

**CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC SITES ON
WYOMING ARMY NATIONAL GUARD LANDS
PLATTE COUNTY, WYOMING**

**Edited by
David Reiss**

**Contributions by
Martha Rogers
Robert Rosenberg**

**Prepared for

Wyoming Army National Guard**

**Submitted by

Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist
Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources
P.O. Box 3431, University Station
Laramie, Wyoming 82071**

Project Number WY-16-99

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Appendices	vi
Introduction	1
Prehistoric Cultural Chronology (Martha Rogers)	1
Paleoindian Period	3
Early Plains Archaic Period	10
Middle Plains Archaic Period	13
Late Plains Archaic Period	14
Late Prehistoric Period	17
Protohistoric Period	20
Radiocarbon Dates From WYARNG Lands	21
Historic Context	23
The Era of the Fur Trade and Early Explorations	23
Establishing the Fur Trade	23
Heyday and Decline of the Fur Trade	24
Post- Fur Trade Explorations: The Military and Scientific Frontiers:	26
The Fremont Expeditions	26
The Kearney Expedition	27
The Mounted Riflemen	28
The End of an Era of Exploration	29
The Transportation Frontier	29
The Oregon Trail	29
Guernsey-Area Oregon Trail Sites	30
Significance of the Oregon Trail	37
The Transcontinental Railroad	38

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Road	39
The Native American-Military Frontier	39
Early Confrontations	39
The Grattan Battle	40
Conflicts, Treaties, and the First Plains Indian Wars, 1865-1868	40
The Sergeant Amos Custard Wagon Train Fight an the Battle of Platte	
Bridge Station	41
Connor Expedition	41
Fort Laramie Treaty of 1866	42
Fetterman Battle and the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868	42
The Second Plains Indian Wars and Indian Removal, 1868-1876	42
The 1876 Military Campaigns	43
The Era of the Cattleman	44
The Birth of the Wyoming Cattle Industry	44
Texas Trail Drives	44
The Union Pacific Railroad	45
Open Range Cattle Ranching	45
Acquisition of Federal Land	46
The Cattle Barons and the Blizzard of 1886-1887	46
The Homesteading Frontier	47
Federal Land Policy	47
Initial Settlement	49
Irrigation	50
Dry Land Farming	51
The Great Depression: The End of Homesteading	54
The Resettlement Administration	54
Taylor Grazing Act	54
Railroad Expansion	55
The Union Pacific Railroad	55
The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad	56

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Mining Frontier	57
Introduction	57
The Hartville Mining District 1880-1887	58
Copper Mining, 1880-1887	58
Iron Ore Mining, 1888-1980	59
Sunrise and Hartville	62
Historical Significance	64
The Wyoming National Guard	65
Early History	65
Official Organization	66
Federal Mobilization	68
Reorganization	69
Pre-World War I Actions	69
World War I	70
Between the Wars	71
Organizational Status	72
World War II	73
Post-World War II Era	74
Camp Guernsey	77
Funding	78
Construction of Camp Guernsey	78
Guernsey State Park	81
Establishment of the Park	81
Civilian Conservation Corps	81
Summary	82
References Cited	84
Appendix A	95

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Wyoming Army National Guard North and South Training Areas	2
2.	Replicas of Paleoindian period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Alberta point knapped by Bruce Bradley. The rest are casts	4
3.	Paleoindian period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Eden point and Lovell Constricted are casts, the rest knapped by Bruce Bradley	8
4.	Archaic period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Oxbow and Duncan/Hanna are from WYARNG lands. Replicas knapped by Bruce Bradley.	12
5.	Late Archaic period points and knife. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. PL809-12 is from WYARNG land.	15
6.	Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P.	18
7.	Emigrant inscription near Register Cliff (48PL132).	32
8.	Oregon Trail Ruts National Monument (48PL80)	33
9.	Lucinda Rollins grave (48PL1173). An Emigrant on the Oregon Trail buried 1849	35
10.	Child's Route of the Oregon Trail (48PL176). View south from Emigrant Hill.	36
11.	Main house of the Howshar Ranch (48PL725). View east.	53
12.	Golf tee(48PL972) as part of a golf course built by the CCC ca. 1936 for their own use.	83

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Radiocarbon dates from WYARNG lands.	22
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LIST OF APPENDICES

- A. Photographs of selected projectile points by time periods from WYARNG lands. 95

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to provide the Wyoming Army National Guard (WYARNG) with an overview of the cultural context of the sites located on WYARNG lands near Guernsey, Wyoming. Thus, it provides a tool to use for future planning on these lands.

Since 1991 the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA) has conducted Class III cultural resource inventories at Camp Guernsey for the Wyoming Army National Guard. The study area includes the North and South Training Areas (Figure 1). As a result, numerous prehistoric and historic sites were found and recorded. In order to place these sites in a cultural context, it is necessary to look at the region as a whole. Not all sites found during these inventories are specifically discussed, however, some examples of sites on WYARNG lands are provided where they fit in to the overall cultural context. Photographs of selected projectile points are shown in Appendix A by time periods.

PREHISTORIC CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY (Martha Rogers)

The prehistoric cultural chronology for southeastern Wyoming, including the WYARNG near Guernsey, Wyoming, encompasses a time period of at least 12,000 years. Frison (1991) has established a cultural chronology for the Northwestern Plains area of North America, and this chronology will be used here. The Northwestern Plains cultural area includes all of Wyoming and contiguous areas of all of its neighbor states.

One should keep in mind that cultural chronologies are, for the most part, based on the remnants of material cultures from the past which can be typed and dated. In the Northwestern Plains, these remnants are usually projectile points. While they by no means reflect the full range of technology and ideology for the cultures represented, they do provide a framework for study and comparison. The use of projectile points for establishing a cultural chronology allows their use for dating sites with no available materials for radiocarbon dating. In this way, such sites can be placed in time in relation to other sites.

Although considerable debate on the subject exists, general opinion in the archaeological community is that humans first entered the New World through Asia across the Beringian land bridge around 14,000 to 12,000 years ago (Fagan 1995). These people then moved down through Canada and into the Northern Plains, where the earliest unequivocal evidence of human occupation is seen (Fagan 1995; Frison 1991).

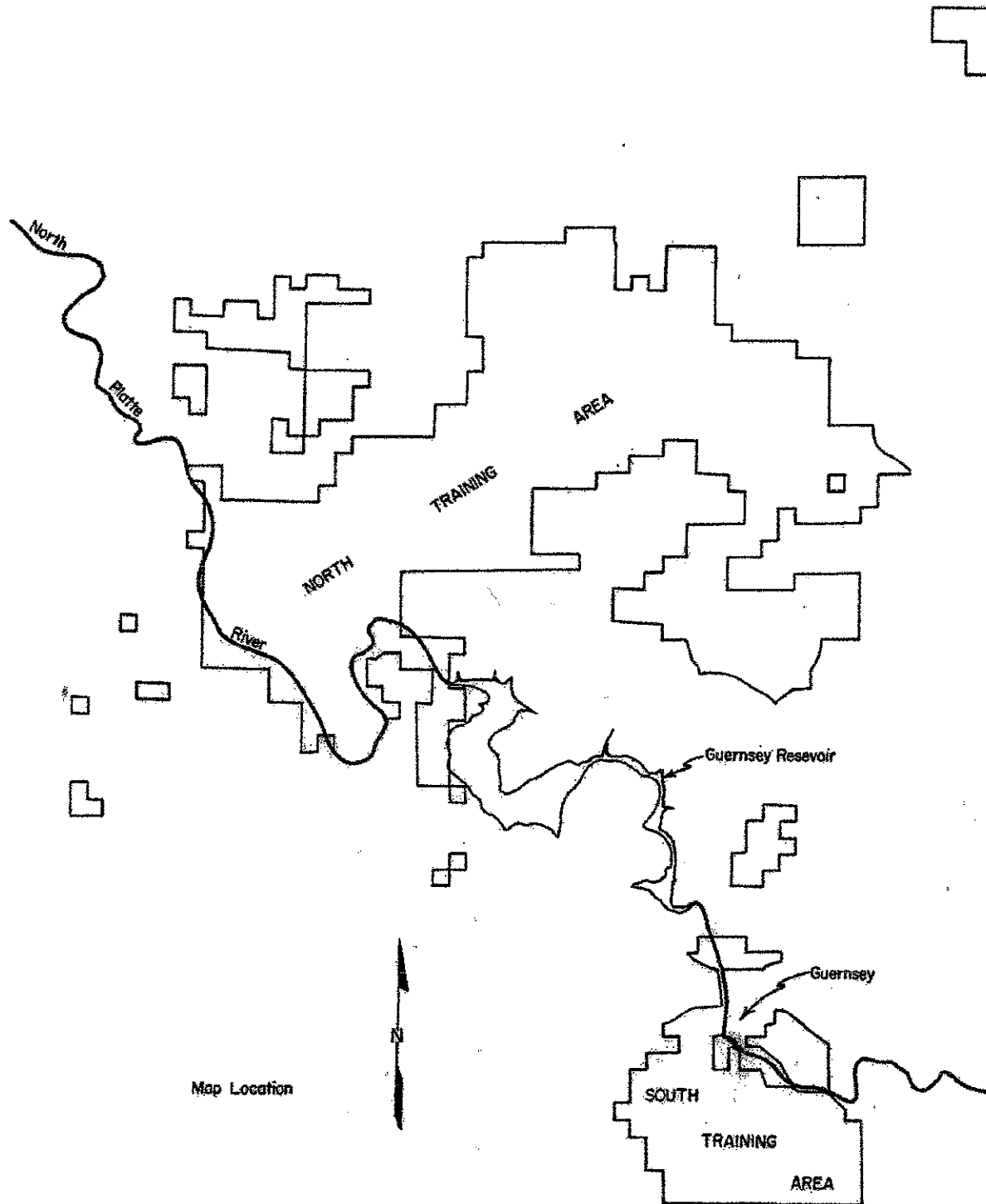


Figure 1. Wyoming Army National Guard North and South Training Areas.

Paleoindian Period

The earliest humans to inhabit the United States are called Paleoindians. All of the cultures in the Paleoindian period are typically nomadic groups who specialized in big game hunting with lanceolate spearheads. They also utilized plant foods and smaller game animals but to a lesser degree than their descendants in later years (Fagan 1995; Frison 1991). This period is composed of a number of different complexes.

The earliest of the Paleoindian cultures is the Clovis Cultural Complex (11,300- 10,800 years B.P.). Clovis projectile points are lanceolate, bifacially flaked and basally fluted less than half way up the length of the point (Figure 2). They are usually found with Pleistocene mammoth remains (Fagan 1995; Frison 1991).

The Colby site (48WA322) in northern Wyoming is dated to 11,300-10,800 years B.P. At 1305m (4280ft), it is about 330 km (205 mi) northwest of Guernsey and has the remains of Pleistocene horse, camel, bison, antelope and jack rabbit (Frison and Todd 1986). At the Sheaman site (48NA211), 135 km (84 mi) to the northeast, the Clovis component contains Pleistocene camel, bison, and antelope. While there were no mammoth remains at this site, there was an ivory projectile point. There was also bison bone covered in red ochre which had possible religious significance (Frison and Stanford 1982).

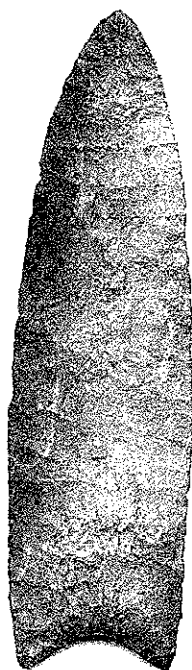
The Powars II site (48PL330) is about 13 km (8mi) north of Guernsey near Sunrise. It is a red ochre (hematite) mine which was used during the Paleoindian period. A Clovis point was collected from the surface of the site. Red ochre was possibly used for healing and tattooing. The Sommers site, just outside of the National Guard lands area, is a cave painting made with red ochre. It is considered to have religious significance, perhaps due to its resemblance to blood. That red ochre was very important to the Paleoindian culture is evidenced by the presence of points from virtually all of the Paleoindian complexes (Stafford 1990).

Frison also notes a surface Clovis point in the vicinity of Hell Gap, located along the southeastern end of the Hartville Uplift. No Clovis points have been found, to date, in the WYARNG Training Areas.

The Goshen Complex (11,700-11,200 years B.P.) falls between Clovis and Folsom in time and may overlap with both. Goshen points have the characteristics of Folsom, but, while they are pressure flaked with fine retouch on the edges, much like Folsom, unlike Folsom, they are basally



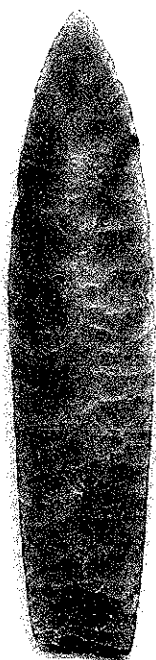
Clovis Point
11,300-10,800



Goshen Point
11,700-11,200



Folsom Point
11,000-10,500



Agate Basin
10,500-10,000



Hell Gap 10,000-9500



Alberta Point 9500-9000

Figure 2. Replicas of Paleoindian period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Alberta point knapped by Bruce Bradley. The rest are casts.

thinned and not fluted (Figure 2). The points strongly resemble what has been called Plainview in the Southern Plains. It is possible that Goshen points, which were found in the mountains and Northwest Plains in the past, were mistakenly typed as Plainview (Frison 1991:46).

Goshen points were first found at the Hell Gap site (48GO305), which is about 20 km (12 mi) north of Guernsey, and are named for Goshen County. Since the original points were found underneath a Folsom level, they were originally believed to be unfluted Clovis (Frison 1991). At Hell Gap, these points are in association with Pleistocene bison (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). The Carter/Kerr-McGee site (48CA12) is located around 225 km (135 mi) northwest of Guernsey. The Goshen component here, like that at Hell Gap, was originally believed to be Clovis and later reclassified as Goshen. It contains Pleistocene camel remains as well as the bones of a deer or antelope sized animal (Frison 1984,1991). Goshen points were found at the Powars II site (Stafford 1990). No Goshen points have been reported from the WYARNG Training Areas.

At around 11,000 years B.P., the Pleistocene mammoth, along with most of the other megafauna, disappeared. At this time, the Paleoindians began to focus on hunting one of the remaining megafauna, *Bison bison antiquus*. Bison was not the only game animal, but, for the Paleoindians, it became the most important (Frison 1991).

The Folsom Complex (11,000- 10,500 years B.P.) is typified by extremely well done pressure flaking with fine edge retouch and a basal flute which extends most of the length of the point on both sides. Folsom points (Figure 2) are generally smaller than Clovis points (Frison 1991). In the Guernsey area, Folsom has been found at the Hell Gap site. At the Carter/Kerr-McGee site it is associated with bison and red ochre (Frison 1984,1991). The Agate Basin site (48NO201) is 135 km (81 mi) northeast of Guernsey. The Folsom component of this site contains red ochre throughout the entire level. It is believed to be a mid-winter bison kill and camp site. There are possibly two structures which are indicated by hearths, soils indicative of a living floor, and bison ribs stuck into the ground that may have been used to stake a tent (Frison and Stanford 1982).

The Lindenmeir site (5LR13) in Colorado, is about 150 km (96 mi) south of Guernsey close to the Wyoming-Colorado border. It contains red ochre, bone needles and beads, and bone items stained with red ochre. Faunal remains include bison, antelope and deer (Wilmsen and Roberts 1984). The Powars II site had surface Folsom points (Stafford 1990). No Folsom points have been recorded on the WYARNG Training Areas.

Agate Basin (10,500-10,000 years B.P.) points follow Folsom and the possibility exists that

the two cultures may have overlapped (Frison 1991). These points (Figure 2) are long and narrow with straight or convex bases. Remnants of percussion flakes are often present, but the points are finished with pressure flakes (Bradley 1986).

In Wyoming, Agate Basin is found at the type site, the Agate Basin site, in association with bison bone. At Hell Gap, the Agate Basin level has three possible structures indicated by circles of post holes. The post holes indicate the presence of posts placed in the ground to support some type of structure. The circles are a little over 2 m in width and contained no features (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). There are surface Agate Basin points from Powars II. No Agate Basin points have been reported found on the WYARNG Training Areas.

The absence of Clovis, Goshen, Folsom, and Agate Basin points on the National Guard lands may be, in part, due to the general scarcity of such sites throughout North America. It is also possible that artifacts from these periods which may have been present in the area in the past, but could have eroded away, been buried or previously collected. Given the presence of these types of points in the general vicinity of the WYARNG lands, it is likely these complexes were present, but as of yet, no evidence has been recovered.

The Hell Gap Complex (10,000-9500 years B.P.) is found in the same areas as the Agate Basin. Frison (1991:62) believes that the Hell Gap point (Figure 2)), which is a shouldered lanceolate, evolved from the Agate Basin (Figure 2). Bradley (1991:382) agrees and states that the makers of Hell Gap points ended the same production process at an earlier stage than those of the Agate Basin, which seems to support that hypothesis. Hell Gap points are found at both the Carter/Kerr-McGee site (Frison 1984) and the Agate Basin site (Frison and Stanford 1982) in association with bison bone. Eisenbarth and Earl (1989) also report a Hell Gap component at Bass-Anderson Cave in the Hartville Uplift. The Powars II site has several Hell Gap points (Stafford 1990). On the WYARNG Training Areas, Hell Gap points were found at 48PL604, 48PL668 and 48PL785. Of the three sites, 48PL668 was the only site with good potential to provide additional archaeological information, but further testing revealed the Hell Gap Component to be a surface manifestation with no buried deposits and no potential to yield further archaeological information (Reiss et al. 1995, 1996).

The Alberta Complex (9500-9000 years B.P.) is characterized by points exhibiting a large stem, abrupt shoulders and a straight to convex base (Figure 2). The Carter/Kerr-McGee site contains both Alberta and Cody points in a mixed component along with bison bone (Frison 1984,

1991). Stafford (1990) reports two projectile points from the Powars II site which vaguely resemble Alberta points. There is an Alberta component at the Hell Gap site (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). No Alberta points were found at the WYARNG Training Areas.

The Alberta/Cody Complex was identified at the Horner site (48PA29) in northwestern Wyoming, just outside of Cody. Bison bone, found in association with these points, dated them closer in age to Alberta than to Cody points. The stems on Alberta/Cody points become narrower toward the base, or are parallel sided, and the shoulders are rounded. It is possible that they are a regional variant of the Alberta Complex, or that they are a separate complex which leads to the Cody Complex. Since the Horner site is the only in situ occurrence of Alberta/Cody, a definitive answer is not possible at this time (Frison 1991:62). No Alberta/Cody points have been found at the WYARNG Training Areas.

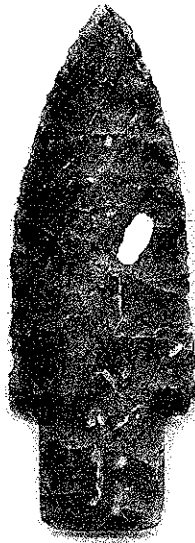
The Horner site is the type site for the Cody Complex (9300-8500 years B.P.). Both Eden and Scottsbluff points as well as Cody knives are included in this complex. Eden points, originally identified at the Finley site (48SW5) near Eden, Wyoming, have parallel sides tapering to an abrupt tip, a square base, a slightly indented stem, and a diamond-shaped cross section (Figure 3). The Scottsbluff points (Figure 3) were identified at the Scottsbluff Bison Quarry in Nebraska. While very similar to the Eden points, they usually have a bit more of a shoulder (Frison and Todd 1987). Cody knives (Figure 3) were bifacially flaked with an asymmetrical shape which were hafted by use of a shouldered stem (Bradley and Frison 1987:220).

As mentioned earlier, both Alberta and Cody points are found at the Carter/Kerr-McGee site. They were associated with bison remains which were indicative of a mid-winter bison kill. Scottsbluff-like points were found at the Muddy Creek sites (48PL23 and 48PL24 [Mulloy 1965; Mulloy and Steege 1967]). These sites are about 45 km (30 mi) to the northwest of Guernsey. Both Eden and Scottsbluff points were found at Hell Gap (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973) as well as at the Lindenmeir site (Wilmsen and Roberts 1984). Bass-Anderson Cave reportedly had Cody points dated to about 8900 B.P. (Eisenbarth and Earl 1989).

At the WYARNG Training Areas, a point similar to a Scottsbluff was found at 48PL632. Further investigation of this site revealed no subsurface deposits. Another Scottsbluff-like point was found at 48PL1010, which is a quarry area. An isolated Eden point (28-66-7) was also found (Reiss et al. 1995, 1996, 1998).



Eden Point
9300-8500



Scottsbluff Point
9300-8500



Cody knife 9300-8500



Frederick Point
8400-8000



Pryor Stemmed
8300-7810



Lovell Constricted
8000-7800

Figure 3. Paleoindian period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Eden point and Lovell Constricted are casts, the rest knapped by Bruce Bradley.

Frederick points (8400-8000 years B.P.) were found at the Hell Gap site. These points (Figure 3) are lanceolate with parallel-oblique flaking, a concave base and no shoulder or stem (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). They were found in association with more varied faunal remains than found in previous occupations of the site. Faunal resources included deer, small mammals and freshwater shellfish (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973:51). Also found at this occupational level were the remnants of possible stone circles indicative of dwellings (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). Similar points are reported at the James Allen site (48AB4), south of Laramie, Wyoming, which are called Jimmy Allen (Appendix A) and are reported to have a slightly deeper concavity at the base (Irwin-Williams et al. 1973). Jimmy Allen points are dated to 7900 B.P. (Frison 1991). Another very similar point, the Lusk point, is found at the Betty Greene site (48NO203) about 104 km (64 mi) north of Guernsey (Greene 1967). These points are described as similar to Frederick but degenerate in form, and with a more concave base (Frison 1991:67). The sides seem to be convex to laterally restricted. Points at the Betty Greene site were found in association with a mano and metate and also dated to 7900 B.P. (Frison 1991). In the Black Hills of western South Dakota, at the Ray Long site (39FA65), a fourth similar point is found. These points have been named Angostura and date to 9380 B.P. Despite some difference in dates, Frison (1991:74) believes that Frederick, Jimmy Allen, Lusk, Angostura, and other parallel-oblique lanceolate points may be local or regional varieties of late Paleoindian points in the Plains area. A point similar to the Frederick points from Hell Gap was found at 48PL924 on the WYARNG Training Areas as well as a mid-section from another point. This site is currently unevaluated and shows evidence of deposition (Reiss et al. 1997).

