

## General William J. Palmer, Anti-Imperialist, 1895-1905\*

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State and local history constitute the major interests of a state historical society. That is as it should be. Local history has sufficient interest and intrinsic value to justify the support of the state. It is more intimately related to the people of a community. It affords greater opportunity to the person for whom historical research is a hobby or an avocation. It provides the safest and the soundest approach to general history because the historian must first understand the local and specific phases of a problem before he can hope to understand it in its broader ramifications. In any case students of history have discovered that the study of an apparently isolated, local subject frequently leads into wider fields of historical research or sheds new light upon some general subject.

The attitude of General William J. Palmer toward the foreign policies of the United States during the late eighteen-nineties is a case in point. He gave wide circulation to his views, not only in this country but in England as well. He openly challenged or warmly commended the views expressed by others. He maintained his position with complete consistency for at least ten years; taking the same position when Spain was the chief foreign country involved as he had taken when England had been the country under fire. The fact that he was numbered among a small minority did not seem to disturb him. He was willing to be a dissenter and a non-conformist, to stand up and be counted in order to register his protest against American interference in the domestic affairs of other nations.<sup>1</sup>

\*This was the address before the Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society, December 12, 1944. Dr. Anderson is Associate Professor of History at Colorado College, Colorado Springs.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup>The present paper is based almost wholly upon a small file of Palmer Correspondence in the possession of Coburn Library, Colorado College. Its purpose is to present the point of view of General Palmer toward certain events and not to analyze the events.

There is no evidence that General Palmer had a political or economic interest in either the Venezuelan boundary dispute of 1895-1896, or the Cuban rebellion and the Spanish-American war which followed it. He was at the time a successful business man, about sixty years of age, possessed of mature capacities for thought and expression and experienced in the methods and techniques of war and propaganda. Two Colorado Springs newspapers did accuse him of being pro-English on the occasion of the Venezuelan boundary dispute, but neither one produced evidence to substantiate their allegations and General Palmer's reply to one of them is at least as convincing as the charges. One editor went so far as to state that Palmer was an Englishman and that his opposition to the government of the United States in the Venezuelan matter was to be expected.<sup>2</sup> It may be conceded that his frequent trips to England and the prominence of English capital in his business interests might have colored his views when England was under attack,<sup>3</sup> but a similar bias cannot be premised when it was Spain that was involved. His stand in each case was taken upon the same ground: that there was no justification for interference by the United States in the internal affairs of another nation.

Before presenting Palmer's views in greater detail it will be helpful to refer briefly to the confused domestic and international conditions that formed the background of the specific events under discussion. In 1895 Grover Cleveland was nearing the end of his second term as president. His policies were under attack not only from the opposition party, but from the western wing of his own party. Populism was on the march; labor difficulties were occurring with alarming frequency; trade relations particularly with continental Europe were not satisfactory; the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one was the theme song of millions in the West. It was a period characterized by a rising tide of nationalism; of nationalistic history writing. A nation growing to maturity was looking beyond its immediate frontiers to broader theatres of activity. The nation did not lack men to express and to stimulate the growth of the desire for expansion. It was the day of yellow journalism, jingoism, and expansionism.

The international scene was even more confused and chaotic. The European nations seemed on the verge of springing at each other's throats. Germany was on the make and becoming more aggressive. Russia and England were at sword's points; the French were viewing the English activities in Egypt with undisguised hostility. The Turks were massacring Armenians; the Spanish were experiencing frequent changes in their government; the Irish were

<sup>2</sup>El Paso County Democrat (Colorado Springs), December 28, 1895.

<sup>3</sup>For a statement of this point of view see the Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph, December 23, 1895.

still discontented; and the Japanese victory over China was upsetting the balance in the Far East.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States during the eighteen-nineties are of particular interest. A well defined movement in favor of a formal Anglo-American alliance was being nursed along on both sides of the Atlantic. The arguments on behalf of such a development ranged all the way from simple ones based upon expediency to highly complex ones based upon the concept of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The trend toward such an alliance seems to have been most pronounced just at the time that the Venezuelan boundary question was brought so abruptly into the limelight.<sup>4</sup> But the talk of an Anglo-American alliance should not obscure the fact that there were many sources of friction in the relations of the two countries. The Alaskan boundary question had not been settled. The seal fisheries question was still hanging fire. Many Americans had become suspicious of the manner in which Great Britain had handled her indemnity claim against Nicaragua during the early part of 1895. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was becoming more and more obnoxious to the United States and there were many Americans who felt that if it could not be abrogated this country should proceed to the construction of an isthmian canal under its own auspices and control. Moreover the British were disputing the possession of the island of Trinidad with Brazil and the Falkland Islands with Argentina.<sup>5</sup>

It was into the midst of this extremely complex pattern of international relations that Secretary of State Richard Olney launched the claim that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States the right to intervene in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. This subject has been studied in such great detail by historians that a mere outline of the facts will be sufficient.<sup>6</sup> The dispute dated back to 1814, when Great Britain acquired British Guiana from the Netherlands. No boundary line had ever been agreed upon either prior to 1814 or after that date. Half-hearted attempts were made to reach an agreement on several different occa-

<sup>4</sup>Jennie A. Sloan, "Anglo-American Relations and the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVIII (1938), 486-506.

<sup>5</sup>The *Chicago Record* used these and other illustrations to support its allegation that Britain was a habitual aggressor and a chronic land-grabber. Quoted in the *El Paso County Democrat*, January 4, 1896.

<sup>6</sup>Some readily available accounts are: Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1941), 477-493; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1936), 415-422; P. R. Fossum, "The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Controversy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (1928), 299-329; John H. Latane and David W. Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1940), 479-488; Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), 630-648; Dexter Perkins, *Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1941), 171-191; J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics* (New York, 1938), 114-121; J. Fred Rippy, *The Caribbean Danger Zone* (New York, 1940), 24-29; William S. Robertson, *Hispanic American Relations with the United States* (New York, 1923), 105-112; and Richard W. Van Alstyne, *American Diplomacy in Action* (Stanford University, 1944), 203-212.

sions. In 1840 a surveyor under the auspices of the British located a line, but Venezuela refused to accept it until several decades later. By that time the British had changed their minds. Both Great Britain and Venezuela suggested arbitrations at various times, but never at the same time. In 1887 Venezuela broke off diplomatic relations. Almost coincidentally gold was discovered in the contested area, the British apparently enlarged their claim, and Venezuela granted concessions to American mining companies.<sup>7</sup> There is more than a little reason to believe that as the nineteenth century was drawing to a close Venezuela was determined to embroil the United States in the controversy in spite of the fact that on at least five occasions prior to 1865 and at least as many more after that date the United States had refused to invoke the Monroe Doctrine in support of Venezuela and against European intervention.<sup>8</sup> Then on July 20, 1895, Secretary Olney communicated his famous message to Lord Salisbury claiming the right of the United States to intervene in order to secure a settlement of the matter. He rested his case upon an expanded interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and expressed it in unnecessarily offensive language. The British reply was not received in this country until after Congress had assembled in December—a move that many Americans interpreted as a studied attempt on the part of Lord Salisbury to belittle the United States.<sup>9</sup> In a special message to Congress following the receipt of Salisbury's reply, which denied the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine to the Venezuelan dispute, President Cleveland asked Congress to authorize the appointment of a boundary commission to ascertain the facts and in effect threatened resort to war if Great Britain did not accept the findings of the commission.

The motives of President Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney in pressing for the settlement of a question that had been hanging fire for more than three-quarters of a century are not entirely clear. There were those who said that Grover Cleveland had third term ambitions. Others asserted that it was a counter-irritant designed to divert the attention and wrath of the farmers and workers of the country from domestic problems to foreign affairs until

<sup>7</sup>El Paso County Democrat, October 26, 1895; The Nation emphasized the involvement of American mining interests, January 2 and 16, 1896, pp. 5-6, 44. Thomas F. Bayard, American ambassador to Great Britain, called President Cleveland's attention to the fact that, "Speculators in the United States have thrust their soiled hands into the business and sought to embroil the United States in sustaining their corrupt practices." Bayard to Cleveland, February 12, 1896. Allan Nevins (editor), *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850-1908* (New York, 1933), 429.

<sup>8</sup>William H. Gray, "American Diplomacy in Venezuela, 1835-1865," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 574. British sources interpreted the Venezuelan Revolution of 1896, as an attempt to sharpen the conflict between the United States and Great Britain. Noted in the El Paso County Democrat, January 11, 1896. The Venezuelan efforts to drag the United States into the controversy were noted and severely criticized by John Bassett Moore, the distinguished student of international law. Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland: the Man and the Statesman*, 2 volumes (New York, 1923), II, 184-185.

