swung into action to eliminate the frustrations of opening day and obvious miscalculations about guests. Those guests came from many nations in unprecedented numbers. Seizing the potential, Walt planned expansion and in 1971 opened a theme park in Orlando, Florida, appropriately named Disney World and in 1992 EuroDisney opened in France. The selection of the French site in Marne-la-Valle sixteen miles east of Paris was a major disappointment to Spain. Spain failed to attract the European-based theme park. The French Disneyland is the largest theme park in Europe. French officials estimated that more than \$1 billion was spent on construction and that up to 30,000 jobs were created. Hong Kong Disneyland followed in 2005. Even though Walt Disney was not able to see how his idea and company became an international success, his legacy and memories will always be throughout the Disney parks.

Since 1955 Disneyland Park has had a single scheduled closure—4 May 2005 to put the finishing touches for the 50th Anniversary Celebration on 5 May 2005. In 1957, with two years of operations and almost 4 million visitors per year and the many millions of dollars spent in rural Anaheim by the Disneyland guests, Disneyland made the tourist business the greatest new industry in Orange County. By 1957, Disneyland had become the leading tourist attraction in the western United States. The average amount spent was \$2.37 per person. This included parking, admission, rides, amusements, and souvenirs. Also, the adult guests outnumbered the children by three and a half to one. Nearly half of Disneyland's employees lived in Anaheim and almost 95 percent in other cities of Orange County. These staggering figures stimulated the construction of new houses, hotels, restaurants, freeways, and stores in Orange County.

DISNEYLAND'S LAYOUT

The original park layout included four theme lands in addition to Main Street, USA. Each theme facility has backstage space open only to cast members. The layout enables guests to move from one theatrical stage to another with minimal difficulty. The public areas occupied approximately 85 acres out of the 160. The Sleeping Beauty Castle, modeled on the German Neuschwanstein Castle, anchors the center of the park. Adventureland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland surround the castle. Visually, guests enter a themed space and all other images are excluded by design. Only the magic of the particular kingdom bombards the senses.

Main Street, USA

Main Street, USA, modeled on Walt's boyhood hometown of Marceline, Missouri, is reminiscent of Victorian America. It houses a single train station,

a town square, movie theater, city hall, firehouse complete with a steam-powered pump engine, emporium, and shops. Not exactly Every Town, USA, because it has arcades, double-decker buses, horse-drawn streetcars, and jitneys, but Main Street, USA, was Disney's Victorian America in transition from material culture to commercial Disney culture. So too, from Main Street, USA, guests saw Sleeping Beauty's Castle, part of a magic kingdom.

Disneyland had daily parades down Main Street. These parades celebrated Disney films and seasonal holidays with characters, music, and large floats. The Main Street Electrical Parade was one of the most popular. Since May 2005, Walt Disney's Parade of Dreams has celebrated several of the classic Disney stories, including The Lion King, Alice in Wonderland, and Pinocchio. The parades resonated with Victorian America's love of parades and spectacular, but they were a form of marketing to those guests familiar with the Disney products.

Every morning, a rededication of Disneyland is celebrated at Main Street Station. Disney characters and the Mayor of Main Street gather to listen to an audiotape of Walt Disney's original dedication speech. At dusk, the American flag is lowered in a traditional flag ceremony.

Fantasyland

Fantasyland is one of the original themed lands at Disneyland. In Fantasyland, the classic stories of everyone's youth have become realities for youngsters of all ages to participate in. According to Walt, Fantasyland was originally styled in a fairground fashion, but its 1983 refurbishment turned it into a fantasy village, which was molded after an old German Bavarian décor. Sleeping Beauty's is a wonderful fairy-tale castle structure located at the center of Disneyland that reaches a height of seventy-seven feet. It was launched on opening day and the castle is the oldest of all the Disney castles. Inside the castle guests discover a dungeon with curious instruments of torture and the great hall for knights among other exhibits.

Elaborate fireworks, synchronized with Disney songs, provide another visual sensation nightly. From 1958 to 1999 "Fantasy in the Sky" was the theme of the fireworks show. From 2000 to 2003 "Believe There's Magic in the Stars" was the theme for the fireworks show. In 2003, "Believe in Holiday Magic" (holiday season only) was the theme song for the popular fireworks show. In 2004 through 2005 "Imagine a Fantasy in the Sky" became the song for the desired fireworks show. From 2005 up to now "Remember Dreams Come True" has been the selected song for the duration of the nightly fireworks show at the theme park. During baseball season, neighbors are sometimes confused because Angel homeruns set off fireworks at Anaheim Stadium just east of the park. It is all part of the excitement of living in North Orange County, California.

Adventureland

Adventureland is another original themed land designed to be an exotic tropical place in a far-off region of the world resonating with Hollywood films. “To create a land that would make this dream reality,” said Walt Disney, “we pictured ourselves far from civilization, in the remote jungles of Asia and Africa.” This themed area includes an Adventureland Jungle cruise, the Temple of the Forbidden Eye from the Indiana Jones adventure, Tarzan’s Tree House from another movie series, and finally, Walt Disney’s Enchanted Tiki Room. Adventureland has a river with alligators rising from the water and spitting, wild animals roaring from the jungle, the sound of Congo drums, and offers an exotic view of a jungle adventure. The Adventureland is divided into two sub-theme areas, the Arabian Village and the Caribbean Plaza.

Frontierland

A fantasy glimpse of the American West comes to life in Frontierland. America’s historical past is replicated by an old log fort, Indians of many tribes, stores, buildings, harness shops, and other exhibits of the Old West. Frontierland re-creates the imagined setting of the American pioneer days. According to Walt Disney, “[A]ll of us have cause to be proud of our country’s history, shaped by the pioneering spirit of our forefathers. Our adventures are designed to give you the feeling of having lived, even for a short while, during our country’s pioneer days.” This themed attraction offered the guests a mine train and pack mule trip through forest and desert regions of the American West. Guests saw swimming and fishing bears, beavers, Rocky Mountain goats, fighting elk, coiled rattlesnakes, mountain lion, coyotes, antelope, a wolf pack, and colorful birds. Simply put, only the imagined West could be encapsulated in so small a space.

Frontierland was home to the Pinewood Indians, a Hollywood version of American Indians, who lived on the most appropriate artificial banks of Rivers of America. Frontierland includes Fantasmic, a multimedia nighttime show venue and hardly available to pioneers of the nineteenth century; Big Thunder Mountain Railroad, a very well maintained railroad for paying passengers only; Mark Twain Riverboat; and the Sailing Ship Columbia, a version of the ships that carried on the coastal trade. Frontierland also houses the Golden Horseshoe Saloon, a show palace straight out of the imagined Old West.

Fantasmic has a popular multimedia nighttime show hosted by Mickey Mouse, perhaps giving away to the astute adult the imagined nature of the West of Anaheim. The show uses synchronized lighting and special effects, with floating barges, the Mark Twain Riverboat, the Sailing Ship Columbia, fountains, lasers, fireworks, thirty-foot-tall “mist screens” on which animated scenes are projected, and an automated forty-five-foot fire-breathing dragon,

hardly the real West but clearly the twenty-first century imagined West of film and television.

Disney images in Frontierland resonated powerfully with popular culture. Disney made Davy Crockett famous in film and song. Coonskin caps were so popular in the 1950s that raccoon populations in some areas seriously dropped. Parallel with the Disney glorification of the American West through Davy Crockett was the 1950s television series *Adventures of Annie Oakley*. For little children of the 1950s and 1960s the West was what Walt Disney imagined in film and in Frontierland.

Tomorrowland

Walt Disney said, “Tomorrow can be a wonderful age. Our scientists today are opening the doors of the Space Age to achievements that will benefit our children and generations to come. The Tomorrowland attractions have been designed to give you an opportunity to participate in adventures that are a living blueprint of our future.” Tomorrowland included rockets to the moon and later submarines for rides to the depths of the earth’s waters. The area underwent a major \$20 million transformation in 1967 with six major attractions to become “New Tomorrowland.” The largest single exhibit was the General Electric’s Carousel of Progress. It was designed to show how electricity has contributed to a better standard of living. At the ground level were the six theaters revolving around the stages that showed American home life in the 1890s, 1920s, 1940s, and 1960s.

Space Mountain was officially launched in May 1977. It was a \$20 million roller coaster ride that felt like it traveled through outer space. Tomorrowland was forward-looking to the “marvels of the future.” But Walt and his engineers knew “right when we do Tommorowland, it will be outdated.”

The Tomorrowland Terrace is a stage for children to learn Jedi sword techniques to battle Darth Vader and the forces of darkness. Again, the future is part of the present Hollywood imagination of the space age on film.

New Orleans Square

New Orleans Square was one of Walt’s last Disneyland additions. Based on the French Quarter district of the nineteenth-century New Orleans, the Square is home to two of the park’s most popular attractions. They are *Haunted Mansion* and *Pirates of the Caribbean*, part imagination and part Disney films past and present. This themed land was opened to the public on 24 July 1966 and it is still a very popular attraction. The Haunted Mansion is a dark ride attraction located at Disneyland’s New Orleans Square to give the feel of a ghost house. This attraction combines a walk-through portion with Omni mover vehicles called *Doom Buggies*, featuring special effects and spectral Audio-Animatronics. Every holiday season the Haunted Mansion at Disneyland is

transformed into Haunted Mansion Holiday. Pirates of the Caribbean is another popular dark ride attraction at Disneyland theme park. During this indoor boat ride, the guests float through an immersive pirate adventure featuring cannon blasts, gunshots, and burning buildings.

The Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh

The Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh is a smaller theme land when compared to the larger themed lands of Disneyland. Yet it includes the popular Splash Mountain, Davy Crockett's Explorer Canoes, and the Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh. The Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh opened in 1972 as "Bear Country," themed to be the forests of the Pacific Northwest, and was renamed in 1988 to "Critter Country" in anticipation of Splash Mountain's January 1989 opening. Initially, this area was home to Indian Village, where American Indians demonstrated their dances and other customs for guests and on salary. This demonstration of reality did not last long. The public wanted the imagined West not real Indians. Today, the major attraction of the area is Splash Mountain, a log cascade journey. In 2003, The Many Adventures of Winnie the Pooh replaced the Country Bear Jamboree, a show featuring singing bear characters.

Mickey's Toontown

Mickey's Toontown opened its doors on 24 January 1993 to make Mickey Mouse available to greet guests. This theme land was partially inspired by *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* The buildings in this theme land are stylized, colorful, and appeal primarily as playhouses for children. Disney characters, who roam throughout the park and greet visitors, interact with children, and pose for photos, thrive in Mickey's Toontown. It is a themed area of pure imagination.

The Matterhorn

The Matterhorn was constructed in the early 1960s and it was placed within Tomorrowland and surrounded by the futuristic Disneyland Monorail. It is a 1/100-scale replica of the famous Swiss Alp summit, which stands at over 14,000 feet. The Matterhorn bobsled ride was one of the earliest smooth rides on the West Coast. The Matterhorn has become an Anaheim landmark as well since the 147-foot structure can be seen from the neighboring freeways.

TRAINS

Walt Disney was a lover of trains and built the "Carolwood Pacific Railroad," on the grounds of his Holmby Hills estate. It was only fitting that trains would

be a major feature of the Magic Kingdom. Originally known as the Disneyland and Santa Fe Railroad, the track runs in a continuous loop around The Magic Kingdom through each of its distinct themes. Another signature attraction is its monorail service, opened in Tomorrowland in 1959. The monorail shuttles guests between two stations in Tomorrowland and in Downtown Disney.

THE THEATRICAL EXPERIENCE

Disneyland is designed such that the park experience is similar to the experience of going to the theater. The area immediately beyond the gates is similar to the entrance of a theater, where visitors may mingle before entering the auditorium. Stroller rentals and souvenir shops are located in this area, much like concession stands. The two tunnels holding the sign “Here you leave today” plaques are analogous to the entry from the entrance to the auditorium. Attractions posters in these tunnels are much like “Now Showing” or “Coming Soon” posters of a theater. Main Street, USA, is analogous to the opening and closing credits, with the names of those who contributed to Walt Disney’s and Disneyland’s success painted on second-floor windows. The park is much like the feature presentation, where the combination of theming, attractions, and shows forms a story for the guest.

The theatrical analogy gives rise to many theatrical terms used throughout the Disneyland Resort. A guest is a person who comes to experience the Disneyland Resort. Guests are not visitors and definitely not customers. A cast member is a Disney Company employee, theme park or not. “On Stage” means any area of the Resort that is open to the guests. “Backstage” is any area of the resort that is closed to guests.

The northwest corner of the park is home to most of the park’s maintenance facilities, including a service garage, gas station, and car wash for company vehicles including parking lot trams and Main Street vehicles; a scrap yard, where the resort’s garbage and recyclables are sorted for collection; Circle D Corral, where the resort’s horses and other animals are cared for. The parade storage and maintenance facility is located there. The distribution center for all resort merchandise, ride vehicle service areas, paint shop, and sign shop are also located there.

Every attraction contains hidden walkways, service areas, control rooms, and other behind-the-scenes operations similar to a theatrical stage, as Walt and his engineers originally designed the campus.

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

In 2004, Disney started major renovation projects in preparation for its fiftieth anniversary celebration. Space Mountain, Jungle Cruise, and Walt Disney’s Enchanted Tiki Room received major overhauls. In 2005, Walt Disney

Company celebrated Disneyland Park's fiftieth anniversary with the "Happiest Homecoming on Earth." The official celebration began 5 May 2005 with company CEO Michael Eisner, Bob Iger, and Art Linkletter joining in the dedication. On 15 July 2005, Disneyland Park became the first location to get a star on the Hollywood's Walk of Fame. Disney celebrated the first person to enter the park on the official fiftieth anniversary, 17 July 2005, Madison Steigerwald, a fifteen-year-old girl from Old Greenwich, CT. She lined up with her grandmother, Mary Madison, at 3:00 PM the day before. The crowd was huge and expecting spectacular. At 10:00 AM Diane Disney Miller reread her father's original dedication speech. Art Linkletter, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, CEO-elect Robert Iger, and then-CEO Michael Eisner were on stage with her. Later that day, a recording of Walt's dedication speech was replayed throughout the park. The 50th Anniversary celebration successfully ended on 30 September 2006 with thousands of guests enjoying the spectacular.

VISITORS

Since its opening day there have been visitors such as President Eisenhower and his family, President Truman and his family, Vice President Richard Nixon and his family, King Mohamed V of Morocco, the president of Indonesia, Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mohammad Daoud, Jawaharlal Nehru, King Hussein of Jordan, and many celebrities and visitors from around the globe to visit the theme park in person. Guests came from such far places as Saudi Arabia, Iceland, the Soviet Union, and so forth. The most famous person who was not allowed to visit the theme park was Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in 1959 during the height of the Cold War. Security was said to be the problem. Perhaps Washington, DC, did not want Khrushchev to take a peek at the Disney submarine fleet.

DISNEYLAND HOTEL

A \$10 million hotel on nearly thirty acres was constructed in Anaheim, California, adjacent to Disneyland with a 700-car parking lot, 650 rooms, three restaurants, cocktail lounges, three swimming pools, a playground, and a golf course. It was built on a site located between Walnut and West streets and opened on Saturday, 25 August 1956. The hotel has expanded many times since it was originally built.

CONTINUING ICONIC STATUS

Tourists as well as thousands of southern Californians make Disneyland a destination for urban recreation. The themes within the park maintain the

image of the American West that Americans associated with the westward movement and Manifest Destiny. In the Magic Kingdom, the icons of American Indian warfare and frontier life continue to amuse and instruct new generations of Americans. Mickey Mouse and the Pirates of the Caribbean compete with Snow White and other Disney cartoon characters for the attention of the crowds, but Frontierland maintains the icons of the West as they were in the American mind of the 1950s.

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Mabel Vernon addressing a crowd. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Female Politicians

Danelle Moon

Jeannette Rankin, Anne Martin, and Sarah Bard Field stand out as important political icons who individually and collectively worked toward women's suffrage, women's participation as voters and office holders, and women as social activists. Rankin is the best known of the three as the first woman to be elected to the House of Representatives in 1916 and again in 1941, and for casting her vote against World War I and World War II. Martin ran unsuccessfully as a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1918 and 1920, but she developed a successful career as a feminist political writer and peace activist. Suffrage helped jettison Rankin's entrance into politics, as it did for Martin. Both women developed unique views on feminism and politics, and their alliance with the suffrage movement advanced their similar yet divergent paths in promoting feminism and peace during the inter-war period. Sarah Bard Field did not pursue political office but worked in the California and national suffrage movement, was an accomplished writer and lifelong peace activist. All three women shaped the political landscape and contributed to the success of the Nineteenth Amendment, which opened new opportunities for political participation and feminist activism. Moreover, as Western women they each developed their own brand of feminism; their experiences and shared belief in women's equality and peace intersected.

These early feminist pioneers challenged the gender proscriptions that defined women as second-class citizens. Through their hard work as lobbyists, activists, voters, and in Rankin's case as a politician, they opened the door to gender equality for future generations of women. Because women lacked the right to vote in most state and national elections, they could not directly change the social, political, legal, and economic barriers that defined and subsumed them as second-class citizens, nor could they promote legislation that protect women and children and society at large. In the West several states recognized women as citizens and gave them state voting rights before the Nineteenth Amendment passed Congress. Western states recognized women's contributions to community and politics, and the suffrage victories (Wyoming [1869], Colorado [1893], Utah [1895], Idaho [1896], Washington [1910], California [1911], Oregon [1912], Arizona [1912], Kansas [1912], Nevada [1914], Montana [1914]) strengthened the demand for federal voting rights. The final victory came when Tennessee voted to ratify the amendment, ending a seventy-year struggle for voting rights. This milestone victory was an important first step toward full citizenship and forever changed U.S. politics, advancing the cause of gender equality and social justice.

Today we take for granted our rights of equality. By focusing on the contributions of pioneering women, students can begin to appreciate the importance of learning about and protecting basic civil and human rights. The following chapter will explore the contributions of Rankin, Martin, and Field as female political icons. The suffrage movement provided the catalyst for their political activism, and gave them the confidence, experience, and skills needed to campaign, lobby, and pursue elected office. All three women participated in the

woman suffrage movement as lobbyists, as speakers, and in suffrage parades and demonstrations. For Rankin the suffrage movement paved the way for her political career and work in the peace movement. Martin followed a similar path from suffrage to the campaign trail for the U.S. Senate in 1918 and in 1920. When her election bids failed she used the power of the pen and wrote numerous articles and commentaries of women's political equality while working for peace. Field became an important leader in the Western and national suffrage movement, but she followed a less conventional path as a radical socialist and peace advocate.

JEANNETTE RANKIN, 1880–1973

Jeannette Rankin earned the distinction as the first woman elected to the House of Representatives in 1916, representing her home state of Montana. One of seven children, Rankin was born to a prominent ranching family in Missoula, Montana. Her father John Rankin and her mother Olive Pickering expected their children to excel and to contribute to society. Rankin attended public schools in Montana, and in 1902 graduated from the University of Montana with a degree in biology; in 1904 she received an honorary doctorate from her alma mater. Following graduation, she worked as a rural school-teacher and for a short time took a job as a seamstress.

Settlement House Experiences

In 1904 after caring for her dying father she spent six months in Boston with her brother Wellington, a Harvard University student. Boston provided an eye-opening view to the problem of poverty and the tenements, which led to her first career as a social worker. She attended the New York School of Philanthropy from 1908 to 1909 and lived in the nearby Suffrage League house. It was during this time period that she first became acquainted with Florence Kelley of the National Consumer's League (NCL), an important organization committed to industrial and labor reform. Rankin would later join the staff of NCL and work for minimum wage laws and protective legislation for women and children. Part of her studies included attending lectures by such speakers as Kelley, as well as visits to the slums. She spent time in Jewish and Italian districts in Bowery and was deeply affected by the environment—a sharp contrast to the tranquil home life she had in Montana. She also visited homes and schools for the deaf, and she spent part of her internship in the night courts working with prostitutes.

Following her studies in New York she moved to Spokane, Washington, to join the staff of the Children's Home Society (CHS), where she lived and worked as a nurse to the orphan children. The goal of the CHS was to promote adoption and foster care. Rankin had expected to work as an investigator and

coordinate home placement, but only the male staff members engaged in administrative work. She recalled later that the children were so devastated by poverty and ill health that “nobody wanted them.” She soon left this position and enrolled in courses at the University of Washington. Casework was not for her, but courses in economics, political science, and public speaking prepared her for a career in social legislation. Deeply affected by the horrible conditions of urban poverty, Rankin concluded that women needed the vote in order to change society and to improve community and family life. Rankin joined the College Equal Suffrage League in Seattle working on the state referendum. Social work shaped her views on social policy and the suffrage movement opened the door to a political career.

Suffrage Campaign

Initialized as a suffrage worker in Washington, Rankin formed relationships with the key leaders in the state and became a quick study of suffrage politics and tactics. Eastern suffrage reform closely aligned with temperance, creating an uneasy relationship for Western women. Moreover, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), headquartered in New York, tried to control from a distance the Western campaign, all the while expecting Western women to foot the bill for travel expenses for Eastern leaders. The political and social environment in the West was more progressive than the East, and the women were far more independent and had a better understanding of what it would take to win state suffrage; the anti-prohibition stance delayed women’s voting rights in California, Oregon, and Washington, and it would also become an issue in the Montana campaign. A distinct Western brand of suffrage reform and feminism emerged from the success of state suffrage referendums. Western suffragists rankled by the elitism of the Eastern leaders developed distinct grassroots organizations to promote state suffrage.

In 1910, Washington granted women voting rights. Inspired by this success, Rankin returned to Montana and joined the Montana Equal Franchise Society. It was at this juncture that she began to exercise her public speaking skills and became the first woman to speak before the all-male legislature. In her first speech to the Montana legislature, she asked the men to consider the 6 million working women who scraped and scrimped to support their families. Referencing the “taxation with no representation” argument she declared that women everywhere needed the vote to be productive homemakers and citizens. Although she received great applause after this speech, the legislature was not quite convinced. The women faced several challenges in promoting the state campaign. First, the size of the state and small population made it difficult to reach the voters. Second, the women had to combat anti-suffrage sentiments from the powerful Anaconda Copper Mining Company and anti-prohibition constituents.

Montana's early suffrage campaign originated in Helena in the 1890s, and by 1895 the Montana Woman Suffrage Organization formed but did little to expand the state movement. In 1902 Carrie Chapman Catt, a regional representative of NAWSA, traveled to the state to revive the suffrage movement, but her attitude toward Western ways offended the state organizers and they withdrew their membership from the NAWSA. Western suffragists and especially Montanans were extremely independent and the local women resented the interloping of the NAWSA. Despite the combined support of local and national women, the legislature resoundingly defeated the suffrage resolutions in 1903 and 1905.

Sensitive to the feelings of the local women, Rankin established a loose suffrage organization unconnected to the NAWSA. She traveled across the state to help form local organizations and spent time canvassing political candidates, speaking at political meetings, and mentoring local women in lobbying techniques. In 1913 the suffrage bill passed overwhelmingly, with 26-2 in the Senate and 74-2 in the House.

Rankin's work on the state campaign led to an appointment as a field secretary for NAWSA, but she returned to Montana in 1914 to campaign for the popular referendum, and in November of that year suffrage rights were granted, as they were in Nevada. Montana now shared victory with other Western states including Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon. Rankin ended her relationship with the NAWSA when Carrie Chapman Catt became president and after the Congressional Union (CU) run by Alice Paul separated over tactics and goals. Within a few short years the CU became the National Woman's Party (NWP), representing the radical branch of the movement. Western women embraced the NWP strategy for a federal amendment and they worked collaboratively with Alice Paul and the NWP. Rankin developed close ties with the NWP, but she maintained her independence and never adopted the single-issue approach of the NWP.

In 1915, Rankin left the suffrage movement to travel to New Zealand and, within a short time, pursue a political career. New Zealand proved an ideal location to study social conditions. New Zealand had progressive laws, gave women the vote in 1893, had old age and mother's pensions, child welfare laws, and labor arbitration laws and workmen's compensation benefits. Not a woman of means, Rankin worked as a seamstress to help pay for her traveling and living expenses. She would rely on these skills her entire life, and would continue to live a very modest lifestyle, especially compared to the wealth of her brother Wellington. This trip gave her the time to reflect on her life and to think about her next steps, and the social service and labor programs she observed shaped her views on social welfare. At the end of her trip, Rankin concluded that the only way she could influence the social conditions in the United States was through direct political action and she returned home to pursue elective office.

First Woman in Congress, 1917–1918

Radicalized by her suffrage experiences and observations in New Zealand, Rankin returned to Montana with a new vision. In 1916, she began to mark her next steps by organizing local support for her candidacy while brother Wellington managed her campaign. She began by soliciting advice from key NAWSA leaders including Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt. Both women discouraged her, but Catt made clear her view that an Eastern lawyer or more commanding woman should become the first congresswoman, and only after suffrage was won. Catt's condescension only served to alienate Rankin and reinforce her negative opinion of NAWSA. Despite the lack of support from NAWSA leaders, she won the Republican ticket for the House, and in 1917 she became the first woman in Congress. Shaw had advised her to aim for the state legislature as a first step, and when Rankin won Congress, Shaw sent a belated apologetic letter and finally congratulated her several months after her election victory. Rankin and Catt never became friends, but Rankin used her political position to fight for suffrage.

Rankin focused her campaign on social issues. She told her constituents that she would continue to fight for federal suffrage and for child welfare legislation. Running as a non-partisan she appealed to the farmers, miners, small businessmen, and labor. Rankin's victory can be attributed to the change in election of two congressmen at large and to state suffrage rights. In contrast to Anne Martin's congressional campaign, Rankin did not focus solely on women's issues, and although she supported feminist goals, her philosophies were less direct and oriented toward political freedom and social responsibility.

At age thirty Rankin was young and attractive—and like Alice Paul she represented a younger generation; the press frequently commented on her smart looks and pleasing personality. Her landmark victory made her an immediate political celebrity. Her first months in Congress were crowded with social events, speeches, newspaper stories, and numerous celebrations. On the opening day of Congress, the suffragists honored Rankin with a congratulatory breakfast, attended by NAWSA and CU women. This breakfast highlighted the conflicts between the two organizations. Catt and NAWSA pledged full suffrage support for the war, while the peace activists objected to Catt's promise. Rankin sympathized with the pacifists and supported Paul, but quickly accessed the importance of non-partisanship in her role as congresswoman.

Rankin became a controversial figure on several fronts. Foremost as the first woman in Congress, but second her opposition to World War I and her vote against World War II marked her political future. A committed pacifist and founding member of Woman's Peace Party, led by Jane Addams, Rankin voted according to her conscience. Before her election victory she believed President Wilson when he said he would keep America out of the war. To her disappointment and shock, she entered Congress just as the Germans resumed submarine warfare on U.S. merchant ships. Her brother encouraged her to

vote as a man, and Catt privately wrote that Rankin's vote would "lose a million votes." Several suffragists feared that to vote "no" would jeopardize the campaign. Rankin's vote reverberated across the country, despite the fact that fifty men also voted against the war. She faced harsh and immediate criticism for her vote. Many of the papers falsely reported that she cried giving her vote. Fellow congressman Fiorella LaGuardia of New York told the press that he did not notice any tears, but for the fact that he had tears in his own eyes. Rankin recalled that she did not cry at that point, but cried for an entire week until no tears would come. In retrospect, the criticism she faced reflected the expectation that women were not suited for politics and that they lacked the constitution to make important decisions, especially on issues of foreign policy and war. She received harsh criticism from men and women, though she also received hundreds of sympathetic letters from men and women across the country who opposed the war.

While in Congress Rankin demonstrated her commitment to social policy and she introduced a variety of bills focused on women, children, and fair labor practices for men and women working for the government. She also introduced a bill supporting women's citizenship separate from their husbands, and she authored a bill creating a hydroelectric plant run by a federal board—a precursor to the Tennessee Valley Authority act. Most significantly and closest to her heart, she introduced the first bill mandating maternity and child hygiene. This bill, known as the Rankin-Robinson bill, focused on rural health education and became the forerunner to the Sheppard-Towner Act, which provided federal funding for maternal and infant health.

In 1918, Rankin focused on her reelection campaign, but lost the Republican primary; later as a third-party candidate, she also lost. Rankin's unpopular vote against the war did not help her, but her support of the Anaconda miners' strike in 1917 placed her at odds with the financially and politically powerful Anaconda Copper Company.

Peace and Social Activism—1918–1941

Rankin never lost sight of her primary goal: to promote peace and protection of women and children. She finished out her term in 1918 and focused her energies on peace activism. She attended the women's conference in Zurich, Switzerland, and in between she maintained a hectic traveling schedule and participated in the Second International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace, strategically scheduled during the Paris Peace Conference in Versailles. Rankin toured the French battlefields with Jane Addams, Alice Hamilton, and Lillian Wald. Together they witnessed the horrors of war-torn France and were struck by the devastation on the population and staggering number of starving children. The women had hoped to influence the outcome of the peace treaty. Instead Versailles represented secret dealings between the victors for the spoils of war. At the International Congress of Women they articulated

their disappointment over the terms of the treaty. In their resolution they cited the denial of the principles of self-determination and the need to stay true to President Wilson's original Fourteen Points, which they believed would have encouraged peace and harmony. Instead, the treaty condemned Europe to a life of poverty, disease, despair, and anarchy. They rightly predicted that the settlement agreements would increase hostilities between nations and would lead to future wars. Rankin believed in the tenets of the Fourteen Points and remarked that "There will be war as long as we have secret international relations and governments . . . [that] protect special economic privileges."¹

While attending the Congress of Women Rankin traveled and shared rooms with Mary Church Terrell, president of the National Association of Colored Women. At the close of the conference, the women formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), an organization that remains active today. Rankin left Zurich for Washington, DC, to lobby on the behalf of WILPF for prisoners of war, labor organizers, and those indicted under the "sedition act." These experiences branded Rankin's commitment to pacifism and she would continue to work for a variety of peace organizations during the inter-war years to promote peace and human rights.

In 1920, she accepted a position as a field secretary for the National Consumer's League (NCL) and traveled across the United States promoting factory laws and protective legislation. She also spent time lobbying Congress to pass the Sheppard-Towner bill. In 1921, the bill became law, representing a watershed for maternal and child health. The act provided federal funds to interested states and became the forerunner to the welfare system. Following this key victory, Rankin traveled to the Midwest to promote minimum-hour legislation for women, based on the Supreme Court ruling in *Mueller v. Oregon* protecting women and children from working in hazardous factory environments. *Mueller v. Oregon* established the precedent for minimum wage legislation and protective legislation; though as time would show, protective legislation reinforced discrimination against women in the workplace.

In between her travels for the NCL Rankin made her home in Hull House and spent many evenings with Jane Addams and other dignitaries. Rankin held Addams in high esteem and she would borrow many of her ideas, but she was mostly impressed by Addams's grassroots educational campaigning and her insistence that women had a stake and a responsibility to improve the community.

The year 1924 proved to be a busy. She returned to Montana to help Wellington in his unsuccessful campaign for the Senate, she bought a small house and farm in Bogart, Georgia, and she attended the Fourth Congress of WILPF, where she endorsed Senator William Borah's (Idaho) "outlawry of war" plan and the establishment of a World Court. In 1925, she became a field secretary for WILPF and spent her time lecturing and organizing state branches. Drawing on her suffrage and electoral experiences, she believed that the best way to promote peace was at the grassroots level, and she encouraged the leaders of WILPF

to concentrate their efforts on gaining success in the Senate by focusing on small states. She recommended the creation of two field units, each with two field workers and an office secretary, which would cost approximately \$1000 per month. The board suggested Rankin raise the funds for a six-month trial. Discouraged by the lack of grassroots commitment and lacking time and money, she resigned her post and returned to Georgia. She spent the next three years living a quiet life in Georgia planting peaches and pecans on her small farm and caring for her niece Dorothy. Never idle she also co-founded the Georgia Peace Society (GPS), which would provide a base for future peace activism.

Between 1928 and 1929, Rankin reentered the peace movement as a lobbyist for the Frazier amendment. Based on the ratification by the great powers to support the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war, the Frazier amendment would implement the Pact by prohibiting military appropriations. The peace movement enthusiastically endorsed the amendment, but Congress held a lukewarm position on the mostly symbolic Kellogg-Briand Pact. Rankin concluded that Frazier was too idealistic. Rankin moved on to the National Council for the Prevention of War (NWPC), serving as an underpaid field secretary (1929–1939). Frederick J. Libby, a Quaker convert, founded and tightly controlled the lobbying campaign, which created a series of conflicts with the very independent Rankin. In addition, the NWPC faced serious financial difficulties as a result of the stock market crash and could not pay Rankin her nominal salary of \$150.00; she agreed to work for expenses, but she financed most of her work. Georgia provided a home base for her lobby efforts, and she worked concomitantly for the GPS and the NWPC. During this time the GPS sponsored a number of conferences on the “Cause and Cure of War” and used the state fair as a forum to hand out peace propaganda. Rankin hoped to change the politics in the state. She spent hours lobbying her district to support anti-military build-up of the navy and opposed the Senate reelection campaign of Carl Vinson, the number-one supporter for a naval build-up program. She targeted college audiences and used slogans that frequently isolated and offended many voters. The children’s slogan, “War Will Make Us Lame, Blind, Orphans, Armless, and Humpbacked,” is a good example (Norma Smith, 162). The American Legion paper became her number-one foe by assailing her character and accusing her of being a communist sympathizer. Elizabeth Dilling’s publication of the *Red Network: A Who’s Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots* listed Rankin as a potential enemy, which fueled some of the attacks. Rankin remembered this period as one of the most vicious in her life.

Peace activism defined Rankin’s life. Between 1928 and 1940 Rankin spent more time in Congress as a lobbyist than most politicians. Among her many activities, she provided data for the Nye Munitions Investigation Committee (1934) and testified before Congress in 1938 in support of the Ludlow Amendment, which would force Congress to secure majority approval from the states before declaring war. She also had a hand in the passage of neutrality legislation and she frequently testified before Congress opposing increased naval

expenditures and other legislation. She traveled to Europe in 1931 and 1937 to study the social and political conditions abroad. In 1937, the rise of German militarism and nationalism influenced her decision to return to Congress to represent peace.

Return to Congress, 1940–1946

At age sixty, Rankin entered Congress on the Republican ticket. In her second campaign she ran as a pacifist and won 9000 more votes as a Republican in a Democratic district. She entered Congress with seven other women and predicted that no one would pay much attention to her as they had in 1916. Her stunning victory and prediction proved otherwise as the war edged ever closer. President Roosevelt asked Congress to approve a “lend-lease” program to provide Britain and the allies needed supplies, and he requested a \$17 billion budget, with \$11 billion designated for defense. Rankin opposed lend-lease because it gave the president too much authority over U.S. interests. She later reaffirmed her belief in limited presidential powers when Congress, through the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorized President Johnson to launch an unbridled war under the “all necessary measures” doctrine. Rankin proposed alternative legislation to prevent the president from acting under lend-lease outside of the Western Hemisphere, which did not pass. As global politics ignited it became clear that the United States would be pulled into another world war. Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 and President Roosevelt’s famous Day in Infamy speech, Rankin faced another hard and lonely decision and voted “no” against war. This time her vote was cast alone and she required a police escort to her office, as she confronted an angry and drunk mob of mostly soldiers. A swift and hostile reaction followed from Montana and across the nation. She received volumes of letters demanding her resignation. The content varied, but included attacks on her character, some accused of her being a traitor, while a few wanted an explanation for her vote. Her brother wrote her “Montana is 100% against you” (Smith, 184). She also received letters applauding her bravery and act of conscience, mostly from peace activists and pacifists. Feeling the fury of the American public, a devastated Rankin commented, “I have nothing left but my integrity.” Rankin’s courageous act had grave implications for her term in office and for the future. She lost all credibility and influence while serving out her term and her political career was ruined. Unlike the politicians of her day, she made a decision to live by her values, and her promotion of legislation and her votes reflected her core beliefs.

Peace Activism in the Postwar Years to Vietnam

Following the end of her term, she spent her retirement living in Georgia and Montana and traveled the world. She became interested in Mohandas Gandhi’s

philosophy of nonviolent resistance and she traveled to India seven times before her death in 1973. In 1968, women peace activists converged on the Capitol grounds to promote peace and to protest the war in Vietnam. They called themselves the Jeannette Rankin Brigade and included members from the WILPF, the Black Congress, and the Women Strike for Peace. At age eighty-eight Rankin's life became the center of attention, but in this case she became the symbolic leader of the strike, and unlike her vote in 1917 and 1941, she became an icon for the peace movement.

As several scholars have pointed out, Rankin's views on feminism, peace, and politics can best be described as complex and at times contradictory. From the start, she fell outside the mainstream in the suffrage and peace movements, and her feistiness and quick temper frequently clashed with other leaders. She voted for Eisenhower, Nixon, and Goldwater; she supported the extension of the House Un-American Activities Committee while she worked side-by-side with student activists and dope-smoking hippies. Rankin never lost sight of her pacifist convictions despite the unpopularity of her views and voting decisions. Her views on feminism and peace conjoined. She believed in equal rights but her brand of feminism focused on human rights, the eradication of poverty, and the elimination of war, racism, and hatred. She held multidimensional views and believed that grassroots activism was the key to social change.

Rankin lived a simple life in Georgia. In the 1920s and 1930s, her family lived with her off and on, and she helped raise her sister Edna's two children, Dorothy and John. After her last term in Congress she returned to Georgia to build a new house; her original home had burnt down while she was away. She moved to property she purchased a few miles southeast of Bogart and lived in a sharecropper's cabin. Most of her neighbors were black and they helped her build additions to her property; in exchange she homeschooled some of the neighboring children. Rankin lived meagerly, despite her fame and the wealth of her brother. She maintained close ties with her family and friends, and made regular trips to Washington, DC, and New York. Her lifestyle and frugal existence is an interesting contrast to elite lifestyles of other suffrage leaders from her generation. Yet they shared a lifelong commitment to the cause of equality and human rights. Her pioneering efforts to change social policy to protect women and children and her role in representing women paved the way for future generations of women.

Moreover, Rankin's trajectory from suffrage to politics, and then later in the peace movement, was shaped by her Western identity. Her membership in NAWSA, WILPF, and NWPC provided her new experiences and a place to lobby on issues she cared about, but commitment to the organizations and the leaders never had a strong appeal. Independent, a born leader, and woman of conscience, Jeannette Rankin set her own rules for living and she accepted the consequences of her decisions, however controversial.

ANNE MARTIN (1875–1951)

Anne Martin, pioneer feminist, political writer, peace activist, and the first woman to run for the U.S. Senate (1918, 1920), committed her life to women's equality. Born in 1875 in Reno, Nevada, to William O'Hara Martin and Margaret O'Hara Martin. Anne Martin grew up in a privileged and politically influential family. Her father served as state senator from 1876 to 1878 and was an accomplished Reno banker. Martin relied on the support of both her parents, but her father's economic position and political views influenced her views on women and politics. She noted in her autobiography that although her mother was always loyal and supportive, she lacked an understanding of the changing roles of women in society. Steeped in the world of Victorian gender proscriptions, she fully accepted the private-public dichotomy that confined women to the private sphere as mothers and wives. Martin's relationship with her mother reinforced the generational differences and a shift from Victorian culture to the era of the "New Woman." Her mother's reliance on her sons to manage the family estate following her father's death in 1901 shaped Martin's view on feminism and politics.

Martin excelled in academics and attended the University of Nevada from 1891 to 1894, where she received her B.A. in history. In 1896 and 1897, she attended Leland Stanford University taking a second B.A. and an M.A. in history. Martin's first exposure to suffrage took place at Stanford when Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw visited the campus. Although impressed by their speech she did not pursue suffrage activism at this time. Following graduation from Stanford, Martin went back to the University of Nevada, founded the history department, and became its first chair of the department (1897–1901). She left her university position to travel abroad and to study at the University of London. It was in this environment that Martin became a true convert to woman's suffrage. Working with sisters Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, the leaders of the radical British suffrage movement, Martin joined in and was arrested for disturbing the peace. British feminism had a profound impact on her life direction and in 1911, she left Britain determined to make women's issues a priority in the United States.

Nevada Suffrage

In 1911, she returned home just as the state legislature passed a suffrage amendment. Coming on the heels of her radical suffrage experience in England, she eagerly entered the state suffrage movement. Martin quickly assessed the state platform, took control of the leadership, and in 1912, she became president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. Martin was not known for her sensitivity or diplomacy, and as a result several of the state leaders refused to work with her. Martin's association with the English suffrage leaders caused some of the conflict, but her tactics and authoritarian

personality frequently caused tension between women; even her most loyal supporters nicknamed her the “little emperor” (Kathryn Anderson, Ph.D., 36).

Martin became a strong advocate for a federal amendment and her bold tactics created some dissension between the local and the national leaders of NAWSA. Martin ultimately succeeded in gaining state suffrage support of a federal campaign, which contradicted the state goals of NAWSA. The president of NAWSA, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, cooperated with Martin, but she privately criticized Martin’s management of finances. In reality NAWSA functioned as a very conservative movement and the Eastern-based leadership sought to control the Western campaign. Similar to Rankin’s experience in Montana, Nevada suffragists were independent and although they encouraged help from the East, they maintained their autonomy. Western women faced a diverse group of workers, immigrants, farmers, miners, and big business, and they applied different strategies to build a voting block. The Western environment, shaped by Progressive-era politics, valued women’s contributions to society and rewarded them with local and state voting rights. Eastern women failed to understand the opportunities and challenges, and thus alienated the very women they needed to build a state-by-state movement.