The climate in the Rocky Mountain area during the earlier portions of the Paleoindian period was probably cooler and more moist than that of today. Around 10,000 B.P., the climate began to become warmer and drier. The reaction to the climatic change induced a change in the lifestyle for some groups and resulted in a possible division of the Paleoindians into two distinct entities which practiced two different life ways. Around this time, a Foothills/Mountain Paleoindian Complex begins to appear. While the groups on the plains remained largely big game hunters, those in the mountains practiced a more Archaic subsistence style with more extensive use of smaller game animals and plant foods (Frison 1991; Husted 1991). This subsistence pattern in the foothills and mountains may have lasted all the way into historic times (Frison 1991:68).

Initial evidence for the complex came from the Mummy Cave site (48PA210) in the Absaroka Mountains. At Mummy Cave, unlike Plains sites, mountain sheep remains dominate the faunal

assemblage (McCracken 1978). Frison (1991:69) contends that while the Cody Complex may be found at a few Foothills/Mountain sites, they are stylistically different from those of the Plains. The Cody Complex may represent a transitional period between the Plains and Foothills/Mountain traditions when the Paleoindian groups began to split (Frison 1991:67).

The Foothills/Mountain Complex is typified by reliance on smaller game animals such as mountain sheep, deer, and other small fauna, as well as the presence of groundstone, indicating a heavier reliance on flora. Habitation sites were rockshelters and caves, for the most part (Frison 1991). Frison (1991:74) speculates on the possibility of a relationship between Goshen and the early Foothills/Mountain Paleoindian groups.

The Pryor Stemmed Complex (8300-7810 years B.P.) was originally recognized in rockshelter and cave sites of the Pryor and Bighorn Mountains (Husted 1991; Frison 1991). These points (Figure 3) have been reworked along the edges, which results in a steep beveling, are parallel-oblique flaked, lanceolate, and have a basal concavity (Frison 1991:71). Pryor Stemmed points have been found on the surface in areas along the North Platte, in the Laramie Range and from cave sites in the Hartville Uplift (Frison 1991).

Another form of late Paleoindian points is the Lovell Constricted (Figure 3) which are also parallel-oblique flaked and have slightly constricted edges and a concave base (Husted 1991:12-13). Lovell Constricted points have been recorded at the Andoni site (39PN326) in the Black Hills of South Dakota (Cassells et al. 1984). At the Lookingbill site (48FR308) in the Absarokas, near Dubois, Wyoming, the parallel-oblique flaked points are quite constricted and deeply concave at the base giving a fishtailed appearance (Frison 1991:74). Parallel-oblique flaked lanceolate points are found at the Bass-Anderson Cave (Eisenbarth and Earl 1989). Similar points are reported at the Sommers site (48PL709) which is adjacent to the WYARNG Training Areas (Zeimans et al. 1991). At 48PL785, 48PL589, and 48PL924 on the WYARNG Training Areas, are possible late Paleoindian points (Reiss et al. 1995, 1996, 1997).

Early Plains Archaic Period

At the end of the Paleoindian period, a distinct change in projectile point styles occurs from lanceolate to side-notched. The climate leading up to this time was becoming increasingly warmer and drier, resulting in a climatic event called the Altithermal. Once thought to have driven all groups into the mountains (Mulloy 1958), recent evidence indicates that the Altithermal induced hardship and a change in subsistence patterns but not the abandonment of the plains and basins by all

groups (Frison 1991).

One reason for the change in point style was the possible conversion to the use of an atlatl and darts (Fagan 1995). Although some people feel that there is reason to believe that Paleoindians used a spearthrower (Frison 1991:167,177), there is general acceptance of their use in the Early Archaic (Fagan 1995). Also, the warmer and drier weather produced less grass on the plains which resulted in the reduction in the numbers of bison herds. Plains dwellers were forced into a more generalized hunting and gathering existence. Game hunting shifted from almost entirely bison to a more diversified group including antelope, rabbits, rodents, and birds. The Late Pleistocene bison had been replaced by *Bison bison occidentalis* which, while smaller than their predecessors, were still larger than modern bison. Groundstone becomes more prominent in the Archaic indicating an increased reliance on plant foods (Frison 1991).

The Early Plains Archaic (8000-5000 years B.P.) is characterized by side-notched dart points (Figure 4), although some Early Plains Archaic points are corner or base-notched. Frison (1991) believes Early Archaic sites are more common in the foothills and mountains, partially because the effects of the Altithermal were less severe there, and also because these sites were not so easily eroded.

The Early Plains Archaic is also characterized by the appearance of semi-subterranean living structures, which contain features such as hearths, firepits, storage pits and milling basins. Many of these structures have been assigned winter seasonality. They would have provided good protection from the elements and storage areas for foods. One such structure is the Medicine House site (48CR2353) in the Hanna Basin of Wyoming, along the North Platte River.

The Hawken site (48CK303), an arroyo bison trap in northeastern Wyoming's Black Hills, contains the remains of *Bison bison occidentalis* along with side-notched points. This site was used during cold winter months. It is possible that Hawken points are late Paleoindian points that have been notched for hafting (Frison 1991:191). They also resemble points from farther east in Nebraska and Iowa (Frison 1991). Side-notched Early Plains Archaic points are also found at Bass-Anderson Cave (Zeimans et al. 1991). Immediately adjacent to the Training Areas, at the Sommers site 48PL709, several side-notched dart points were reported. On the WYARNG Training Areas, the Patten Creek site (48PL68) has an Early Plains Archaic component and side-notched points were found at 48PL582, 48PL699, 48PL719, and 48PL926. The last site has a side-notched point which



Early Archaic
8000-5000
(Cast)



Middle Archaic
Oxbow Point
5700-3500
(PL911-1)



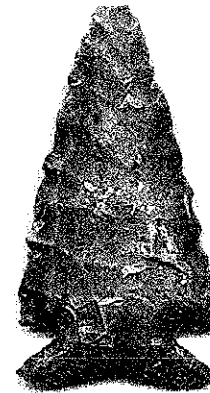
Middle Archaic
McKean
Lanceolate 5000-
3000 (Cast)



Middle Archaic
Duncan/Hanna
5000-3000
(PL711-2)



Middle Archaic
Mallory Point
5000-3000 (Replica)



Middle Archaic
Pelican Lake
3000-1500
(Replica)

Figure 4. Archaic period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. Oxbow and Duncan/Hanna are from WYARNG lands. Replicas are knapped by Bruce Bradley.

resembles a Hawken point (Reiss et al. 1995, 1996, 1997).

The Oxbow Cultural Complex is another Early Plains Archaic manifestation which is dated to 5700-3500 years B.P. Oxbow points (Figure 4) are side-notched with concave bases (Frison 1991). In northern Wyoming, points of this type seem to blend into the Middle Plains Archaic (Frison 1991). On the WYARNG Training Areas, an Oxbow-like point was found at 48PL511 and has been classified as Middle Plains Archaic (Reiss et al. 1994).

Middle Plains Archaic Period

The Middle Plains Archaic (5000-3000 years B.P.) is typified by projectile points from the McKean Complex. These points vary from McKean lanceolate, with an indented base and convex blade edges that are slightly narrower at the base, to the stemmed Duncan and Hanna types, as well as the side-notched Mallory (Figure 4). Duncan points are stemmed with sloping shoulders, and Hanna points are stemmed with distinct shoulders and a slightly expanding stem. Mallory points have deep side-notches about half way up the blade with, usually, indented bases (Frison 1991).

There is an increased emphasis on plant foods at this time with a proliferation of groundstone and food preparation pits which contain rock. On the plains, bison use increases. In the foothills and mountains, the emphasis remains on sheep and deer. Stone circles begin to appear in all areas (Frison 1991).

At the McKean site (48CK7), in the Black Hills of Wyoming, all three variations of McKean points are found. In addition, there is a semi-subterranean dwelling (pit house). The site is dated to 4600 B.P. (Frison 1991). At Signal Butte in Nebraska, all varieties of McKean points were found. The site is about 70 km (43 mi) from Guernsey and located on a butte top. In association with these points, were groundstone, ochre, and bone awls and beads (Strong 1935). Several sites in the Black Hills of South Dakota have a McKean component (Cassells et al. 1984). To the south in Colorado, Dipper Gap (5GL101) and the Spring Gulch site, near Lindenmeir, have Middle Archaic McKean points (Frison 1991). One possible McKean point was reported for 48PL23 at Muddy Creek (Mulloy and Steege 1967). Both stemmed and Duncan/Hanna types of McKean points were reported at Bass-Anderson Cave (Eisenbarth and Earl 1989). At the Sommers site, adjacent to the WYARNG Training Areas, points similar to those from the Bass-Anderson Cave were recorded (Zeimans et al. 1991). As was earlier discussed, one point from 48PL511 was typed as Oxbow-like and placed in the Middle Plains Archaic. Middle Plains Archaic sites on the WYARNG Training Areas are too numerous to enumerate, but all types of McKean points are represented with three

lanceolate, seven stemmed, seven Duncan/Hanna, two corner-notched, one Yonkee style, and one Oxbow variant on a total of 22 sites (Reiss 1992; Reiss et al. 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998).

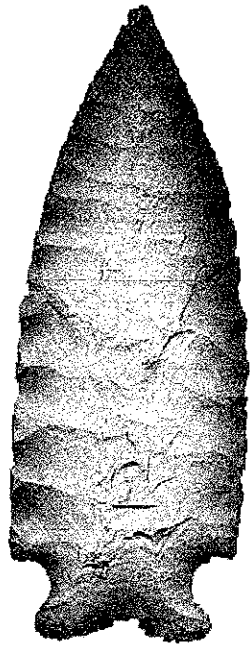
Late Plains Archaic Period

The Late Plains Archaic (3000-1500 years B.P.) is identified by Pelican Lake points (Figure 4), which have wide, open corner-notches with sharp barbs, and by Yonkee points (Figure 5), which are corner-notched with an indented base. Toward the end of the Late Plains Archaic (2000 B.P.), Besant points are found. Besant points (Figure 5) are corner to side-notched with a convex blade edge and are relatively large. In the Foothills/Mountains areas, a series of corner-notched points are found in association with firepits, stone circles and groundstone. Pit houses are still in use in the Wyoming Basin (Frison 1991).

Yonkee points are found most often in the drainages of the Powder and Tongue Rivers of northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana in association with communal bison kills. Both the Mavrakis-Bentzen-Roberts site (48SH311) and the Powder River site (48SH312), in northern Wyoming, are good examples of Yonkee sites as both are fall/winter bison traps with evidence of the gathering of large amounts of meat for possible storage and little use of bone marrow. Dates for these sites range from 2900-2400 years B.P. Another site, on the Belle Fourche River of northeastern Wyoming, contains Yonkee points in association with antelope. Unlike most Yonkee sites, 48CA1391 is more indicative of a hunter/gatherer type of existence than communal bison hunting (Frison 1991).

Pelican Lake points are more wide spread than Yonkee, covering the entire Northwest Plains. Along Muddy Creek, in an area now covered by Glendo Reservoir, Pelican Lake points were found in association with stone circles at 48PL21, 48PL23 and 48PL24 (Mulloy 1965; Mulloy and Steege 1967). Signal Butte also has Pelican Lake points in association with groundstone, red ochre, bone awls, mussel shells, bison, antelope, and bird bones (Strong 1935).

Farther to the east, in Nebraska, the Pelican Lake-like points are found in association with Woodland pottery. The cultural chronology of eastern Nebraska differs from that of western Nebraska and the Northwest Plains in that the appearance of such pottery marks the end of the Late Archaic. The Eastern Plains Woodland Tradition is found in the Missouri and Kansas River Valleys and begins at 2000 B.P. Sites are usually found on terraces overlooking rivers. Communal burials in mounds or ossuaries are common. The Woodland people hunted bison and practiced agriculture, planting maize and beans. Pottery was coarse, cord roughened and thick. Pots are usually conical



**Late Archaic
Yonkee Point
2900-2400 (Replica
Bruce Bradley**



**Late Archaic
Besant Point
ca 2000 (Cast)**



**Late Archaic
3000-1500
(PL809-12)**



**Later Archaic
Tang Knife (Replica
Alan Wimer)**

Figure 5. Late Archaic period points and knife. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P. PL809-12 is from WYARNG land.

in shape with a pointed bottom and straight to inward curving sides and wide mouths. Dwellings were possibly pole and brush shelters built over a shallow basin (Fagan 1995).

Eastern Wyoming was a peripheral area to the Woodland Tradition and Woodland pottery is occasionally found here. In eastern Wyoming, Woodland pottery is often found associated with Besant points, which begin to appear on the Northwestern Plains around 2000 B.P. Besant are large, side-notched points which are generally associated with technologically advanced communal bison kills in northern Wyoming. The Ruby site (48CA302) shows evidence of corralling bison by building elaborate structures. Drive lines were constructed to direct the bison into the corral. There is evidence of a ceremonial area and processing areas (Frison 1991).

Besant is found in association with Woodland pottery at the Greyrocks site (48PL65) about 15 km (9 mi) south of Guernsey. An unusual feature at Greyrocks is cistern-like and may have been used to store water. A nearly complete piece of Woodland pottery came from this site. Also at this site, were manos and a metate, bone beads, red ochre and malachite. The malachite was sourced to an area near Guernsey and may have been used for coloring. Bison remains indicate some level of hunting. A single kernel of corn was found which might infer an attempt at horticulture (Tibesara 1980).

Miller and Waitkus (1989) studied material from the Butler-Rissler site (48NA1000) south of Casper, Wyoming, which was a campsite containing both Woodland pottery and Besant points. They theorize that the Besant bison kill sites represent a communal fall hunting component of an annual settlement and subsistence pattern which included settling in riparian areas in the summer, where Woodland pottery is found. Thus, the two site types represent different seasonal variations of a single group (Miller and Waitkus 1989:32).

Adjacent to the WYARNG Training Areas, at the Sommers site, Woodland pottery and Late Archaic points were reportedly found (Zeimans et al. 1991). In the Training Areas, 33 sites contained one or more corner-notched Pelican Lake-like points, four sites had both corner-notched and Besant points, while one site had only a Besant point for a total of 49 corner-notched and five Besant points. In addition, 48PL574 was placed in the Late Plains Archaic time period with a radiocarbon dated hearth (Reiss 1992; Reiss et al. 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998). One diagnostic tool, a tang knife (Figure 5), was found at 48PL497 (Reiss et al. 1994). These knives probably developed from unnotched or un-tanged versions during the Early Plains Archaic at higher elevation sites (Frison 1991:132).

Late Prehistoric Period

The Late Prehistoric (1500-300 years B.P.) is believed to have begun with the introduction of the bow and arrow which replaced the atlatl and dart. There is also an increase in the number of bison jump sites. Both side-notched and corner-notched arrow points are diagnostic of this period, and, toward the end of the Late Prehistoric, a basal notch was added. It appears that some Late Archaic points may have been reduced in size to accommodate the bow and arrow (Frison 1991:111).

Avonlea points appeared around 1500 B.P. to the north, in Canada, and traveled south toward the basin areas of Wyoming. What began as a hunting oriented subsistence pattern in the north became more of a hunting and gathering pattern as Avonlea moved south (Frison 1991:113). Avonlea overlapped with Besant somewhat in the northern areas. Sites are typically located on or near buttes and include slab lined roasting pits. The characteristic Avonlea point (Figure 6) is side-notched close to the base (Frison 1991). Pottery found at some Avonlea sites may have a relationship to Woodland pottery (Frison 1991:113).

Long, narrow, deeply corner-notched points with sharp barbs and serrated edges occur from around 1300-900 years B.P. in sites believed to be Shoshonean. They are replaced by side-notched points (Figure 6). The sites in which they are found differ from Avonlea sites by displaying a more archaic subsistence pattern with a higher percentage of ground stone and food preparation pits. In southern Wyoming, however, corner-notched points also occur at bison kill sites (Frison 1991:114).

The Vore site (48CK302) is a Late Prehistoric bison jump, which was used primarily during the fall, in the northeastern Wyoming Black Hills about 240 km (144 mi) north of Guernsey. Drive lines, which are characteristic of Late Prehistoric bison kills, were used to herd the bison to a large sink hole. The multi component site dates to around 500 years B. P. (Reher and Frison 1980). Near Glendo Reservoir, the Muddy Creek site (48PL29) has both corner and side-notched points in association with stone cairns on a cliff. One of the cairns contained charcoal which was dated to around 1025 years B.P. (Mulloy and Steege 1967). At Signal Butte, the Late Prehistoric component contained both side and tri-notched projectile points (Figure 6) in association with pottery. The pottery was divided into types A and B on the basis of tempering material. Type A was tempered with coarse gravel and type B with sand. According to Strong (1935), the type A corresponded to Upper Republican pottery and the type B to Dismal River. Both pottery types are associated with cultural manifestations originating to the east of eastern Wyoming much like the Woodland Tradition.



**Late
Prehistoric
Avonlea ca
1500-1000
(Replica by
Bruce Bradley)**



**Late Prehistoric
Side-notched
(Cast)**



**Late
Prehistoric
Corner-notched
(Cast)**



**Late
Prehistoric
Corner-
notched
(Replica by
Bruce Bradley)**



**Late Prehistoric
Rose Spring
ca2000-650
(Replica by
Bruce Bradley)**



**Late Prehistoric
Tri-notched
(Replica by Bruce
Bradley)**



**Late Prehistoric
Associated with C14
date of 1255-955 (PL951-
25)**



**Protohistoric
Metal Point
ca 300-?**

Figure 6. Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric period points. Scale is actual size. All dates B.P.

Upper Republican (1000-300 years B.P.) is a phase of the Central Plains Tradition found most often to the east of Wyoming. Upper Republican sites are found in eastern Wyoming, but they are, like Woodland, peripheral to the main culture area and do not evidence many of the characteristics of the sites to the east. Upper Republican pottery is cord marked, globular, often with an incised rim, and occasionally has loop handles. Sites in the east are usually on ridges and bluffs and contain evidence of the cultivation of corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. Bison scapula hoes, caches, stone and clay pipes, communal secondary burials, and manos and metates are common. Points are side-notched arrowheads (Cassells 1983; Wedel 1961). Gurney Peak Fortress near Albin, Wyoming, and the Seven Mile Point site near Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, are both Upper Republican sites which sit on tops of bluffs (Reher 1989). Occasionally, a type of pottery, known as the Intermountain Tradition, is found in association with Upper Republican. Intermountain pottery is thought to indicate Shoshonean cultural affiliation and is found most often in the mountains and basins to the west. Its presence in Upper Republican sites could indicate either an affiliation of the two cultures or the capture or trading of women (Frison 1991).

The Dismal River Aspect (500-300 years B.P.) is also representative of a peripheral manifestation of a more eastern culture. The Dismal River Aspect is generally found in western Nebraska, western Kansas, eastern Colorado and southeastern Wyoming. Sites are usually found on stream terraces and around lakes or ponds, in rockshelters or in blowouts. The people were primarily hunters and gatherers who attempted some horticulture. The remains of bison, deer, beaver, turtles, and mussels are frequently found in Dismal River sites. Dismal River pottery is thin, hard, dark pottery with no handles and a constricted neck. It usually contains some mica in the clay. Points are triangular side and tri-notched (Gunnerson 1978; Wedel 1961). Possible Dismal River pottery has been found at the Petsch Springs site (48LA303) north of Pine Bluffs, Wyoming (Reher 1989). Gunnerson (1978) also reported a Dismal River site at 48PL11 in Platte County as well as sites in Albany and Goshen Counties. Testing at site 48PL732 in 1999 on WYARNG lands recovered pottery which is probably Late Prehistoric. Analysis is very preliminary at this time, but it is similar to pottery found along the Missouri River in the Central Plains. There are 46 sites belonging to the Late Prehistoric on the WYARNG Training Areas (Reiss 1992; Reiss et al. 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998). At the Sommers site, the Late Prehistoric is represented by small, triangular, side-notched points (Zeimans et al. 1991).

It is not until the end of the Late Prehistoric that archaeologists can begin to assign general

areas to tribal groups. It must be kept in mind that the Plains Indians were highly mobile nomads. Around 1000 B.P. (Reher 1977:138), due to pressure from the east, many formerly agricultural tribes were being forced onto the plains and into adapting a hunter/gatherer existence. Others moved into eastern Wyoming in order to exploit the large bison herds from around 1500-600 B.P. (Reher 1977:138).

Around 600-400 B.P. the Kiowa-Apache probably inhabited the area north of the North Platte with the Shoshone-Comanche coming in from the south and west (Reher 1977:149). From 400-300 B.P. the Shoshone continued to move to the north and east and the Comanche to the south and east (Reher 1977:149-150, controlling most of Wyoming. From about 300-200 B.P., the Crow began to move down into Wyoming along the front range of the Bighorn Mountains and the Kiowa-Apache moved out of the Black Hills into southeastern Wyoming (Reher 1977:151-154). Soon after, toward the end of the 1700's, the Cheyenne moved east out of the Black Hills and then west, across the bottom, and over into Wyoming, where they were joined by the Arapaho coming in from the northeast (Reher 1977:154-156). The movement of the Cheyenne was most likely the result of pressure from the Sioux. By the 1850's, the Sioux had control of all the land surrounding the Black Hills. The Cheyenne had divided into a northern branch, which occupied the area of northwestern Colorado and up into the southern Powder River Basin, and a southern branch, which extended into eastern Colorado on into Kansas and Oklahoma. The Arapaho moved into the area around the Laramie Range and the Laramie Basin and down into Colorado with some movement up along the eastern slope of the Bighorns. The territories of the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho overlapped (Reher 1977:156-158).

