



The Border Vidette



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The *Border Vidette* is published quarterly by the Cochise County Corral of the Westerners. The Corral meets at 7 p.m. the first Thursday of each month at Schieffelin Hall, Tombstone. Schieffelin Hall was built in 1881 as a theater and lodge of the Freemasons. King Solomon Lodge Number 5 still meets upstairs. The Corral is dedicated to preserving Western Frontier History and Legend and to having a good time while doing so. Membership in the Corral is \$20 and entitles the Ranch Hand to attend talks on the Old West, join us on Trail Rides (by automobile) to sites of historic interest, and to our publications: *The Fremont Street Mail*, a monthly newsletter, and the *Border Vidette*, our journal. More information about the Corral can be found at www.CochiseCountyCorral.org and about Westerners International at <http://www.westerners-international.org/>

The *Border Vidette* accepts **interesting** articles about Western Frontier History no matter how short. Articles should be sourced and accompanied by endnotes. An unlimited number of photos (JPG preferred) may accompany the article. If the author has the rights to the article, the *Border Vidette* is willing to republish it. The journal is only published on-line and may be distributed as a PDF via email. Please contact us if you think you have something interesting to share. Contact us at InkSlinger@CochiseCountyCorral.org

A vidette is the term used in the 19th century for a mounted (cavalry) lookout.

Cover: Geronimo as a warrior looking fearsome

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Published by the Cochise County Corral of the Westerners

Doug Hocking <i>Ink Slinger</i> Volume 2, Number 3	Jonathan Donahue <i>Printer's Devil</i> Summer 2022
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Stereotypical Geronimo

By
Doug Hocking

A Jicarilla Apache friend asked me to write about Geronimo's stereotypes. Geronimo is an excellent candidate for such a review since everything most folks think they know about him comes from stereotypical depictions fostered by the Army and the press.

Let me begin by saying that the Chiricahua Apache produced a number of tactically brilliant and wise leaders. Among them were Cochise, Taza, and Naiche. Juh was tactically brilliant as was Victorio. Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves), despite his fearsome reputation as having sleeves red with the blood of his enemies, was a wise leader who sought peace, but who was also able to understand the need to deal from strength. Cochise is the only one of the leaders that understood strategy; tactics is the winning of battles, strategy the winning of wars. Cochise had the vision to dictate terms rather than being forced to accept them. There were a number of other great leaders among the Chiricahua. Geronimo was not among them.

Taza succeeded Cochise by the assent of the subchiefs of the Chokkonen Chiricahua. Whether his authority stretched beyond that subgroup is open to question. When he passed away, the Army at San Carlos needed another leader that they assumed could speak for the tribe. The government needed someone who could speak for the "tribe." At this point, the Chokkonen had absorbed the remnant of the Bedonkohe, the subgroup lead by Mangas Coloradas. The Apache were an egalitarian society where each man spoke for himself. Naiche was young and the Army undoubtedly thought him malleable. They were current in the idea that "primitive" people, that is those that hadn't discovered "democracy," like the European kingdoms, practiced primogeniture and hereditary kingship and so, since Taza had succeeded Cochise, they assumed that Naiche was next in line, and he became the first and last hereditary ruler of the Chiricahua by military decree.

The real Geronimo, whose Apache name Goyaałé meant the yawner, was a nobody at this point circa 1876. Fred Hughes recalled him from the days of Cochise's reservation, "Geronimo? Why are you worried about Geronimo? The women used to beat him up." He may have served as mouthpiece for Juh, who stuttered. He was a constant malcontent and complainer and one who always had his mouth open, which may explain his name in Apache. His Mexican name, the one we know him by, translates as Jerome for St. Jerome, the Orator. Again, we get the suggestion of someone whose mouth was always open. That he always spoke in council made him seem more important than he was.

He'd led some unsuccessful raids and lack of success was usually career terminating for a war leader. The military and the government, and perhaps the Anglo population in general, knew he wasn't a "chief", so they tried the concept of "medicine man." There are stories that suggest that he had some sort of War Power. As far as authority went, we never see him leading battles or raids. We see him as an early practitioner of the teaching of Mao Tse-tung – *"Political power grows out*

of the barrel of a gun.” He kidnaped people from San Carlos taking them unwilling into Mexico with him.

San Carlos was a disaster for many of the same reasons that Mescalero was a disaster for the Jicarilla Apache. There were others there ahead of them, well established, in possession of the best land and jobs. Both the Chiricahua and the Jicarilla became immigrants in a land that was not theirs, and the ones ahead of them were a people not entirely friendly. At San Carlos the Western Apache were out and out hostile. Add to this that the people had to wear dog tags, the land was an entirely different environment from their own mountain home. San Carlos was at a lower elevation and was hot, providing different resources than what they were used to. Additionally, they had to be counted every few days and had to report in person to draw rations.

Americans, who realized that Geronimo was not a chief, tried on the stereotype for Geronimo of medicine man making him a wicked one who consorted with demons, brewed potions, and was a torturer and poisoner. He didn't do the things that Anglos thought medicine men did, dance and sing and brew potions. This stereotype never really got going though we see a faint reflection of it in movies like *The Missing*.



Geronimo as Napoleon and as the Evil Medicine Man

The first stereotype that really worked made Geronimo out a tactical Napoleon as slippery as the Scarlet Pimpernel, a torturer on a par with Quasimodo, and a fearsome terror like a Viking berserker. Legends of his War Medicine fed into this. Americans already had several Indian stereotypes and they adopted one from the Plains tribes that made the Apache, and Geronimo in particular, out as careless of lives to prove their bravery, torturers, scalpers, mutilators of the dead, and ravishers of women. Most of this doesn't really apply to Apaches who weren't much into rape being quite chaste in comparison to tribes like the Cheyenne and Sioux. The Apache don't like to touch anything dead, and were never careless with their lives, but the press had an established stereotype to work from and applied it with a vengeance. They never caught on that when an Apache took a scalp, it was an insult to the dead that was completed by throwing the vile thing away. No Apache wanted to hang on to something that might call a dead man's spirit back to haunt him. This Napoleonic stereotype was the Geronimo who struck fear in hearts and encouraged increased military spending.

We find Juh, not Geronimo, in charge of the battles of South Pass, K-H Butte, and Grapevine Canyon. There were others leading the defense at Horseshoe Canyon. Chatto and Ulzana leading famous raids. Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, and Victorio all were great war leaders. Geronimo stands out for not being among them except in legend and movies.



Geronimo Napoleon, torturer, evil warrior

The second stereotype comes later, after 1900, the clownish, tame Indian, who marched in parades. This is the Geronimo who sat on the ground at the Chicago Exposition selling photos of himself and endlessly selling his "last" bow and arrow. The public never caught on that the clever fellow made out quite well financially from his last bow and arrow and autographed photos. He was a clever fellow. This is Geronimo in a top hat seen driving a flivver. Americans had conquered the frontier and overpowered the Indians, so this was the tame Geronimo that we needed to sell that story. Naiche, a true leader who retained his dignity and class, would never fit this mold, so Geronimo the tame was what the press needed.



Geronimo, the tame



Geronimo with the untamed Naiche who retains his dignity

More recently, a new stereotype has been fitted: Geronimo the civil rights advocate. He did stand up for Apache civil rights. Unfortunately, he wanted the same rights that white men had. These included the right to move freely from place to place and to live as he pleased, where he pleased. After years of warfare, this was not about to be granted. He also wanted the right to get drunk and beat his wife, just like a white man. The US Army and the Indian Agents would not permit either. They considered drunkenness and wife beating uncivilized and sought to impose their mores on the Apache by force. The agents especially sought to mold the Apache into farmers and model citizens. This was about as well received as any forced reeducation program, so we can hardly blame Geronimo for speaking out against it. Speaking out, despite little authority among the Chiricahua, he made himself an obvious target.

The Chiricahua were hunters and gatherers and to a degree, subsistence farmers. They lived in the Southwest where the climate is anything but cooperative. In consequence, there were years when hunting, gathering, and primitive farming were inadequate to support the Ndeh, the people. They turned to trading and raiding. Raiding brought the Apache into conflict with those around them. Practicing their native lifestyle meant that they were more likely to be viewed as gangsters than as freedom fighters. Europeans had been herders and farmers for a long time. Possession of the land was important to them. It was not to the Apache. The Apache wanted to be free and unfortunately this meant free to be a gangster. In many ways, Native Americans were lucky that they were not viewed as citizens but rather as enemy combatants. As citizens they would have been tried as criminals. This was part and parcel of the rights that Geronimo stood up for and this led to conflict. Today, many Chiricahua view him not as a freedom fighter and civil rights leader as many whites do, but rather as the reason they were deported and made prisoners of war.

He was neither chief nor medicine man. Nor was he hero or villain. He was a man who spoke up loudly and justly for his rights, the wrong rights at the wrong time.

The Iron Springs Gunfight; Truth, Propaganda or Prank?

By Stephen Fawcett

Editor's Note: Whether the editor agrees or not is not the point. Be a good historian. Look the article over to see if sources are quoted accurately. Then consider whether the logic is sound. Finally, consider the background and look for anachronisms. There are several versions of the story and placing the fight at Burleigh Springs is at the least an attempt to mislead and has given rise to suspicion that perhaps the gunfight did not take place at all.

It was reported that Wyatt Earp killed notorious 'cowboy' character Curly-Bill near Tombstone AT on 24th March 1882. Wyatt Earp also claimed this many years later. This seems highly improbable but has become widely accepted. However, alternatively, the initial report could have been pro Earp propaganda. Or, a more likely possibility perhaps, was that this was a prank played on the editor of the *Tombstone Epitaph* and the local community.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

21st March 1882: Wyatt Earp and his party refuse to submit to arrest (regarding the killing of Frank Stilwell in Tucson) by County Sheriff John Behan in Tombstone and rode out of town.

22nd March midday: The Wyatt Earp party kills Florentino Cruz near the south pass of the Dragoon Mountains approximately 11 miles east of Tombstone and are last seen heading into the Dragoons away from Tombstone. This is the last reliable sighting of the party for five days.

23rd March: A posse led by Sheriff Behan claims to have tracked the Earp party from the Dragoons to the outskirts of Tombstone.

24th March: An unidentified eyewitness claim to have seen the Earp party kill Curly-Bill on this day is reported in the daily of the Tombstone Epitaph of the 25th March

25th March: The Tombstone Daily Nugget also receives a report about a fight involving the Earp party and a claim that Curly-Bill was killed, as told by Wyatt Earp himself at the scene to their unidentified informant. The location is given as a spring in the Whetstone mountains. The Nugget sends reporters to Contention and Charleston in the evening to obtain confirmation. They report back that there is no support for the claim that Curly Bill has been killed, but there are claims that there was a gunfight involving the Wyatt Earp party. These reports are published on the 26th.

27th March: The Earp party is at the Hooker ranch 80 miles north of Tombstone and departs on this day.

27th March: The daily of the Tombstone Epitaph of the 27th March contains more reportage regarding the gunfight. Unidentified sources confirm the original story that Curly Bill was killed. Disputing this, unnamed 'cowboy' sources claim that there was a gunfight, that a horse was killed, but that Curly Bill was not present.



28th March: The daily of the Tombstone Epitaph of the 28th March has a report titled 'A Preposterous Report', no source is given. This report claims that the Earp party and Sheriff's posse have had a gunfight with several deaths resulting then has the two parties uniting to fight off an Indian attack.

Mescal Springs believed by many to be Wyatt's Iron Springs

3rd April: The Earp party are reported by an unidentified informant to have arrested wanted fugitive Frank Jackson, a member of the notorious Sam Bass criminal gang and handed him over to the authorities in the person of famous detective Jack Duncan. This reported in the daily of the Tombstone Epitaph of the 5th April. Also in this edition is another story of the Earp party movements obtained from a letter dated 4th April purporting to be from one of their number, claiming a fight with Curly Bill and posse (this would be the Sheriff's posse presumably).

Both the Epitaph and the Nugget used the terms 'posse' for the Sheriff's group and 'party' for Wyatt Earp's. This article uses the same terms. The use of these terms suggests that, as far as the newspapers were concerned, Wyatt Earp's party did not have an official role. At this time period 'posse' was likely restricted to official law enforcement recruits.

The eyewitness report of the killing of Curly-Bill (last name not certain but at times used the surname Brocius) in the Tombstone Epitaph daily of March 25th reads more like an invented story than a true eye witness report. There are many questionable details. The report locates the event at Burleigh Springs, near Burleigh mine, about 4 miles east of Charleston. In the Epitaph of March 27th this is revealed to have been a deliberate lie. However, the correct location is not given but the

reader is assured that the report is correct in all other details. This might be seen as the informant putting the Sheriff's posse off the scent to protect the Earp party or, alternatively, perhaps word got out that there was no dead horse at the springs, about 8 miles south of Tombstone, where there should have been one according to the report. Our anonymous eyewitness reports a party of 6 riding down to the spring and dismounting. These are identified as the Earp party. This is late afternoon as the sun was setting low down the horizon. Then 9 armed men rise up from a short distance away and fire simultaneously at them. Miraculously they do not hit anybody. Then the Earp party charges (on foot) upon their assailants and fires but a single volley at close range, killing one assailant in the process. The remaining assailants flee on horseback toward Charleston. This seems highly improbable, what is being described is more like a Civil War military encounter where the combatants fire in volleys and no one had repeating firearms. This was not the case with regard to the Earp party and their supposed assailants. The military nature of the gunfight is enhanced by likening the Earp party actions to the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava (1854). One of their horses is reported killed in the encounter. They remain at the spring for some time before departing southerly. It is speculated that they are heading for Sonora (Mexico).