The CU, which later formed into the NWP, played a key role in the Western suffrage movement. Mabel Vernon, one of the best organizers of and public speakers of the NWP, arrived in April 1914 to aid Martin in campaign. The two women became close friends and Vernon later returned to serve as Martin’s campaign manager for her two bids for Congress in 1918 and 1920. On 3 November 1914, Nevada granted women state suffrage rights, which launched Martin’s entry into state politics. She became the first woman of the Nevada Educational Survey Commission while working on the federal suffrage.

National Suffrage

Martin played a significant role in the federal campaign and became one of the star organizers for the CU and the NWP. Organized under the leadership of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, the NWP focused its energy on winning federal suffrage. Both women had experience in the British suffrage movement and, like Martin, supported the use of radical tactics. Martin became the first national chairman of the NWP, but Paul always controlled the campaign and within a short time would be named chairman. During World War I, the NWP focused on an unpopular strategy to picket the White House and verbally attack President Wilson for his failure to support suffrage. Martin participated in the controversial pickets and was arrested and sentenced to the Occoquan Workhouse. Martin and Paul both possessed similar domineering personalities and frequently clashed as a result. When Paul was elected as chairman in 1917, Martin became vice chairman and legislative chairman. Paul clearly controlled the NWP from the beginning and she maintained a loyal following. Martin understood the dynamics of the organization and resigned her position

to pursue political office, though she would maintain a cordial but distant relationship with Paul and would continue to support the federal suffrage campaign.

Office Holding and Political Campaigns

It is not entirely clear whether Martin left the NWP over personality conflicts, or why in 1918 prior to the suffrage she decided to pursue public office. One account suggests that perhaps her experience working the halls of Congress during her tenure as the legislative secretary of NWP opened her eyes to the legislative process and honed her skills organizing testimony for committee hearings. Jeannette Rankin's success in the House must also have entered her mind. Self-confident and armed with her legislative skills, Martin believed she could raise the status of women and that even if she lost that she would raise the bar for women in politics. She counted on the support of the NWP, and because of her stature in the organization she received tacit support from Paul and actual support from Vernon and others to help in her campaign.

Martin firmly approached politics as an unapologetic feminist and believed that her campaign would serve all women. Martin's approach mirrored the unwavering commitment of Paul in promoting equal rights. In contrast to Rankin who never fully embraced a feminist platform, Martin based her campaigns on feminism and she believed that her candidacy would advance suffrage and transform gender relations.

Martin's decision to run for office took shape after a series of discussions with friends and her NWP colleagues. A review of Martin's two unsuccessful campaigns provides a glimpse into her feminist ideology and the role that she believed women should play in the political process following the Nineteenth Amendment. She sought to convince women to think beyond the initial suffrage victory and she specifically targeted Nevada women to support her campaign based on women's political equality. Martin's views fit into the larger framework of Progressive Era politics in her support of industrial welfare, federally supported medical aid to women and children (Sheppard-Towner Act), and prohibition. Like Rankin her platform reflected the diversity of women's interests, but she keenly focused on the interests of small farmers, miners, farm laborers, and businessmen. She ran as an independent, refusing to run on either the Republican or Democratic ticket, and would later disparage women who joined the ranks of the two parties because they were male-dominated and unresponsive to women's political equality.

Martin's political campaigns reflected a fusion between democratic ideology and maternal and civic housekeeping. She rationalized that through the power of the vote citizens could influence laws that affected them, and that the men in Congress did not represent the rights of women (i.e., taxation without representation). Because women maintained the moral and physical health of their families, they were uniquely prepared to legislate for other women.

Thus women's concerns focused on the preservation of the family and community, but also extended to those exploited by big labor and industry. World War I highlighted the contributions of American women and the victory of the Nineteenth Amendment slowly opened the door toward women's equality. Martin envisioned that her campaign would bring together collective women's self-interest, but she underestimated her own appeal as a woman's candidate, and her privileged background blinded her to the realities of women's lives.

To Martin's credit she tested the political waters and in so doing she faced tremendous hostility from male voters and indeed became an early pioneer for future women entering politics. The suffrage victory was an important first step toward women's equality, but it would take decades to peel away the proscriptions of Victorian gender ideology. As political scientist Kristie Anderson has described, the political infrastructure had to change to allow for female participation through voter registration, voter education, and political party participation. No longer consigned to the private sphere, women had to navigate the male sphere of politics and develop new expectations and roles as enfranchised citizens. Although Nevada granted women the right to vote in 1914, Martin's focus on feminism and her belief that women would vote as a block for the U.S. Senate testifies to the difficulties that female candidates faced, but also reinforces the point that women had to learn the habit of voting before they could pursue full political equality.

Feminist Ideology and Equal Rights

Martin, a firm believer in a separate "women's" political party, railed against feminist leaders like Carrie Chapman Catt, who encouraged women to join the party platforms. She wrote that Mrs. Catt "sounded the doom of feminism for years to come . . . when she encouraged women to work for the party of their choice—exactly where men party leaders wanted them, bound, gagged, divided, and delivered to the Republican and Democratic parties" (Anderson, 79). Martin's sentiments were not unfounded. Women working in the political parties had to jump through major hoops to increase the representation of women delegates and there was a great deal of disillusionment. Emily Newell Blair, a key figure in the Democratic Party, felt that women had lost important ground working through male-controlled political bodies, and the lack of support for women candidates like Martin was a mistake. Although Martin's views on the two-party system and insistence on a women's party were not realized in her lifetime, modern women identified with her views and in 1971 the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) formed in direct response to the lack of women candidates and office holders. The NWPC provided an important base for women entering politics and spearheaded campaigns on women's issues in the modern era (Anderson, 107–108).

Martin may have failed in electoral politics, but she left her mark as a political writer. Throughout her life she wrote numerous articles and editorials

critiquing American democracy and the limited role of women in politics. Her political campaigns reinforced her feminist ideology and she continued to write hoping to inspire women to vote as a block. She frequently referred to the U.S. government as a sex aristocracy where men ruled women. She bemoaned that lack of activism of women in addressing their second-class status, and as she said in her first campaign, she hoped to “knock the fear out the hearts of women.” Despite her views on women’s apathy she continued to support legislation that promoted women’s equality, including organizing support for the Sheppard-Towner Act, which provided funds for maternal and infant welfare. She also supported the Equal Rights Amendment.

Peace Activism

Following her last senate campaign, Martin moved with her mother to Carmel, California. She continued to give speeches and write articles and editorials on feminism and politics, but her focus shifted to the peace movement. The formation of the Women’s Peace Party (WPP) in 1915 provided an important base for women during World War I. Martin joined the WPP during her suffrage work, and it was during this period that her pacifist view took shape. Martin joined WILPF, serving for a time as the Western regional director. In 1926, she was a delegate at the Fifth Biennial International Congress of WILPF, held in Dublin, Ireland. Martin ended her tenure with WILPF in 1936 due to personality conflicts with WILPF secretary, Dorothy Detzer, and others. In her letter of resignation she expressed her discontent with the leadership and lack of support for the regional leaders and the lack of feminist leaders. She also participated in the Peoples Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation, an international organization committed to ending war. She spent some of her time lobbying Congress and speaking against the naval build-up and promoted the Kellogg-Briand Pact, outlawing war. After World War II she continued to promote peace and was a sharp critic of American Cold War policies. Martin died in Carmel, California, in 1951.

SARA BARD FIELD (1882–1974)

Sara Bard Field, poet, suffragist, and peace activist, was born 1 September 1882, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Daughter of George Bard Field and Annie Jenkins (Stevens) Field, Sara Bard Field grew up in a middle-class family, had four siblings, and was raised as a strict Baptist. At age eighteen she married Albert Erghott, a Baptist minister and missionary (twelve years her senior), and in 1901 gave birth to son Albert Field, and in 1906 daughter Katherine Louise was born. Field took her husband’s name and refers to herself as Mrs. Erghott on page 201 of her oral history. After the divorce, she returned to her maiden name.

Missionary Wife and Budding Poet

Sara Bard Field and Albert Erghott married in September of 1901 and within a few days following the ceremony they traveled to Rangoon, Burma, to begin missionary work. Traveling through India, Field witnessed shocking poverty of the Indians, which sharply contrasted to the wealth of the colonialist population. She later recollected her shock at the impact of British colonialism. The destitute poverty and starving people sharply contrasted to the lives of the British, and similar to Ireland, shiploads of grain, rice, wheat, and tea left the country while the native population went hungry. This experience opened her eyes to the importance of human rights, and she became sharply aware of the inequalities in her own country. Field gave birth to her son Edward while in India, but her health declined following his birth and the couple returned to the United States.

Between 1902 and 1903 the Erghotts lived in New Haven, Connecticut, where Edward attended the Yale Theological Seminary. It was at Yale that Sara first discovered poetry and had the privilege to attend lectures given by Professor Robert Lounsbury. Interested in learning all she could about Browning, she audited a nineteenth-century poetry course and later studied with Lounsbury, who encouraged her to write.

Social Radicals

In 1903, her husband accepted a position as minister in a poor community in Cleveland, Ohio. Field played the role of a dutiful minister's wife and established a soup kitchen and kindergarten in the church. Cleveland at this time period was a hotbed for radicals, socialists, and unionists led by progressive Mayor Ted Johnson, who established a number of social welfare programs and was a convert to radical economic philosophies of Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*. Johnson promoted civic involvement in government through civic lectures. Field attended many of these tent meetings and was also radicalized by Henry George and read closely his book. Likewise, Eugene Debs had a profound impact on Field's political ideology. When he was jailed for his opposition to World War I, Field contributed to *Debs and the Poets*, a literary protest against Debs's arrest.

Field's community activism received some notice from the municipal leaders and she was asked by the mayor to help lecture to the women's clubs on the theories of Henry George. Her experiences in Cleveland shaped her views on politics and deepened her views that women needed the vote. She was further encouraged by her sister Mary to adopt socialism and was introduced to social radical Charles Darrow, who would later introduce her to Charles Erskine Scott Wood.

The Erghotts shared different opinions on politics and social reform. Although Edward identified as a Christian socialist and held liberal positions

on social relationships, he was fanatical in his religious beliefs. In contrast Field identified as a citizen of the world and her religion became non-dogmatic. She soon came to the conclusion that she had married into the wrong profession because she did not believe in religious orthodoxy. Field became a student of literature and socialist philosophy. She read *Progress and Poverty* and *Between Caesar and Jesus* by George Herron, who questioned the relationship between the church and capitalism and the role that the church had taken on addressing social problems. Both Sara and Edward were introduced to Christian socialism in Ohio, where they met Debs, and read the works of Herron and others. Herron influenced both Sara and Edward to become Christian socialists, but Sara's beliefs radicalized where Edward's did not, eventually resulting in rift, followed by a bitter divorce and child custody battle.

In 1910, the Erghott family moved to Portland, Oregon, to take up a new ministry. It was in this period that Sara first met Charles Erskine Scott Wood, or Colonel Wood as she was known to call him. Portland became home to a small pocket of well-known radicals, anarchists, and socialists, including Emma Goldman and Max Eastman. Clarence Darrow introduced Sara to Wood, a philosophical anarchist, lawyer, and acclaimed writer. Field and Wood were immediately attracted, but both were married. They soon developed an intimate relationship that would last a lifetime and would eventually marry. Though Wood was thirty years her senior, the two formed a permanent bond, one that death could not break; Wood's death in 1944 shattered a much younger Field and she never remarried.

Suffrage Work

By 1911, Sara Bard Field came to the conclusion that she could not remain with her husband but needed a means to earn a living. As it happened, the Oregon suffrage campaign was building momentum. She joined the College Equal Suffrage Campaign and became a paid state organizer for the final push for state suffrage. Taking on this position was difficult because she had to travel the state and leave her children behind. She worked closely with pioneer feminists Emma Wold and Abigail Scott Duniway. Field spent hours working in rural locations giving speeches, for which she received good press.

Typical of Western suffrage work, the women traveled from town to town. They focused on all groups in the state, including the mining camps, farmers, and labor groups. She tried to arrange to speak from her car or on the street, which she found most effective in getting people to listen. She recruited men and women and handed out pamphlets and loads of literature that she begged them to read. Mrs. Duniway, though quite elderly and frail, organized the state campaign work.

When the suffrage resolution passed, she wrote feature news articles for the *Oregon Journal*. Her husband also worked on the campaign as a member of the Men's Equal Suffrage Campaign. Wood also supported the movement and

periodically traveled with Field, which led her husband to hire detectives to spy on them.

Following the Oregon victory Field traveled to Nevada to support Anne Martin's campaign in 1912 and 1914. In between the two state suffrage campaigns she spent time in a tuberculosis sanitarium. It was during this period in the sanitarium that she decided to divorce her husband. She traveled to Goldfield, Nevada, in 1913 to file for divorce. Living with her young daughter while waiting for her divorce, she met Anne Martin and the two became friends. She moved from Goldfield to Reno to live with Anne Martin and her mother, and soon agreed to work on the Nevada suffrage campaign. Her divorce became final in 1914, which finalized the end of her first marriage. Her husband received full custody of their children, but she had visitation rights on the weekend. She left Reno briefly to establish a home in San Francisco and to help get her children settled.

Nevada Suffrage Campaign, 1913–1914

The Nevada Campaign trail had many geographic and other challenges. Traveling mostly by train, the women worked generally alone and presented speeches in town halls, churches, and on the street. In one example, Field traveled to Virginia City for the day but could not get a return train to Reno. A male hotel clerk helped her find a ride with four men who were quite drunk. She momentarily considered her options but decided she could not change her mind and went along, though she feared she would never reach Reno. By journey's end she was quite shaken. Many of the suffrage organizers camped to reach the rural mining communities. Anne Martin recalled that the camping adventures for the campaign were good therapy. Field never felt comfortable in the outdoors in contrast to Martin, who was exposed to rough conditions at an early age, was a crack shot, and was an able horsewoman. Field and Martin placed themselves in awkward and sometimes dangerous situations for the struggle. In 1914, their efforts paid off as the state legislature finally passed the suffrage bill. Field later returned to Nevada to stump for Martin's congressional campaigns.

Early on in the Nevada campaign, Field met Mabel Vernon of the CU. Vernon sold Field on the goals of the CU to push for a federal amendment and she offered to help with the upcoming 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition. As Vernon described, "[W]e are going to have a booth with great signs, and there will be hundreds of women from all over the western states, as well as everywhere, and we're going to have a great petition to President Wilson." It was at this meeting that Field came to the realization that a federal amendment would save women money and energy. Field agreed to do what she could to help with the exposition and she joined the ranks of the CU and NWP and became a primary speechwriter and speaker. She worked with Mabel Vernon, Doris Stevens, and Inez Milholland. The year 1915 proved a busy time for

her, as she worked the suffrage booth at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The Exposition attracted visitors around the globe, and Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont, a significant financer of the booth, spoke daily. The energy and enthusiasm generated by the fair and the convening of the first Women's Voters Convention revitalized the determination of the women present to fight for a federal amendment. Field wrote the culminating speech delivered by Mrs. Belmont. The attendees believed that the success of Western suffrage and the power of 4 million women voters would force the president and Congress to support the suffrage amendment. The NWP organized a cross-country automobile ride from California to Washington, DC, to hand-deliver a suffrage petition to President Wilson and to Congress. The ride was intended to dramatize the demand for suffrage, with a petition of half a million signatures gathered at each major city. Paul selected Field to ride with two Swedish feminists who had recently purchased a new car that they planned to drive back to Rhode Island. Field described herself as a reluctant angel. When Field suggested to Paul that they lacked sufficient knowledge of auto mechanics, Paul responded in her typical way, "Oh, well if that happens I'm sure some good man will come along that'll help you." Field further objected that she was writing a book. In the end, she could not say no to the violet-eyed Paul, even though it meant being separated from her two children and facing unknown dangers on the road. The women left on 16 September and finally arrived on 6 December 1915, after facing bitter weather, poor road conditions, and mechanical problems. They traveled over 5000 miles, meeting organized crowds in Reno; Salt Lake City; rural areas of Wyoming; Colorado Springs; Kansas City; Lincoln, Nebraska; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Chicago; and New York.

Mabel Vernon organized each city tour and with the help of local women, staged parades and rallies, and built new support for suffrage. The cross-county ride and the publicity it generated helped dramatize the potential power of women's organizational abilities and the power of a woman's voting block. Field arrived in Washington exhausted, but gave her crescendo speech before Congress and with much fanfare. Field attended parades and speeches in Newark, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The envoy ended at the steps of the Capitol, where Field gave a speech and was escorted with 300 guests to the White House to meet with President Wilson. She presented the 18,333-foot-long petition roll with half a million signatures.

Field continued to work with the NWP until the suffrage amendment was finally ratified by the states in 1920, which included more speech writing and making, lobbying senators, and working on gaining support of the Democratic Party. Although she maintained steady support of the movement she was gravely affected by the death of Inez Milholland and Paul's capitalization on her death. Paul never wavered in her drive for women's rights and she expected no less from her foot soldiers. When approached by Paul to picket the White House, Field declined because of poor health. Paul responded in her characteristic way that possible death would be a good thing for the movement.

Unlike Paul, Field had young children to consider and was not willing to give her life for the cause.

In 1920, she left the NWP because of their single focus on women's rights and refusal to support the peace movement. Field would continue to have close association with some of the NWP women, but she distanced herself from Paul and would avoid her when visiting Washington, DC.

Antiwar Activities

Field's feelings for peace were equally as strong as her support for suffrage. During World War I she joined the People's Council in San Francisco, an organization opposed to World War I. Field traveled with this group to cities where they were permitted to protest, and in less friendly cities faced arrest. The group had a short history due to censorship and opposition to antiwar groups. Nonetheless, Field continued to support antiwar efforts and spoke out against conscription and called for disarmament following World War I. She gave an impassioned speech against conscription at a public socialist meeting. Some 30,000 people attended, but the newspapers would not cover the event. Field was the only female speaker and the last person on the schedule. Several audience members thanked her for bravery, as she could have been arrested under state and federal espionage laws. She and Wood would also speak out against the espionage trial of Eugene Debs in 1919, and they contributed to a poet protest published as *Debs and the Poets*. Field joined numerous organizations, including the Women's Peace Party and the WILPF, and she was a member of the ACLU and was active in the birth control movement and other social reform measures.

Family Tragedy to Artist Refuge

In 1918, Field had taken a picnic car trip with her children and Wood that ended in tragedy. Driving in the hills of Marin County, Field attempted to turn the car around, but instead went over a small cliff. Her son Albert was killed on impact. This experience forever changed her life, and following her recovery from the accident and loss of her son, she made a permanent home with Wood. In 1918, Wood and Field formally established their home in San Francisco and in Los Gatos, which soon became an important writers and artist salon. John Steinbeck, Lincoln Steffens, Robinson Jeffers, William Rose Benet, and Ansel Adams were among the guests. Field never completely reconciled her life with her strict religious upbringing. As a result she experienced extreme emotional highs and lows. She found purpose as a poet and was broadly published in literary and political magazines. Her poetry provided a cathartic release for some of the pain she endured and she found harmony in her life with Wood.

CONCLUSION

All three of these women offer different views on women's rights, feminism, social reform, and human rights. While Rankin and to a lesser extent Martin made their mark through political office and activism, Field lived as a radical intellectual, but nonetheless made her mark as a regional and national leader. All three deserve recognition for taking the risks and facing the challenges that cast them outside traditional gendered society, and each equally deserve icon status and need to be remembered for their individual and unique contributions to democracy, human rights, and political equity.

NOTE

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Bill Gates. Dreamstime.

Bill Gates

Susan Tschabrun

Bill Gates co-founded the Microsoft Corporation in 1975 and subsequently led it to become one of the world's most successful companies. Gates's corporate success stemmed from his realization that personal computers small enough to sit on a desktop would become ubiquitous and that the creation of the software that enabled a personal computer to perform specific tasks was as important as its hardware. In helping to bring the computer software industry into being through the development of computer programming languages, operating systems, and business applications, Gates succeeded in both making Microsoft one of the most successful corporations of all time and making himself the world's richest man.

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- Richest man: Bill Gates, \$56 billion net worth in 2007
 - Largest software company: Microsoft, sales \$34.27 billion in 2005, ranked thirty-first largest public company worldwide
 - Largest philanthropic foundation: Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, \$60 billion in assets in 2007
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An icon of the American West, Gates, with his adolescent demeanor, tousled hair, smudged glasses, and apparent lack of fashion sense, epitomized the stereotypical computer geek or nerd. Present at the birth of the personal computer and software industries, he joined legions of other upstart, entrepreneurial computer engineers, programmers, and hobbyists to make the West Coast the epicenter of new revolution in computer technology. Battling the East Coast-based corporate behemoth IBM (International Business Machines), Gates grew Microsoft from little more than an idea pursued in all-night work sessions in his college dorm room to a Fortune 500 company. Gates continued to view Microsoft as a scrappy underdog even as Microsoft grew to rival IBM in sales and influence.

Gates incorporated his tiny Micro-Soft company in New Mexico, but moved it soon to Washington state, bypassing the orchards of the Santa Clara Valley in California, better known as Silicon Valley, for his childhood home near Seattle. However, Gates and his colleagues in Microsoft shared much of the youthful, somewhat idealistic, creative, yet fiercely competitive ethos that made the software industry centered in California so different from corporate culture elsewhere. His move to Washington also brought his company to a region of the country that shared much with the nascent Silicon Valley, including its history of federal spending, defense contracting, and a surplus of white-collar engineers. Unlike the earlier Boeing boom in the Seattle area, Microsoft spawned a host of related software startups, but on a far smaller scale than in the famed Silicon Valley, which had no single company at its center.

Gates's success in bringing into being and later dominating the software industry has been variously attributed to luck, creative genius, and unfair business practices. There is no doubt that he was an early visionary concerning

the role that personal computers would play in American business and everyday life. His belief that a company could be made profitable solely through software development at a time when computer code was incorporated directly into computer hardware rather than sold (or licensed) as a freestanding product was a gamble that few would have taken in the mid-1970s.

As a technology innovator, Gates gets somewhat lower marks. The product that put Microsoft on the U.S. corporate business map, MS-DOS, was developed originally outside the company and only purchased and adapted by Microsoft. Similarly, the fabulously successful Windows product was based on ideas pioneered at Apple Computer and originally conceived at a Xerox research facility.

The idea that Microsoft owes its huge success to unfair business practices was tested in U.S. courts during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Microsoft was found guilty of violating the Sherman Antitrust Act for requiring purchasers of its popular operating system to purchase its Internet browser. Later, a second judge greatly reduced the impact of this adverse ruling on Microsoft, thereby averting the break-up of the company. It is undoubtedly true that Microsoft has taken advantage of its control over the operating system used by the vast majority of computer users to capture the market in core business applications, and its premature announcement of products before they were ready to be released has sometimes hobbled would-be competitors. Gates's business acumen is tied to his ability to see emerging trends and his willingness to do whatever it takes to try to get out in front of "the next big thing."

Gates's reputation has evolved over time, as evidenced in his eight appearances on the cover of *Time* magazine. In his first appearance in 1984, *Time* portrayed Gates as a twenty-eight-year-old computer wunderkind, a "wizard" working computer "magic" through his booming software company. Eleven years later in a 1995 cover, Gates had morphed into the all-powerful "Master of the Universe," described in the cover story titled "Mine, All Mine" as a ruthless empire-builder, who wanted "a piece of everybody's action." In 1999, the *Time* cover pictured Gates as an inflated balloon surrounded by sharp pins, with the caption, "Busting Bill," alluding to the antitrust ruling of the previous year. By the 2005 cover, Gates, together with his wife Melinda and Bono, are labeled "Good Samaritans," united in the global fight to vanquish "poverty, disease, and indifference."

Since 2000, billionaire Gates has taken important steps toward revamping his image as a brilliant but selfish monopolist into a caring philanthropist. With the creation of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Gates and his wife have created the largest philanthropic organization in the world. Gates has stated in the past that he plans to give away at least 95 percent of his fortune—which currently stands at \$56 billion, making him the world's richest man. His charitable endowments are currently around \$30 billion.

*Microsoft won't be immortal.
All companies fail. It's just a
question of when. My goal is
to keep my company vital as
long as possible.*

EARLY LIFE

Born William Henry Gates III, Gates was the second of three children. His parents were well-to-do Seattle lawyer William Henry Gates II and his wife Mary Maxwell Gates, herself the daughter of a banker. Nicknamed “Trey” for the III in his name, Gates spent a childhood centered on such suburban pleasures as Boy Scouts, family summer outings, Sunday dinners with card or trivia games, and sports competitions. Upon reaching junior high, Gates’s parents decided to send him to the exclusive Lakeside School because, according to his father, “he was so small and shy, in need of protection, and his interests were so very different from the typical sixth grader’s” (Isaacson, 1997). In sixth grade, Gates’s outgoing mother took him for a year of psychological counseling hoping to curb his rebelliousness, but was eventually advised that it was hopeless to try to control or compete with him.

At Lakeside, Bill met fellow student Paul Allen, with whom he later co-founded the Microsoft Company. Starting in eighth grade, Bill learned the BASIC (Beginner’s All-Purpose Symbolic Instruction Code) programming language and worked on a variety of computer-related projects, mainly to gain free access to minicomputers at a local company. BASIC had been developed in 1964 at Dartmouth University by two professors who were looking to make a simplified computer language to help students learn how to program. Eventually, Gates and Allen were partnering on small, paying jobs, including writing a payroll program in COBOL and a traffic-counting program for a business venture they dubbed Traf-O-Data.

Despite his early dabbling in the emerging field of computer software, Bill entered Harvard in fall 1973 with the intent to study law, following in his father’s footsteps. A mostly lackluster student, Bill often spent his days skipping classes to work in the computer lab on pet projects and his nights playing poker. In early 1975, an issue of *Popular Mechanics* magazine captured the imagination of both Gates and his friend Paul Allen. Featured on the cover was a picture of the new MITS (Micro Instrumentation and Telemetry Systems) Altair 8080, one of the first of a breed of new, relatively inexpensive microcomputers that held the promise of making the computing power of the expensive, refrigerator-sized minicomputer, or even the room-sized mainframe computer, available on the much smaller space of a desktop. Gates and Allen made up their minds that they would be in on the ground floor of what they presciently realized would become the “personal computer (PC) revolution.”

With no code in hand, or even an Altair microcomputer for testing, they telephoned MITS offering a version of BASIC for the 8080 MITS machine and then worked feverishly for several weeks using the Harvard mainframe computer to develop the software. Gates added the finishing touches to the code on the flight down to New Mexico where MITS was located. To demonstrate the software, Allen fed the untested code on paper tape into the Altair, and to the relief of both friends, the BASIC actually worked.

Due to its compact design, BASIC was an ideal programming language for the first generation of personal computers, which had extremely small memories and limited processing power. Many years later when Gates was asked of which programming project he was most proud, he said the Altair BASIC code had been his biggest challenge because of its need for parsimony. So memorable was the experience that he said he could still see the three pages of code in his mind as though he were still looking at it.

And our slogan from the very beginning was “a computer on every desk and in every home.”

FROM MICRO-SOFT TO MICROSOFT

As a result of the successful demonstration of their code, Gates and Allen signed a deal with MITS that gave the company exclusive rights to license the software to other companies but also committed it to use its “best efforts” to commercialize the product. Deal in hand, the friends formed a partnership company they named Micro-Soft (the hyphen disappeared a few years later) and rounded up some of their Lakeside computer buddies to work for them. Gates took a leave of absence from Harvard to devote time to the new company. During Microsoft’s early years as a start-up company, Gates established a hardworking, round-the-clock work style leavened with adolescent playfulness, a respect for raw IQ and creativity, and a gloves-off style of aggressive competitiveness that soon became the basis of Microsoft’s corporate culture.

One of the first threats to the new company, and the nascent software industry more generally, was a byproduct of the irreverent, computer hacker counterculture from which Gates himself had emerged. The Microsoft BASIC code that Gates and Allen had sold to MITS was being readily copied by computer enthusiasts. In 1976, Gates’s response was to publish “An Open Letter to Hobbyists” in major computer publications that excoriated software copying as theft and queried how software programmers could expect to survive without pay. Although the letter angered many of Gates’s programmer friends and colleagues, it also spurred a discussion of piracy that led to the acceptance of software as a category of copyrighted material. Paradoxically, the early, widespread copying of BASIC served Gates’s interests by making the language a microcomputer standard. In 1977, Gates finally officially dropped out of Harvard to work at Microsoft fulltime.

Microsoft’s early years were not without troubles. In response to its refusal to license BASIC to customers, Gates sued MITS in 1977. In the end, an arbitrator ruled in favor of Microsoft, but not before a lack of income nearly brought the company to a standstill. At the end of 1977, Gates considered moving the company to California to merge with Digital Research, which had just released the new CP/M operating system. Instead, Gates decided to move back to his childhood home, and in 1978, Microsoft moved from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to Bellevue, Washington. The company’s sales for that year were \$1,355,665.

Why do we need standards? . . . It's only through volume that you can offer reasonable software at a low price. Standards increase the basic machine we can sell into . . . I really shouldn't say this, but in some ways it leads, in an individual product category, to a natural monopoly: where somebody properly documents, properly trains, properly promotes a particular package and through momentum, user loyalty, reputation, sales force, and prices builds a very strong position within that product.

—Bill Gates, May 1981 computer forum (Poole, 2002)

THE DEAL OF THE CENTURY

Microsoft's fortunes were soon to be sealed in what many have termed "the deal of the century." In 1980, IBM, the king of computer manufacturers, was belatedly working to break into the personal computer market. Approaching Gates to supply BASIC for its new line of PCs, IBM representatives also revealed that they were actively searching for an operating system. Gates referred them to Digital Research, but subsequent negotiations between the companies did not reach an agreement. With IBM's blessing, Gates next tapped a fellow Washingtonian Tim Patterson and his Seattle Computer Products company, for his Q-DOS (Quick and Dirty Operating System), first securing a non-exclusive license and later paying \$50,000 for it. Gates modified the code, renamed it MS-DOS (Microsoft Disk Operating System), and signed a license agreement with IBM that gave Microsoft, but not IBM, the right to license the software to third parties. Meanwhile, for expediency's sake, IBM created the IBM PC with an open architecture that allowed it to be easily cloned by other computer manufacturers. By the time Microsoft delivered MS-DOS

to IBM in 1981, there were dozens of other computer manufacturers lining up to buy the Microsoft operating system, and MS-DOS quickly established itself as the standard for IBM-PC clones in the rapidly expanding home computer industry.

Steve Jobs

A contemporary of Bill Gates, Steven Paul Jobs was also a pioneer in the personal computing revolution. Jobs grew up in the area of northern California that would soon become Silicon Valley. Jobs dropped out of college to work at Atari, an early video gaming company. In 1975, Jobs and Steven Wozniak designed and built the first Apple I computer. Apple I was immediately financially profitable. In 1977, the Apple II computer was released and became the first successful mass-market computer due to its ability to be easily set up and run business programs. By late 1980, Apple Computer Company went public, making Jobs an instant multimillionaire. When Apple Computer introduced the Macintosh computer into a slumping market in 1984, however, Jobs, who had managed to alienate nearly everyone at Apple, was forced out of the company. In 1986 Jobs purchased a computer animation studio from George Lucas.

Renamed Pixar Animation Studios, the studio made history with the release of *Toy Story* in 1995, as the first blockbuster computer-animated movie. With Disney backing, Pixar has produced a steady stream of hit movies, two of which, *Finding Nemo* and *The Incredibles*, received Academy Awards.

Jobs returned to Apple in 1996 when the company bought NeXT computer, then under Jobs's management. The NeXT operating system became the basis of the new Mac OS X, which by 1998 had been incorporated into the stylish and popular iMac. The solid sales of the iMac put Apple back on the computer-industry map. In 2001, Apple followed up with the hugely successful iPod portable music player, which later spawned the iTunes digital music online store; the iPhone, a combined cellphone, iPod, and Internet device; and, in 2007, the AppleTV. Speaking in 1997 to the *New York Times Magazine*, Jobs spelled out his design philosophy: "Great products are a triumph of taste." Still garbed in his black turtleneck and blue jeans, the charismatic Jobs remains a prime representative of the West Coast digital seer.

WINDOWS

The same month (August 1981) he was putting the finishing touches on his lucrative MS-DOS deal with IBM, Gates got a glimpse of the future when Steve Jobs of Apple Computer paid his first visit to Microsoft. A few months later, Gates returned the favor, visiting Jobs in Cupertino, California, to see an early prototype of the Macintosh computer. Apple Computer was one of many technology companies, such as Sun Microsystems, HP, and Silicon Graphics, that had sprung up around the Stanford Research Institute in the San Francisco Bay area of northern California. Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center (PARC) took many Institute ideas and generated a host of innovations, among them the point-and-click graphical user interface (GUI). PARC research into human-computer interaction found that users would prefer interacting with a computer interface using a mouse device rather than typing the text-based commands required by MS-DOS. Gates immediately saw the superiority of the Macintosh GUI, but it would be years before Microsoft could build one.

Still partnered with the IBM giant, but increasingly at odds with that company over what he considered its elitist marketing strategy, Gates pursued a dual approach, which involved developing the OS/2 operating system with IBM and a new graphical version of MS-DOS in-house at Microsoft at the same time. Gates hoped that in working with IBM on OS/2, he could buy time to develop Windows and increase Microsoft's share of the IBM PC market in anticipation of the day when IBM would seek to roll out a new line of PCs no longer tied to MS-DOS software.

Simultaneously, Gates was also partnering with Jobs and Apple Computer on the development of applications for the PC, realizing that the newest frontier

[V]irtually everything we sold was not a product when we sold it. We sold promises.

—Steve Smith, former Microsoft marketing director (Manes and Andrews, 130)

in the software industry had moved beyond languages and operating systems into business applications. As one of the conditions of the Apple deal, Gates agreed that Microsoft would not develop software requiring an Apple-style mouse device before 1984. Despite this, by mid-1983, Microsoft had developed and released a mouse. By the end of the year, the company had released its word-processing program, Word, which became the only software on the market that

worked with a mouse. In November 1983, Gates approached IBM with a GUI prototype, but the company expressed no interest in the product; in fact, unknown to Gates at the time, IBM was working on its own ill-fated GUI interface, called Top View. With Gates worried that Microsoft might miss the GUI boat, Microsoft prematurely announced the development of Windows in an effort to head off competitors. In reality, the actual release of Windows 1.0 was two years away.

During those two years, sales of MS-DOS grew rapidly as more and more manufacturers entered the personal computer market. By 1984, Microsoft had switched to per-machine deals with OEMs (Original Equipment Manufacturers) instead of the earlier flat-fee license. That licensing change, together with the fact that Gates sold MS-DOS at large discounts, made it almost impossible for a competitor to break into the PC operating system market. Yet, even with the success of MS-DOS, Gates was betting the company on a Mac-like graphical interface. In 1983, in response to a Microsoft employee's arguments in favor of tiling versus overlapping in the still-nascent Windows product, Gates was reported to have said, "That's not what a Mac does. I want Mac on the PC. I want Mac on the PC" (Manes and Andrews, 256).

Steven Wozniak

A co-founder of Apple Computer, Steve Wozniak was the engineering genius who invented the first personal computers, the Apple I and the Apple II. Born in San Jose, California, in 1950, Wozniak spent a childhood among the orchards that soon would blossom into Silicon Valley. Wozniak left UC Berkeley in the mid-1970s to work for Hewlett Packard, designing calculator chips.

Around the same time, Wozniak joined the Homebrew Computer Club, and it was for that group in April 1976 that he first demonstrated the Apple I computer that he had designed and built, together with Steve Jobs. The Apple I had a single circuit board with a built-in video interface, and, although it was still mainly for hobbyists, Jobs found a local dealer willing to purchase 100 Apple I machines at the price of \$666.66 a piece. Wozniak later quit HP to work full-time at Apple, where he was already busy working on the design of

the Apple II, the first mass-market personal computer and one of the most popular computers ever until it was discontinued in 1993. By 1980, Apple Computer had grown to be a company valued at \$1.2 billion, thereby making Wozniak a multimillionaire.

Wozniak's work at Apple continued through 1981, when a private plane he was piloting crashed on take off. The concussion he suffered caused a lengthy period of memory loss. When he recovered, he went back to college, earning two bachelor's degrees at UC Berkeley. He officially retired from Apple in 1985. In 2006, he published *iWoz: From Computer Geek to Cult Icon: How I Invented the Personal Computer, Co-Founded Apple, and Had Fun Doing It*, which he says he wrote to dispel myths that had grown up around the history of his role in Apple Computer and his relationship with the other Steve, Steve Jobs.

ONLY THE PARANOID SURVIVE

Similar to the switch from BASIC to MS-DOS, Gates's willingness to radically change Microsoft's direction in order to pursue a Mac-like GUI was driven as much by fear as a sense of expanding technological opportunities. In 1984, when Apple Computer released the Macintosh, the company was riding high from its successful releases of the Apple I (1976) and Apple II (1977) computers. In 1980, Apple Computer went public with the largest stock offering since Ford Motor's offering in 1956. Apple's standing in the business market was strong as the result of running Microsoft's Applesoft BASIC, which permitted floating-point arithmetic and consequently was better for developing business applications. It didn't matter that Microsoft and Apple Computer were involved in numerous collaborations, that Microsoft was emerging as the most active developer of software for the Mac, or that Gates had personally attended the Macintosh unveiling and had been pictured in the first Macintosh brochure. Gates felt he was in a fight for his company's survival. Furthermore, two PC-based GUI operating systems had hit the market in 1983, namely VisiCorps VisiON and Digital Research's GEM. In June 1984, Gates co-authored a memo in which he talked about how Windows would win the GUI wars, predicting that "[o]ver time Windows systems will dominate since they will have more software than any other. It is crucial to our future to establish Windows as THE STANDARD graphics interface for microprocessor software development by the end of 1984" (Manes and Andrews, 257).

Pam Edstrom, Microsoft's public relations director in the early 1980s, expressed the underlying role of fear in Microsoft's business strategy: "It is deep in the culture that success is never guaranteed" (Slater, 9). In part, the role of paranoia in driving the company forward can be attributed to its early

If Microsoft were a car, it would have a large gas pedal and a small but workable brake. It would not have a rear view mirror.

—Mike Murray, former Microsoft vice-president of Human Resources and Administration

history as a scrappy start-up, in which aggressiveness and hyper-competitiveness were required to overcome a lack of capitalization, personnel, or reputation. Gates's own personality and his propensity to see himself and Microsoft in the role of an underdog no matter how large and successful the company became no doubt played a part. However, the phrase "Only the Paranoid Survive," the title of a 1996 book by Intel chairman Andy Groves, captures the specifically West Coast flavor of the computer industry in the 1980s and 1990s. On the one hand, Gates shared with Silicon Valley geeks a view of themselves as technological trailblazers much like the risk-taking pioneers who had settled the West a century before. White, male, and educated at prestigious universities, these same individuals also shared a sense of camaraderie unmatched in American industry. Paradoxically, the intense necessity for tech firms to innovate and stay ahead of the curve also drove a high level of collaboration and cooperation among entrepreneurs and engineers. In this fluid, quickly evolving environment, often your closest collaborator was simultaneously your most cutthroat competitor.

Sandra Kurtzig

In an industry largely created by men, Sandra Kurtzig stands out as an early female pioneer. In 1972, hoping to earn some extra money and "to keep her mind occupied," Kurtzig used \$2000 of her family's savings to start a software programming business out of her Silicon Valley home. In 1974, Kurtzig and her husband Ari formed the ASK Computer Systems Company using their initials, A.S.K., to create the company name, and by 1978 the company had its first product ready for sale. ManMan, short for manufacturing management, brought together a set of applications that provided companies with better inventory control and production management. When Kurtzig struck a deal with Hewlett Packard (HP) to preload the ManMan package into all their minicomputers, sales of the software rocketed. The ASK Computer Systems company went public in 1981, making Kurtzig a multimillionaire.

In 1983, Kurtzig bought a software company with experience in programming for personal computers, renaming it ASK Micro. ASK Micro never managed to transform ManMan to run on the PC, and in 1984, Kurtzig shut ASK Micro down. Meanwhile, ManMan was revitalized by the introduction of lower-price minicomputers by both HP and DEC.

In 1989, Kurtzig acquired Data 3 Systems, a software-developing company for IBM hardware, and Ingres Corporation, developer of database software that ASK already used. Through these acquisitions, ASK became a larger, more

diversified, and internationally based company. By the time Kurtzig retired in 1992, the reconfigured company with sales of \$450 million had grown to be the largest publicly traded company ever founded and run by a woman.

In 1994, Kurtzig, known as the "Mother of Silicon Valley," published *CEO: Building a \$400 Million Company from the Ground Up*. In 1996, she partnered with her son Andrew to start E-Benefits, an insurance and human services provider that has since been acquired by another company.

In the race to get a GUI operating system to market, Microsoft ended up releasing a buggy Windows 1.0 in November 1985. On top of the bugs, the new system was unacceptably slow compared to the speeds computer users had become used to with their character-based MS-DOS systems. The amount of processing power involved in computing pixels for mouse-clicks far surpassed that needed for characters, and the 386 Intel processor that would make this power available was still several years away. Users mainly appreciated the new Windows system for the ease with which they could move between applications, not its graphical interface. It wasn't until the release of Windows 2.0 in 1987 that the operating system, which now had folder and program icons and overlapping windows, reached the level of a "Mac on a PC" that Gates had earlier demanded. Also by that point, WYSIWYG ("what you see is what you get") applications like Microsoft Word for word processing and Aldus PageMaker for desktop publishing, followed by a new version of Excel spreadsheet program, had been developed for Windows.