Protohistoric Period

The Protohistoric period probably started in Wyoming around 300 years B.P. and is best described as that period when European trade goods began to filter into the area to the Indians, but when no written history of the area had been recorded. Initial trade items, which are available to the Indians and are seen in the archaeological record, include glass trade beads, iron, brass, and the horse. It was probably the introduction of the horse which had the greatest impact on the American Indians, as the use of the horse created greater mobility and hunting capabilities. Projectile point styles vary little from the Late Prehistoric, with the exception of the introduction of metal projectile points (Frison 1991, Figure 6). Only one Protohistoric site has been recorded on the WYARNG Training Areas. Site 48PL912 contained a Protohistoric trade bead as well as a Middle Archaic

component (Reiss et al. 1997). A metal projectile point (PL 26-66-14) isolated find was found on WYARNG lands in 1989 (Ingbar and Frison 1989).

Radiocarbon Dates From WYARNG Lands

Currently, 26 radiocarbon dates have been received from sites on WYARNG lands (Table 1). The date from 48PL793 is from a buried A horizon sediment in a cut bank. Future testing is planned for this site to determine if there is a cultural component associated. The date from 48PL732 is from small charcoal fragments collected from several units in a block excavation. It was collected from the same level as the pottery was recovered. However, the pottery seems to be much younger, but still in the Late Prehistoric period, and this date is in question. The rest of the dates are from excavated charcoal from fire hearth features. The calibrated 2-sigma date is usually considered the most accurate.

The Late Prehistoric period dominates the dated sites on WYARNG lands. Fifteen dates are solely Late Prehistoric period and six are solely Late Archaic period. No cultural Paleoindian, Early Archaic, or Middle Archaic dates are represented. Since there are surface points representing these periods, we know, for the most part, people were in the area during those times. Paleoindian period sites are rare as are Early Archaic period sites, but one might expect at least a few Middle Archaic period dates from this size of a sample. This sample of radiocarbon dates represents features which were visible from the surface or were shallowly buried. Earlier features may have eroded away or could be deeply buried and not recovered. While these dates could just reflect a sampling bias, it is also possible these dates reflect a cultural phenomenon. It is interesting to note, Late Archaic and Late Prehistoric period points also dominate the collected surface assemblage. Several possible avenues of research could be addressed for explanations. Some examples are (1) an increase in use of the area during these time periods (2) a change in subsistence strategies, (3) an increase in population densities, and (4) climatic changes. Whatever the reason(s) for the dominance of the Late Archaic and Late Prehistoric periods from the radiocarbon dates, it does suggest directions for future research.

Table 1. Radiocarbon dates from WYARNG lands.

SITE	MATERIAL	CONVENTIONAL C ₁₄ AGE	CALIBRATED 2-SIGMA (95% PROBABILITY)	INTERCEPT CONVENTIONAL C ₁₄ WITH CALIBRATION CURVE	TIME PERIOD
PL793	BURIED A HORIZON NON-CULTURAL SOIL	7820 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 8780-8425	CAL BP 8595	PALEOINDIAN
PL796	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	2230 ± 80 BP	CAL BP 2360-2010	CAL BP 2230	LATE ARCHAIC
PL1055	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	2110 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 2190-1930	CAL BP 2105	LATE ARCHAIC
PL649	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1800 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 1875-1540	CAL BP 1710	LATE ARCHAIC
PL574	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 3	1740 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 1830-1515	CAL BP 1660	LATE ARCHAIC
PL574	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1830 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 1905-1565	CAL BP 1735	LATE ARCHAIC
PL756	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1680 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1715-1420	CAL BP 1560	LATE ARCHAIC
PL1026	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1640 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1625-1410	CAL BP 1535	LATE ARCHAIC/LATE PREHISTORIC
PL811	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1570 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1565-1325	CAL BP 1470	LATE ARCHAIC/LATE PREHISTORIC
PL916	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1410 ± 90 BP	CAL BP 1500-1160	CAL BP 1300	LATE ARCHAIC/LATE PREHISTORIC
PL964	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1360 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1345-1165	CAL BP 1285	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL1062	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1290 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 1315-1060	CAL BP 1250	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL916	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1230 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1280-980	CAL BP 1160	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL756	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1220 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1270-1040	CAL BP 1165	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL951	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 4	1250 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1280-1060	CAL BP 1170	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL914	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 3	1220 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1270-1040	CAL BP 1165	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL914	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1260 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1260-980	CAL BP 1110	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL951	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 3	1190 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1260-960	CAL BP 1075	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL951	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 2	1180 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 1255-955	CAL BP 1070	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL1055	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1165 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1165-940	CAL BP 1030	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL1027	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 11	1110 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1155-935	CAL BP 985	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL1051	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1050 ± 70 BP	CAL BP 1075-785	CAL BP 950	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL582	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	1040 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 1055-910	CAL BP 945	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL964	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	970 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 970-735	CAL BP 915	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL732	COLLECTED CHARCOAL FROM SEVERAL UNITS	900 ± 60 BP	CAL BP 940-690	CAL BP 790	LATE PREHISTORIC
PL1027	FIRE HEARTH - FEATURE 1	260 ± 50 BP	CAL BP 330-270	CAL BP 295	LATE PREHISTORIC/PROTOHISTORIC

HISTORIC CONTEXT (Robert Rosenberg)

THE ERA OF THE FUR TRADE AND EARLY EXPLORATIONS

Establishing the Fur Trade

Although southeastern Wyoming lay far from the main western fur-trading centers, the area was utilized and influenced by the Taos trade to the south and the Missouri River trade to the north. Taos served as a natural base of operations for trappers in the central and southern Rockies, especially after Mexican independence in 1821. Although the Taos trappers tended to work the streams of what became the southwestern United States, they often ventured as far north as the Green River country and trapped in the mountain streams along the Colorado Front Range (Weber 1971).

Even before Lewis and Clark returned down the Missouri River in 1806 from their explorations of the newly purchased Louisiana Territory, large fur companies had been attracted to the Northwest. John Jacob Astor operated the American Fur Company from Fort Union on the Yellowstone River. In 1810, Astor dispatched two expeditions bound for the mouth of the Columbia River to establish the headquarters of an envisioned chain of trading posts stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. The first expedition traveled by sea and founded the headquarters settlement of Astoria in May 1811. The second party was led overland by Wilson Price Hunt, who attempted to find an alternate route to the Lewis and Clark passage due to the threat of Indian hostility. Hunt's party entered present-day Wyoming near the northeast corner, then crossed the Wind River Range at Union Pass, reaching the Green River; they proceeded over the divide into Idaho, following Henry's Fork of the Snake River and ultimately reaching the Columbia River and Astoria (Goetzmann 1959:29-30; Scott 1958:9-10).

An east-bound party returning from Astoria in 1812 under the leadership of Robert Stuart is credited with discovering the great South Pass. Signs of a large party of Crow Indians diverted Stuart south from his planned route, allowing the party to find the gentle crossing of the Continental Divide through which thousands of wagons would later pass. The party then continued east along

the North Platte River, camping near today's Casper, Wyoming, and Scottsbluff, Nebraska, thereby passing directly through the Study Area. Stuart not only discovered South Pass but traveled from west to east along a large portion of what would become the Oregon Trail (Rollins 1935:181; Rosenberg 1981:2-3).

Heyday and Decline of the Fur Trade

South Pass remained in obscurity until 1824 when it was "rediscovered" by the Ashley Party led by Jedediah Smith, who was looking for a watershed crossing of the Wind River Range in winter. Thereafter, the pass was commonly used by mountain men and became well known to travelers. In 1830, Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette led a caravan of wagons loaded with trade goods along the eastern portion of the future Oregon Trail as far as South Pass. They did not cross the Pass but proved that the route was feasible for wagon migration to that point. In 1832, Captain Benjamin L.E. Bonneville led the first wagons across South Pass into the Green River Basin, proving the practicality of the Pass for wagon travel. Thus, the fur trappers and traders had not only discovered the essential Oregon Trail corridor but proved its ability to accommodate wagon traffic.

Information about trapping activity in the Study Area is scant, because the mountain men seldom left written accounts of their explorations. John Colter trapped in northern Wyoming in the winter of 1807-08, and the Ezekiel Williams party, forced south from the Yellowstone country by Blackfeet Indians, either crossed the Snowy Range in Albany County, Wyoming, or followed the North Platte River south into North Park, Colorado (Coutant 1899:70-73; Homsher 1949:3-4). Jacques Laramie, whose name is liberally used throughout the region, is reported to have trapped in the region in 1817. He was killed in 1820 or 1821 after setting out alone to trap along the Laramie River (Homsher 1949:4).

The fur trade reached its peak between 1820 and 1840. Before that time, the major operations had been directed by Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company and Astor's American Fur Company. After Lisa's death in 1820, William Ashley became the dominant force in the western fur trade. He initiated the rendezvous system, a radical departure from the old system that required defended, fixed fur posts in Indian country. Instead, an informal rendezvous site was chosen each year in the midst of the best trapping grounds, and the trappers brought the season's catch to this central location to facilitate trading and shipping. Setting out in November 1824 from Fort Atkinson, Ashley followed the Platte River to its forks, following the South Platte to the vicinity of present-day

Fort Collins, then northward across the Laramie Range and Laramie Plains, skirting the Medicine Bow Range to the north (Dale 1918). He reached the Green River country by mid-April 1825 and divided his men into four groups for a season of trapping, with orders to meet near Henry's Fork in July; the first trappers' rendezvous (Wishart 1978:47,50,52).

The basis of the fur trade in the early years was the beaver pelt. Beaver were plentiful throughout the streams and rivers of the Rocky Mountains. They were relatively small and easy to handle in shipping and could bring as much as six to eight dollars each in eastern markets.

The Study Area, while not considered prime trapping grounds, was extensively used as a route to and from adjacent trapping regions to the west, especially along the North Platte River corridor, which passes through the Camp Guernsey State Military Reservation. Fort Laramie (first known as Fort William and Fort John) was established in 1834 at the junction of the Laramie and North Platte Rivers by William Sublette and Robert Campbell "to control the fur traffic of a vast interior region" (Hafen and Young 1938:23). Fort Laramie represented a return to the fixed fur post concept and anticipated the decline of the beaver trade and the subsequent rise of the buffalo trade. The former industry had been carried on entirely by Euro-Americans, whereas the buffalo trade depended on Native Americans. Fort Laramie was advantageously located in an area long recognized as excellent for Indian trade.

Based on only one resource, the beaver pelt trade was destined to decline. Large areas were quickly trapped out due to the intense competition, and the concept of conservation was nonexistent. Furthermore, the trade was based solely on the whims of fashion. When gentlemen replaced their beaver hats with silk hats, the fur trapper was forced either to hunt buffalo on the plains, or with his unique knowledge of the country, to serve as an army scout or emigrant guide. With the decline of the beaver trade, fixed forts sprang up along a general trapper's corridor along the Front Range from Fort Laramie south to Bent's Fort. The buffalo trade eventually declined as well, and all of the fur forts except Fort Laramie were finally abandoned.

Fur trappers and traders were the first non-Indians to tap the resources and wrest a living from the Rocky Mountain West. The total work force in what is now Wyoming, usually considered the heart of the central fur trade, probably never exceeded five hundred men, but most historians acknowledge the great significance of the fur trade. As Nebraska historian James C. Olsen has observed, "the map of the West was indeed first drawn on a beaver skin" (Olsen 1955:43). Trappers like Jim Bridger, who survived the rigors of the early years, carried mental maps of the entire Rocky

Mountain West. Perhaps the chief legacy left by these trappers-explorers of the fur trade was the basic geographic information necessary for the coming westward migration and for a more systematic exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West.

Post-Fur Trade Explorations: The Military and Scientific Frontiers

Prior to building an extensive system of forts, roads, and telegraph lines, the United States Army realized the need to reconnoiter the vast and unknown regions of the West. The Corps of Topographical Engineers was created by an Act of Congress on July 5, 1838. It consisted of thirty-six officers headed by Colonel John James Abert and shared equal status with the Corps of Engineers in the hierarchy of military command.

The survey reports of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, such as those by John C. Fremont and William F. Raynolds, reveal that the officers were committed to gathering scientific data about the American West. These reports contained information on the flora and fauna, natural resources, and the indigenous populations.

The Fremont Expeditions

Perhaps the best known explorer of this era was John C. Fremont, "the Pathfinder." Fremont generally followed previously established trails, but his gift of writing and his political connections allowed him to diffuse his information and immortalize his exploits. In 1842, Fremont proceeded up the South Platte River to Fort St. Vrain, then traveled north to Fort Laramie along the eastern base of the Front Range and the Laramie Mountains. He continued westward on the new Oregon Trail, guided by Kit Carson, an acquaintance who would become one of his closest friends. On July 21-22, the expedition camped at Warm Springs Creek at the present site of Camp Guernsey. Fremont prophetically commented that it would be an ideal location for a military post. In his report to Congress, he reported: "If it is in contemplation to keep open the communications with Oregon Territory, a show of military force in this country is absolutely necessary; and a combination of advantages renders the neighborhood of Fort Laramie the most suitable place, on the line of the Platte, for the establishment of a military post" (Fremont 1845:47). He then continued along the Oregon Trail, carefully mapping it to South Pass for emigrant parties (Fremont 1845; Goetzmann 1959).

In 1843, Fremont followed Ashley's general route through the region, attempting to penetrate

the Front Range and find a suitable passage westward for emigrant travel. He followed the Cache La Poudre River upstream but eventually headed northward through mountains and foothills to enter the Laramie Plains from the west. He camped on the Laramie River on July 31, 1843, and traveled across the Laramie Plains along the east edge of the Medicine Bow Mountains. He skirted the mountains to the north, crossed the North Platte River, and then continued in a northwesterly direction to the Sweetwater River. He rejoined the Oregon Trail west of Devil's Gate and proceeded to South Pass (Fremont 1845:125-127).

One of Fremont's subsequent expeditions landed him in California in 1846, on the eve of the War with Mexico. As he headed north en route to Oregon he was ordered to turn south toward Mexico. Fremont's duties with the Corps of Topographical Engineers came to end, and he became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Mounted Rifles (Goetzmann 1959:121). Fremont's chief contribution to the settlement of the West was to conscientiously record and map his travels; information which was used for many years. He also tapped the memories of the remaining fur trappers and recorded their information for posterity.

The Kearney Expedition

The American quest for expansion in the mid-1840s was opposed on the south by Mexico and on the north by Canada. Diplomatic negotiation served to settle the latter dispute, but military confrontation with Mexico appeared inevitable. Washington realized the lack of geographical data available for the entire Southwest, where military campaigns would most likely be staged. Three trans-Mississippi expeditions were dispatched in the spring of 1845 to gather scientific information that would prove valuable to both soldiers and settlers. One of the expeditions consisted of Fremont's excursion from Bent's Fort to California; another was an exploration of Comanche country along the Canadian River by Lieutenant James W. Abert (Goetzmann 1959:109-111).

The third expedition was led by Colonel Stephen Kearney, who commanded five companies of the First Dragoons. The mission consisted of gathering information and protecting emigrants along the Oregon Trail as far west as South Pass and to impress the Indians with American military power. Kearney's operation also proved the usefulness of cavalry in plains confrontations. Accompanied by Lieutenant William B. Franklin, topographer, Kearney followed the wagon ruts of the Oregon Trail through Indian country, as far as South Pass, where the expedition turned back. Kearney also held a "grand parley" with the Oglalla and Brule bands of Sioux at a site between Fort Platte and Fort Laramie. In a show of force, the company staged a pageant complete with colorful

costumes, flags, and cannons. Kearney announced the opening of the Oregon Trail by addressing the assembly:

"Your Great Father...has sent me with a handful of braves to visit you...I am opening a road for your white brethren, and you Great Father directs that his red children shall not attempt to close it up. There are many whites now coming on this road, moving to the other side of the mountains...You must not disturb them...Should you do so, your Great Father would be angry with you; although he is the enemy of all bad Indians, he is the friend of those who are good" (Nadeau 1967).

The expedition headed south to Bent's Fort, then onto regimental headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. Kearney's expedition had traveled over 2,200 miles in 99 days through Indian country, proving the worth of mounted troops (Goetzmann 1959:113).

The Mounted Riflemen

Due to the increasing westward emigration, the government realized the necessity of creating a string of military posts along the Oregon Trail. In 1845, President Polk brought the matter before Congress; the following year an enactment was passed to "raise a regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and for establishing military stations on the route to Oregon" (Mattes 1969:486). Action was postponed due to the Mexican War, but in 1848, Fort Kearney was established on the lower Platte River as the first military post on the trail; next was Fort Laramie, an old fur trading post originally known as Fort John and Fort William, situated at the confluence of the North Platte and Laramie Rivers. Company E, Mounted Riflemen, arrived at Fort Laramie on June 16, 1849, to organize a military post. The company consisted of five officers (Major Sanderson, Lieutenant Woodbury, Major S.P. Moore, surgeon, Captain Thomas Duncan, and Captain George McLane, Adjutant and quartermaster) and fifty-eight enlisted men. In July, another company of Mounted Riflemen (Company C commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Roberts) reported for duty, followed in August by Company D, 6th U.S. Infantry Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Levi C. Bootes (Mattes 1969:490; Settle 1989:98-99).

The California Gold Rush of 1849 increased the demands for government improvement of the Oregon Trail as well as protection for emigrants. Accordingly, Colonel Abert directed Captain Howard Stansbury, an experienced engineer, to accompany a regiment of Mounted Riflemen led by Colonel William Wing Loring to Fort Hall, Idaho, where a military post would be established to help emigrants prepare for the long desert crossing. The Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, "police force of the Gold Rush," left Fort Leavenworth on May 10, 1849. The Riflemen ultimately reached Fort

Vancouver in October, becoming the first military expedition to travel the Oregon Trail in its entirety (Mintz 1987:119). Stansbury and his assistant, Lieutenant John Gunnison, also of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, departed shortly after Loring. Stansbury's expedition was more scientific than military in nature, and involved detailed mapping and data gathering in the Salt Lake Valley (Goetzmann 1959:218-219).

The End of an Era of Exploration

Other expeditions of the Corps of Topographical Engineers in the region included Stansbury's Overland Trail explorations; returning from his expedition to the Great Salt Lake, Stansbury traveled portions of what would become the Overland Trail, a southern alternative to the Oregon Trail (south of the current Study Area). In 1859-60, Captain William F. Raynolds explored large portions of what is today northeastern Wyoming in order to scout the Indians and explore four possible wagon routes. One of his extensive explorations followed portions of what later became the Bozeman Trail along the east flank of the Bighorn Mountains. Raynold's survey was the last conducted by the Corps of Topographical Engineers. The Corps had also conducted the important Pacific Railroad surveys in the early 1850s. However, the growing sectionalism and corresponding political climate doomed the results of these surveys. As Secretary of War, southerner Jefferson Davis was in charge of the surveys, and this factor alone made the survey results suspect in the eyes of northern senators and congressmen. The surveys generally favored a southern route, and thus the prestige of the Topographical Corps began to wane after 1855. As a result, road building in the western territories shifted from the Topographical Corps and the Secretary of War to the Department of the Interior, a civilian agency (Goetzmann 1979:262-266, 341-345).

With the coming of the Civil War, the federal government shifted its attention to the main theater of conflict east of the Mississippi River. At the close of the Civil War, the military showed a renewed interest in the western territories, utilizing the information gathered by the Corps to conduct campaigns against the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho.

THE TRANSPORTATION FRONTIER

The Oregon Trail

The most important historical resource in the Study Area is undoubtedly the Oregon Trail. By 1840, the fur trappers and traders had unwittingly hastened the demise of their livelihood by

developing an east-west corridor across the trans-Mississippi West fit for wagon travel. Returning Astorians, explorers, and mountain men had aroused popular interest with their tales of the vast empire that lay west of the Mississippi. By an 1818 convention with England, the Oregon country became open for joint occupation by the citizens of both countries, but it was not until 1846 that Oregon actually became a territory of the United States. The Oregon Trail allowed thousands of citizens to enter Oregon and helped tip the balance for its acquisition by the United States. As a result of the Financial Panic of 1837, depressed farm prices, the social impact of the industrial revolution, and the eternal hope that life could be better elsewhere, thousands were willing to "take the jump" at Independence, Missouri, and cross the rolling prairie to the Great Platte River Road.

The first emigrant group, the Bidwell-Bartleson party, left in 1841. The following year, John C. Fremont traveled a portion of the emigrant road and made the first accurate map and guidebook for emigrants (see "The Fremont Expeditions"). In 1843, the first large migration of 1,000 people was led by Marcus Whitman, who had already established a religious mission in Oregon. In 1847, the Mormon migration began, following the north bank of the Platte with the ultimate destination of Salt Lake City. In 1849, the discovery of gold in California provided an additional catalyst; approximately 30,000 emigrants passed through Fort Laramie that year and continued up the Platte River Valley through the Study Area (Mattes 1969:13-15).

The Oregon Trail entered the eastern portion of present-day Wyoming following the North Platte River and proceeded across Goshen County to Fort Laramie. This famous frontier fort was preceded by Fort William, which had been built in 1834 by Sublette and Campbell; a rival fort was built by Lancaster Lupton in 1840 known as Fort Platte. As a result of this competition, Fort William was rebuilt in 1841 and called Fort John. The original site of Fort William is not known, but the location of Fort John is known from military drawings. In 1849, Fort Laramie became a military post and was rebuilt as one of a chain along the Oregon Trail to protect the emigrants. According to guidebooks, Fort Laramie was 665 miles west of St. Joseph, about one-third of the way to Sacramento. It represented the beginning of mountainous country and the end of the more easily traveled plains. It was also the last outpost of civilization and provided a good "turning back" place (Hafen and Young 1938; Mattes 1969:480-521).

Guernsey-Area Oregon Trail Sites

The Oregon Trail followed the North Platte River from Fort Laramie west to present-day Guernsey. Several important landmarks are located in the immediate area.

Register Cliff (48PL135 and 48PL132). This was given one site number for the monument and one for the inscriptions. Enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places, Register Cliff is located about 2.8 miles southeast of the town of Guernsey. Over a mile of soft sandstone-limestone cliffs rising one hundred feet above the North Platte River beckoned soldiers and emigrants to record their passing starting in about 1847. It is one of three major locations along the trail in Wyoming where emigrants carved names and dates into rock. (The other two are Independence Rock on the Sweetwater River in central Wyoming and Names Hill on the Green River in southwestern Wyoming (Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976:220). At least 375 emigrant signatures have been deciphered by historians. Most consist of a name and the date of inscription; some also include place of origin. At least two signatures appear to be those of soldiers: W.F. Hiatt, Co. F, K.V.C., April 10, 1865, and Joseph Tuh of Co. F (no date) (Guernsey Museum). In addition to the inscriptions at Register Cliff, there are numerous inscriptions just outside of the monument area on WYARNG lands (Figure 7).