Mescal Spring (Iron Springs) looking eastward toward Earp Hill and Contention City

When the Earp party left the scene our witness inspected the dead man and some time later, from the description provided, the dead man was identified by an unnamed source as Curly-Bill. The Epitaph subsequently learns from yet another unidentified source that during the night friends of

Curly-Bill obtained a wagon and took the body to Charleston where the whole affair was kept a profound secret. This last detail is interesting. It would require the assailants to ride from a presumably isolated uninhabited spring, starting around sunset, to Charleston, to arrange a wagon to travel to the spring and back at night with the body. Then someone has to ride to Tombstone (not using the telegraph for such a long report I am assuming) to give the news to the Epitaph. The Epitaph then has to write up the report and typeset it to print it in the following day's newspaper. This looks like an improbable schedule.

The initial story in the Epitaph was quickly followed up by another report of a gunfight involving the Earp party in The Tombstone Daily Nugget. The Nugget also reported that the Earp party had killed Curly-Bill on the day after the Epitaph story. The story was obtained before the Nugget sent reporters to Charleston and Contention on the evening of the 25th (these reporters found talk of a gunfight taking place but no confirmation of Curly-Bill's death). This story is even more far-fetched than the Epitaph version. This comes supposedly at second hand from Wyatt Earp himself as told by an anonymous informant. The story is that the Earp party has come to a spring in the Whetstones 15 miles from Contention for a pre arranged meeting at noon (with the Nugget informant). They arrive early. There they have a gunfight with four cowboys, killing one who they identify as Curly Bill. One of their horses is killed and they flee the scene. They hide behind a nearby hill to await the arrival of the messenger (the Nugget informant). The surviving three cowboys wait at the spring and then a wagon comes and takes away Curly-Bill's body. Wyatt Earp's messenger now arrives at the spring, does not divulge his reason for being there, has a meal with the cowboys who then depart. He then searches out the Earp party who were not in a position to make contact with him beforehand and is told about the gunfight. He was told that the gunfight took place some hours previously. This unnamed spring in the Whetstone Mountains is the location that became attached to the story. This would be in an area roughly 23 miles west of Tombstone. Many years later Wyatt Earp provided the name Iron Springs as the location and this is the usual naming for the event nowadays although there seems to be no mention of a spring of this name in other sources at this period.

This story has numerous improbable details starting with the five or six members of the Earp party hiding from three cowboys. It would be believable that they initially fled the scene of a gunfight not knowing for sure how many they were up against. However from their position of safety behind a hill they would be able to reconnoitre and see that there were only three left alive. They were all well armed and supposedly frontier tough guys so why would they skulk out of sight? Also, why would three cowboys hang around knowing that a larger force had just ridden away after being taken by surprise, but who could return prepared to continue the gunfight at any minute? Where did the wagon come from? They were in the foothills of the Whetstones, a wagon could not be arranged from Contention or Charleston in the timescale. It would have to have come from a nearby ranch, mine, or lumber camp. In which case who organised it? It would surely require one of the three remaining cowboys to ride off to get it. This would leave just two cowboys in possession of the spring. Surely the Earp party could chase them away, take possession of the spring and await their messenger. When the messenger arrived at the spring he should have seen a dead horse, this reportedly within 30 yards of the spring. This would be difficult to miss you would think and require an explanation. It might be expected that this might have been a topic of conversation with the cowboys and reported by the informant!

The Nugget's actual reportage on the ground from Contention and Charleston is also very significant because this should be reliable and unembellished. Telegraphed reports came at 8.40 p.m. from Charleston and 8.00 p.m. and 1.00 a.m. from Contention from reporters (described as couriers) that the Nugget sent from Tombstone. They found claims of a fight involving the Earp party but significantly no claims that Curly-Bill had been killed. The Epitaph story had come out the day before with the report of the Curly-Bill killing and so it seems that no one in Charleston or Contention supported this, the most significant aspect of the fight story.

It would seem extremely unlikely that the Earp party would set out to apprehend more suspects in the murder of Morgan Earp after the killing of Florentino Cruz. They knew that they were wanted by the authorities to account for the killing of Stilwell in Tucson and would soon also be wanted for the killing of Cruz near Tombstone. These killings were not self defence, they were in effect lynchings. If the matter came to court there was a very real possibility of murder convictions. They would also probably have knowledge that they were being actively hunted by a large posse led by the Cochise County Sheriff. The best option for the Earp party was to leave Arizona as quickly as possible.

Given the situation it would seem highly unlikely that the Earp party either chanced upon or deliberately hunted down Curly-Bill. He had not been reported as being in the area. Not everyone was convinced at the time. The story was described as 'a probable canard' by the Arizona Weekly Citizen newspaper 26th March.

The supposed location for the gunfight also places doubt over the story. The Whetstones were not on the route north from the Dragoons to the Hooker ranch. Travelling to the Whetstones would have the Earp party travelling west towards Pima County (where they were also wanted by the Authorities). The Epitaph's eyewitness has them travelling south towards Mexico after the gunfight. This does not tie in with their eventual destination being to the north.

Also casting doubt was that the Tombstone Nugget newspaper offered a \$1000 reward for proof of Curly-Bill's death but this went unclaimed. Think about this. Surely if his associates had buried him secretly as can be presumed from the stories, would they pass up a small fortune to keep the secret? This seems highly unlikely. There is a claim that Wells Fargo agent John Thacker had the body dug up (how did he know where it was?), was able to identify Curly-Bill to his own satisfaction and had the body reburied. Why would the individual who showed him the location, or himself, pass up the reward?

If the stories were fabricated they might be expected to have come from Wyatt Earp supporters as propaganda to show that he was doing good work for the community ridding it of a widely disliked individual. Curly-Bill had killed the County Sheriff (accidentally) in 1880 and seems to have also been suspected of criminal activity. The Tombstone Epitaph was supportive of the Earps and would be expected to publish a positive story. However, even the Epitaph obviously had doubts because they later printed 'you pays your money and takes your choice' in the March 27 edition that offered conflicting reports, not coming down in support of the Curly-Bill killing. Also, if Earp supporters offered the reports then they might have been expected to come up with more plausible stories.

The two initial newspaper reports are mutually exclusive because of their differences. This means that one of them must be false and if one or the other is certainly false then it has to be accepted that both of them could be.

The initial story might just have been a prank. This might seem the likeliest possibility. The attack on Virgil Earp followed by the recent killings of Morgan Earp and Stilwell must have created quite a stir in the community. Someone might have thought the newsworthy situation regarding Wyatt Earp offered a fine pranking opportunity. There had already been a rumour in February that Curly-Bill was dead. The Tombstone Nugget reported at the time 'from reliable parties' that this was not true. After the initial story, noting the stir it caused, the same pranksters, or others joining the fun, might have followed up with the subsequent versions of the Curly-Bill death story in the Nugget and Epitaph, including an alternative but equally implausible 'cowboy' version in the Epitaph and then finishing off with the ridiculous stories of the Indian attack on the 28th March and the Frank Jackson arrest on the 3rd April also in the Epitaph. The Tombstone newspapers seemed very amenable to publishing dubious unattributed stories and so perhaps pranksters just kept them coming. There is also a possibility that this might have been an April Fools' motivated prank. The timing is right for this. April Fools' pranks were popular in the late nineteenth century in North America and pranks can start in the run up to April 1st not just on the day itself. However, at this time period April Fools' pranks seem to be just practical jokes and not newspaper hoaxes. April Fools' newspaper hoaxes seem to start in the next century.

Down the years evidence has been offered to support the killing of Curly-Bill by Wyatt Earp. The Tombstone Epitaph newspaper offered a \$2000 donation to charity if Curly-Bill was to show his face in town and this went unclaimed thus suggesting he was no longer alive. However, there is nothing in this for Curly Bill. Why would he bother if alive? There is also a possibility that he was actively wanted by the Tombstone or Cochise County authorities. In 'Doc Holliday the Life and the Legend' by Gary L Roberts it appears that Curly Bill was being sought by the Sheriff in December 1881. Note 116: Behans deputies searching for Brocius (The Territory vs Curly Bill – Hicks et al) Trip to El Paso Dec 1881 (Financial Reports, Sheriffs' department, Jan-April 1882, Cochise County Records, MS 180, Box8, f83, AHS). Curly-Bill does not seem to have been apprehended in December 1881 so would likely still be wanted by the County authorities in 1882. If this was the case there was no incentive for him to make himself known to the authorities in Arizona or even the whole States and Territories.

The other piece of independent evidence to suggest that Curly-Bill was killed comes from the records of Wells Fargo. A cash book entry of April 1882 has 'J.N.Thacker paid Earp & posse a/c Stilwell & Curly Bill \$150.' Here the dating and the naming of Stilwell, who was killed by the Earp party, suggests that this perhaps references the killing of Curly-Bill by the Earp party shortly afterwards. In this case there is a suggestion of blood money paid but this is unlikely. If Wells Fargo was paying bounties for the death of crime suspects (not out of the question for big business interests at the time) they would have been far more discreet and likely far more generous. Thacker was a Wells Fargo detective. The cash book entry would seem to be a reimbursement to him for monies paid to an Earp posse. It would seem that Wells Fargo had opened an account to finance an investigation of Stilwell and Curly-Bill either jointly or separately (a/c is a common abbreviation for account). However, the death of Morgan Earp was not a Wells Fargo affair, he was not employed on Wells Fargo business at the time, so the Earp party hunting his killers would

seem unlikely to be financed by them. Stilwell however was a prime suspect in the Sandy Bob stagecoach robbery of September 1881. It would seem more likely that the payment would relate to the Wyatt Earp posse hunting the robbers. Any stagecoach robberies in the area would be likely to be investigated by Wells Fargo. This payment might have nothing to do with Curly-Bill, his name on the account might just have been an indication of the scope of the Wells Fargo investigations. Note also that the payment relates to Earp & posse. The hunt for the stage robbers was officially supported so the term 'posse' would be justified, whereas if the hunt for Morgan's killers was not official (see note about 'posse' and 'party' terminology above) it would likely not have attracted this description.

There is an obvious speculation to make here regarding the Frank Jackson arrest story. This never happened. It had been reported that the notorious Frank Jackson was believed to be in the area and this obviously prompted the arrest 'tall story'. If it had taken place this would have been big news and widely reported at the time. However, what if the tall story had not been of an arrest but instead had been of an encounter between the Earp party and a Frank Jackson gang, of a shoot-out taking place with Frank Jackson killed, the body later retrieved by gang members and buried secretly? Frank Jackson was never caught or ever positively identified subsequently. In this scenario, years later, Wyatt Earp might have felt it was safe to claim that he did kill Frank Jackson and many wild west historians would confidently add the killing to his tally. After all, Frank Jackson was never heard of again!

The Frank Jackson arrest story would seem to be a hoax with the purpose of mocking the Earp party's efforts to apprehend suspected criminals. In the same *Epitaph* edition the other report purporting to be from the Earp party seems to be in a similar vein. It finishes with a claim that they are on 'the trail of the lost Charley Ross'. This is a reference to an infamous child abduction crime in Philadelphia in 1874. This story also claims a fight with Curly-Bill and posse but there was no fight with the Sheriff's posse.

There is of course Wyatt Earp's own account of killing Curly-Bill. However, it seems that he personally did not make this claim until the 1920s. He was trying to get his life story published at the time so he would have a strong motive for making false claims to make the story more dramatic and publishable. The claim had already been put out by the newspapers of the time, so it would have some credibility and not look like a total invention.

Wyatt also claimed to have killed Johnny Ringo, another notorious 'outlaw' type. Starting in 1925, with the assistance of his friend John Flood who did the typing, Wyatt speculatively wrote his life story but failed to find a publisher. He described in detail not only killing Curly-Bill but also Johnny Ringo (died 13th July 1882 in the Chiricahua Mountains Cochise County). Very few historians believe this. In the case of Ringo there was a body, a coroner's inquest and a jury finding of death by suicide. It seems unlikely that Wyatt would return to Arizona where he was wanted by the authorities. Also why would he kill Ringo and then stage the scene to look like a suicide? This would not seem to serve any purpose. If it is not believed that Wyatt killed Johnny Ringo then it has to be believed that Wyatt was prepared to make significant false claims about his past life that could also include the killing of Curly-Bill.

To be charitable to Wyatt, he did not know that down the decades wild west history enthusiasts were going to rely on his every word. It seems that his motivation for writing his life story was the desire to get a movie made. He had made many connections in the western movie industry. Tom Mix had tried and failed to produce a movie based on his life. William S Hart was encouraging him to write his story which if published and popular could become the basis of a movie. It is perhaps best to regard the failed Flood assisted version and subsequently popular Stuart Lake version of his life story as more like movie scripts, where typically stories 'based on true events' have considerable licence taken with historical accuracy for dramatic effect.

If the first Epitaph story about the killing of Curly-Bill and all the subsequent follow up stories about the Wyatt Earp party were in fact pranks by the inhabitants of Cochise County, then this perhaps could be seen in a way as a good thing. Cochise County was a tough place to live at this time period. There were many unfortunate deaths. It might be pleasing to think that the community could retain a sense of humour, albeit dark humour, about it all.

Tombstone Epitaph Articles Source Material

Item 1: Daily of March 25th

Library of Congress The Tombstone Epitaph [volume] March 27, 1882, Image 1
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84021939/1882-03-27/ed-1/seq-1/>

Item 2: Daily of March 27th

Library of Congress The Tombstone Epitaph [volume] April 03, 1882, Image 3
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84021939/1882-04-03/ed-1/seq-3/>

Item 3: Daily of March 28th

Library of Congress The Tombstone Epitaph [volume] April 03, 1882, Image 4
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84021939/1882-04-03/ed-1/seq-4/>

Item 4: Daily of April 5th

Library of Congress The Tombstone Epitaph [volume] April 10, 1882 Image 5
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84021939/1882-04-10/ed-1/seq-5/>

The Tombstone Daily Epitaph is not readily available, however the Weekly Epitaph often ran the same story again.

ITEM 1

Tombstone Weekly Epitaph, 27 March 1882, repeating an item from the Daily Epitaph of 25 March.