Users were not the only people who were quick to notice the Mac-like "look and feel" of Windows 2.0. In March 1988, Apple Computer slapped Microsoft with a lawsuit alleging that Microsoft had broken the terms of an earlier licensing agreement between the two companies. Back in 1985, when Apple had been in a slump due to disappointing sales of the Macintosh, Gates had persuaded Apple to sign a licensing agreement that permitted Microsoft to use Apple-like features in Windows 1.0 and subsequent Microsoft software products. It took four years for the Apple lawsuit to make its way through the courts, but in the final ruling, Microsoft walked away having defended itself against all 170 charges of alleged copyright infringement. The Microsoft defense relied heavily on the existence of the 1985 licensing agreement and the fact that many GUI features in dispute had first been developed by Xerox's PARC.

In the period between Microsoft's initial public stock offering in 1986 and the release of its wildly successful Windows 3.0 program in 1990, Gates continued the dance with IBM, still fearing that Microsoft would be crushed by its giant competitor. Big Blue, as the company was known, turned out to be a paper tiger. IBM corporate culture was hierarchical, overly compartmentalized, and slow-moving. Microsoft developers ridiculed IBM coding practices,

which produced inelegant code based on antiquated programming languages and whose programmers were rewarded by lines of code rather than code quality. As joint IBM-Microsoft development of the OS/2 operating system staggered onward, ostensibly for the high-end computer market (with Windows, in the IBM view, consigned to the low-end), Microsoft continued to push out applications on the Windows platform. Software developers betting on the success of OS/2 became increasingly worried, especially by 1989 when it became clear that IBM-Microsoft partnership was on the verge of a break-up.

In came Windows 3.0 in May 1990, arguably the most successful software release in history. With its colorful, “Ready for Windows” logo plastered on new PCs and countless software packages, Windows rapidly reached the 4 million copies mark in its first year of distribution. The following year brought the installed Windows 3.0 base up to a whopping 10 million copies. Development of applications to run under the new operating system reached 1200 in the first year, soaring to a total of over 5000 applications by the second anniversary of the Windows 3.0 release. Many of those applications had been developed by Microsoft, so that the company found itself by 1991 in the enviable position of making as much money with its applications as it did with its systems products, like Windows. Furthermore, Microsoft’s dominance in the business market was beginning to be matched by its retail consumer sales for the home market and a new Consumer Division was created in response to that trend.

To add insult to injury from the point of view of Microsoft’s competitors, Microsoft’s parting deal with IBM in 1990, which gave IBM rights to OS/2 1.0 and 2.0, allowed Gates’s company to walk away with the OS/2 3.0 project. The work from the OS/2 3.0 project, with its high-end features, became the basis for the Window NT product, released in 1993. Windows NT was a 32-bit operating system for users and businesses needing advanced multi-tasking capabilities, and eventually became the basis for Windows 2000. By mid-1992, Microsoft had exceeded both Boeing and General Motors in capitalization, and Gates himself was well on his way to becoming the world’s richest man. Sounding an infrequent sour note during a time of heady success, the Federal Trade Commission opened its first investigations into the possibility that Microsoft was engaging in violations of U.S. antitrust law.

MICROSOFTIES AND MICROSERFS

By the early 1990s, Bill Gates had shaped a company that had come a long way from its early start-up days, when whomever first walked into the office had to package and ship waiting orders or dump the garbage. One constant over time was the fact that Gates remained in firm control. In the early years, the hierarchy was flat, and Gates served as “Microsoft’s chief decision maker, chief technologist, chief salesperson, chief cutter of deals, and chief visionary”

(Slater, 52). Over time, he developed a hub-and-spokes style of management where individuals were brought in as spokes to take care of key business functions, but still left Gates at the hub in control of major decision-making.

Conflict was at the heart of Gates's management style. He became famous for flying into a rage, screaming and yelling at Microsoft employees when he felt they had not performed adequately or had failed to explore all angles of a project. One student of Microsoft observed, "This is a company constantly at war, not only with outsiders, but also with itself" (*Bill Gates Speaks*, 55). At the same time, Gates inspired incredible loyalty in many employees, and a corporate culture that accepted that "Bill is always right." He respected employees who stood up to him and would change his mind when presented with a compelling argument.

Gates prided himself on the collective IQ of his workforce and much preferred raw intellect over experience in the people he hired. Throughout the 1990s, his youthful workforce had a preponderance of twenty- and thirty-somethings even at the upper levels. Described by some as "Little Bills" or "Bill clones," the programmers at Microsoft were all hand-picked by Gates and Steve Ballmer, his right hand man. They had special status, and Gates took a personal interest in each of them, learning their names, faces, telephone extensions, and even license plate numbers. At the same time, programmers were expected to work extraordinarily long hours; *Wired* magazine dubbed them "Microserfs." But the large Redmond campus with its nerdish frat-boy atmosphere, amenities such as sports fields and running paths, and relaxed attitude toward anything that fostered creativity and innovation made Microsoft an intense but fun place to work. It didn't hurt that through the 1990s employee stock options regularly created large numbers of Microsoft millionaires.

As Microsoft became established as a company and grew in size, Gates relied on key individuals to be "spokes" to his "hub." Paul Allen, his childhood friend and original partner, was central to the organization until his 1983 diagnosis of Hodgkins disease forced him to resign. Allen later returned as a member of Microsoft's board of directors while founding and/or investing in a variety of other enterprises including Starwave, America Online, Ticketmaster, and the NBA's Portland Trailblazers and the NFL's Seattle Seahawks sports franchises. In 1980, Gates brought in a close friend from his Harvard days, Steve Ballmer, to help run the company that had increasingly grown beyond Gates's abilities to manage singlehandedly. Unlike Gates's relationship with Allen, which cooled over time, Ballmer and Gates became increasingly close, even "alter egos" in the words of a *Forbes* magazine article. Another key player was Nathan Myhrvold, whom Gates eventually promoted to chief technology officer and who became responsible for setting up the Microsoft R & D (research and development) division. Other key executives on whom Gates relied were Charles Simonyi and Rowland Hanson.

We tell people that if no one laughs at at least one of their ideas, they're probably not being creative enough.

Interviewer: Do you dislike being called a businessman?
Gates: Yeah. Of my mental cycles, I devote maybe ten percent to business thinking. Business isn't that complicated. I wouldn't want to put it on my business card.

—Playboy interview, 1994

Ironically in light of his later reputation as a monopolist, Gates possessed an anti-bureaucratic streak and a disdain for corporate power, preferring to view his company as a visionary David battling sluggish corporate Goliaths. He therefore resisted any changes that appeared to add layers of corporate management or took the competitive edge off employees, such as new business processes, training programs, job titles, or long vacations. Gates's reluctance to come to terms with Microsoft's increasing heft coupled with a business focus that rarely saw beyond the next few years were of little concern as long as Microsoft's growth rates stayed in the double digits.

AN EXPANDING EMPIRE

Gates's quest to be in front of the Next Big Thing led Microsoft to move outward from its core software business in a dizzying array of directions, including multimedia, news and entertainment, gaming, and telecommunications. In the area of multimedia, Microsoft acquired Dorling Kindersley, British publisher of photographic images, in 1991. In 1993, it released Microsoft Encarta, the first multimedia encyclopedia for the computer, as well as a number of other new multimedia titles, such as Microsoft Dinosaur and Microsoft Bookshelf. In 1994, the company bought SOFTIMAGE Inc., the leading developer of 2-D and 3-D computer animation and visualization software. In the area of entertainment, Microsoft signed a joint venture agreement with Dreamworks SKG in 1995 and announced the same year a 50/50 partnership with NBC to create a twenty-four-hour online news and information service. In an effort to speed the development of bandwidth in the telecommunications industry, Microsoft invested \$1 billion in the Comcast cable company in 1997 to enhance the company's deployment of high-speed data and video services. Microsoft's extensive forays into numerous areas outside its core business were frequently innovative and interesting, but not always profitable. By 2000, the company's earnings were still overwhelmingly from its operating systems and applications.

Timeline

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------------|
| 1955 | Born 28 October in Seattle, Washington |
| 1968 | Began programming at age thirteen |
| 1973 | Entered Harvard University |

1975	Left Harvard to found Micro-Soft company with Paul Allen
1976	Published "Open Letter to Hobbyists"
1978	Microsoft moves to Bellevue, Washington
1980	Partnered with IBM to supply operating system for new personal computers (PCs)
1981	Microsoft buys DOS for \$50,000
1985	Windows 1.0 released
1986	Microsoft stock goes public
1990	Windows 3.0 released
1994	Married Melinda French of Dallas, Texas
1995	Published <i>The Road Ahead</i>
1995–	Named No. 1 on Forbes list of "World's Richest People"
2007	
1997	U.S. Dept. of Justice sues Microsoft for forcing computer manufacturers to sell Internet Explorer as a condition of using Windows
1999	Published <i>Business @ the Speed of Thought</i>
2000	U.S. district judge ruled that Microsoft was a monopoly and ordered the company to be broken up into several smaller companies, but the ruling was overturned on appeal; Resigned as CEO of Microsoft, but continued as chairman of the board and Chief Software Architect; Established the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
2006	Resigned as Chief Software Architect with plans to move to a part-time role in Microsoft in July 2008 to devote more time to philanthropy; Warren Buffett announced he would match Gates's contribution to the Foundation

THE ROAD AHEAD

Going into 1996, Gates was arguably at the top of his game. Windows 95 had hit the market in a flurry of publicity. Twenty thousand retail outlets took part in the elaborate North American sales launch, and 1 million copies of Windows 95 were sold during the first four days. Among other improvements, the new version of Windows came with "plug and play" capabilities, which automated the complicated process users had previously experienced when adding hardware or peripherals to their computers. In less than two months, 7 million copies of Windows 95 had been purchased worldwide, and the software received widespread critical acclaim.

Shortly afterwards, Gates's first book, *The Road Ahead*, went on sale in over twenty languages in a first printing of over 1.5 million copies. Gates wrote the book with the help of two Microsofties, Nathan Myhrvold and Peter Rinearson, and pitched it as a look into the future of how technology would guide the

Sometimes we do get taken by surprise. For example, when the Internet came along, we had it as fifth or sixth priority.

sion of online gaming, and handwriting recognition. Some of Gates's misses (so far) included holographic memory as a mainstream storage medium, pay-per-hearing of music, digital money that is not able to be forged, and filterable spam.

One of Gates's blind spots, not only in the original version of *The Road Ahead* but also in his leadership of Microsoft, was his slow appreciation for the key role the Internet would play in technological developments of the future. In fact, the Internet was so obviously missing from *The Road Ahead* by the time it came out in 1995 that Gates reworked the book to add more Internet-related content and reissued it in 1996. An earlier, related trend that Gates failed to appreciate was the role of networking. In that case of missed opportunities, a competitor company, Novell, succeeded in capturing the market. In 1994, Gates realized that his time was so much consumed by day-to-day management of the company that he was no longer making time to spot emerging trends. His solution was to institute Think Week, a five-day getaway where he could be alone to do nothing but read and think. One of the earliest milestones attributed to a Think Week was his May 1995 internal memo titled "Internet Tidal Wave," which spelled out the key role the Internet would play in Microsoft's future. Once Gates saw the integral role of the Internet in business computing, he moved fast to rectify the mistake and shift what had become a formidable company in a brand new direction.

Gates's myopia about the Internet stemmed from a central Microsoft strength. From early on, Microsoft often derived its greatest competitive advantage from the fact that it was positioned to integrate software products, thereby creating a more uniform and improved user experience. There was a synergy between Microsoft's software development and the fact that the company also had control over the user's PC environment through its operating system. The Internet promised a brave new world where tight integration and proprietary control no longer ensured success. By definition, the Internet was open, uncontrollable, and interactive.

Microsoft took a variety of steps to get out in front of the Internet tidal wave. In late 1995, Microsoft announced that over a half million subscribers had signed up for the new Microsoft Network, making MSN one of the world's largest Internet service providers. Less than a month later, Microsoft and NBC, the television broadcasting giant, announced the creation of an interactive, online news service called MSNBC, as well as a twenty-four-hour cable channel, which debuted in early 1996. Meanwhile, Microsoft purchased

way we "work, play and live." On the tenth anniversary of the book's publication, Geoff Richards took a critical look at Gates's predictions and turned up a mix of hits and misses. Among the hits, Gates correctly predicted incredibly cheap computer storage, legally downloadable media, and the licensing of music by individual song, personal video recorders, the explo-

Vermeer Technologies, Inc. for its flagship software application, FrontPage, a tool for easily creating and managing Web sites without programming. By the end of 1997, Microsoft's Internet strategy appeared to have paid off when the release of its highly acclaimed Internet Explorer v.4 browser was met with a huge customer demand. In November 1997, a respected polling firm found that when Americans were asked without prompting which company they most admired and respected, they most often mentioned Microsoft.

Gates's Twelve Steps for Making Digital Information Flow

Intrinsic to a Company

1. Insist that communication flow through e-mail
2. Study sales data online to share insights easily
3. Shift knowledgeable workers into high-level thinking
4. Use digital to create virtual teams
5. Convert every paper process to a digital process
6. Use digital tools to eliminate single-task jobs
7. Create a digital feedback loop
8. Use digital systems to route customer complaints immediately
9. Use digital communication to redefine the boundaries
10. Transform every business process into just-in-time delivery
11. Use digital delivery to eliminate the middleman
12. Use digital tools to help customers solve problems for themselves

—*Business @ the Speed of Thought*, 1999

UNITED STATES v. MICROSOFT

Within a couple of weeks of the release of Internet Explorer 4.0 on 1 October 1997, the U.S. Department of Justice sought a contempt-of-court citation against Microsoft for a violation of a 1995 consent decree that had ended earlier antitrust proceedings against the company. In the earlier 1994 case, Gates agreed to remove some of Microsoft's restrictions on the use of its products by competitors. The 1997 suit by the Justice Department viewed Microsoft's requirement that computer manufacturers bundle Internet Explorer with Windows in their products as a breach of the earlier consent decree. In December 1997, U.S. District Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson issued a preliminary injunction against Microsoft from forcing computer makers to sell Internet Explorer as a condition of licensing Windows. Thus was launched a long and drawn out antitrust battle, which was not completely resolved until 2002 and which threatened to break up the company.

Gates's reaction to the lawsuit was angry and uncompromising. He was unwilling to consider a settlement, and in fact became one of the company's biggest liabilities as the case progressed. In August 1998, Gates was summoned for a three-day videotaped deposition in preparation for the upcoming

A monopolist, by definition, is a company that has the ability to restrict entry by new firms and unilaterally control price. Microsoft can do neither.

were presented in September 1999, Microsoft's image had been badly battered by months of trial coverage.

Judge Jackson's preliminary findings, in which he labeled Microsoft a "predatory monopolist," made his subsequent ruling on the case unsurprising. In June 2000, the judge ruled that Microsoft was a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, which had illegally exploited the 95 percent world-market dominance enjoyed by its operating system Windows. The judge further ordered that Microsoft be divided up into several smaller companies. It was the largest antitrust ruling since the breakup of AT&T in 1984.

The breakup of Microsoft was later reversed on appeal, thereby greatly reducing the impact of the adverse ruling against Microsoft. However, lawsuits at the state level continued, and similar antitrust litigation took place against Microsoft in Europe. It was not until late 2002 that another district court judge issued a final judgment approving Microsoft's settlement with the federal government and the states. Microsoft had triumphed, but walked away somewhat muddied and, according to insiders, somewhat adrift in leadership.

For Bill Gates personally, the antitrust troubles were clearly a turning point. During the five years the litigation took place, company stock soared to lofty heights only to plummet along with other technology companies when the dot-com bubble burst in 2000. Prior to the collapse of the stock market, Microsoft under its antitrust cloud hemorrhaged talent to dot-com start-ups. At a board meeting in 1998, Gates uncharacteristically broke down, reportedly complaining that "this job is too hard for anybody" (Klien, 197). In the same year, Steve Ballmer was made president of the company. By 2000, Gates had stepped down as CEO in favor of Ballmer, while continuing as chairman and stepping into a new position as chief software architect. In the same year, Gates set up the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which some in the industry saw as a ploy to burnish Gates's badly scarred reputation and that of his company.

PERSONAL LIFE

Notoriously hardworking, putting in extraordinarily long hours, and taking almost no vacation since he started up the company in 1975, Bill Gates appeared for many years to be a confirmed bachelor who was married to his company. In 1994, Gates surprised many by wedding Melinda French in a New Year's

antitrust trial. His performance on the stand during the deposition became his one and only opportunity to influence the outcome of the case, but his demeanor throughout was disrespectful, arrogant, and evasive. He slouched in his chair and avoided eye contact, tried to best the government prosecutor using smart-aleck retorts, and stonewalled. The trial began in October 1998; by the time the final oral arguments

Day ceremony in Hawaii. Melinda, originally of Dallas, TX, had an undergraduate computer science degree and a business graduate degree from Duke University and was working for Microsoft when she first met Gates at a company press event in the mid-1980s. She later became a Microsoft executive in charge of interactive content. One of her projects was "Microsoft Bob," a cartoon character that was designed to help the novice user carry out simple computer tasks. However, the Bob character required more processing power than most computers could supply at the time, so the Bob project was killed. The Gates-French romance, however, flourished.

Since Bill and Melinda's marriage, the family has grown with the births of three children: Jennifer Katharine Gates (1996), Rory John Gates (1999), and Phoebe Adele Gates (2002). The family has largely eschewed publicity, although a good deal of attention has been paid to the Gates family home in exclusive Medina, Washington. The house overlooking Lake Washington is over 60,000 square feet in size and took seven years to complete. It is in Pacific Lodge style and was built into the side of the bluff so that from the outside it looks much smaller than it is. In addition to its size and assessed value (about \$113 million), the house is notable for the amount of technology that has been incorporated into it. Lights come on automatically and brighten or dim according to the availability of natural light, programmable music and artwork follow visitors from room to room, and a microchip given to each visitor can preset temperature and other controls to the visitor's preference. The garage holds thirty cars.

Bill Gates's leisure hours, when not taken up with house and family, are generally filled with golf, games, and reading. Gates has been accused of taking up the sport of golf with the same obsessive zeal he took on the job of running Microsoft. He is well known for his love of bridge, puzzles, and other games of intellect. Reading was probably his first hobby and remains a continuing source of pleasure. Gates recalls a summer in his youth when he received colored bookmarks for each book he read. "There were girls who had read maybe 15 books. I'd read 30. Numbers two through 99 were all girls, and there I was at number one. I thought, Well, this is weird" (Interview, *Playboy*, 1994). Gates's love of reading is evident in his mansion's elaborate domed library. As early as he could drive, Gates has had a passion for fast cars. However, he has never repeated his experience in 1978 when he received three speeding tickets on a single trip, two tickets from the same police officer.

When your own government sues you, it's not a pleasant experience. I wasn't sitting there going "ha, ha, ha, I'll do what I want." I was thinking this is the worst thing that has ever happened to me.

GIVING IT AWAY

Gates's philanthropy got a late start, but has grown to history-making proportions. In the early days of the company, and even after his expanding

Interviewer: But you could have chosen other issues.

Why were you so intent on making a difference in communicable diseases?

Gates: Well, I looked at what is the greatest inequity in the world. The U.S. is very oriented toward solving inequity—gender inequity, racial inequity. In fact, you'd have to say, the greatest inequity is that we let people die of these diseases. We treat their lives as being worth less than a few hundred dollars because that's what it would take to save them. And so there's a huge disparity and bringing the advances in science to those diseases can change that in a big way. So, my goal was to pick the thing I thought was the greatest inequity in the world, focus on that as our top priority and that's world health and then take the greatest challenge for the United States and make that also a priority and that's the work we're doing in education.

—Interview with Peter Jennings, ABC News,
16 February 2005

wealth was getting him regularly on the cover of *Time* magazine, Gates took little interest in overseeing charitable giving, which he saw as a distraction from his role as Microsoft chairman. He believed philanthropy was something he would pursue in his declining years after he left the company. In time, his mother and father, Gates says, persuaded him to take up philanthropy at an earlier age and with greater purpose. In 1994, the William H. Gates Foundation was created with a focus on global health and community needs in the Pacific Northwest. In 1997, the Gates Library Foundation was set up to give money to U.S. and Canadian public libraries to fund the purchase of computers. Eventually the Library Foundation morphed into the Gates Learning Foundation. In 2000, the existing Gates charitable entities were merged into the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, with Bill Gates Sr. at its head, and a mission to pursue charitable work in four areas: global health, education, libraries, and the Pacific Northwest (particularly Washington and Oregon).

Despite the view by some commentators that it was merely a PR effort to distract the public from Microsoft's legal problems, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has grown to become both the largest and among the most respected philanthropic organizations in the world. Gates was familiar with the Rockefeller Foundation and wished to tailor his efforts after the best aspects of the Rockefeller outfit, especially its global approach. He also wanted the foundation to aim for the biggest effect possible. The breadth of the effort he and his wife envision is reflected in the organization's mission statement: "Guided by the belief that every life has equal value, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation works to reduce inequities and improve lives around the world."

In recent years, Gates has immersed himself in the work of the foundation and has read extensively in the areas of global health and poverty. In 2006, the Foundation possessed assets of around \$30 billion,

\$26 billion donated by the Gates family and the rest from investments. Around 60 percent of its approximately \$1.5 billion annual spending goes to global health issues, particularly to what Gates calls the "Big Three Diseases," HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis. In other public health areas, spending has been focused on making medical advances that would have large impacts on

the developing world. The Foundation's national charitable drive is currently focused on public high schools, reflecting Gates's belief that the failure to maintain high standards in science and math has compromised the future competitiveness of the United States.

Warren Buffett, the world's second richest person after Gates, announced in June 2006 that he would be giving away 85 percent of his \$44 billion personal fortune, with most of it going to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Buffett had been a long-time personal friend of the Gates family, was personally impressed with Bill and Melinda's passion and commitment, and saw the foundation as a proven effort that could scale up to spend much of his fortune as well as the Gateses. Days before Buffett's announcement, Gates had announced that he would take a part-time role in Microsoft by 2008 to pursue a full-time commitment in philanthropy, while remaining Microsoft's chairman. Gates's projected transformation into full-time philanthropist at age fifty-three would give him many years in which to attempt to realize the Foundation's vision.

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American flags fly outside the Two Rivers Casino and Resort outside of Davenport, Washington, 2005. The casino is one of the gaming operations of the Spokane Tribe of Indians. Getty Images.

Indian Casinos

Lisa E. Emmerich

American Indian casinos have become, over the last three decades, a prominent feature of the American West's cultural landscape. Despite their status as relative newcomers to the high risks and correspondingly high rewards of corporate gaming, Indian tribes throughout the area have begun to compete in earnest with Las Vegas, Reno, and Lake Tahoe for the money that annually floods into those historic locales. However, the emergence of Native nations as gambling powerhouses has not come easily or without controversy. Conflicts at the federal, state, local, and community level have affected the rise of tribal gaming throughout the United States. These have been especially visible in the American West. There, where the nation's meta-history and popular culture have made both gambling and Indians synonymous with the region, Native nations are exploring the multiple ways that the incorporation of casino gaming redefines tribalism and sovereignty.

OVERVIEW OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

More than two centuries of federal Indian policies create the backdrop for the story of American Indian gaming in the West. After the adoption of the Constitution, policy makers at the national level began to assume the central responsibility for dealing with the Native nations located within the boundaries of the United States. The fledgling federal government opted to follow the historical path first defined by the British and negotiate treaties with the various Indian tribes residing within the boundaries of the new United States. These agreements recognized tribal sovereignty, pledged peace and friendship among the signatory nations, and, ominously, foreshadowed the surrender of Indian lands. Early congressional legislation like the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act (1790) gave the federal government regulatory power over both trade and the interaction of Natives and American citizens. In the early nineteenth century, Supreme Court decisions like *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) further delineated the boundaries of American Indian sovereignty as they strictly limited the influence of private citizens and the states in Indian affairs. Policy makers in Congress and the executive branch increasingly identified themselves and the federal government as the Indians' "Great Father" as they gradually assumed enormous powers over Native nations.

As westward expansion and military conflict brought more and more territory under the American flag during the first half of the nineteenth century, the relationship between American Indians and the federal government focused mainly on the legal status of tribally held lands. Treaties and federal legislation extinguished Native rights to land throughout the eastern United States and ultimately in most of the territory acquired during the era of Manifest Destiny. Instances of military and political resistance, like Tecumseh's ill-fated attempt to harness the power of a pan-Indian confederacy in the early

nineteenth century or the fruitless legal efforts of the Cherokee in the 1830s to prevent their removal from traditional lands, typically resulted in redoubled American efforts to suppress tribal autonomy. By the eve of the Civil War, only a handful of coherent and self-sustaining tribal communities existed east of the Mississippi River. These remnant populations usually were hidden in plain sight of the larger society on tiny parcels of federally or state guaranteed land. Farther west, a conglomerate population made up of Indians removed from their homelands in the East, Midwest, and southern Plains occupied the confines of an ever-shrinking “Indian Territory.”

At the end of the Civil War, Americans turned their attention to the West with its promise of economic and social betterment. The waves of antebellum immigration to the Oregon Country and California paved the way for thousands of citizens who foresaw their future prosperity in the open areas of the frontier in the Great Plains, the intermountain West, and the Far West. Mineral wealth, timber resources, and potential farm and ranch land seemed limitless and beckoned the ever-increasing numbers of settlers. Native nations like the Lakota, the Cheyenne, the Apache, and the Nez Perce, who continued to define these same desirable spaces as their own, were unwilling to surrender them to the newcomers.

The federal government looked for new strategies in an effort to forestall conflict among the settlers and the tribes during this period. Beginning in the late 1860s, it attempted to do that through a lethal combination of assimilation and military campaigns designed to solve “the Indian problem.” President Ulysses Grant initiated the Peace Policy, an initiative that promised safety and support for those Indians willing to relinquish their tribal life ways in favor of reservations and “civilization.” The deliberate suppression of indigenous religions, the reeducation of Native children, and the gender-defined assimilation programs directed toward Indian men and women all worked together to eradicate tribalism. Those individuals and communities who resisted the new world order fast overtaking them faced punitive action by local militias and the U.S. Army. By the turn of the twentieth century, circumstances for many of the Native Americans living west of the Mississippi River were even worse than those of the Eastern Indians. Some had quite literally ceased to exist as independent tribes. Other nations were mere shadows, living precariously among the encroaching American population and holding tightly to what remained of their traditions.

Of all the assimilation programs implemented during the last decades of the nineteenth century, none proved as devastating to tribal communities as the allotment policy. The General Allotment Act of 1887, or the Dawes Act as it is more commonly known, was specifically intended to crush traditionalism by abolishing the practice of holding tribal lands in common. Territory guaranteed to Native nations in treaties, congressional legislation, or executive orders as land to be held by all members of the community was now to be divided up and handed over to individual Indians. The gospel of private property, so

much a part of the American national character, was regarded by politicians and the so-called friends of the Indian as the ultimate tool for “de-Indianization.” The allocation of land on the basis of nineteenth century American gender ideology privileged male heads of household. And the desire to break down the social networks that provided the underpinning for Native life resulted in the separation of extended families. Federal policy makers and nongovernmental reform advocates alike believed that the transformation of American Indians into citizens modeled on the classic Jeffersonian agrarian democrat was the first step on the road to complete Americanization.

Assimilation remained the centerpiece of federal Indian policies until the 1930s. Then, during the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt, Native Americans were offered a “New Deal” by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. The new course charted by Collier sought to undo past de-Indianization efforts by promoting the reinvigoration and retention of traditional arts, crafts, religions, and languages. Recognizing the damage done under the allotment strategy, he abandoned the further division of reservation lands. He mandated that Native nations adopt a new governmental system that blended the American constitutional model with a heavy dose of corporatism to affirm tribal sovereignty and promote government-to-government relations between the tribes and the United States. Collier’s efforts at reversing past federal policies and giving American Indians the tools he believed they needed to move into the twentieth century earned him both praise and widespread criticism from inside and outside the boundaries of Indian Country. Diehard assimilationists were appalled at his promotion of cultural pluralism; Native advocates of tribal autonomy chafed at his heavy-handed imposition of the new governmental systems; and politicians from the local level to the federal government frowned on his aggressive promotion of Indian interests.

In the aftermath of World War II, the pendulum of Indian politics swung back toward a more assimilation-friendly agenda. Congress moved to resolve the issues that comprised the mid-twentieth century “Indian problem” by resurrecting the spirit of the late nineteenth century with the modern policies of compensation, termination, and relocation. Because the bulk of the tribal populations lived there, these policies had an especial effect on the American West. Superficially, each of these initiatives seemed tailor-made to address ongoing Native concerns and complete the assimilation process. Compensation gave tribes the opening to bring suit against the federal government for territory lost in violation of treaty agreements. Termination promised them a reduction of federal interference in their day-to-day lives. And relocation offered young Indian men and women the chance to move, with federal support, to urban areas like San Francisco, Seattle, and Denver where they might build prosperous futures. Taken as a group these policies seemed to present Native Americans with unparalleled opportunities for greater stability and autonomy.

Unfortunately, the reality was quite different. The compensation process was so cumbersome that some Native nations didn’t participate and others

waited more than two decades for their claims to be adjudicated. As wielded by Congress, termination dealt a death blow to the sovereignty of many Western tribes by negating their unique status as distinct political entities. The relocatees found themselves trapped in poverty-stricken urban enclaves because of discrimination and low-paying jobs. Americanizing Indians in the late twentieth century proved to be no more successful than it had been 100 years earlier.

UPPING THE ANTE: THE ORIGINS OF MODERN INDIAN GAMING

By the mid-1960s, then-contemporary attempts to “kill the Indian and save the man” were rightly regarded as costly and dismal failures. Ironically, this realization roughly coincided with a series of dramatic events during that decade that focused greater attention on the economic and political status of tribal communities throughout the United States. Shifts in the national political agenda led federal policy makers and the American public to “rediscover” American Indians. And, tragically, these observers found much to investigate. As contemporary U.S. Census documentation revealed, the median income for reservation Indians in 1964 was \$2074, a sum substantially less than that of white Americans (\$6743) and even African Americans (\$3947). Unemployment rates for reservation communities that stood at a stunning 51.3 percent in 1960 had declined by 1965 to 41.9 percent but were still as much as ten times higher than for white and African Americans.

Tribal social and public health conditions reflected this disastrous economic condition. A survey of housing in 1966 indicated that 75 percent of all reservation homes were substandard, with 50 percent regarded as beyond repair. Mortality rates for infants born on the reservations were double those for white Americans. And while the mortality rates for diseases like tuberculosis and dysentery were declining among tribal populations, the morbidity rates for trachoma, pneumonia, influenza, and chicken pox were actually on the rise during the 1960s. The message of these statistics was clear: Native nations were in dire straits.

There was little doubt as to the chief culprit in the structural poverty that gripped most Native American communities. As a mechanism for assimilation, the policy of allotment implemented under the Dawes Act proved to be a failure. The uniform rejection of tribal traditions did not accompany the division of communally held lands. As a tool (inadvertent, according to some) for beggaring Native nations, however, it worked far too well. Avaricious Americans who believed that the reservations, located primarily in the American West, contained too much land for the exclusive use of Indians sought to undermine the policy from its inception in 1887. As written, the legislation attempted to protect Indians by vesting the federal government with the land

title for a period of twenty-five years after allotment. But unscrupulous practices during the initial division period and subsequent amendments to the Dawes Act resulted in the alienation of two-thirds of all remaining Native lands by the 1930s. The land that remained in tribal hands was often not conducive to economic development. The 1928 Meriam Report assessed the results of this policy and declared it the source of the endemic poverty that was a signature feature of Indian Country, especially in the West.

More than thirty years later, this was still the case. The systematic dismantling of tribal land holdings that began in the eighteenth century relegated American Indians to the bottom of the national economy. Looking beyond the boundaries of Appalachia and urban enclaves in the 1960s, the poorest counties in the United States could be found encompassing tribal populations in the Dakotas, Montana, Arizona, and New Mexico. In South Dakota, home to communities like Pine Ridge, Crow Creek, and Standing Rock, more than 50 percent of the American Indian households fell below the poverty threshold. In Arizona, more than 60 percent of the Hopi families lived below the poverty line. Even in California, where the postwar boom drove an extraordinary period of economic expansion, the Natives who resided on the small rancherias scattered throughout the state languished under similar conditions. Something needed to be done to remedy the situation federal policy makers were calling a “national disgrace.”

When the administration of President Lyndon Johnson began its “War on Poverty” in 1964, it was readily apparent that Indian reservations would become some of the most important battlefields. Envisioning that all Americans would share in the “Great Society” he hoped to create, Johnson oversaw the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Within this, the Community Action Program (CAP) was charged with organizing poor communities to work for their own improvement. Locally based action agencies, according to the federal guidelines, would use grants made directly to them to improve the circumstances of life for all residents of the target area.

Although CAP identified the urban enclaves for its initial efforts, its focus soon broadened to incorporate economically depressed rural communities, including Indian reservations. These were targeted because of their obvious need and also because the rising tide of American Indian activism found ready adherents among these most desperate populations. As groups like the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Women of All Red Nations (WARN) began to draw public attention and tribal support during the late 1960s, federal efforts to address tribal needs expanded. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, individuals and community groups as well as the tribes themselves received funding from federal and private sources to support the reinvigoration of Native communities.

As American Indians garnered more attention, federal policy makers began the aggressive promotion of a strategy known simply as self-determination. Though this policy may have been new to those in Washington, DC, it was

something that Natives had always wanted to achieve but could not because of extra-tribal interference. Starting with the Kennedy administration, every president serving in the last decades of the twentieth century instructed Congress and agencies like the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to promote this agenda among American Indians. Legislation, including the 1961 Area Redevelopment Administration Act, the 1974 Indian Financing Act, and the 1975 Indian Self-determination and Educational Assistance Act, was framed to provide tribes with opportunities to jump-start moribund tribal economies and create jobs. All that was needed to accomplish these ends were money-making operations that could accommodate the unique characteristics of most Indian reservations: a rural environment, a largely unskilled work force, and little or no industrial infrastructure.

In one of the great ironies of modern American Indian history, it was precisely those circumstances that had plummeted Native communities into poverty— isolation, land holdings that had been carved away by federal policies, few or no usable resources, and no connection to American industrialization—that brought them to consider gaming as a means of escape. For the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians who lived near Indio, California, the move into gaming came during the early 1980s. The tribe previously had attempted to make money running an on-reservation smoke shop and cultivating jojoba, a shampoo additive. Neither venture proved especially profitable, though, so the community leadership looked to other ways to generate revenues. Following the lead of other Indian nations, they turned to gaming, specifically bingo.

During the 1970s, acting on the principles of self-determination and with the support of Presidents Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter, many federally recognized tribes around the United States began to pursue economic improvement by sponsoring bingo games on their reservations. These contests initially were tied to some sort of charitable enterprise to conform to existing state laws that limited both the type and value of prizes that could be won. In 1978, the Seminole Tribe of Florida opted out of the Florida state rules, choosing instead to offer high-stakes games with substantial prizes at their bingo hall near Miami. This had both immediate and long-term consequences. As quickly as the tribe began to attract record numbers of gamblers, the state of Florida filed criminal charges against it for violating state law and attempted to shut down the gaming operation. The Seminole refused to back down and went to court to preempt this threat to their economy and their sovereignty. The ensuing litigation took the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals. There, in 1981, the court held in *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Butterworth* that tribal gaming could not be limited by statute, so long as the state in which the reservation was located had some form of legalized gaming.

This prominent and powerful acknowledgment of tribal sovereignty caused other Native nations, especially those in the West, to contemplate gaming for their own communities. The Cabazon Band, along with the Barona Band of Capitan Grande Group of Mission Indians and the Morongo Band of Mission

Indians, all began planning high-stakes gaming sites offering both bingo and card games on their reservations in southern California. In each case, the tribes' members in the 1980s were the descendants of those Natives who had suffered greatly but survived the upheaval of succeeding waves of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization. This time, they would devise, control, and profit from the gold rush that high-stakes gaming seemed to promise.

Following the lead of the state of Florida, the state of California moved quickly and decisively against the Indian gaming operations. Claiming that existing federal and state laws gave it civil and criminal jurisdiction, the state of California argued that it could deny the Cabazon, the Barona, and the Morongo the right to establish gaming on their reservations. In a series of cases that culminated in 1987 at the U.S. Supreme Court in *Cabazon Band of Mission Indians v. California*, the state and the tribes battled out issues of jurisdiction, tribal sovereignty, and self-determination. Amicus briefs in support of the state of California's position were filed by attorneys-general from more than twenty states, including Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico. The Cabazon received support from tribes like the Chehalis, Sandia Pueblo, and the Seminole. The court ultimately held that federally recognized American Indian tribes had the right to promote on-reservation gaming activities in those states where some form of legalized gambling (lottos, horse racing, and bingo games) already existed. In those cases, the state could exert regulatory, not prohibitory, power over the tribes. Since California had a lottery, horse racing, and allowed charitable gaming, it could not infringe on the right of the Cabazon to engage in gaming on their own reservation. In its recognition of the potential importance of gaming to economic independence and self-determination, the Supreme Court affirmed tribal sovereignty and gave the tribes the go-ahead to pursue this avenue of economic development.

Soon after the *Cabazon* decision, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). Beginning in 1983, both the House of Representatives and the Senate actively considered legislation that would provide federal supervision of tribal gaming. The House's Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs invited testimony on the issue from state representatives, members of Indian nations, and officials from the BIA. All sides weighed on the issues of tribal sovereignty, states' rights, taxation, relevant law enforcement concerns, and the socioeconomic effects of gaming. The Supreme Court's verdict in 1987 curtailed what had been protracted negotiations and hastened the resulting law through Congress.

As signed in the fall of 1988 by President Ronald Reagan, the IGRA created a three-tiered system of gaming for federally recognized American Indian tribes in which Class I (traditional Native social games) games would be under the sole jurisdiction of the tribes and Class II (bingo, pull tabs, punch boards, tip jars, instant bingo, and non-banking card games) games would be regulated by the tribes and the newly constituted National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC). Class III gaming (horse racing, slot machines, casino gambling,

jai lai, and any other forms of high-stakes gaming) was by far the most lucrative and the most controversial. This would only be permitted in Indian Country if legal in the state where the reservation was located and if a compact detailing the specific roles of the state and the Indian tribe seeking the Class III gaming could be negotiated. In the event that the state failed to negotiate in good faith or a compromise could not be reached between the state and the Native nation, the secretary of the Interior would intervene to set the terms of the Class III gaming activities. The states were given some degree of regulatory authority over the tribes and their enterprises but only if they agreed to participate in the process. And so Congress placed the imprimatur of federal approval on Indian gaming.

BETTING ON RED: THE POLITICS OF INDIAN GAMING IN THE AMERICAN WEST

The Supreme Court's decision in *Cabazon* and the subsequent passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act began, rather than ended, the period of intense conflict between tribal communities and the states over gaming. This was especially true in the West, where many of the federally recognized tribes were by that time already involved in some form of gaming. During these early years, Native Americans faced tremendous resistance from many state governments to the exercise of their sovereign rights as codified in the IGRA. But exercise them they did in modest bingo halls and nascent casinos that sometimes were no more than double-wide trailers welded together. Governors and states' attorneys-general watched the remarkable expansion of this reservation-grown solution to poverty from the other side of an ever-widening cultural and political divide with increasing anxiety. Citing concerns about state sovereignty, organized crime infiltration, the impact on public morality, and the loss of tax revenues, some began to move against the gaming tribes.

In few places has the opposition to Indian gaming been as heated, as expensive, or as protracted as in California. Governors Pete Wilson (1991–1999), Gray Davis (1999–2003), and Arnold Schwarzenegger (2003–current as of publication of this book) all attempted to manipulate the surrounding political debate and the actual circumstances of Native gaming activities. Wilson proved to be an effective and tenacious opponent for American Indians hoping to enter the gaming business during his term in office. With the help of state Attorney General Dan Lungren, he staunchly opposed the expansion of Class III gaming in the state. When more tribes lobbied the governor for agreements that would facilitate this, he simply refused during most of the 1990s to negotiate any of the compacts that were required by the IGRA. The state of California amplified this confrontational stance with a series of lawsuits that challenged tribal gaming rights and sought to reclaim some of the authority it believed the *Cabazon* verdict had compromised.

Working behind closed doors in 1998, Governor Wilson attempted to force California Indians to accept the Pala Compact, a so-called model agreement that tightened restrictions on Class III gaming while it increased state intrusion into Indian Country. Furious Native nations around the state banded together to bring Proposition 5 (Prop 5), the Tribal Government Gaming and Economic Self-Sufficiency Act of 1998, before voters. This legislation would have opened up more gaming opportunities for California tribes while providing the state with a regulatory role. In the most expensive initiative campaign in American history to that date, tribes spent more than \$70 million to support gaming while Nevada interests pumped some \$26 million into the coffers of the opposition. Although 63 percent of California voters approved Prop 5, the state Supreme Court found it to be unconstitutional the following year.

In 2000, the tribes succeeded in their quest for expanded Class III gaming with the passage of Proposition 1A (Prop 1A) in 2000. Fully two-thirds of the voters once again supported Indian gaming, passing the legislation that finally opened slot machines, lottery games, and banked and percentage card games to the state's federally recognized tribes. This brought newly elected Governor Gray Davis to the table as the state's advocate. Unlike Wilson, Davis generally embraced the idea of American Indian gaming and worked to ensure that the state profited from it. He profited; Davis received financial support from gaming tribes during his campaign. He negotiated sixty-one compacts with tribes that are set to expire after 2021. These were among the first nationally to guarantee collective bargaining for casino employees, use gaming profits to establish a funding resource for non-gaming tribes, and address the need for programs for gambling addiction. They also required the tribes to share their gaming revenues with the state government.