<sup>9</sup>The Nation, December 12, 1895, 417.

the election of eighteen ninety-six had rendered the nation safe from Populism. One of the correspondents of General Palmer attributed the whole affair to President Cleveland's "early unacquaintedness," which had postponed his knowledge of certain questions until late in life, and like grown people with children's diseases, he took his newly found doctrines seriously. "Thus \* \* \* he discovered the Monroe Doctrine with the aid of a corporation counsel and advocate. The idea took like an infection and he erupted a message whose rashness was like adult measles."<sup>10</sup> Another explanation that has been offered is that President Cleveland was afraid if the problem remained unsettled it would lead to war between Great Britain and Venezuela and that Congress would insist upon involving the United States in the war.<sup>11</sup> A qualified version of this view is contained in a letter to General Palmer from Boston. The writer summarized the views of the Collector of Customs at Boston, Mr. Warren, to the effect that Cleveland was worried lest the brusqueness and impracticability of Salisbury and Chamberlain would arouse such a jingoistic spirit in Congress and among politicians generally as to form a prominent feature in the presidential campaign that was just around the corner and thus "become very harmful to the country." It was further suggested that the President had taken the matter into his own hands and away from Congress in order to manage it to a final, peaceful end. A marginal note in General Palmer's handwriting says, "The 3rd time that this report has reached me in the last six weeks from entirely different sources—all very close to the President."<sup>12</sup>

One feature of the explanation of Cleveland's action in terms of political motivation is particularly interesting. The President like General Palmer had been accused of being too friendly to the English, a serious liability not only among the Irish-Americans, but also among the free silverites of the western states.<sup>13</sup> Cleveland's devotion to the gold standard, of which Britain, so the argument ran, was the principal beneficiary, was rapidly losing him the support of western members of his party. The Venezuelan affair might have been viewed as a fine opportunity to capitalize on western antipathy toward the British without making even the smallest concession to western leaders on the money issue. The action of British

<sup>10</sup>Unidentified correspondent to William J. Palmer from New York, February 5, 1896. In a letter to Thomas F. Bayard, December 29, 1895, President Cleveland confessed to an earlier lack of interest in and understanding of the Monroe Doctrine. Nevins, *Letters*, 417.

<sup>11</sup>McElroy, *op. cit.*, II, 177. Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, 640.

<sup>12</sup>Unidentified correspondent from Boston, February 25, 1896. The writer continued, "That was Mr. Warren's theory and I find others have a similar idea. I replied that if true it was still playing with fire, but while he did not exactly say so I suppose the adherents of this theory would claim that the results now apparently reached justify the step."

<sup>13</sup>President Cleveland thought that the record of his administration in trying to stem the tide of "jingoism" merited some concession from the British in the Venezuela matter. Letter to Thomas F. Bayard, December 29, 1895. Nevins, *Letters*, 419.

investors in selling American securities when the war scare was at its height, thus causing notable declines in values and in some instances causing failures among American business houses, was all that was necessary to convince some western editors that the gold-mad Britons were plotting the dismemberment of an American republic for the purpose of monopolizing a new source of the yellow metal.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that President Cleveland precipitated the Venezuelan question for the purpose of winning support for the administration among western silverites, but it did have that effect. For a time it seemed that he would be successful in appropriating the thunder of the Republican imperialists and in silencing the western critics in his own party—no mean political achievement.<sup>15</sup>

The reasons for the policy of President Cleveland did not interest General Palmer. His attitude was simply that the points at issue did not concern, hence did not involve the United States. An early statement of his point of view was contained in a paper read by him before the Mahoghany Club of Colorado Springs, in December, 1895. Although the paper was printed and widely circularized a copy of it has not come to the attention of the writer, but the *Evening Telegraph* in criticising and answering the arguments contained in it gave a measure of publicity to its contents. Specifically, it accused him of ridiculing a cardinal tenet of our foreign policy as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine; of suggesting that the Monroe Doctrine was untenable and inapplicable to the Venezuelan situation; of asserting that the President and Congress were mad; of declaring that the country was unprepared for war; and of out-heroding Herod by asserting that the Monroe Doctrine was of academic interest only after Lord Salisbury had admitted its general validity.<sup>16</sup> In a reply published in the *Evening Telegraph* the following day, General Palmer did not deny any of these allegations, but pointed out that if Lord Salisbury had accepted the Monroe Doctrine there was no need for "a great popular upheaval to maintain it." Moreover the only question at issue was its applicability in a particular case and not the maintenance in letter and in spirit at whatever cost of a great historic policy. The statement by Presi-

<sup>14</sup>El Paso County *Democrat*, December 21, 1895. The tie-up between the silver issue and the Monroe Doctrine is suggested in Van Alstyne, *op. cit.*, 209.

<sup>15</sup>Another plausible explanation for the abrupt approach of Cleveland and Olney is that the Monroe Doctrine was invoked in the Venezuela question where a good moral case could be found and where American interests were not directly involved so that the United States might avert coming to blows with Great Britain on the canal issue in which its position was not so strong. Sloan, *Op. Cit.*, 491. Among the motives listed by Professor J. Fred Rippy are: 1. Cleveland and his advisers viewed with suspicion and disapproval the policies of the European nations in all parts of the world; 2. a feeling that Great Britain was expanding at the expense of Venezuela; 3. a firm attitude toward Great Britain would be calculated to evoke popular applause and improve the electoral prospects of the Democratic party; 4. the ardent nationalism of Cleveland and Olney; 5. the prestige of the United States would be enhanced by successfully defying the British; 6. it was a safe time to defy Great Britain since she feared an attack by Russia upon India. *The Caribbean Danger Zone*, 25-26.

<sup>16</sup>Colorado Springs *Evening Telegraph*, December 23, 1895.

dent Cleveland that "any adjustment of her boundary which Venezuela may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will, cannot of course be objected to by the United States;" was answered by General Palmer in the following words:

Now if this business be not a boundary dispute in good faith, but as the President believes, a disguise under which Great Britain is attempting to extend her possessions in America, what right has he to permit Venezuela to swap or sell out, should the "quid pro quo" be tempting enough to her?

Does not this conception of the Monroe Doctrine relegate "a great national policy" to the dimensions of a question of propriety of sympathy and aid to Venezuela in a quarrel with England? Under this precedent could not Spain sell Cuba, and Mexico part with Lower California or Sonora, to any European power, without protest from us? But poor American though I be, I may say that such transactions would not be altogether acceptable to me—however far President Cleveland or the *Evening Telegraph*, which you say "stands with him" might feel bound to concede it.

Evidently this Monroe Doctrine requires still further explanation. Would it not on the whole be simpler to trust to no shibboleth, but rest calmly on our conscious strength; and standing "four square to all the winds that blow," put down our foot only when our interests are really menaced?

Under date of December 22, 1895, General Palmer caused to be printed and also to be put in circulation a petition some two pages in length of which he was apparently the author and principal sponsor. The first paragraph disapproves of the "Venezuelan message of the President and the precipitate action of Congress thereon." A number of reasons are given for assuming this position: there is no danger to the United States from the encroachment of European powers on this continent; there is no likelihood that such expansion would be attempted or desired by England or any other country; and there is no way of applying the Monroe Doctrine to the Venezuelan boundary dispute except by straining it. After an expression of regret that England had refused arbitration and a statement that in the opinion of the signers the resources of diplomacy had not been exhausted, the petition continues:

They [the signers] think the President having thus invented a grievance, that he and Congress have united, by throwing down the gauntlet and breathing defiance to a country with which we were at peace, to treat the issue in an arbitrary manner, that has, perhaps, no sanction in any previous behavior of a self-respecting country towards a friendly one \* \* \* Finally they believe that there could be no greater crime against civilization than to provoke a war between the United States and England on an issue of such trifling importance to our honor and welfare.

The letters which General Palmer received in response to the widespread distribution of his paper and petition shed further light on his views. A friend in Colorado Springs wrote him:

I return the enclosure, saying only that swayed by personal friendship I should remain silent, but in view of the public interest, my

feeble voice concurs with its condemnation of the Administration and of Congress in this Venezuelan affair. It were best to throw the "Monroe Doctrine" to the "moles and bats" as the old missionary hymn proposes for the idols of the heathen if it puts on this country the duty and right now claimed.<sup>17</sup>

Assurances came from New York City that "all thoughtful and unprovincial people in the East" shared his views;<sup>18</sup> and that nearly all who came to the University Club in New York City felt as he did.<sup>19</sup> From the other side of the continent came a similar letter which contained a very specific and faithful restatement of Palmer's views. It reads in part,

I think your arguments dispose of the Monroe Doctrine as an actuality. It is obsolete. I thoroughly agree with the first paragraph on page eight which states the case in a nutshell. Each crisis to be treated on its own merits is the proper rule—it is sufficient for all time—it involves us in no quarrels—commits us to nothing—and gives no handle to the ambitious, the unscrupulous or the stupid—as you justly point out.<sup>20</sup>

A conspicuous example of lack of agreement with General Palmer on the part of one of his correspondents is contained in a letter which he received from A. B. Garner, an officer of his Civil War regiment and a resident for many years of the territory in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Garner confessed that his sympathies were with Venezuela, but the phase of the controversy that interested him most was the fact that the English government had denied a "reasonable and courteous request of the American government oft-repeated, for a friendly and independent arbitration of the question at issue, and that the English premier in the exercise of his duty has deemed it advisable to decline the request in a curt and offensive manner."<sup>21</sup> General Palmer defended Great Britain against charges that she had enlarged the area that she claimed and then answered the main argument as follows:

You think Great Britain has denied a reasonable and courteous request to arbitrate. And so Spain, I imagine, will deny the "good offices" which our Senate has just proposed to offer to her to help her get rid of Cuba. The question at issue, I think in each case is the propriety of *our* interference.