Unknown Graves. Adjacent to Register Cliff is a small fenced area protecting three graves. The origin of these graves is unknown; they could be related to trail migration, the nearby trading post, or the Pony Express station (Haines 1981:145).

Sand Point Station (48PL134). In a meadow a short distance west of Register Cliff, lies the site of Sand Point Station, established in 1852 as a trading post by Seth Ward and William Guerrier and strategically located to take advantage of the hide and fur trade and to supply trail emigrants. The post was described by an emigrant in 1852: "We are now encamped directly on the bank of the river...The station, about a mile below, is in a handsome bend of the stream and consists of two or three log buildings, with a large one of stone, about half erected." In 1855, the two traders moved to Fort Laramie, where Ward became the post sutler, and Guerrier managed the Indian trade until his death in 1858. B.B. Mills and Antoine Janis then took over the Indian trade and moved their headquarters back to Sand Point. The post later became a stage station under Jules Ecoffey; in 1860-1861, it became a Pony Express Station (Jording 1992:159).

Oregon Trail Ruts (48PL80). Just over one mile south of Guernsey are imposing trail ruts carved deep into soft sandstone outcrops by countless iron wheel rims. The ruts are worn to a depth of five feet and represent one of the most impressive physical remnants of the entire Oregon Trail (Figure 8). In addition to emigrant wagons, military and freighting traffic contributed to the deeply cut tracks, and adjacent footpaths are evidence of the bullwhackers and muleteers who



Figure 7. Emigrant inscription near Register Cliff (48PL132).



Figure 8. Oregon Trail Ruts National Monument (48PL80).

walked beside their teams (Haines 1981:148; Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976:219). Thirty-five segments of this trail have been recorded on WYARNG lands.

Lucinda Rollins Grave (48PL1173). The grave of Lucinda Rollins is located a few hundred yards north of the trail ruts along the south bank of the North Platte River. The grave is that of a twenty-four year old woman from Ohio, who was buried here on June 11, 1849. The original headstone was vandalized, and the site was commemorated in 1934 with a white concrete monument (Figure 9) by the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming (Haines 1981:146-147).

Warm Springs (48PL123). Just west of Guernsey, the Oregon trail branched into a northern and southern variation that rejoined about five miles west. Emigrants on the southern variation encountered a popular camping spot at Warm Springs. Located about 2.5 miles southwest of Guernsey were two free-flowing springs that were noted by John C. Fremont in 1842: "A very large spring gushes with considerable noise and force out of the limestone rock." The springs were also referred to as the "Emigrants' Laundry Tub" (Haines 1981: 149-150). One emigrant grave (48PL558) is located on WYARNG land near the springs.

Cold Springs, Rifle Pits (48PL142). Travelers on the northern or primary route of the Oregon Trail passed by Cold Springs, about 2.5 miles west of Guernsey. About 1000 feet east of the springs are the remains of five rifle pits, presumably representing the protection of the trail (Haines 1981:151). The trail continued with several variations along the south bank of the North Platte to be later inundated by the waters of Guernsey and Glendo Reservoirs in the twentieth century.

Child's Route (48PL176). Child's Route or Cutoff of the Oregon Trail is a variant that was pioneered by the Andrew Child wagon train in 1850. His party diverged from the accepted route near Fort Laramie and generally followed the north bank of the North Platte River to the vicinity of present-day Casper before rejoining the regular route. Child issued a guidebook in 1852 to promote his route. According to Child, the advantages of the route were more forage for livestock and less risk of the diseases prevalent on the south side of the river (Child 1852:78).

Child's Route diverged northwest from the North Platte River in the Study Area. Portions of it coincide with today's Route 270 following Hartville Canyon north to Hartville. The trail then turned northwest through Rocky Pass, across Long's Canyon, and up Emigrant Hill where there are well-preserved wagon ruts and emigrant graves (Figure 10). One such grave is that of Elva Ingram (located on private property). The grave site is fenced and retains the original headstone with the inscription: "Elva Ingram, died June 23, 1852, age 4 years 6 months, from Salem, Iowa" (Franzwa



View west.

Figure 9. Lucinda Rollins grave (48PL1173). An Emigrant on the Oregon Trail buried 1849.

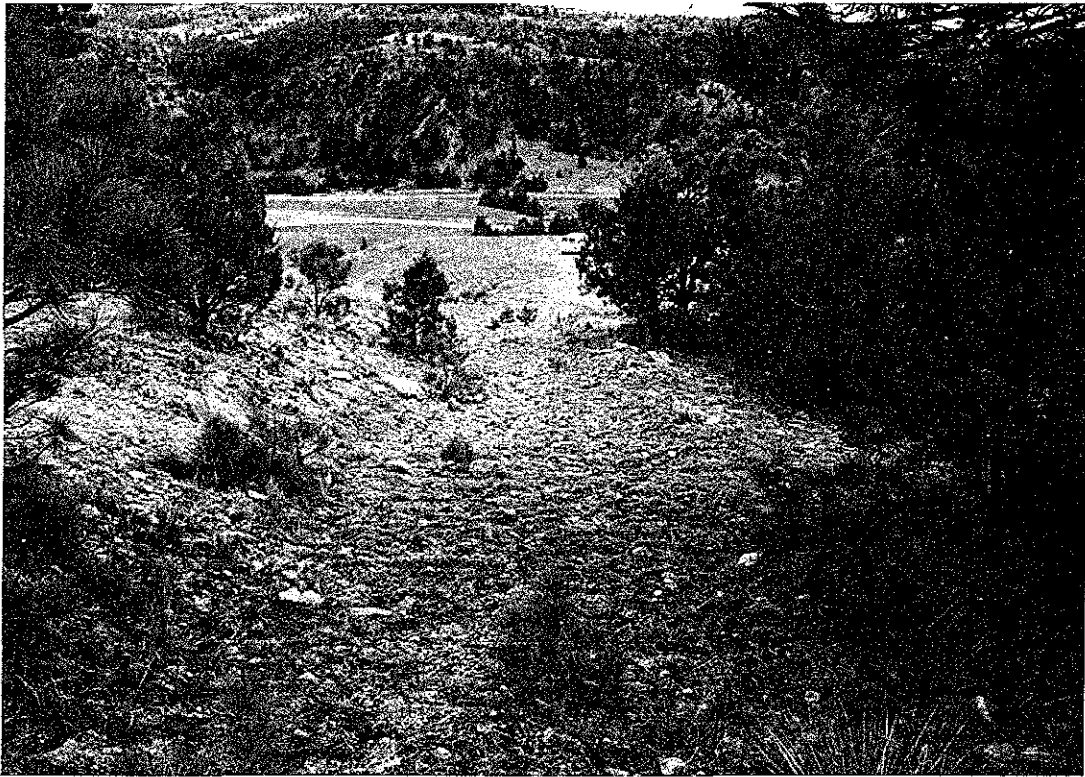


Figure 10. Child's Route of the Oregon Trail (48PL176). View south from Emigrant Hill.

1982:110). Currently, there are five segments of this trail on WYARNG lands.

Pony Express. The Oregon Trail also served as the route of the famed Pony Express. The federal government began subsidizing the overland mail in 1859 and the Pony Express in 1860. Russell, Majors, and Waddell of St. Joseph, Missouri, organized the Pony Express. This attempt at increasing the speed of mail delivery was to last just seventeen months. The mail took only eight to ten days from St. Joseph to Sacramento. The Pony Express and overland mail stations adjacent to the Study Area included Cold Springs Station (two miles southeast of Torrington), Verdling's Ranch Station (two miles west of Lingle), Fort Laramie Station (undetermined point west of Fort Laramie), Sand Point Station (at the base of Register Cliff, Platte County), and Horseshoe Stage Station (south of Glendo). When the transcontinental telegraph (see below) was completed in 1861, the Pony Express went into bankruptcy, then out of existence (Mattes 1969:19).

Transcontinental Telegraph. In addition to its use as an emigrant and mail route, the Oregon Trail was used as the corridor of the first transcontinental telegraph. Edward Creighton was in charge of construction from Omaha to Salt Lake City. The entire telegraph system was constructed in just over four months, reaching San Francisco in October 1861. The Pacific Telegraph Line was of vital importance to the military; therefore, telegraph stations were constructed whenever possible in or near existing forts. In spite of the fact that the lines were often cut by Indians, the telegraph represented the first extension of civilization west of Fort Kearney, and some of the forts along the Oregon Trail were established in part to protect the telegraph line (Mattes 1969:218,270). Several of the stations along the 280-mile stretch between Fort Laramie and South Pass were constructed in the early 1860s by troops stationed at Fort Laramie, such as the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry Regiment and the 11th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. These stations included Horseshoe Station (south of Glendo), Camp Marshall (just east of La Bonte Station), La Prele Creek Station, Deer Creek Station, Camp Dodge (a short-lived post four miles southeast of Platte Bridge Station), Platte Bridge Station, Sweetwater Station, Three Crossings, Rocky Ridge Station, and South Pass Station (Burnt Station) (Saunders 1998:7-8).

Significance of the Oregon Trail

The national historical importance of the Oregon Trail lies in its use as the major emigrant corridor for the great nineteenth century westward migration. It was also used as the route of the first transcontinental telegraph, the overland mail, and the Pony Express. It allowed U.S. citizens

to pour into the Oregon country and secure it for the United States. Although the great tide of migration subsided after the building of the first transcontinental railroad (see below), the route continued to be used by emigrants, local ranchers, and livestock drives into the twentieth century. Today, large segments of the trail remain intact, and numerous sites associated with the trail (e.g., emigrant graves, springs and camping spots, trail registers, and Pony Express and stage station ruins) still can be found. It is an extremely important and sensitive corridor that represents the era of the pioneer, the settlement of the West, and the demise of the Native American Indian culture.

The Transcontinental Railroad

Although the route of the first transcontinental railroad passed well to the south of the current Study Area, the arrival of the railroad had far reaching consequences on what became Wyoming Territory. Unlike the Oregon Trail, which generally filtered emigrants through the Study Area to points west, the railroad was the chief catalyst in opening the region to settlement and economic exploitation. The railroad directly influenced the locations of towns and cities along the route and was a major factor in their eventual growth or decline. Such cities as Cheyenne and Laramie owed their existence to the railroad.

The first choice for the route of the railroad had been the North Platte River Valley generally along the Oregon Trail. However, the final route roughly followed the more southerly Overland Trail route. Although the Railroad Act was passed in 1862, construction did not get underway until after the Civil War. Tracks reached the site of Cheyenne in November 1867. Meanwhile the Central Pacific built eastward from California to join the Union Pacific construction gangs at Promontory Point, Utah, where the final spike was driven on May 10, 1869. The Union Pacific portion had been completed in about three and one-half years with a force of 10,000 men (Dodge 1910:32). Cheyenne housed the principal depot and repair shops and was the eastern base of the Rocky Mountain Division.

The Union Pacific was granted alternate sections of land twenty miles on each side of the right-of-way. This acreage, coupled with federal homestead laws, provided the motivation to use this transportation system to reach and settle the wilderness. As a result, the railroad provided the necessary connection to eastern markets vital to ranching development, and it created a logging industry in Wyoming because of the need for a continuous supply of railroad ties. Coal mines along the mainline were developed for railroad use as well as for nearby communities and provided steady employment for thousands of miners. Dodge (1910) and Athearn (1971) provide excellent accounts

of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Road

Railroad expansion within Wyoming Territory did not begin until the 1880s. In the interim, a network of wagon roads radiated out from key railheads on the Union Pacific Railroad and penetrated the unsettled interior regions of Wyoming. The Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Road, also known as the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Road, is one notable example that connected the capitol city to the Black Hills, where a gold rush was spurred by the discoveries of the Custer Expedition in 1874. The route passed through Fort Laramie then continued due north, passing east of the Study Area through the site of what became Lusk, Wyoming. It continued north to the Black Hills, generally paralleling the east boundary of Wyoming to the west. Stage stations were established along the route, and regular stage service carried passenger, mail and express from Cheyenne to Custer City. The stations nearest the current Study Area were Fort Laramie (headquarters in the Rustic Hotel), Ten Mile Station, and Government Farm (fourteen miles north of Fort Laramie). Eleven years after its inception, the route was discontinued, mostly due to railroad expansion. The last stage from the Black Hills pulled into Cheyenne on February 19, 1887 (Larson 1978:131-132).

THE NATIVE AMERICAN-MILITARY FRONTIER

Early Confrontations

Before the fur trappers searched the streams for beaver and the emigrant wagons passed through, this region was inhabited by Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglalla Sioux, among other groups.

During the 1840s and 1850s, Euro-American and Indian contact within Wyoming's current boundaries was generally limited to the Oregon Trail corridor. Although westward-bound emigrants constantly feared Indian attacks, relatively few occurred. Most encounters were either friendly or consisted of minor stock loss and theft. The Fort Laramie Treaty Council of 1851 designated the area between the South Platte and Arkansas rivers in Colorado as the hunting grounds of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The Sioux agreed to hunt north of the North Platte River. All tribes agreed to leave the emigrant roads unmolested and allow the establishment of military posts and roads in

their territories (Larson 1978:14-15). Nevertheless, confrontations ensued. The first serious Army-Indian confrontation occurred in Wyoming in June 1853. A party of Miniconjou Sioux seized a ferry boat operating near Fort Laramie. Second Lieutenant High B. Fleming and twenty-three soldiers from Company G. 6th U.S. Infantry Regiment were sent from the post to arrest one of the Indians who had shot at an Army sergeant. The Sioux refused to turn over the warrior, and a battle ensued. Three Indians were killed, three wounded and two captured. First Lieutenant Richard B. Garnett, commander at Fort Laramie, sent the following message to Chief Little Brave after the skirmish:

"I regret the necessity which obliged me to kill any of your people, but under similar circumstances I will always act precisely in the same manner. I am now willing to forget what has passed, and receive you as friends; provided, you promise to behave yourselves hereafter; otherwise, I shall regard you as enemies, and am ready and able to meet you as such...you might escape at the time, and even for years, yet sooner or later, the day of retribution would certainly come" (Nadeau 1967).

The Grattan Battle. A more serious confrontation resulted from a dispute over an emigrant's cow near Fort Laramie on August 19, 1854. A military detachment headed by Lieutenant John L. Grattan was sent into a Brule Sioux village about eight miles southeast of the fort. When Grattan attempted to arrest several of the Indians, they resisted, and Grattan and his entire command were killed along with Brule Chief Brave Bear. The Army retaliated the following year with the Harney Campaign and its attack on a camp of Brule Sioux on the Blue River near Ash Hollow, Nebraska. The Grattan Massacre, as it was called, was an isolated incident of military-Indian conflict during a period that began in relative peace, but was characteristic of the pattern of revenge and escalating violence later seen in the Plains Indian Wars (Hieb 1954:11-12; Larson 1978:16).

Conflicts, Treaties, and the First Plains Indian Wars, 1865-1868

Colorado became the scene of major conflicts due to the discovery of gold in 1859 and the Pikes Peak gold rush, which encroached upon Arapaho and Cheyenne lands. This necessitated a second treaty in 1860, which created a small, triangular-shaped reservation between the Arkansas River and Sand Creek. The situation was less than ideal; isolated raids inflamed white settlers and resulted in Chivington's massacre of Black Kettle's Cheyenne at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864. This fueled the flame of Indian resentment and in turn resulted in the sacking of Julesburg in January 1865. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867, the Cheyenne and Arapaho were moved to Indian Territory (Ubbelohde, et al. 1972:108-109).

Meanwhile, raids along the Overland Trail were commonplace. In July 1862, Three Crossings Stage Station along the Sweetwater was attacked and the station burned to the ground.

Stock was run off, two coaches damaged and considerable tack stolen (McDermott 1993:31). The station was subsequently reconstructed by Company B, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry Regiment; that November the station was again attacked. During this time period, the minimum size of patrols between stations was ten enlisted men and one officer or non-commissioned officer; maximum size was twenty-five enlisted men and one officer. Officers ranking between captain and colonel commonly led even the smallest patrols (Saunders 1998:10).

The Sergeant Amos Custard Wagon Train Fight and the Battle of Platte Bridge Station.

On July 22, 1865, a military wagon train left Platte Bridge Station (Fort Caspar) to carry rations and cargo to Sweetwater Station, the next post to the west. The return trip on July 26 was under the command of Sergeant Amos Custard, who had been warned that there were hostile Indians in the vicinity. That afternoon, the train of five wagons was attacked on the north side of the North Platte by a large party of Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians. Although the members of the military train fought for over four hours, the wagons were overrun by the Indians, and all of the soldiers were killed. However, three of five men who had been sent ahead before the Indians appeared were able to safely reach Platte Bridge Station on foot. By about 4:00 p.m., the smoke of burning wagons and total silence indicated the end of the battle. Indian losses were estimated at 210 (McDermott 1993:66-70).

Earlier in the day, Lieutenant Caspar Collins had been dispatched to escort Custard's wagon train safely to the fort. His party was attacked by a force of over 1,500 Indians as soon as it crossed the bridge on the north side of the river; Collins and four of his twenty-five men were killed (McDermott 1993:68-69).

The aftermath of the Sergeant Custard Wagon Train Fight and the associated Platte Bridge fight resulted in recriminations, including charges of cowardice by the Ohio volunteers against the Kansas volunteers, whose officers refused to volunteer to lead the rescue party to the wagon train because they were scheduled to be mustered out in less than ten days. Also, the post commander, Major Anderson, at first delayed sending any help to the wagon train, then refused to send a larger force than Collins' twenty-five men, although Indian numbers were estimated at between 1000 and 1500 (McDermott 1993:71-72).

Connor Expedition

The last stronghold of the Plains Indians gradually dwindled to the Powder River country

north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains and included the Black Hills. The Connor Expedition was launched into this sanctuary in 1865 in yet another retaliation for Indian depredations along the Oregon and Overland Trails. With 2,500 men divided into three main columns, Connor hoped to surround and crush the Indians. The plan was sound in theory, but the reality was a colossal failure. The main damage to the Indian forces occurred at the Battle of Tongue River, where an Arapaho village was destroyed by Connor (on the site of Ranchester, Wyoming). The other two columns accomplished little, suffering exposure and starvation due to an early blizzard, and were barely able to reach Fort Connor (Larson 1978:23-24).

Fort Laramie Treaty of 1866

In 1866, the Bozeman Trail (an emigrant road to the Montana gold fields laid out by John Bozeman through the Powder River country in 1863) was strengthened by building a system of forts that included Fort Phil Kearney, Fort Reno and Fort C.F. Smith. Another peace treaty was negotiated at Fort Laramie in June 1866, eliciting a promise from the Sioux to leave the Bozeman Trail unmolested through the Powder River country, even as Colonel Carrington was en route to create the system of forts. Chief Red Cloud was not a party to this treaty and proceeded to lay siege to the trail.

Fetterman Battle and the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868

On December 21, 1866, Captain William J. Fetterman and his command of eighty-one men were surrounded and killed by a large force of Sioux Indians while trying to rescue a wood train that was under attack. Fetterman disobeyed an order from Colonel Carrington that he was not to pursue the Indians over Lodge Trail Ridge. This victory and the constant raids that effectively closed the Bozeman Trail led to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Conceding the region to the Indians, the government abandoned its forts and forbade white travel. Fort Phil Kearney was burned to the ground by the Indians and was never reoccupied. Although a reservation was established in what is now western South Dakota, the Indians retained hunting rights in the vast Powder River country. Permission to hunt in the Powder River country allowed many Indians to roam freely and yet join reservation Indians in the winter months to receive rations. It was impossible for Indian Agents to take accurate census of the Indian population (Kappler 1904:774-775).

The Second Plains Indian Wars and Indian Removal, 1868-1876

This uneasy peace proved short-lived. Although the Union Pacific Railroad was built well south of the Powder River country, Indians used the region as a staging area for attacks on its

construction in the late 1860s and as a place to retreat. Then in 1874, Custer's Black Hills expedition discovered gold deposits, and word soon spread of the mineral wealth in the Black Hills. This created a tide of emigration into the region that the federal government was powerless to prevent. The government attempted to purchase the Black Hills, but the Indians refused to sell their sacred lands. Finally, the Grant administration issued a proclamation that all Sioux Indians must come into their agencies by January 31, 1876, or be subject to military action.

The 1876 Military Campaigns

General George Crook and Colonel J.J. Reynolds left Fort Fetterman in February 1876, to punish any Indians who had not moved to the agencies. This campaign was largely unsuccessful, so a second grand campaign was planned for the summer to "herd" the Indians onto the reservations. Three armies entered the field under the commands of General Crook approaching from the south, Colonel John Gibbon from the west, and General Alfred H. Terry from the east. Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer and the 7th Cavalry accompanied General Terry. General Crook moved up the Bozeman Trail and on June 17th fought a large force under Chiefs Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull at the Battle of the Rosebud, about forty miles north of Sheridan in Montana. The battle was a draw, and instead of following the Indians, Crook soon retired to his wagon train on Big Goose Creek. Meanwhile, Custer met his well known fate at the Little Bighorn on June 25th.

Several smaller engagements followed within Wyoming. Crook and Terry again pushed north in September but could find no large bands of Indians, and Crook's men suffered badly from the elements and lack of supplies. A third campaign was launched from Fort Fetterman by Crook and Colonel R.S. Mackenzie in November. On November 23, 1876, Mackenzie destroyed Dull Knife's Cheyenne village in the Bighorn Mountains west of present-day Kaycee. Mackenzie attacked the village at dawn, and the Indians fled to defensive positions in the rocks above the village. Mackenzie burned the lodges and their contents of meat, clothing, utensils, and ammunition, and captured 700 ponies. The Indians later admitted to a loss of forty men, and were left to the ravages of winter without supplies and horses. They began a long march to join Crazy Horse on the upper Tongue River and suffered from the sub-zero temperatures and lack of food and supplies. The soldiers who were killed in the fight were buried at a point near the main military camp on Crazy Woman Creek. The graves have never been relocated (Grinnell 1915; Murray 1978:293, 295; Utley 1973:275-76).