The Earp Party Ambushed by Curly Bill and Eight Cow-boys

A Hand to Hand Encounter in Which Curly Bill is Killed.

The town has been full of reports for the last two or three days as to the whereabouts to the Earp party, and their probable movements. No sooner had one report got well under way before another was started that contradicted it. There has been marching and countermarching by the sheriff and his posse until the community has become so used to the ring of spurs and clank of steel that comparatively little attention is paid to the appearance of large bodies of horsemen in the streets. Yesterday afternoon the sheriff with a large force started down the road toward Contention, possibly to follow up the report that the party had been seen in the Whetstone mountains, west of the San Pedro river, with their horses completely fagged out and the men badly demoralized. This, like the many other reports, was as baseless as the fabric of a dream.

THE BATTLE OF BURLEIGH SPRING.

Yesterday afternoon, as the sun was descending low down the western horizon, had a person been travelling on the Crystal or Lewis Spring road toward the Burleigh Spring, as our informant was he would have seen one of the most desperate fights between the six men of the Earp party and nine fierce cowboys, led by the daring and notorious Curly Bill, that ever took place between opposing forces on Arizona soil. Burleigh

Spring is about eight miles south of Tombstone, and some four miles east of Charleston, near the mine of the name, and near the short road from Tombstone to Hereford. As our informant, who was traveling on horseback leisurely along toward the Burleigh, and as he rose a slight elevation in the road about a half mile south thereof, he observed a party of six men ride down to the spring from the east, where they all dismounted. They had not much more than got well upon their feet when there rose up at a short distance away,

NINE ARMED MEN

who took deadly aim and fired simultaneously at the Earp party, for such the six men proved to be. Horrified at the sight, that like a lightning stroke flashed upon his vision, he instinctively stopped and watched for what was to follow. Not a man went down under this murderous fire, but like a thunderbolt shot from the hand of Jove the six desperate men chraged upon their assailants like the light brigade at Balaklava, and when with easy reach returned the fire under which one man went down never more to rise again. The remaining eight fled to the brush and regained their horses when they rode away toward Charleston as if the King of Terrors was at their heels in hot pursuit. The six men fired but one volley and from the close range it is supposed that several of the ambushed cowboys were seriously if not fatally wounded.

THE SIX MEN

returned to their horses where one was found to be in the agony of death, he having received one of the leaden messengers intended for his rider. The party remained at the spring for some time refreshing themselves and their animals when they leisurely departed, going southerly as if they were making for Sonora.

THE DEAD MAN CURLY BILL.

After the road was clear our informant rode on and came upon the dead man, who, from the description given, was none other than Curly Bill, the man who killed Marshal White in the Streets of Tombstone, one year ago last September. Since the above information was obtained it has been learned that during the night the friends of Curly Bill went out with a wagon and took the body back to Charleston where the whole affair has been kept a profound secret, so far as the general public is concerned.

ITEM 2:

“Battle of Burleigh,” *Weekly Epitaph*, 3 April 1882. Repeating an item from 27 March *Daily Epitaph*.

This Page is from the Daily of Monday, March 27

Two Versions of the Fight

You Pays Your Money and You Takes Your Choice.

In the account of the battle of Burleigh, given in Saturday's Epitaph, the facts were faithfully given to our reporter, and upon later inquiries being made it is asserted upon what is considered good authority that it was correct in all essential points other than the locality, which, it is stated, was purposely misrepresented. It has since been learned that in the fire of the cowboys that Wyatt Earp received seven shots through his clothes, but was not scratched by a bullet, and that one shot went through McMasters' clothes, just creasing his person, but doing no serious damage whatever. The horse of Texas Jack was shot dead and the pommel of one of the saddles was shot off, which completes the list of casualties to the Earp party, so far as can be learned. It is still asserted that

CURLY BILL WAS KILLED

upon the return fire of the new-comers at the spring. His death is stoutly denied by the cowboy party, however, who say that he is not in this part of the country, while the other side as positively assert its truth. It would seem that the Earp party, every man of whom knows Curly Bill as well as they would their own reflections in a glass, ought to know whether it was him or his double, if he has one.

THE COWBOY VERSION.

On Friday last, Dick Wright, better known in Tombstone as “Whistling Dick,” and Tony Kraker, were out on the mesa west of Drew's ranch, below Contention, in search of strayed mules, and just at evening they rode down to the spring when they were suddenly confronted by four men with leveled guns pointed directly at them. Tony sung out, “what are you doing here, you lop-eared Missourian?” This original salutation disarmed the cowboys, who lowered their guns and invited Tony and Dick to get down and make themselves at home, which they did. Sitting around the camp fire the four cowboys told them their version of the story, which was as follows: They said that they were camped at the spring, when they saw the Earp party ride down, and not knowing how they stood with them they thought that they would

GIVE THEM A SHOT

just for luck, so they blazed away and shot off the pommel of Wyatt Earp's saddle and killed the horse that Texas Jack was riding. They said that not one of the Earp party charged upon them but Wyatt, the balance all running away. Wyatt dismounted and fired his gun at them but without effect. Texas Jack is said to have jumped up behind one of the other boys a la Mexicans, and off they went as rapidly as

they could. These are about as near the two sides of the fight as can be got at this time.

A LUDICROUS SCENE.

The other side, who claim to have killed Curly Bill and remained masters of the situation, say that after the battle was over and they had returned to their horses, and Texas Jack had found his beautiful pony dead; one that had carried him from Texas to Tombstone, and over many a weary and scorching plain in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, knelt down by the side of the faithful beast, unbared his angered brow, and there, upon his bended knees, took a deep and desperate oath to avenge the poor animal's death. This incident aptly illustrates the old saying that, "It is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

With the foregoing statements the reader will be able to draw some conclusion that may satisfy his or her mind about the late battle of so-called Burleigh.

ITEM 3:

"The Earp Party," *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, 3 April 1882. Repeating an item from the 28 March *Daily Epitaph*.

The interest in the movements of both the Earp party and the sheriff and his posse, remains unabated, and the streets are filled with rumors and reports, all of which should be taken with a good deal of allowance. All that is known of the sheriff's movements is that he with a large force of men started out yesterday morning from the town northwest. It was telegraphed from Willcox last evening that Tipton, a friend of the Earps, arrived there on the morning train and got off, obtained a horse and started north, presumably to meet the Earps. Another report

widely circulated last evening was, that they - the whole party - took the train at Willcox and proceeded East, as is supposed, leaving the country for good. By others, who appear to be equally well informed as the balance of the knowing ones, it is believed they have gone to Tucson, to deliver themselves up to Sheriff [Paul] [part of page is lost]

ITEM 4:

"The Earp Party," *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, 10 April 1882. Repeating an item from the *Daily Epitaph* of 5 April.

Journal of Their Adventures and Wanderings,

As Jotted Down by One of Them for the Benefit of the Epitaph's Readers

The following letter was received by mail to-day, written upon detached leaves from an account book, and post-marked Willcox. It may be genuine and may not be; each reader may judge for himself.

In Camp, April 4, 1882.

Editor Epitaph: - In reply to the article in the Nugget of March 31, relating to the Earp party and some of the citizens of Graham and Cochise counties, I would like to give you the facts in this case during our trip in Cochise and Graham counties. Leaving Tombstone Saturday evening, March 25,

WE WENT INTO CAMP

six miles north of town. Next morning we were overtaken by three prospectors on their road from Tombstone to Winchester district, who asked us to partake of a frugal meal, which we ate with relish, after which we traveled in company with them on the main road to Summit station, where we had dinner

and awaited the arrival of the passenger train from the west, expecting

A FRIENDLY MESSENGER.

From here we continued our journey on the wagon road to Henderson's ranch where we had refreshments for ourselves and horses. Here we were informed that a gentlemanly deputy sheriff of Cochise county, Mr. Frank Hereford (for whom we have the greatest respect as a gentleman and officer) was at the ranch at the time of our arrival and departure, and have since learned the reason for not presenting himself, was fears for his safety, which we assure him were groundless. Leaving this ranch we went into camp on good grass one mile north. At seven, next morning, we saddled and went north to

MR. H.C. HOOKER'S RANCH,
in Graham county, where we met Mr. Hooker, and asked for refreshments for ourselves and stock, which he kindly granted us with the same hospitality that was tendered us by the ranchers of Cochise county. As regards to Mr. Hooker outfitting us with supplies and fresh horses, as mentioned in the Nugget, it is false and without foundation, as we are riding the same horses we left Tombstone on, with the exception of Texas Jacks horse, which was killed in the

FIGHT WITH CURLY BILL.

and posse, which we replaced by hiring a horse on the San Pedro river. In relation to the reward offered by the Stock Association, which the Nugget claims Mr. Hooker paid to Wyatt Earp for the killing of Curly Bill, it is also false, as no reward has been asked for or tendered.

Leaving Hooker's ranch on the evening of that day, we journeyed north to within five miles of Eureka Springs. There we camped with a freighter and was cheerfully furnished the best his camp afforded. Next morning, not

being in a hurry to break camp, our stay was long enough to notice the

MOVEMENTS OF SHERIFF BEHAN

and his posse of honest ranchers, with whom, had they possessed the trailing abilities of the average Arizona ranchman, we might have had trouble, which we are not seeking. Neither are we avoiding these honest ranchers as we thoroughly understand their designs.

At Cottonwood we remained overnight, and here picked up the trail of the

LOST CHARLEY ROSS,

"and a hot one." We are confident that our trailing abilities will soon enable us to turn over to the "gentlemen" the fruit of our efforts, so they may not again return to Tombstone empty-handed. Yours respectfully, ONE OF THEM.

The Earp Party Arrest a Desperado from Texas

And Turn Him Over to Detective Jack Duncan

The following telegram which was published in the Epitaph on Wednesday, March 29th, elicited considerable comment in detective circles, and the knowing ones have kept their weather eye open looking for that \$2,500 reward for Frank Jackson:

DALLAS, Tex., March 29. - Detective Jack Duncan left to-day for Arizona, to secure Frank Jackson, the most desperate member of Sam Bass' gang of train robbers. Jackson has been at large since his fight at Round Rock in 1878, in which Sam Bass, Seth Barnes and others were killed. Positive information has been received that Jackson has been lurking between Las Vegas, Tucson, Tombstone and

Prescott since November, at the head of a gang of desperadoes. There is a standing reward of \$2,500 for the arrest of Jackson.

CAPTURED AND TURNED OVER.

From a reliable gentleman, a reporter on this paper learned this morning that on Monday last the Earp party arrested a man that answers to the description of Frank Jackson, and turned him over to detective Jack Duncan at San Simon station, and that Duncan, who was satisfied with the prisoner's identity, took him aboard the train and started for Texas that night. It appears from what could be learned that Wyatt Earp had been in correspondence with the

TEXAS DETECTIVES

for several months about this man Jackson and other Texas criminals, and had been notified to expect their advent into southeastern Arizona sooner or later, from the fact that they were so hard pressed by the law officers and detectives of Texas and New Mexico that they must surrender or else seek this country for shelter. In the party's wanderings they came upon this man, who answering the description of Jackson, they cultivated his acquaintance until Duncan was notified and arrived, when he was arrested and turned over and shipped east. It is said they have trace of several other notorious men whom they will turn over to the authorities when the time arrives.

Additional story from Item 1:

This is interesting because it gives context to the course the Vendetta Ride was taking.

“Coroner’s Inquest,” *Tombstone Daily Epitaph*, 27 March 1882

Upon the Body of Florentino Cruz, the Murdered Half-Breed

At 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon the following jury sat upon the body of Florentino Cruz, the half-breed Indian who was found dead near Pete Spence's wood ranch, in the South pass of the Dragoons, on Thursday, the body having been brought to town and deposited at Ritter's undertaking rooms: Peter Tully, M. Gray, C.B. Noe, John M. Lee, John Kingsman, Wells Colby, T.J. Blackwood, J.R. Adams, M.H. Smith, A.C. Bilicke, Charles Brickwedel and S.M. Barrow.

DR. G.E. GOODFELLOW

was the first witness examined, who testified as follows with regard to the wounds: I found four wounds on the body. I commenced the examination at his head and followed down. The first shot entered at the right temple penetrating the brain; the second produced a slight flesh wound in the right shoulder; the third entered on the right side of the body, near the liver, and made its exit to the right of the spine, about five or six inches to the right. The fourth struck in the left thigh, and made its exit about seven or eight inches above the point of entry. In my opinion, two of the wounds, those in the head and right side, were sufficient to cause death. The wound in the thigh was probably produced when he was running or after he had fallen. He was probably lying on the ground. In my opinion he was lying on the ground, after the wounds in the upper part of the body had been received. In my opinion, the wound in the thigh was received after he was dead. I form that opinion from the absence of blood around the wound.