You refer to Lord Salisbury's "curt and offensive manner" in declining that request \* \* \* but I have not been able to discover it in his actual correspondence.<sup>22</sup>

In a letter written on the same day to Oscar S. Strauss, Palmer commented on an article by Strauss in the February, 1896, *Forum*,

<sup>17</sup>C. L. Tracy, a friend of President Cleveland, to William J. Palmer, December 24, 1895.

<sup>18</sup>Unidentified correspondent from New York City, to William J. Palmer, February 5, 1896.

<sup>19</sup>W. W. Nevin from New York City to William J. Palmer, January 3, 1896.

<sup>20</sup>Edward S. Holden, Lick Observatory, University of California, to General Palmer, March 4, 1896.

<sup>21</sup>A. B. Garner, from Newark, N. J., to General Palmer, February 27, 1896.

<sup>22</sup>General William J. Palmer to A. B. Garner from New York, March 2, 1896.

saying that the defense of President Cleveland was "forceful and compact." He concluded in a prophetic vein, "The Cuban interference seems to be merely a logical following. In fact, we seem to be making ourselves a common nuisance among the nations."<sup>23</sup>

An indirect approach to the views of General Palmer on the Monroe Doctrine lies in his reaction to the speech delivered in the Senate of the United States by Senator Edward O. Wolcott on January 22, 1896. The occasion for the speech was the introduction of the Davis Resolutions, which would have given formal congressional approval to the Monroe Doctrine. On the day following the delivery of the speech General Palmer sent Senator Wolcott a congratulatory telegram and a few days later he wrote a letter expressing his commendation more fully.

Amidst all of the inferiority and cowardice which prevail out here and throughout the land, your brave stand is as bracing as a mountain breeze, and your eloquent words make one once more proud to be an American and a Coloradan. I almost envy you the exultation you must feel at being able to tilt your lance straight in the face of all the low mindedness and vulgar anglo-phobia. Few have ever had a finer chance and fewer could have utilized it more nobly.<sup>24</sup>

In a letter to another correspondent, General Palmer remarked that he had seen only one Colorado newspaper that had expressed approval of Senator Wolcott's stand.<sup>25</sup> The newspaper was in all likelihood the *Manitou Springs Journal*, Palmer's own newspaper.<sup>26</sup> A file of this paper does not seem to be extant, but a clipping from the issue of January 30, 1896, is filed with the Palmer letters. After commending Senator Wolcott for the views expressed in his speech to the Senate, the writer asserted:

The fuss made about the Monroe Doctrine is the variest jingoism that has engrossed Congress for quite a spell. The doctrine itself has no defense in law or equity, precedent or philosophy \* \* \* The United States has really no more right to meddle in Venezuelan boundary affairs than it has to meddle in the boundary of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The views expressed by Senator Wolcott which received the approbation of General Palmer were to the effect that the Monroe Doctrine had never been recognized by any other country nor formally approved by the Congress of the United States; that it had been misapplied in the controversy between Great Britain and Venezu-

<sup>23</sup>General William J. Palmer to Oscar S. Strauss from New York, March 2, 1896. The February *Forum* contained three articles on the controversy: Theodore S. Woolsey, "The President's Monroe Doctrine," Oscar S. Strauss, "Lord Salisbury and the Monroe Doctrine," and Isaac L. Pike, "The Duty of Congress." (February, 1896), 705-732.

<sup>24</sup>General William J. Palmer to Senator Edward O. Wolcott, January 28, 1896.

<sup>25</sup>General William J. Palmer to a Mr. Gorham, February 14, 1896. The El Paso County *Democrat* condemned Wolcott and called him a Tory. January 25, 1896.

<sup>26</sup>John Fisher, *A Builder of the West: The Life of General William Jackson Palmer* (Caldwell, Idaho), 300-301.

ela; that it was not intended to form the foundation for the establishment of republican forms of government in this hemisphere; that it was not directed at monarchies, but only at forcible extension of the program of the Holy Alliance, and that it was a doctrine of self-defense developed in a period when the United States was weak and actually menaced. The speech also called attention to the incendiary character of the Cleveland-Olney messages, to the part played by the British in winning independence for Venezuela, to the historical background and interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, to the presence of despotic forms of government in Latin America and to the glorious possibilities of Anglo-American cooperation.<sup>27</sup>

During the spring of 1896, General Palmer took a trip to California and while there he hastened to write a letter to Edward M. Shepard, one of his attorneys in New York, who it must be said disagreed with him on almost every point. After expressing the hope that the Venezuela question would not be settled before he could get the letter to him, General Palmer summarized and restated his convictions. He hoped that the dispute would not be settled in any manner that would seem "to justify or palliate our interference in the boundary quarrel." Of the actions of the American people and press, he said:

I confess that the history of the past four months has made me profoundly ashamed of my country, and it is not diminished by reading such thoughtful, judicious and experienced papers of state as that of President Diaz on the Monroe Question. I should think its perusal would have caused the cheek of our President and that of Mr. Olney to tingle with shame \* \* \* I can feel no sense of pride at being treated with more respect in tone because of the President's assertion of our "enormous power" *provided we were wrong* \* \* \* Hence it all comes back to the question of whether we had any right to interpose with our insults, our threats, and our commission. It is we Americans who are to suffer shame, and permanent havoc, from the crime or mistake if we made one: the arousal of brag and bluster and the jingo spirit to torment us as a nation for long years. I have not considered or cared for the effect on England from the beginning. It is our own interests and our honor that I believe have been uselessly jeopardized by this interference. Right away it led on to the further atrocity of the attack upon Spain.<sup>28</sup>

General Palmer must have known when he wrote this letter that the sequence of events could be interpreted to justify the intervention of the United States. Some time during January, 1896, the

<sup>27</sup>Congressional Record, January 22, 1896, Vol. 28, p. 856 ff.

<sup>28</sup>General William J. Palmer to Edward M. Shepard from Santa Barbara, California, May 5, 1896. The message referred to was one delivered by President Porfirio Diaz on the opening of the Mexican Congress, April 1, 1896. The portion which relates to the Monroe Doctrine can be found in Alejandro Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine* (New York, 1924), 185-187.

war scare began to subside.<sup>29</sup> It was accompanied by a change in tone in the English press, by a much less bellicose position on the part of President Cleveland and by a much more conciliatory attitude on the part of Lord Salisbury. Prominent men who had important connections on both sides of the Atlantic began to smooth the way for an understanding. Venezuela was squeezed out of the question. The boundary commission received every possible courtesy at the hands of the English government; a treaty was negotiated and ratified, arbitration took place which resulted in the English obtaining the greater portion of the area in dispute—all was settled apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned by 1899.

One important reason for the shift in sentiment in the United States in favor of a peaceful settlement with England was the rise to prominence of the Cuban question. There is reason to believe that this diversion of attention was not wholly accidental. The imperialists in the Republican party who had felt it necessary to support President Cleveland when he espoused one of their favorite principles so vigorously were shocked at the well nigh universal character of public support given to him. If the Democratic leaders were to be prevented from capitalizing on this public support at the ensuing election it would be necessary to rattle the sword loudly enough to drown them out. It would be necessary to discover an international situation that could be exploited to such good advantage as to place Republicans at the head of the procession instead of Cleveland.<sup>30</sup> The Armenian massacres by the Turks were explored tentatively, but they were too remote. There was a problem nearer at hand that contained explosive possibilities—the Cuban question.<sup>31</sup> Cuban juntas had been busy preparing the way.<sup>32</sup> Cleveland had not given them much encouragement. He had not appropriated the political fruits of the episode as he had in the Venezuelan question. Whether deliberately promoted or not, the Cuban question served the same purpose in diverting the American people from the sins of the English to the bloody deeds

<sup>29</sup>Many reasons have been given for the sudden shift in sentiment both in the United States and in England. The telegram of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the leader of the Boers, Paul Krueger, was indicative of rising Anglo-German tension and had a profound effect upon public opinion in England. If it was not decisive in causing a change in English opinion at least it served to convince the English that their major interests were in South Africa and not in South America. A recent writer suggests that the Krueger telegram did not influence the English decision in the Venezuela case, but no supporting evidence is included in the account. Van Alstyne, *op. cit.*, 211. On the other hand, Professor J. Fred Rippey asserts categorically that the Krueger telegram had a decisive effect. *Caribbean Danger Zone*, 28. In a letter to President Cleveland, Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard, writing from London on January 29, 1896, expressed the view that the Jameson Raid and its aftermath had a very close relation to the Venezuela question. Nevins, *Letters*, 427.