When Arnold Schwarzenegger won the California gubernatorial recall election in 2003, he did so by representing himself as "the people's candidate." Comments about California Indians not paying "their fair share" from tribal gaming may have won him support from the people outside of Indian Country, but they certainly did not enhance his reputation among the tribes. Nor did the governor temper his rhetoric after the election. In 2004, in remarks as he campaigned against two Indian gaming propositions, he stated that "the Indians are ripping us off." Not surprisingly, his approach to negotiating with the tribes has been more like Pete Wilson than his immediate predecessor. Schwarzenegger has, in more than a dozen agreements with Native nations, stipulated substantial (10–25 percent of net profits) payments to the state, required the tribes to negotiate memoranda of understanding with local governments that are enforceable in state courts, and addressed areas of environmental and labor concern. California American Indian communities are increasingly nervous about the governor's ability to use future agreements to further erode tribal sovereignty.

Although the California Indian casino wars show little sign of cessation any time soon, they are not the only examples of legal and political resistance to

tribal gaming in the American West. In state after state throughout the region, long recognized Native nations like the Spokane Indians of Washington, the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux of North Dakota, the Sandia Pueblo of New Mexico, and the Nez Perce of Idaho have all been involved in costly and prolonged litigation over Class II and Class III activities. State attorneys-general and governments have been particularly interested in insuring that tribal communities agree to percentage contributions to state budgets and some degree of localized gaming oversight. In this attempt to redefine the terms of the IGRA, many states have found allies in national politicians like Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) in the 1990s and, more recently, Senator John McCain (R-AZ).

Given the difficulties that the established Native nations have experienced, it is hardly surprising that more recently acknowledged tribes have also encountered opposition as they have explored the gaming option. This is especially the case in California, where the reversal of termination policy in the 1980s has put many small Native communities back on the state map. Tribes like the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria in northern California who have more lately regained federal recognition and wish to enter the gaming business find themselves opposed by local organizations and state officials resistant to their acquisition of the land base necessary to do so. Local anti-Indian gaming interests have gone so far as to claim that the re-recognized California tribes are pretenders who have no genuine connection to historic communities. Twenty years after *Cabazon*, the present and future state of Indian gaming seems to still be up for grabs in many parts of the American West.

Opposition to gaming outside Indian Country has been matched, in some cases, by opposition to the enterprise from within tribal communities. Concerns ranging from the degradation of traditional values to eligibility for tribal membership to the (mis)management of revenues sometimes have caused political upheaval and worse. The Navajo Nation, the second largest American Indian tribe in the United States, rejected the development of gaming in 1994, 1996, and 1997 despite the support from the tribal leadership. In 2001, under somewhat questionable circumstances, a decision was made by the upper echelon of the Navajo government to proceed with the development of gaming sites. This action was taken despite the deep reservations of the community about the potential impact of gaming. The Hopi, who are near neighbors to the Navajo and widely regarded as a bastion of conservative cultural values, have rejected gaming twice in different referendums. In 2004, when tribal vice-chair Caleb Johnson reported the results of the latest vote, he explained that the Hopi felt it was wrong to profit from the bad habits of other individuals. They chose to reject the relatively easy rewards of gaming in favor of the maintenance of traditional values.

Some Natives worry about maintaining cultural stability and integrity if gaming becomes a part of their community. Others worry about just keeping their legal identity as Indians. Many believe that the recent spate of conflicts over the disenrollment of longstanding members around the country have

arisen because gaming tribes wish to limit the numbers of those who might otherwise have a share in the profits. The Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians from Temecula, California, decided in 2004 to cut nearly 10 percent of its members on the grounds of insufficient connection to the historic tribal community. The 2007 decision by the Oklahoma Cherokee Tribe to erase more than 1000 descendants of the Cherokee Freedmen from the tribal books rocked that Indian nation. Sovereignty does guarantee the right of any tribe to determine its membership. But the possible relationship between the dramatic rise in disenrollments and the distribution of gaming profits highlights a problematic side of these economic ventures.

Sometimes political and cultural concerns give way to direct confrontations over gaming on the reservations. Violence erupted in 1995 among members of the Elem Colony near Clear Lake in California after charges of malfeasance were leveled against some of the tribal leadership. After a series of shoot-outs that left ten wounded, the NIGC intervened and closed the community's gaming facilities. In 2004, five women from the Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma barricaded themselves in the nation's offices, alleging the tribal chair refused to accept the results of a recall election that had been called because of concerns over financial wrongdoing with casino profits. After fifteen days they were finally ousted and arrested in an early morning raid by tribal police. Examples like the Kickapoo and the Elem Colony demonstrate how the debate over gaming and gaming profits has, in some cases, escalated reservation political tensions to a breaking point.

"PLAYING INDIAN": MARKETING AMERICAN INDIAN GAMING

To counter the various legal, political, and social responses to their gaming activities, American Indian communities have been required to develop multi-faceted promotional strategies to introduce themselves to the general public. Many have chosen to represent their tribes, their histories, and their casinos in ways designed to emphasize both familiarity and exoticism. A cursory glance at any of the Web sites of the more than 300 different tribal gaming operations around the United States suggests that the tribes go out of their way to emphasize that there is nothing specifically "Indian" about high-stakes gaming. Notwithstanding important questions of sovereignty and self-determination, slots are slots whether on the gaming floor of the Bellagio in Las Vegas or on the gaming floor of the Prairie Knights Casino on the Standing Rock Sioux Indian reservation. Another look at the Web sites, though, indicates the ways that Native nations are redefining the environments in which gaming occurs. They are doing so by creating "authentic" Indian gaming experiences and marketing the experience as a means to support Native self-sufficiency.

As anyone who has ever watched Martin Scorsese's masterpiece *Casino*, the Rat Pack version of *Ocean's Eleven*, or any of the recent George Clooney/Brad

Pitt take-offs of the venerable original can tell you, those who design and build casinos follow certain basic rules scrupulously. Cameras are everywhere and on at all times to monitor the gaming floor. Surveillance should be invisible, but constant. Casino floor plans funnel visitors into the gaming areas and keep them there for as long (and as much money) as possible before they move through to the restaurants, restrooms, gift shops, or hotel lobbies. Gaming floors should be windowless; customers should never be able to tell how long they've been at the machines or tables by looking out a window. Daylight conditions are simulated twenty-four hours a day. Similarly, patrons will never find a clock on a casino gaming floor. There is nothing to indicate the passage of time other than the wrist watch another gambler may be wearing.

Similar care is taken with the actual tools of gaming. The placement of machines is deliberate. "Loose slots," those with a relatively high pay-out rate, are always positioned at the end of long rows or near walkways in the gaming areas. The sound of loose slots paying off is a siren song that draws customers to move more deeply into the gaming area. There, where the slot machines stand rank on rank, pay-offs are smaller and infrequent. Even the carpet designs are selected according to a unique set of guidelines. Casinos choose floor coverings that are so garish that those glancing away from the slots will quickly, albeit mysteriously, find their gaze directed back to the machines. In a modern casino, nothing is left to chance.

These rules certainly did not dictate the design or construction of the first tribal gaming sites. Though it may seem clichéd, it is true that when Native gaming began in earnest in the early 1980s, facilities were often little more than reconfigured double-wide trailers. The 1961 Area Redevelopment Administration Act and the 1974 Indian Financing Act both subsidized start-up costs for these earliest tribal gaming enterprises. For the most part, the buildings they funded were quite basic, sometimes warehouses and sometimes giant round tent-like structures, to house the early high-stakes bingo games. After all, the federal government initially promoted gaming as a means of growing tribal economies because of its relatively low start-up costs and low overhead. The generous prizes taken home by winners more than compensated for whatever ambience may have been missing in the early days of Indian gaming. But as the non-Indian public's interest in gaming began to skyrocket during the 1990s, the need for more sophisticated Class II and III venues became increasingly apparent. To lure gamblers away from the traditional sites in Nevada and New Jersey and keep them as customers, Native casinos needed to do something different.

Like their non-Native counterparts, American Indian casinos adopted the rules for casino design that were intended to maximize profits. As the legal battles over Indian gaming made their way through the federal courts, state houses, state legislatures, and Congress during the 1990s, those tribes already involved worked to increase their share of the market. They hoped to create an environment for gaming that was at once familiar and yet exotic by playing

off of and into stereotypical images of Native Americans. Thanks in part to the interior design wave of the 1980s that popularized the Southwestern Pueblo-style motif, everything from the color pallets to the furnishings and decorative accessories used in casinos could be connected to a generic Indian identity. If the connection to any specific tribal culture was kept vague, it would be easier to avoid negative stereotypes that might influence potential patrons. Thus, gaming followed by drinks in the Bow and Arrow Lounge and then dinner in the Still Water Café could be an evening's activity in a Native casino in Arizona or Idaho or Oklahoma or California during the 1990s. The use of the ubiquitous Kokopelli and totemic animal symbols like bison, eagles, bear, and coyotes in advertising materials or logos could also authenticate a gambler's experience while still keeping it culturally indistinct. The contested terrain of Indian sovereignty and the sometimes tragic history of tribal communities were rarely a part of this environment.

This effort to create a comfortable but indeterminately Indian atmosphere began to shift focus as the gaming revenues poured into tribal communities. Profits that in 1996 totaled more than \$6 billion doubled to more than \$12 billion by 2001 and trebled to over \$19 billion in 2004. Tribes began to look for ways to personalize their gaming venues and create destination resorts that would continue to attract gamblers as well as bring in other tourists. The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe of Connecticut, proudly claiming ownership of the largest gaming facility in the world, were among the very first to develop a wide range of non-gaming entertainment for patrons. Others were soon to follow.

Today, visitors to Indian casinos around the West can do much more than feed quarters into slot machines or play blackjack. Many of the larger gaming tribes, especially those close to urban areas like Denver or Seattle or proximate to major highways like Interstate 5, have built a variety of recreational opportunities around the casinos. Need a break from the tables? Play golf on one of the many Native-themed championship courses springing up around the region that, thanks to planners like Gary Panks of Arizona, blend tribal motifs into their designs. Concert venues located at the casinos regularly host headliners like Gretchen Wilson, Diana Krall, Bill Cosby, Willie Nelson, and Justin Timberlake that draw a broad range of patrons. Shopping centers and outlet malls, again designed with Native themes to bring an "authentic" feel to the search for a reduced-price designer handbag, create more chances for non-gamers to participate in the total casino experience. Diversification is increasingly the name of the game for tribes wishing to maximize their profits. Diversification with a tribal twist promises even more profits.

Native casinos are also becoming architectural showplaces that have been designed to incorporate elements from tribal cultural landscapes. Firms like Thalden-Boyd-Emery Architects, which advertises itself as a Native-owned company on a Web site replete with evocative drum and flute music, specialize in the design and construction of show-stopping casino resorts. The new

Buffalo Thunder Resort, one of their projects under construction for Pojoaque Pueblo in New Mexico, will feature a stunning main lobby reminiscent of a hogan and a gaming area where guests will be surrounded by artistic representations of Pueblo culture. The Leo A. Daly architectural firm created the Casino Arizona gaming complex for the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian community in Phoenix. As described on the architect's Web site, the team who worked on the project carefully selected design elements and a color pallet that were culturally appropriate and accurate. Casino complexes in the West are becoming historical and cultural texts that, using subtle visual clues, educate patrons whether they are coming to game, play golf, shop, or attend a concert.

Casino Web sites also have become tools for American Indian tribes wishing to promote their gaming enterprises and themselves. Most sites have Web pages that detail the variety of games available, the lodgings at the casino, the perquisites of their players clubs, upcoming special events, and the range of dining options. Information regularly found in the descriptions includes the square footage of the gaming area, the type and number of machines and tables available, and the size of the largest and most recent pay-outs. All of this, of course, is intended to whet the interest and appetite of prospective gamblers.

Native nations are also adding links to their Web sites that take the curious to tribal home pages or short narratives that explain the community's past. Sometimes titled "About Us," these narratives provide prospective gamblers with fascinating snapshots of tribal history that include the decision to go into gaming. The Spirit Lake Casino and Hotel in North Dakota recounts the nation's story from the negotiation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 to the present. The Sisseton-Wahpeton have chosen not to provide any commentary on topics like the Indian Wars of the nineteenth century or the Dawes Act. Instead, the site describes how gaming has helped the tribe move forward economically. On the Web site for the Mescalero Apaches' Inn of the Mountain Gods in New Mexico, visitors are invited to view a short video or read a brief history of the tribe that manages not to mention the military conquest of their Southwestern homelands by the U.S. Army. In the pamphlet (that may be downloaded for educational purposes) Geronimo, the renowned Apache leader who was Chiricahua and *not* Mescalero, peers benignly on from a picture beside a quotation meant to reassure those guests who may know something about the warrior's life. This more kindly and gentler version of Geronimo apparently believed that God looked down with equal favor on all people. This, presumably, is particularly true for those gamblers coming to the Inn of the Mountain Gods.

As these sites suggest, the K-12 and post-secondary educational systems are not the only places to learn about the history of American Indians. Or, at least, the twenty-first century tribally authorized version of it. These rather tame narratives that are carefully edited to avoid any hint of bitterness or antagonism give interested patrons just enough background to understand

why tribes have fought so tenaciously to protect their economic interests. And by doing so, they frame one of the most compelling arguments Native nations have put forward in support of the IGRA and Indian gaming. When California tribes wanted to generate public support during the 1990s for their two gaming initiatives, Prop 5 and Prop 1A, they opted *not* to remind the general public of state's genocidal treatment of Indians during the nineteenth century. They instead focused on diffusing the criticisms of gaming by building the campaign around the notion of Indian self-sufficiency. Doing this meant taking on longstanding and racist depictions of tribal people.

One of the most pernicious stereotypes of Native Americans used to characterize (and ridicule) them has been the bedraggled image of "Lo, the poor Indian." Borrowed from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*, the phrase became popular in the latter years of the nineteenth century to describe the survivors of the once-strong Indian nations of the American West. It was "the poor Indian," male and female, who would be redeemed by the federal assimilation and education policies that became popular after the Civil War. This sentimental assessment eventually incorporated darker aspects of tribal life like poverty and alcoholism and morphed into a stereotype common in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the "drunken Indian." These men and women constituted a burden on the larger society and therefore deserved neither pity nor assistance.

In 1998, when California Natives began to promote their Tribal Government Gaming and Economic Self-Sufficiency Act (Prop 5), they chose to confront and refute both stereotypes. In a skillful public relations campaign intended to educate California voters about their state's past relationship with American Indians, the tribes used television commercials to give mini history lessons. These ads spoke to two different issues. They were designed to explain, in effect, how "Lo" came to be the poor Indian and to show how that status could be changed. To accomplish the first goals, the commercials incorporated photographs depicting the past and the contemporary status of the California Indian population. Various tribal narrators, always neatly dressed and sincere, explained the impact of poverty on their respective tribal communities. Without mounting an attack on the state's non-Indian citizenry or emphasizing the horrific experiences of Native nations that began with Spanish colonization, the campaign brought the tragic history of California Indians into every home with a television. The acknowledgment of their poverty and the attendant social problems they faced as poor and marginalized people gave the Indian spokesmen and women the gravitas necessary to redefine gaming as a move toward self-sufficiency.

To achieve this second goal, the Prop 5 campaign had to link its message to the rationales local governments gave for their support of gaming. Beginning in the 1960s, many state governments looked to gaming activities as a way to raise much needed revenues without increasing taxes. State-licensed casinos (both on land and floating) gradually joined off-track betting, lotteries,

multistate lotteries, Powerballs, and card rooms in nearly every part of the United States. This proliferation of legalized gambling brought about significant changes in American attitudes. A national opinion poll used by the National Gaming Impact Study Commission in 1999 reported that the ratio of adults who had never gambled dropped from 1 in 3 in 1975 to 1 in 7 in 1999. It also reported that half of the adults polled had played the lottery and nearly one-third had gambled in a casino. In less than fifty years, most states had gone from outright prohibitions against gaming to reminding their citizens that, in the words of an early Maryland Lotto slogan, "you have to play to win."

American Indian tribes in California used the same logic and rhetoric to garner public support for Prop 5 in 1998. They argued that the circumstances of most reservations and rancherias—no industrial infrastructure, distance from job centers, unskilled labor force—precluded the development of any other form of economic development. Casino gaming on Indian land would allow the tribes to harness what assets they had and, little by little, raise themselves up from poverty. Tribal gaming, as explained in both the Prop 5 and Prop 1A (2000) campaigns, could be best understood as an equation. Add gaming profits, employment opportunities, and increased attention to social welfare concerns together and the product is Native prosperity and a reduced need for state and federal support.

What the tribes in California began arguing in 1998 and, with other Native nations around the West, continue to argue today is that their prosperity is based at least in part on gamblers whose activities can be redefined as morally defensible because the profits go to a good cause. In the 1960s, Americans regularly attended "Las Vegas" nights in their communities that benefited church organizations, hospitals, and youth groups. The states allowed that kind of gaming because it was for charitable purposes. Allowances were made for these kinds of events at that time by a public that was otherwise mostly intolerant of gambling because they were for good causes. Fast forward thirty years and American Indian tribes understand that by making the same argument, they can recast their gaming activities as another way to promote the public good.

Thus, Native casino Web sites invariably explain the allocation of gaming profits within the tribe as well as give information on their distribution in the local non-Indian community. Today, casino revenues fund scholarships for Indian children and youth, improve health care and housing for elders, improve reservation infrastructure, support community programs to fight drug and alcohol abuse, and contribute to the construction of tribal historical and cultural centers. Gaming tribes typically support programs in their larger non-Indian communities that range from the American Red Cross to local Boy and Girl Scout troops to, occasionally, cash-strapped local governments. Some have even taken their giving to a global level. The United Auburn Indian Community and the Rumsey Band of Wintun Indians in California collaborated to donate more than \$1million to relief efforts following the devastating

tsunami in Southeast Asia. By doing well and doing good at the same time, Indians have begun to erase negative stereotypes and increase their visibility as contributing members of American society.

A DICEY SITUATION: THE FUTURE OF INDIAN GAMING

In June 2007, Phil Hogen, the chair of the NIGC announced the net revenues for Indian gaming in 2006. The numbers were impressive. Three hundred and eighty-seven tribal gaming operations around the United States generated \$25.1 billion in revenue during the preceding year. Business boomed in certain areas of the country. In NIGC Region II, home to tribes in California and northern Nevada, revenues increased from \$2.1 billion in 2001 to \$7.5 billion in 2006. NIGC Region V, encompassing Native nations in Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, saw the single largest percentage increase in 2006 with revenues rising an astonishing 22 percent. Sixty-three gaming operations generated a whopping 71.5 percent of the total revenue for 2006. The remaining 324 accounted for a much more modest 28.5 percent share of the total market. The chairman attributed the continuing success of Indian gaming to federal oversight and what he characterized as the ongoing good will of the public.

Hogen's announcement of 2006 gaming revenues, with its diplomatic nods to both the federal government and the gaming public, can and should be read as a remarkable success story for American Indian tribes. There is, however, another story that may be read from those astonishing profit statistics, his terse acknowledgment of federal collaboration, and his stated appreciation of those who gamble in Native establishments. The back-story of Indian gaming is, like the inner workings of any casino, largely invisible to those glued to the slot machines or eyeing the action at the tables, but it shapes every aspect of their experience.

Following the money in the NIGC announcement opens up one part of this alternate assessment of tribal gaming. Clearly, the sixty-three Native nations whose revenues account for 70 percent of all casino earnings have struck it rich. Top-earning Indian casinos are located in California, Florida, Connecticut, and Wisconsin. The wealthiest of these is Foxwoods Casino, operated by the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe of Connecticut. Revenue information is hard to come by as the tribe does not publicly report its earnings. However, pursuant to a deal made with the state, the Pequot have paid out more than \$2 billion since 1993. That sum is equivalent to 25 percent of the slot revenues, but *only* the slot revenues, during that period!

In sharp contrast to this are casinos like Oglala Sioux's Prairie Wind on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. Many of the poorest reservations and least profitable casinos are located in the West, far removed from the urban population centers and mass transit systems that help deliver gamblers. Isolated from interstate highway traffic, the Prairie Wind gaming operation

gets only those customers who are willing to take the scenic but lonely trip out to the reservation. Again, financial information is hard to come by but it's clear that the Oglala and their 250 slot machines are hardly equal competitors for the Pequot with their 7000 slots. Though the tribe has borrowed money to build a casino resort complex, it is highly doubtful that they will ever achieve the kind of financial freedom that the Pequot or the Agua Caliente or the Seminole nations can claim thanks to gaming. Since less than half of all the tribes in the United States engage in casino gaming, the already glaring economic disparities within Indian Country seem likely to keep growing.

Following the money also leads to the management companies that tribes have turned to for help in running their gaming operations. Harrah's, MGM, Hard Rock International, and Unifocus are but a few of the organizations that are making their money by helping Indians make their money. Even Donald Trump, who has fiercely criticized Native gaming enterprises because of their alleged "unfair advantages," has been involved in the funding and management of a southern California tribal casino. The dearth of qualified American Indian managers means that the tribes will, for the immediate future, continue to rely on these companies. But questions will no doubt persist about how much the non-Indian gaming community is profiting from Indian gaming.

Certainly, that is one of the questions that members of Congress have been asking since the growth of Class III gaming in Indian Country has exploded. NIGC Chairman Hogen's comment on federal involvement in Indian gaming reflected recent interest in revisiting the IGRA. In 2006, the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs began hearings on amending the IGRA to provide for more federal oversight of Class III gaming. Specifically, politicians like Senator John McCain (R-AZ) want to make Class III compacts the purview of the NIGC, taking power away from the tribes as they negotiate with the states. Native nations perceive this interest as more federal intervention in a political relationship with the states that already seems too crowded at times. There has also been discussion of limiting the acquisition of trust land by newly recognized tribes to keep them from entering into gaming operations. This issue has been raised in response to the complaints of citizens from around the United States who believe that "made-up Indians" are seeking federal recognition only to open casinos. Although the 2006 hearings ended without any substantive legislative action, it seems apparent that congressional scrutiny of Native gaming is sure to continue.

The NIGC chairman's expression of thanks to the gaming public for their support also hints at another area of concern. The increased federal interest in casino regulation is partly a response to the beginnings of what may become a public backlash against American Indian gaming. This may be partly driven by increasing national concern over gaming addictions and the role tribal casinos have played in adding to this problem. Because Americans are six times more likely to be dependent on drugs and thirteen times more likely to be addicted to alcohol than gaming, it seems more than a little unfair to lay the

responsibility for this very real social problem on the gaming tribes. But, somehow, it seems to wind up there despite the fact than many Native nations now devote a portion of their profits to model programs for problem gamblers.

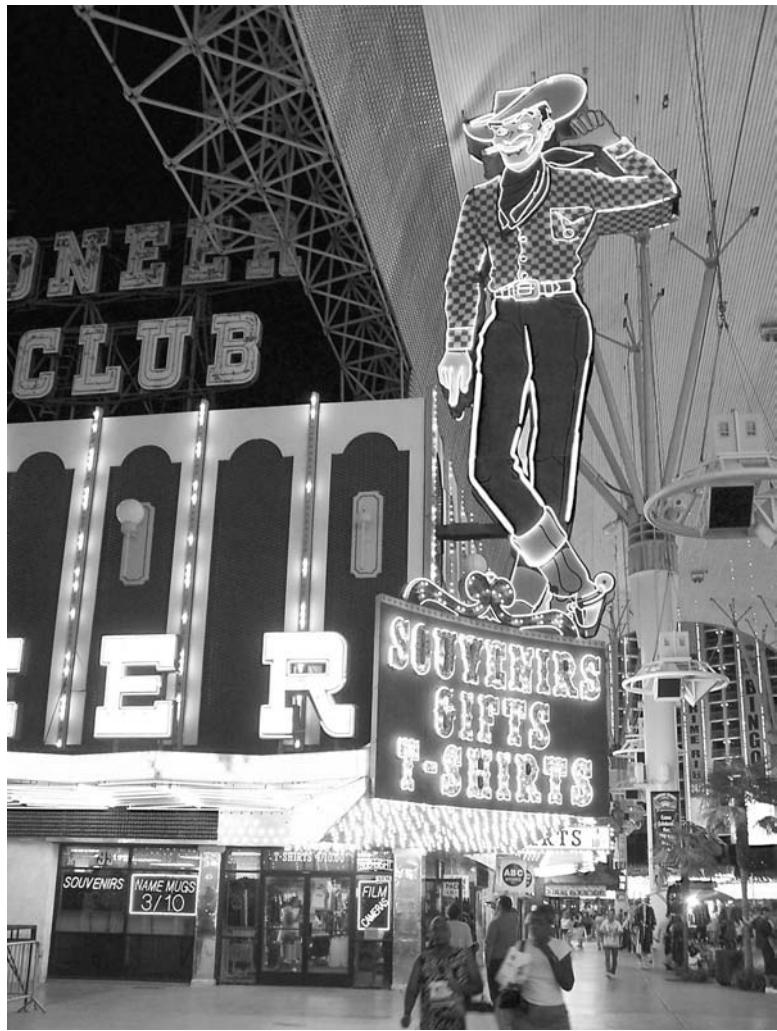
Another aspect of this emerging critique, and one that is more ominous, rises from the sheer success of Indian gaming itself. In places like southern California, where there are many casinos and the new tribal wealth is more evident, the “rich Indian” stereotype has begun to inform public discussion. In an ironic twist, the image of the “poor Indian” has been replaced in public opinion by the perception that tribes are getting too visible and gaining too much power. Environmentalists criticize casino tribes for a lack of attention to sustainability. Labor unions revile those Nations who are reluctant to negotiate with them. Politicians from the local to the national level worry about the power accruing in Indian Country as the casino profits mount. And the antipathy is not the sole province of non-Indians. Non-gaming tribes and those who are not making huge profits are beginning to question the apparent reluctance of the powerhouse tribes to share the wealth. Even in states like California, where the most recent compacts have included profit-sharing mechanisms, the Native have-nots see little of the wealth accumulated by the Native haves.

Thirty years ago, American Indians embarked on a risky journey toward economic independence. Gaming revenues are bringing untold wealth to previously impoverished communities, but not all Native nations are sharing in this good fortune. Luck ran true for some, but not for others in Indian Country. In 2007, twenty years after the passage of the IGRA, tribes are continuing to explore the immediate and long-term ramifications of the rise of casino gaming. They do so in a landscape shaped by complicated relationships with local, state, and federal governments. They do so in a landscape shaped by their own histories and their own cultures. It will be up to future generations of American Indians to decide whether luck brought good things to their nations.

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Neon Cowboy on Fremont Street. Dreamstime.

Las Vegas

Timothy A. Strand

Las Vegas is a fast-growing Western city and cultural icon that evokes images of gambling and quick weddings. Over 30 million people a year visit Las Vegas, some looking for fun, some looking to strike it rich, and some for business endeavors. There are more hotel rooms in Las Vegas than any other city in the United States. With an ever-increasing number of expanding hotels, Las Vegas is able to host major events that can accommodate large numbers of travelers. This Western city is able to host sporting events like major boxing events, national rodeo competitions, and professional golfing events. Las Vegas hosts conventions throughout the year and topics range from medical to food to financial.

In recent years Las Vegas has been able to make the claim of being the entertainment capital of the United States if not the world. Nightly, a visitor to Las Vegas can walk into any of the large casinos and see a well-known entertainer performing. Several of the larger casinos have entertainment that can be seen from the outside. A person can stand outside the Treasure Island casino and see a pirate battle, go to the Mandalay Bay casino and see a volcano, and then go to the Bellagio Casino and see a spectacular water show while listening to music.

In the early 1900s, Las Vegas was a small Western town that a person could stop at and spend some time gambling in a small establishment. Today Las Vegas is a major destination with casino revenues in the billions of dollars. After World War II, Las Vegas became a place where members of organized crime could invest millions of dollars and would receive large profits. By the late 1960s, the good times came to an end and corporations were permitted to get into the gaming industry. Members of organized crime sold their holdings in the casino industry to major corporations.

LAS VEGAS HISTORY

The history of Las Vegas begins well before any citizen of the United States ventured into the valley. Evidence has been found of peoples living in the desert 10,000 years ago. The Paiutes may have moved into the Las Vegas valley in 700 CE. The first Europeans that may have come into contact with the Paiutes may have been Spanish explorers in 1829. Rafael Rivera first set foot in the Las Vegas valley as part of an exploring and trading expedition. Rivera is given credit for naming the valley Las Vegas, which means “the meadows” in Spanish. The valley was not totally barren desert but had areas of lush green thanks to artesian wells. The area would become part of the Old Spanish Trail. The Old Spanish Trail connected Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, and could have been used for over a thousand years.

Americans first learned about the Las Vegas valley with the arrival of an expedition led by John C. Frémont in 1844. The expedition was sent by the United States Topographical Corps. Frémont recorded that the weather was

extremely hot. Several of the animals in the expedition died from the heat. Additionally, Frémont reported that the water was too hot to drink. The young army officer also noted that some of the animals had been stolen by local Indians. In his official report, Captain Frémont wrote about the beauties of the valley and that it was inhabited by Indians and Mexicans, two groups he despised. Frémont later published a book about his expedition that became a bestseller soon after being published.

In 1846, the United States declared war with Mexico and following victory over Mexico negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This treaty gave the United States a vast territory that included what is today California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, and Nevada. In 1850, the United States government officially admitted California and created several new territories that included Nevada. The new territorial governor was Brigham Young. Young was not only the territorial governor, but also was the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Mormon leader had led the Mormons west to Utah to find a haven where they could practice their religion in peace. In 1855, Brigham Young sent thirty Mormons to Las Vegas to build a fort. It was hoped that Mormons could create a military alliance with the Paiutes. Secondary to the building of the fort, the thirty men were to create a mission whose purpose was to convert the local Paiutes to Mormonism. The Paiutes turned out to be poor allies and converts because they tended to steal corn from the small Mormon contingent and spent hours gambling. The growing of corn proved difficult, even with the help of nearly 1000 Paiutes, for a drought made the conditions very difficult. Finally, the Mormons were charged by Young to mine lead for ammunition, but the lead turned out to be of poor quality. By 1858, the Mormon mission had largely failed and the men went back to Utah.

In 1902, Montana Senator William Clark purchased land from Helen Stewart. Mrs. Stewart had moved to the Las Vegas area to establish a ranch some years prior. She was widowed when her husband went to confront a man who had been spreading rumors about his wife and was shot dead. When she received the news, she was pregnant with her fifth child. The Stewarts proved that a ranch could exist in the Las Vegas region. A 1900 census recorded that nineteen people lived in the Las Vegas valley. For a number of years rumors circulated that a rail line would be built connecting Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. There were some individuals that felt the line would probably go through the Las Vegas Valley. In 1902, Mrs. Stewart was looking to sell most of her land, so she sold all but 162 acres to Senator Clark.

Born in Pennsylvania, William Clark later moved with his parents to Iowa to homestead. Clark struck out on his own, mining in Colorado then moving on to Montana. Clark had made a fortune in the copper mining business with his claim to the Anaconda copper mine that had the world's largest vein of copper. He later bribed his way to one of Montana's U.S. Senate seats. The new senator decided to build a railroad that would connect Salt Lake City with Los Angeles. With recent gold discoveries in nearby Tonopah and Goldfield,

Las Vegas became an ideal place in which to build a stop between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. Clark began building the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Line.

In 1904, Mrs. Stewart sold another eighty acres to John McWilliams. McWilliams had worked as an engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad. The former engineer began selling plots right after his purchase. Not to be outdone, Clark and his partners formed a new company called the Las Vegas Land and Water Company to run the little town. On 15 May 1905, Clark began auctioning off 1200 lots. To attract more people, Senator Clark's railroad offered special discounts from Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. The goal was to sell with 25 percent down for a lot and the rest in two months. It was hoped that corner lots would be sold for \$750 and interior lots for \$500. In two days many of the lots were sold off and Clark and his partners were able to pocket nearly five times what they had paid Mrs. Stewart for the land several years previously. Soon after the auction, the railroad built a mission-style depot at the intersection of Main and Fremont.

The years after the railroad line had been built through Las Vegas proved difficult as the line was flooded on several occasions. The worst flooding happened in 1910 and as a result the line was shut down for six months. Many of the townspeople were laid off when the trains were not running. For years those who traveled the rails passing through Las Vegas saw the small town as nothing more than a small train depot. By the early 1920s, Las Vegas numbered in the low thousands.

Population through the Years

Year	Las Vegas Population	Clark County Population
1910		3,321
1920	2,304	4,859
1930	5,165	8,532
1940	8,422	16,414
1950	24,624	48,289
1960	64,405	127,016
1970	125,787	273,288
1980	164,674	463,087
1990	258,295	7421,459
2000	478,435	1,375,765

HOOVER DAM

In 1928, the Boulder Canyon Project Act was signed into law. This new law mandated a dam be constructed on the Colorado River on the border of

southern Nevada and Arizona, twenty-five miles southeast of Las Vegas. The Hoover Dam, as it was officially named, was to be the biggest dam in the world. An unprecedented period of prosperity for Las Vegas took place in the first half of the 1930s. Hundreds of thousands of tourists came to Las Vegas to see the construction of the massive project. In 1929, California paved Highway 91, which connected Los Angeles with Las Vegas. Thousands of workers were hired to work on the project. Thanks to the dam construction, Las Vegas did not suffer as many other cities had due to the Great Depression. In fact its population more than doubled at the height of construction.

To house the workers and their families working on the dam, the federal government constructed Boulder City near the construction site. This small city had its own schools, hospital, stores, and law enforcement. Initially, workers were issued scrip rather than U.S. currency that was only good in Boulder City. After many complaints from the workers, scrip was no longer issued and employees were paid with U.S. currency. Boulder City was a federal town and the Volstead Act was strictly enforced. The Volstead Act made the manufacturing or selling of intoxicating beverages illegal. To seek relief from the small town and its rigorous enforcement of the law many of the Boulder City residents would travel to Las Vegas to spend their hard-earned money. In 1933, the Volstead Act would no longer be law and alcohol was legal again.

GAMBLING

During the construction of the dam, gambling was legalized in 1931 in Nevada. Small clubs were opened where one could play poker, craps, blackjack, and slot machines. It was not only in clubs that one could gamble, but also in stores, gas stations, and many other places a person could play a slot machine. Additionally, Las Vegas began to see new additions to the city in its population growth and in construction. These included a new hospital, high school, and theater. Residential construction grew at a rapid pace. Several small gambling joints were opened, including the Pair-O-Dice and Apache Club.

Organized crime largely ignored Las Vegas prior to the 1930s because it was considered too small. The first real mobster to come to Las Vegas to do business was Anthony "Tony" Cornero. Cornero had been a bootlegger, selling and distributing alcohol during Prohibition. Tony Cornero had several ships off the coast of California, near Los Angeles and San Francisco, that he used to smuggle alcohol and for gambling. Following incarceration in California for violation of the Volstead Act, Cornero moved to Las Vegas and opened up the Meadows Casino. Cornero's brothers were able obtain the necessary licenses to open the small casino and hotel. It is not known which syndicate or organized crime family he belonged to. The Meadows had thirty hotel rooms and a nightclub that featured various entertainers such as Judy Garland.

People often dressed up while they gambled. The club did not last long and was closed by 1935.

Cornero was not the only Los Angeles transplant to make the move to Las Vegas. Guy McAfee also opened a casino in Las Vegas. McAfee had been a Los Angeles police officer. He opened a club in Los Angeles named the Clover Club on the Sunset Strip. The club was an illegal gambling establishment that was frequented by a number of Hollywood stars. The former police officer went out of business by 1938 and a year later decided to move to Las Vegas. He acquired the Pair-O-Dice Club located on Highway 91 outside of downtown Las Vegas and in 1942 bought four other small casinos. In 1946, he opened the Golden Nugget, his largest casino. McAfee is said to have coined the term the "Strip" because he said where the new casinos were located reminded him of the Sunset Strip in Hollywood.

In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt came to Las Vegas to visit the newly completed Hoover Dam. The president's visit signaled the end of construction and the prosperity that came along with it. A concerted effort was made to continue the prosperity. Boat races were promoted for the new Boulder Lake and a golf tournament was created. A new rodeo that proved to be successful was started named Helldorado, which included a parade. The Las Vegas business community chose to portray the city as part of the Western frontier in an effort to bring tourists to the city.

WORLD WAR II

Like other small Western towns, Las Vegas benefited from World War II. Senator Pat McCarran made sure that military facilities were opened up in Nevada. A small military installation was opened near Boulder City to protect Hoover Dam. A second and much larger military installation opened north of Las Vegas in 1941. The U.S. Army base was used as a gunnery school that trained over 50,000 gunners during the war. A temporary desert warfare training facility had been opened south of Searchlight, Nevada, and military personnel from southern California came to Las Vegas to spend their money. With all the soldiers, marines, and sailors coming to Las Vegas to gamble, it became apparent to city leaders that gambling was the city's future. When the military asked the city to close down some brothels near the military installations, the city complied. The move had a beneficial impact for both parties. Venereal disease dropped among servicemen, and Las Vegas clubs and casinos gained large revenues from the servicemen.

The Basic Magnesium, Inc. plant opened north of Las Vegas and made an immediate impact on the city. Magnesium was needed during the war for use in ammunition. The Basic Magnesium plant was the largest magnesium plant in the world. The new company brought thousands of new employees and their families to the valley. Thanks to the company a suburb called Henderson

was created north of Las Vegas. Also, Las Vegas was able to better its local economy with this new infusion of money to the city.

In the late 1940s, Las Vegas business leaders decided to expand their advertising by establishing a Live Wire Fund. Raising over \$80,000, the fund was used to try to increase tourism. The chamber of commerce hired national advertising agencies to create publicity for Las Vegas. The campaign emphasized Las Vegas as a Western town and continued on for years to come.

The government was not the only entity to move into the Las Vegas area during the war. Ben "Bugsy" Siegel began to look to the gambling city for new opportunities. Bugsy was a nickname given to those who were willing to take on tasks others in the syndicate were unwilling to do. Calling Ben Siegel "Bugsy" to his face was always a bad idea because Siegel despised the moniker. Siegel had grown up in Brooklyn, New York, and early in his life became involved in gangs. As a teen he formed his own gang and eventually combined his gang with another young tough, Meyer Lansky. It is reputed that Siegel may have murdered numerous times, raped, bootlegged, extorted, and robbed along with many other crimes. With a reputation for toughness and good looks, Siegel became a successful gangster. He was sent out to Los Angeles to look after the syndicate's gambling interests. In Los Angeles Siegel began charging fees to illegal bookmakers who were taking bets on out-of-state horse races. Gambling was not the only reason for Siegel being in Los Angeles, he was also involved in smuggling narcotics into the United States from Mexico. One could often find Siegel spending time with Hollywood stars.

Credit for the creation of the first casino in Las Vegas is often given to Ben Siegel, however it is clear that Siegel never built the first casino. Siegel may not have even been the one to think of having the syndicate get involved in Las Vegas. Siegel may have gotten the idea to build casinos in Las Vegas from Meyer Lansky. Lansky was instrumental in creating a national crime syndicate and one of its leaders. Some say Lansky was the intellectual impetus behind the growth of the syndicate. Thanks to Lansky, the syndicate had gambling interests throughout the United States and in Cuba. Though it is not known who first came up with the idea of building grand casinos in the Las Vegas desert, it is certain that Lansky had a hand in the development of the gambling mecca.

When Siegel went to Las Vegas he visited the El Rancho Vegas, which had opened in 1941. The resort had been opened with legitimate money by Thomas Hull. The hotel had a good number of rooms with air conditioning along with a pool and a showroom, among other amenities. When Siegel offered to become an investor, Hull refused. Like other Las Vegas casinos, there was a Western theme. In 1945, Siegel was able to buy his way as an investor into the El Cortez Hotel. It was not a Strip hotel, which Siegel had wanted.

In 1946, construction on a new casino began, a casino that would be different from all others that had previously been built—it was the Flamingo. Ben Siegel was in charge of getting the casino built. It was located off the Strip out

I came to Vegas back in the 40s, before this was the Horseshoe (casino). There wasn't much on Fremont Street back then—two hotels, a couple of joints, and the railroad station. I've been coming to the Horseshoe for probably 25 years.

—Wilford Brimley

of sight of the other two Strip casinos. The Flamingo was to be a place of opulence, a destination for those who came from around the world. Customers were going to be able to see big-name entertainers and stay in nice hotel rooms. It was also to be a place that would bring in big profits for the syndicate that was financing the building of the new casino. Siegel invested \$1 million of his own money.

Though Siegel became obsessed with completing the Flamingo and making it a world-class casino-hotel, there were problems. The cost of building the casino became much greater than what was originally budgeted. Another problem is that some of the materials needed for the casino had to be purchased on the black

market because they were not available due to wartime shortages and rationing. Workers had to be flown in from Arizona and California and were sometimes paid triple time for their labors. When permits and licenses were held up, officials were bribed to get what was needed. The grand opening of the Flamingo took place in December 1946; the weather was bad and many of the celebrities and others were not able to make it. The opening was a flop. In fact the casino lost money to lucky gamblers. Finally, and most disturbing to the syndicate, it had been discovered that Ben Siegel's girlfriend Virginia Hill had deposited \$500,000 in a Swiss bank account that she had stolen from Flamingo construction funds. In May 1947, things began to turn around for Ben Siegel and the Flamingo casino—\$300,000 was made in profit. Unfortunately, the profit came too late for Siegel because at a syndicate meeting in Cuba many of the members of the crime organization expressed anger with Ben Siegel and wanted him to be eliminated. On the evening of 20 June 1947, Ben Siegel was shot dead while staying at Virginia Hill's Beverly Hills home. Minutes after the shooting mobsters Moe Sedway and Gus Greenbaum walked into the Flamingo Casino and announced that they were now in charge. That year the Flamingo would turn a profit of millions of dollars.