Although the 1876 campaigns did not result in any clear-cut military victories, the non-Agency Indians had been fragmented and had exhausted their ammunition and supplies. A

government peace commission met in the fall of 1876 and drafted a treaty with some of the chiefs to cede the Black Hills and all lands west of them, even though the 1868 treaty did not allow further land cessions unless three-fourths of the adult males signed (Larson 1978:106). Thus, by the spring of 1877, northeastern Wyoming Territory had been cleared for non-Indian settlement, and most of the warring Indians were confined to formal reservations outside of Wyoming. Larson (1978) gives a concise history of the complicated subject of the Plains Indian wars in this region.

THE ERA OF THE CATTLEMAN

The Birth of the Wyoming Cattle Industry

The region that now comprises the State of Wyoming was settled quite late in the nation's history. Although thousands of emigrants passed through the region on the Oregon Trail and other east-west migration routes, their goal was to reach more fertile lands to the west. The rapid populating of these fertile areas, coupled with the development of the cattle industry and Texas Trail drives in the late 1860s and 1870s, impelled the cattlemen to turn their attention to the northern plains.

With the building of the first transcontinental railroad through what is now southern Wyoming in 1867-1868, distant cattle markets could be easily reached, and the vast grass and sagebrush covered lands of Wyoming Territory were found to be conducive to the fattening of livestock. Thus, Wyoming became more attractive to the prospective stock raiser.

Various stories abound concerning the origins of the range cattle industry on the western Great Plains. Prospectors and freighters involved in the 1859 Pikes Peak gold rush observed that oxen abandoned or lost on the prairie thrived on the buffalo and grama grasses and could survive blizzards on the same range. Alex Majors credits Seth Ward, sutler at Fort Laramie, with handling the first wintering-over of cattle in about 1852 (WPA 1940, 1941; Dick 1975:269-270).

Texas Trail Drives

Small herds of cattle were raised on road ranches along the major emigrant trails, but it remained for the great Texas trail drives to stimulate the cattle industry. Two major factors were involved: the surplus of cattle in Texas that could no longer be sold to southern markets because of the Civil War, and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad (Spring 1942:17-18; Krakel 1954:167).

The Texas cattle industry was based on the Texas longhorn, a Mexican breed that traced its

bloodlines to Spain and was probably introduced to North America in 1521. These herds had spread to Texas after 1850. During the Civil War, the traditional markets for beef had been closed by northern troops, and the cattle had multiplied on the Texas range (Peake 1939:268). With the close of the Civil War, enterprising individuals reasoned that the railroads pushing across the Great Plains would provide access to eastern beef markets, where the prices had been inflated by war. It remained to find out if herds could be successfully driven north, and the first large scale drives began in earnest. Nelson Story had driven a herd from Texas to the Montana gold fields in 1866 via the Bozeman Trail. In 1868, John W. Iliff brought a herd of Texas longhorns to the vicinity of the new town of Cheyenne to sell to butchers and to ship eastward (Peake 1939:268; Spring 1942:17-18).

The Union Pacific Railroad

The second major force for the creation of the range cattle industry was the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867-1868. Lured by the railroad and the surrounding vacant grasslands, the first permanent herd in Wyoming was brought in by W.G. Bullock and B.B. Mills from the Midwest in October 1868. The operation was set up near Fort Laramie but was moved southward to Bordeaux because of Indian raids. Their "SO" brand passed to J.M. Carey and Brother (Spring 1942:18). In Nebraska, Ogallala became the chief trail town for herds using the Western Trail extension from Dodge City, Kansas (Mahnken 1947:94). The trail continued north through western South and North Dakota to Fort Buford on the upper Missouri River. This trail was probably used to supply the various Indian agencies as well as to stock the range. Another major trail passed through Sidney, Nebraska (also on the Union Pacific mainline) that came from Brush, Colorado, a major point on the trails north. This was known as the Texas Trail in Wyoming and passed through Pine Bluffs, Fort Laramie, and Lusk to stock the Powder River country after 1876 (Dick 1975:269-273; Larson 1978:163-165; Olsen 1955:194-195; Spring 1942:45-46).

In addition to the Texas herds, cattle were also driven from Oregon via the Oregon Trail into eastern Wyoming and Colorado. By 1879, there were an estimated 100,000 head of cattle from Oregon in the two territories (Spring 1942:46).

Open Range Cattle Ranching

The open range cattle industry that developed in Wyoming was based on the Spanish tradition passed on through the Texans, which at first proved well-suited to the vast grasslands of the region. Under this system, cattle were allowed to graze over unfenced areas year-round, relying on the prairie grasses that cured on the stem in the dry climate. Winter winds usually cleared large

areas so that the cattle could reach forage (U.S., Congress, House 1884:578).

The first cattlemen needed only a limited financial investment to enter the cattle industry. They profited by fattening trail-driven steers on the Wyoming range and shipping them to market on the railroad. By means of existing land laws, a rancher secured a headquarters with available water, where he would construct more permanent buildings after the sale of one or two herds. He utilized the surrounding free public domain for grazing lands. The Spanish system of branding was necessary to identify cattle after a winter of drifting with the storms. Spring round-up would gather the cattle in a particular geographical region, where they would be sorted and new calves branded. The inevitable mortality factor of three-to-four percent under the open range system was offset by low overhead, a comparatively small initial investment, and a high percentage of profit (Larson 1978:190; U.S., Congress, House 1884:578-581).

Acquisition of Federal Land

Settlement of the territory was governed by numerous homestead laws that had been developed east of the Mississippi River, where rainfall was so plentiful that the standard land unit for farming became 160 acres. This standard unit was used by the Homestead Act of 1862, under which a twenty-one year old or head of a family could file on "unappropriated public lands." (See details under "The Homesteading Frontier.")

However, the various homestead acts passed by Congress to settle the public domain involved land parcels that were too small for successful stock raising operations in the semi-arid environment of Wyoming Territory. Although the prairie grasses proved nutritious to livestock, up to forty acres of range land were needed to maintain each animal. Congress belatedly recognized the needs of the western rancher and farmer, but the resulting alteration in the land laws was piecemeal and often occurred too late. Legislators failed to realize that few year-round water sources existed in large portions of Wyoming Territory, and those that did were already usurped or controlled by the earliest arrivals (Larson 1978:173-176; Robbins 1942:206-207).

Briefly, prominent pioneer ranchers in southeastern Wyoming Territory included John W. Iliff, Alexander Swan, J.M. Carey, Charles Hutton, Edward Creighton, Thomas Sturgis, Francis E. Warren, and W.C. Irvine.

The Cattle Barons and the Blizzard of 1886-1887

The flourishing western cattle industry soon attracted European investors. By 1878-1880, approximately eighty to ninety percent of England's imported beef came from the United States.

British and Scottish capitalists entered the western cattle market and in the 1880s invested an estimated forty-five million dollars. Foreign ownership and control of large ranches was quite common in eastern Wyoming Territory. Although the risks were great, the potential for tremendous profits existed in the pioneer western cattle industry in the late 1870s and early 1880s (Larson 1978:190-192).

The number of cattle outfits therefore increased, and the range gradually became overcrowded with livestock. Market prices, in turn, began to fall after 1884. Finally, drought conditions prevailed during the summer of 1886, and a series of devastating blizzards raged the following winter, resulting in a high stock mortality rate. Although Wyoming's cattle losses were less than those of Montana or the Dakotas, they were still estimated at about fifteen percent. The poor condition of the cattle that survived, however, decreased their market value; furthermore, the calf crop the following spring was significantly reduced (Larson 1978:190-192).

The biggest losers were the large cattle companies that operated totally under the open range system and had depended on sheer numbers and plentiful free grazing land. With no winter hay put aside and no shelter or water provided for stock, many of the cattle barons were ruined. English investors lost ten million dollars and Scottish investors, seven to eight million dollars.

The winter of 1886-1887 effectively ended the short-lived era of the cattle barons and open range management practices. Foreign investment and absentee ownership were greatly reduced, and the Wyoming cattle industry entered an extended period of decline and retrenchment. Cattlemen began to clear meadow land to grow hay crops for winter forage and to fence their lands for better livestock management.

THE HOMESTEADING FRONTIER

Federal Land Policy

The history of the homesteader's frontier in the second half of the nineteenth century is predicated on federal land policy and its underlying philosophy. Therefore, a brief examination of the homestead laws is necessary to an understanding of the pattern of land settlement in and around the Study Area.

In 1841, Congress passed the Pre-emption Act, which entitled a citizen of the United States to "squat" on public land. When that land was finally surveyed and put up for sale, the squatter was

granted first chance to purchase up to 160 acres at \$1.25 per acre. Formerly, settlers had been technically trespassing if they dwelt on the land prior to purchase (Larson 1978:172; Robbins 1942:89-90). The Pre-emption Act established a new government policy toward land that would be embodied in the Homestead Act of 1862 and subsequent land legislation that affected settlement in the Study Area. It established the principle that settlement of public domain was more important than revenue. It also established the precedent of breaking up public lands into small homesteads, thereby benefitting the largest number of people while reducing the hold of land speculators and those already holding sufficient land (Robbins 1942:91).

The Homestead Act of 1862 went one step further and allowed a citizen of the United States who had reached the age of twenty-one or was the head of a family to file on as many as 160 acres of "unappropriated public lands." Restrictions required that the entrant maintain residence for five years and swear that he intended to cultivate and settle the land himself. A filing fee of thirty-four dollars on the Pacific Coast and twenty-six dollars elsewhere represented the only cash outlay. With six months residence and the improvement of one acre or more of land, the homesteader could gain title by purchasing the land at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, a system known as commutation. By 1872, Civil War Union veterans could apply months of service to the residency requirement (Larson 1978:172-175; Robbins 1942:206-207; Sheldon 1936:25-26).

The Federal government reasoned that private ownership of public lands was preferable and resulted in the protection and improvement of the land. As farms were established and crops planted, the value of the land would increase. The public domain, on the other hand, was subject to spoilage by squatters, large timber companies, and mining and railroad interests. Unfortunately, federal land policy had originally been formulated for lands east of the Mississippi River with a less harsh environment and high rainfall, and the small land parcels proved inadequate in the semi-arid West.

As homesteaders in what John Wesley Powell referred to as the "Arid Region of the United States" began to take up 160-acre homesteads and to experience the difficulty of making a living on such a small parcel, the federal government attempted to adapt the laws with piecemeal legislation often more unrealistic than the Homestead Act itself. The Timber Culture Act of 1873 allowed an individual to claim 160 acres if he agreed to plant forty acres in trees and keep them growing for eight years. Five year later, the acreage was reduced to ten acres in trees. Nevertheless, settlers soon learned that it was virtually impossible to grow even ten acres of trees in such a climate.

The Desert Land Act of 1877 attempted to fashion a land policy more suited to the western environment. A homesteader could buy up to 640 acres of "desert land" (land which required irrigation for the cultivation of crops). He could pay twenty-five cents per acre for the first three years, after which one dollar per acre was paid to gain title. In the interim, the settler had to irrigate at least a portion of the land to receive a patent (U.S. Statutes at Large 1875-1877:377). Once again, this act proved untenable in most areas lacking year-round water sources for irrigation. As a result, only 4,148 patents were issued from 15,898 filings under the Desert Land Act in Wyoming Territory (Larson 1978:175).

Initial Settlement

Homestead settlement in the Study Area was retarded by a number of factors, even after the Union Pacific was constructed in 1867. Certainly, the railroad provided the needed impetus for the cattle industry and commercial interests in the railroad towns, as well as businesses and jobs connected with the railroad, such as the tie industry and mining. Nevertheless, settlement in terms of the small farming homestead as envisioned by the federal government was adversely affected by several factors. First, the large cattle operators were already entrenched in the most favorable locations along the major drainages. Engaging in an industry better suited to the environment, the cattle interests already controlled most of the available water sources and could thereby prevent the small homesteader from making inroads. After the advent of cheap barbed wire in 1875, the homesteader could afford to fence his parcel, but the cattle rancher could in turn fence the public domain, which he did not own but claimed through custom and use. Furthermore, the earliest homesteaders had chosen either to head for the fertile valleys of Oregon or California, or to cling to the eastern fringes of the Great Plains, regions less arid than the Study Area. Therefore, until the regions to the west and east were saturated, farmers had little incentive to brave the harsh climate, the cattle ranchers, or the Indians.

With some or all of these drawbacks facing the prospective settler, it is little wonder that homestead settlement developed so slowly in the Study Area. By the 1880s, however, conditions began to change in favor of the small homesteader. First, an act of Congress (February 25, 1885) forbade the fencing of the public domain by the cattlemen. Second, William A.J. Sparks was appointed commissioner of the General Land Office and proceeded to crack down on fencing and land fraud violations, consequently stirring up the eastern press against the cattlemen (Larson 1978:179-182). The Blizzard of 1886-87 broke the hold of the cattle barons, and the weakening of

that industry proved an opening for the homesteader. Furthermore, an increased rainfall in the arid region in the 1880s made farming appear more attractive.

Success in early farming was based on the presence of sufficient water for irrigation. Farmers clung to areas such as the North Platte River Valley or close to the Front Range of the Rockies, where mountain tributaries were available. Such factors as the invention of wind mills, the use of James Oliver's chilled iron plow that could handle prairie sod, and the introduction of hardy red winter wheat from the Crimea, encouraged farmers to take up the vacant arid lands of the plains. The final catalyst was a cycle of heavy rainfall in the 1880s, which fooled people into believing that some fundamental shift in climate had occurred and resulted in the belief that "rain follows the plow" (Olson 1955:174). With the encouragement of the expanding railroads and their associated land companies, homesteaders began pouring onto the plains in the 1880s in an initial assault that lasted as long as the unusual wet weather pattern. Dry years in 1889 and 1890 provided a warning. The year 1894 brought the worst drought to the Plains until the 1930s. With the additional factor of the Financial Panic of 1893, abandoned homesteads dotted the western prairies.

Irrigation

One solution to farming in semi-arid regions was to develop irrigation systems. Wheatland developed as a result of an irrigation project by the Wyoming Development Company, organized in 1883 by such notables as Joseph M. Carey, William C. Irvine, John W. Hoyt, and Francis E. Warren. Using the waters of the Laramie River, Sybille and Chugwater creeks, as well as reservoirs in Albany County, the company eventually brought 60,000 acres under cultivation. Town construction did not actually begin until 1893. A sugar beet industry also developed there that culminated in the building of a Great Western sugar refinery in 1930 (Wyoming Historical Records Survey Program 1939:18-19).

Despite the fact that the North Platte River crossed the region, large scale reclamation projects were generally beyond the scope of private or state enterprise. The federal government passed the Carey Act in 1894. Written by Wyoming Senator Joseph M. Carey, it allowed the federal government to donate up to one million acres of arid lands to each state possessing such lands, on the condition that the states reclaimed and settled the lands. Wyoming accepted the offer (the first state to do so), charging settlers fifty cents an acre. A private construction company in turn charged the settler twenty dollars per acre for perpetual water rights. Several projects were started in the Big Horn Basin, and the Wheatland enterprise soon became a Carey Act project. The cost burden

was borne either by the state or private individuals and companies (Larson 1978:303-304). The Newlands Act of 1902 created a reclamation fund established from the sale of western lands and provided loans to individuals undertaking small-scale reclamation projects.

The North Platte project resulted in Pathfinder Dam, completed in 1910, utilizing two canals on either side of the North Platte: the South Side or Fort Laramie Canal and the Interstate Canal on the north side (ten miles below Guernsey Reservoir, which acts as a regulatory facility) (McKinley 1938:96-97). The results of this gigantic reclamation project were directly felt by Goshen County. By 1915, the canals were completed, and over one-million acres of land in the County were under irrigation by 1940, providing crops of sugar beets, seed potatoes, alfalfa, and wheat. Torrington, the county seat, had a post office by 1889 and became an incorporated town in 1908. The building of the Burlington Railroad through town, a Union Pacific spur from south Torrington to Yoder (1926), and the North Platte Valley Cut-off to Cheyenne (1928) all assured the community's success as an agricultural center (Wyoming Historical Records Survey Program 1940; WPA n.d.). The only site associated with irrigation on WYARNG land is 48PL1077. It is the remains of a water wheel which was used to deliver water to an irrigation ditch.

Dry Land Farming

The next homesteading phase resulted from the dry land farming movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which proved to have a profound effect on settlement of the Study Area. The dry land farming movement reached its height in Wyoming after 1900, at a time when the cattlemen were still rebuilding their industry. Dry land farming involved a series of techniques that conserved available rainfall in order to grow crops in semi-arid regions. This method of farming assumed a basic minimum annual rainfall of fifteen inches. Coupled with increased immigration to the United States and the increasing scarcity of good cheap farming land, homesteaders turned to submarginal lands throughout Wyoming with these new farming techniques.

Dry land farming had been tried in Wyoming Territory in the late 1870s at a small Swedish settlement called Salem, about forty miles northeast of Cheyenne. The Campbell system of farming, developed by Hardy W. Campbell, had been used in Nebraska and Kansas. His theory was based on storing and conserving the natural rainfall by compressing the subsoil and keeping the topsoil loose by cultivation; it also entailed leaving parcels fallow and keeping the surface free of moisture-robbing vegetation (Union Pacific Railroad 1909:14, 17; Dick 1975:356-357). The theory of dry farming is sound, and it is still practiced today in Wyoming. Nevertheless, a basic minimum amount

of rainfall is necessary; below that amount, dry farming is not possible. Wyoming encouraged dry land settlement of its semi-arid lands through a Board of Immigration created in 1911. Newspapers extolled the virtues of dry land farming; the railroads conducted a well organized advertising campaign on a nationwide basis to settle the regions through which they passed. Doctor V.T. Cooke, an "expert" in the technique from Oregon, was brought to Wyoming in 1905 and appointed "Director of Dry Farming Experiments" with funds appropriated by the state (Larson 1978:361).

Wyoming's chief proponent of dry land farming was Frank W. Mondell, who later became mayor of Newcastle and a congressional representative. Mondell had practiced dry land farming techniques from 1889 to 1893 on his farm five miles northwest of Newcastle. He authored the 1909 Enlarged Homestead Act, which allowed a homesteader to file on as many as 320 acres and further encouraged farmers to immigrate to Wyoming. Despite droughts in 1910 and 1911, dry land farmers in Wyoming experienced good years in 1912 and 1913. In 1914, Laramie County was the foremost dry farming county in Wyoming, with 512,612 acres (generally southeast of Cheyenne) in what is known as the Golden Prairie District, where oats, wheat, barley, rye, and potatoes were grown (Larson 1978:363). This was a direct result of such land promoters as J.R. Carpenter, C.L. Beatty, and M.E. Cotton, the latter an employee of the Union Pacific Railroad. It is not insignificant that the inception and growth of towns in this region corresponded with the railroad lines through this portion of Wyoming (i.e., the Union Pacific branch line from Egbert to Torrington). There are numerous remnants of abandoned homesteads within the Study Area. One example is the Howshar Ranch, 48PL725, (Figure 11) which was originally homesteaded in 1910 (Reiss et al. 1996).

The federal government also lured homesteaders to western lands by the Stock Raising Act of 1916, which allowed an individual to file on as many as 640 acres of land that the Secretary of the Interior had classified as "stock-raising lands." Such lands were suitable only for grazing and the raising of forage crops, did not have any timber, and could not be irrigated (Wyoming State Planning Board 1938:118).

Promotional efforts by the State and the railroads, the prosperous war years for agriculture in 1917 and 1918, and the Stock Raising Act of 1916, with its increased acreage, all contributed to this boom period. A large amount of land filings consisted of existing farms and ranches expanding their holdings in an optimistic economic climate. However, an equally large number of homesteaders had been misled by promotional advertising and were not adequately prepared for the trying experiences that awaited them in Wyoming. It soon became apparent to the aspiring dry land farmer



Figure 11. Main house of the Howshar Ranch (48PL725). View east.

that he could not make a living by raising only crops. Some were initially successful in growing crops of wheat, oats, barley and other small grains, along with hay, alfalfa, sweet clover and other grasses for an increased number of cattle. A drought in 1919 was followed by a severe winter. The spring of 1920 saw market prices fall for cattle and sheep. Those homesteaders who were not ruined by the turn in events became small livestock ranchers and limited their farming to forage crops and family garden plots. Some were able to obtain cheap land as it was foreclosed or sold for taxes. During the 1920s, the size of homesteads in Wyoming nearly doubled and the number of homesteads decreased, indicating the shift to livestock raising (LeCompte and Anderson 1982:D-2-132-133).

The Great Depression: The End of Homesteading

The high agricultural prices associated with increased demand during World War I prompted many farmers and ranchers to use their profits to purchase more land, equipment, and seed. The Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 with its 640-acre parcels was ideal for this expansion by existing homesteaders. Unfortunately, agricultural prices began plummeting after 1920, and farmers preceded the rest of the nation into the Depression by using their wartime profits on expansion rather than debt reduction (Olsen 1955:296).

The Great Depression, coupled with severe drought years in 1930, 1931, 1934, 1936, and 1939, destroyed the dry farmer, and many homesteads were abandoned. Those small farmers and ranchers who were not ruined outright persevered but, no longer able to make a living from the land, became dependent on relief. Tax delinquency was therefore commonplace, and county governments had difficulty maintaining roads and administering school systems.

The Resettlement Administration

Created by Executive Order on April 30, 1935, this program began purchasing homesteads that were abandoned or operating at a loss on marginal lands. Prices ranged from \$2.05 to \$2.21 per acre, and purchases continued into the 1940s. These lands were to be returned to their original status as grazing lands. Some of the residents on purchased lands were resettled on better lands, upon which they might become self sufficient. These consisted of separate farms scattered throughout existing farm districts or settlements, one of which existed near Lingle.

Taylor Grazing Act

In 1934, the Taylor Grazing Act and two subsequent Executive Orders were passed that withdrew the remaining public domain from entry, thus virtually ending the homesteading era (except

on certain reclamation projects). Its intent was "to stop injury to the public grazing lands by preventing overgrazing and soil deterioration, to provide for their orderly use, improvement, and development, to stabilize the livestock industry dependent upon the public range" (U.S. Statutes at Large, 73rd Congress, Vol. 48:1269).