<sup>30</sup>The Davis Resolutions were interpreted by one Democratic paper as a Republican attempt to push Cleveland into the background. *El Paso County Democrat*, February 8, 1896.

<sup>31</sup>Clipping from the New York *Evening Post*, March 2, 1896, in the Palmer file.

<sup>32</sup>George W. Auxier, "The Propaganda Activities of the Cuban Junta in Precipitating the Spanish-American War, 1895-1898," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX, 286-305.

of the Spanish that the Krueger telegram had performed in diverting the attention of the English from the Americans to the Germans. Cuba replaced Venezuela in the headlines and the leadership of the movement passed from Cleveland and Olney to Lodge, Roosevelt, Foraker, Proctor and Thurston.

This was precisely the development that General Palmer had feared. In several letters he expressed the opinion that the behavior of the people of the United States in the Cuban question was a logical outgrowth of their behavior in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. On one occasion he declared that, "Bryan with his vealy confidence in his country being able to make a thing right because *it* does it, is to my mind a legitimate child of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney in their Venezuelan homilies about the 'healing effect of popular self-government for all nations'."<sup>33</sup> This view expressed by General Palmer at the time of the controversy coincides with the conclusion reached by the most recent biographer of President Cleveland that the worst consequences of the President's policy lay in "two waves of feeling which swept the country—a primary wave of warlike enthusiasm, followed by a secondary and vaguer wave of imperialist sentiment."<sup>34</sup>

The concern manifested by General Palmer in 1896 lest the Venezuelan controversy lead to further interference in the domestic affairs of other countries foreshadowed his condemnation of the policy that the United States took toward Spain in 1897-1898. The first complete presentation of his point of view was again in a paper prepared for delivery before the Mahoghany Club of Colorado Springs, on December 8, 1897. The opening paragraph of the paper, which is in reality an answer to an article by Hannis Taylor in the *North American Review*,<sup>35</sup> keynotes his whole attitude. In it he says, "What I think our behavior should be toward the nation of which Cuba is a part, is simply the behavior we asked of European countries when the U. S. was in similar straits—that they should leave us alone." General Palmer, feeling himself to be on surer ground with respect to the Cuban question, possibly because he could not be accused of being a Spaniard at heart but more likely because of his actual military experience in similar situations, constantly compared the civil war raging in Cuba with the Civil War of the United States in 1861-1865—the one in which he had fought on the side of the Union. Spain in 1895-1898 was in the same position as the United States in 1861-1865 fighting for nationality and unity. The United States in 1895-1898 was playing the role that Great Britain had played in 1861-1865; Cuba and the Confederate

states were comparable. Canovas was the man of "blood and iron" instead of Lincoln and Stanton. Establishing his whole argument on this type of comparison, General Palmer took all of the arguments advanced by the interventionists: economic, social, political, humanitarian and racial and answered them either with quotations from the English press during the Civil War or with instances taken from his own experiences in that war. He insisted that the people of the United States give to Spain the right to preserve her unity and nationality that we had demanded of Europe only thirty-five years earlier. He concluded this phase of his argument with the comment:

And so the wise man comes to the conclusion that even as regards the welfare of the discordant family and certainly of his own, the simple fact that it is a family, whose members are of like blood, history, instincts, characteristics, education, etc., renders it almost certain that however badly they may be getting along together, it is nevertheless better as it is, than for a stranger to step in and take sides and become responsible for the future of either fragment.

The second portion of the paper begins, "But it is in justice to ourselves, more even than to another and friendly nationality that I object to our interference." Then he lists the following reason why the United States should not meddle in the domestic affairs of Spain: the racial problem was sufficiently complex because of an unsolved Negro problem, the exclusion of the Chinese, and the agitation for more stringent immigration laws without introducing another discordant element; the democratic institutions of the United States were already endangered by attempting to stretch them over too wide a surface and too discordant human elements; the United States ought not to assist in the dismemberment of Spain if she was not ready to annex or to establish a protectorate over Cuba; the republican form of government was not necessarily the best for all peoples; the free play of national vanity was doing grave injury to the United States by distracting attention from serious domestic problems; the purposes for which the government of the United States was established did not include the use of national resources and credit for the promotion of political experiments in other lands; the usual excuses for interference were lacking and intervention would certainly lead to war.

The sinking of the *Maine* and the investigation that followed produced a voluminous three-cornered correspondence between General Palmer, George Foster Peabody, and Edward M. Shepard. The last named was an ardent supporter of the policy of the interventionists bringing to bear all of the familiar arguments: it was a case of preventing war and not making war; inasmuch as war was already in existence in Cuba, it was the duty of the United States to intervene to terminate it; and Spain would welcome a bloodless war

<sup>33</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, October 14, 1896.

<sup>34</sup>Nevins, *Cleveland*, 641.

<sup>35</sup>Hannis Taylor, "A Review of the Cuban Question in Its Economic, Political and Diplomatic Aspects," *North American Review* (November, 1897), 610-635.

with the United States because it would assist her in solving her domestic problems. Even the familiar example of a great bully beating a small boy while a large, powerful man walks indifferently by was pressed into service.<sup>36</sup> General Palmer and George Foster Peabody found themselves in substantial agreement on the fundamental issues, but Palmer was much more severe in his condemnation of the American people generally and the "hysterical Senators" in particular.

With respect to the *Maine* disaster, General Palmer insisted that the proper and decent thing to do was to accept the Spanish disclaimers at full value and wait for a final decision from the investigating commission before taking any definite action. But, he continued, the attitude of the American people generally amounted to saying to Spain: "We don't believe your disavowals and expressions of sympathy are genuine and we are going to be ready to jump on you if our divers show that you have lied."<sup>37</sup> A few weeks later a fuller statement of this general point of view was sent to his friend. After paying his respects to the "jingoes" and the "yellow journals" Palmer asserted:

But the "calm and self-restrained classes" pretty generally declared in effect that if our divers should discover and the Commission report, that notwithstanding Spain's disclaimers and sympathy, it were found that she had been lying about it, war ought to be declared, and that, even if nothing should be discovered to indicate that Spain had committed the deed, she must be ordered to pay a big indemnity or have war. The absurdity of a country paying a huge indemnity to avoid war and then risk being at once told that she must still give up a portion of her territory or fight seemed to strike but few minds. Mostly they were too "calm" to notice that detail, I think.<sup>38</sup>

The report of newspaper correspondents and of American consuls and the speeches of American senators who had made quick trips to Cuba were discounted by General Palmer because they were derived almost wholly from Cuban rebel sources. He did not accept the atrocity stories that emanated from Cuba and asserted that he could match them all with similar stories from the activities of Union armies during the Civil War of the United States.<sup>39</sup> In any event he did not feel that waging war upon Spain would be the quickest and simplest way of getting food and medical supplies to the starving non-combatants in Cuba.<sup>40</sup>

The one thing that rendered General Palmer almost inarticulate was the nearly universal practice among the American people of praising their composure, their moderation, and their self-restraint

<sup>36</sup>Edward M. Shepard to George Foster Peabody, March 23, 1898.

<sup>37</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 7, 1898.

<sup>38</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 27, 1898.

<sup>39</sup>General William J. Palmer to Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia, March 25, 1898. Palmer said in part, "We were quite as downright inhuman, if you please, at times in treating non-combatants in bushwhacking sections of the South during our war \* \* \*"

<sup>40</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 27, 1898.

in not rushing immediately into war. The praise showered on President McKinley for not plunging the nation into war immediately called forth the following expression of disgust, "Did they take him for a drivelling idiot so mad and hot that he could not even wait until his ammunition was at hand." This last was an indirect reference to the presidential request made prior to the report of the Maine Commission for an appropriation of \$50,000,000 to provide for the defense of the Atlantic coastline. Palmer asserted that the request and the act of Congress granting it in the face of the Spanish disavowals was a deliberate attempt to "bullyrag" Spain into declaring war upon the United States. "Since," he continued, "there is not a man, woman, or child in the United States that believes Spain would attack us if we let her alone, and but for the Maine incident there was no more occasion for 'defending' our coasts than before."<sup>41</sup>

The reasons for the conduct of the American people which he condemned so vigorously received some attention from General Palmer. On this subject he wrote:

The absence of strong neighbors and of the wholesome social friction resulting therefrom and the ignorance of other people and consequent inability to imagine their views and to put themselves in their places—a general low order of education (largely by means of newspapers) and perhaps neglected family discipline accompanied by the belief that we are the most wonderfully enlightened and superior people in the world and that we have a form of government which every country in the world should imitate—these are the convictions, I think, which cause all of this vulgar insolence and make a thoughtful man hang his head with shame.<sup>42</sup>

The fact that the English newspapers and public leaders were supporting the American stand in the Cuban question neither consoled nor impressed him. "I utterly reject such approval. It is one of the lamentable results we have brought on ourselves by our bullying of England about her boundary line—the greater difficulty of getting honest, impartial criticism."<sup>43</sup>

The position taken by General Palmer was not that of the absolute opponent of war. He did not object to "talk of war" if it

<sup>41</sup>Marginal note addressed to G. F. P., March 27, 1898, contained on a letter from Edward M. Shepard to George Foster Peabody, March 21, 1898. The same ground is covered in another letter by Palmer to Peabody of even date.