From the 1940s to the 1970s the syndicate provided management for the casino industry as well as financing. Besides the Flamingo, other casinos opened, including the Thunderbird in 1948, the Desert in 1950, the Sands in 1952, the Riviera and the Dunes in 1955, the Fremont in 1956, the Tropicana in 1957, and the Stardust in 1958. The financing that the syndicate provided for the Las Vegas casinos would reap great rewards. There was tremendous skimming of the profits, profits that went into the pockets of secret investors like Meyer Lansky. At the mob-owned casinos more than one account book would be kept. There was the official account book that the casinos kept to show to the Internal Revenue Service or any other government agency. There were also second and perhaps third account books that held the real numbers. At least once a month someone would come to the casinos and leave with

suitcases or bags full of cash and take the money to syndicate members. The money taken would never be recorded in the official accounting books. The amount of money skimmed out of the casinos may have totaled in the billions of dollars. There are some reports that for every one dollar of profit, seventy-five cents went to the syndicate.

In 1955, the Moulin Rouge hotel-casino was built. Among the owners was Joe Louis, former boxing heavy weight champion. It was the first casino built among the Las Vegas suburbs, all other casinos had been built either downtown or along the Strip. Local residents were unhappy about the location. Another reason for local opposition was that the Moulin Rouge did not discriminate as other casinos did. Whites and African Americans were allowed into the casino. The casino only lasted a year most probably due to financial mismanagement. Various conspiracy theories floated around Las Vegas; some in the black community felt the casino was shut down out of racism, others thought the other casino owners may have forced the Moulin Rouge to shut down to eliminate a rival.

NUCLEAR TESTING

In 1950, the Atomic Energy Commission began to look for places in the continental United States to conduct nuclear tests. The location chosen was Nevada. The U.S. government owned over 80 percent of the land, which was largely vacant. When President Truman asked if the tests were safe to conduct he was told that all necessary measures would be taken. The governor of Nevada made clear that he had little control over the tests because they would be conducted on government land. Sixty-five miles north of Las Vegas is where the nuclear tests were to be conducted.

The first test took place in 1951. Initially the residents of Las Vegas were worried about the impact of the blasts but the city came to accept the tests. Normally, the nuclear tests were conducted early in the morning and residents would get up early to see the mushroom cloud and feel the tremors. Signs were posted in the casinos that the house would have final say if the blast aftermath were to impact any betting. After the blasts men wearing white walked around the city taking measurements of people. The residents did not make much of a fuss after the initial test when they were reassured by government officials that all was well.

Tourists came to Las Vegas to get a glimpse of the nuclear cloud. People got as close as they could to the testing site and made it into family outings. Many came from Los Angeles to see firsthand what had ended World War II. The casinos got involved by throwing parties in which people were served cocktails all night and stayed up till nearly dawn then ran outside the casino to get a look. Casinos rented suites in which people could have a view of the spectacle. Showgirls wore skimpy outfits that were shaped like a mushroom cloud

and took pictures standing next to a smiling rocket. By 1952, the blasts were seen as no big deal, some said they were waiting for bigger explosions. In all about 100 nuclear tests were conducted. The impact on the people of Las Vegas and other surrounding areas is not yet known.

AIRPORT

One area of agreement for Las Vegas residents was the need to improve the airport. With development of commercial air service in the late 1950s and early 1960s it quickly became apparent to civic leaders that for Las Vegas to be a top tourist destination they needed to improve local air service. The airport first opened in 1942 as Alamo Airport, originally owned by a descendent of Davy Crockett. In 1948, Clark County, where Las Vegas is located, purchased the airport and renamed it McCarran Airfield after longtime U.S. Senator Pat McCarran. In 1960, United Airlines began service to the field and tourists began flying to the city by jet rather than by a propeller-driven plane. The new service made it possible to reach the city in much less time. To expand the field a bond election was held that would cost the city millions but city leaders were in near unanimous agreement that an expanded airfield would bring dividends to Las Vegas. There was some opposition; one reason was that Las Vegas had recently passed a \$6 million bond to improve the schools. When the election was held the vote came in favor of the expansion by a two to one margin. The Airfield was renamed McCarran Airport. By 1963, one and a half million people were flying in and out of the airport.

THE STRIP

When the first Las Vegas Strip casinos were built, the owners chose not to build within city limits because the land was cheaper and so were the taxes. Several times the city of Las Vegas tried to annex the Strip property that the casinos operated but were blocked by Clark County. The 1960s really marked the beginning when more tourists began to frequent the Strip casinos more than the downtown casinos. The profits pouring into the Strip casinos became much greater than the downtown casinos and as a result the Strip casinos would grow in opulence that the downtown casinos could not match. Perhaps no casino more typified the growth of the Strip than the opening of Caesar's Palace in 1966. Jay Sarno had operated a motel chain and had wanted to build a grand casino-hotel. Sarno decided to build on the Strip because the land was inexpensive. Part of the financing for the new casino came from a \$10.5 million loan from the Teamsters. Sarno leased the land from Kirk Kerkorian and spared no expense in building the new casino. It was unlike any casino ever built in the Las Vegas desert. The apostrophe in Caesars was

purposely taken out of the name because Sarno wanted the guests to feel as if they were Caesar, there to enjoy the luxuries of the ancient Roman Empire.

Caesars Palace was built for \$25 million; 1 million was spent on a three-day opening that included 1800 special guests. The next move for the casino was to buy the property the casino sat on from Kerkorian for \$5 million. The casino area was a single-story building in the shape of an oval with no windows and a blacked out ceiling. Around the edges of the casino were shops and fancy restaurants. Guests could stay over night in the fourteen-story, 700-room hotel. The entrance to the casino-hotel had a very long driveway, with the parking lot to the sides. Walking to the casino the guest would pass by Romanesque statues and once inside would be greeted by a well-endowed Cleopatra. Guests would see expensive marble throughout the facility, well-manicured gardens, Roman fountains, and an Olympic-sized pool meant to remind one of the ancient Roman baths. The casino also hosted many well-known entertainers, including Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jr., Shirley MacLaine, Liberace, George Burns, Judy Garland, and many others.

HOWARD HUGHES

On Thanksgiving weekend 1966, Howard Hughes came to Las Vegas in a private railroad car. Hughes received a check for over \$500 million for the purchase of his stock of Trans World Airlines in 1966. Hughes did not want to pay taxes on the new money he received so he left California and eventually settled in Las Vegas. Hughes reserved two floors of the Desert Inn for a couple of weeks. He and his staff were to occupy these rooms. The strange billionaire had no problem paying for the rooms; the problem for the Desert Inn managers was that neither Hughes nor his staff ever gambled. Additionally, the rooms had been reserved in advance for the Christmas season. When the managers of the hotel ordered Hughes and his staff to leave, Hughes purchased control of the hotel for \$13 million.

The Desert Inn was not the only casino Hughes would purchase; he bought four more in the next couple of months. One advantage that Hughes had was that he never had to appear before the Gaming Control Board. Hughes had his subordinates go to the board and persuade them to give him a license. This was unusual because normally the board could be pretty strict about requiring those wanting a license to come before them. The casinos Hughes purchased were owned by organized crime. The crime members seemed eager to sell for a variety of reasons. The four casinos Hughes purchased were the Sands, Castaways, Frontier, and the Silver Slipper. The Silver Slipper was a small casino, but Hughes wanted the casino because above the diminutive casino was a revolving slipper that flashed light on his windows. It cost Hughes over \$5 million to buy the Silver Slipper, just so he could have peace and quiet.

Hughes also purchased a restaurant, motel, gold and silver mines, and large tracts of land in the Las Vegas area. Finally, Howard Hughes acquired a television station. The station would become the billionaire's personal movie theater. Calls would be made either by Hughes or on his behalf to the station telling them what movies they needed to put on. Sometimes viewers would find that what was listed in the television guide would be changed as Howard Hughes would change his mind about what he wanted to watch. When Mr. Hughes was told of complaints that viewers had about the deviation of the television schedule, Hughes suggested that the station stop putting out a schedule for viewers.

Howard Hughes had other plans for Las Vegas. He began toying with the idea of purchasing other casinos, not only in Las Vegas but in Reno and Lake Tahoe as well. Building the world's largest hotel and casino also became an idea that Hughes mulled over for a while. None of these ideas came to fruition. On Thanksgiving weekend in 1970, Howard Hughes quietly left the Desert Inn and Las Vegas never to return. It wasn't until two weeks later that the public found out that the ever reclusive billionaire left town.

CORPORATIONS

Nevada created two laws in 1967 and 1969 that allowed corporations to directly be involved with gaming. Until 1969, casinos were owned and operated by individuals. By not allowing corporations to be involved with gaming much of the financing came from organized crime. When the new laws were passed, members of organized crime began to sell their casino holdings to corporations. The new law also allowed for more access to capital as well as more public information through the publication of corporate reports.

One investor-casino builder would take Las Vegas in a new direction, Kirk Kerkorian. Kerkorian grew up in central California and dropped out of school after the eighth grade to pursue boxing. He learned to fly at a young age and served in the British Royal Air Service during World War II, flying planes from Canada to Britain. Kerkorian was well paid for his service and used his savings to invest in planes back in California. He flew passengers from Los Angeles to Las Vegas. Eventually, the entrepreneur started his own airline that included jets. He sold his company for \$85 million in stock. Kerkorian bought 80 acres right across the street from the Flamingo for \$960,000 in 1962. Several years later Jay Sarno built his Caesars Palace on the land and paid \$4 million rent. Kerkorian sold the 80 acres to Sarno in 1968 for \$5 million. A year previously, in 1967 Kerkorian bought 82 acres on Paradise Road for \$5 million. The land was to be used to build the world's largest hotel and casino. To train his staff, Kerkorian bought the Flamingo. In its first year of operation the Flamingo made a profit of \$3 million. The previous owners, Meyer Lansky included, had reported profits of \$300,000 to \$400,000 a year.

In 1969, Kirk Kerkorian built the International hotel and casino. There was some criticism of the choice of location as the hotel was not located on the Strip. This was the world's largest hotel with 1598 rooms. A year later Kerkorian sold the International to the Hilton Corporation. Kerkorian would take the profits from the sale and build other properties in Las Vegas. During his ownership of the International, Kerkorian began buying stock in the MGM movie studios. A year after the sale of the International, Kerkorian had control of MGM. An announcement was made by the studios that a new diversification was going to take place. In 1973, the new MGM Grand opened at a cost of \$107 million. The MGM Grand was the largest hotel in the world with over 2000 rooms and a 1200-seat showroom. Little expense was spared in bringing in big-name entertainers such as Barbra Streisand and Elvis Presley.

In 1980, the MGM Grand caught fire in the casino and the upper floors of the hotel. Eighty-five people were killed in the biggest disaster in Las Vegas history. There had been no sprinkler system installed. Hours after the blaze had been put out Kerkorian made it known to his hotel managers that he intended to rebuild the hotel. In 1986, Kerkorian sold the hotel and his Reno MGM Grand to Bally Manufacturing Corp. for \$594 million. The hotel was renamed Bally's.

Another man who began to make a name for himself and would draw more tourists and gamblers to Las Vegas was Steve Wynn. Growing up in the 1950s, Wynn watched his father operate bingo parlors on the East Coast. He also went with his father as a child to Las Vegas where his dad would sneak out of their hotel room at night to gamble. His father tried to open a bingo establishment in Las Vegas but was not able to get the necessary permits. A young Steve got his first gaming experience working for his father's bingo parlor in Maryland. Following graduation from the University of Pennsylvania, Wynn's father died and Wynn took over the bingo parlors. Wynn then married and moved with his wife to Las Vegas.

Soon after arriving in Las Vegas, Wynn met E. Parry Thomas, the head of Valley Bank. Thomas loaned Steve Wynn money and also gave him financial advice. Wynn's first major financial move was to buy a small parking lot next to Caesars Palace for \$1 million. Soon after, Caesars Palace bought the land from Wynn for \$2.25 million to prevent the young man from building a small casino next door. The ambitious Wynn next turned his sights on a casino in the downtown area, the Golden Nugget. Thanks to the help of E. Parry Thomas, Wynn saw that the stock was undervalued and that the managers did not own much of it. Once in control of the Golden Nugget in 1973, new managers were brought in to help Wynn run the casino. The profits went from a little over \$1 million a year to over \$4 million a year. In 1977, over 500 rooms were added to the hotel and soon profits soared to over \$12 million

Las Vegas is sort of like how God would do it if he had money.

—Steve Wynn

a year. In 1980, Steve Wynn bought an old casino in Atlantic City for \$10 million, tore it down, and built a second Golden Nugget for well over \$100 million. He spent a good deal of money hiring Frank Sinatra to perform and hired many other staff away from other Atlantic City casinos. Wynn next sold his Golden Nugget casinos for \$440 million to Bally's.

In 1988, Wynn started to do something that hadn't been done in fifteen years; he began building a new casino on the Strip. The Mirage would be Wynn's next casino. The new project would cost \$630 million and was raised largely through junk bonds. Junk bonds are considered risky and offer high interest rates for the investor. Reportedly, the hotel had to earn \$1 million a day to pay off investors. There were 3000 rooms to raise the large sum. Special villas of two and three rooms were constructed to appeal to high rollers. The villas were lavishly decorated in an effort to entice those who were willing to gamble hundreds of thousands or more at the gaming tables. Wynn brought in Siegfried and Roy with their white tigers to entertain. There were marble floors put in the entry way and an atrium nine floors high was installed. Prior to the opening of the Mirage, some questioned whether the new hotel would be a success. There were claims that there were already too many hotel-casinos in Las Vegas. When the Mirage opened in 1989, the success of the hotel exceeded the expectations of Wynn. Many more millionaires who were willing to gamble large sums of money showed up than Wynn had hoped for. The result of the success of the Mirage led to more hotel-casinos opening up in Las Vegas.

Two years after the Mirage opened Steve Wynn opened a second casino on the Strip. This casino cost \$430 million, had 2900 rooms, and was named Treasure Island. Inspired by Robert Louis Stevenson's book *Treasure Island*, it has a huge outdoor show with a battle between pirates and the British. Professional stuntmen perform for crowds, cannons are fired, and the British ship sinks. This casino also became a success for Wynn.

The building of Treasure Island wasn't enough for Wynn. His next project would be much costlier and even more luxurious, the Bellagio. Completed in 1998, at a cost of over a billion and a half dollars it was the most expensive resort ever made at the time. The Bellagio was built to cater to the upper class. With 3000 rooms and a world-class art collection valued at over \$300 million, people came to the opulent casino to see the spectacle and to gamble at the tables. The hotel featured an eight-acre lake that has fountains that entertain crowds that stroll by.

In 2000, Wynn sold his properties to Kirk Kerkorian and shortly after announced that he would build a new casino. Construction for Wynn's new casino began in 2002 and was finished in 2005 at a cost of \$2.7 billion. Wynn Las Vegas was the name given to the new hotel-casino. Built on the old Desert Inn, the hotel employs a staff of over 9000 and features a golf course on the property and a Ferrari dealership. Wynn made a splash when opening the casino with his commercials that showed him standing atop his latest creation with his name on the building.

DOWNTOWN LAS VEGAS

For years downtown Las Vegas continued to lose tourists and gamblers to the ever larger and lavish casinos on the Strip. For many years city leaders had tried to come up with new ways to revitalize downtown Las Vegas. Steve Wynn suggested the city should build some type of waterway that weaved throughout the downtown area similar to the River Walk in San Antonio. In 1993, eight hotel/casino owners in the downtown area joined together to form the Fremont Street Experience Company. Shortly thereafter, the Las Vegas City Council voted to close Fremont Street to automobile traffic and create a pedestrian mall. Construction on the new Fremont Street began and traffic was permanently shut off in 1994. A year later, the public grand opening was held for the new Fremont Street Experience. Seventy million dollars was spent on a new open-air mall that stretched seven blocks. Included in the project is a ninety-foot canopy that has lights and computer animation that combined with music makes for an entertaining show. Nightly the casinos dim their lights so visitors can watch the entertainment overhead. New restaurants and shops were opened along the mall. A 1400-space parking garage was added as well. It is estimated that over 16 million people a year visit the downtown area since the creation of the mall and revenues for the casino/hotels have also increased thanks to increase in tourism.

Another major development for Las Vegas in the 1960s, especially the Strip, was the building of the Interstate 15, which was to run from San Diego through southern California and through Las Vegas further north through Utah to Idaho. The building from California to the outskirts of Las Vegas was completed fairly quickly. When the building process approached the Vegas area it slowed to a turtle's pace. The casinos of both the Strip and the downtown area relied heavily on the traffic that came from southern California. Despite intercession from the Nevada governor and other officials to make the I-15 more downtown accessible, federal government officials decided that most of the off-ramps and the on-ramps would be located along the Strip. The completion of the building project would continue throughout the rest of the decade.

THE ENTERTAINERS

One of the ways to make the casinos more profitable was to bring in big-name celebrities. Casino owners knew that if people traveled to Las Vegas to see big-name acts, the tourists would have to be in the casinos before and after the performance. The owners counted on the tourists to spend some of their time gambling when they first arrived in Las Vegas, prior to the show they were going to see, and following the show. Spending large amounts of money on entertainers could be profitable if it brought a large number of people to the slot machines and the gaming tables.

In the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s a group of entertainers began performing in Las Vegas and brought tourists to the city. Members of the group included Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., Joey Bishop, and Peter Lawford. The group themselves never used the term "Rat Pack"—that was a term that the press used—rather they called themselves "the Clan." The term "Rat Pack" had been originally used for the group that included Humphrey Bogart, Judy Garland, Lauren Bacall, and a young Frank Sinatra. As the 1960s progressed the term "clan" no longer seemed appropriate and Sinatra began to use the term "Rat Pack." Though the five would entertain throughout the world they were instrumental in helping the city grow as an entertainment destination. For a while the five performed on stage together at the Sands.

The Rat Pack were also significant in the breaking down of racial barriers—African Americans were not allowed to frequent many casinos nor work in them. Frank Sinatra refused to entertain or even enter casinos that had rules against African Americans entering their establishments. As the popularity of the group grew, casinos were forced to change their stance on excluding African Americans from their casinos. Another aspect of interest about the group was its ties to President John Kennedy and organized crime. Peter Lawford was a brother-in-law of John Kennedy. Much like his father in years past, John Kennedy would go to Nevada. Joseph Kennedy had frequently gone to Reno for his time away from home. The future president traveled to Las Vegas on several occasions and spent time with the famous group. During the 1960 presidential election, members of the group campaigned for Kennedy in Las Vegas and other parts of the country. Some in the press labeled the president a member of the Rat Pack.

Elvis Presley first came to Las Vegas in April 1956 to play at the Frontier Hotel-Casino. His show lasted two weeks and was not well received by reviewers. The second time Elvis came to Las Vegas was in 1963 to film *Viva Las Vegas*. Everywhere the singer went he was mobbed by young female fans. His return to Las Vegas in 1967 was to marry his young bride Priscilla Beau-lieu. By 1969, Elvis was playing at the International, later to be renamed the Hilton, on a regular basis. Colonel Tom Parker, Elvis's manager, struck a five-year deal with the casino that Elvis would perform twice a day for a month in exchange for \$400,000 each year. The shows were a tremendous draw, but the performances demanded a great amount of energy and began to take a toll on the popular singer. The shows lasted an hour and fifteen minutes. By the 1970s, Elvis was hooked on prescription drugs. Some estimate that he spent \$500,000 on prescription drugs in Las Vegas. In 1975, when patrons went to see Elvis perform at the Hilton they saw a performance in which a sweat drenched Elvis mumbled through his songs. His shows were cancelled soon after. Two years later Elvis Presley would be found dead at his Graceland Mansion at age forty-two, his system full of drugs.

In 1955, Liberace began playing the new Riviera Hotel for \$50,000 a week, making him Las Vegas's highest paid entertainer. Born in 1919, Walter Liberace

came from a musical family. He received private instructions for the piano and received a scholarship for the Wisconsin School of Music. At age fourteen he performed as a soloist with the Chicago Symphony. In the early 1950s, Liberace dropped his first name at the suggestion of a manager and used only his last name. He traveled to several locations to play piano, including New York's Madison Square Garden and Los Angeles's Hollywood Bowl. He made a few films and had his own television show for several years. In the 1960s, Liberace again had a television show and in the 1970s, traveled to Europe and Australia to perform before large audiences. In 1976, Liberace began the Liberace Foundation for the Performing and Creative Arts. This nonprofit foundation funds scholarships for schools and colleges. In 1979, Liberace opened the Liberace Museum in Las Vegas. Las Vegas named Liberace the Entertainer of the Year in 1980. At the 1982 Academy Awards Liberace played the five nominated themes of the year. He passed away in 1987. For four decades Liberace had audiences filling whichever casino he played.

One entertainer that has been nicknamed "Mr. Las Vegas" is Wayne Newton. In the 1960s, Wayne, along with his brother, came to Las Vegas from Phoenix to record music. By 1963, Wayne went solo and sang such hits as "Danke Schoen" and "Red Roses for a Blue Lady." In the 1970s, Newton began to focus his career more on performances in Las Vegas. In the 1980s, Wayne Newton was awarded Entertainer of the Year for Las Vegas and became the city's highest paid act at \$1 million per month. He also bought the Aladdin Hotel and Casino. In 1996, Newton celebrated his 25,000th Las Vegas performance.

SPORTS

Another draw for Las Vegas has been sports. For decades, gamblers and sports fans have been going to the casinos to place bets on all things sports. Bets have been placed on everything from the Super Bowl to college sporting events. Las Vegas has hosted well-attended sporting events. The University of Nevada-Las Vegas's basketball team helped put the school on the national map. Prior to the success of the basketball team, people throughout the nation had never heard of the university. Jerry Tarkanian, the basketball coach of the UNLV Runnin' Rebels, was largely responsible for the success of the basketball team. Prior to the coach's arrival, the UNLV team had had little success. Hired in 1973, the team had immediate success, going 20-6. The team became so successful, that in 1983 the Thomas & Mack Arena was built on the campus. The arena would be used for other events such as rodeos and boxing matches. In 1990, UNLV won the NCAA college basketball championship.

A second sport that has brought many visitors to Las Vegas is boxing. Many highly publicized boxing contests have been held in Sin City. One of the

Las Vegas without Wayne Newton is like Disneyland without Mickey Mouse.

—Merv Griffin

more famous bouts was between “Sugar” Ray Leonard and Thomas Hearns in 1981. The fight took place at Caesars Palace Hotel. Other hotel-casinos were also booked during the fight, filled with fans who had tickets to the big event and others hoping to get tickets. The fight lasted fourteen rounds, with Leonard winning by technical knockout. The two held a rematch in 1989, again at Caesars Palace. The contest was called a draw. Other famous bouts in Las Vegas included Larry Holmes versus Jerry Cooney in 1982, Evander Holyfield versus Mike Tyson in 1987, and Oscar De La Hoya versus Felix Trinidad in 1999.

Las Vegas has tried to acquire a major league sports team in football, basketball, and baseball. Neither of the leagues have allowed the city to have a team, seeing a conflict of interest to have a professional sports team in a city where so much gambling takes place. The city does have a minor league baseball team and continues to host other major sporting events such as a national rodeo, professional racecar driving, and professional golf tournaments among others.

MOVIES

Movies have played a big part in forming the allure of Las Vegas. Since the 1930s there have been films made in the Las Vegas area. In the mid 1930s a film was made about the Hoover Dam titled *Boulder Dam*. Las Vegas is the site where famous actors such as Frank Sinatra and Charlton Heston made their first films. One of the more memorable films made in Las Vegas was *Oceans 11*, starring Frank Sinatra, Peter Lawford, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., and Joey Bishop. A number of other well-known actors also had parts in the film. In this film a group of World War II veterans hatch a plot to rob five Strip casinos in one night. The film was not reviewed favorably by film critics. In 1964, *Viva Las Vegas* hit the big screen. The film starred Elvis Presley and Ann Margaret. Presley plays a racecar driver who comes to Las Vegas to race. It is the only movie in which Elvis sings a song uncut. The on-screen romance between Presley and Margaret led to an off-screen romance.

One well-reviewed film that partly takes place in Las Vegas is *Rain Man*, made in 1988. The film stars Tom Cruise and Dustin Hoffman. Hoffman plays an autistic savant and Cruise plays his younger brother, who never knew of his elder sibling. The Hoffman character inherits a small fortune when their father passes away and the Cruise character takes custody of his older brother in the hopes of obtaining control of the inheritance. The two brothers pass through Las Vegas and Hoffman’s character, being especially talented in mathematics, is able to count cards and win large sums of money. *Rain Man* won several Academy Awards, including best actor for Dustin Hoffman. The movie is based on a true story.

Warren Beatty starred in *Bugsy*, a film about the life of Ben Siegel and how he built the Flamingo Hotel. The film is misleading in that it implies that Siegel

was the first to come up with the idea of the large hotel-casino in Las Vegas. Some aspects of the film are historically correct; it portrays Siegel as violent and overspending to build the Flamingo. Additionally, the film shows Siegel's connection with Hollywood and his romance with Virginia Hill.

Leaving Las Vegas was a low-budget film that starred Nicolas Cage and Elizabeth Shue. Cage plays a Hollywood screenwriter, who has lost everything—his family, friends, and job—due to his alcoholism. He takes his remaining money and goes to Las Vegas with the intention of drinking himself to death. Shue plays a prostitute who befriends the Cage character and eventually allows him to move in with her. They promise each other that he will not criticize her profession and she will not ask him to stop drinking. As the movie progresses it is clear the two care about each other and that she is powerless to stop his self-destructive journey. The movie received several Academy Award nominations and Cage won an Academy Award for best actor.

Other movies made in Las Vegas include *Honeymoon in Vegas*, *Con Air*, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, *Diamonds Are Forever*, *Las Vegas Vacation*, *Indecent Proposal*, *Austin Powers*; *International Man of Mystery*, *Casino*, and *Rush Hour 2*. These and countless other movies show the different sides of the city from the quiet suburbs to the excitement of the casinos.

GETTING HITCHED

Many have long regarded Las Vegas as a sinful place in part because of its relaxed standards on weddings and divorces. Any couple can go to Las Vegas, stop at one of its wedding chapels and get married at any time of the day. One of the more well-known chapels is Little Chapel of the West. It has operated since 1942 and has been used by many famous individuals. It is also listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Many celebrities, such as Elvis Presley, Mickey Rooney, Dennis Rodman, and Carmen Electra, have come to Las Vegas to get married. People can have themed weddings at the Graceland Chapel or get married at Excalibur Hotel and be married by Merlin. Others have found Las Vegas to be a useful location for getting divorced. Nevada requires that a married person be a resident for six weeks before being eligible for divorce. Marilyn Monroe and the wife of Clark Gable were among the first to take advantage of the divorce law.

ADVERTISING

In the early 1990s, the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority ran an advertising campaign that seemed to be aimed at the family. Hotel-casinos such as Treasure Island and the MGM Grand built attractions and theme parks for families to enjoy. The theme of the advertising campaign was "It's anything

and everything.” The campaign was an attempt to lure people with the idea that whatever a visitor wanted to find in Las Vegas could be found. The campaign did not prove very successful—there was no significant increase in the number of visitors—so the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority decided to take the advertising in a new direction.

The new theme for Las Vegas is “what happens here, stays here.” The campaign initially cost \$65 million and was aimed at the adult population. Young adults are the ones most targeted by the campaign in hopes of making Las Vegas not only a hip place to spend a vacation, but one that a visitor will want to go to many times throughout their life. In one of the television ads a woman dressed in revealing clothes gets into a limousine and flirts with the driver. When the car reaches its destination, the woman gets out of the limousine in a very conservative outfit. In another ad several women are sitting by a pool and one of the women is looking at pictures she took the night previously with her cell phone. When the woman dives into the pool, a second woman throws away the phone belonging to the woman swimming in the pool, suggesting that the other women don’t want any evidence of what they’ve been up to in Las Vegas.

TIMELINE

- 1829—Spanish explorers find springs in middle of the desert and name the area “Las Vegas” which means “the meadows.”
- 1844—John C. Frémont expedition camps in Las Vegas area and journals it.
- 1855—Mormon missionaries move to Las Vegas to build a fort and convert local Native Americans.
- 1858—Mormons abandon the Las Vegas area.
- 1902—U.S. Senator William Clark buys land in Las Vegas for his railroad.
- 1905—William Clark’s railroad, The San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City, is completed and his land is auctioned off for \$265,000.
- 1909—The state of Nevada bans gambling.
- 1911—Las Vegas officially becomes a city.
- 1928—The U.S. Congress passes the Boulder Canyon Project Act, which allows for construction of a dam on the Colorado River.
- 1929—Construction begins on the Hoover Dam.
- 1931—Gambling is legalized in Nevada.
- 1935—President Roosevelt dedicates the Hoover Dam.
- 1937—Highway 91 is completed, which connects Southern California to Las Vegas.
- 1938—Guy McAfee opens “The 91 Club” on what is termed “The Strip.”
- 1941—The El Rancho Vegas opens on the Strip. The El Cortez Hotel opens downtown. The U.S. Army builds a gunnery school north of Las Vegas that later becomes Nellis Air Force Base. The first Helldorado parade and rodeo is held.

- 1942—Last Frontier Hotel opens.
- 1944—Liberace begins performing in Las Vegas.
- 1945—Las Vegas awards its first advertising contract in a bid to bring more visitors.
- 1946—Ben “Bugsy” Siegel opens the Flamingo Hotel. Nevada begins to tax gambling.
- 1948—Las Vegas acquires Alamo Airport and renames it McCarran Airport after influential U.S. Senator Pat McCarran.
- 1950—President Truman approves of nuclear testing in Nevada north of Las Vegas.
- 1955—The Moulin Rouge is open for business.
- 1959—The Las Vegas Convention Center opens.
- 1966—Howard Hughes arrives in Las Vegas on Thanksgiving and moves into the Desert Inn. Ceasars Palace opens.
- 1967—Rather than leaving the Desert Inn, Howard Hughes buys the hotel and several others later on.
- 1969—The state of Nevada makes it legal for corporations to own casinos. Kirk Kerkorian builds The International, the largest hotel in the United States with 1500 guest rooms.
- 1975—Nevada gaming revenue exceeds \$1 billion for the first time.
- 1985—First National Finals Rodeo held in Las Vegas.
- 1989—The Mirage opens at a cost of \$640 million.
- 1990—Excaliber opens with 4032 guest rooms, making it the world’s largest hotel.
- 1993—The Luxor Hotel opens, Treasure Island opens, and the MGM Grand opens with 5009 hotel rooms, making it the world’s largest hotel.
- 1995—The \$70 million Fremont Street Experience brings new life to the Las Vegas downtown area. Las Vegas reports that 29 million people visited the city that year.
- 1996—Wayne Newton celebrates his 25,000th Las Vegas Performance, Siegfried and Roy celebrate their 15,000th Las Vegas performance. The Stratosphere Tower, the tallest structure west of the Mississippi opens.
- 1997—New York New York Hotel opens
- 1998—The Bellagio opens at a cost of \$1.7 billion and claims to be the world’s most expensive hotel. The number of annual visitors reaches 30 million, while gaming revenue tops \$8 billion.
- 1999—Paris Casino Resort opens. Mandalay Bay opens.
- 2001—Palms Casino opens.
- 2004—The Las Vegas Monorail begins service.
- 2005—Las Vegas celebrates its centennial. Wynn Las Vegas opens.

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Ronald Reagan, 1981. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Ronald Reagan

Caroline Owen

Ronald Wilson Reagan, fortieth president of the United States, was the first film or TV actor to become president. Ever the optimist, Reagan is credited with restoring hope and pride in America. During his term of office, Reagan worked to lower taxes, strengthen the military, and marginalize communism. Reagan was fondly known both as Dutch, a nickname given to him by his father, the Great Communicator, for his speaking ability and sharp wit; and as the Teflon president by the press because it seemed that scandal never stuck to him. At sixty-nine, Reagan was the oldest person ever elected to the presidency, taking office just months before his seventieth birthday. Reagan was one of America's most popular presidents; he was voted second greatest president by a 2007 Gallup Organization poll. Reagan was also the only California governor to become president, the only divorced president, the only president to have been a member of a union, and the only president with a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame.

EARLY LIFE

Reagan was born 6 February 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, to John Edward Reagan, a shoe salesman and alcoholic, and Nelle Wilson Reagan, a devout Disciple of Christ. Reagan's family was poor by today's standards, but he learned valuable lessons from his parents. From his father, Reagan learned the "value of hard work and ambition, and maybe a little something about telling a story," while from his mother he "learned the value of prayer, how to have dreams and believe I could make them come true." At the age of twelve, Reagan made his own decision to be baptized in his mother's faith; he would worship at the Hollywood Beverly Christian Church during his California film career days, and attend the Bel Air Presbyterian Church in his later years.

Reagan's father gave him the nickname the "Dutchman," and thereafter he was called Dutch by everyone, a name he preferred over Ronald. Reagan had three siblings: Jack, Nelle, and Neil. Reagan's family moved frequently, relocating to Chicago when Reagan was two, and later settling in Dixon, Illinois. In school, Reagan discovered that he had a knack for memorizing things; he could pick up something to read and memorize it quickly. Later, as president, his boyhood memorization of the Canadian poem "The Shooting of Dan McGrew" would even impress the Queen Mother.

Although he had an athletic build, at an early age Reagan had difficulty with sports due to his extreme nearsightedness, a fact that went undetected until he picked up and tried on a pair of his mother's glasses. He was fitted with a thick pair of glasses and endured the jeers of "Four Eyes" because he could finally see baseballs and footballs. In Hollywood, Reagan would take off his glasses when he auditioned for films. He was a guinea pig for one of the first pair of contact lens, but they were thick and uncomfortable and made him appear pop-eyed on screen, so he soon quit wearing them unless he was

doing a long shot or stunt that required good vision more than a handsome appearance. As president, Reagan would wear a contact in only one eye, allowing him to see up close as well as far away.

Reagan was involved in a myriad of activities in high school and college. In high school, Reagan, who loved all sports, played guard on the football team and was elected student body president. He was the drum major because he wanted to be in the band but couldn't play an instrument. After graduating from high school, Reagan attended Eureka College on a football scholarship. Eureka was a very small college with fewer than 250 students, and this allowed Reagan to participate fully in student life. In fact, he often joked that people said he had majored in extracurricular activities; he actually majored in economics and sociology. Besides playing football, Reagan spent two years in the student senate, three years as a basketball cheerleader (early cheerleaders have little in common with today's; they got the crowd yelling and on their feet and men as well as women participated), three years as president of the Eureka Boosters club, two years as the yearbook's features editor, and in his last year, student body president and captain and coach of the swim team. A strong swimmer, Reagan spent a total of seven summers working as a lifeguard at Lowell Park. As a lifeguard he was proud of the fact that he had saved seventy-seven people during those seven summers.

After graduation, Reagan had his heart set on becoming a radio sports announcer. In 1932, Reagan worked his last summer as a lifeguard and saved enough money to finance a job-hunting trip. He hitchhiked to Chicago to try and get a job as a radio announcer. Reagan soon found work at radio station WOC in Davenport, Iowa, as a football announcer and then later worked for four years at WHO, Des Moines, as an announcer for Chicago Cubs baseball games. Once he started broadcasting the Cubs games, Reagan concocted a plan to visit the team at its annual spring training camp in Pasadena, California. It was on one of these trips that Reagan auditioned for a screen test and soon began his Hollywood film career.

HOLLYWOOD STAR AND PRESIDENT OF THE SCREEN ACTORS GUILD

At twenty-six-years old, radio announcer Dutch Reagan from Iowa found himself rubbing shoulders with Hollywood movie stars. After his screen test, Reagan was hired by Warner Brothers to work in their "B" unit. B movies were low-budget films, which featured newcomers and lesser-known character actors. These films were shown as part of double features. Ironically, in his first role, Reagan was assigned to play a radio announcer in a movie *Love Is on the Air*. Reagan made thirteen pictures during his first year and a half with Warner Brothers. Besides playing opposite some of Hollywood's most desired actresses, Reagan co-starred opposite a chimpanzee in the 1951 comedy, *Bedtime*

for Bonzo. Reagan often did his own stunts and because he was an avid and accomplished horseman jumped without a double in the movie *Stallion Road*. Reagan's most memorable role was in the movie *Knute Rockne: All American*. In the film about Notre Dame head coach Knute Rockne, Reagan portrayed George Gipp, the star player who contracted pneumonia and died of a related infection. In the movie, Reagan delivered the line "win just one for the Gipper," and the nickname "the Gipper" stayed with him the rest of his life; it was used to rally support for George Bush at the 1988 Republican National Convention. The same year Reagan made *Knute Rockne*, he married actress Jane Wyman, another Warner's contract player. They had two children, Maureen and Michael, but divorced in 1948.

World War II interrupted Reagan's film career. After failing the vision test because of his poor eyesight, Reagan was confined to stateside service, eligible for corps area service command or War Department overhead only. Reagan served as a liaison officer loading convoys with troops bound for Australia, but was shortly transferred to Army Air Force Intelligence in Los Angeles because of his background in motion pictures. Reagan's job was to recruit technicians and artists from the movie business for a new unit that took over the Hal Roach film studio in Culver City and made training films, used throughout the army air corps. Promoted to second lieutenant, Reagan's unit developed a new method for briefing pilots and bombardiers before their bombing missions. Reagan narrated the films, identifying features pilots could use to reach their targets, and then saying, "Bombs away!" at the appropriate time. Reagan learned of the horrors of Nazism when he handled classified footage, not seen by the public, of Hitler's death camps. These images left a lasting impression on him. Later, Reagan was assigned to serve as the post's adjutant and personnel officer, where he formed impressions of the dysfunctional side of bureaucracy. He ended the war as a captain, and a liberal; a "New Dealer to the core."

After WWII, when Reagan returned to civilian life, he took up riding again and bought his co-star from *Stallion Road*, the black thoroughbred Baby. Not long after that he was able to buy his own ranch in San Fernando Valley, where he bred and sold thoroughbreds. In the meantime, Reagan found himself speaking out against the rise of neofascism in America. He became involved in the United World Federalists and American Veterans Committee, and soon began giving speeches at organizations. Reagan joined the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), the labor union that represented film and television performers, and was soon appointed to the board of directors. (Reagan was the first president of the United States who was a lifetime member of an AFL-CIO union.) In 1947, he was elected president of SAG. Reagan began to defend the industry, which had become a target for politicians who attacked it for immoral conduct and harboring communists. Some of these politicians found a voice through the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), an investigative committee that examined allegations of fascist plots and communism in American society. Reagan felt that many people were being wrongly accused of being communists

simply because, like himself, they were liberals. However, there was evidence that Moscow was trying to take over the Hollywood picture industry, a fact confirmed by the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities.

Reagan's life changed when he met actress Nancy Davis. Davis was dismayed because another actress with her name had been accused of communist ties. Reagan, as president of SAG, met with Davis to reassure her that her name would not be sullied. Their initial meeting turned into a long evening, and the two began to date soon after. They married at the Little Brown Church in the Valley on 4 March 1952. The couple had two children, Patricia Ann and Ron. Nancy was Reagan's greatest ally even years later, when she advised him on policy issues, ran the White House, and fervently protected his interests.

Reagan accepted an invitation to sit on the board of directors of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (HICCASP), a respected and prestigious liberal organization. Reagan later resigned from HICCASP when he discovered that it was a communist front organization, using well-intentioned Hollywood celebrities to give it credibility. Reagan later stated that more than anything else, the attempted communist takeover of Hollywood led him to politics.

In 1954, the General Electric Company hired Reagan to host the General Electric Theater, which ran for eight years on Sunday nights. In conjunction with the job, Reagan traveled to GE plants across the country as a goodwill ambassador from the home office. Reagan met over 250,000 GE employees, talked to them, and listened to what they had on their minds.

Reagan resigned from the Screen Actors Guild in 1960 after serving as its president for five years and leading the union in its first strike in history. He became a partner in a production company, worked on guest shots on TV, emceed a floorshow in Las Vegas, and turned down an offer to work on Broadway because he had no interest in leaving California for New York. In 1962, a change in management at GE ended Reagan's eight-year relationship with the company. Reagan's final years in Hollywood were on the set of *Death Valley Days*, a television series he stared in from 1964 to 1965. In 1964, he made his last picture, *The Killers*, in which he portrayed a mob chieftain. In all, Reagan made fifty-three pictures, thirty-one before the war and twenty-two after.

EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

In his autobiography, Reagan stated that as a young Democrat, he mistrusted business and believed government could solve the country's problems. He thought that it was FDR's New Deal policies that ended the Depression, and it wasn't until later that he realized that "it was probably World War II."

Reagan began his political transformation after the war, influenced by the attitude of civil service bureaucrats and the attempted communist takeover of

the film industry. Reagan witnessed the effects of Britain's Labor Party when he went to England in 1949 to film *The Hasty Heart*. There he saw firsthand how the welfare state "sapped incentive to work" for many people in the country. At home in California, Reagan was politically opposed to Richard Nixon. In 1950, Nixon ran for a seat in the U.S. Senate from California against Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, the wife of an actor-friend of Reagan's, Melvyn Douglas. Reagan campaigned against Nixon during his red-baiting race that focused on allegations Helen Douglas was a communist sympathizer. Later, Reagan stated he realized that Nixon wasn't the villain he had imagined and volunteered to campaign for Nixon against John F. Kennedy. By 1960, his transformation was complete and Reagan was no longer a Democrat. In his autobiography, Reagan stated, "I'm not so sure I changed as much as the parties changed." Reagan officially switched parties after the election of Kennedy in 1960.

Helen Gahagan Douglas (1900–1980)

Helen Gahagan Douglas, an opera singer and actress turned California politician, was an active Democratic Party member and the third woman from California to serve in Congress (1944 to 1950). Although respected for her political contributions, she is best known for her crushing 1950 defeat by Richard Nixon in the California senatorial race, an example of the anti-communist "red baiting" that colored early Cold War politics.