THEODORE B. JUDAH,

the young man who discovered the body, and who was interviewed by and Epitaph reporter on Thursday, next testified: I am a resident of Tombstone; am a teamster by occupation. I have seen the body of the Mexican or Indian, and recognize it as that of Florentino. Last

Wednesday we were in camp in the South Pass of the Dragoon Mountains. There were five of us, Sam Williams, Ramon Acosto, Florentino, a Mexican or half breed whose name I do not know, and myself. At about 11 or 12 o'clock Williams started out on horseback to search for some mules which had strayed from our camp. Inside of an hour Florentino started out on foot for the same purpose. He had been gone but a few minutes while I was lying in the shade waiting for them to come back, when I looked up and saw Wyatt Earp coming over the hill on horseback, followed by five men. They were Warren Earp, Sherman McMasters, Doc Holliday, Texas Jack and a party whom I have heard was named Johnson. They asked which way the road went, but I heard no answer. I was some distance away, and they had not seen me. They stood talking among themselves. I then called and asked if they had seen any mules that morning, and McMasters answered that he had seen some near by. He then rode up to Wyatt Earp and said something and the whole party wheeled around and came over to where I was. Wyatt Earp saw me and immediately asked where Pete Spence was. I answered that I had left Pete Spence in town. He then asked when I had left town, and I replied that I had left town about nine o'clock in the morning. He also asked after Hank, a half-breed, and I told him that he wasn't there. He then asked how many men there were at the camp. I told him exactly how many there were, and what they were doing, and mentioned that two of the men were out in the hills in search of strayed animals. He asked me when Pete Spence would be out in the camp again. He also asked me my name, and wanted to know if I was not a friend of Pete Spence's and also of Frank Stilwell, to which question I answered that I was. He then turned to the crowd and asked them if they had seen any horses down there with saddles on. They then went off, and passed out of my sight toward the main

road leading to Tombstone. I then went up to the fire and spoke to a Mexican but a few seconds, and told him to come with me, and started up the hill to see if I could get a sight of the Earps. We had not gone twenty feet before we heard shooting, and turned to see where it came from, but could not ascertain. We walked up the hill further and saw the party on the other side of the road, on top of the hill. We stood there watching them and two or three got off of their horses and were there two or three minutes. They then came down the hill very leisurely to the road and returned in the direction of the camp. They proceeded but a short distance and turned around again. They then went along the road until it makes a sharp turn, and kept on in the same direction, easterly, passing into the hills. We then went back to camp and worked there until evening. We then went out in search of Florentino, and went to where I thought the shooting had occurred. The Mexican, Ramon Acosto, who was with me, maintained that Florentino had been killed. We hunted around the gulches and among the hills for quite a while, but found nothing but the tracks of one horse, which was led by a man. The tracks led us to the road on the hill that goes up to the summit of the hill on which I saw the Earp party. There we lost track of it, on account of its running into the tracks made by the party. We then went back to camp and stayed there all night. Next morning I went to the top of the hill where I saw the Earp party after the shooting, and looking round discovered the body of Florentino lying under the shade of a tree, a few feet away from the tracks made by the Earp party. He was lying face downwards, with his right arm resting under his head and his coat was placed over his legs. After looking at the body for a few moments, I picked up his hat and went back to the team. I unhitched the mules, and leaving the hat in the wagon, took one of the mules, and went to the camp to get a saddle. On my way down

I met Ramon Acosto, and told him I had found the body of Florentino, and after saddling the mule I came into town, forgetting the hat. When I arrived in town I reported the circumstances to the coroner. The body was lying at the place where I first saw the Earp party after hearing the shooting. I had seen no other party that day. I accompanied the man who went out to bring in the body; went under the direction of the coroner. I did not see Williams after he went out in search of the animals; Williams always went armed; he carried a pistol. I know of no difficulty between Williams and Florentino. The trail of a horse led by a man was struck about fifty yards from where we found the dead body. There were ten or twelve shots fired. I worked about three and a half hours after the shooting before I went out in search of Florentino. I did not observe the Earp party on the hill before the shooting. I have seen Williams since the shooting. He is at present in town. Williams was armed and mounted at the time he left camp. He carried a pistol, 45 calibre. The pistol belonged to Pete Spence. Florentino went in the same direction as Williams; Williams did not return to camp; did not see him again until I saw him in town; Williams was out in camp last Saturday evening; I was not in town last Saturday. I think, but am not sure, that Florentino was in town last Saturday evening; I know that Williams was not in town last Saturday evening. Williams and I stopped at an old cabin from Friday evening until Sunday morning. Florentino, Ramon Acosto, Williams, a Mexican and myself were out at the camp. I am a friend of Pete Spence's. The tracks seen around the body were about eight feet from the body. He was not armed when he left the camp. Williams told me that when he heard the shots he became alarmed and came into town. I have been teaming for about a month. I have not seen any Indian tracks in that vicinity. I know Ike Clanton, Fin Clanton and John Ringo; did not see them

that day. Ramon Acosto was not out of the camp alone after the shooting. I was not in a position to see the shooting at the time it occurred; I did not see the shooting. The shooting did not last over twenty seconds, the last being held. The shots were one after another in quick succession; the last shot was held back about eight seconds after the others. Williams had been out to the camp about three weeks or a month. I have noticed that he was somewhat afraid of an attack by Indians; we always went prepared for an attack. I have heard that Williams was Pete Spence's brother; do not know it to be a fact. I only know hearsay. I am positive that I did not hear any other shots that day.

At the conclusion of Judah's testimony, the inquest was adjourned to meet to-day at 2 o'clock.

To-Day's Proceedings.

Sam Williams testified to hearing shots when on his way to Tombstone, and about one mile this side of Spence's wood ranch. Did not see Florentino, and knew nothing of the killing except hearing the shots.

Simon Acosta testified that he was at South pass last Wednesday. Florentino went out after the mules. Just after he left, eight mounted men rode into camp; knew two of them by sight, but not by name. They asked whose camp it was and were told it was Spence's. Florentino was about two or three hundred yards from where he was when he saw this party commence firing at Florentino, who was going up the hill and they were firing at him. He was sure Florentino had been killed; could see the firing from the camp.

Judah was recalled; said that it was possible for Acosto to have seen the firing and he not.

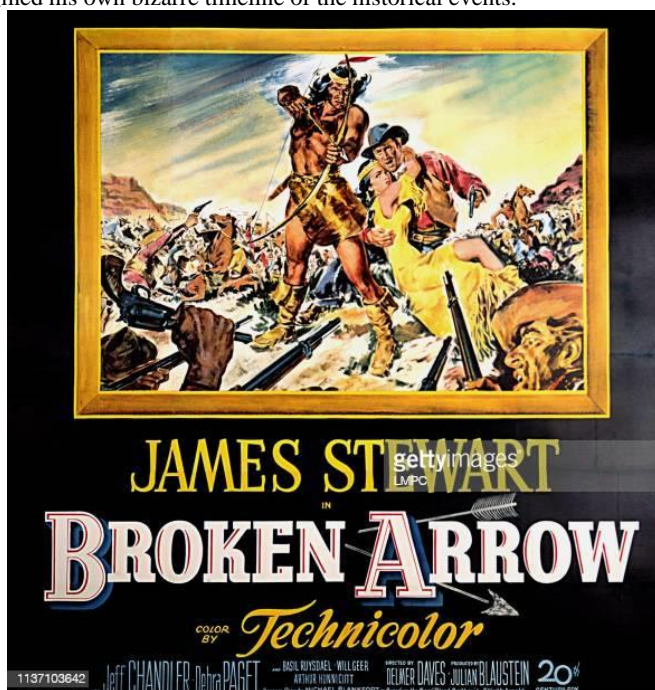
The jury then at 4:10 adjourned until Monday.

Hollywood vs the Bascom Affair

By
Angela Aleiss, PhD

Recently, I came across an amusing anecdote while researching production information for my book on *Broken Arrow*, the 1950 movie starring James Stewart as Tom Jeffords and Jeff Chandler as Cochise. Buried within the files of the American Heritage Center in the University of Wyoming are notes by the movie's producer Julian Blaustein suggesting a scene about Lt. George Bascom. Recall that in *Broken Arrow*, the Jeffords's character mentions the infamous Bascom affair only when he's arguing with white ranchers in Tucson's Scatfly Hotel. The Bascom issue then disappears.

But Blaustein initially wanted to add a scene in which Bascom had a conference with Cochise, Jeffords, and General Howard over the kidnaped boy, 12-year-old Micky Free. Bascom was supposed to threaten Cochise, who would manage to escape. Somehow, Blaustein had included Jeffords's (fictitious) love interest Sonseeahray in the same scene in which she was to be shot and killed. Howard would then promise to court-martial Bascom, and Jeffords would become Apache agent of the reservation. Anyone familiar with the Cochise/Jeffords's story will notice that the producer imagined his own bizarre timeline of the historical events.



Of course, the movie created another ending that although fictional thankfully dispensed with Blaustein's rather farcical version. Meanwhile, Hollywood recreated the Bascom affair in 1952 for *The Battle at Apache Pass* in which Chandler reprises his role as Cochise. But artistic license prevailed: That movie blamed Geronimo (Jay Silverheels) for kidnapping the boy. The story's evil Indian Agent Neil Baylor (Bruce Cowling), whose character was based upon confederate officer John R. Baylor, dies at Apache Pass. But in real life Baylor lived until 1894 and was a Texas politician and first Governor of the Arizona Territory, CSA. What's more, studio publicity boasted that the story was filmed in southern Utah, "the actual site of Apache Pass!"



For a more reliable account of the Bascom affair, see Doug Hocking's *The Black Legend: George Bascom, Cochise, and the Start of the Apache Wars*. (TwoDot, 2019). Perhaps Hollywood should take a closer look, too.

Film scholar and author Angela Aleiss is a native of Arizona and currently lives in Los Angeles.

Esther Hobart Morris and Woman Suffrage in Wyoming

By
Chris Enss

Esther Hobart Morris carefully arranged borrowed chairs and warmed, borrowed teacups as she prepared for her visitors to arrive. Her tiny mountain cabin, perched at seventy-five hundred feet of elevation in the mountains at South Pass City, Wyoming Territory, was cleaned, decorated, and full of all of the delectable morsels she could contrive for the important guests who would be arriving soon. Her husband, Jim Morris, was barely tolerant of the bustle as he nursed a foot swollen with gout, but he didn't make his objections audible. The couple had only been in South Pass City a few months, and the time had not been easy for him, though Esther had leapt into local life with her usual enthusiasm. Her son from her first marriage, Archibald Slack, was soon to arrive to report on the afternoon's event for the newspaper. His story would appear in time for the elections that were to be held the next day in the boomtown of two thousand men, women, and children. White men would be voting to send delegates to Wyoming's Territorial Convention.



Everything about the scene Esther set that day in her tiny home was right by her standards and the standards of the day. The room was cozily domestic, and any Victorian in 1869 would have felt at ease with the ritual that was about to take place. The pouring of tea by a proper wife and mother, the gathering of friends over small plates of sandwiches and desserts, removed gently from cherished china with delicate tongs, the feathers and frills worn by the women and the ridges from hats just removed remaining in the hair of the gentlemen were both comforting and comfortable. But the gentle talk of community events and shared acquaintance of an elegant tea would give way to the talk that was dominating South Pass City on that fall day—the territorial elections of the next day and the future of Wyoming Territory itself. And that was exactly what Esther Morris intended.

Americans love a good story of triumph over adversity—particularly the stories of our pioneering forebearers who set out to forge a new world for themselves on the frontier. The story of Esther Hobart Morris fits that profile perfectly. It is easy to imagine her on that fateful day, with the lines on her curl-framed face that mapped a life full of pioneering adventure and tragedies survived. Her clear-eyed gaze would have reflected the iron spine forged by years of hardship and striving toward her ideals—and a life of determination. Hers was a narrative of iconic, dramatic moments that drove inexorably toward **long-arch**. It matched the story of Manifest Destiny, tracing the fate of a nation from ocean shore to ocean shore over the centuries, an inevitable march toward progress, punctuated with dramatic events and the iconic moments that reveal a story in a few words that stir political pride and bring to life a heroic pose in history: the famed Boston Tea Party, a people using the national beverage of its founding people to make a point. The Tea Party held by Jane Hunt in Waterloo, New York, where Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott formed the plans for the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. And the Tea Party where Esther Hobart Morris took on the idea of Women’s Suffrage for the new Territory of Wyoming in 1869.

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On the guest list for the event that afternoon was William Bright, who was standing for election as a Democrat. On the menu were tea cakes and talk of rebellion—could Wyoming be the very first territory to not just advocate for but legalize equal rights for women? Changes were on the horizon for the new territory, which needed to grow if it had hope of statehood. And in the boom-and-bust economy, there were six men to every woman in the territory. Men were thinking about what it might mean to publicity for the state and to attracting more women to settle there. And as more educated and politically minded women had made their way into the West, their advocacy had grown.

The problem with the Esther Hobart Morris tea-party story is that it’s apocryphal at best, but it succeeds as a parable for the suffrage movement in the West and the direction it took after Wyoming opened the floodgates. Morris’s contribution to achieving women’s suffrage in

Wyoming cannot be denied, however. The tale of her efforts to put her chosen candidate in office doesn't begin to reveal the whole story of woman's suffrage in Wyoming—the territory that would claim honors as the first to grant women the right to vote and the state that would be first to have a woman governor.

Morris fills an important role in the story of progress in the West. She exemplified the independent woman pioneer. She was born in Tioga County, New York, on August 8, 1814, and was orphaned at a young age. She had become a successful businesswoman by her early twenties, running a millinery business from her grandparents' home, and starting in the early 1830s, she was an outspoken opponent of slavery and an active proponent of women's rights. She married Artemus Slack in 1841, and when she was widowed in 1845, she learned firsthand how difficult it was for women to handle legal matters, particularly regarding property ownership when she moved to Illinois to handle her late husband's property. She was living in Peru, Illinois, in 1850, when she married local merchant John Morris. Eighteen years later, they would head west to the boom town of South Pass City, Wyoming Territory, settling there in the spring of 1868.

Suffrage efforts in the East had largely stalled in the late 1860s, because of the disruption of the Civil War, continuing male attitudes about women's proper role, and infighting in the suffrage movement itself. But in Wyoming, men could see that women were not only successful at protecting the hearth and home, they were also working side by side with men in businesses and community building. In political circles, discussions were beginning about the many reasons the Wyoming Territory might want to extend voting rights to the women in the territory—including attracting more women to a region where adult males outnumbered females six to one. Opponents to suffrage had an arsenal of excuses to hand. The postwar need for recovery and for men to regain their footing on the home front as women were encouraged back into domestic roles were frequently cited as reasons to withhold equal rights. The advances in industrialization that further changed civilization gave rise to the unnamed as yet but deeply held ideals of "true womanhood." When woman suffrage was mentioned in drawing rooms it met with derision, ridicule, a spark of reforming zeal from those who thought women might provide a softening influence on men through the vote, or outright hostility at the thought of women leaving the domestic arena.