<sup>42</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 13, 1898. A similar point of view was expressed in a letter of March 5, 1898, addressed to Senator Wolcott in which reference was made to "those callow minds who think our political experience warrants our overturning every other form of government in this hemisphere and ramming ours down their throats."

<sup>43</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 27, 1898, contained on a letter from Edward M. Shepard, March 21, 1898. J. Y. Sargent writing to General Palmer from England on May 31, 1898, did not think that the professions of love and brotherhood of the English for the Americans were at all genuine. The same writer in an earlier letter, May 17, 1898, had said, "However humiliating to an Englishman, I am forced to think that the fear of a European combination against England has driven our diplomatists to try and curry favor with the people of the United States so as to pave the way for an alliance with a mob who hate us, whose aims are entirely different from ours, and who by this time must despise us."



was a question of being forced to defend the United States, but he asserted repeatedly that no thinking person could imagine Spain attacking the United States in spite of all of the provocations that we had given her. He frequently compared the behavior of the American people with what he asserted would have been the behavior of the people of any European nation, instancing in particular the Germans and the English. On this last point he wrote:

I cannot imagine such dreadful manners as we have manifested through Senators and Congressmen's talk, political leaders, newspapers all over the country and innumerable interviews of people thought to have weight in this Maine affair. And if it were so manifest I venture to say that they wouldn't simultaneously brag of their wonderful moderation, composure and reserve. I think they would have waited until the divers had come up anyway. No—I am disgusted and feel as though I had been dreaming a nightmare located in the slums.<sup>44</sup>

General Palmer took some comfort in his conclusion that if Abraham Lincoln were dealing with the situation he would not have been guilty of "breaking into Spain's house for any reason given anywhere and certainly not in the interests of humanity."<sup>45</sup>

With the help of some of his friends, General Palmer took concrete steps to forestall the coming of war with Spain. He wrote letters of approbation to Senators Wolcott and Elkins for their attempts to introduce reason and justice into the acts of the Senate. To the latter he wrote:

Your views are those which I have held from the beginning—ever since our own Civil War in fact—and I have been amazed that they have not been more generally held by public men and editors \* \* \* I applaud your efforts to bring reason and justice to bear in this hysterical moment and wish I could have more hope for their success.<sup>46</sup>

Palmer also prepared, circulated, and wired the following petition to President McKinley:

We earnestly hope that in behalf of justice, humanity, and of our permanent national welfare the United States will continue to refrain from hostile intervention in Cuba. A false step at this time may bring war, and it is possible for victory by begetting a willingness to interfere in the affairs of other nations, to produce results that might be worse than defeat.

We deplore the unfortunate suffering in Cuba, but would not have our country invite the risk of calamities much more shocking to human sympathy, or assume any responsibility for the doubtful future of a Spanish-American Republic.

It is not peace at any price that we advocate, but what we consider the truest patriotism, and the best interests of humanity.

Although on two distinct occasions in less than five years General Palmer had stood with the small minority that had unsuccessful-

<sup>44</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 13, 1898.

<sup>45</sup>General William J. Palmer to George Foster Peabody, March 27, 1898.

<sup>46</sup>General William J. Palmer to Senator Stephen B. Elkins, from New York, March 25, 1898.

fully tried to stem the flood tide of American imperialism, he maintained his point of view unchanged as late as 1905. In that year, in response to a letter from his brother-in-law praising President Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy and the beneficent rule of the United States in the Philippines, he condemned the whole administration policy including Roosevelt's intervention in the Russo-Japanese war. The postscript to the letter suggests his attitude,

Instead of "conceding the swashbuckler a little credit" and therefore being pleased, I sincerely regret his connection with anything and everything that tends by its "good company" to extend his influence in preaching and practicing the heresies I have referred to—believing that they are vastly more harmful to this country in the long run than those of George the Third, Calhoun, or Jefferson Davis.<sup>47</sup>

Thus General Palmer indicted three consecutive presidents with meddling in the affairs of other countries. He had remarked on an earlier occasion that, "They all seem tarred with the same stick—McKinley, Cleveland and the lot, and seem incapable of putting themselves in any other nation's place—in other words of understanding international manners." While thus indicting the presidents, General Palmer seemed to be pleading with the American people to do two things with dignity and decency: to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, and to extend to the peoples of other countries the same rights that they as Americans claimed for themselves. If the former impresses some people as being isolationism pure and simple, the latter may be viewed as realistic internationalism.

<sup>47</sup>General William J. Palmer to Chase Mellen, September 8, 1905.

## My Hunting Trip to the Rockies in 1843

As Told by WILLIAM CLARK KENNERLY to BESSIE K. RUSSELL<sup>1</sup>

[Introduction, by Mrs. Russell: During the last decade of my father William Clark Kennerly's long life, ending in his 90th year, public interest in the early history of the West was increased by the great Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, where Lewis and Clark had returned in 1806 from their long expedition through the vast unexplored territory then known only to the Indians. A statue of the Indian girl Sacajawea (Bird Woman), who had guided them through the Oregon country and sent by that state, also contributed to the general interest in western history.

My father being almost the only living person who knew General William Clark, was so often consulted by authors and historical

<sup>1</sup>William Clark Kennerly was a nephew of the wife of William Clark, of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific, 1803-1806. Mrs. Russell, daughter of W. C. Kennerly, lives in St. Louis today.—Ed.

societies about his recollections of people and events of the last century that, desiring to preserve at least one of these adventures to posterity, I wrote down in 1911 as he then told it to me, the narrative of this 1843 buffalo hunt. Since 1929 the manuscript and his diary, kept on the homeward trip, have been (entered as a loan) in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society until September, 1944, when I took them out to have them copied for this article to be published in Colorado, where the grand and rugged scenery of the Rocky Mountains so greatly impressed the members of that hunting party, back in the days when the buffalo roamed the plains.]



WILLIAM CLARK KENNERLY

After life's span has reached almost a century the memory of early youth stands out in bold relief against the turmoil of modern civilization, and now I look back with wonder at my boyhood longing for adventure amidst the perilous pioneer days of the far West. I lived in the small town of St. Louis, on the banks of the Mississippi, and the borderland of romance, connecting as it did wanderers from the most effete of European powers with the primitive peoples of the wilderness. Here the songs of voyageurs mingled with the jargon of half a dozen languages, for the village had not yet completely outgrown its Spanish rule.

Old Chief Black Hawk may have had some influence on my early imagination, for during my childhood at Jefferson Barracks he was a prisoner there. I recall his carving me a red stone pipe, which I prized very highly, for our toys were such things as miniature shot guns, Indian curiosities and war implements.

The adventures of Lewis and Clark on their Expedition had also given me many a thrill, as my uncle, General Clark, described them in detail around the fireside. He was Indian agent and governor of all the territory west of the Mississippi and I had been with him on several occasions to attend the councils. These were usually held in his council chamber, a large hall where were kept all of his Indian trophies, collected in many years of wise and honorable dealings with the red man. Here the dignity of the chiefs, and I must acknowledge their feather headdresses and gay ornaments attracted me greatly, and I formed an opinion of the noble Indian that was later to be shattered when the naked truth of their savage personality was thrust upon me on the great plains.

Hunting was the chief diversion of the village, shooting ducks and killing deer almost at our doorstep. But it was not until 1843 that I ventured into the buffalo country.

After the death of my father, I had come from college to *Cote Plaquemine* (Persimmon Hill), my mother's country home, situated on what is now Kennerly and Taylor Avenues, where she made life pleasant for me and Jefferson Clark, son of my father's sister and General William Clark. Being the same age as myself, and his mother having died when he was a small child, she had taken him to her heart and home and reared him with me, so having shared each other's youthful joys and sorrows up to this time, we naturally started forth together on our first expedition into the wilderness.

It was on a lovely evening in April that our opportunity came. Among the guests at my mother's dinner table was Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scotchman who had come to this country to hunt buffalo. He had been around the world, hunted big game in Africa, and had had experiences in almost every clime. He had been in St. Louis once before, making a trip across the plains with my cousin, John Radford.<sup>2</sup>

After the ladies had left the dining room and old "Nias" served apple toddy from a huge punch bowl, while Cupid followed with cherry bounce and other home-brew cordials, Jeff and I listened with bated breath to tales of wonderful adventure in the far-away Rockies, and to plans for another trip across the great prairies. Sir William probably noticed our intense interest in the subject, and particularly his plans for the near future. Anyway, he invited us

<sup>2</sup>A brother of Admiral Radford, U. S. N., both stepsons of General Clark.

to go, and both being young men of eighteen and ready to go anywhere at any moment, we accepted with alacrity.