Douglas's career focused largely on human rights. During the Great Depression she advocated for migrant farmers fleeing the Dustbowl and supported the New Deal. She was elected the Democratic National Committee woman for California in 1940, and during World War II she brought attention to the civil rights of interned Japanese Americans. In 1944, as a congresswoman for California's fourteenth district, she challenged racial prejudice. She also championed rent and price controls, the equal treatment of women in the workplace, and funding for cancer research.

Douglas's main interest, however, was foreign affairs. She fought for peaceful use of atomic energy and international cooperation between scientists. Douglas also helped draft the Marshall Plan, an economic assistance program intended to revitalize war-ravaged Europe and strengthen it against communist threat.

Douglas's Hollywood connections and involvement in civil rights made her an easy target for accusations of communism. She butted heads with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) because of their ill treatment of individuals accused of being communist. She introduced legislation to protect accused citizens' right of defense and repeatedly opposed the HUAC expansion in Congress. Douglas voted against the McCarran-Wood bill (originally the Mundt-Nixon bill), intended to outlaw communism and put Marxist sympathizers in jail. These votes would hasten her political undoing.

In 1950, Douglas ran for the U.S. Senate against Nixon, who twisted her opposition to the HUAC and McCarran-Wood bill to show that she was communist. Douglas's supporters, including Ronald Reagan, campaigned vigorously, but Nixon swept the vote.

Douglas continued working in foreign affairs after her defeat. She passed away from breast cancer in 1980.

In 1964, Reagan supported conservative Barry Goldwater, who crusaded against big government, the welfare state, and corrupt labor unions. Reagan was asked to be the co-chairman of Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign in California. His job was to travel around the state speaking on behalf of Goldwater and to help him raise campaign funds. After giving a speech for Goldwater on national TV, Reagan raised \$8 million for Goldwater and the party. Reagan stated that "that speech was one of the most important milestones in my life," leading Reagan onto a political path he never expected to take.

GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA, 1967–1975

Reagan was asked to run for governor of California when Pat Brown, the liberal Democrat who had beat Nixon for reelection in 1962, was expected to run for a third term. Prior to this, Reagan had never thought about running and had no interest in doing so, instead insisting "I'm an actor, not a politician." Reagan finally gave in and agreed to go on the road and accept speaking invitations. Starting in July 1965, Reagan drove throughout California for six months, giving campaign speeches. Everywhere he spoke, people kept asking him to run for governor. Finally, on 4 January 1966, Reagan announced his intention to seek the Republican nomination for governor. At the time, California was facing many problems. Californians paid the highest per capita taxes in the nation and had the highest crime rate. The state had an extravagant welfare program and severe problems with air and water pollution. Another important issue was how to deal with rebellious students at University of California-Berkeley. Reagan's campaign attacked Brown on all these issues. In 1966, after defeating Pat Brown by a margin of 58 to 42 percent, Ronald Reagan became the thirty-third governor of California. He would be reelected in 1970 after defeating Speaker of the Assembly Jesse Unruh, by a margin of 53 to 45 percent. Reagan chose not to seek a third term and left Sacramento in 1975.

When Reagan first arrived at Sacramento, he had been dismayed to find that California had a \$400 million budget deficit, and he knew he had to rally support for needed tax increases. To get public opinion on his side, he went on TV and the radio to inform Californians of the state's monetary situation and

what Sacramento was trying to do about it, thinking perhaps it might help get public opinion on his side. Reagan's 1967 tax bill was designed to shift taxes from an over-reliance on property tax to a more "progressive" income and sales tax. He raised taxes, but shared those new tax dollars with local governments and gave millions back to Californians in tax rebates for the first time. As governor, Reagan was devoted to bringing more blacks and Hispanics into important jobs in state government. He was against open-ended welfare programs and won tighter welfare eligibility requirements, but raised payments to a livable level. Reagan signed bills creating the California Environmental Quality Act of 1970 to fight water and air pollution. He tripled state support of local schools and helped the state add 145,000 acres to the park system. Under Reagan, California became a national pioneer in a program that enlisted the help of parents in the early education of their children. Although a religious conservative, Reagan signed the Therapeutic Abortion Act of 1967, making abortion legal for many women. Reagan later regretted he had signed the legislation and announced his pro-life stance.

Reagan is criticized by many Californians for reducing funding to mental institutions and releasing patients without providing the resources for their care. Also, Reagan's actions during the People's Park protests in 1969 sent 2200 state National Guard troops to the University of California-Berkeley campus, sparking protests of unnecessary violence.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Reagan believed he was leaving the world of politics behind after choosing not to run for a third term as governor. However, a number of Republican leaders soon began urging Reagan to challenge Gerald Ford for the Republican Party presidential nomination in 1976. Reagan would face many challenges in doing so; he was not part of the Washington establishment but an outsider, and furthermore, he had to overcome the bias that many Northeasterners held against Californians and politicians from "the land of fruit and nuts."

During his first campaign for the presidency, Reagan ran on a theme of scaling back the size of the federal government, reducing taxes and government intrusion in the lives of Americans, and balancing the budget. Although the primary was close, Reagan lost, but afterward pledged to support Ford. Reagan campaigned in more than twenty states for Ford, and when Ford lost to Jimmy Carter, Reagan began writing a newspaper column and radio scripts, continuing to speak out for Republicanism and how the nation had strayed from the vision of the founding fathers.

Reagan knew that if he decided to run again in 1980, he would have to deal with two issues: He would have to prove that he was not an extremist, even though he was from California, and he would have to deal with the issue of age. If Reagan won in 1980, he would turn seventy shortly after Inauguration Day and become the oldest president in history.

1980 AND 1984 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

Reagan announced his decision to run for president in a speech at the New York Hilton Hotel on 13 November 1979. In the run for the primary, shortly after New Hampshire, all the candidates except George Bush dropped out, and near the end of May, he dropped out as well. When Reagan had to make a choice for running mate, he first considered ex-president Gerald Ford, but then chose George Bush. Now Reagan and Bush had to beat Democrats Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale.

In 1980, the situation in America seemed bleak. Interest rates were over fifteen percent; unemployment, like inflation and interest rates, was in the double digits. The United States military had been scaled down and was seriously “in danger of falling behind the Soviet Union.” The Iran hostage crisis had resulted in more than fifty Americans being held captive for almost a year. (The hostage crisis started in autumn 1979 when radical followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini, head of the Islamist Iranian regime, attacked the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking several dozen American hostages. President Jimmy Carter had tried applying political and economic pressure to have the hostages released, but to no avail.) On top of this, Reagan and others felt America had “lost faith in itself.”

Reagan ran on a conservative platform that attracted wealthy entrepreneurs from the South and the West, conservative Christians, and disaffected blue-collar and middle-class voters. In the 28 October debate against Carter, Reagan asked people “Are you better off than you were four years ago?” If they were, he said they should vote for Carter, if not, they should agree that it was a time for change. In a landslide victory of 489 to 49 electoral votes, Ronald Reagan became the fortieth president of the United States. President Jimmy Carter had carried only six states.

At seventy-three years old, Reagan ran for reelection in 1984 against Democratic candidate Walter Mondale of Minnesota. Mondale named New York Representative Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate, a first for women in American politics. Again, Reagan won by a landslide, carrying every state except Minnesota and the District of Columbia. The president received a majority of the blue-collar votes and over fifty percent of the votes cast by women, despite Ferraro being on the ticket.

PRESIDENCY, 1981–1989

Reagan’s immediate priorities were how to deal with double-digit inflation, high unemployment, and a prime interest rate of 21.5 percent, the highest since the Civil War. He also worried about how to stop the advance of communism in Latin America without “making the people think Uncle Sam is a bigger threat to them than communists?”

In his first official act as president, Reagan signed an executive order removing price controls on oil and gasoline, his initial effort at liberating the economy from excess government regulation. On 20 January, Reagan was able to announce that Carter's efforts at freeing the fifty-two Americans held hostage for 444 days in Iran had been successful and the hostages were on their way home.

Assassination Attempt

After giving a speech to the Construction Trades Council at the Washington Hilton Hotel on 30 March 1981, Reagan was the victim of an assassination attempt. As Reagan exited the hotel, there was the sound of gunfire, and Secret Service agent Jerry Parr threw his body onto Reagan, knocking him into the limousine. Initially, Reagan believed the excruciating pain he was feeling was caused by broken ribs, sustained when he was pushed into the limo. As blood started coming out of the president's mouth, the decision to send the limousine to the George Washington University Hospital instead of the White House probably saved Reagan's life. Reagan collapsed as he exited the limo at the hospital, and hospital personnel discovered that he had a bullet in his lung. The assassin was twenty-five-year old John Hinckley Jr., a disturbed youth with an obsession for actress Jodie Foster. Hinckley had recently seen Foster's film *Taxi Driver*, which involved a political assassination, and he attempted to kill Reagan to impress Foster. Hinckley had fired six shots from a .22-caliber revolver loaded with "Devastator" rounds. One bullet had struck the limousine, ricocheted through the gap between the body of the car and the door hinges, and hit Reagan under his left arm. The president had not been wearing his body armor. Reagan's press secretary, James Brady, had been shot in the head, Secret Service agent Tim McCarthy had been shot in the chest, and Washington police officer Thomas Delahanty was also wounded. Reagan never forgot his sense of humor throughout the whole ordeal. In fact, on the gurney, Reagan borrowed a line from the boxer Jack Dempsey when he told his wife, "Honey, I forgot to duck."

A jury later found Hinckley not guilty by reason of insanity and he was sent to a psychiatric facility. Reagan recovered but Brady was left paralyzed, and although he retained his title of Press Secretary, he would never return to work. Brady would later become an advocate for gun control.

"Reaganomics"

In college, Reagan had majored in economics, but his ideas for tax reform frustrated many politicians and experts. His economic recovery program was threefold: cut tax rates, get government regulators out of the way of commerce and industry, and slash government spending. Reagan's economic theory was based on "supply-side" economics, but critics derisively called it

“Reaganomics.” The goal was to stimulate business activity by lowering taxes overall and slashing rates for the rich. There would be less money for the federal government programs, but more money in the hands of consumers and investors. Reagan believed that this in turn would stimulate investment, increase employment opportunities, and improve the economy because wealth would “trickle-down” to all Americans.

By the end of Reagan’s first year in office, the first phase of the largest tax cut in the nation’s history had gone into effect. The Economic Recovery and Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) reduced personal income tax rates by 25 percent over the next three years. ERTA was followed by the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which brought down inflation, brought down interest rates, brought down unemployment, and created additional tax revenue for government. The reforms reduced the number of personal income tax brackets from fourteen to three and lowered the top personal tax bracket from 70 percent to 28 percent, the lowest rate since 1931. Corporate as well as personal taxes were simplified and reduced to their lowest rate since 1941. The second part of the economic agenda was deregulation, or the reduction or removal of government regulations to encourage direct competition in industries and economic sectors. To slash government spending, the Reagan administration made substantial cutbacks in welfare, education, and Medicare.

Initially Reagan’s economic plan seemed to backfire. In 1981 and 1982, the nation suffered the worst recession since the Great Depression, as unemployment rose and government revenues plunged. Meanwhile, because of huge defense spending, the federal deficit soared. But by 1983, the economy began to grow as interest rates and inflation fell to 4 percent. Reagan’s proponents claim the economic expansion created more than 18 million new jobs by the time Reagan left office, the largest increase for a comparable period of time in history. However, critics are quick to note that the economic growth was uneven and largely favored the wealthy, while the welfare cuts hurt the poor.

Domestic Issues

The first national emergency Reagan faced as president was when the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), whose members manned Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) airport control towers and radar centers, threatened to strike in August 1981. Reagan expected the controllers to abide by a law passed by Congress which forbid strikes by government employees; every member of the controllers union had signed a sworn affidavit agreeing not to strike. After the union’s executive board rejected a tentative agreement, more than 70 percent of the FAA’s nearly 13,000 controllers went on strike. Reagan announced that if the strikers did not return to work within forty-eight hours, they would lose their jobs and not be rehired. Many of the strikers either underestimated Reagan or thought he was bluffing and ignored the congressional order. Reagan was true to his word and fired them all. A new

crop of controllers were trained by the FAA over a period of two years, and the system emerged safer and more efficient than before.

Reagan had pledged to appoint a woman to the Supreme Court for his first nomination. On 7 July 1981, Reagan nominated Sandra Day O'Connor of the Arizona Court of Appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court, after Justice Potter Stewart announced that he wanted to retire at the end of his current term. Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman to serve as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; O'Connor served for over twenty-four years.

Domestic health issues also plagued Reagan's presidency. In a multibillion-dollar campaign, the Reagan Administration waged the "war on drugs" and created the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) to coordinate drug policy throughout the government. As First Lady, Nancy Reagan headed the anti-drug campaign "Just Say No." Reagan was criticized for his lack of action against a new epidemic sweeping America in the 1980s, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, or AIDS. Critics claimed that Reagan, to play to anti-homosexual constituents, ignored the epidemic.

Arms Race

Reagan was convinced that the way to achieve arms reduction was by *increasing* arms first. Thus, Reagan decided to send a message to the Soviets that America would spend whatever it took to stay ahead in the arms race. Reagan began by increasing the defense budget; from 1981 to 1988, the United States increased spending on the military from about \$117 billion per year to approximately \$290 billion per year, the largest peacetime buildup in history. Reagan approved the production of the B-1 bomber and expanded the size of the navy. He decided to build more B-52 bombers, new intercontinental-range missiles, and the MX Peacekeeper. Funding went to deploy new Trident nuclear submarines and develop a new missile to be launched from them; to develop the Stealth bomber, capable of penetrating Soviet defense radars; and to construct a wide array of new surface ships, fighter aircraft, and space satellites for communications and other military purposes.

Starting in the 1950s, the United States had assumed the doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD). Reagan detested the assumptions of MAD and dreamed "whether it might be possible to develop a defense against missiles other than the fatalistic acceptance of annihilation that was implicit under the MAD policy." Reagan explored ways to protect the United States against nuclear attack and thus, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was born, a plan to intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached U.S. soil or that of America's allies. Reagan decided to make public his SDI by laying down a challenge to scientists to solve the technological problems it posed. Shortly, some in Congress and the press named it "Star Wars," after the popular George Lucas science fiction film of the same name. In his autobiography,

Reagan stated that he believed the most important reasons for the breakthroughs in peace and a better relationship with the Soviet Union was the SDI, along with the overall modernization of U.S. military forces.

Reagan's increase in defense spending created enormous national debt and set the stage for the 19 October 1987 stock market crash and collapse of the savings and loan industry. Likewise, Reagan was less successful cutting federal spending and balancing the budget. By the end of his second term, the national deficit was more than \$2 trillion. As noted in his autobiography, Reagan felt that this was one of the biggest disappointments of his presidency.

FOREIGN POLICY

Soviet Union

Since World War II, Soviet leaders had been spreading communism throughout the world, and the United States had confronted this challenge in Turkey, Greece, Korea, Vietnam, and elsewhere. During his presidency, Reagan dealt with four Soviet secretary generals. The first three, Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, and Konstantin Chernenko, were old-line communists bent on pursuing Lenin's vision of Soviet expansionism and world domination. Under Brezhnev, the Soviets claimed the right to support "wars of national liberation," and to suppress, through armed intervention, any challenge to communist governments anywhere in the world. During the Nixon administration the two superpowers had slowed down their competition in the arms race, practicing détente, an easing of Cold War tension. Reagan felt that the nuclear standoff was "futile and dangerous for all," and believed détente was a mistake. Instead, Reagan based his foreign policy on a position of strength—"peace through strength, not peace through a piece of paper."

First, Reagan offered to lift the grain embargo that had been imposed on the Soviets during the Carter administration, hoping his action of goodwill would improve Soviet-American relations. However, Brezhnev's response was icy and he blamed the United States for starting the Cold War. Later, in a series of speeches, Reagan called the Soviet Union the "evil empire," employing some of the harshest anti-Soviet rhetoric used by an American official since the early 1960s. Needless to say, Reagan made little progress with Brezhnev, who died in November 1982, nor would he be successful with the new Soviet leader, Andropov. In February 1984, Andropov died and Chernenko took charge of the Kremlin. Like Andropov, Chernenko was ill and was not expected to live long.

In March 1985, after the death of Chernenko, Mikhail Gorbachev was selected general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and his reform movement of *perestroika* set in motion the end of both Soviet-style communism and the Cold War. At Chernenko's funeral, Vice President Bush

carried with him an invitation from Reagan to Gorbachev for a summit conference. Gorbachev responded two weeks later and this began the string of correspondence between the two men that lasted for years, encompassing scores of letters and three personal meetings. Gorbachev agreed to meet with Reagan in Geneva in November. In his autobiography, Reagan confessed that “once we’d agreed to hold a summit, I made a conscious decision to tone down my rhetoric to avoid goading Gorbachev with remarks about the ‘evil empire.’” The first session between the two leaders was scheduled to be a short fifteen-minute, get-acquainted meeting. It lasted almost an hour, and after managing to break the ice, the two got along quite well; Reagan stated he “liked Gorbachev even though he was a dedicated Communist and I was a confirmed capitalist.” Afterward, Reagan invited Gorbachev to Washington for another summit, and Gorbachev not only accepted but invited Reagan to come to Moscow for a third. At these meetings, Reagan and Gorbachev received hero’s welcomes when they visited each other’s capitals, and while in Moscow, Reagan took back his remarks about the evil empire.

Gorbachev and Reagan moved slowly and uneasily toward détente with summit meetings in 1985 in Geneva and Reykjavik. On 12 June 1987, Reagan accepted an invitation to speak to an outdoor gathering at Brandenburg Gate at the dividing line between West Berlin and East Berlin. It was here that he uttered perhaps his most famous words:

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

The two sides concluded an Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty in December 1987, eliminating a whole class of ballistic missiles stationed in Europe. The treaty required each party to destroy ground-launched and ballistic cruise missiles and their launchers within three years. As part of the agreement, each nation was permitted to make on-site inspections in the other country to verify compliance with the agreement. Reagan elicited a smile from Gorbachev when he quoted an old Russian proverb at the meeting, “*Dovorey no provorey*—trust, but verify.” It was the first time in history that any nations had ever agreed not only to stand down, but to destroy nuclear missiles. Toward the end of 1987, it seemed evident that Gorbachev was serious about introducing major economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union.

The Middle East

One of the strongest convictions that Reagan held was his belief that the United States must ensure the survival of Israel. Throughout his presidency, Reagan believed that it was essential for the United States to continue working

with moderate Arabs (in addition to Egypt) to find a solution to the Middle East's problem of providing for the acceptance of Israel's right to exist together with a land-for-peace concession that gave territory and autonomy to the Palestinians.

Lebanon, a battleground for many armed political groups, was first of many small-scale military interventions during the Reagan administration. In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon to clear Palestinian guerrillas from its borders and soon the Israeli army became embroiled in a civil war. Reagan sent marines to Lebanon as part of a peacekeeping force to help stabilize the state and allow the Israelis to withdraw. In October 1983, a suicide bomber, apparently a Syrian-backed Lebanese Shiite, drove a truck filled with explosives into the marines' compound in Beirut, killing 241 American servicemen. Reagan withdrew the marines from Lebanon a few months later to prevent harming Arab-American relations. In his autobiography, Reagan stated that Beirut became the focal point of the saddest day of his presidency, "perhaps the saddest day of my life."

Reagan felt that many acts of international terrorism were being perpetrated by tyrannical leaders such as the Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and Muammar al-Qaddafi of Libya. After FBI agents implicated a Libyan terrorist in a Chicago murder, Reagan responded by ordering the Libyan government of Qaddafi to close its Washington embassy. Reagan also authorized the Sixth Fleet to recommence maneuvers that summer in the Gulf of Sidra, a part of the Mediterranean that surrounds Libya. During the 1970s, Qaddafi had claimed the gulf as part of Libya and ordered fleets out of the waters. The Iran hostage crisis had led Carter to honor Qaddafi's claim, but Reagan wasn't about to.

On 5 April 1986, a bomb exploded in a West Berlin nightclub, killing two American servicemen and a Turkish woman and wounding 200 other people. After days of diplomatic talks between leaders of Europe and the Middle East, Reagan ordered an air strike of the Libyan capital of Tripoli. The air strike was condemned by many of the Arab states, the Soviet Union, and France, but Reagan's decision was supported by Great Britain and Israel, among others.

Unfortunately, at the end of Reagan's second term in 1988, the Middle East was as troubled a region as it was when he came to office in 1981. Bringing lasting peace to the Middle East had eluded him.

Grenada and Central America

In October 1983, just days after the bombing of U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, Reagan launched an invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada to prevent the possible creation of a Cuban military base. The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) had asked the United States to intervene militarily on the island of Grenada after the Marxist-Leninist government invited Cuban workers to build a suspiciously large new airport on the island. The OECS

wished to join together in ousting the Cubans from Grenada but lacked the military wherewithal to do, so they asked for the assistance of the United States in dislodging the radicals. Of additional concern were the several hundred American medical students at St. George's University. The invasion was conducted under strict secrecy, which angered British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, a staunch ally of Reagan; Grenada, a former British colony, was still a member of the British Commonwealth. More than 19,000 army rangers and marines landed on Grenada and quickly gained control of the island's two airports and secured the campus where the American students were. Nineteen American soldiers lost their lives, and over 100 were injured, but the American troops were victorious. In his autobiography, Reagan stated that he probably never felt better during his presidency than he did that day.

Iran-Contra Affair

In 1985, the Reagan administration began secretly selling weapons to Iran for use in their war against Iraq. Although on Reagan's first day in office, the American hostages in Iran had been released, other Americans had been kidnapped in Lebanon, with apparent Iranian support. A number of aides in the Reagan administration sought their release by the covert arms deals to Iran, in an attempt to trade hostages for arms. This later acquired a second and unrelated purpose: the generation of cash to fund an unacknowledged war in Nicaragua.

During the early 1980s, Nicaragua and El Salvador were the targets of secret foreign policy operations by the CIA and later the National Security Council (NSC). In 1979, a Marxist revolution in Nicaragua, led by the Sandinistas, ousted the Somaza dictatorship. The CIA began assisting "freedom fighters" and organizing them into the Contras, a military fighting force that, with American aid and support, undertook the task of bringing democracy to Nicaragua. In late 1982, as questions of the tactics being used by the Contras surfaced, congressional opposition began to develop against further support of the Contras and Salvadoran government. To circumvent Congress, the NSC continued to sell arms to Iran using Israel as a go-between. The money from the sales was secretly given to the Contras. The Iran-Contra scheme, as it became known, proved a fiasco, covering the Reagan administration with embarrassment when the story broke. Many government officials, including Colonel Oliver North and Admiral John Poindexter, were convicted, but their convictions were set aside on appeal. In 1992, President George Bush granted pardons to six key players in the scandal. Congressional investigating committees and the Tower Board, a special review board charged with investigating the scandal, concluded that Reagan had had no knowledge of any diversion of monies to the Contras. Reagan continued to insist that the Iran initiative was not an effort to swap arms for hostages. Reagan's battles with Congress over Central America would continue throughout his entire presidency. However, in 1981, less than

a third of the people in the Americas were living under democracies; by 1988, this figure was 90 percent.

POST-PRESIDENTIAL YEARS, 1989–2004

After serving two terms as president, Ronald Reagan retired to his California ranch in Santa Barbara County, and his home in Bel Air. He continued to make occasional speaking engagements, especially for the Republican Party. Due to his advanced age, Reagan had suffered from several health issues during his presidency. In 1985, doctors found a small polyp in Reagan's colon during a routine check-up. Before undergoing the colonoscopy on 12 July, Reagan signed a letter invoking the Twenty-fifth Amendment which allows the president, of his own volition, to turn over the power of his office to the vice president, thus making George Bush acting president during the time he was incapacitated under anesthesia. Eight hours after giving up power, he wrote a second letter, reclaiming the presidency from Bush. Reagan had not evoked the Twenty-fifth after being shot by Hinkley. While in office, Reagan also underwent minor prostate surgery.

In 1994, in a letter written by his own hand, the public learned that Reagan was suffering from Alzheimer's disease, the same disease that claimed his mother. Much speculation is still made among politicians and historians as to whether he suffered from it during his second term. As the disease wore him down, Reagan and his wife Nancy lived quietly, celebrating his ninetieth birthday and taking few visitors. Reagan died at his home in Bel Air, California, on 5 June 2004. He is buried at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California.

I learned that hard work is an essential part of life—that by and large, you don't get something for nothing—and that America was a place that offered unlimited opportunity to those who did work hard. I learned to admire risk takers and entrepreneurs, be they farmers or small merchants, who went to work and took risks to build something for themselves and their children, pushing at the boundaries of their lives to make them better.

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Governor-elect Ann Richards holding a press conference on the day after her election victory. Getty Images.

Ann Willis Richards

Scott Behen

The roots of this former governor of Texas and lifelong activist leave little room for doubt about how this homespun Texan woman became, at her zenith, a shining star in the national and state Democratic Party. Her precociousness, abundant energy, and involvement in activities such as band, speech, debate, and Girls State along with an old-fashioned work ethic learned firsthand from her parents served as precursors to her life in politics. More than just a politician, Richards fought for causes close to her heart, including equality for women and civil rights. Ann Willis Richards became one of the most well known and powerful women leaders of the twentieth century.

An only child, Dorothy Ann came into the world on 1 September 1933 in the midst of the Great Depression. Her father, Cecil Willis, whom Richards described as a champion storyteller, came from Bugtussles, Texas, just south of Waco. Her hardworking waste-not, want-not mother Iona Warren hailed from the similarly small community of Hogsjaw outside of Fort Worth. Considering the curiously named hometowns of her parents, it comes as no surprise that nary a hint of a lake existed in sight of her own birthplace of Lakeview, Texas, eight miles outside of Waco. Her father worked as a delivery driver for Southwestern Drug during the Great Depression. He eventually became one of their salesmen and, even with the predictably low wages of the day, managed to buy and pay off in two years a small home in Lakeview. Meanwhile, her mother worked hard growing and raising much of the food the family ate as well as constructing the clothes they wore on their backs. While in school, Ann was involved in a myriad of activities, including leadership roles in the rhythm band and various plays.

Four years in San Diego during World War II opened Ann's eyes to a larger world outside of Lakeview. The navy drafted Cecil and he spent almost two years in the service stationed in San Diego. Iona and Ann followed him to southern California not long after his posting, residing there until his release from the navy after the war ended. Young Ann traveled via bus and streetcar across town to attend Teddy Roosevelt Junior High, an experience that opened her eyes to a larger, more diverse world than found in the environs of Waco. Not only did she experience her first grocery store and donut in California, but it was the first time she met kids her own age of various ethnic backgrounds. When the war ended, the family returned to Lakeview, and Ann to Lakeview Junior High where she played basketball for the Bulldogs until she graduated.

The family moved to Waco so that Ann could obtain a better education by attending Waco High School. In an effort to seem less "country" she dropped Dorothy from her name and introduced herself as Ann Willis to her new classmates at Waco High.¹ Along with the normal activities of a high school teenager at the time including dating and dances, Ann became heavily involved in debate and Girls State—an educational group for teen girls to learn about government and politics. Through Girls State young women sought election to offices such as model mayors, governors, and other elected representatives.

The teenaged Ann Richards got to travel to the governor's mansion and, through Girls Nation, the White House, eventually meeting Lieutenant Governor Allen Shivers and President Harry Truman, as well as other politicians such as Georgia Neese Clark, the treasurer of the United States. It is clear that her fondness for debate coupled with the experiences of politicking and meeting powerful local and national politicians put Ann on the path toward an eventual career in politics, even if she had no idea of it herself at the time.

Though she was offered debate scholarships to several universities, Ann stayed home and attended Baylor University instead. Her boyfriend and soon-to-be-husband David Richards, whom she had been dating steadily since senior year at Waco High, went away to Andover for a year of prep school after they both graduated in 1950. David Richards eventually forced his parents to allow him to attend Baylor, and he and Ann were married in 1953 after the completion of their junior year. David became a powerful lawyer and Ann graduated from Baylor in 1954 with a major in speech and minor in political science, further setting the stage for a life in politics.

In the fall of 1954, Ann and David both went on to the University of Texas at Austin and became involved in Texas politics. David enrolled at UT's law school while Ann took graduate classes in speech and worked toward her permanent teaching certificate. At the age of twenty, after some practice teaching, Ann got a job teaching middle school social studies at Fulmore Junior High School, which Ann credits to the fact that Austin's superintendent of schools was her former principal at Waco High, Ernest Cabe. The Richards' got involved in an informal political roundtable in Austin and through that became interested in the Young Democrats organization on campus. They fomented a coup of sorts, wresting the organization away from its forty-year-old leader, installing David as president and Ann as parliamentarian.

It appears that Ann had no burning desire to be a teacher. In her memoir *Straight from the Heart*, she describes teaching as the most difficult, low wage, and thankless job she ever had. This and the fact that her memoir devotes far more print to a poorly executed failed parade float built for the Young Democrats and socializing politicos at the Scholz Beer Garden indicate strongly that Ann's heart belonged to politics and not teaching.²

Richards started working in state politics shortly after her first child was born. Her first daughter Cecile was born 15 July 1957. After staying for some time with her parents, Ann moved to Dallas to be with David, who had joined a law firm there. At the age of twelve, Cecile indicated the likelihood of following her mother's footsteps when she wore an armband to school protesting the war in Vietnam. Ann's eldest worked as a union organizer straight out of college, served as deputy chief of staff for House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, and in early 2006 took over the reigns of Planned Parenthood. Ann's own activism became evident in 1958 when she started stuffing envelopes at the East Dallas NAACP office for the gubernatorial campaign of Henry Gonzalez—the first Hispanic man to run for that office in Texas.

As the size of Ann's family grew, so did her interest and participation in politics. Her son Dan joined the world in 1959, and the following year Ann got involved in volunteering for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. She worked the precinct desk once a week and after the election, due to David's interest in being a part of the New Frontier, the family pulled up stakes in Dallas and shifted to the nation's capital. David became a lawyer for the Civil Rights Commission and the family moved into an integrated neighborhood on Capitol Hill. After a year in Washington, DC, the Richards family decided that the New Frontier remained in Texas and, disillusioned, returned to Texas in February of 1962. The bad experience with national politics, perhaps the inability to find a way in to make any significant contributions, returned the political focus to a local level where Ann felt some difference could possibly still be made. David returned to his old law firm in Dallas, Ann was pregnant with her third child Clark, who was born in 1962, and they moved into a "wonderful old house" back in Dallas.³

On returning to Texas, Ann threw herself into local politics. She helped found two important political organizations in Texas, the North Dallas Democratic Women (NDDW) and the Dallas Committee for Peaceful Integration (DCPI), and later organized a broad collection of democratic clubs in Dallas county. Complaining that men in the Democratic Party and its organizations treated the women as "machines parts," she along with two other activists founded the NDDW to give women something tangible to do to leverage their own intellects, skills, and power.⁴ She became president of NDDW and the Dallas county democratic clubs organization and helped form a network of women to help monitor precinct workers and ferret out loyalists who might be convinced to run for office. This was significant in Texas at that time because Democrats often operated as wolves in sheep's clothing by supporting Republican candidates who were running as Democrats—the term "loyalist" stood for true Democrats. The DCPI grew out of the coalition of democratic clubs and, according to Richards, fell under the gaze of J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation for its work to integrate Dallas.

Ann suffered through a period of poor health and illness after the difficult pregnancy and delivery of her second daughter Ellen at the end of 1963. She spent New Year's in the hospital after suffering severe hemorrhaging. That spring she blacked out while driving—though a passenger slowed the vehicle and safely pulled it over to the side of the road. A few months later, she blacked out again while her mother was visiting, which prompted a trip to the hospital and a diagnosis of epilepsy; the blackouts Ann had been suffering were actually grand mal seizures. Except for occasional bouts of petite absence, the type of seizure brought on by rhythmic flashing light, medication ended the blackouts. The troubles continued when Ann later contracted encephalitis during a local outbreak of the disease. Ann also experienced setbacks politically. She left Dallas, discouraged that women would ever obtain an equal footing in political endeavors, and returned to Austin. She swore never again to be involved in politics.

Ann Richards's political life took its most important turn yet. In 1971, she was approached to manage Sarah Weddinton's campaign for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives. Sarah was a young twenty-five-year old lawyer who argued *Roe v. Wade* at the U.S. Supreme Court. Weddinton had no political experience but was earnestly interested in making progressive changes in Texas. Ann managed the campaign to its successful conclusion in 1972, though at this point she had no direct political ambitions of her own. A year later, Ann was asked to step in and manage Weddinton's House office. Ann cut her political teeth while managing half a dozen people wedged into the two small offices. Established as a campaign manager and political operative, she helped with Wilhelmina Delco's campaign for state legislature in 1974. With Ann's assistance, Wilhelmina became the first black woman to represent Austin in the state legislature.

The accumulation of experience and her political shrewdness were evident in the future-governor's first bid for political office. Local Democrats interested in removing the Republican commissioner for Travis County first approached David to run for the office. Though David had presented cases with important political impact at the U.S. Supreme Court, he had little personal interest in running for office. At her husband's insistence, Ann considered the offer when it was alternately offered. After a month-long retreat with the voting and polling information from previous elections, Ann decided winning was a distinct possibility and accepted the offer to run. She ran a wily campaign that focused on the most likely voters in the more densely populated districts within Travis County. Ann used innovative mailings, radio and television spots, and made repeated contact with voters via postcards. She attended meetings of every variety and knocked on door after door of the likeliest voters. These efforts paid off and helped her unseat the incumbent commissioner.

Richards served as Travis County Commissioner from 1976 to 1982 and grew increasingly involved in state and national politics along the way. That the increased participation involved women's issues is consistent with her own brand of political activism, which she had developed throughout her life to this point. In 1977, she spoke on this issue at the National Women's Conference in Houston to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Later, in 1978, she supported the National Women's Education Fund to encourage more women to run for political office. At this time, President Jimmy Carter invited Commissioner Richards to serve on his Advisory Committee for Women in an organized effort to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed.

When the new decade began, Richards suffered a crisis of a personal nature. In 1980, Ann entered the Aspen Institute at St. Mary's Hospital in Minneapolis, Minnesota.⁵ Ann quit drinking and smoking while attending detox at St. Mary's and reported that whenever "there is something that has me feeling a little awry, or if something has upset me, I go to an AA meeting," even twenty-six years later.⁶ Despite the problem with drinking and smoking, Ann's political career was on the fast track.

A successful run for statewide office put Richards in a new office for the remainder of the 1980s. She originally announced her intention to run for lieutenant governor in 1982 but remained noncommittal while her mentor and incumbent Democrat Bill Hobby decided whether to run for reelection. Once Hobby decided to run again, Richards shifted focus toward the state treasurer campaign. The Democrat incumbent, Warren G. Harding, eventually dropped out after a Travis County grand jury indicted him on two counts of official misconduct. After Harding's withdrawal from the race, Richards handily defeated her Republican opponent, Allen Clark, by 28 percent of the statewide vote.

Elected Texas state treasurer in 1982, Ann became the first woman in the state in fifty years to hold such an office. While treasurer, Richards implemented reforms in the department that lead to millions of dollars in earnings for state coffers. This catapulted Ann into an ever-increasing prominence within the state and national Democratic Party. In 1984, she not only seconded Walter Mondale's nomination for the presidential ticket at the Democratic National Convention, but also was later asked to join a group of women requested to advise him on his choice of running mate. Though her political star was rising, all was not well on the home front; in 1984 Ann and David Richards divorced.

By 1985, Ann's meteoric political rise to national prominence was all but guaranteed. She was named to the DNC's Democratic Policy Commission to set the priorities for the national Democratic Party. She ran unopposed for state treasurer in 1986 and succeeded in modernizing and partially reforming the department during her second term in office. The keynote speech at the 1988 Democratic National Convention made Ann Richards a household name throughout the nation. At the time, a *Newsweek* article claimed she was chosen for the speech to curry favor in the South while taking aim at one of George Bush's perceived weaknesses relating to gender issues. This speech, aired live in millions of homes nationwide, is widely recognized as one of her most memorable and powerful speeches and opened the door for her successful campaign for the governor's mansion in Texas. She later chaired the DNC in 1992, the year Bill Clinton defeated incumbent George Bush to become the president of the United States.

An underdog during the entire gubernatorial campaign, Ann was elected governor of Texas in 1990. On the heels of her infamous DNC silver-foot speech, Ann took advantage of the media publicity and newly acquired poster-girl status to defeat Clayton Williams. Richards campaigned aggressively and was aided by Williams's own foot-in-mouth problems when he compared being raped to the weather.⁷ Despite spending \$8 million of his own money, Williams lost the election by more than 100,000 votes.⁸ Even though she eventually lost reelection and never again served as an elected official, Richards made a tremendous impact during her time in office as governor. Of roughly 3000 appointments made during her single term, almost 50 percent of them were women with minorities making up about 40 percent of the total.

Richards lost her reelection bid in 1994 to future president George W. Bush, thereby ending her political career. The blunt and truthful Ann Richards held a decided air of cynicism. Richards seemed disillusioned with politics, and this negatively affected her reelection campaign, as she stated candidly to a reporter, "If you mean, 'Am I sadder but wiser?' the answer is yes."⁹ She also told a Texas Girls State gathering, a group of teens supported by the American Legion Auxiliary, that,

I cannot tell you what a pitfall it is to count on Prince Charming to make you feel better about yourself and take care of you. Prince Charming may be driving a Honda and telling you that you have no equal, but that won't do much good when you've got kids and a mortgage and he has a beer gut and a wandering eye. Prince Charming, if he does ride up in a Honda, he's going to expect you to make the payments. . . . The point is, that the only one you can count on to be there when you need help is you.¹⁰

Richards's inability to move forward with her "New Texas" election platform, staffers with their own agendas, and dismal results with reform in education and the Texas Department of Insurance all contributed to the failure to win reelection. The former governor, speaking of her single term in office stated that the inability to get the votes for a teacher raise was her "biggest piece of unfinished business" as governor of Texas.¹¹

Governor Richards's career in politics may have ended but her life as a powerful and influential national figure had not. She became a senior advisor with the Washington, DC, law firm of Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson, and Hand. She served on the boards of various companies such as J.C. Penney as well as functioning as an advisor for the Council on Foreign Relations. In 2001, she began working for the New York Office of Public Strategies, a public relations firm recruited to help restore the images of Big Tobacco and the like, as a senior advisor and consultant. Ann has also served as a voice for the national Democratic Party. She has appeared on radio and TV, in public forums like Larry King's television show, taking shots at the president at whose hands she suffered defeat, and who her failure to defeat in 1994 arguably enabled to become president.

Richards has faced serious health concerns since she left office in 1994. Diagnosed with osteoporosis in 1996, she lost her own mother in 1997 after a struggle with cancer complicated by osteoporosis. As a result of her own struggle, she wrote a memoir, along with Richard U. Levine, *I'm Not Slowing Down: Winning My Battle with Osteoporosis*, released in 2003. Though symptoms began in August 2005, doctors diagnosed her with cancer of the esophagus in March 2006. She began five-hour chemotherapy sessions at Houston's M.D. Anderson Cancer Center in late March 2006. Despite her struggle with cancer, she continued working on another project, the Ann Richards School for Young Women Leaders, slated to open in Austin in fall 2007. The school will serve low-income girls and emphasize college-preparatory material.

A fighter for women and minorities became Ann Richards legacy. On 13 September 2006, at the age of seventy-three, Ann Richards succumbed to cancer of the esophagus. She was buried on a hill among a dozen former governors in the Texas State Cemetery. Her public memorial service included eulogies by her granddaughter Lily Adams, columnist and friend Liz Smith, and Senator and presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton. Clinton and other women politicians in attendance, such as Sarah Weddington and U.S. Senators Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas and Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, owed icons like Richards, who opened the doors to their own political careers. Representative Nancy Pelosi, who had said, “Ann Richards expanded the realm of what is possible for women,” held a tea party in Richards’s honor in January 2007, the day before becoming the first woman Speaker of the House.¹² A week earlier, two Texas congressmen, Solomon Ortiz and Ralph Hall, offered a resolution that passed by voice vote regarding her contributions to both Texan and American life. Ortiz, citing his own upbringing that emphasized class disparities, credited Richards with successfully creating change while governor of Texas.

NOTES

1. Ann Fears Crawford and Crystal Sasse Ragsdale, *Women in Texas: Their Lives Their Experiences Their Accomplishments*, rev. ed. (Austin, TX: State House Press, 1992), p. 60.
2. Ann Richards and Peter Knobler, *Straight from the Heart: My Life in Politics and Other Places* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), pp. 82–90.
3. Ibid., p. 110.
4. Ibid., p. 111.
5. Joanne Kaufman, “Life Lessons from a Straight Shooter,” *Good Housekeeping* (March 2003): 127.
6. Gail Collins, “The Unsinkable Meets the Unthinkable,” *Working Woman* (1 March 1995): 52; and Polly Ross Hughes, “Richards is Upbeat About Cancer Battle,” *Houston Chronicle* (12 April 2006).
7. Marie Marmo Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1988–1994* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), p. 361.
8. Clay Robinson, “Texas Money Still Speaks Volumes,” *Houston Chronicle* (18 June 2007): B1; and Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors*, p. 361.
9. Paul Burka, “Sadder But Wiser,” *Texas Monthly* (April 1994): 89.
10. Tom Callahan, “She Thinks They’ll Keep Her,” *U.S. News & World Report* (17 October 1994): 35.
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12. Michelle Mittelstadt, "Delegation Watch," *Houston Chronicle* (4 March 2007): 23.

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Sierra Club outing in Giant Forest, Sequoia National Park, California, 1902. Annie R. Mitchell History Room, Tulare County Library, Visalia, California.