Five grazing districts were set up in Wyoming, and local advisory boards were established for each. "Cooperation was in a sense a necessity, for the stockmen had the knowledge and experience required for a successful administration of those lands" (Merk 1978:610). These lands were then leased by permittees who were charged fees. A portion of the fees collected was used to improve the range. Within the grazing districts were many blocks of private and state lands. The act authorized these for exchange for lands elsewhere, so that federal holdings could be consolidated for better management and administration.

The federal government had finally realized that large portions of Wyoming and the West were not suited to large-scale or even modest subsistence farming. It was pastoral land, profitable if properly administered and regulated, and supporting a smaller number of larger operations, better suited to the character of the land and climate. Forage crops and some cash crops are grown today in and around the Study Area, but these areas are limited to irrigable lands along the principal year-round water courses and hardy forage crops.

RAILROAD EXPANSION

The Union Pacific Railroad

Although the Union Pacific Railroad had constructed the first transcontinental railroad across southern Wyoming Territory in 1867-68, interior regions including the Study Area did not get rail service until the late 1880s. In 1887, the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad, a subsidiary of the Union Pacific Railroad, built a 125-mile long branch line from Cheyenne northward to Wendover, a station several miles northwest of Guernsey along the west side of the North Platte River. The original intent of the Union Pacific had been to build the line north into the Powder River Basin and beyond to Montana. However, the railroad's interest unaccountably waned, perhaps due to gloomy reports from its advance engineers about the agricultural and mineral prospects along the unbuilt remainder of the line. Thereafter, construction ended at Wendover, and the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad became, in effect, a railroad that went nowhere (Athearn 1971:300; Larson 1978:159).

This condition was rectified in 1890, when the Union Pacific Railroad consolidated eleven subsidiary lines and formed the Union Pacific, Denver and Gulf Railway. It then built a 28-mile extension from Wendover to Orin Junction to join with the east-west running Chicago and North Western line to Casper, Wyoming. The Union Pacific went into receivership in 1893, and the Union Pacific, Denver and Gulf Railway was one of the lines removed from company control. In 1898, it was reorganized as the Colorado and Southern (Johnson and Gardner 1992:13).

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, a large Midwestern railroad, entered southeastern Wyoming at the turn of the century. The line was built south from Alliance, Nebraska, thence northwest into Wyoming with the tracks terminating at Guernsey in 1900. This town was created by the building of the railroad and was strategically located at the mouth of Hartville Canyon, where a 14.5 mile branch railroad, known as the Colorado and Wyoming, had been built in 1899-1900, to service the extensive iron ore mines at nearby Sunrise. The Colorado and Wyoming Railway was connected to the Colorado and Southern Railway at Hartville Junction (located about 7 miles west of Guernsey and not related to Hartville) and carried the raw iron ore for processing from the mines to the steel smelters in Pueblo, Colorado. When the Burlington line arrived at Guernsey in 1900, a short spur was built to the Colorado and Wyoming line to connect it with the Sunrise Mine. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and the Colorado and Southern shared the hauling of iron ore from the Sunrise Mine to the smelters at Pueblo until 1908, when the Burlington acquired controlling interest in the Colorado and Southern Railway (McKenzie 1982:20-22, 81; Overton 1949:28). Portions of the abandoned Colorado and Southern Railway track bed (48PL352) are currently used as a tank trail to reach the North Training Area.

The Burlington Railroad built a line in 1913-14, that connected them to the Northern Pacific Railroad via Orin Junction, Casper, the Wind River Canyon, and the Big Horn Basin to Montana. However, there still remained a nine-mile gap between Wendover and the Burlington line from Nebraska that had ended at Guernsey in 1900. By the end of 1915, the remaining short link from Guernsey to Wendover was completed, a difficult stretch that involved the boring of three tunnels and bridging the North Platte River. This linkage created a vast network joining the great east-west railroads of the Pacific Northwest (Great Northern and Northern Pacific) to a north-south link with easy grades to points south through Cheyenne, Denver, Texas, and the Gulf of Mexico and east to

Omaha, Chicago, and Kansas City (*Guernsey Gazette*, 21 August 1914). Guernsey became a freight division point where a large freight yard, roundhouse and coal fueling station were established. In addition, large gravel pits were developed east of Guernsey that became the source of ballast for the Burlington line all the way to Casper. Today, this line continues to haul low-sulfur burning coal from the large strip mines of the Powder River Basin to power plants throughout the Midwest and Eastern United States.

THE MINING FRONTIER

Introduction

Hard-rock mining for precious metals did not play an important role in the history of the Study Area until the turn of the century. The premier gold and silver mining districts were located in Colorado, and the deposits became less abundant moving north along the Rocky Mountain chain. The major effect of the mining frontier on the Study Area prior to 1900 was the influx of miners bound for the mining country, thus affecting the development and use of transportation systems and resulting in the arrival of the first permanent settlers, many of whom were not miners but rather merchants and farmers who supplied their mining efforts.

The Hartville Uplift is a geological zone in southeastern Wyoming that spans portions of Niobrara, Platte, and Goshen counties, extending from Lusk at the northeastern edge southwesterly through Rawhide Buttes and Guernsey. It is a topographically lower contemporary of the Laramie Mountains and may be considered its outlier. This structural arch connects the Laramie Range with the Southern Black Hills (Brown 1980:96; Lageson and Spearing 1988:103).

A large portion of the Hartville Uplift known as the "Spanish Diggings" was well known to prehistoric peoples, who mined open cuts that ran along the ore bodies for hematite for body and face paints, and who developed numerous stone quarries for tool-making materials. The stone quarries date from as early as 10,000 years ago and continued to be used to at least the Late Prehistoric Period. Joseph Stein, a local German pioneer miner and rancher, noted these quarries and erroneously assigned their source to mining by early Spanish explorers, hence the appellation "Spanish Diggings." When the famous Sunrise iron mine was first being developed, contractor A.B. Fowler discovered the paint mines of these early inhabitants (Powars II site, 48PL330) along with stone hammers, mortars and pestles, and projectile points that had been left behind (Sowers

1941:10; *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, Vol. I, No. 10, 1900:242).

The region was first exploited for minerals by Euro-Americans after the Black Hills gold rush had peaked by 1877. Many disappointed prospectors drifted from the Black Hills into new areas, seeking potential sources of precious minerals. Among these regions was the Hartville Uplift to the south. The miners joined soldiers stationed at nearby Fort Laramie who were already casually prospecting in the region in their spare time. As a result, these groups filed numerous mining claims in the area during the 1880s (Mellinger 1971:259).

The Hartville Mining District

Copper Mining, 1880-1887

Copper was the principal ore that was exploited in and near the Study Area from about 1880-1887. It was widely distributed throughout the Hartville Uplift and occurred in three basic forms: 1) fissure veins, 2) lenticular ore masses outcropping at the surface, and 3) blanket deposits at the base of the Guernsey formation (Ball 1906:95).

The strike that ignited the copper mining boom at Sunrise was made in 1881, by Henry T. Miller. The deposit that he excavated with a small mining crew (the "Glory Hole") was located on what later became the huge Sunrise iron ore mine. Miller located another copper deposit on his Green Mountain Boy claim just east of Guernsey, which produced 300-500 tons by 1906 worth between \$36,000 and \$60,000 (Ball 1906:97). The success of his mines resulted in a mining camp known as Millersburg, which thrived in the 1880s and was a predecessor of Guernsey (Whissen 1985:17).

To process the copper ore from area mines, the Wyoming Copper Company constructed a smelter at Fairbank, northwest of Guernsey. Although it burned in 1903, it had produced nearly one and a half million ounces of copper (Smith 1903:5; *Wyoming Industrial Journal* 1901:273; 1909:14). The remains of the copper smelter (48PL967) are on WYARNG land.

The primary mining camp of this period was Hartville, located at the lower end of Eureka Canyon north of Guernsey. Hartville was typical of the rough-hewn mining towns; when it was finally incorporated in 1901, it was essentially run by a small group of saloon owners. Like all mining camps, it rose and fell with the success of the nearby mines. It benefitted greatly in 1899, when Colorado Fuel and Iron began to develop the nearby Sunrise Mine, although CF&I established its own company town at Sunrise. By 1900, Hartville's population had reached 776 (Mellinger 1971:260).

Many eastern investors were attracted by the boom conditions of the 1880s, and companies were quickly formed to exploit the promising copper strikes. The boom period was short-lived, however, and copper mining in the area declined greatly by 1887, due to high freighting costs, a drop in copper prices, and lack of substantial copper ore bodies.

Although copper mining in the Hartville Uplift enjoyed its heyday in the 1880s, several mines continued operating through World War I, contributing to most of Wyoming's 5,491,256 pounds of copper production from 1916 to 1918. Copper demand plummeted after World War I, and most operations ceased. Sporadic prospecting and assessment work on old claims has continued throughout the twentieth century, but post-1918 production is negligible.

Iron Ore Mining, 1888-1980

Although the copper deposits played out in the mines in the Hartville Uplift, substantial iron ore deposits were encountered in the mines in the Sunrise-Hartville area beneath the level of the copper. These finds shifted the focus of miners to iron ore and led to widespread iron prospecting in this area. This period lasted from approximately 1888 to 1897. Full-scale development and exploitation resulting from the prospecting phase began in 1898, and ended in 1980, when Colorado Fuel and Iron abandoned the Sunrise Mine.

The Sunrise Mine. The Sunrise Mine was discovered by Henry T. Miller in 1881, and was first developed for copper (although according to the *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, January 1900:187, the Sunrise Mine was located by Messrs. Eaton and London of Fort Laramie). Miller's discovery coincided with the copper boom taking place throughout the Hartville Uplift at that time. The property was sold to Colonel Babbit of Cheyenne; the Wyoming Copper Company was then formed, composed of Chicago capitalists including a Mr. Armour and Mr. Fairbanks. Initially, the Sunrise Mine was developed rapidly and employed as many as seventy-five miners. However, the copper deposit proved shallow and played out in a few years. It was temporarily reopened for a few months in 1888. Its total copper production during this period was reported at \$209,282 (Ball 1906:94; Knight 1893:135). It is probable that Miller's "Glory Hole" was located over what is now the huge Sunrise open pit.

When miners began prospecting for iron ore, the deposits were found to extend roughly from Guernsey to the small town of Frederick, located about eight miles to the northeast. The maximum width of the iron bearing rocks was three miles. However, the most productive area eventually centered around the towns of Sunrise and nearby Ironton (Chicago), which served the Sunrise and

Chicago Mines, respectively (Ball 1906:191).

By the late 1890s, the existence of vast iron ore deposits had been conclusively demonstrated. The ore was primarily high grade hematite with an average iron content of sixty percent. The hematite occurred in two principal varieties—a soft, fine grained "paint ore," and a more valuable harder "blue ore." Hartville-Sunrise ores exhibited at the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago were superior to all other domestic and foreign samples (Ball 1906:197-198; Wideman 1956:3; *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August 1899:43).

I.S. Bartlett, David Wegg, Senator Charles Guernsey, and a group of Chicago investors formed the Wyoming Railway and Iron Company, which became a major investor in the mines, reportedly securing \$500,000 worth of iron properties in the area in the 1890s (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, January 1900:184, 187). This concern purchased all of the large iron and copper claims in the area including the Sunrise properties.

Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. In 1898, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) of Pueblo negotiated a twenty-year lease with the Wyoming Railway and Iron Company that included 72 mining claims. The company acquired the Sunrise Mine in 1904 for \$500,000, as well as the Chicago Mine, located about one and one-half miles northeast of Sunrise (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August 1904:63).

Rail service was essential to the successful development of these iron deposits, providing economical shipping of ore to smelters. Lack of this service had proved detrimental to the development of copper mines in the Hartville Uplift. Therefore, the Colorado and Wyoming Railroad (a subsidiary of CF&I) was constructed to transport ore from the Sunrise Mine to Guernsey via Hartville Canyon, a distance of about six miles. The Colorado and Wyoming Railroad then connected with the Cheyenne and Northern branch of the Colorado and Southern at Hartville Junction (about seven miles west of Guernsey). The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy also built a spur from Guernsey to the Chicago Mine via Whalen Canyon in 1903. Both these railways shipped iron ore a distance of about 375 miles to the blast furnaces at Pueblo, Colorado (Whissen and Boon 1985:6).

CF&I continued to expand its work force to two hundred men and began a systematic exploration program of its properties with diamond drills. It began developing the Chicago Mine on the west face of Whalen Canyon, which had an immense body outcrop of high grade ore (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, June 1901:16).

Iron ore was first extracted from the mine at Sunrise using open pit surface methods. Ten 20-ton capacity steam shovels were used, and the ore was loaded directly onto railroad cars. By 1903, nearly 500,000 tons had been blasted down on three terraces (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, January 1903:189; Smith 1903:5).

The construction of new furnaces at Pueblo and overall enlargement of CF&I's operations required a much larger output from the Sunrise Mine. Thereafter, underground shaft mining was introduced in early 1903 to augment surface production. Also, as the open pit was excavated more deeply, it became harder for the loaded cars to haul ore up the steep grades. The possibility of sinking a shaft at least 600 feet deep was confirmed by testing the ore body with diamond drills. The drilling of a shaft allowed the mine to be developed in similar fashion to underground coal mines, with levels every 100 feet to be worked by air drills and other machinery. Shaft No. 1 was a three-compartment, concrete-lined shaft that was located on the Village Belle claim of the Sunrise group. In 1903-04, a massive steel head frame was erected on the No. 1 shaft to hoist the ore. The head frame also contained a crusher through which the ore passed by gravity and was then automatically loaded onto railroad cars. It was built at a cost of \$35,000, and while similar to those introduced in the Michigan iron regions, was reportedly the only one of its kind in the West (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, January 1903:189, May 1903:292, March 1904:273; Wideman 1956:4).

A second shaft was driven by 1908, allowing for more extensive underground development beneath the open pits. It was later abandoned because it had been sunk too close to the ore body; it was too small and not well equipped for deep operations (Wideman 1956:4). Once the shafts were in place, the ore was milled down through a series of raises to the second underground level, where it was loaded onto five-ton Jeffrey electric locomotives and hauled to the shafts, hoisted to the surface, crushed, and finally dumped into railroad cars (Vallet 1908:400). Even with the extensive subterranean development, surface mining continued through 1941.

Evolution of the Sunrise Mine. Colorado Fuel and Iron depended on the Sunrise mine as its main source of ore for its Pueblo smelters by the late 1920s; about sixty percent of the 7,500,000 tons consumed by the plant from 1916 to 1926 came from Sunrise (*Casper Tribune Herald*, 31 January 1926). The completion of the Guernsey Dam and hydroelectric plant in 1927, provided Sunrise with a reliable power source. Sunrise purchased power from the Bureau of Reclamation until 1963, then from Wyrulec Electric Association of Lingle (*CF&I Blast*, 28 September 1945).

Several mining methods evolved to develop the Sunrise ore body throughout the mine's

history starting with open-pit, followed by underground shaft mining with drifts. Finally, block-caving methods were used starting in about 1930, by which large blocks of ore were undercut and allowed to cave and break up naturally. Each ore block averaged 350 feet square by 200 feet in depth (*CF&I Blast*, 28 September 1945).

In the 1940s, the demand for steel products increased due to World War II, and the Sunrise Mine continued to expand and modernize. Surface mining was discontinued in 1941, and all ore was excavated by underground block-caving methods. Sunrise was one of the few active underground iron mines in the country and the only one west of the Missouri River (*Casper Star Tribune*, 12 July 1967).

On July 24, 1945, a new 199-foot steel head frame (considered the tallest in the United States at that time) was completed over the No. 3 Shaft, which penetrated to a depth of 750 feet. The Wright Shaft, or No. 3, Shaft became the main working shaft at the mine. All ore was hoisted through this opening from the fifth level, and men and supplies for the third and fifth levels used this shaft. Shaft No. 1 was then used as a service shaft for men and supplies for the fourth level. Shaft No. 2 had already been abandoned (Wideman 1956:4).

Colorado Fuel and Iron continually implemented new technology at the Sunrise Mine. In 1964, a multi-million dollar ore "beneficiation" plant was installed for processing. This facility used gravity to separate out waste rock and lesser grade ore before shipment to Pueblo, reducing transportation costs. More economical production of pig iron was also achieved. These advances helped to break records at the Pueblo plant in 1965, when steel production surpassed the million ton mark for the first time in the company's history (*Wyoming State Tribune and Eagle*, 26 July, 1966, 28 July 1966).

Throughout the 1970s, the Sunrise Mine continued to operate on an apparently sound basis. In the late 1970s, the mine still had a work force of about 250, and mining technologies and safety measures were continually upgraded. However, by 1980, CF&I found itself increasingly unable to compete in the international steel market. The Sunrise Mine officially closed on July 10, 1980. In July 1984, the company auctioned off much of its equipment and facilities. Salvage crews dismantled many of the remaining industrial structures and associated machinery.

Sunrise and Hartville

With the Sunrise operations underway, Colorado Fuel and Iron turned to laying out a company town adjacent to the mine. By 1904, the company had constructed over fifty cottages to

house employees and their families, large machine and repair shops, a blacksmith shop, a railroad depot, an assay office and laboratory, general company offices, a school building, and even a "sociological building" with hall and reading room. Here employees could enjoy lectures, dances, and other entertainment. Sanitary conditions were first rate, and the community was described as an "exceptionally healthy and pleasant locality for working men and their families, and the most friendly relations exist between the employers and the employed" (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, February 1904:230).

However, other contemporary sources were less impressed: "Sunrise is a company town in the fullest sene. Everything, and may it be said (?) everybody, is owned by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company... Visitors are not especially welcomed..." (*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August 1907:3).

Sunrise also had a finely constructed and prominent building utilized by the Colorado Supply Store. This company store, built around 1899 and in operation until 1966, has since been razed. There was also a two-story brick high school with twelve teachers and 140 students (1945 enrollment). The Sunrise dispensary maintained a full-time doctor and nurse that treated 200 patients a month, including families of the employees at Sunrise.

Wyoming's first YMCA was built at Sunrise in 1915-1917. It was the only YMCA in the state until the early 1930s. This brick building contained separate shower rooms for men and women and three bowling alleys in the basement. The first floor had a soda fountain, a pool and billiard room, and a room for cards and other games. The second floor housed a combination gymnasium and auditorium, equipped with a stage for plays and motion pictures. The gymnasium was used for dances as well as basketball and volleyball (*CF&I Blast*, 28 September 1945).

Hartville, one mile to the west, retained its rough frontier flavor, in contrast to the well ordered community at Sunrise. The copper boom of the 1880s had given birth to Hartville, and it was given new life with the iron ore mining at Sunrise. Private businesses were prohibited in Sunrise, so Hartville was poised to profit from offering the "less respectable" goods and services, as well as alternatives to the company store. By 1900, Hartville had nine saloons, two dance halls and a two-story lodging house near completion. Dugouts, log houses and tents were also in evidence. Hartville's population, however, gradually declined as that of Sunrise increased. It fell from 776 in 1900 to 200 by 1920; Sunrise reached a population of 518 by 1920. Although it was incorporated as a Wyoming town in 1901, Hartville was effectively run by a small clique of tavern owners who

dominated the political life of the town for the next two decades. A schoolhouse was opened in 1901, the main street was graded after 1907, and streetlights, public garbage collections, and privately-owned telephone service instituted between 1910-1912. A new masonry jail was constructed in 1913. However, Hartville did not establish a workable revenue system until about 1920. Gambling and prostitution were conducted openly and were major enterprises in Hartville through about 1915, despite state prohibition of both activities (Mellinger 1971:260-264).

The Hartville-Sunrise mining community encompassed diverse ethnic backgrounds. The Italians, Greeks, Scandinavians, Syrio-Lebanese, English, and Japanese immigrants who worked as unskilled laborers tended to be a homogeneous population in terms of age, sex, social class, and general attitude and motivation. At first they lived in ethnically segregated residential areas in Hartville and Sunrise, but by 1910, ethnic residential divisions had blurred. Although most began as unskilled laborers in the mines, some eventually worked their way up the corporate hierarchy. Close ties were usually maintained with respective homelands by retaining such customs as arranged marriages and establishing ethnic societies, such as the Hellenic Society of Socrates organized in Hartville in 1912. The recent immigrants also wrote home describing job opportunities and thus encouraged additional immigration of relatives and friends from the "old country" (Hendrickson ed. 1977:160; Mellinger 1971:266).

Colorado Fuel and Iron may have utilized a "padrone" system based in Cheyenne to recruit and direct immigrants (especially Greeks) to Sunrise. The "padrone" served as a labor recruiter who facilitated the transportation and hiring details of newly arrived immigrants. The system was common throughout industrial America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although padrones were known to extract unreasonable payment for their services from poor immigrants, such abuses do not appear documented in the case of the Sunrise Mine, and in fact, the system often provided advantages for many, easing the transition to an alien culture and work environment (Whissen and Boon 1985:9).

Historical Significance

The Sunrise Mine was historically significant because it was the principal source of iron ore for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company for nearly a century. It employed a large work force representing a variety of skills with a larger number of dependents supported by their wages. The Sunrise Mine benefitted not only the Hartville and Sunrise mining communities, but also the nearby town of Guernsey, Goshen County, and the State of Wyoming. It provided a solid economic base

for a large number of people for over eighty years. It also attracted a population composed of many different nationalities, bringing a rich cultural mix to the region. The Sunrise Mine employed the latest mining engineering technology, including one of the country's largest steel head frames and the utilization and refinement of the block caving method of underground mining for iron ore. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's smelter and steel mill in Pueblo depended on the Sunrise Mine as its chief source of iron ore for over eighty years. Thus, the Sunrise Mine indirectly served an even larger work force and regional economy. The Sunrise Mine offers an excellent opportunity to study the classic "company town" so prominent in the history of the mining industry in the western United States. The company town allowed a large work force to live in an isolated region that lacked an existing local economy and transportation system.

THE WYOMING NATIONAL GUARD

Early History

In the spring of 1869, shortly after the officials of Wyoming Territory were sworn into office, the Wind River Valley and South Pass mining area were subjected to Sioux Indian raids, with the loss of eleven men and much livestock. The following spring, the Sweetwater mining district at South Pass was again attacked, this time by Arapahos, who killed eight people and stole livestock. Territorial Governor John A. Campbell responded by using his authority as commander-in-chief of the militia to create three militia districts and authorize the commanding officer of each to organize a regiment of citizens (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XIV).