It took but a few weeks to make our preparations and get all in readiness for the start. The party consisted of about eighty men, among whom were drivers, hunters, trappers and guides, hired for their respective duties. William Sublette was selected as chief guide, having been all over the western country several times. My intimate friends going, besides Jeff, were William Kennett, Leonidas D. Walker, Sidney Smith and Richard Graham (the latter two being Lieutenants of the U. S. Army), Guesso Chouteau and Cyprian Menard, son of Governor Pierre Menard of Illinois.

#### MEMBERS OF THE STEWART HUNTING PARTY:

Captain, Sir William Drummond Stewart, Scotland  
Leader, W. Sublette, St. Louis

#### Gentlemen:

G. H. Christy, St. Louis	M. Field, New Orleans
Father de Smet	J. Hill, Maryland
Lowery, St. Louis	L. Menard, Kaskaskia
W. Kennett, St. Louis	C. Chouteau, West Point
Lt. Smith, St. Louis	Dr. I. Tilman, Indiana
Lt. R. Graham, St. Louis	Joseph Smith, Indiana
Clark Kennerly, St. Louis	Powers, Indiana
Jefferson K. Clark, St. Louis	Storer, Indiana
Marsh, St. Louis	Hermann, Maryland
G. Greathouse, Alton	Bluebacker, Maryland (clerk)
G. Greathouse, Jr., Alton	Woods, Maryland

#### Hunters:

A. Clement	Burnes, Illinois
J. Pories	Cyprotte, Flourissant
H. Baptiste Charbonneau	A. Tessont
P. Ferlong, St. Charles	F. Tessont
Largines, Flourissant	J. Elimont

Our personal equipment consisted of flannel shirts, corduroy trousers, and, of course, we were heavily booted and spurred. Our arms were rifles, holster pistols, hunting knives, and a curious implement used by the American Fur Company, which was a steel tomahawk and pipe combined, and when not in use as a weapon or for chopping wood and bone, could be utilized for a quiet, peaceful smoke under the shadow of tree or rock, as the case might be. We also carried small clay pipes in the bands of our soft felt hats. Each of the invited members supplied his own horse and manservant. Besides this, to each six men was allotted one cart, the covers of which, I remember, were painted red, and drawn by two mules driven tandem.

One of the drivers, Baptiste Charbonneau, was the son of an old trapper and Sacajawea, the brave Indian woman who had guided Lewis and Clark on their perilous journey through the wilderness. He had been born about the time they reached Fort Mandan, far

out in the Dakota hills, and had been carried a papoose on his mother's back all through the Mandan country. By a singular coincidence he was now again to make the journey and guide the son of William Clark through the same region. I have been recently asked by the Historical Society of Wyoming, when erecting a statue to Sacajawea, if Charbonneau spoke often of his mother and if he seemed to appreciate her fortitude and courage in making possible the discovery of an inland route to the great Pacific. I regret to say that he spoke more often of the mules he was driving and might have been heard early and late in not too complimentary a manner expatiating on their stubbornness.

All provisions, ammunition and everything being ready, the start was made in April from St. Louis by boat to Kansas Landing, now Kansas City. There we left the craft and proceeded to Westport, which compared to the former place was quite a village. On May 1st the expedition got under way and continued its westward journey, leaving all civilization at that point. Westward we went and still westward, through a flat, arid country with no verdure except the compass plant, which we named for the reason that its large, flat leaves always pointed north and south.

At night we would make a corral of the carts by driving them in a circle, unhitching and placing guards between. The horses, our most precious possession, were allowed to graze for a while and then picketed safely inside. Sir William had his tent pitched over night, but most of us spread our blankets under the wagons and with a saddle for our pillow slept the sweet, dreamless sleep that comes of riding all day under blue skies with naught to worry one, and lungs pumping full of ozone.

The Indians were afraid to attack so large a party, but had no scruples about stealing our horses. One night, being on guard, I noticed a gray figure creeping stealthily along outside of the corral. Feeling sure that it was a redskin, I fired, but on approaching the spot found an empty blanket, pierced by my bullet, its wily occupant having slipped out and escaped. His accomplice had entered about the same time on the other side, their object being to creep along the ground, cutting all the lariats, then to jump on the fleetest horse, give the whoop, and stampede all the remaining ones. He had been more successful, having secured Jeff's horse and got away. My shot, however, had frightened them off before they had had sufficient time to get the others. The blanket I kept and on the return trip, when provisions were exhausted, traded it for enough corn to keep us alive for several days.

After a long and tiresome journey we crossed the Blue River and traveled far out in what is now the State of Nebraska. Here it was that "Cyp" Menard was lost for several days and came near

perishing in the loneliness of the desert. He had started out to hunt, and not knowing that we were to camp at that place, proceeded on towards the Platte, and night overtaking him, picketed his horse and lay down to sleep. Upon awakening he found his horse gone, so continued on foot down Ash Hollow to the Platte. Not finding the camp there, and knowing we would have to pass Fort Laramie, he continued to travel up stream toward that point. Giving up all hope of finding him, after two days of diligent searching, we continued the march, and on the first day's travel discovered the skull of a buffalo, on which was written in charcoal a message, stating that he was nearly starved and exhausted from his long tramp. A party of us now pressed on with all speed, hoping to overtake him within a few miles. Several other skulls bearing messages were encountered, which caused us to hurry on more rapidly. At last, towards noon, we discovered a little smoke and hastened to this sign of human habitation. On obtaining a nearer view we saw a man standing with gun in hand, ready to argue the question of our nearer approach, and we recognized our lost comrade at the same time that our identity dawned upon him. From the physical reaction, which was natural after his long wandering, he succumbed and fell to the ground through sheer exhaustion and joy of being rescued. At the time we discovered him he had been cooking a terrapin in the shell, having spent all of his ammunition, only saving the last charge for any attacking Indian who might fancy his scalp.

The next day we encountered buffaloes in numbers, which might well have gladdened the heart of Sir William, who had traveled four thousand miles to shoot them. The horses taken for the purpose of running them fell readily into the excitement of the chase and seemed to enjoy dashing along beside the shaggy monsters until we could reach over and put the muzzles of our guns almost to the buffalo's shoulder. When one was out of the running, the race was kept up and another singled out and so on till the herd had left its unfortunate companions and the prairie was strewn for miles back with the bodies of the dead bison. I must say that a great many more buffaloes were destroyed than were necessary to supply our larder, but what man could resist the temptation when the whole earth, it seemed, was a surging, tumbling, waving mass of these animals? In butchering them the hide was cut from the hump back to the tail, and the "fleece," extending along either side of the backbone, taken out. These two pieces, which weighed about eighty pounds, together with the tongue and hump, represented the meat taken from a buffalo weighing from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds; so you may readily understand from this that there was some waste in the way we butchered them, back in the 'forties.

Far out on the Platte one morning, while making preparations for our daily hunt, we descried coming toward us a herd which I can state without any exaggeration numbered a million. The pounding of their hoofs on the hard prairie sounded like the roaring of a mighty ocean, surging over the land and sweeping everything before it. Here was more game than we bargained for, and the predicament in which we now found ourselves gave us much cause for alarm. On they came, and as we were directly in their path and on the bank of the river, there was great danger of our being swept over. This danger was only averted by our exerting every effort to turn them off in another direction, and as it took the herd two entire days to pass, and that at quite a rapid gait, we were kept busy placing guards of shouting, gesticulating men in the daytime and building huge bonfires at night.

Soon after this we met some trappers returning down the river in *batteaux*, little boats which were pushed with poles or paddled, as the river was shallow most of the way. Chauvin, a young trapper, who was with them, turned and went with us, while John Radford joined their party and returned to St. Louis to be married to Cyprian's sister, Sophie Menard.

Before he deserted our forces a little incident occurred which won him the enmity of our most famous hunter, Antoine Clement, a half-breed Delaware, who was the most noted hunter on the plains and the most fearless man I ever saw—the only one who would walk straight up to a grizzly bear. That animal will never rise on his hind legs until he is ready to rush in to the death, and Antoine would await that moment to fire, having absolute confidence in his marksmanship, which never failed him. I say "never," but on this occasion he did fall short of his usual perfect shot, and instead of shooting his buffalo through the shoulder, he aimed a little higher and "creased" him, which was a special shot often made in capturing wild horses and other animals that one desired to take alive. As the bull was to all appearances dead, Antoine approached him, leaned his rifle against his carcass, and prepared to remove his skin. The bull at this point came to and proceeded to get upon his feet. Clement, knowing that he would not have time to reach his horse, and no other means of safety being at hand, seized the tail of the huge beast, who, of course, tried to shake him off, and began turning at close quarters. Around and around they went, Antoine all the time shouting in his broken English to John Radford (the only man with him) to shoot. John was so convulsed with laughter at the sight that he was afraid to do so, as they were spinning around at such a rate he could scarcely tell man from beast. Suddenly the latter decided to join his companions on the other side of a small arroyo, but having dragged his victim through that he again re-

sumed his circular course. Clement, who was growing more and more angry and still shouting oaths and imprecations in two languages, was making vain attempts to draw his hunting knife, but the scabbard being longer than the blade, it stuck fast. At last, turning it upside down, he was enabled to shake it out upon the ground, and then on his next trip around picked it up and hamstringed his shaggy antagonist. His anger did not cease with his victory, however, his tongue-lashing still continuing. He was determined to have John's life for his laughter, and it was only with many apologies and explanations on the part of the latter that he was prevented from taking it.