Sierra Club

Brandon Davis

In the years before Montana became a territory in 1864, many individuals moved to the state to find their fortunes. In hopes of finding wealth, these individuals began desecrating the pristine soils, streams, and rivers of Montana. Even though millions of dollars of wealth have been found, the lands of Montana have paid the ultimate price. Slag piles, polluted streams and rivers, clear-cut forests, and barren lands have replaced the land that had once contained these riches. On 28 May 1892, in San Francisco, John Muir and like-minded preservationists founded the Sierra Club, which became a force in the national debates over preserving wilderness and conservation. Muir was the first president and he held the post until his death in 1914.

The initial focus of the Sierra Club was on the preservation of Yosemite. Although Muir was significant in moving the U.S. Congress to pass a bill protecting the Yosemite Valley, the bill left control of the area in the hands of the state of California. Muir became personal friends with conservationist Gifford Pinchot and President Theodore Roosevelt and conveyed the splendor of the valley to men in power. In 1903 Muir lured President Roosevelt on a camping trip into the Yosemite Valley. They camped alone in the Yosemite back-country and Muir outlined his vision of preserving wilderness for the spiritual value of human uplift in an increasingly urban and industrial society. In 1905, Congress made Yosemite a national park and took jurisdiction of Muir's splendid valley.

The camping trip with President Roosevelt would not be the only excursion putting conservationists, preservationists, and environmentalists into the wilds of Yosemite. In 1901, William E. Colby organized the first Sierra Club hiking trip into the Yosemite Valley. This hike and camping expedition became the annual High Trip into the mountains. Experienced mountaineers, including Sierra Club directors Ansel Adams, David R. Brower, Francis P. Farquhar, Joseph Nisbet LeConte, Norman Clyde, and Glen Dawson, led these excursions into nature. These Sierra Club members were early enthusiasts for rock climbing.

William E. Colby (1875–1964) joined the Sierra Club in 1898. He was an 1898 graduate of the Hastings School of Law in San Francisco and Sierra Club representative in Yosemite for the summer 1898. In 1900, he took the post of secretary of the Sierra Club and served until 1946. In addition to his inaugural hike and camp in the valley in 1901, Colby led trips until 1929. He served as a director of the Sierra Club for forty-nine years, working to save the redwoods, enlarge the Sequoia National Park, establish the Kings Canyon National Park, and found the Olympic National Park. On the state level, Colby was the first chairman of the California State Park Commission at its founding in 1927. His legal work involved mining and water law. He brought this expertise to conservation work. In 1961, the Sierra Club presented him with the John Muir Award, the club's highest award, recognizing his achievements in conservation.

Another influential member of the club was Francis P. Farquhar (1887–1974). Farquhar was not only a mountaineer who pioneered the use of climbing rope

and instructed club members in proper rope techniques, but also a club officer, serving twice as president, from 1933 to 1935 and 1948 to 1949. His exposure to John Muir's Range of Light made him a disciple of the Sierra Nevada through his mountaineering, the chronicling of its history, his efforts to preserve it, and his service to the Sierra Club. He was also active in a wide range of other organizations such as the California Historical Society. Francis was editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* from 1926 to 1945, and brought to his work a vast knowledge of the Sierra Nevada, a dedication to the English language, and a love of typographical excellence that made the *Bulletin*, in the words of a British authority, "that model of all mountaineering periodicals." As an author, he wrote *Place Names of the High Sierra* in 1926; edited a new edition of Clarence King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*; and, through his editing of the letters of William H. Brewer, a companion of Clarence King in the California Geological Survey, produced *Up and Down California* in 1864, one of the classics of California literature. His efforts as an historian culminated in his definitive *History of the Sierra Nevada*. A pioneer conservationist, he was instrumental in the club's efforts to get the entire Kern River country added to Sequoia National Park in 1926. In 1965, the club awarded him its John Muir Award for conservation.¹

Others, such as Ansel Adams and Joseph N. LeConte, matched Farquhar's participation in multiple civic institutions. This public civic activism helped to spread the environmental message, as did the High Trips. The love of nature and the tenacity to preserve it motivated the Sierra Club members. Joseph Nisbet LeConte was a University of California-Berkeley professor of mechanical and hydraulic engineering who took the classroom to the mountains. He confirmed John Muir's glacial theory of the origin of the Yosemite Valley. "Little Joe" LeConte served the Sierra Club for fifty years as its second president, as vice president, and in various other offices. His focus was the mountains and mountaineering.

Ansel Adams (1902–1984) was a visionary figure in nature photography and wilderness preservation. Many see him as an environmental folk hero and a symbol of the American West, especially of Yosemite National Park. Adams's dedication to wilderness preservation, his commitment to the Sierra Club, and of course, his signature black-and-white photographs inspired an appreciation for natural beauty and a strong conservation ethic. Adams first visited Yosemite in 1916—only two years after John Muir's death and three months before the founding of the National Park Service—and was transfixed by the beautiful valley. In 1919, at age seventeen, he had his first contact with the Sierra Club when he took a job as custodian of the Club's LeConte Memorial Lodge, the club headquarters in Yosemite National Park. In 1927, Adams participated in the Club's High Trip, and the next year he became the club's official trip photographer. In 1930, he became assistant manager of the outings that consisted of month-long excursions of up to 200 people. Ansel Adams's role in the Sierra Club grew rapidly and the club became vital to his early success as a photographer. His first photographs and writings were published in the

Sierra Club Bulletin. Adams also got involved politically in the club, suggesting proposals for improving parks and wilderness, and soon became known as both an artist and defender of Yosemite. In 1934, Adams was elected as a member of the board of directors of the Sierra Club, a role he maintained for thirty-seven years. During his tenure, the club evolved into a powerful national organization that lobbied to create national parks and protect the environment from destructive development projects. In 1968, Adams was awarded the Conservation Service Award, the Interior Department's highest civilian honor, for his "many years of distinguished work as a photographer, artist, interpreter and conservationist, a role [. . .] of profound importance in the conservation of our great natural resources." In 1980, Adams received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, for "his efforts to preserve this country's wild and scenic areas, both on film and on earth. Drawn to the beauty of nature's monuments, he is regarded by environmentalists as a national institution."²

In working toward preservation and conservation goals, the Sierra Club became increasingly a public institution lobbying for legislation and litigating against those who would encroach upon wilderness, national parks, and public lands. In the twenty-first century, the Sierra Club actively promotes environmental justice, progressive forest policy, wilderness management, and sound land use practices. Starting with the campaign to stop the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley, the Sierra Club continues to lobby Congress for wild rivers and the removal of dams. Litigation to stop the despoiling of public wild places started with the creation of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund in 1971. In 1997, this organization changed its name to Earthjustice.

The Sierra Club also sponsors political activist groups such as the Sierra Student Coalition. Founded in 1991, the SSC has about 14,000 members. The Sierra Club Voter Education Fund focuses upon candidate positions on environmental issues. Executive Director Carl Pope called the 2006 election "the most successful midterm election in the environmental movement's history." The voters elected clean energy and pro-environment candidates "at every level of government." Sierra Club counted 2006 as a success.

Other environmental groups have formed and aided in the greening of American politics. The Greater Yellowstone Coalition, founded in 1983, focuses on a specific region and uses political, legal, and educational means to protect that ecosystem. Starting with 150 members, the Greater Yellowstone Coalition has grown to 13,000 members and gained national visibility as an advocate for ecosystem level sustainability.

The organization has a national board of twenty-four members and a staff of twenty-five professionals based in Bozeman, Montana. The Greater Yellowstone Coalition also has field offices in Idaho Falls, Idaho; Cody, Wyoming; and Jackson, Wyoming. Its major environmental victories are many. It orchestrated public pressure on the Big Sky Sewer District to abandon its plan to dump treated sewage into the Gallatin River. It waged a five-year battle to stop motorized access and logging on the northern Yellowstone's rim. The Coalition

successfully fought for and won the prohibition of livestock on the Horse Butte near Yellowstone in winter, benefiting bison. In March 2003, 370,000 acres on the Bridger-Teton National Forest were closed to oil and gas development, preserving a wildlife haven. In 1996, the New World Mine in the north-east corner of Yellowstone National Park halted operations, preserving the watershed. In 1990, the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River was designated a federal Wild and Scenic River, forever protecting it from dams and other harmful water developments. Congress passed the Wyoming Wilderness Act in 1984, designating over a million acres of Wilderness and Wilderness Study Areas on the west slope of the Teton and Gros Ventre mountains. Despite these and other victories, the work of the Greater Yellowstone Coalition continues to preserve and protect this ecosystem.

Perhaps one of the most influential activists of the new American West is Jeanne-Marie Souvigney (1955–), an environmentalist and conservationist who has played the role of a modern-day John Muir. Since the early 1980s, Souvigney has worked diligently to educate Montanans on the issues of conservation. Souvigney was born on 8 August 1955 in Springfield, Massachusetts. Growing up in Massachusetts she enjoyed the Eastern outdoors and visited many parks and historical sights. After graduating in 1973 from Cathedral High School in Springfield, Massachusetts, Jeanne-Marie and a friend set out to explore the United States and parts of Canada. She visited many parts of the western United States, but never made it to Montana. Upon returning to Massachusetts in fall 1973, Jeanne-Marie enrolled at Western New England College in Springfield. In addition to taking classes in Quantitative Methods, she became involved with different conservation efforts. She devoted her time helping with river cleanups along the Connecticut River and became a conservation volunteer, working at the Massachusetts Audubon Society's Thornton Burgess Wildlife Center in Hampden, Massachusetts. In 1979, Jeanne-Marie graduated from Western New England College with a Bachelor's of Science in Quantitative Methods. She wanted to continue her education and looked for graduate programs in the western United States. She narrowed her choice to the University of Colorado at Boulder and the University of Montana in Missoula. Even though she had never been to Montana, she chose the University of Montana and moved to Missoula in June 1980.

Jeanne-Marie's conservation work in Montana began when she first moved to the state. Her move to Montana was in advance of entering the Environmental Studies Program at the University of Montana in Missoula. She stated that the summer of 1980 was the most exciting she had ever experienced. Along with two others, Jeanne-Marie lived and worked in the Bitterroot National Forest. During this time, Jeanne-Marie volunteered with the U.S. Forest Service. She first started as a range volunteer, but was able to work with other Forest Service crews servicing trails and marking timber. In fall 1980, she became a member of the Stevensville District Fire Crew and returned the next season as a full-time member. She also signed up to help with a

“bottle bill” (recycling) initiative that was to be on the ballot in 1980, and registered to vote her first couple weeks in the state.

Upon entering the University of Montana in fall 1980, Jeanne-Marie began a plethora of conservation efforts. She chose to master in Environmental Studies because she liked the advocacy component that went along with it. She believed that education combined with advocacy would be the cornerstone to success for future environmental programs. She stated that Montanans could not make the best decisions for their families, communities, or the environment unless they understood what was happening and why and how events were affecting others. After this had been done, steps could be taken to make changes that would result in a sustainable future and sustainable use of natural resources. In 1981, Jeanne-Marie was elected to the Associated Students of the University of Montana Student Senate. She was elected to this position while interning at the Montana State Legislature. While interning, she was able to get a first hand glimpse at Montana’s political structure and would find herself lobbying for the university and other conservation efforts beginning in 1983. Since 1983, Jeanne-Marie has lobbied for many different political organizations including Montana Conservation Voters, Greater Yellowstone Coalition, Sierra Club, Northern Plains Resource Council, and the League of Women Voters. Also in the last twenty years she has testified not only in Helena during the Montana legislature, but has also testified once in Washington, DC. The first was before the subcommittees on Mineral Resources Development and Production and Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee on House Bill 1137, the Old Faithful Protection Act in 1994. The second was before the Parks, Historic Preservation and Recreation Subcommittee of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee on Senate bill 745 that would require the testing, capturing, and slaughtering of Yellowstone bison in cases of brucellosis in 1995.

Jeanne-Marie decided to leave Missoula in 1983 (even though her Master’s was still incomplete) to take a position with the Northern Plains Resource Council in Billings, Montana. This political agency largely concentrated on agriculturally oriented conservation in central and eastern Montana but also dealt with issues concerning the development and distribution of coal that was mined in Montana. Jeanne-Marie stated that over half the energy produced Montana—much from coal—goes to recipients outside the state.

As an organizer for the council, she wrote articles for the council’s newsletter *The Plains Truth*. Jeanne-Marie held this position until 1985, when she returned to Helena to lobby. It was during this legislative session that she met Robert Raney. Raney was a first-year legislator from Livingston. The two would marry in December of 1985 and Jeanne-Marie would move from Billings to Livingston, Montana, to be with her husband. Jeanne-Marie also inherited two stepdaughters from this marriage. Finally, in spring 1987, Jeanne-Marie graduated from the University of Montana with a Master’s of Science in Environmental Studies.

An Interview with Jeanne-Marie Souvigney

My bison work began as soon as I started with GYC. The issue revolved around the movement of bison in Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks to lands outside the parks, particularly in tough winters. As the bison populations increased, the concerns about potential damage from large-scale movements also increased. In addition, because bison and elk in the Yellowstone region have been exposed to brucellosis, which is a disease that in cattle can cause cows to abort their first calves, there was concern among the livestock industry that bison and elk could spread the disease to cattle in the area (even though there has never been a case of such a transmission from bison to cattle in the "wild"). Complicating the issue in the Grand Teton area are the National Elk Refuge, where elk are fed and because of the concentration of elk, the disease exposure is higher, and the existence of more than a dozen elk feed grounds in Wyoming, also contributing to the spread of the disease.

The only known way to discover whether an animal is infected with the disease is to examine tissues after the animal is killed. Test and slaughter of bison is the mechanism promoted by the agricultural industry and others but that tends to kill a lot of bison that are exposed and therefore have the antibodies that show up on the test but are not infected.

In a nutshell, the issue is just how far we should go in trying to eliminate a disease from wild bison (that happen to reside in two national parks) that has never been proven to be transmitted to cattle in the wild, but that if transmitted to cattle, could hurt the livestock producer and cause the federal government to suspend Montana's brucellosis-free status. Is zero risk the goal, or a more manageable risk level, and should the focus be on trying to eliminate the disease from the thousands of wild bison and tens of thousands of wild elk in Greater Yellowstone or on trying to control the federal cattle allotments and private cattle grazing lands around the parks (and get rid of the feed grounds, which Wyoming is resisting)?

I became part of an informal group of sportsmen, landowners, conservationists, former agency people, etc., who worked to craft a proposal for managing bison that exited Yellowstone National Park. I believe we submitted the first idea to YNP Supt. Bob Barbee in 1990 or 1991. There were subsequently many environmental reviews and decisions at the state and federal levels about managing bison, many forums, conferences and workshops, TV documentaries and news items and radio programs, as this was a national and multi-state issue. The issue involves wildlife, national parks, livestock, Native Americans (who have a long history with bison and therefore care about these decisions), sportsmen, etc., and even the Church Universal and Triumphant, the once more visible religious cult that owns land north of YNP. I was interviewed for and participated in many of these activities. I developed a slide show that I took around the state to show to groups to explain the bison controversy. I made a

presentation with Northern Cheyenne Elder Bill Tallbull about bison at a special buffalo series at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody. I testified before Congress and the Montana legislature. But politics often trumped science.

In the late 1990s, I coordinated the development of a broad-based proposal for bison management that was endorsed by 15–20 (maybe more) national and regional conservation and sportsmen interests. We submitted it as part of the public comment on a proposed federal/state multi-agency decision on bison management which was issued in December 1990, under the administrations of President Bill Clinton, who was just leaving office, and Montana Governor Marc Racicot. That is the decision we are now living with. The plan has never moved past the very restrictive first step, which pretty much keeps bison in the park and leads to hazing, test, and slaughter of bison.

I currently am on contract with GYC to work on the bison issue, in the hopes that we can work with the new administration in Montana, and use developing science, to move us past the current situation and find a more sustainable solution.

Souvigney also discussed her role as political director of Montana Conservation Voters, and her experience as a consultant for policy and environmental analysis, including the steps she took to hold these positions:

First, education.

Second, job experience. I engaged in volunteer work as well as paid employment to obtain the kind of experiences I wanted and that I thought would be beneficial for the type of advocacy and campaign work I desired. I worked in various size organizations in various roles to provide me with a wide range of experiences, such as organizing, lobbying, public writing and speaking, leadership opportunities, research, fundraising, supervision, and testifying before Montana legislatures and Congress. I made a point of going out on the ground and meeting with members, other interests, people on the other sides of the issue, agencies and decision-makers to better understand concerns, obligations and opportunities. I did not let myself shy away from activities that were difficult. Rather, I decided I had something to say and was going to say it.

Third, outreach. I feel that an integral part of advocacy is providing the best information we can to people who may care or should care about our issues, including the public and decision-makers. Providing that information, based on sound science, is an important part of my work and I feel I am trusted by people within the conservation community, on other sides of the issues, and decision-makers, including legislators.

Fourth, involvement in the community. Environmental work can be polarizing and isolating. I feel that it is important for environmentalists to contribute to their communities, not simply because it is a civic obligation but because it's important for people to know "environmentalists." It's harder for opponents to criticize or think of my issue as an "us" vs. "them" if they know me, and respect

my knowledge and commitment, and understand that I believe in what I am doing.

Fifth, leadership. I think we all have a responsibility to mentor younger or newer people in our fields, in my case, to mentor conservationists, candidates and elected officials; to help others fill voids, such as when we established Montana Conservation Voters, Montana Women For, Park County Environmental Council, etc.; and to help others, especially women, develop skills to become more active in the arena of conservation, electoral activities and community leadership.

Jeanne-Marie believes that Montana's future will depend on the ability of people who care about conservation to articulate a message that allows people to understand how environmental situations affect their daily lives and the long-term health of our resources, as well as the willingness of the elected officials to make decisions based on sound science. One of the challenges is to create a broad understanding of the true impacts, including the economic costs and the impacts to our health, of environmental degradation. Montana's federal and state Superfund sites, abandoned and polluting mines, and degraded waters are a testament to our past failures to account for those impacts. The crucial role of elected officials is one of the reasons why she helped initiate Montana Conservation Voters and work on political campaigns.

NOTES

1. Nicholas Clinch, "Francis Farquhar: Personification of a Tradition," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 60, no. 2 (February 1975): 21.
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View of Mount Everts, Yellowstone Park, J. Schmidt, 1977. Courtesy National Park Service.

Yellowstone National Park

Alexandra Kindell

Yellowstone National Park, carved out of the Montana and Wyoming territories, became the first national park in 1872. Located in Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho, it heralded the larger national park system that took form in the early twentieth century. Congress acknowledged the West's distinctive geography and geology by establishing this park as well as four more in western areas before 1900. Over the last century, more eastern areas have been cordoned off by Congress and its agents in the National Park Service, but the West is home to a majority of the national parks. The awe-inspiring geographical features of western mountains, deserts, watercourses, and forests have drawn the attention of preservationists and conservationists leading to a number of national parks, monuments, and otherwise preserved areas in the West. Americans' relationships to land and resources from the colonial era to the period of massive western migration shaped American attitudes toward land use, which eventually resulted in the legislation creating Yellowstone National Park in addition to hundreds of other protected areas and an expansive bureaucracy to manage what some people call the "nation's heritage" or "national treasures."

Prior to 1900, Congress established six national parks, including Yellowstone, Mackinac in Michigan, three in California (Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite), and Mount Rainier in Washington. Between 1902 and 1916, it added nine more parks and twenty-two national monuments. Thus in 1916, when Congress created the National Park Service, the NPS inherited thirty-seven sites to manage.

Before examining Yellowstone or the park system more generally, it is important to keep in mind why people in 1872 thought it was time to remove more than 2 million acres from the public domain. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American farmers, loggers, and miners had increasingly easy access to American natural resources. Starting with the Preemption Act in 1841 and then with the Homestead Act of 1862, farmers were able to receive parcels of government land at low prices. The Homestead Act allowed almost any head of household to obtain 160 acres in exchange for five years of settlement and a small filing fee. Congress passed this act in response to farmers' demands for cheaper, more manageable sized acreages. Basically, the federal legislature recognized by mid-century that cheap land facilitated western migration and the means to fulfill the so-called Manifest Destiny of the United States, a nation bounded on the East and West only by two grand oceans. American politicians based the liberal land policies and other laws regulating mines and timber on the concept that resources should be used for the benefit of the nation and its citizens. Land had been the basis for wealth in Europe, a supposition brought with Englishmen into the American colonies and fostered by U.S. citizens and immigrants during the process of migrating west.

Yet at the time that Congress passed the landmark legislation in 1862, the needs of the nation, both urban and rural, were about to radically change. Farmers supplying local markets and using primarily family labor could work as much as 160 acres with the assistance of labor-saving devices, such as plows, binders, and threshing machines. After the Civil War, however, farms became larger as farmers adopted the latest technology and new labor relationships. The urban markets emerging in Chicago, Boston, and New York grew and tempted farmers to expand their operations. Entrepreneurial-minded farmers moved into the Great Plains and other Western areas to establish bonanza farms, where they used machinery and migrant labor to harvest large crops of wheat and other grains to be sent to urban markets by the way of trains, many of which connected to the new transcontinental railroad completed in 1869. By the early 1870s and 1880s, food production in the West had been connected to city dwellers and towns people all over the nation and beyond. Texas cattle, Dakota wheat, and California citrus made their way to American supper tables in parts well beyond their borders. Thus by the 1890s, the Dakotas had become the last agricultural frontier, and America's most abundant resource—land—seemed to be running out.

Thus between 1862 and 1872, Americans still had the opportunity to buy a piece of the public domain as well as private lands. Initially there was no reason to worry about the fate of wild, open places. Land laws mandated disposal of the public domain since 1785 when the Congress passed the Land Ordinance. Initially, the first American government instigated land sales to bring revenue to the new, and indebted, nation. Seated on the eastern edge of a vast continent, Americans viewed land as a virtually endless resource to be surveyed, sold, and farmed. They eliminated most obstacles and obtained rights to new lands through purchase, war, and treaty to expand the public domain. As American men rallied behind democratic principles, they had also urged greater access to what they would have considered the national “commons.” By the early 1870s, it was time to take some land off the market to guarantee that the public would still have access to some wild lands and that the spectacular views of the West remained visible to any who made the trip to see them. Although these motives sound altruistic, establishment of Yellowstone and the national park system emerged as a means to bring income to a number of parties, especially Western railroads and the federal government. Thus capitalism, conservation, and culture combined to encourage Congress to start reserving lands for recreational purposes and to transform the Yellowstone area significantly.

YELLOWSTONE'S EARLY HISTORY

Prior to 1872, a variety of people made claims to the region, including Indians, fur trappers, miners, and urban recreationists. After Thomas Jefferson's

Frederick Jackson Turner and the Closing of the Frontier

During the formative years of Yellowstone National Park, Americans imagined the West as a land of opportunity and resources, while at the same time they worried that these opportunities were diminishing over time. Historian Wallace Stegner referred to Americans' perception of the West as a "geography of hope," where a man or a family could start over with free land, open spaces, and a sense of freedom no longer available in the East.

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner verbalized these hopes and fears at the World's Fair in Chicago in an essay called the "Significance of the Frontier in American History." He announced to his audience that the frontier had closed in 1890, that there was no longer a "frontier line" in the West. He argued that the grand open spaces of the West that had been instrumental in creating the American identity and a fundamental force in shaping American democracy no longer existed.

Also at the fair, "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West show evinced an image of the lost culture of Plains Indians and the wildness of the "untamed" West. Audiences sought the nostalgia and the historical imagination of Turner and Cody, who presented the West as everyone wanted to believe it had been, not as it was in 1893. Romantic visions of Western life also played a role in the construction of the early park system. As park managers attempted to "preserve" the wilderness, their imaginations invoked visions of open pastures and dense stands of trees while ignoring the impact of people, native or otherwise, on that landscape.

agents negotiated the terms to acquire the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, explorers and trappers entered the area and found a grand landscape and a thriving native population. A network of families in the Shoshone Band of Indians, known as the Sheep Eaters, lived year-round in what is the present-day boundary of the park. Members of the Crow, Blackfeet, and Shoshone tribes wandered in and out of the area after adopting the horse, but only the Sheep Eaters maintained a subsistence lifestyle and stayed in Yellowstone to take advantage of the local flora and fauna on a regular basis.

Initially, fur trappers reported the natural wonders of "Yellowstone Country" to the outside world, including its "grand canyon," thermal springs, and the so-called Obsidian Cliff, but few believed their claims. After the trappers, military expeditions and gold miners came through the area but found too much snow and a distinct lack of gold. In 1864, Yellowstone's lands had been incorporated into Montana Territory and overlapped into Wyoming territory after its creation in 1868. Several men from Montana formed the Cool-Folsom-Peterson Expedition of 1869 and set out to identify the value of this area that had been the subject of such wild reports. On this trip, they witnessed geysers

and hot pools, but they, like the trappers, received incredulous stares from those who listened to their supposedly exaggerated tales.

One final expedition proved the value of the wilderness in southern Montana Territory. A small party of men led by General Henry D. Washburn, Nathaniel P. Langford, and Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane spent four weeks in 1870 investigating the upper and lower basins, finding that the earlier reports were true. From this moment forward, the value of Yellowstone was debated. On the one hand, the expedition members considered reserving the area for their own profit, understanding that the nation had been tied together by rails and soon visitors would flock to the sites of Yellowstone. On the other hand, the incredible features of the region seemed too special for only a few men to control. In the end, they settled on devising a way to preserve the area's beauty, and on 18 December 1871, Montana congressman William Clagett introduced a bill to establish a national park. By 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the bill and the National Park Act transformed Yellowstone Country into the nation's first national park.

Yellowstone Park thus encompassed 3472 square miles, approximately 2.2 million acres. The park is in the middle of the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, an area including 18 million acres in Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming. The park is on a high plateau, approximately 8000 feet in elevation with higher ranges surrounding it. Several calderas account for the landscape's physical features. The calderas are basin-shaped depressions left by previous volcanic activity, but the volcanic eruptions of the area are considered relatively recent by geologists. Shallow magma and melting snow fuel the thermal elements that have made the park so famous. Old Faithful might the best-known geyser, but it does not stand alone. Yellowstone has more than 10,000 thermal features, including 200 geysers, and a number of hot springs, fumaroles, and mud springs (a.k.a. paint-pots). In addition to the thermal features and the plateau created lakes, Yellowstone is home to the headwaters of the Snake and Yellowstone rivers. Twelve major rivers radiate from the plateau, which pass an average of 4 trillion gallons of water per year through the area. The calderas provide for river valleys and plains, while the Gallatin and Beartooth mountains as well as the Madison and Teton ranges surround the Yellowstone plateau.

INDIANS AND THE NATIONAL PARKS

Before Yellowstone and other sites became national parks, these lands were home to numerous Western tribes. Some of these tribes, such as the Nez Perce, helped to create the extensive trails running through the Yellowstone region on their annual migrations. Other tribes made regular use of the park, and one band of the Shoshone, known as the Sheep Eaters, lived there virtually year-round. Yet the creators and early managers of the park envisioned an

unpopulated wilderness, a vision shattered by regular Indian incursions after 1872. Thus removing these tribes became a serious concern of politicians and park managers starting in the late 1870s. Historian Mark David Spence has brought much insight into this topic in his book *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (1999). By 1879, Yellowstone had been basically cleared of Indian residents, yet tribes from local reservations continued to hunt in and around the park, frustrating park administrators.

The Yellowstone River Valley and surrounding landscape had been home to numerous tribes for thousands of years. Native Americans related to the land in their search for food and other resources. The geographic wonders that Americans wanted to “preserve” had been a place where Indians lived, hunted, and died. In addition to subsistence activities, the region that eventually became the park was also the site of various ceremonies and vision quests. In short, the Yellowstone region had been integrated into all aspects of local Indians’ lives.

The various tribes, however, had different experiences in Yellowstone. Bands of Crow and Shoshone claimed some of the area as traditional territory, while the Blackfeet, Salish, and Kootenai penetrated the park at will for hunting and raiding. Additionally, the Bannock and Nez Perce used the park’s trails in their migrations to hunt bison in areas east of the Yellowstone region. Despite claims by Crow and the Wind River Shoshone, only the Sheep Eaters have been considered as the permanent residents within the boundaries eventually assigned to the park.

The Sheep Eaters were a mountain-dwelling people who followed the migrations of the bighorn sheep. Shoshone identified various parts of the tribes by their main food source, and there were also “Salmon Eaters” and “Buffalo Eaters” living in the Yellowstone region. It is unclear when the Shoshone first migrated to the area, and scholars estimate their arrival as late as 8000 to 9000 years ago to as early as 500 years ago. The Sheep Eaters lived in the high-altitude areas of Wyoming, northern Idaho, and southern Montana, but were not completely stationary. As semi-nomadic hunters, they tracked the bighorn sheep into the mountains but also took advantage of other parts of Yellowstone’s landscape. In addition to meat from the sheep, they also ate fish, root plants, berries, and nuts. During periods of scarcity in the winter, they also took advantage of the inner layers of bark on local pine trees, called cambium. Cambium provides sugar and starch as well as vitamin C, supplementing winter diets that lacked fresh fruits or vegetables. Yellowstone Indians had access to wild onions, carrots, and turnips, and probably added these vegetables to stews when they were available. Anthropologists and archaeologists have been able to best document the meat and fish aspects of Indian diets because of bones and tools left in the archaeological records. Without these types of remnants, it has been difficult for scholars to document the extent that various tribes historically incorporated non-meat foods into their diets.

Fruits, roots, and nuts may have constituted anywhere from 30 to 70 percent of Sheep Eater diets.

Since the Sheep Eaters spent most of their lives within Yellowstone, this band of Shoshone made their tools for hunting and cooking from local materials. About two dozen sites within the park's boundaries, including the famous Obsidian Cliff, provided obsidian for arrowheads and hide scrapers. Indians found obsidian, or volcanic glass, to be a useful item because it was easy to shape into sharp tools for various uses. Sheep Eaters attached the obsidian arrowheads to arrows about two and a half feet long and fashioned bows from sheep horn or elk antlers. They also used soapstone quarried from steatite deposits found locally. They easily shaped pots and bowls from the soft steatite, and nineteenth-century observers mentioned this unique product in their interactions with the Yellowstone Shoshone. The steatite became hard as porcelain after being heated, and tribe members boiled water, made stews, or cooked meat easily in these pots. They also used the steatite for making pipes or beads as needed.

Broken Treaties and Indian Wars

The Sheep Eaters made the land of the future park home, and the valleys and plateaus of the Yellowstone region attracted other tribes because of its bountiful resources in game, fish, and other foods. Yet this had also been a place of conflict, between various tribes and between Indians and whites. In the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), the U.S. government recognized the territories of half a dozen tribes in and around the Yellowstone area. The Crow claimed territory to what constituted one-third of the future park. By 1882, all of the Crow's claims to land that fell within the park's boundaries had been extinguished, and they were forced to give up more land to the Montana and Wyoming Railroad Company in 1891. This pattern represents the general experiences of American Indians in the West, ceding more and more land to provide space for ranches, mines, and railroads as white settlement encroached on land reserved for Indians by treaty.

The U.S. government negotiated treaties, such as the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1851, to make room for non-native use of land. By 1851, thousands of "emigrants" made their way West—to California, Oregon, and Utah—by way of the Overland Trail and reported on run-ins they had with Indians. Natives along the trail often demanded tribute, which migrating Americans referred to as "begging," for what they considered incursions on their lands. In the worst cases, conflict between the emigrants and Indians led to deaths on both sides, hence the government stepped in to make the Overland Trail safe for people moving West. These were the heady days of Manifest Destiny and Americans demanded protection as they played their part in migration and settlement of the bicoastal nation. In the late 1860s, as more miners, ranchers, and cowboys used the northern Plains for cattle and mining operations, treaty negotiators

extracted new agreements from area tribes to cede more lands and remove them to several reservations. This process continued into the 1870s and resulted in the Crow Reservation in Montana, the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, and the Lemhi and Fort Hall reservations in Utah. As the Crow, Shoshone, and Bannock moved onto the reservations, they continued to use traditional territories, such as Yellowstone, for hunting and food procurement. Historian Mark David Spence found that despite public protestations to the opposite, local Indians probably entered Yellowstone for these activities until about 1900.

Indian removals in the Yellowstone area had more to do with American Indian policy than park administration, at least at first. Yet the establishment of Yellowstone National Park gave government officials an additional incentive to push Indians onto the small, bounded pieces of land known as reservations. The government reserved areas for both Indians and wilderness separately, but for the same general purpose. In an era of urbanization and rapid development, there seemed to be little space for neither the native peoples nor the native flora or fauna without protection. Before the Civil War, Americans had pushed Indians further and further west onto lands considered undesirable by natives and whites alike. But becoming a transcontinental nation with transportation and communication to facilitate its population, the federal government increasingly involved itself with making the Great Plains, previously referred to as the “Great American Desert,” available to white settlement. The discovery of gold in Montana in 1864 guaranteed a flood of white miners and service providers. The government attempted to use treaties, but it also sent the army after Indians who rejected the terms of treaties.

Between the 1850s and 1880s, a series of conflicts between the army and Native Americans occurred as a result of changing Indian policy and encroaching white settlers. These conflicts are often referred to simply as the Plains Indians Wars. The lands surrounding Yellowstone saw much of the conflict after the Civil War. In the early 1870s, reservation policies reflected the fact that more and more whites entered the northern Plains. Moreover, in 1871, the federal government, under the Indians Appropriations Act of 1871, no longer recognized tribes as independent entities and began to pursue a new policy of “assimilation.” Consequently, Indian resistance flared up once again and led to battles between the army and the Sioux and Nez Perce, leading to the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876 and the Nez Perce War in 1877. In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act to put the assimilation policy into practice. This legislation allowed the government to divide up Indian land, assigning 160-acre plots to Indian heads of households and making more land available to white settlement. Most of the Indian homesteads ended up in the hands of Anglo Americans. Thus reservations became smaller, and, to add insult to injury, Bureau of Indian Affairs agents often failed to adequately provide rations as promised by the federal government. Without food or enough territory to support themselves, Plains Indians often traveled to nearby state and national park grounds to hunt game.

Indians were considered as one of the perceived threats to the new park—they hunted, lit fires, and worried tourists. In an effort to end Indian hunting, Wyoming state and federal officials arranged a test case and arrested a Bannock Indian, Race Horse, for hunting. The Wyoming court decreed that federal treaties trumped state laws. Thus Race Horse had a right to hunt on unoccupied lands, but Supreme Court judges reversed the decision in 1896. Mark David Spence argues that this is representative of the attitude that led to Indians being dispossessed of their land in the national parks. The organic act and the Lacey Act (see NPS section) revoked Indian rights to the territory—possession or use in Yellowstone. Thus the government had the right to renege on treaty agreements if expedient.

National Monuments and Native Sites

Ironically, while the Yellowstone officials were trying to evict Indian inhabitants, a number of Americans started a movement to protect Indian cultural sites in the Southwest. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, scientists, civic leaders, and politicians supported the establishment of national monuments to reserve historically important lands from settlement. They worried that settlers who tended to indiscriminately clear land for their uses would destroy the remnants of Southwestern indigenous and Spanish history, including cliff dwellings, pueblo remains, and old Spanish missions. Starting in 1889, Congress authorized the president to remove areas in Arizona from the public domain for this purpose. As a result, President Benjamin Harrison ordered the creation of the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, which circumscribed 480 acres of land cultivated and settled by the prehistoric Hohokam people.

The concern for such sites continued, and President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Antiquities Act of 1906, authorizing the creation of “national monuments.” Casa Grande eventually became an official national monument (1918) as did many prehistoric sites, while others became national parks as is the case the cliff dwellings in southwestern Colorado, which Congress authorized as the Mesa Verde National Park. This is significant because the legislation to protect settlements prior to American annexation expanded the purposes of the national park system in its early years. Yellowstone’s legislation had created a national park to preserve the area’s natural features, and the Antiquities Act authorized the creation of a number of national monuments and parks based on the cultural value of these sites. Additionally, approximately one-quarter of the system’s parks directly or indirectly came from the mandate of the Antiquities Act.

Cultural Transitions

Federal and state governments went to quite a bit of expense to expel Indians from their lands and preserve those lands for visitation by non-natives. In essence

Americans made the ancestral lands of numerous tribes into tourist attractions, some with the designation “monument” and others called “national parks.” Indians were denied access to these places in the process, but changing attitudes about history have allowed Native Americans to have access to culturally important sites and the resources needed for ceremonies and cultural continuity. As ethnographers Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf found, American Indians still have personal knowledge of Yellowstone as passed through the oral tradition. Moreover, the National Park Service and the federal government have guaranteed a new relationship between park officials and Native Americans, and Indian culture is no longer completely ignored. In 2000, the National Park Service established the Yellowstone Ethnography Program to foster better communication between tribes and the government. Through the program, academic interns obtain historical data from tribes and work with tribal representatives to coordinate events and visits to the park. In other parts of the West, Indian tribes have been given access to public property for tribal ceremonies, allowing Indians to reconnect with each other and their ancestral lands. Additionally, in 1990 Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. This law provides for a process to return remains of tribal ancestors and cultural artifacts back to direct descendants or tribes. These programs demonstrate a greater social concern for the rights of minority groups generally and Native Americans specifically, a perspective that has resulted in new scholarship and a better understanding of Yellowstone prior to it becoming a park.

EARLY PARK ADMINISTRATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The management of Yellowstone and other new parks became a serious issue by 1916 when Congress authorized the creation of the National Park Service (NPS). Prior to this date, the parks and monuments had been managed by civilian appointees and the U.S. Army while officially under the supervision of the Department of the Interior. Administration of the parks generally fell to the officials in the Department of Interior while some of the national monuments were situated on land supervised by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service. This is significant as many of the monuments were later re-designated as national parks and the Forest Service lobbied against the formation of a park service. But as the number of parks and monuments grew, it became clear to involved parties that some type of systematic management was needed.

The Department of Interior, established in 1849, took over duties from the Departments of War, Treasury, and State relating to the internal development of the nation, including public lands, waterways, and other resources.

In the case of Yellowstone, the number of visitors remained low due to poor transportation facilities prior to 1883, and the parks' management reflected conditions of the times. Approximately 300 to 500 individuals per year visited the park in the 1870s. Congress did not designate funds to pay for the park's administration. As a result, superintendents provided little supervision of the park. Nathaniel Langford and Philetus Norris, the first two superintendents, rarely even visited the park. In 1883, however, the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) lines reached nearby Livingston, Montana, and railway officials arranged for stagecoaches to take travelers from there to the park. Thus by the mid-1880s, the increased traffic warranted better park oversight, and Congress finally authorized the creation of official positions. In theory, the ten new assistant superintendents had the responsibility of protecting the park from intruders, including Indians and local whites, but most of the men filling these positions were chosen based on political considerations not their knowledge of the terrain or their mountaineering skills. Moreover, Congress had failed to include punishments for wrongdoing in the park when it put together the organic act for the park's creation. Unfortunately for the newly appointed administrators of Yellowstone, they could do nothing more than give poachers or Indian hunters a strong talking-to and expel them from the park.

The 1880s were a significant time for the park in terms of visitation, settlement, and management. The railroad made transportation to the park far easier, and more middle- and upper-class Americans made the trip to see the magnificent flora and fauna reported in railroad advertisements, newspapers articles, and other travel literature. At the same time, the new NPRR lines also brought settlers to area. Farmers, ranchers, and miners lived around the park and settlement increasingly encroached on the park's boundaries throughout the 1880s. The railroad connected settlers to the East and Eastern visitors to the new Western tourist site, which benefited small towns along the railroad. Both Livingston and Gardiner, Montana, profited from the new permanent and temporary populations who needed places to trade or supplies before entering the park. As historian Karl Jacoby found in his research, the increasing number of settlers and tourists put new demands on the park and its administrators.

The Army Takes Over

In the face of the circumstances in the mid-1880s, Secretary of Interior Lucius Q.C. Lamar invoked his privileges under an 1883 congressional act to request the U.S. Army to take supervision of the park. In August 1886, Troop M of the First U.S. Cavalry arrived at Yellowstone to patrol the park and guard against poaching, squatting, and removing timber by settlers and Indians. Captain Moses Harris, the leader of Troop M, became the park's first military superintendent. He and his troops proceeded to control park visitation and resource use in ways that the civilian appointees could not. Even though the

interior secretary and congressmen expected this to be a temporary arrangement, the U.S. Army administrated the park until 1918 when the National Park Service took control.

Starting in 1886, the army took command of Yellowstone National Park and attempted to bring some semblance of order to how Americans entered and used the park. Its superintendents had a mandate to protect the natural resources of the park, and the first order of the day meant keeping local residents and their cattle from breaching the park boundaries. In Karl Jacoby's work on this subject, he identified local attitudes toward the park working against conservationists' efforts to preserve the area. Settlers expected that its timber, open lands, and game were like those of any unsettled area—resources to be used. The army started patrols of areas frequented by poachers, setting up cabins and guard posts. These way-stations were used to give patrolling troops shelter and to establish the army's presence in the park. The new managers had the authority to capture lawbreakers and get them to trial for punishment. While patrols struggled to track down poachers, the army also simplified the boundaries by creating four official entrances, one on each side of the park. Troops posted to the north, south, east, and west entrances greeted visitors and recorded personal information during all parts of the year.

Lacey Act of 1894

In 1894, Congress passed the Lacey Act prohibiting hunting in the park. The act stated that

all hunting, or the killing or wounding, or capturing at any time of any bird or wild animal, except dangerous animals, when it is necessary to prevent them from destroying human life or inflicting an injury, is prohibited within the limits of said park; nor shall any fish be taken out of the waters of the park by means of seines, nets, traps, or by use of drugs or any explosive substances or compounds, or in any other way than by hook and line, and then only at such seasons and in such times and manner as may be directed by the Secretary of the Interior.