In 1871, Governor Campbell addressed the second session of the Territorial Assembly, stressing the "imperative necessity that exists for the passage of a militia law." As a result, a law was passed on December 31, 1871, allowing the formation of volunteer militia companies of not less than forty men (*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, 15 September, 1879). This law established a plan of organization and expansion based on the system of discipline and field exercise used by the regular army. As commander-in-chief of the militia, the Governor was empowered to call out any or all of the volunteer companies for the purpose of "repelling invasion, preventing insurrection, suppressing riots, aiding the civil authorities in executing the laws, and preventing Indian depredations." In 1872, the Territorial Legislature appropriated \$600 to state militia for the "care, storage, and transportation of ordnance" (WPA Writers' Program 1940: XIV; *Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June

1961).

During the next decade, several short-lived units were formed around the Territory, including the Cheyenne Rangers, who were formed in 1873, as a response to Indian hostilities near the town. Each man furnished his own horse and equipment. Regular meetings were held under A.H. Swan, captain, and John Talbott and Herman Glafcke, lieutenants. The First Regiment of Wyoming Home Guards was organized in Laramie in 1874; the Wyoming Rangers were organized in Lander in 1876.

Official organization

In 1882, Governor John W. Hoyt appealed to the Legislature to provide for an "adequate militia;" authorization was granted to form volunteer militia companies of not less than fifty men. However, it was not until the late 1880s, under Governor Thomas Moonlight, that companies were actually "mustered in." On May 29, 1888, the Laramie Grays (First Regiment, Company A) became the first Wyoming unit officially recognized in Army lineage and honors records. Company B, the Cheyenne Guards, was formed the next year and provided rivalry for the "Grays." The first militia rifle range was established near Cheyenne for Company B. The Cheyenne Guards were addressed by Governor Moonlight in October 1888, who instructed the men that as a company, the organization should take no part in politics: "Militia is non-partisan. If I learn that Company B becomes a political organization it will be dismissed from service (*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, 15 September 1979; WPA Writers' Program 1940:XIV).

While guardsmen were discouraged from overt political activity, they were very active in the social life of the Territory. Both Companies A and B gave dress drills, public exhibitions in the streets, elaborate balls and minstrels, and participated in parades, inaugurals, and other ceremonies. In 1889, Company B, accompanied by the 17th Infantry Band from Fort D.A. Russell, participated in the big Fourth of July Parade in Denver, where newspapers proclaimed them "the crack militia organization of the Rocky Mountain Region" (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XV).

When Wyoming gained statehood in 1890, the Constitution provided for a State Militia to consist of "all able-bodied male citizens of the State between the ages of 18 and 45 years," except those exempted by federal or state law or those "having scruples of conscience averse to bearing arms." The Governor was by law the commander-in-chief with the power to call out the militia to preserve the public peace, execute the laws of the State, or to suppress insurrection or repel invasion" (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XV).

Additional units were formed in Rock Springs, Green River, Douglas, Buffalo, Sheridan,

Evanston, and Rawlins, and a drum corps was established in Cheyenne. An official representative of the governor conducted annual inspections of each company, which helped to increase interest in the drills. In 1891, Major Frank A. Stitzer was appointed Adjutant General of Wyoming, with an attendant rank of brigadier general and an annual salary of \$500.00. At this time, there were 287 guardsmen serving in reorganized companies around the state as part of the First Regiment of the Wyoming National Guard (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XV,XVI).

With the newly organized First Regiment, there developed an interest in establishing an "encampment" where the companies from all over the State could train. Companies A and B carried out some training exercises on their own, but there was no funding allotted by the Legislature for training expenses. Assembling the various companies from such a widespread area and transporting, sheltering and feeding the guardsmen presented a large logistical and financial problem. In 1891, the Adjutant general attacked the problem, procuring free transportation for the troops and supplies from the Union Pacific, and supplies and subsistence from various other organizations. A site was selected about one and one-half miles east of Laramie, temporarily named Camp Kabis but changed officially to Camp Amos W. Barber, in honor of the Governor. The encampment was attended by 145 guardsmen and lasted a week. Improvement among the Guards was deemed "constant and exceedingly satisfactory." Captain C.S. Roberts stated: "As a rule, the men are young, full of zeal and energy, and eager to learn. The officers are a very superior body of men; some of them are already competent drill officers, good disciplinarians and conversant with their duties." At the end of camp, there was a dress drill and military ball in Cheyenne, and troops were entertained by citizens of their respective towns upon their return (WPA Writers' Program 1940: XVI,XVII).

During 1891, guardsmen around the state not only trained but also organized gymnasium clubs, bicycle clubs, bowling alleys, and rifle ranges. Some units held parades and drills to stimulate interest and enlist recruits.

The following year, the Johnson County War erupted, resulting from armed cattlemen invading the county to eliminate cattle rustlers. Previous to 1892, it was legal for the Guard to be called into action by judges, sheriffs, or mayors under certain circumstances. However, the Legislature that year revised this arrangement and thereafter only the governor was authorized to activate National Guard troops. Acting Governor Barber opted to not call out the Guard, although there was an active unit in Buffalo. Captain Parmalee of Company C (Buffalo) telegraphed Barber

that troops from Fort McKinney would be better equipped to handle the situation, and that his company would be on duty to keep the peace in Buffalo. Accordingly, a detachment of cavalry from Fort McKinney was authorized by President Harrison to intervene and escort the Invaders to Fort McKinney. Resentment against not using the Guard prompted the resignations of four Guard officers, who felt that the decision not to use the Guard would make the public believe that the guardsmen were not "equal to the task expected of them" (Larson 1978:278; WPA Writers' Program 1940:XVII, XVIII).

During the early 1890s, interest in and support for the Guard rose and fell, but most companies maintained their active status. In 1893, the first battery of artillery was organized in Rawlins as Battery A, First Regiment. The interest aroused by Battery A led to the formation of the Rawlins Brass Band the following year, which became the official Regimental Band of the Wyoming National Guard. At this time, 1894, the Guard consisted of nine companies of infantry and one 2-gun battery, with a total enlistment of 445 men led by Colonel Frank Foote. In 1895, the Legislature passed a law reorganizing the state militia into one regiment of twelve companies and providing state funds of \$500 yearly for armory rent and other expenses, plus \$200 for regimental expenses at headquarters. In 1897, the law required all officers' dress uniforms to be in accordance with the U.S. Army. All commissioned officers furnished their own "arms, uniforms, and equipments" (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XIX,XX).

Federal Mobilization

The first federal mobilization of these local guard units occurred in 1898, when the Spanish-American war broke out. Volunteer units, such as Jay L. Torrey's Rough Riders and the Alger Light Artillery, were also formed (*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, 15 September, 1979). The quota set for Wyoming in 1898 consisted of one battalion of four companies of infantry. The companies selected by the Governor and the Adjutant General were Company C (Buffalo), Company G (Sheridan), Company F (Douglas), and Company H (Evanston). On May 10, 338 men were mustered into service, and after further training in California, landed in the Philippines that August. Wyoming Guardsmen raised the American flag over Manila in August 1898. The first four companies were joined in Manila by the Alger Light Artillery, mustered into service under the second call for troops. Colonel Jay Torrey's Rough Riders were dispatched to Florida, hoping for duty in Cuba. However, they were involved in a train wreck en route, which killed and injured several members. The remainder of the troops were stationed in Florida, where they remained until mustered out of federal

service. Almost 1400 Wyoming men were active during this conflict; Wyoming troops distinguished themselves in several battles, including San Pedro Macati, Guadalupe Church, San Filipe Church, San Juan Del Norte, and skirmishes in the Morong expedition. In July 1899, they were relieved of duty and ordered to return to San Francisco, where they were mustered out of service on September 23 (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXII; *Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

Reorganization

In 1899, the Wyoming National Guard underwent a reorganization in which seven active companies formed the nucleus of the Second Regiment of Wyoming Infantry. In 1900, cavalry troops were formed in Cheyenne and Lusk. Federal legislation required another reorganization in 1905, prescribing the number and rank of officers and defining official duties and salaries. In 1906, Wyoming guardsmen joined regular army troops for the annual encampment at the Pole Mountain Military Reservation west of Cheyenne; the following month guardsmen competed in a State Rifle school and shoot at Fort McKenzie near Sheridan. In 1907, the National Guard received official status as a permanent member of the military establishment of the United States. Organization, equipment, and discipline of National Guard units became consistent with the regular army (*Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

In 1908, a new division of militia affairs was created within the War Department, and Wyoming became part of the Seventh Army Corps, joining troops from North Dakota, Montana, Yellowstone National Park, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Guard remained active, undergoing minor reorganizations and responding to various episodes of civil unrest (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXVIII).

Pre-World War I Actions

The Guard became involved in the Wyoming cattle and sheep wars in 1909. In April, three sheepherders were murdered in a raid on a camp located near Tensleep in the Big Horn Basin. A grand jury later indicted seven suspects who were arrested and held in the county jail at Basin. Company E was ordered from Cody to guard the jail to prevent any rescue attempts by locals who were sympathetic to the suspects. The company served from June until November, when it was reinforced by a squad from Company D from Sheridan. They remained during the trial and then accompanied the convicted men to the state penitentiary at Rawlins (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXVIII).

Wyoming Guardsmen were again active in the Mexican Punitive Campaign, receiving a call

for mobilization in June 1916. Eight companies responded, and the First and Second Separate Battalions were mustered into Federal service. On September 26th, they were sent south to Deming, New Mexico, for border duty. The muster roll carried 642 enlisted men and 32 officers, who served on the border until March 1917, when they were mustered out without seeing any action. Unlike their modern counterparts in Operation Desert Storm, many of the men who had served discovered that their former jobs had not been held for them during their absence. Therefore, the Adjutant General's office set up an employment agency to help them find new jobs (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXI).

World War I

Almost immediately after the Mexican dispute, Wyoming troops had to respond to the call for service in Europe. On March 26, 1917, Acting Governor Frank L. Houx received an order from Washington calling for the mobilization of the entire State militia. Governor Houx was informed by the Secretary of War that if he would increase the National Guard to full regimental strength, 1,900 men, he would have the power to officer the men, and that the regiment would be sent intact to France, rather than the men being distributed among the Regular Army units. The Governor organized the new regiment and appointed Joseph W. Cavender of Cody as Colonel in command. According to General Order No. 12, issued June 23, 1917, the National Guard of Wyoming was said "to be known and designated as the Third Regiment Infantry" (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXI).

Enlistment was aided by a government ruling that "Anyone serving in the army or navy in time of war should be entitled to receive credit upon the term of residence required on the homestead for the time in actual service." The National Guard was also exempt from the draft.

The Wyoming regiment was later designated as the 196th U.S. Infantry and sent to Camp Greene, South Carolina. Since it was one of the first volunteer regiments ready for overseas duty, the command was merged with the 148th Field Artillery, the 116th Ammunition Train, and the 146th Machine Gun Battalion of the "Fighting" Forty-first or Sunset Division. The Sunset Division was composed of western states National Guard units. The 148th Field Artillery served in France and was in defensive sectors in Champagne and participated in the Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne operations. The regiment entered Germany with the Army of Occupation three days after the Armistice was signed. It remained in Germany at Hohn, near Coblenz, until ordered back to the States in May 1919. During World War I, the 148th Regiment had been in the fighting line for a total of 134 days and suffered approximately seventy-five

casualties. The "Powder River crest" was designed during this time period, its red shield and five golden fleur-de-lis honoring Wyoming Guardsmen who served during World War I. After serving occupation duty in Germany, Wyoming Guardsmen returned home to a victorious welcome held in Cheyenne on June 25, 1919 (*Guernsey Gazette*, Powder River Edition, 17 June 1938; *Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961; WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXII-XXXV).

Between the Wars

In 1920, the Guard was reorganized as the First Wyoming Cavalry, and redesignated the following year as the 115th Cavalry. The following year, Major T.J. McCoy resigned as Adjutant General, and Governor Carey appointed Rhodolph L. Esmay of Douglas to succeed him. At the time of his appointment, there were four active cavalry troops: Troop B of Wheatland, Troop D of Riverton, Troop E of Torrington, and Troop G of Lovell. Colonel Esmay began a program of strengthening the Guard, in spite of cutbacks in legislative appropriations (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXVI).

Guardsmen from Riverton and Lander were alerted for action in 1922, due to a coal miners' strike near Sheridan, and troops from Torrington and Douglas were sent to Sheridan. Since no immediate crisis required their participation, the troops encamped near Buffalo for a month, building a firing range and holding daily practice with rifles, pistols, and machine rifles (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXVI).

From 1924 through 1937, annual summer encampments were held at Pole Mountain in the Laramie Range between the cities of Laramie and Cheyenne, where a camp was established for the National Guard. In 1925 and 1927, Troop A of the National Guard was used in filming three Hollywood motion pictures about the Indian War era. The films were shot on location on the South Fork of Little Wind River, near Fort Washakie, and Shoshone and Arapaho tribal members were also used. By July 1924, the Wyoming National Guard consisted of a full regiment of cavalry, with eight troops and one squadron of machine gunners, with a total strength of 18 officers and 669 men. The units comprising the Guard were stationed in eleven communities throughout the state (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXVI-XXXVII).

The Wyoming National Guard performed special duties in the 1930s, that included fire fighting in the Black Hills and aiding in the filming of "The End of the Trail" for Columbia Pictures and "The Plainsman" for Paramount Pictures. As of 1938, when Camp Guernsey was established, all units of the Wyoming National Guard were cavalry, with the exception of Company C, 116th

Quartermaster Regiment (Motorized), and the State Staff and Detachment Units, both located in Cheyenne. Wyoming was considered an excellent area for cavalry, with most recruits already familiar with horses and experienced riders (*Guernsey Gazette*, Powder River Edition, 17 June 1938). However, by the late 1930s, motorcycles, cars, trucks, and scout cars began to displace horses in the Wyoming National Guard. In April 1939, the Wyoming Guard became the first national guard in the United States to receive an armored car squadron (WPA Writers' Program 1940:XXXIX).

Organizational Status

The various guard units underwent almost constant reorganization throughout their history; however it may be worth noting the organizational status of the units at the time of Camp Guernsey's birth and development. On October 31, 1940, the Wyoming National Guard was reorganized as follows (Esmay 1940:6,7):

- The 115th Cavalry, plus the 24th Reconnaissance Squadron, to be known as the 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz)
- Headquarters Troop, 115th Cavalry to remain in Casper and to be known as Headquarters Troop, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz)
- Service Troop, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz) replaces Troops A and B, 24th Rcn Sq.
- Medical Dept. Detachment, 115th Cavalry and Band, 115th Cavalry, are now (H-Mecz) with same addresses
- Hq. 1st Squadron, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), Casper; Hq. 1st Squadron, 115th Cavalry, formerly Cheyenne
- Troops A and B, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz) addresses remain the same as the 115th Cavalry
- Troop C (less LMG Platoon) 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), formerly Troop I, 115th Cavalry, address remains Lander
- LMG Platoon, Troop C, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz) replaces MR Platoon, Troop K, 115th Cavalry, address remains Riverton
- Hq. 2nd Squadron, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), Laramie, former address was Cheyenne
- Troop D, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), formerly Troop F, 115th Cavalry, station remains Laramie
- Troop E, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), station remains Torrington

- Troop F, 115th Cavalry (less 4th Motorcycle Platoon), formerly Troop K, 115th Cavalry, station remains Douglas
- 4th Motorcycle Platoon Troop F, 115th Cavalry (H-Mecz), formerly Machine Gun Cavalry, station remains Newcastle

World War II

In anticipation of the war, small units of Wyoming National Guard, totaling about 200 troops, were mobilized in September 1940. In February 1941, Wyoming's chief single unit, the 115th Cavalry Regiment, was mobilized. In July 1941, 338 selectees from the state were added to bring the regiment total up to 1,295 men. The 115th Cavalry Regiment was stationed for training at Fort Lewis, Washington, until war was declared. It was then assigned to coastal defense duties under the Western Defense Command. It remained in the Pacific Northwest until January 1944 when it was moved to Los Angeles for coastal defense duties between the Mexican border and Santa Barbara (Larson 1954:15).

Meanwhile, Governor Hunt tried to persuade the War Department to take over Camp Guernsey and use it in some way for the war effort. The War Department briefly considered it as a location for a disciplinary barracks for general prisoners but finally decided against it. Camp Guernsey was later put to some limited use by Fort Warren (Larson 1954:221).

Finally, in June 1944, the 115th Cavalry Regiment was moved to Camp Hood, Texas, where the 115th Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron was separated from the parent organization and sent to Camp Polk, Louisiana. Thus, by V-J Day, Wyoming National Guardsmen had been transferred to various regiments and divisions, and many of them also attended Officers Candidate School. The headquarters company reached Europe in time to take part in the last drive into Germany (Larson 1954:15).

Some of the Wyoming Guardsmen who had been transferred into other units ended up participating in many of the major battles and campaigns of the war in northern France, central Europe, both the northern and southern Pacific, the Ardennes campaign and the Rhineland campaign (*Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

Some of the Guardsmen who had served for five years only on American soil were sent to Okinawa after V-J Day for occupation duty. As T.A. Larson states in his history of Wyoming during the war years:

They never had a chance to sound their traditional battle cry, "Powder River, let 'er buck," within earshot of the enemy in wartime. This neglect of the proud Wyoming

Guardsmen, whose predecessors had fought so well in the Spanish-American War and World War I, was hard to take... (Larson 1954:15).

In what seemed a final indignity to the Wyoming Guardsmen, their horses were taken away from them in the summer of 1942. However, nearly 50,000 other U.S. cavalrymen were also relieved of their horses during World War II, as most of the cavalry units became mechanized.

Post-World War II Era

The National Guard was greatly expanded following World War II to a strength of 680,000 men and was composed of 25 Infantry Divisions, 2 Armored Divisions, 20 Regimental Combat Teams, a large number of nondivisional units, and 70 Fighter and Light Bombardment Squadrons of Air Forces. By October 1, 1948, the Wyoming National Guard had 150 Officers and 1347 enlisted men. Meanwhile at Camp Guernsey, a Motor Vehicle Storage Building (80' x 300'), a warehouse (52' x 110'), and a target range were constructed at a cost of \$112,336. Troop C of the National Guard was called out to fight a Laramie fire in 1948, and to distribute food during the severe blizzard of 1949-50 (Esmay 1946, 1948, 1950).

In the summer of 1950, many National Guard units around the country were called into active duty due to the increasing gravity of the war in Korea. Federal troops were ordered into action on July 27, 1950, and on July 29, the 300th Armored Field Artillery Battalion of the Wyoming National Guard was alerted for active federal service. Immediate preparations for departure were begun, and the battalion was inducted into federal service on August 19, 1950. The battalion, which was sent to Fort Lewis, Washington, consisted of 32 officers, 7 warrant officers, and 339 enlisted men. This unit served "with admirable strength and courage" on the Korean peninsula and gained a Presidential Unit Citation for Distinction in Battle. The 141st Tank Battalion of the Wyoming National Guard was alerted for federal service in August and inducted in September. This unit consisted of 36 officers, 5 warrant officers, and 374 enlisted men from the communities of Laramie, Wheatland, Evanston, Rock Springs, Green River, Rawlins, and Afton and was sent to Fort Campbell, Kentucky, for training. This battalion was used as a training command, supplying instructor personnel for armor training; some individuals were transferred to other units and were sent to Korea for active duty (Adjutant General 1970; Esmay 1950:3; *Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

In the period from October 1950 to September 1952, there was no new construction at Camp Guernsey. Service contracts involved in maintaining the camp cost the State of Wyoming \$10,456, with federal reimbursement amounting to \$7,842. Miscellaneous repairs and repairs to the gas main

cost \$218.84. In June 1951 and June 1952, field exercises continued at Camp Guernsey, consisting of 100-hour sessions of intensified training. Troops from the Wyoming National Guard remained on active duty in Korea, and in 1951, five were killed in action (Esmay 1952:11-13).

On November 27, 1953, hostilities with Korea ceased. In addition to the five casualties mentioned above, one Wyoming guardsman died in a Korean prison camp, one died in an aircraft accident in Korea, and one died in action. With the end of the Korean conflict, the Wyoming National Guard reorganized its basic structure to emphasize field artillery. Summer field training continued at Camp Guernsey in 1953 and 1954, consisting of two sessions of basic training involving artillery, survey, and signal communications. Camp Guernsey acquired an artillery range at a cost of \$47,200 (Esmay 1954:11-25; *Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

Summer field training continued at Camp Guernsey. In 1955 and 1956, sessions were held in June and consisted of some 96 hours of intense training. During the second week of the 1956 session, a four-day field exercise was held, involving the firing of 2500 rounds of high explosive ammunition by the artillery units. This session was attended by 1,291 enlisted men and officers. Rations costing \$19,000 were supplied by F.E. Warren Air Force Base in Cheyenne (Esmay 1956:19).

To keep pace with changing mobilization requirements, the Wyoming National Guard was once again reorganized in 1959. During the Berlin crisis, the 1022nd Engineer Battalion of Wyoming was called to active duty. The unit reported to Fort Lewis, Washington, where they trained for ten months. They were returned to Wyoming in August 1961 (Adjutant General 1970).

In 1964, a manual of Standard Operating Procedures for Camp Guernsey was issued by Adjutant General George Person. At that time, the installation consisted of about 640 acres, with an additional training area of about 25,000 acres. The Cantonment area consisted of about 200 acres and included a large headquarters building, unit mess halls and latrines, an officers' mess, an infirmary, and a guard house, as well as warehouses, maintenance shops, supply buildings, a post exchange, a guest house and NCO club, and concrete tent slabs. A large sodded parade ground was centrally located, and there was a landing field with two runways (Pearson 1964:2).

The officers' and enlisted men's mess, housed in the WPA-constructed stone buildings, were described in detail:

The Officers Mess seats approximately 200 and is equipped with refrigeration, deep freeze, gas range, toaster, large coffee urn and baking ovens. The host state normally operates this facility as follows: Employment of civilian cooks to prepare

and serve food cafeteria style; clean dishes, dining room and kitchen. This labor is financed by a charge to each officer of \$.75 per day. The ration cost is deducted from each officer's pay. Sufficient silverware, dishes, and kitchen utensils are available on a loan basis with a breakage/loss replacement provision. A Wyoming officer supervises and controls the operation of this mess.