Wyoming Territory's motives for extending the vote to women probably had more to do with publicity and attracting female settlers to the territory than with any desire to establish a more

egalitarian society. In 1869, men outnumbered women in the Wyoming Territory by a ratio of six to one, and the six thousand adult men who would be part of the decision-making process regarding women's suffrage had a vested interest in growing the territory through the arrival of more women. However, individual men's interests in the idea of women's rights had their roots in diverse ideologies. Some men assumed that wives and mothers would vote with more conservative interests; others assumed that women would vote as their husbands and fathers did; some were pressured by their own wives and mothers; some were motivated by racism and the backlash against the Reconstruction amendments passed in the aftermath of the Civil War.

In Wyoming, territorial legislator William Bright and territorial secretary Edward M. Lee brought their own agendas to the table when they championed the legislation that would eventually become law under Governor John A. Campbell. They also brought the support of women like Esther Hobart Morris, who was championed as the mother of Wyoming women's suffrage and became the first woman justice of the peace in the United States. Wyoming's men may have made the right choice for the wrong reasons, but women were ready to step in and assume their place at last.

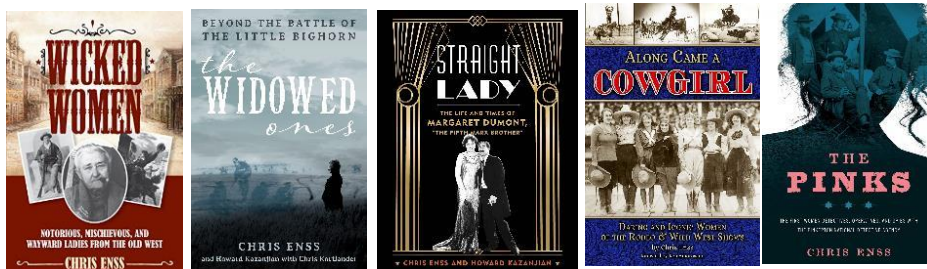
When the territorial legislature met in November 1869, Representative William H. Bright introduced the suffrage measure, which passed. On December 10, 1869, Territorial Governor John A. Campbell made Wyoming famous and earned it the nickname "the Equality State." A grandmother named Louisa Ann Swain became the first American woman to cast a vote in a general election in September 1870, and Esther Morris and seven of her South Pass neighbors also stepped up to the polling place on that historic day. But in spite of the fact that the men's motives in giving women the right to vote may have been suspect, strong women like Louisa Ann Swain and Esther Morris (who became the first woman to serve as justice of the peace in the United States) grabbed the opportunity with both hands and hung on tight.

The tea-party meeting that eventually became famous and earned Morris the nickname "Mother of Women's Suffrage" probably never happened, and though it is likely that she knew Bright because they were both business owners in South Pass, it is even possible that the two had never met officially about the subject before the legislation passed. However, after justice of the peace James W. Stillman resigned in protest after the suffrage bill was signed, Morris was appointed to fill his term in office in February of 1870. Though she wasn't a woman with much formal education, Morris demonstrated admirable judgment and restraint in her decisions from the bench, presiding over more than two dozen cases, none of which were overturned on appeal. She also proved that she should be a working woman who still held up her responsibilities as a wife and mother, which helped lead in 1870 to women earning the right to serve on juries in Wyoming Territory. When her term expired, Morris chose not to explore reelection, but her work on behalf of women did not end in South Pass. In 1872, she traveled to San Francisco to attend the American Woman Suffrage Association Convention, and then in 1876 she'd also travel to Philadelphia to the National Suffrage Convention. Susan B. Anthony and other suffrage advocates were quick to point to Wyoming's successes as they urged legislatures to take up voting rights elsewhere. And when Wyoming became a state, it did so with women's suffrage intact in spite of national opposition. On July 10, 1880, President William Henry Harrison signed a bill admitting Wyoming to the union as the "Equality State." Two weeks later, Morris was honored as a guest at a banquet celebrating the event.

The end of the Civil War, the vast migration of pioneers looking for free land and opportunity on the frontier, and the changing social and economic conditions of the country recovering from war and on the brink of the Gilded Age, plus a little bit of publicity-seeking and opportunism by promoters of the Wyoming Territory, had ushered in a new era for the expansion of women's rights. And as for Esther Morris, her activism and political career didn't end. She served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Ohio in 1895. On April 3, 1902, Esther Hobart Morris died in Cheyenne, Wyoming. She was buried there at the Lakeview Cemetery and a simple stone marked her grave. She didn't live to see women get the right to vote nationally and she didn't live to see Nellie Taylor Ross sworn in as Wyoming's governor in 1925. But her statue now stands in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol and at the Wyoming State Capitol, a symbol of the important first step taken in favor of women's suffrage in Wyoming.

Human rights took a leap forward when Wyoming opened the polls to women, and Esther Hobart Morris's exemplary tenure as the first woman to hold judicial office in the 1870s did even more. Snickers and snide remarks and motives notwithstanding, the experiment proved that women could participate in the process and hold official posts with success. It would be harder—though not impossible—to argue against extending the franchise in the rest of the West, and then the rest of the country.

Chris Enss is a New York Times best selling author and the most recent past president of Western Writers of America. She is the author of over 40 books of western history. She will be at the Tombstone Festival of Western Books and at the Tucson Festival of Books at Booth 124, Amigos and Ladies of the West.



Pirates of the San Pedro And other Fairy Tales

By
Doug Hocking

We've all heard about the paddlewheel steamboats that used to ply the San Pedro. Some of us have even seen old photographs. The only problem is that it never happened. Arizona was for many years supplied by steamboats on the Colorado that took on supplies in the Sea of Cortez and brought them up to Fort Yuma or Ehrenberg from whence they went across the desert to Tucson or Prescott. In the 1860s, the only towns in Arizona were the Colorado River communities, Prescott, Tucson and Tubac. The steamboats ran as far as Las Vegas Wash, traveling through water as shallow as 18 inches. Service continued into the early 20th century. When my grandmother told us that around 1905 she'd taken a steamboat up the river to Arizona and ridden a donkey to the bottom of the Grand Canyon, we doubted her memory, but it was so.



Evelyn Rutherford, grandmother, at the Grand Canyon ca. 1905.

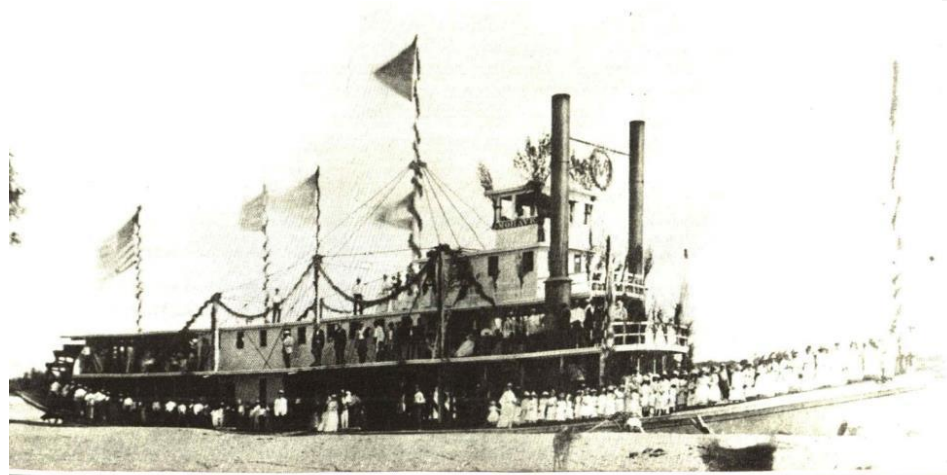
Riverboats never came up the Gila and thus never made it to the San Pedro. Both had dry sections where the rivers ran underground. The San Pedro was also clogged with dams made by rockfalls at narrows, by beavers, and by humans and was very shallow elsewhere, like it is today. James Tevis described the San Pedro River as he knew it in 1857 saying it was one foot deep and six feet wide with a beaver dam every five miles. The river sank into the ground and rose again.¹ This is long after the mountain man era and the beaver were still thriving in 1857. In 1826, mountain man James Ohio Pattie chanced upon the San Pedro. He wrote:

March 3rd, we trapped along down a small stream, that empties into the Helay [Gila] on the south side, having its head in a southwest direction. It being very remarkable for the number of its beavers, we gave it the name of Beaver River [San Pedro]. At this place we

collected 200 skins; and on the 10th continued to descend the Helay, until the 20th, when we turned back with as much fur as our beasts could pack.²

We've all heard the stories about how the river lost half its flow in the earthquake of 1887. It's ankle deep now so it would have been knee deep. However, the newspaper articles written at the time don't refer to a loss of flow. The closest we get is an account from St. David that says the river stopped flowing but resumed some hours later many feet deep and then rapidly returned to its normal flow. In other words, it got clogged during the earthquake and the blockage cleared itself. The artesian water in St. David was discovered two years later and isn't related.

And there were dams. James Ohio Pattie in 1828 only trapped beaver six miles up the San Pedro. It's true that the mountain men wiped out the beaver in many places ending their trade, but not so much on the San Pedro. In the 1890s, a flood killed 200 beaver on the Babocomari and washed them down to Fairbank. Why did they stop there? There was a dam and lake where people from Tombstone used to picnic. The Army blew up the last of the beaver dams in the 1920s to prevent malaria.



The *Mohave* (II), launched at Port Isabel in 1876, was the largest steamboat ever run on the Colorado and the only double-stacker. She was also the most popular boat for excursions. Here she is decked out for children on a May Day school picnic in 1876.

When the Mormon Battalion passed by in 1846, they caught salmon trout (possibly Colorado River chub or cutthroat trout³) 18 inches long near Fairbank and reported a waterfall or rapids in the river. It's gone today. It was probably a dam built by Hohokam or a natural blockage of the narrows. A member of the Mormon Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke wrote:

Next day the march was fifteen miles down the river. It seemed a fertile valley, the low grounds about a mile wide; salmon trout, eighteen inches long, were caught. The wild cattle were still more numerous, and it was observed that they made dray "wallows" like buffalo.⁴

In the early 1850s, Boundary Commissioner John Russell Bartlett passed by the San Pedro. He wrote:

On emerging from the arroyo, we entered a plain, thickly overgrown with large mezquit bushes, but destitute of grass. We looked in vain for a line of trees, or of luxuriant vegetation to mark the course of the San Pedro - when all of a sudden we found ourselves upon its banks. The stream . . . was here about twenty feet across, about two feet deep, and quite rapid. The water, though muddy, was pleasant to the taste.⁵

He thought that irrigation would be impracticable in the San Pedro Valley because the water, at least in some reaches, was from eight to 10 feet below the floodplain. This is how we see the river today, 170 years later. The 1887 earthquake didn't alter the river.

Despite Bartlett's misgivings, in 1878, five men built a three-mile-long irrigation system along the river. It only took them a few months suggesting most of the work had already been done. Their ditch can still be seen 12 feet above the river bottom. They had a dam. The Curtis family of St. David used this irrigation system until 1926. That year the new Southern Pacific railroad line went in and the dam disappeared, ballast for the road. That was also the year of the "big flood" that changed the course of the river by a quarter mile.

Left: Irrigation ditch as it appears today. It runs from vicinity of Presidio Terranate in the narrows north of Fairbank to Curtiss Flats. Right: Remains of a headgate used to divert water from the ditch to fields.



So, why do people think it was much deeper? Writer Grace McCool who worked for the newspapers locally from the 1920s through the 1960s, was one of those who regularly provided the public with this information. The change in the river was attributed to the 1887 earthquake and folks thought they could see the evidence in the riverbanks. These seemed to indicate it had once been much deeper.



The banks of the San Pedro. They were like this long before the 1887 earthquake.

Robert Eccleston crossed the San Pedro in 1849 some 4 to 15 miles below Benson, that is to say, north of what became Benson in the 1880s. He wrote:

I cannot agree with Colonel Cook, who calls this a beautiful little river, although where he crossed it, some 10 or 15 miles above, it may have presented more amiable qualities. Here it is lined with a poor growth of swamp willow & other brush, so that it cannot be seen till you come within a few feet of it; & then the bank is perpendicular, not affording an easy access to its waters, which though not very clear, is good.⁶

What emerges is a picture of a river that in many ways hasn't changed much since the 1820s when James Ohio Pattie first saw it. The river often flows underground, rising at the narrows where rocky outcroppings drive it to the surface. The flow of water is narrow ranging from a yard to a few yards across usually no more than a foot deep except in the rainy season and where the flow has been dammed by rocks, beaver dams, or manmade obstructions. It has vertical banks that drop below the plain 10 or 12 feet.

There have been changes. In the 1920s, the U.S. Army blew up the beaver dams in order to control malaria. This is a malarial climate and, in the 19th century, the cienegas, boggy areas, were places to avoid. The railroads, three of them run along the San Pedro, modified the river moving the

streambed over half a mile in places and not at all intentionally. Their history is at best confusing since there were many changes to the lines.

In 1880, a group of local businessmen, including Colonel Hooker, had a route for a railroad, the Arizona and Mexico, surveyed along the San Pedro River. It would either follow the river upstream to Sonora mostly on the west bank with a spur line to Tombstone, or would run to Tombstone and on to New Mexico. The route was surveyed in 1881 and a few key cuts and fills were built before the group ran out of money and unfortunately, effectively blocked other lines from coming into Tombstone until the mining boom of the early 20th century.⁷

In 1881 and 1882, the Santa Fe system, in an attempt to reach a Pacific port and stymied in California, turned south from Benson and headed to Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico. This was the New Mexico and Arizona Railroad. The rails follow the west bank of the San Pedro until a point about 2 miles north of Contention City, then crossed to the east bank and proceeded to Fairbank, where, a half mile south of town the tracks crossed the San Pedro again and followed the Babocomari River and Sonoita Creek to Nogales.