In addition, congressmen provided for punishment of wrongdoers and any individuals or corporations, such as the railroads, who assisted hunters in their pursuit of illegal game. Army troops officially patrolled the park prior to the Lacey Act, but most of the troops were at a disadvantage compared to the poachers. Local residents had a much better understanding of local geography than did troops transferred into Yellowstone. Starting in 1894, the army also hired locals to work as scouts, giving the park's managers access to local knowledge and skills. These new rangers were given badges, engraved with the title "Yellowstone Park Scout" and the authority to evict errant livestock, capture poachers, and reconnoiter in the communities for information about locals' activities and plans.

WATER AND THE CONSERVATION DEBATE

The NPS had only been in operation three years when the issue of damming Yellowstone's rivers pushed NPS officials to make a stand on the role of national park waters. Locals in Montana and Idaho wanted access to the park's water for irrigation, arguing that resources such as those found in Yellowstone were conserved for later use, while preservationists, including NPS officials, demanded that park watercourses remained undisturbed by man. Dam opponents understood that the case of Yellowstone would determine the fate of other national parks, and in the end rallied public opinion against several dam projects in Yellowstone National Park.

Yellowstone River is 671 miles in length, mostly in the state of Montana, and is the longest undammed river.

Dam proponents included Montana and Idaho farmers, local boosters, and state politicians, all of whom expected economic benefits from damming Yellowstone's rivers. Farmers needed additional water in drought years and looked to dammed spring water as a means to survive the dry summer months in these arid regions. Their demands for state and federal assistance to build irrigation works were not unprecedented. In 1894, U.S. congressmen authorized the transfer of 1 million acres of arid Montana land to the state under the Carey Act to support irrigated agriculture there, and the Department of Interior had been given the power to develop reclamation projects in the West under the Reclamation Act. About the same time, irrigation promoters such as George Maxwell and William Smythe explained the virtues of irrigating arid lands as a part of civilizing and settling the West. Through the National Irrigation Association and its organ *Irrigation Age*, Maxwell, Smythe, and others brought Western issues of water to the national stage, seeking federal finances. Western congressmen pushed through such legislation to overcome the environmental obstacles to regional development, and local boosters greedily imagined economic growth in their towns, the type that accompanied a rise in population of both farmers and townspeople.

The supporters of dams in Yellowstone, however, also brought their demands to Congress within the context of a larger debate about natural resources. Proposals to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite had been floating about since the 1880s. San Francisco needed more fresh water for the growing city, but officials could not get support from the secretary of Interior until 1908. The damming of the valley to capture the Tuolumne River's water, turning the valley into a natural reservoir, sparked debate between utilitarian conservationists and preservationists. Conservationists argued that resources were meant to be used, and San Francisco needed water. Preservationists pointed to the purity of the valley and pointed to it as an example of pristine wilderness.

No roads marred the valley, and the Hetch Hetchy provided a wild alternative to the tourist-laden Yosemite Valley. Only a few thousand wilderness enthusiasts visited Hetch Hetchy Valley per year, yet San Francisco's needs seemed to outweigh those of the few. Because Yosemite became a national park in 1890, it required an act of Congress to transfer rights to the gorge. In 1913, legislation transferred those rights to the city of San Francisco, and President Woodrow Wilson signed the bill soon after. The Hetch Hetchy controversy framed the issue of water in Yosemite and Yellowstone in terms of conservation versus preservation, but it also created a constituency of preservationists who viewed the damming of Hetch Hetchy as a failure that need not be repeated.

Thus when several different groups appeared to threaten the integrity of Yellowstone's waterways, the issue seemed to be pivotal. In the years 1919–1920, three different events alarmed NPS. After a severe drought in 1919 that caused millions of dollars in crop damage, a group of Idaho farmers formed the Fremont-Madison Reservoir Company and petitioned the secretary of Interior Franklin K. Lane for two dams, one on the Falls River and another on its tributary. Around the same time, Montana farmers formed the Yellowstone Irrigation Association (YIA). These farmers wanted to put a dam at the outlet of the Yellowstone River, using the existing lake as a reservoir. By raising the lake's water level by six to eight feet in the spring, YIA members estimated that the stored waters could irrigate 250,000 acres. They also argued that this would control the waters to eliminate destructive floods such as those that inundated Montana in 1887 and 1918. Both of these groups gained the support of Lane and enough congressmen to get bills introduced into Congress, while a third issue arose adding to the discussion about the purpose of Yellowstone's waters. In addition to these farmers groups, Congress was considering the passage of the Water Power bill that would have given the newly created Federal Water Power Commission the authority to lease public waters and develop water projects to improve navigation. As written, this authority extended to all public waters including those in and near national parks or monuments. After Hetch Hetchy, these pieces of legislation represented a threat to the entire national park system.

Damming Yellowstone's waters, many feared, would have set the precedent to commercialize development in all parks, and these purported attacks galvanized the opposition. As a result, the NPS director Stephen Mather and other opponents of damming founded the National Parks Association, headed by Mather's publicist Robert Sterling Yard. The organization could have had no better a leader than Yard, who proceeded to organize other like-minded groups and solicit funds for the movement. Yard pulled together 12,000 various groups, including major conservation clubs but also gathered the support of organizations generally unconnected to the goals of the Sierra Club or the National Geographic Society. Thus Yard rallied the support of almost 4 million club members willing to back the NPA and contribute to its National Park

Defense Fund. By the end of 1920, conservationists swayed public opinion and convinced lawmakers to give up their support for commercial development in the parks. The two bills failed to pass both houses, and an amendment to the Water Power Act of 1920 excluded national parks from the commission's mandate. This defeat of the dam proponents overturned the precedent set by Hetch Hetchy, and since then the NPS has been able to fend off further challenges.

GOOD WILDLIFE VERSUS BAD WILDLIFE

Although the NPS and nature clubs wanted to protect Yellowstone's waters from development, they expected park animals to be available to hunters and fishermen who wanted access to these natural resources. In some ways contradictory, this reflected the fact that both conservation groups and the NPS wanted to maintain the park and its wildlife for the use of the public. The organic act creating Yellowstone stated the place should be a "pleasuring-ground" for Americans. Nineteenth-century sportsmen looked to the few remaining open spaces for the opportunity to hunt or fish in the wild, joining clubs such as The Boone and Crocket Club and establishing rules to control the sport. Men of the elite classes followed the "sportsman's code" or a "manly ethic" when hunting. While a few clubs and elite sportsmen defined these ethics, they had become part of a national ideal about wildlife. In 1880, George Bird Grinnell helped spread ideas about the appropriate use of wildlife when he became the editor of *Forest and Stream*. National park officials also appreciated the type of animals that attracted tourists with or without guns. Visitors wanted to see herds of elk, deer, moose, and bighorn sheep, and that meant that most of their predators had to be eliminated. Until the 1960s, the desire to gain good publicity for the parks and the new national park service dominated NPS and Department of Interior policies regarding wildlife.

Wild Bison and Captive Herds

Buffalo herds had lived in the East prior to American settlement, but settlers liberally hunted wild game to supplement diets. Scholars estimate that approximately 30 million buffalo lived on the continent, but by the early nineteenth century, the major herds lived in the plains west of the ninety-ninth meridian. A number of factors relating to westward migration reduced bison numbers down to around 10 million head. As migrating people traveled over the Overland Trail, they divided herds and brought bovine diseases with them. Additionally, Indians hunted beyond their means for commercial markets, which also reduced the number of bison in the Plains. It was developments in the post-Civil War era, however, that led to almost-extinction of the American bison.

By 1870, several factors led to further reductions of bison numbers. First, and most significantly, the transcontinental railroad provided increased access to Plains buffalo, being killed by professional hunters for meat and hide markets. As construction of trunk lines continued, railroad managers hired professional hunters to provide meat for their crews, and some of this meat was shipped East. In addition to hunting for meat, professional hunters also acted as guides for sportsmen who came to the West to hunt the wild bison. Moreover, railroad companies offered hunting excursions, attracting numerous hunters who might not have traveled the distance. No permits were needed, nor were there set bag limits. Hunters killed as many bison as possible, often shooting them from the trains, giving the hunters a safe platform from which to shoot. Second, as bison hides became abundant and cheap due to commercial hunting, tanners began processing buffalo hides into leather as an inexpensive substitute. During the 1870s, men began systematically hunting for hides in both the southern and northern Plains. Since the hides were turned into leather instead of robes, hunters were able to kill the animals during any season. Between 1870 and 1875, scholars estimate that as many as 6 million bison on the southern Plains died for the hide market, basically wiping out the southern herds. As hunters turned north to continue, they decimated the remaining herds by the early 1880s. Third, due to the railroads, American cattlemen expanded grazing lands for cattle to be shipped East, increasing the competition for already limited resources in the arid regions of the West. The cattle brought from the southern Plains to the north were fattened and held until they could be shipped to Eastern slaughterhouses. The railroads brought hunters to destroy the herds and connected Western grazing lands to Eastern markets.

Thus it was no surprise that soon after Yellowstone's establishment, proposals for preserving bison herds started to appear. Finally in 1902, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution requesting information from the secretaries of Interior and Agriculture for more precise information about the actual numbers of live bison in the nation. In that year, Interior secretary Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported that he knew of fewer than 1200 animals, including four kept for viewing at Yellowstone and a small wild herd at the park. The thirty-two wild bison living on park grounds had learned to stay in the most inaccessible parts of the parks to evade poachers. Even before NPS officials took over management of the park, the Department of Interior officials designed a park policy to treat wild animals as tourist attractions, and Congress supported this policy with funds. Congress appropriated \$15,000 to restock the park with bison, and Charles "Buffalo" Jones, a former hunter, took the job as game warden.

With a mission to increase the number of bison for visitor viewing, the Department of Interior determined to do so by creating a captive herd of bison. In 1903, Interior officials bought both bison bulls and cows from a few ranchers who had kept small, private herds. In addition, Buffalo Jones and two other men went after the wild herds to obtain bison calves that might

become tame after being raised in captivity. After being chased by angry bison mothers, the scavenging party obtained two calves. By 1906, these young bison along with those purchased became a part of fifty-six head kept on “Buffalo Ranch” in the Lamar Valley.

Support for increasing the herds came from concerned citizens and the scientific community in addition to congressmen and other politicians. By 1905, naturalist William T. Hornaday had gained a reputation for studying the habitats of various species and joined the American Bison Society to protect the American bison. Hornaday had assisted in putting together the national zoo in Washington, DC, and the Bronx Zoo in New York, and wrote numerous books about protecting American animal species. In the 1880s, he started the Bison Club and started writing about the bison and its habitat. By the early twentieth century, Hornaday was able to enlist his reputation as a renowned zoologist and the support of President Theodore Roosevelt. The American Bison Society helped to bring awareness to the plight of the buffalo, and Hornaday’s collections maintained a number of animals for later repopulating efforts throughout the West.

For all intents and purposes, Yellowstone officials succeeded in stemming the decline of the bison, at least inside the park, but even as the NPS took over the park’s operation in 1917, the purpose of preserving this species had not changed. Park director Horace Albright (1919–1929) continued the policy of wildlife as entertainment and arranged “Buffalo Plains Week” to promote visitation at Yellowstone. The event included the 800 head of bison, members of the Crow Indian tribe from the nearby reservation, and local cowboys putting on displays to represent life on the long-lost historic Plains. Under Albright’s tenure at the park and then as the director of the NPS (1929–1939), the wild and captive herds continued to increase and attract visitors.

The increase in the Yellowstone herds caused several problems for park officials. During the 1930s and 1940s, managers determined that the number of bison had increased to the point that they did not need to continue certain types of management and started culling the herds. Bison were shipped off to slaughterhouses, zoos, parks, and Indian reservations, and NPS stopped providing as much feed, forcing the bison to graze off of unmaintained park lands. Moreover, the size of the herds made the bison more susceptible to diseases. At some point, some of the Yellowstone bison contracted *Brucella abortus*, a bacterium that causes infected cows to spontaneously abort their first fetuses. Buffalo Ranch bison also contracted a parasite causing hemorrhagic septicemia in the first decades of the twentieth century. These diseases spread to other Yellowstone wildlife and domesticated cattle in the area, the latter causing conflict between ranchers and NPS officials. As historian Mary Ann Franke points out, it was the park’s caretakers that created the captive herds that led to many of these problems. Now NPS has the responsibility of reducing herd sizes and is considering a quarantine program to stop the spread of brucellosis to local cattle.

Yellowstone's bison prior to 1903 had been one of the nation's last wild herds of American bison. Now numbers have increased, and buffalo meat is increasingly becoming an accepted beef substitute. The National Bison Association estimates that there are currently 270,000 animals within U.S. borders. Although the organization refers to the number of animals as a "herd," most of the animals live on private ranches maintained for human purposes, either sentimental or practical. In 2006, ranchers slaughtered more than 40,000 animals for the buffalo meat market, totally approximately \$239 million in sales. Buffalo meat has been touted as a healthier option than the meat from domesticated cattle, and the bison continues to represent the Wild West to Americans, a wildness that is no longer available either to bison nor man.

Bears

Similar to the bison, the park's managers treated Yellowstone bears as natural entertainment, wild animals presented as amusements to attract visitors. As a result of this policy, visitors often came in contact with bears, especially during Director Horace Albright's administration. Pleasure seekers expected to see and interact with these seemingly tame, yet unpredictable, creatures during their trips to Yellowstone National Park. The NPS walked a fine line with its bear policy, yielding to visitors' expectations about wildlife viewing and fearing bad press resulting from bear attacks. Unlike the bison, bears were predators treated as docile creatures, supposedly tamed by human interaction.

Before park officials authorized the establishment of the captive bison herd, some animals had been kept in an informal zoo on Dot Island in the park. From 1896 to 1907, E.C. Waters, running a boat operation at Yellowstone Lake, collected a number of animals to be viewed by his passengers. Park visitors, however, complained that Waters failed to properly care for his charges, and the superintendent ordered the zoo closed. Waters's zoo attracted people who desired to experience all of Yellowstone's natural wonders. Although every visitor was able to see the geysers and other physical landmarks, the park's animals were more elusive. Thus Waters attempted to provide a way for park goers to see native fauna, even if it was fenced and underfed.

As the NPS took over Yellowstone, the superintendents and staff pursued an official policy of making animals visible to the public as seen in the case of the bison. In addition to the buffalo corral, Superintendent Horace Albright also supported the building of a short-lived zoo in the 1920s, and a confused policy regarding bears in the park. Albright allowed hotels to maintain dumps, often referred to as bear feeding grounds, equipped with seats for guests to watch the bears rummage through leftover meals and kitchen scraps. Nightly lectures at the grounds provided an educational atmosphere to the experience. Park officials felt they needed these types of attractions to maintain public support and thus congressional financing. Despite the dangers that bears posed, the NPS allow public contact with bears. As historian Alice Wondrak

Biel notes, park supporters created Yellowstone to protect its geothermal features but the bears became the most compelling attraction. Biel found that it was during the 1890s when the bears started accessing hotel garbage in plain sight that travelers started visiting the park in greater numbers. Then, around 1915, as visitors started traveling to the park in cars, bears started greeting park goers along the roads. By the 1920s, one bear, nicknamed “Jesse James,” became famous for begging on the popular roads into the park. Despite park policy against visitors feeding bears, the NPS allowed roadside feeding to continue.

The NPS bear policies, official and unofficial, succeeded in bringing bears into view, but by the 1930s it became clear that bear feeding had become a problem too great to ignore. Bears became too accustomed to living off of human food, resulting in bears attacking campers. Moreover, park officials and visitors had personified bears and underestimated their wildness in the context of bear feeding. Horace Albright’s successors had the responsibility of balancing visitor safety and law suits with the public’s desire to see the park’s wildlife. Both Roger Toll and Edmund Rogers attempted to deal with these issues and started to focus on promoting bears as wild animals and end bear feeding. It was during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s that scientists had more input, and NPS directed visitors away from treating the bears as pets. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, scientific studies and America’s more ecological focus led to stricter bear policies, which included clean camp rules, the end of open pit dumps, and enforcement of official NPS rules regarding wildlife. As with the bison, concerned citizens and scientists have organized under various associations and promoted the problems faced by bears because of urbanization and habitat destruction.

Wolves and Livestock Predation

By the time that the NPS started facing its bear problem, hunters and government agencies had virtually eliminated wolves from the park and the larger tri-state area of Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho. At first wolves were hunted for pelts, but as ranchers moved into the rich grazing lands with their cattle, hunting shifted from fur acquisition to predation control. By 1968, the gray wolf joined a growing number of animals listed as endangered, and during the 1970s and 1980s conservationists demand wolf recovery and reintroduction into wilderness areas, including Yellowstone National Park. Stockmen concerned about their livestock rallied politicians to help them oppose wolf recovery, while conservationists patiently educated the public, ranchers, and politicians about wolf restoration plans in North America. Finally, in 1987, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service finally signed the long-debated wolf recovery plan that balanced the concerns of both livestock owners and the conservationists. As a result, wolves in these states have been downgraded from “endangered” to “threatened” as of 2003.

Demand for wolf pelts, starting in the 1850s, kept hunters busy and led to what contemporaries called “wolfing,” the winter hunt of wolves. By the turn of the century government bounties encouraged wolf killing for predation control. Farmers, miners, and loggers freed from their regular duties in the winter went wolfing to take advantage of the high prices paid for wolf pelts. One pelt might fetch \$2 to \$3 in the 1870s, a period when the average laborer made \$1 per day in the city. Numbers of wolves stayed high until about the 1880s and 1890s when the eradication of big game reduced the wolf’s natural food source and settlers established ranches in the area. Without the herds of bison, elk, and deer previously available to them, wolves killed livestock, invoking the ire of ranchers. Moreover, sportsmen concerned with low game numbers also demanded predator control. Environmentalist author Hank Fischer estimates that ranchers in the areas of Yellowstone experienced an average loss of about 25 percent, and in Montana, some ranchers lost as many as half of their calves.

At first, wolf eradication was a disorganized effort pursued by ranchers, but settlers soon formed clubs and associations and gained a political voice and the assistance of territorial, state, and federal governments in their quest to exterminate the wolf. Montana was the first of the states surrounding Yellowstone to offer bounties. In 1883, it offered a bounty of \$1 per wolf. The hunter had to show the hide to a judge or justice of the peace, and then could sell the pelt for an additional profit. In the first full year of the Montana bounty program, officials paid 5450 bounties. The program continued into the 1930s, successfully reducing the wolf population outside of the park. Because the U.S. Army pursued poachers in the park boundaries, it inadvertently protected the wolf as well as its prey. By 1912, the number of wolf sightings in the park had increased, and as a result, Congress appropriated funds for the U.S. Biological Survey to increase its efforts toward predator control. From 1914 to 1916, Vernon Bailey of the Biological Survey regularly visited the park to train army scouts how to find and destroy wolf dens. When the NPS took over the park, it continued the policy of wolf extirpation. Army scouts and NPS agents killed at least 136 wolves in the park in the years 1914 to 1926. From that point, if wolves were sighted in the park, they were, as Fischer points out, visitors not residents.

Park administrators successfully reinvigorated the bison herd, but the protection of big game combined with the destruction of wolves led to unforeseen problems in the park. Without the wolf, the main predator of big game, the NPS became the only check against the overpopulation of grazing animals. Rangers shipped bison out of the park and shot elk to trim the herds. By the 1960s, the elk herd had grown so large, that rangers shot 4000 elk in one year. Public outcry led to federal investigations, and the resulting reports recommended that the NPS take a less active role in population control, and in 1968 the NPS adopted the “natural regulation” policy. For big game, such as bison and elk, this meant allowing the availability of feed to control herd sizes, but

without predators, the policy of “natural regulation” was fundamentally flawed.

Little had been known about the role of predation in nature during the years that the Biological Survey and NPS started eliminating wolves from the park. Congress funded the Biological Survey’s predator control efforts throughout the 1920s with few dissenting voices and passed the Animal Damage Control Act in 1931 to continue this work outside the park. By 1935, when officials discontinued the policy within the National Parks, wolf packs had already disappeared from Yellowstone. During this time, however, scientists were just starting to seriously study predation generally and wolves more specifically. Publications by scientists and scholars such as Olaus and Adolph Murie, Paul Errington, Aldo Leopold, and L. David Mech led to a better understanding of the wolf in its natural habitats.

By the 1980s, wolf advocates had enough scientific knowledge, public support, and political backing to push forward a plan for wolf recovery and reintroduction in the Yellowstone area. Congress amended, after hearings held in 1982, the Endangered Species Act of 1973. Agencies involved in projects such as the wolf recovery programs needed more flexibility in responding to local concerns than the 1973 legislation allowed. This amendment gave conservationists hope for the tri-state area surrounding Yellowstone, especially since wolf advocates in North Carolina successfully restored red wolves using the “experimental population” provision of the amendment.

In the final plan, NPS officials, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and conservationists worked out a wolf recovery plan to accommodate the concerns of ranchers and the wolf advocates. They ironed out a plan that included wolf recovery in northwestern Montana and central Idaho and reintroduction in Yellowstone National Park. Congressmen worried about economic development in their states, but all involved in putting the plan together wanted to overcome the problems wolf restoration might cause for ranchers. Conservationists virtually promised that ranchers would still have access to public lands, and the dense prey available in Yellowstone would limit wolf incursions on cattle herds. For the few wolves that might stray, the plan allowed for collaring and relocating problem animals after one kill. If an animal returned to kill livestock a second time, the plan stipulated that animal would be put down. To minimize livestock owners’ risk and objections, the group Defenders of Wildlife also established a compensation program to reimburse owners for loss of livestock to wolves. In 1987, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed the wolf recovery plan that allowed for the reintroduction of wolves into Yellowstone.

Nature and Urbanization in the Gilded Age

Yellowstone’s managers, both army and NPS, made decisions about which wildlife to protect or extirpate based on political realities of their times.

Ranchers and farmers wanted protection for their livestock, and they had political capital that reached beyond their property lines. In the late nineteenth century, western cattle fed the growing cities of Chicago, New York, and Boston. Growing urban centers became the home of factory workers, managers, and clerks with little room for farmers. The ranches of Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho were connected to the East by the transcontinental railroad, and many of the cattle grazing on the grasslands in these states road the rails to the stockyards and meatpacking plants in Chicago and beyond. State and territorial politicians argued on behalf of the ranchers, and the federal government supported them as an important part of a much larger national system.

It was not until the ecological revolution of the 1960s and 1970s that Americans gained a greater understanding of ecosystems and biodiversity. Books, articles, television programs, and movies depicting nature and environmental issues helped to bring awareness to the issues of wildlife in the modern world. For instance, *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom* premiered in 1963 exposing generations of young people to the world of predator and prey within their natural environments, albeit through the lens of the camera. As popular sentiment caught up with environmental science, programs such as wolf recovery had enough support to be implemented.

Grand Canyon National Park

The Grand Canyon National Park emerged as the seventeenth national park in 1919 and received almost 5 million tourists per year. The canyon was initially viewed as a scenic geological function; officials simply wanted to preserve the trees threatened by railroad builders, loggers, and settlers. Though not the deepest in the world, the Grand Canyon is visually spectacular and provides one of the most complete geologic records. After millions of years, the Colorado River carved away material from the sandstone, limestone, and granite that make up the region's landforms, exposing many layers of geologic information. The park includes more than 1 million acres of land and is 277 river miles in length.

Several other main attractions have helped to distinguish Grand Canyon National Park. Burros abandoned by unsuccessful miners in the late 1800s thrived in the canyon and became a common sight for tourists. NPS rangers attempted to destroy the invasive species as they competed with wildlife for resources. In 1980, the NPS allowed private organizations to remove the burros before the final extirpation, eliminating the problem by 1983.

The Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad also encouraged tourism to the canyon in the late 1800s, eventually revolutionizing Southwestern travel. Harvey's railroad-stop restaurants featured fine linens, good service provided by well-mannered "Harvey Girls," and food that could be ordered in advance by wire.

Local tribes retained the right to use the park's lands. The act creating the park explicitly permitted the Havasupai Indians to enter it for traditional purposes. Outside of NPS supervision, the Hualapai have created an alternative tourist destination at Grand Canyon West, which includes the Skywalk, a glass bridge overhanging the canyon, opened in 2007.

TOURISM IN "WONDERLAND"

When Congress passed the organic act creating Yellowstone National Park in 1872, legislators decreed that the area was to be set apart as a "public park or pleasure-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" and gave the Interior secretary the power to grant leases to outside parties to erect buildings to facilitate tourism. On the one hand, the secretary had to preserve the park's game and natural wonders, but, on the other, it also had to be made available to the nation's citizens and visitors. This mandate has raised many questions over the years. The park's managers sought reliable, well-funded parties to build appropriate lodgings and transportation for visitors to gain public support for the park. Ironically, those same visitors have threatened the value of the park in the last fifty years. Overuse, pollution, and other issues changed the relationship of the visitor to the park and have created new problems that no one in 1872 could have expected.

Before the park became a popular destination, its first visitors experienced a wilder Yellowstone than later tourists. Prior to 1872, several exploratory crews attempted to define the boundaries and resources, but these men expected to be on their own as they chartered relatively unknown territory and did so with a purpose beyond just seeing the sights. Trappers, miners, and local Indians also traversed the landscape, but their knowledge of the trails and rivers remained private. Author Eugene Lee Silliman identifies the first tourists as a party of six led by Calvin Clawson in 1871. These men determined to travel through Yellowstone just to see the wonders described by previous explorers. In the tradition of many nineteenth-century travelers, Clawson documented his trip through letters to the newspaper at home, in this case Deer Lodge, Montana. Published letters such as these provided readers with a week-by-week description of places beyond their communities, interesting to both the homebody or to those considering their own trips. It was in one of these letters that Clawson used the term "Wonderland" to describe Yellowstone, a moniker that survived him. Clawson had referenced, of course, Lewis Carroll's 1865 book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, a story full of fascinating yet bizarre scenes.

This first group, and all early travelers before park lodgings were permanently secured, were generally responsible for providing for their own transportation,

lodging, food, and safety. The Clawson band used eight horses, one mule, and a dog and brought provisions, tents, and bedding. They spent three weeks camping and moving through the area and found abundant wildlife. Since there were no restrictions on hunting there until 1 March 1872, the men hunted as they liked. They witnessed elk, moose, deer, bear, wolves, and coyotes. Clawson and his cohort undertook this trip primarily to see the fantastic geological formations of the area. In describing the “puffing and blowing and squirting” of the geysers at Terrace Spring, Clawson remarked to his audience: “Altogether this would be an interesting piece of geyser property if there were none other like it in the country, but they sink into insignificance compared with many others between there and Yellowstone” (Clawson, 61). Only in a few select locations could a visitor to the area find room and board. Near the Mammoth Hot Springs, Harry Horr and James McCartney had built the first hotel, a sorry sod-covered, one-story log cabin-type building for people wanting to access the hot springs for their purported health benefits. Mostly the park received few visitors prior to 1883 because transportation to and within the park remained difficult.

Over time, however, concessionaires appeared on the scene, ready to supply at least some of the needs of the park's visitors. Superintendents Nathaniel Langford and Philetus Norris had the initial duty of determining appropriate terms for leases and building roads. Both men expected that hotels would be built near the major geysers, at the hot springs, and on the shore of Yellowstone Lake, but paperwork and political wrangling delayed the granting of leases. The superintendents had permission from Congress and the Department of Interior to use any money from leases to build roads in the park, while private companies supplied transportation to the park's boundaries.

In the 1870s, visitors from outside of the Montana-Wyoming-Idaho area had a long trek just to get to the vicinity of the park. One might take the Union Pacific Railroad to the closest railhead in Corinne, Utah, or board a steamboat in St. Louis, Missouri, to Fort Benton, Montana. The railroad that held the most promise was the Northern Pacific, yet it had only reached the Dakota Territory and would not be able to fully service Yellowstone travelers until 1883. It was the inconvenient travel that resulted in low visitation in the 1870s, only a few hundred per year mostly from the tri-state region.

Railroads and a New Era for Tourism

The year 1883 marked a turning point for the park. In that year, the Northern Pacific's rails reached Livingston, Montana. This allowed travelers from the Far West and the East to visit Yellowstone and establish tourism as a permanent feature of the park. After 1883, individuals and corporations invested more money in “selling” Yellowstone. It was during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that the federal government and entrepreneurs built the park's infrastructure and image, two things that often went together. In these

years, park officials and concessionaires established what would be considered the Yellowstone tour by printing maps, building roads, and distributing pictures of the most famous features, such as Old Faithful. In 1882, as the NPRR drew near, the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company organized to ready the park for the increased flow, promising large, grand hotels. It completed the first in 1883 with the National Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs and continued to build hotels at the major sightseeing attractions. By 1905, these efforts and a looped road made sure that Yellowstone visitors had an opportunity to see what they expected to see—geysers, hot springs, and the canyon.

Railroads played a key role in the development of the park as a national tourist destination. Beyond building the first railway to the park, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company also played a role in the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company and advertised the park as a means to drum up more passengers and hotel guests. Between 1883 and 1910, one estimate holds that the Northern Pacific invested \$1 million in tourist infrastructure. None of this was out of the realm of normal business practices for Western railroads. In California, the Southern Pacific Railroad also backed improvement companies and advertised sights, including the Yosemite area, to tempt the Eastern traveler to spend his or her leisure budget on trips to the West. Railroad managers understood that selling land to farmers and promoting tourism spurred rail traffic.

Moreover, after the Northern Pacific lines had been laid, other railroad companies built lines to take advantage of the park. In 1908, the Union Pacific Railroad Company built or acquired enough rail lines to shuttle passengers to the West entrance. The Union Pacific started advertising the park as early as 1880s, hoping to eventually operate a line to the park, which it did from 1908 to 1960. In much of the twentieth century, more than half of railroad passengers traveled to the park via the Union Pacific and entered at West Yellowstone, Montana. Numerous historians and train enthusiasts have documented the role of railroad promotions of Western national parks because of the ironies of corporate development in the preservation of the “wilderness” as well as the surfeit of beautifully illustrated and eloquently worded booster literature that has survived. Railroad companies continued to advertise their routes to Yellowstone and other national parks into the 1920s even though visitation rates had risen. In 1915, officials acquiesced to park-goers’ demands and allowed them to take their personal automobiles to the interior hotels, such as the Grand Hotel, instead of taking stagecoaches and railroads as visitors had traditionally done.

Driving to Yellowstone and Driving Development

The automobile changed visitors’ experiences with the park in several ways. At first automobile use had been limited, and then in 1915, almost 1000 cars entered Yellowstone. By the time that the NPS took over Yellowstone and

other parks, a greater number of Americans owned automobiles and expected to use them for travel, especially in or around the parks. In 1919 when the first NPS superintendent of Yellowstone, Horace Albright, arrived, he started the year with increased visitors, more automobiles, and a desire to legitimize the new bureau. Almost 40,000 of the 62,000 visitors that year came in automobiles. Thus approximately 10,000 or so cars now brought park-goers, and about half of the car users brought their own camping equipment. This led the NPS to consider planning facilities to accommodate independent campers on a larger scale. In 1919, Albright authorized the construction of bathing and toilet facilities for campers, and auto campers had access to gasoline, oil, and repair services in the park. By 1920, the visitation numbers reached more than 1 million, and about 80 percent were coming by car instead of trains.

During the Progressive Era (ca. 1890–1920), Americans embraced technology and “progress” in an attempt to bring order to American life after large-scale urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. Horace Albright considered the National Parks as retreats from the massive social changes since the Civil War, and motorists took advantage of access to parks and the freedom afforded by automobile tourism. These visitors, especially those who camped independently, came into greater contact with wildlife, which provided both positive and negative outcomes. Tourists who drove in often stopped to feed bears along the rode, and in the 1920s “Jesse James” became famous for his supposed hijackings of visitors on the road. This and other unofficial NPS bear policies led to increased contact between bears and humans throughout the park. In addition to lax enforcement of the rules against bear feeding, the Union Pacific used anthropomorphized bears in their advertisements. Bears became more accustomed to being in proximity to humans and increasingly attacked campers and roadside visitors. Overall, Albright and his superior Stephen T. Mather in the NPS office, both envisioned automobiles in the National Parks and followed policies to appease automobile tourists.

During the Great Depression, fewer visitors traveled to the national parks, but they were also the sites of New Deal activities. From 1933 to 1941, young urban men were stationed in the park to construct public works projects as a part of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC removed young men from areas with high unemployment, and they were expected to send most of their earnings home to support their families during the nation’s worst economic crisis. Yellowstone fell within the ninth corps area of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Once in the parks, the CCC participants constructed visitor centers, camp grounds, and roads. The CCC built more infrastructure throughout the national parks during the depression than had constructed in the entire system to date. It was also in these years that the NPS gained control of the national monuments, battlefield sites, and war memorials.

In the process of streamlining the government, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Order No. 6166 on 10 June 1933 to consolidate national parks, monuments, and cemeteries under the supervisions of the director of national parks, buildings, and reservations within the Department of Interior.

While the CCC armies were put to work in the parks, critics worried that the New Deal relief efforts might foster overdevelopment in the park. Rosalie Edge, writing on behalf of the Emergency Conservation Committee, recommended one-way roads and “preventative landscaping” to counteract the aesthetic “wounds” caused by engineers (Dilsaver, 137–141). With the park’s image in mind, the CCC designed the visitor centers and other buildings with a “rustic” style that seemed to reflect appropriate development in the wilderness.

Established in 1929, the Emergency Conservation Committee headed by Rosalie Edge published numerous pamphlets on resources issues to bring awareness to conservation. Edge and the committee remained especially interested in the fate of migrating birds, predator poisoning policies, and the national park system.

American’s admiration for technology waned in the 1930s and NPS attitudes shifted as well. Harold L. Ickes, the new secretary of Interior in 1933, sided with critics and worried that the NPS had catered too much to the comfort of tourists. About the same time in Yellowstone, Superintendent Edmund Rogers presided over a period of “philosophical and managerial changes” according to author Alice Wondrak Biel (Biel, 38). Under his supervision, Rogers pursued a policy more in line with the wilderness approach being promoted by preservationists of the 1930s and 1940s. He enforced bear feeding policies and emphasized educating visitors about the wildness of Yellowstone animals and more natural landscaping. NPS Office Order No. 323 further defined the wildlife policy in regards to fish. This order authorized the removal and exclusion of exotic species of fish. Ironically, park visitors of the 1920s and 1930s became virtually numb to the wilderness because it was viewed from behind the windshields of their automobiles as historian David B. Louter indicates in his research. Both Rogers and Ickes, as well as other officials, hoped to remind visitors of what they were seeing by educating them or getting them out of their cars. In an era when tourists lost sight of the wonders of Yellowstone, NPS officials attempted to re-envision the parks’ wildness, even if the actions were superficial at first.

Mission 66 and the Postwar Boom

After the war, Americans had money in their pockets, and they bought houses and new cars and took vacations. The postwar boom generated new visitors for

a national park system unprepared after decades of low visitation rates and an infrastructure that reflected the realities of the 1930s and 1940s. Much of the park's private and public operations had shut down during World War II, and most Americans spent their time focusing on the war effort. But after the war, families piled into cars and flooded into parks only to find outdated and small buildings and insufficient facilities for the new era. In 1956, NPS Director Conrad Wirth determined to bring the park system into the modern era with a ten-year plan titled Mission 66. Consequently, the federal government spent more than \$1 billion on infrastructure and other improvements. This plan overturned much of the efforts of earlier directors who had been emphasizing the wilderness approach, and Wirth's plans underscored the value of recreation and use in the national park system.

In 1956, Yellowstone's new superintendent, Lemuel Alonzo "Lon" Garrison, had the duties of implementing Mission 66 there. In a pamphlet describing the impact of Mission 66 on Yellowstone National Park, the NPS described the purpose and goals to be achieved over the next ten years. According to "Mission 66 for Yellowstone National Park," park service officials wanted to improve trails, roads, and facilities to facilitate visitors and protect fragile ecosystems. Director Wirth explained in the planning stages that constructing new and better roads and buildings could achieve this by "localizing, limiting, and channeling park use" (Rydell and Culpin, 144). By having appropriate structures, the park service would have the ability to both accommodate and direct visitor activities in the park. To do this, park planners moved away from the rustic style employed by the CCC and adopted a more efficient, modern styling for park buildings. During the depression, the CCC had access to natural materials, and labor was cheap because it was subsidized by the New Deal. But by the 1950s, the park service obtained concrete, glass, and steel at better prices. Despite complaints about the austerity of the "Park Service Modern-style buildings the new structures dominated the national parks during decade of Mission 66 and beyond.

Recreation and Return to Wilderness-ness

As the U.S. became more urbanized, Americans worried about the loss of open spaces for recreation. It was this sentiment, in part, that led to the establishment of the national parks, but it also led to changes in how the parks were used for recreation. Those who wrote the legislation to create Yellowstone vaguely referred to how visitors might experience the park. It was the policies of the park's administrators, concessionaires, tourists, and conservationists that ended up defining the outlines of "recreation" inside and outside of the park. Although there are new forms of outdoor recreation such as mountain biking and kayaking, generally it can be distinguished from tourism based on two factors. From the 1880s to the present, outdoor recreationists have relied on the availability of primitive or semi-primitive areas to pursue their sports and

these activities required physical challenges. Because Yellowstone and other national parks have been areas containing wild fauna and flora, recreation enthusiasts have made different demands on the parks than tourists.

Wilderness conservationists and preservationists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempted to define recreation and the appropriate use of wilderness areas, especially parks. Conservationists such as Theodore Roosevelt, who established the Boone and Crockett Club, envisioned a vigorous type of recreation, which included hunting and fishing. Boone and Crockett Club members and other elite sportsmen determined the ethics of "manly" sporting. In 1902, during an unsuccessful hunting trip in Mississippi, Roosevelt refused to shoot a bear tied to a tree. The bear had been captured to allow Roosevelt a kill, but this violated Roosevelt's and the club's hunting ethics, especially the idea of fair chase. This incident became famous because of a cartoon penned by Clifford Berryman and led to the "Teddy Bear" toys. Despite the hoopla that followed the hunt, elite sportsmen remained concerned with the rules of hunting and fishing as well as maintaining areas for these sports. John Muir and other preservationists were not inclined toward the killing of game for its own sake, but agreed that time spent in the wilderness required physical activity. For them, it was to obtain a peace of mind and spirit forsaken in urban environments.

By the early 1910s and 1920s, park users were mostly tourists, arriving in automobiles on maintained roads and staying in the best hotels or maintained camp sites. Only the elite could afford to stay in the grand rustic hotels built near Old Faithful, the Grand Canyon, and other Yellowstone sights. Wylie Permanent Camping Company and the Shaw & Powell Camping Company had been providing log cabins and tent cabins for middle-class visitors for years. The "camper" found beds, stoves, utensils, and other conveniences provided by these companies. This allowed those who were unaccustomed to "roughing it" a chance to sleep closer to the outdoors but with most of the items needed to maintain a Victorian-style living arrangement. With the advent of the automobile, "sagebrushers" started setting up camps along the roads living from their cars, bringing mattresses, food, and other needed gear. By the 1920s, it seemed there were too many tourists in Yellowstone, including the sagebrushers, which led to an alarming level of development for some.

The introduction of the automobile led to movements to preserve the wilderness. Sportsmen, NPS employees, and preservationists formed organizations such as the Izaak Walton League, the National Parks Association, and the Wilderness Society during the 1920s and 1930s in an attempt to lobby the NPS and Congress to maintain wilderness areas for recreation and preservation purposes. The railroad companies and boosters pursued a campaign known as "See America First," and the wilderness advocates worried that Americans were doing just that—seeing the national parks but only from behind the windshield of their automobiles. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge brought together representatives from 128 related organizations at the first National

Conference on Outdoor Recreation meeting in Washington, DC. At the meeting, Hoover expressed his concerns about the effects of industrial life and sedentary occupations. He exhorted Americans to seek outdoor recreation for its physical and mental effects. Outdoor recreation and the national parks were linked, and a number of the most influential organizers—Robert Marshall, Robert Sterling Yard, and Benton MacKaye, for example—had ties to the park system.

The focus on recreation in national parks declined during the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War for reasons discussed earlier, but ecological awareness of the 1960s and 1970s sparked important events related to the parks and recreation. In 1964, Congress passed the Wilderness Act, guaranteeing areas of semi-primitive spaces. Backpacking and hiking into wilder spaces, away from the more developed areas of Yellowstone, became more popular in the 1970s. People could still be environmental tourists, just passing through the parks or experiencing the parks in the developed areas with horse stables, ski lifts, and resort hotels, but a new breed of camp users resurrected the ideals of John Muir and combined vigorous physical exercise with a search for mental and spiritual peace in the wilderness. By the 1980s and 1990s, extreme sports added another element to park use, as kayakers, mountain bikers, and rock climbers sought out new territory to test their abilities.

The NPS has been involved with recreation policy actively since the 1930s and has assigned fees and fines to regulate the parks. Certain activities require permits, such as backcountry backpacking, camping, and boating, and the NPS has prohibited certain activities including mountain biking and using jet skis or similar watercraft. NPS policies are meant to limit the number of users in any particular area and protect park wildlife from perceived threats. Although the national parks and forests belong to all taxpayers in theory, overuse and pollution have hurt the physical environment. Thus entrance fees and use fees allow the NPS to supplement their budgets with contributions by actual users of the parks. The Forest Service implemented the Adventure Pass system in 1996 for the same reason. Both parks and forests are public properties, but maintenance has overburdened these agencies' budgets. It is important to remember that visitors abused park resources early on. Yellowstone's administrators starting in the 1880s and 1890s complained about visitors leaving trash, unattended campfires, and graffiti as well as taking souvenirs from sights. These abuses were troublesome, but now that the park has more than 2.8 million visitors per year, park rangers must diligently patrol the parks violators of park rules and regulations.

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