Guest states are responsible for the operation of enlisted messes. There are thirteen mess halls, seating 100 each, two mess halls seating 140 each. All are equipped with refrigeration, gas range, water heater, ice chest, steam table, work table, sink, dining tables, stools, and steel mess trays if desired. No knives, forks, spoons, bowls, glasses nor cups are available. Camp personnel are available for assistance to mess officers and stewards (Pearson 1964:4).

Firing ranges were available for (1) rifle and carbine, known distance, 18 firing points; (2) pistol, 10-50 meters, 6 firing points; (3) submachine guns, one location; (4) machine gun, 500 or 1000 inch, 4 sleds, 8 targets; (5) 3.5-inch rocket launcher, familiarization course, 150 yards; and (6) artillery ranges (Pearson 1964:8).

In August 1967, the Wyoming National Guard suffered a cutback of about 100 men, due to the reshuffling of guard units throughout the country by the defense department. This change represented the seventeenth or eighteenth reorganization since World War II. Nationwide, the plan would reduce the Army guard units by 1,118. Adjutant generals from all fifty states opposed the plan, feeling that the plan "weakens the military power of the United States and would leave many states without sufficient and proper types of units to maintain law and order and to suppress widespread rioting in metropolitan areas." In Wyoming, the artillery and engineering units were expected to be hardest hit by the reduction in manpower.

In December 1967, Governor Hathaway announced the first extensive military plan in the State's history to control rioting, violence or disturbances from civil or natural disasters. The 2,500 members of the Wyoming Army and Air National Guard were ordered by the Pentagon to complete extra riot training by November. The last time the Guard had been called upon for riot duty was on July 4, 1965, in Jackson Hole, where an actual riot failed to materialize. The plan called for the governor, the adjutant-general, and the guard to "restore law and order, protect life and property, and alleviate suffering and distress within the state." The guard would be activated when a "tumult, riot, mob or body of people acting with force would attempt a felony or offer violence to persons or property or attempt to break or resist laws of the state." In the period from 1960 to 1967, the Wyoming National Guard was called 65 times to aid in natural disasters, such as forest fires, floods, blizzards, and search and rescue missions (*Wyoming State Tribune*, 4 December 1967).

In 1969, a comprehensive fire-fighting agreement was reached between the U.S. Forest Service and the Wyoming National Guard, which had recently been called in to fight a fire in the Pass Creek area of the Medicine Bow National Forest. John B. Smith, a forester from Denver, declared: "Guardsmen are valuable support personnel in a major fire because they are skilled, have suitable heavy equipment in a high state of readiness, mess facilities to feed numbers of people, first-aid personnel and an excellent radio network." Over the past ten years, Guardsmen had assisted fire crews in some fifty incidents. Under the agreement, Guardsmen were to be paid in accordance with the U.S. Department of Agriculture forest service pay plan for emergency fire fighters (*Wyoming State Tribune*, 27 August 1969).

Camp Guernsey

In 1938, the training camp at Pole Mountain was "temporarily vacated," due to its excessive operating expenses, poor state of repair, and inaccessible location. Guernsey was selected as the site for what was considered at the time to be a temporary camp. Officers of the Wyoming National Guard chose the site for the ideal terrain noted by explorer John C. Fremont ninety-six years previously. In 1842, Captain Fremont stood on the south bank of the North Platte and observed: "There is small but handsome prairie immediately below this place, on the left bank of the river, which would be a good locality for a military post. There are some open groves of Cottonwood on the Platte. The small stream which comes in at this place is well timbered with pine and good building rock is abundant" (*Guernsey Gazette*, Powder River Edition, 17 June 1938).

As early as 1931, Adjutant General R.L. Esmay had recommended a change in location for the summer field training camp, noting that Federal Regulations required that the camp be available at all times for mobilization. Pole Mountain, at 8600 feet in the Laramie Range, was closed by snow a good part of the year; in midsummer the water supply was insufficient, and in early summer the nights were too cold for camping. In the summer of 1938, some 7,000 guardsmen and army regulars from around the state participated in mock battles and war games in the pine covered hills around Guernsey. They also took part in the three-day water festival at Guernsey Lake. Governor Leslie Miller visited the camp, presenting forty awards.

On June 13, 1938, Major Albert Blanding, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, Washington, D.C., arrived in Guernsey to inspect the site of the National Guard Camp. He was accompanied by three officers from his staff and made an extensive survey of the facilities (*Guernsey Gazette*, Powder River Edition, 17 June 1938).

Funding

Early in 1939, the Adjutant General of the Wyoming National Guard, Colonel R.L. Esmay, was informed that funds would be made available through the National Guard Bureau for construction and maintenance at Camp Guernsey. Additional funding was supplied through the Works Progress Administration, one of F.D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs to stimulate work during the Depression. A State WPA project for \$126,494 was granted for 1940, and additional funds were allocated for 1941. The site was chosen and acquired by the State "upon the withdrawal and surrender of lease" held at Pole Mountain Target and Maneuver Reservation. Some temporary construction was undertaken to meet the needs of the 1939 training season, but permanent construction began in earnest in 1940 (Meeden 1940:1).

Construction of Camp Guernsey

On October 16, 1940, a field trip and inspection were made by a Commissioned Officer and a Civilian Engineer, preceded by a meeting with Colonel Esmay and followed by a meeting with Esmay and Major Phil Rouse, U.S. Property and Disbursing Officer, in Cheyenne. The results of this inspection are specified in a detailed report on the construction in progress and proposed construction at Camp Guernsey (Meeden 1940:1).

At this time, the campsite itself was owned outright and consisted of approximately 120 acres. The National Guard also held leases on approximately 4,000 acres of state land and were in the process of acquiring an additional 3,000 acres. Buildings and utilities were being constructed from standard National Guard Bureau drawings and plans, with most of the work executed by Major Rouse. Colonel Esmay was also closely involved in the planning of this project (Meeden 1940:5,6).

Before receiving construction funds from the National Guard Bureau, some construction was completed during the last half of 1939, by the State of Wyoming, supplemented by State WPA project funds and labor. As of February 1940, eight-five men employed in construction through WPA cooperation had accomplished the following: sewer lines (80% complete); excavation for latrines and warehouse (complete); footings poured (25% complete); enclosure of Officers' Mess. In his Biennial Report, written in December 1940, Adjutant General R.L. Esmay reported that "construction at Camp Guernsey is progressing and we now have four enlisted men's bathhouses complete, the warehouse about three-fourths complete. Construction is fairly well along on two kitchen mess halls and the dispensary. The sewer and water systems are all in" (Esmay 1940:6). All materials and layout were approved by an inspector paid with State funds, with assistance from the caretaker of

the camp (Meeden 1940:6).

Labor organization was handled by WPA State forces. Almost all work was hand labor; as of October 1940, forty-five workers were available. Workers came from all parts of the country, some commuting as far as 28 miles to the camp via transportation provided by Federal cars, with oil and gas paid by the WPA. In the spring, some of the laborers and mechanics were paid with National Guard funds in order to accelerate the work and prepare buildings for the training season, before it was known that the Guard would train elsewhere that season. (In 1940, troops trained in Centralia, Washington, as part of the 4th Army Maneuvers.) Many of the buildings were constructed from buff-colored sandstone procured from a quarry approximately seven miles from the camp. The stone was of excellent quality and texture and was transported from the quarry by two State-owned and maintained trucks (Esmay 1940:9; Meeden 1940:7).

The report on construction at the camp detailed the "work in place" and "work to be done" as of October 1940, on the following buildings and utilities (Meeden 1940:1-5):

The warehouse (25'8" x 100' plus addition) was estimated forty percent complete at time of inspection. Work in place included the concrete foundation, stone ashlar walls with 8" clay tile, door frames and steel sash, and roughed-in plumbing. All materials and workmanship was proclaimed excellent. Work still to be done included cement floors, clay tile partitions, roofing, plumbing, heating and electrical work, and painting.

The dispensary (26'x 50') was estimated three percent complete at time of inspection. Work in place included the excavation for footings and walls and preparation for setting forms. Work still to be done included the completion of work "according to plans and construction similar to warehouse."

The enlisted men's kitchens and mess halls, eleven units (25'x 60') were estimated two percent complete. Work in place included excavation for footings and walls on two kitchens, preparation for setting forms for walls, and continuation of excavation for the additional nine units. Work still to be done included the completion of work "according to plans and construction similar to warehouse, except walls are to be backed up with stone or concrete."

The enlisted men's latrines, four units, were estimated ninety-eight percent complete. Work in place for each latrine included concrete foundations, cement floors, walls (rough stone, ashlar, backed up with four-inch clay tile), partitions (clay tile), roofs (framing and sheathing wood, asbestos shingles), sash doors and millwork, plumbing (hot and cold water, fourteen toilets, fourteen basins,

three trough urinals, two laundry trays, ten shower heads, water heater and 600-gallon tank), and painting. All workmanship and materials were deemed excellent. Work still to be done included setting laundry tubs, providing heat and electric lights.

The water distribution system was considered 100 percent complete. Work in place included 2138 linear feet of 3" line, 3295 linear feet of 2" line, and 234 linear feet of 1-1/4" line. All work was considered excellent. The system was tied into the supply for the Town of Guernsey. It was expected that the Guard would install pump and filter for individual use.

The sewer system was considered 100 percent complete. Work in place included 928 linear feet of 10" line, 3081 linear feet of 6" line, and 395 linear feet of 4" line. There were also five man holes and grease traps for eleven kitchens.

Only light blading work had been completed on roads, walks and grounds. No work had been completed on electric distribution, but materials had been purchased and were on the ground awaiting installation.

As of October 1940, plans for future construction included a guard house, a vehicle warehouse, headquarters, an officers' mess, an officer's latrine and bath, a band stand, a canteen, an incinerator, tent floors, and other miscellaneous construction. Approximately \$35,000 was appropriated to Camp Guernsey for the fiscal year 1941 and was used to continue construction (Meeden 1940).

In December 1942, R.L. Esmay reported that construction continued throughout 1941 and 1942; however that the progress during this time period was much slower than previously because of a great reduction in WPA labor, those men being committed to the greater need of "agricultural manpower emergencies" (Esmay 1942:1). Many of the original stone buildings are still in the Cantonment area (48PL86).

Camp Guernsey continues to have an economic impact on the Guernsey area, with the National Guard maintaining a payroll of \$575,000 in the Guernsey community. The National Guard employs 42 federal technicians and 12 state employees at the camp. The thirty employees in maintenance are responsible for all Wyoming Guard equipment. Over the years, Camp Guernsey has been used as a training site for guardsmen from Wyoming, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Utah and other states, as well as regular army units (Adjutant General 1970).

A newspaper article published in 1961, sums up the colorful history of the Wyoming National Guard:

The passage of time fails to distort or dim records of gallant service which are recorded in historical chronicles. The future alone can determine in what manner the units of the Wyoming Army National Guard will again distinguish themselves. There remains one certainty, and that is: the Wyoming Army National Guard stands ready and willing to serve in any way its state and nation (require) and this service will be rendered in the most efficient manner possible (*Wyoming Eagle*, Air Guard Supplement, 8 June 1961).

GUERNSEY STATE PARK

Establishment of the Park

The Camp Guernsey State Military Reservation is adjacent to the Guernsey State Park. It was established along the shores of Guernsey Reservoir, a Bureau of Reclamation impoundment created in 1927 by the construction of Guernsey Dam on the North Platte River. In the 1890s, Charles Guernsey and Elwood Mead promoted the idea of a dam at this point on the North Platte River. However, it did not become reality until 1927. This was the second dam completed on the North Platte River. The dam controlled water for irrigation and generated electricity.

Civilian Conservation Corps

It is historically significant for the activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps around the park and reservoir between 1934 and 1939. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal on March 31, 1933. Under the program thousands of men "...between the ages of 18 and 25 were put to work cleaning up forests and beaches, planting trees, building dams and bridges, digging ditches, restoring historic sites, and performing a multitude of other tasks intended to restore and conserve the land, much of which had suffered from drought" (Junge 1978: Item No. 8, Page 4).

Two CCC camps were established at Lake Guernsey: Camp BR-9 or Company 844, and Camp BR-10 or Company 1858 (or 1885; see Junge). Camp BR-9 came to Lake Guernsey on May 21, 1934, and Camp BR-9 was apparently established about the same time but was abandoned by January 1936. Camp BR-9 continued at Lake Guernsey until the spring of 1938. The CCC camps proceeded to build a system of roads, parking areas, trails, picnic tables, shelters and a small stone museum at Lake Guernsey (Junge 1978: Item No. 8-5 to 8-11). Many of these facilities still exist at Lake Guernsey. Therefore, a 3,760-acre historic district was formally enrolled on the National Register of Historic places in 1980. In 1997, a National Register Landmark Nomination was completed for Lake Guernsey State Park by the National Park Service. A CCC trash dump

(48PL971) and a portion of the CCC golf course, 48PL972) (Figure 12) are on WYARNG land.

SUMMARY

The Study Area has a rich cultural history. Prehistorically, the vast amounts of naturally occurring cherts and quartzites, undoubtedly attracted prehistoric peoples for making stone tools. The close proximity to the North Platte River, and relatively mild climate were probably conducive to large herds of game animals and environmental resources, such as edible or otherwise usable vegetation, which also attracted prehistoric peoples. Indeed, all the major time periods are represented in the archaeological assemblages, although some complexes are missing. It is safe to say, the Hartville Uplift, which includes the Study Area, has one of the highest prehistoric site densities in Wyoming.

Historically, the area was involved in early explorations of the west including the Fremont expeditions and the Oregon Trail. The area played a role in the Native American-Military Frontier, Transportation Frontier, Homesteading Frontier, Mining Frontier, and the Depression. Finally, the WYARNG played a role in many wars since the late 1800's including the World Wars.

In the future, planners will have to deal with this rich cultural history. Unexpected prehistoric/historic sites could be encountered during construction on previously inventoried lands. Land acquisitions will include more prehistoric and historic sites which will require additional evaluations by cultural specialists.



Figure 12. Golf tee (48PL972) as part of a golf course built by the CCC ca. 1936 for their own use.

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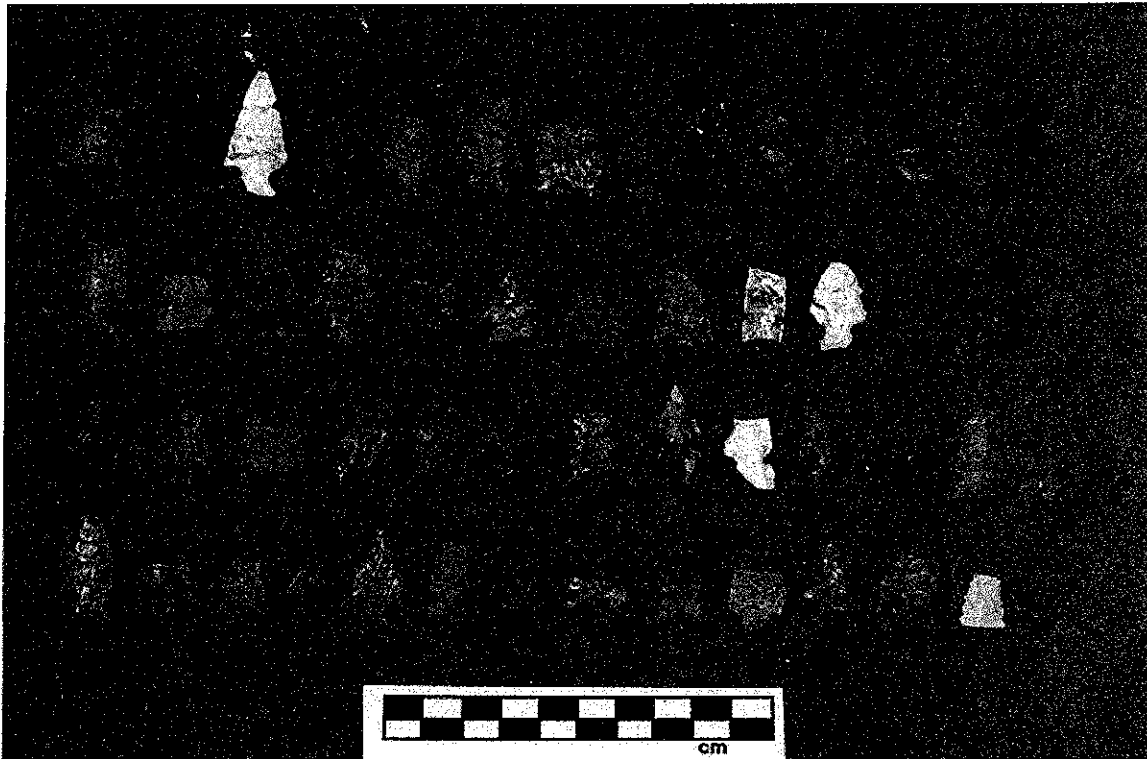
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APPENDIX A

Photographs of Projectile Points from WYARNG Lands by Time Periods



Selected Late Prehistoric Period Projectile Points from the South and North Training Areas (STA and NTA).

Top row: 26-66-4, 27-67-11, 28-66-30, 406-2, 406-3, 427-1, 440-1, 474-1, 487-1, 552-2, 571-1, 568-1, 596-1

Second row: 645-1, 645-3, 645-2, 645-4, 650-1, 653-1, 655-1, 690-1, 698-1, 700-1, 711-1, 713-1

Third row: 754-1, 765-1, 766-1, 766-2, 768-2, 769-1, 778-1, 791-1, 796-1, 829-1, 834-1, 876-6, 881-1

Bottom row: 928-1, 950-2, 951-1, 951-4, 972-1, 1008-1, 1010-2, 1014-1, 1018-1, 1026-1, 1042-1, 1053-1, 1057-1



Late Archaic Period Projectile Points from the STA and NTA.

Top row: 26-66-12, 406-1, 406-4, 464-1, 487-3, 512-1, 551-1, 562-1, 571-2, 583-1, 596-4

Second row: 605-1, 631-1, 647-1, 650-2, 651-1, 661-1, 684-1, 688-1, 699-2, 712-1, 744-2

Third row: 745-1, 762-1, 762-3, 809-1, 809-4, 809-5, 809-12, 821-1, 844-1, 846-1, 872-1

Bottom row: 892-1, 894-1, 939-2, 939-3, 941-1, 942-1, 942-2, 956-1, 975-1, 1016-1, 1043-1, 1056-1

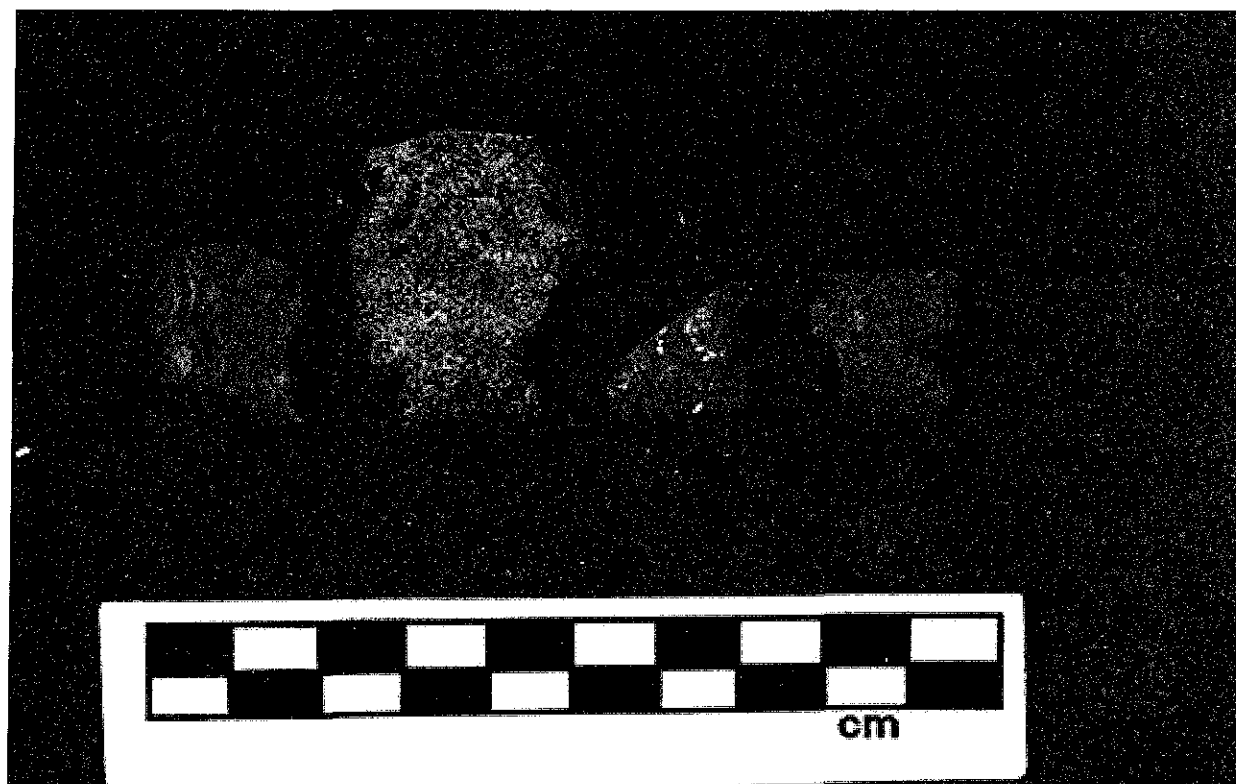


Middle Archaic Period Projectile Points from the STA and NTA.

Top row: 511-1, 572-1, 580-1, 584-2, 596-3, 663-1, 699-3, 711-2

Middle row: 728-1, 744-1, 755-1, 793-1, 809-6, 889-1, 912-1

Bottom row: 918-1, 919-1, 938-1, 950-1, 951-5, 983-1, 1041-1



Early Archaic Period Projectile Points from the NTA.

582-1, 699-1, 719-1, 926-1



Paleoindian Period Projectile Points from the NTA.

Top row: 28-66-7, 604-1, 668-1

Bottom row: 589-1, 632-1



Paleoindian Period Projectile Points from the NTA.

785-1, 785-2, 785-3, 924-1, 924-2, 1010-1