In the 1890s, upset over Southern Pacific rate hikes, Phelps Dodge Corporation built the El Paso and Southeastern Railroad to Bisbee from a point near the intersection of Highway 90 and I-10 across the valley directly to Fairbank. The rails then followed the east bank to a point south of Highway 90 and thereafter hugged the mountain foot all the way to Bisbee where the tracks ran right up behind the buildings on Main Street. Near the gas stations at I-10 is an abandoned steakhouse once called Gracie's Station. It looks like an 1880s town. It is called station because the railbed is there and passes under the Cochise College extension. In 1903, the railroad was renamed the El Paso and Southwestern and the tracks run to Douglas, Rodeo, Hachita, Columbus, and El Paso.

In the early 20th century, the Southern Pacific finally built a line along the San Pedro following the west bank as far as Fairbank, crossing to the east bank and following the river to Hereford. The track parallels Hereford Road as far as Highway 92 and then follows Greenbush Draw to Naco. This railroad caused significant changes to the river. At Charleston, the railroad knocked out the remains of the bridge and building up the east bank caused significant erosion to Charleston. It is about this time that the dam (waterfall or rapids) in the narrows north of Fairbank disappeared along with the lake that held 18-inch long fish. Perhaps the stones were used as ballast for the roadbed which was run right along the banks of the river. In 1926, there was a flood that changed the riverbed significantly. At Contention City, the river veered eastward away from the tracks by half a mile undercutting the banks at the mill. The 1881 survey and Drew's map show the river running fairly straight north of Contention City. Today the river veers half a mile to the westward, apparently using the bed of a wash to create a great bend. It appears that the natural channel became clogged and that water backed up along the wash until it found a new outlet. The abandoned streambed is still visible.

None of these changes the fact that overall the river is still very much as it was in the 1820s about a foot deep, a yard across, and running about 12 feet below the plain, rising at the narrows only to sink into the sand again.

The next time you're told that the San Pedro was much deeper and that paddle wheel boats cruised up and down, you can respond, steamboat service ran regularly from Palominas to Tres Alamos to the sound of ships' bells and calliope organs until the Cochise County Cowboys organized their own pirate ships, raiding the paddle wheelers until the shipping companies finally gave up. And they rode unicorns and danced with the fairies, too.



- ¹ Tevis, Captain James Henry. *Arizona in the 50s.*, ed. Betty Barr and Dr. William J. Kelly. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954, p 56.
- ² Davis, Goode P., Jr. *Man and Wildlife in Arizona: The American Exploration Period 1824-1865*, ed. Neil B. Carmony and David E. Brown. Scottsdale: Somers Graphics, Inc., 1982, pp 14-16, quoting Pattie 1883, p 63.
- ³ Lathrop, Gilbert A., *Rio Grande Glory Days*. San Marino: Golden West Books, 1976, p 53.
- ⁴ Hanchett, Leland J., Jr., ed. *Crossing Arizona*. Phoenix: Hanchett, 2002., p 95. "Next day the march was fifteen miles down the river. It seemed a fertile valley, the low grounds about a mile wide; salmon trout, eighteen inches long, were caught. The wild cattle were still more numerous, and it was observed that they made dray "wallows" like buffalo." Davis, Goode P., Jr. *Man and Wildlife in Arizona: The American Exploration Period 1824-1865*, ed. Neil B. Carmony and David E. Brown. Scottsdale: Somers Graphics, Inc., 1982. p 37.
- ⁵ Hanchett, Leland J., Jr., ed. *Crossing Arizona*. Phoenix: Hanchett, 2002., p 64, quoting Bartlett 1854, Volume 1, p 377.
- ⁶ Hanchett, Leland J., Jr., ed. *Crossing Arizona*. Phoenix: Hanchett, 2002, p 201.
- ⁷ Myrick, David F. *Railroads of Arizona, Vol. 1: The Southern Roads*, Berkley: Howell-North Books, 1972, p 446.

John Butterfield's Overland Mail Company's Pony Express

by
Bob Crossman



Purchased July 2014, from Lin-Co Stamps, Lincoln, Nebraska



28, vermilion and black, Mosher PCYX-33



10, green and black, Mosher PCYX-31



15, brown and black, Mosher PCYX-32

Get purchased from S. H. Bennett, Mail Store #184016, Bismarck, Missouri



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 8, 1862-1864
APS Certificate # 68234

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 1, 1861
APS Certificate # 68156

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 9, 1862-1864

Purchased from John A. Hunter
The Stamp Professor, St. Augustine



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 3, 1861

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



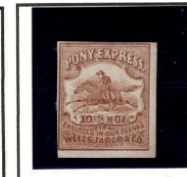
Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 4, 1861

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



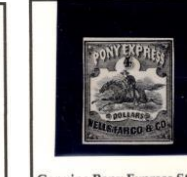
Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 2, 1861
PF Certificate # 93-824

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 7, 1861

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas



Genuine Pony Express Stamp
Scott # 143L 5, 1861

Purchased from Byran J. Sandfield
Parks City Stamps, Dallas

Wells Fargo & Co. also designed special stamps to be used when they carried Newspapers.



Scott # 143 LP5, 1861
Purchased from Stan Iceland,
Seal Beach, California



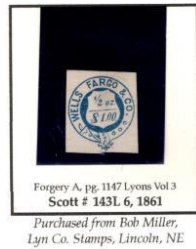
Scott # 143 LP7, 1883
Purchased from Stan Iceland,
Seal Beach, California



Genuine, Type 1, page 1161 in Lyons
Scott # 143 LP9, 1883
Purchased from F.A. Stamps
Shalimar, Florida



Genuine, page 1152 in Lyons
Scott # 143 LP10, 1876
Purchased from Stan Iceland,
Seal Beach, California



The Pony Express stamps displayed are from the author's personal collection.

John Butterfield is most widely known as the major stockholder of the Overland Mail Co. and its southern ox bow route from San Francisco to Memphis and St. Louis between 1858 and 1861. However, the story of John Butterfield's Overland Mail Company did not end in 1861. Soon, the phrase "**Butterfield's Overland Mail Company's Pony Express**" would be found in the newspapers.

The aim of this article is to tell the story of how John Butterfield became responsible for the Pony Express contract.

Who Started the Pony Express?

Scott R. Trepel wrote:

"The original owners and operators of the Pony Express were three experienced expressmen, William H. Russell, Alexander Majors and William Waddell, who controlled The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company (Central Overland). The company needed to win a lucrative government subsidy and launched the Pony Express in April 1860 to promote the efficacy of the Central Route to members of the 36th Congress while they were deliberating the Overland Mail contract.

The advertised Pony Express trip was ten days, although in reality many trips took 12 to 13 days, and sometimes longer during the winter months. By linking with telegraph lines at the terminus stations, the Pony Express could convey a message between coasts in as few as ten days. Compared with normal 21-23 day travel time by other routes, this great leap forward in communication speed had practical benefits, but it was also part of Central Overland's public relations and lobbying strategy for winning the mail contract.

Their efforts to convince Congress to move the Overland Mail route to the Central Route in July 1860 were unsuccessful.

The failure to secure a significant mail subsidy in 1860 and the cost of operating the Pony Express pushed Russell, Majors and Waddell to the brink, and in January 1861 they entered bankruptcy. Control of Central Overland went to one of its major creditors, Ben Holladay, who continued operating the company as a separate entity."¹

Richard Frajola wrote:

“Ben Holladay assumed effective control of the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express after the collapse of Russell, Majors & Waddell in January 1861. After the negotiation of the March 16, 1861 contract between Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express and Overland Mail Company by Russell, Holladay took complete control by removing Russell and installing his cousin, Bela Hughes, as President on April 26, 1861.”²

Did Wells Fargo Own the Overland Mail & Pony Express?

Wells Fargo & Co. never owned The Pony Express or John Butterfield’s Overland Mail Company. However, Wells Fargo & Co. did have an arrangement with the Overland Mail Co. to collect mail from across California, and carry transcontinental letters to the Placerville, California terminus to meet Butterfield’s Overland Mail Company stages or Pony Express horses.

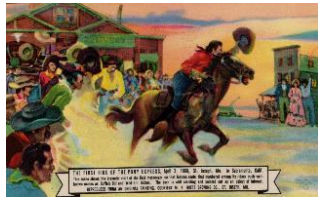
The Overland Mail Company and Wells Fargo & Co. shared several directors and stockholders. In spite of these several ways the two companies were interconnected, they remained separate entities.

How Did Butterfield Get Involved with the Pony Express?

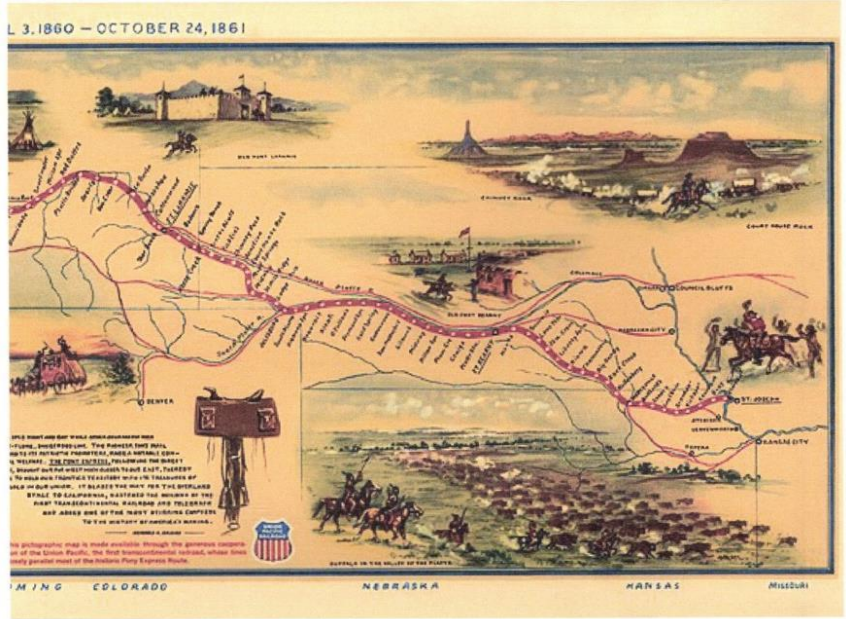
John Butterfield’s Overland Mail Company would soon have a contract to continue the Pony Express until the continental telegraph was completed. Anthony Godfrey stated:

“On March 2nd [after Confederate troops had destroyed Butterfield’s line in Missouri and Texas] , to solve the contracting predicament with the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. and Overland Mail Company, and to protect communication lines with California, both houses of Congress, with President Buchanan’s approval, modified the Overland Mail Company mail service contract by discontinuing the transportation of mail along the southern route and transferring it to a new central overland route.

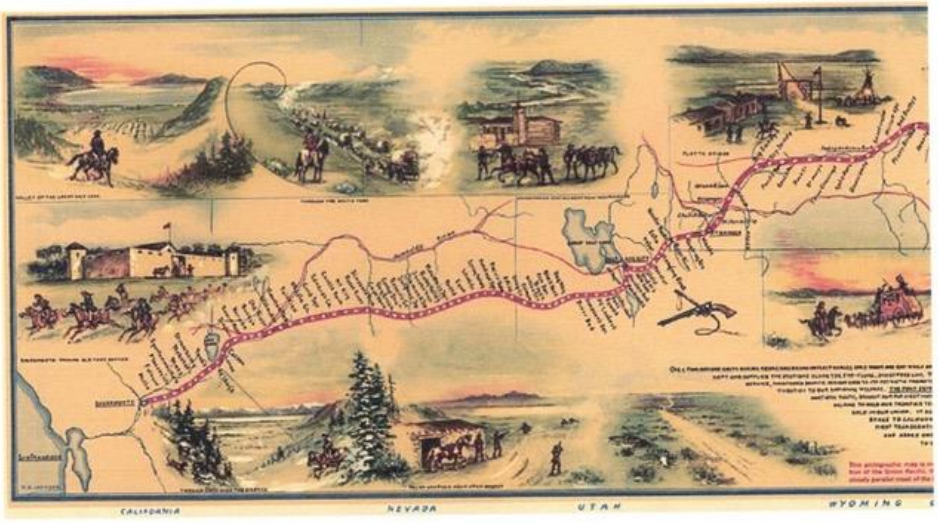
*This new service would originate in St. Joseph, (or Atchison) Kansas and provide mail service to Placerville, California, six times a week. **In addition to this new route, the contract required that the company ‘run a pony express semi-weekly at a schedule time of ten days . . . charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding \$1 per half ounce’ until the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line.** Essentially the federal government turned over the western half of the central route mail contract (Salt Lake City to Placerville, California) that the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. previously operated, over to the Overland Mail Company. In exchange for giving this segment of the passenger/mail route to the Overland Mail Company, the government promised to indirectly support the Pony Express until the completion of the telegraph.”³*



Eastern Half of the Central Route Used by Butterfield's Overland Mail Co. and The Pony Express

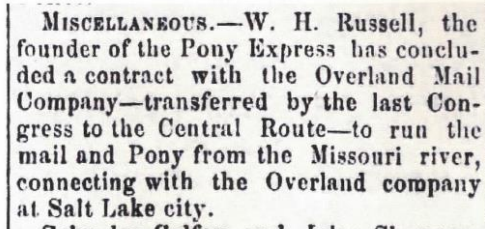


Western Half of the Central Route Used by Butterfield's Overland Mail Co. and The Pony Express



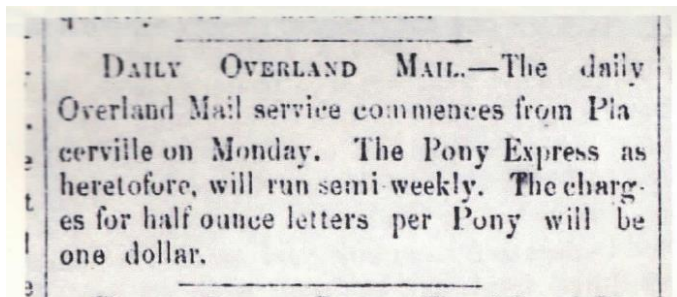
When did Butterfield subcontract the operation of the Pony Express?