We all took turns in going out with the hunters, whose duty it was to provide meat for the party, and one day I had the good fortune to kill a monstrous antelope. These animals were never eaten in the early spring, when they fed upon the sage, and I recall that this fellow was so strong of it that in skinning him I was obliged to retire every few moments for a good breath. However, I determined to stick to it, as I needed a hunting shirt, and was not too particular as to the sage. Each night when we came into camp I would rub the hide with smooth stones and marrow, until I considered it in good condition for making into garments, should the opportunity offer. I was assisted in this tedious task by Cupid, a large black Negro belonging to my family, and as fond of us as we were of him, and whom my mother depended on to look after us and to keep us out of trouble on the trip, as Jeff's boy was younger and less intelligent. My mother gave Cupid to me at this time.

Soon after this we arrived at Fort Laramie, and just outside of the fort came upon some thirty lodges of the Sioux, who had come in to trade. We saw a great deal of these Indians and some of the chiefs, among whom were "Bull Tail," "Red Bull," "Little Thunder," and "Solitary Dog," and recognizing Jeff from his resemblance to his father, Governor Clark, they invited him, myself and a few others to a feast. When we arrived, they were seated on buffalo and bear skins, arranged in a circle, only chiefs and medicine men being present. Our appetites were more or less keen from expectation, when the "piece de resistance" was brought in. This course, we were told, consisted of young boiled dog, a great delicacy in the buffalo country, and was accompanied by a puree of chokecherries and dried roots. The etiquette of the Indian hosts would not allow a single scrap to be left in the wooden bowl with which each guest was provided, so I was compelled to bribe the red gentlemen on either side to eat what I had left.

After feasting thus sumptuously, the pipe of peace was produced and solemnly smoked by all present. The oldest chief made a speech through an interpreter, which was mostly about the "Red-

Headed Father," as Gov. William Clark was known by that name to Indians throughout the western country. We were directly obliged to Jeff and his red hair for this delightful repast, and after it was over thanked him profusely.

Leaving Fort Laramie, we continued our slaughter of buffalo and also found more antelope, elk, deer, grizzly and black bear than we could possibly use. Here I almost ended my career on this earth by lending my horse to Cyp Menard, his own not being speedy enough to chase buffalo. It was one evening, after the day's hunt was over, when removing the saddle from the mount that I had used, I was unconsciously standing in the coil of my lariat, and touching a sore spot on his back, he suddenly shied, drawing the rope taught. Before I could disengage my foot, he broke and started for the slough which was about fifty yards away, and I might have been the carcass of a wolf for the way that horse dragged me at his best speed over prickly pears and burrs, into the water, out on the other side, down through the length of it, then re-crossed to the camp side, bolting for some of his companions who were grazing there. Every man present tried to stop him; some with rifles in their hands were on the point of shooting, but were afraid of killing me. They finally cut me loose from the tangle of rope, and when it was all over nearly every man in camp held a short piece of the lariat in his hand. There was positively not a spot on my body that had not been bruised, cut and scraped, and I traveled in the ambulance for four or five days. The only "medicine man" in the party was Father de Smet, who dressed my wounds with Cupid's help, and provided that vehicle. Mat Field had been covering this trip for his paper, *The New Orleans Picayune*, sending the articles east whenever the opportunity offered, and the following account, under date of November 28, 1843, will give a description of this accident from the side-lines.

Night had closed darkly around us before all the hunters had completed their butchering and brought their meat into camp.

"Gracious Heaven!" exclaimed somebody, as the sudden clatter of a horse's hoofs was heard, and some animal dashed past us in the dark, nearly throwing down a tent in its headlong progress.

"Good God! what's that?" cried another as some object that seemed alive and gasping with pain was dragged past us, evidently fastened to the frightened animal.

Clark Kennerly, a lively and interesting youth of about sixteen or eighteen, from St. Louis, was removing the crupper from an Indian pony, when the animal took alarm and dashed off in a frenzy. Clark held to the trail rope bravely for fifty yards, until the saddle fell and struck him in the breast, the blow knocking him down, and a coil of the rope catching him fast by the leg at the same time. The wild pony dragged the poor boy half round camp at his heels, rushing with mad speed through the gloom, while now and then we could hear gasping ejaculations of pain from our unfortunate companion, as his body violently struck here and there the uneven surface of the ground.

A more serious dilemma than we were thrown into at this moment did not occur to us during our whole travel. Some were quite paralyzed, and could only utter short and faint exclamations of great terror; a few only found their energies sufficiently alive to make any move at all in the way of offering assistance to poor Kennerly, and they knew of no way to act in the emergency. To run after the frightened animal would only be to increase his terror—and how to head him in the dark was a hard thing for the oldest woodsman among us to guess. Scarcely a soul in camp knew who it was hanging at the horse's heels; for, between the darkness of the evening, and the eagerness with which everybody was getting ready to eat buffalo meat for the first time, hardly one knew what the other was about, and nobody had noticed Clark unsaddling his pony. But everyone jumped at once to the conclusion that our companion must be picked up a corpse, for it did not seem possible that a human being could survive an occurrence so frightful.

Luckily, however, Clark did escape. The pony ran furiously over abrupt inequalities of the place, and through the water bordering the encampment, until it found the other animals, and quietly stopped in their midst. All crowded to the spot, and little Kennerly was picked up, very faint indeed, but able to speak and declare in a gay, undaunted manner, that he was not hurt a bit. It was a curious contrast—the coolness of the boy after such a perilous adventure, and the palpitating fright into which he had thrown us all. He received no serious injury—merely complaining for a day or two of a new and acute pain in his chest, where the saddle struck him.

For a week or two before the 4th of July Sir William's cook was engaged in making a gigantic plum pudding. On going into camp each evening he would get out his mysterious ingredients, working them into this enormous mess, and each day would see the accomplishment of a little more in the pudding direction. Finally, on the banks of the Sweetwater River, on the night of July 3rd, we went into camp and the celebration of the glorious Fourth must have astonished Sir William greatly. The day was not ushered in by the explosion of fireworks, firewater having the first place on the program. Walker and Smith, after imbibing large quantities of "patriotic cheer," began to show the rest of the party what horsemanship really was in all its natural grace and recklessness. Around the camp they dashed, jumping over any and every thing that a horse could jump, and then charged off at top speed to the river bank, which was about ten feet above the water. This they considered a proper feat with which to wind up their performance, and, without the slightest hesitation, jumped their horses right in. The strangest part of it was that neither horses nor men were hurt, but came out some distance below, where the bank was less steep.

At dinner we all gathered around that monstrous plum pudding and found it none too large. Sir William, being our captain, made a speech, Mat Field responding to it. Field's speech, by the way, was published in the *Reveille*, a paper edited by his brother in St. Louis at that time.

On account of the hostility of the Indians half of our party were ordered to stay sober. The other half, however, were not

hampered by any such command, but the whole party was compelled to remain, that the patriotic contingent might recover from the effects of its enthusiasm.

We now started west again and after going through South Pass (six or eight months after our passage this was discovered by Fremont) we arrived at a beautiful lake. This gem of a lake was in the Wind River Mountains, near the border of Oregon, and surrounding it on all sides except the south towered mighty snow-capped peaks. We christened this body of water "Loch Drummond," in honor of Sir William and his native land, as it resembled a bit of Scottish scenery. Our captain was the true type of Scottish gentleman, intensely devoted to his country, yet easily adapting himself to the rough life of the plains and a thorough sportsman, or never would he have ventured thus far from his native heath. Economy played some small part in his wanderings, for he confided to us that his absence enabled him to cut down the expenses of his large estate, though one item remaining was a tax on every window in the castle.

His poor valet, Corbie, was not so adaptable, and probably too far from his five o'clock tea in the servants' hall to be quite happy. His master often lost patience, bully-ragging him soundly; and once when demanding why he had done something or another, I heard him attempt a reply: "Why, I thought, Sir William—" "You thought," shouted the irate baronet, "Well, whenever *you* get to thinking, there's the devil to pay."

"The Lady of the Lake" had ever been a favorite poem in our family, and some of its lines were now recalled to me at Loch Drummond. It seemed that one had only to step forth and blow a blast upon his hunting horn, when "fair Ellen" would appear in her little skiff,

"With head upraised and look intent  
And eye and ear attentive bent,  
And locks flung back and lips apart  
Like monument of Grecian art."

In spite of the fact that no "chieftain's daughter" appeared, except in my fancy, the charms of the place proved so seductive that we here went into camp for several weeks.