As Anthony Godfrey mentioned in the above passage, the Act of Congress of March 2, 1861, the Post Office Appropriation Bill, ended the southern Overland Mail Route. On March 16, 1861, with California Senator Milton Latham acting as moderator, the Overland Mail Co. sub-contracted the Pony Express route from St. Joseph to Sacramento (the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Co. had already been operating the Pony Express since April 3, 1860); and the stagecoach route from Atchison, Kansas to Salt Lake City to the COC & PP Ex. Co. to receive the sum of \$475,000 per year. The Overland Mail Co. would operate from Salt Lake City to Placerville as the new western terminus for the \$525,000 balance of the \$1 million annual sum. The Pioneer State Co. already had a contract to carry the mail from Placerville to Sacramento.



MISCELLANEOUS.—W. H. Russell, the founder of the Pony Express has concluded a contract with the Overland Mail Company—transferred by the last Congress to the Central Route—to run the mail and Pony from the Missouri river, connecting with the Overland company at Salt Lake city.

Marysville Daily Appeal, Marysville, CA, April 6, 1861, Saturday, Page 2



DAILY OVERLAND MAIL.—The daily Overland Mail service commences from Placerville on Monday. The Pony Express as heretofore, will run semi-weekly. The charges for half ounce letters per Pony will be one dollar.

The Placer Herald, Auburn, Placer County, California, June 29, 1861

By this time, board member John Butterfield had been replaced as board president by William Dinsmore. However, the Overland Mail Co. was still frequently referred to as "*The Butterfield*." An example of this is found in the June 11, 1861, Sacramento Daily Union, which refers to "the Butterfield new route" and "the Butterfield Company."

Why is "Wells Fargo" on the Pony Express Stamps?

Soon the Pony Express would be known as "*The Overland Mail Company's Pony Express*." The postage stamps used by the Pony Express, however, have the words "*Wells Fargo & Co*" on the bottom of each stamp, and this has resulted in a great deal of confusion. As Richard Frajola writes

in *The Pony Express: A Postal History*⁴, there were “complex and evolving relationships between the operators, owners and managers of the Pony Express.” The Pony Express ran between Atchison (or St. Joseph), Kansas and Placerville, California. This left a void between San Francisco and Placerville. In April 1861, Wells, Fargo & Company was appointed as agent to operate a private express horse service between San Francisco and Placerville to connect with the Pony Express. In this arrangement, Wells Fargo assumed the responsibility for collecting and delivering the mail to and from Placerville.

As part of this arrangement, Wells, Fargo & Company began issuing special Pony Express adhesive stamps and franked envelopes. Very few of the printed franked envelopes have survived. The May 8, 1861, San Francisco Daily Alta California describes the envelopes:

*WELLS, FARGO & Co.'s PONY EXPRESS ENVELOPES – The new style of Pony Express Envelopes with Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express mark upon the margin, bears a very elegant and tasteful design – a combination of red letters reading each way: “W. F. & Co., ½ ounce, paid from St. Joseph to Placerville, per Pony Express.” Wells, Fargo & Co. have charge of the Pony Express henceforth until the first of July, when it becomes a portion of the great Daily Overland Mail arrangement, of which they are the managers on this side.*⁵

After April 15, 1861, mail intended for the Pony Express was collected throughout California at Wells Fargo offices and forwarded to the San Francisco and Sacramento Wells Fargo offices. Twice a week these envelopes were carried to Placerville from San Francisco and Sacramento by Wells Fargo. These envelopes received an adhesive Pony Express stamp. They also received a blue oval “Paid” handstamp to indicate that the sender also paid the additional route charges for Wells Fargo to carry the letter to the Pony Express Terminus at Placerville.

What Did Pony Express Mail Cost?

During this period under the Overland Mail Co. contract, a typical letter cost \$1 for the Pony Express, 10¢ for US mail, and an additional fee for Wells Fargo to carry the letter to Placerville. A brown 10¢ stamp with the words “*enclosed in our franks*” was issued to pay the Wells Fargo fee. In 1863 Wells Fargo raised the fee for this service to 25¢ and issued new blue and red stamps with the words “*enclosed in our franks*.” The fee was reduced if the letter was enclosed in a preprinted Wells Fargo envelope.

In *The Pony Express History* the authors wrote that:

*The advertisement, from the June 26, 1861 San Francisco Evening Bulletin, includes some very interesting information. The top segment of the advertisement states that the Pony Express is “The Overland Mail Company’s Pony Express” and is signed by William Buckley, Superintendent, Overland Mail Co.*⁶

Pony Express Notice,
 ... FOR THE ...
 Service Commencing July 1, 1861.
 PLACERVILLE TO ST. JOSEPH.

THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY'S
 "PONY EXPRESS" will be stopped regularly FROM
 THE OFFICE OF THEIR AGENTS, AT PLACERVILLE.

On the Arrival of the
 EXPRESS LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO
Wednesday and Saturday
 OF EACH WEEK.

ALL LETTERS must be enclosed in ten cent government
 franked envelopes and prepaid, at the rate of one dollar for each
 half ounce or any fraction thereof.

MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO. HAVE
 BEEN APPOINTED AGENTS, and letters will be received
 and delivered at their office.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY,
 Superintendent O. M. Co.

Pony Express Notice,
 ... FOR THE ...
 Service Commencing July 1, 1861.

MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO.
 WILL RUN A
Pony Express
 ... BETWEEN ...
 SAN FRANCISCO AND PLACERVILLE,
 Regularly on
Wednesday and Saturday,
 OF EACH WEEK.

Leaving their office at 8:45 P. M., on the 14th day, and
 Connecting with the Overland Mail Company's
 Pony Express at Placerville.

LETTERS MUST BE ENCLOSED IN TEN CENT
 GOVERNMENT FRANKED ENVELOPES and
 Charges FROM PLACERVILLE PREPAID AT THE RATE
 OF ONE DOLLAR FOR EACH HALF OUNCE, OR ANY
 FRACTION THEREOF.

ALL letters not enclosed as above will be charged at the
 rate of 25 cents each.

WELLS, FARGO & CO.

San Francisco Evening Bulletin, June 26, 1861

This June 26, 1861 advertisement further states that:

"Messrs. Wells Fargo & Co. have been appointed agents and letters will be received and delivered at their offices."

This advertisement describes the relationship between the two companies as one of Wells Fargo acting as agent for the Overland Mail Company. The lower segment of the advertisement includes:

"Connecting with the Overland Mail Company's Pony Express at Placerville. Letters must be closed in our twenty cent government franked envelopes and charges from Placerville prepaid at the rate of one dollar for each half ounce, or any fraction thereof. All letters not enclosed as above will be charged at the rate of 25 cents each."

Thus ends the story of how John Butterfield became responsible for the Pony Express contract.

Pony Express ended but Wells Fargo Express continued to operate. *Wells Fargo & Co.* never owned *The Pony Express* or John Butterfield's *Overland Mail Company*.

However, *Wells Fargo & Co.* did have an arrangement with the *Overland Mail Co.* to collect mail from across California, and carry transcontinental letters to the Placerville, California terminus to meet Butterfield's *Overland Mail Company* stages or *Pony Express* horses.

Brief History of Wells Fargo

Wells Fargo began when prosperous New York businessmen, Henry Wells, and William Fargo saw a great opportunity in the west after gold was discovered. The pair, who had joined with John Butterfield to start the *American Express Co.* in 1850, officially created *Wells Fargo & Co.* on March 18, 1852, with two primary objectives – transportation and banking.

In California, where no railroads yet existed, the *Wells, Fargo & Co Express*, planned to provide “express” services to the many gold miners, as well as freight services to businesses. Its banking division, *Wells, Fargo & Co Bank* advertised both financial services and general forwarding businesses for mail, valuable deliveries, and freight.

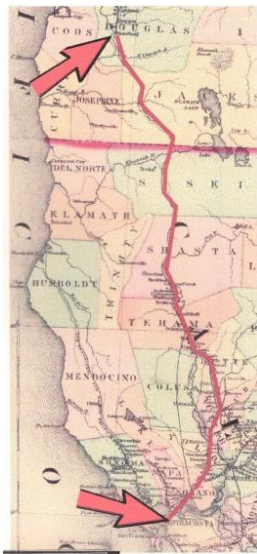
Within the year *Wells Fargo & Co.* established its first office in San Francisco, soon followed by offices in Sacramento, Monterey, and San Diego, and within no time, in almost every mining camp in California.

In 1866, *Wells Fargo & Co.* expanded its operations again, buying, what was then, Ben Holladay's *Overland Mail Express*, and consolidating all the other independent companies on what was known as the “Central Route,” to create the largest stagecoach company in the world. They controlled virtually all the stage lines from Mississippi to California. It was 1867 when *Wells Fargo & Co.* finally achieved the total running of a stage line with its logo actually on the side of a stagecoach. They placed their first order for 30 Concord stagecoaches with *Abbot-Downing & Company* on April 20, 1867.



Purchased May 5, 2022 from F. G. Kappelmann of Jamaica Plain, Maine

This piece of northbound mail, mounted above, from the San Francisco, was marked "Overland" by the sender. However, in this case the letter was directed toward a due north destination. So, it did not meet up with the Butterfield stage at Placerville. Instead, this piece was carried on the California and Coast Route of Wells Fargo due north from San Francisco to its destination in Roseburg, Douglas County, Oregon.



On the map above, the overland road from San Francisco to Roseburg, Oregon has been added in red to the 1874 "Railroad and county Map of Oregon, California and Nevada" map by Frank A. Gray

Butterfield's Overland Mail Co. did not carry freight.

Wells Fargo carried freight, however they had lots of competition in California and across the country, for example, Pacific Union Express, 1868-1869. This California express company was formed by Lloyd Tevis, Charles Crocker, Darius O. Mills and Henry Bacon, the owners of the *Central Pacific Railroad*, which operated between San Francisco, Sacramento and Reno in Nevada Territory. *Pacific Union Express* was created under exclusive contract to carry mail and gold for the C.P.R. in direct competition with *Wells Fargo & Co.*, whose stagecoach line was already faltering due to the expansion of both the C.P.R. and the *Union Pacific Railroad*. Their objective to compete against *Wells Fargo & Co.* was aggressively pursued, but in December 1869 the company sold out to the larger, better capitalized firm. The company only lasted from July 1, 1868 until December, 1869 when it was sold to *Wells Fargo & Co.* for \$5,000,000⁰⁰ - a princely sum at the time.

Wells
Fargo &
Co. also
designed
special
stamps to
be used
when they
carried
Freight
as seen in
this 1908
example in
brown ink.



Mosher # WFCX-F8

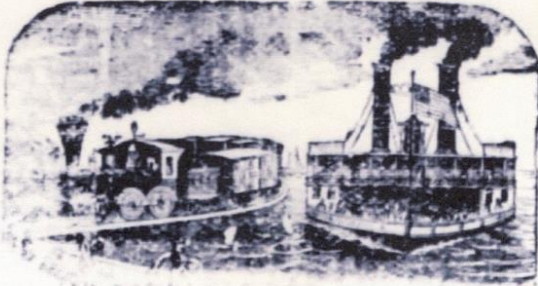
Purchased from Jamie Schwartz
Lawrence, Kansas

Pacific Transfer Express Company,

J. W. DODGE,
Proprietor.

142 Pacific Av.
Santa Cruz.

Freight and
Baggage promptly
delivered and
shipped to all
parts of the United
States.



TELEPHONE
No. 30,

Connecting with
principal houses,
hotels and de-
pots.

WARE-ROOMS:
On Pacific Av.
All kind of goods
taken in storage.

Langton's Pioneer Express, 1855-1865

Samuel W. Langton and N. W. Williams formed *Langton's Pioneer Express* in March 1855 following the collapse of Adam's Express in February. Langton had already been in the express business on his own with partners since 1850. When he started extensive routes from the mining areas, he included steamboat service from Marysville and Sacramento to San Francisco. He began connecting with Wells Fargo & Co. at Marysville in 1857 and quit the steamboat route.

In early 1865, after the death of Sam Langton in 1864, the firm was sold to *Lamping & Co's Express*.

United States Express, 1854-

The *United States Express Company* was organized in 1854, with the view of doing a western business over the *N.Y. & Erie Railroad*. Its capital stock was \$500,000 with D. N. Barney, president; H. Kip, superintendent, and Theo. B. Marsh, treasurer. This express had about 200 agencies, and many employees.

Brief Time Line

1860-

January-March, 1860: The private firm "Russell, Majors and Waddell" sets out to establish the Pony Express mail service under the name of the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company.

March 2, 1861: St. Joseph, Missouri was chosen as the eastern terminus while everyone already knew Sacramento would be the western terminus.

April 3, 1860: The first rider was to leave St. Joseph at 5:00 pm.

1861-

March 16, 1861: Ben Holladay takes complete control of the Pony Express.

March 2, 1861 Congress agrees to financially support the Pony Express, under a contract with Butterfield's Overland Mail Co. who is also to run a stagecoach with mail six days a week.

March 16, 1861: The Overland Mail Co. subcontracts the eastern portion of the route and the Pony Express back to the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company.

October 24, 1861: The Pony Express is discontinued, because as of this date, both the east and west coast are finally linked up by the trans-continental telegraph line.

1862-

1862: The mail stagecoaches continue to run between St. Joseph, Missouri and Placerville, California under Postal contract #10773.

1863-

1863: The mail stagecoaches continue to run between St. Joseph, Missouri and Placerville, California under Postal contract #10773.

1864-

July 1, 1864: Butterfield's Overland Mail Co.'s Postal contract #10773 to carry the mails over the Central Route expires.

**Modification to the 1858 Postal Contract
in light of the March 2, 1861 act of congress**

MARCH 12, 1861.—Route No. 12578, California, St. Louis, and Memphis to San Francisco semi-weekly, four-horse coaches. Overland Mail Company, E.S. Alvord, Superintendent,—\$625,000.

Ordered: Pursuant to act of Congress, approved 2d of March, 1861, and the acceptance of the terms thereof by the Overland Mail Company. Modify the present contract with that company for route No. 12578, executed 16th of September, 1857, to take effect 16th of September, 1858, so as to discontinue service on the present route and to provide for the transportation of the entire letter-mail six times a week on the central route; said letter-mail to be carried through in twenty days' time, eight months of the year, and in twenty-three days the remaining four months of the year, from St. Joseph, Missouri, (or Atchison, in Kansas,) to Placerville, in California, and also for the delivery of the entire mail, three times a week each way, to Denver City and Great Salt Lake City; and in case the mails do not amount to six hundred pounds per trip, then other mail matter to make up that weight per trip to be conveyed; but in any event the entire Denver City and Salt Lake City mails, and the entire letter-mail for California, to be conveyed. The contracts also to be required to convey the residue of all mail matter in a period not exceeding thirty-five days, with the privilege of sending the matter semi-monthly from New York to San Francisco in twenty-five days by sea and the public documents in thirty-five days. And to be required also, during the continuance of their contract, or until the completion of the overland telegraph, to run a pony express semi-weekly at a schedule time of ten days, eight months of the year, and twelve days four months of the year, and to convey for the Government free of charge five pounds of mail matter, with the liberty of charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding \$1 per half ounce. The compensation for the whole service to be \$1,000,000 per annum, to take effect on or before the 1st of July, 1861, and to expire 1st of July, 1864. The number of the route to be changed to 10773 and the service to be recorded in the route register for Missouri.

In behalf of the Overland Mail Company the undersigned accept the above modification of their contract. 12th of March, 1861.

(Signed)

W.B. DINSMORE, President
E.S. ALVORD, Supt. O.M. Co.

Postal Appropriation Act of March 2, 1861

The contract for Route # 10773, including compensation, were ordered by Congress in Sections 9 and 10 of the Post Office Department Appropriation Act approved on March 2, 1861 (12 Stat. 204):

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That . . . the Postmaster General is hereby directed to discontinue the mail service on route number twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-eight from Saint Louis and Memphis to San Francisco, California, and to modify the contract on said route, subject to the same terms and conditions only as hereinafter provided, said discontinuance to take effect on or before July 1, eighteen hundred and sixty-one. The contractors on said route shall be required to transport the entire letter mail six times a week on the central route, said letter mail to be carried through in twenty days time, eight months in the year, and in twenty-three days the remaining four months of the year, from some point on the Missouri River connected with the East, to Placerville, California, and also to deliver the entire mails tri-weekly to Denver City and Great Salt Lake City, said contractors shall also be required to carry the residue of all mail matter in a period not exceeding thirty-five days, with the privilege of sending the latter semi-monthly from New York to San Francisco in twenty-five days by sea, and the public documents in thirty-five days. They shall also be required, during the continuance of their contract, or until the completion of the overland telegraph, to run a pony express semi-weekly, at a schedule time of ten days, eight months, and twelve days four months, carrying for the Government free of charge, five pounds of mail matter, with the liberty of charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding one dollar per half ounce. For the above service said contractors shall receive the sum of one million dollars per annum; the contract for such service to be thus modified before the twenty-fifth day of March next, and expire July one, eighteen hundred and sixty-four.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That the contractors on route twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, shall be entitled to their present mail pay during the necessary time required to change their stock from their present route to the central route without performing the service, and shall be entitled also to two months' pay on their present contract as liquidated damages for such change of service if made by them in accordance with the terms of the preceding section.

¹ Trepel, Scott R. *Wells, Fargo & Company 1861 Pony Express Issues*, p 1.

² Frajola, Richard. *The Pony Express: A Postal History*, p 43.

³ Godfrey, Anthony. *Historic Research Study Pony Express National Historic Trail*, pp 86-87

⁴ Frajola, Richard. *The Pony Express: A Postal History*, p v

⁵ San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, 8 May 1861.

⁶ Frajola, Richard C., George J. Kramer, and Steven C. Walske. *The Pony Express History*, p 51.

Recipes for Shrubs

By
Debbie Hocking

Raspberry Shrub

(to make 1 gallon)

From *Eating Up the Santa Fe Trail* by Sam'l P. Arnold, Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001.

Shrubs were a favorite drink during the days of the Santa Fe Trail. Susan McGoffin reports refreshing shrubs en route to Santa Fe. They were made by using a concentrate of berry or fruit, sweetened, often mixed with alcohol to prevent fermentation and then mixed with water. Shrubs were often made of cherry, raspberry, or currant juice boiled with sugar. Two or three ounces of brandy or some other spirit were added to each 8 ounces of the syrup. The syrup was then added in small amounts to cool water making a most refreshing drink for travelers on the trail.

8 ounces	brandy
1 quart	vinegar
3 quarts	red raspberries or other fruit
8 pounds	sugar

Mix vinegar and berries together. After letting stand a day, strain it, adding to each pint one pound of sugar and skim it clear while boiling about half an hour. Put a wine glass (4 ounces) of brandy to each pint of the shrub when cool. Two spoonfuls of this mixed with a tumbler of water is an excellent drink when only warm water is available or when one has a fever.

Shrubs were popular in the 19th century. Many weren't quite as gentle as raspberry shrub. The Cornish brought a recipe with them from Cornwall where the brandy or cognac was illegally smuggled in from France.

Cornish Shrub

(a family recipe)

1 bottle	Brandy or cognac
3 cups	Sugar
1 cup	Brown sugar
Zest of 5	oranges
Zest of 2	lemons
1 cup	Lemon juice, freshly squeezed
2 cups	Orange juice, freshly squeezed
2 sticks	Cinnamon
6	Cloves
¼ teaspoon	Nutmeg

5 seeds Cardamom, crushed or ½ teaspoon powder
¼ cup Rock Samphire

If rock samphire is unavailable, substitute ¼ cup of flat leaf parsley and a pinch of sea salt.

Zest and then juice the oranges and lemons, so you have two cups of fresh orange juice and one cup of lemon juice. Pour the entire bottle of brandy in the glass vessel, add the sugar, and mix to dissolve the sugar. Add the spices. Close the container (an airtight one is best) and let sit in a cool, dark place for a week (two or three are better). Stir occasionally during this time. After the flavors have melded for at least a week, strain out the solid items.

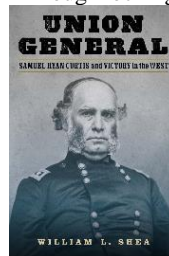
Serve a ½ cup of shrub with an ounce of rum to your guests or as a relaxing and refreshing drink in the evening. Be prepared to sit in place for a while.

Book Reviews

Union General: Samuel Ryan Curtis and Victory in the West. By William L. Shea, 2023.

Engagingly and intelligently written, the work brings light to the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi. General Curtis won great victories at Pea Ridge and Westport, preserving Missouri and Kansas for the Union. He was the eighth most senior general in the U.S. Army. While he was not dashing or flashy, he was a brilliant general, calm and efficient and also the engineer on some of the greatest infrastructure projects in the West. So why have we previously heard so little about him? Is the author an enthusiast? General Philip Sheridan, who knew him well, thought he deserved better, writing: “I was always convinced that Curtis was deserving of the highest commendation, not only for the skill displayed on the field, but for a zeal and daring in campaign which was not often exhibited at that early period of the war.”

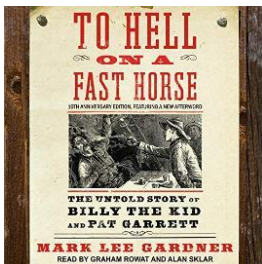
Doug Hocking



To Hell on a Fast Horse: Billy the Kid, Pat Garrett, and the Epic Chase to Justice in the Old West by Mark Lee Gardner, 2010.

If you only read one Billy the Kid book, make it this one. *To Hell on a Fast Horse* is fast paced, well written, and satisfying. Other books about Henry Antrim, Billy the Kid, left me with more questions than answers. Why, after being promised a pardon by Governor Lew Wallace, was Billy singled out to be the only man hanged for the numerous murders of the Lincoln County War? How could an 18-year-old boy command a murderous gang of cutthroats? The book tells not just Billy's story, but that of Pat Garrett, the man who brought him to justice, another victim of the Santa Fe Ring. You'll want to know what happens when the people in charge of justice are unjust. In late nineteenth century New Mexico, the organs of government were so corrupt that one honest and determined lawman and his outlaw prey are both sympathetic figures.

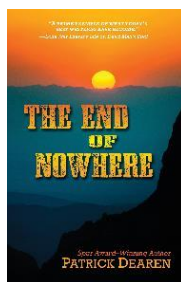
Doug Hocking



The End of Nowhere by Patrick Dearen, 2022.

In 1917, a tiny Hispanic community in the desolate Big Bend country of the Rio Grande found itself surrounded by lawless Mexican bandits, *Villistas*, *Carranzistas*, and equally lawless Texas Rangers. Their only help comes from *Jesucristo* above until a disillusioned newspaperman falls in love with a *señorita* and stays to teach and help, finding hope for himself. Dearen creates characters we care about in an exciting plot that captures most of the frustration felt by Border Hispanics. Are all Texas Rangers lawless? Undoubtedly not, but the few, left unchecked are enough to convince the population that they are more to be feared than trusted. In the end, Dearen provides us with Hope.

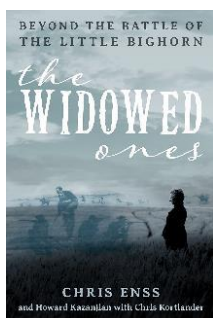
Doug Hocking



The Widowed Ones: Beyond the Battle of the Little Bighorn by Chirs Enss and Howard Karanjian with Chris Kortlander, 2022.

This is a compelling though heartbreaking history of the 7th Cavalry widows of Little Bighorn. It belongs in the library of anyone studying Custer's last battle or the 19th century military. The officers' wives were initially left without income or housing, told to vacate Fort Abraham Lincoln as they were no longer Army wives. It took months for the military and civilian supporters to organize meagre pensions. In the meantime, survivors and commanders, Reno, Benteen, General Terry, and even President Grant denigrated fallen General Custer to cover the multitude of their own sins. The Widowed Ones, as the press named them, came together to honor their husbands swearing never to remarry. They worked through extreme depression and in one case madness. The Custer family especially had lost three sons, a son-in-law, and a nephew. The bodies of two of the officers could not be found leaving widows to wonder if they had survived as captives being tortured. *The Widowed Ones* is eminently readable.

Doug Hocking



McEwan, Craig. "The Last Fifteen Years of C. S. Fly," *The Cochise County Historical Journal*, Fall/Winter 2013.

Craig relates a brief history of C. S. Fly and how he arrived in Tombstone. Fly and his wife Mollie built a photo studio and rooming house during 1880 in Tombstone. Fly had many interests as well as mining, which allowed him to capture many photos of events that are written in our Tombstone history today. He was Cochise County sheriff from 1895-1897 and then retired to his ranch in the Chiricahua Mountains where Fly Peak is named for him.

Rosanna Baker

Weddle, Jerry. *Antrim is my Stepfather's Name*, 1993.

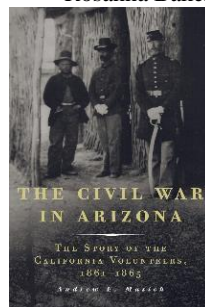
The boyhood of Billy the Kid is not often written about, but this book has many enlightening stories about his youth. William Henry McCarty was Billy's real name and he had a fascinating youth becoming a product of his difficult circumstances and environment orphaned as a teenager, undersized for his age, and abandoned by his stepfather.

Rosanna Baker

Masich, Andrew E. *The Civil War in Arizona*, 2006.

This is a detailed history of the California Volunteers from 1861 to 1865. General Wright selected 47-year-old James Henry Charleton, former major of the First U.S. Dragoons (cavalry), to be colonel of the First California Volunteer Infantry and to lead the California Column into New Mexico Territory. A year later, Arizona Territory was carved out of New Mexico and the California soldiers served in both most fighting Indians. Many stayed on after the war. This book took many years of reading and careful research in its creation and is a major contribution to our understanding of how Arizona developed and came to be what it is today.

Rosanna Baker



Mining and History in the Patagonia Mountains. The history of the Patagonia Mountains has been condensed and well written to gain a better understanding of the early mining in Southern Arizona with the main emphasis written about the mines in the Patagonia Mountains. There are several useful maps included with names of investors and owners of the mines. The mining has been revived by the Arizona Mining which is a subsidiary of a Canadian firm. Extensive work has been done on the Hermosa Mine with future plans. Through the visitors center in Patagonia, information and a tour with a guide may be scheduled. For the history and current information type in the title of this Resource.

Rosanna Baker

Rose, John D. *On the Road to Tombstone*, 2012. The historical stories are written about Tombstone and the places that were developed around the area because of mining as well as outlying areas that had an impact relating to the history. John has many important resources with maps and pictures included for understanding. He actually found the location of Drew's Station which was followed up by our own historians while exploring and leaves no doubt as to the correct location. This history will add to the knowledge you may have already read with better understanding of the places involved in the Saga of Tombstone.

Rosanna Baker

Trimble, Marshall. "**Bat Masterson**," *True West*, June, 2022. You may come away with a different point of view about Bat Masterson after reading about his history from our Arizona historian. Bat's history is written from his early beginnings with many of his experiences through life all the way to the last scene. He was a great admirer of Wyatt and Marshall states that he helped invent the Wyatt Earp as we know him today. You will not want to miss this well written story that is part of our local history.

Rosanna Baker