Knowing that there were some friendly Shoshones, or Snake Indians, in the vicinity, we sent some of our old trappers with a message that they might visit us, which they did without a second invitation. We hunted, fished and explored the lake, giving ourselves over entirely to the enjoyment of this beautiful spot, and on the arrival of the Indians inaugurated horse races and different trials of skill. They were sports of the first water, and would bet with a right good will, piling up their pelts, bear, buffalo and beaver

skins—all articles of much moment to the Indian—while we, the civilized, educated and philanthropic Christians, would bet colored beads, the cheapest of butcher knives, pieces of looking glass almost large enough to reflect one's nose, together with small packages of mean tobacco. I rode Walker's horse in one of these contests, being of lighter weight than the owner, and, am happy to say, won the race. We, of course, lost many of them, and especially were the red men our masters in foot races. Here Graham was thrown from his horse and seriously injured his leg.

One of the chiefs, Jack Robinson, was a white man who had married a Flathead squaw, known as "the Madam." He had not won his dusky bride in the legitimate way, by giving up so many pelts or ponies to her father, but by the right of might, having captured her in a battle with the Flatheads. On making known to him my desire for a buckskin suit, he said that "the Madam" would accommodate me as a tailoress, and forthwith fetched her in. Having said a few words to her, she nodded her head, told me to stand up, then turn around several times, while taking my measurement with her eye, and picking up a butcher knife proceeded to cut them out of the antelope hide which I had produced. By the next day they were all finished, with fringe down the sides of the trousers, and quite presentable they were, too, until I was caught out in a heavy rain, when this special brand of my own tanning proved not so successful as the tailoring. They began to stretch, and down, down they came over my feet until I was obliged to draw my knife and keep cutting them off every little while. Then the sun coming out, they began to shrink, continuing to do so until I found myself in short trunks which would have been just the thing for swimming, but not quite up to even the savage's standard of a riding costume.

Having spent several weeks with our friends, the Shoshones, we started on our homeward journey, being anxious to get into the settlements before the cold weather overtook us. Taking a more northerly route, and while still traveling through wild and beautiful scenery, we reached a country that seemed, indeed, to be nature's wonderland. The rugged grandeur of the landscape was most impressive, and the beauty of the crystal-clear water falling over huge rocks was a picture to carry forever in one's mind. Here was an ideal spot to camp, so we broke ranks and settled down to our first night's rest in the region now known as "Yellowstone National Park."

On approaching we had noticed at regular intervals of about five or ten minutes what seemed to be a tall column of smoke, or steam, such as would arise from a steamboat. On nearer approach, however, we discovered it to be a geyser, which we christened "Steamboat Geyser," and found several others near, some of them

so hot that we boiled our bacon in them, as well as the fine speckled trout caught in the surrounding streams. One of them, a soda spring, was so effervescent that I believe syrup to be the only thing lacking to equal the now popular soda fountain. We tried some experiments with our first discovery by packing it down with armfuls of grass, then placing a flat stone on top of that, when four of us, joining hands, would stand upon it in a vain attempt to hold it down. In spite of our efforts to curb nature's most potent force, when the psychological moment came, old "Steamboat" would literally arise to the occasion and throw us all high into the air, like so many feathers. It inspired one with great awe for the wonderful works of the Creator, to think that this had been going on with the regularity of clock-work for thousands of years, and the thought of our being almost the first white men to see it since its discovery many years before did not lessen its effect.

Early one morning, later on, we sighted a small herd of several hundred buffalo. Chouteau and I started after them, and on a closer approach discovered a white one in their midst, which seemed to be closely guarded and protected from us by the rest of the herd. These white buffalo were as scarce as white elephants and we had only encountered one man in all of our travels who had ever seen one. We forthwith bent every effort to secure this *rara avis*, riding many miles and pursuing it throughout the day, but when night came were obliged to seek our camp without having come near enough to get a shot.

Nothing out of the ordinary transpired in our homeward journey, until the death of Clement's young brother, whom he had brought to assist him, and who was killed by an accidental shot from his own hand. (The poor fellow was pulling his gun from inside a tent, with the muzzle carelessly pointing towards him, when it went off, shooting him in the breast.)

Later there was a fight between Walker and Smith and the whole cavalcade stopped to witness it, while Charbonneau ran excitedly about, keeping a ring around the combatants with his heavy whip and shouting for no one to interfere. It was not a very even fight, Smith being much the larger man, and after a few rounds, when the latter jumped on Walker's back in an effort to bear him to the ground, Walker drew his pistol, and firing over his shoulder, wounded Smith in the thigh, the wonder being that he did not kill him.

Our homeward journey was begun on August 17th, the entry of that date in my diary<sup>3</sup> reads: "Started this day to St. Louis, after having passed ten days with some Indians called 'Snakes' and some traders. August 18th, after a long march today we camped

<sup>3</sup>The diary was kept only on the homeward journey.



on the New Fork, not meeting with anything in particular. No buffalo as yet. We are living on antelope and sage cocks. August 19th, we started this morning from the New Fork and camped on Sandy. Antoine, Hill, Cristy and myself went ahead to hunt, and killed four antelopes. Saw no suffalo but saw the tracks of Indians that had passed a short time before us. Got some gooseberries, and made camp on Sandy. August 20th, last night there was a great disturbance in camp about twelve o'clock. The guard gave the alarm, 'Indians,' and in an instant every man had his horse by the halter. The guard told us that Indians attempted to throw a lasso on one of the horses that was out of the camp grazing nearby but missed, and the horse came darting into camp. Our interpreter got up and made them a speech, after which they howled like wolves, shot off a gun for the purpose of collecting their party, and went off. We have gone a long way today but have seen no Indians and are now camping on Little Sandy. We expect the Indians to make another attempt to steal our horses again tonight."

August 22nd found us beginning a long march on the worst of roads to the Sweetwater River, passing over the dividing ridge of mountains which separate the Pacific water from the Atlantic. The day before we had remained in camp all day on account of a "lady" (squaw) being delivered of a child. We found this August weather still very fine, generally clear and cold, though for several days the mist was so heavy that the hunters found difficulty in regaining camp. Our way led us through about the same kind of country after traveling farther east, and it was with regret that we left the mountains and came again to the flat aridness of the desert.

The August 25th entry in my diary reads: "Our hunters brought in two fat cows so we had some buffalo meat, but the Oregon people have run them nearly out of the country. One of our hunters was lost on account of the dense mist last night." August 31st: "Arrived at the Platte (river), crossed and nooned on the south side. Two of the gentlemen brought in a grizzly bear killed by Lt. Smith, a young one but very large. We started from our nooning place at four, and came to Deer Creek, where we found a great many chokecherries, and this evening the hunters killed the largest kind of grizzly bear. We stopped here for the purpose of drying buffalo meat, and Antoine killed another large grizzly bear. The weather is very fine, as it has been for some time."

September 4th: "This morning we made an early start and after traveling until nearly dark arrived on one of the branches of the Platte. We have been agreeably disappointed as we expected buffaloes to be scarce, but on the contrary they are exceedingly abundant, the country is covered with them as far as the eye can see. They are all around us."

September 8th: "This morning we started from the Warm Spring, camped near the fort [Laramie] and here met the express. Leo Walker, Guesso Chouteau, myself and young Gilpin (clerk of Fort Laramie, and a very fine fellow) went up to the fort, and they treated us very kindly. We will stay here some time to repair the wagons."

September 13th: "Yesterday Cristy was thrown from his horse and hurt badly. We expected to start today but were not able to do so, Mr. Cristy being quite unable to travel. Today French, one of the horse guards, was thrown from his horse and got his collar-bone broken." September 15th, "we made a pretty early start this morning, camped on the Platte, having made about 18 miles."

September 17th: "Today we did not travel quite so fast but reached the Chimney [Rock] which is an immense mound formed like a chimney, 400 feet high from the level of the prairie, of a kind of sandy stone. Saw a great many buffaloes but not one cow. We are traveling slowly on account of the bad roads." September 20th, "marched 25 miles to Ash Hollow and here we found plenty of cherries, currants and grapes, and intend to stay here tomorrow for the purpose of drying enough meat to take us to the settlements, for we expect buffalo to be scarce, as we have heard there are some wagons coming from the settlements with provisions for the fort." September 23rd, "we had not gone far on these very bad roads before meeting some of the people from the wagons. Mr. Adams and Mr. D. Finch, *et al.* Some of our company went back with them and brought us the news, that is, all the news they could tell us, which is but little. A cold rain falling. We found our old trail today, and camped tonight on the South Fork."

September 28th: "Rained this morning but we started at 9 and camped on Horse Creek, where there was timber, and it is now raining hard." September 30th "finds us still on the Horse Creek, and there has been a great stir in camp on account of Captain Stewart's stopping so long when there was no necessity, therefore, there has been a division made, and all those who were able to leave, decided to do so the next morning. Last night it snowed very hard and this morning some of the men were covered with snow, the wind blowing over our tents, and some of the men had to be dug out of the drifts." October 1st, "this morning the separation took place and the names of those who started home are as follows:

Isaac Greathouse and son from Alton	Jeff Clark from St. Louis
Lt. R. Graham from Jefferson Barracks	A. Chauvin from St. Louis
Lt. S. Smith from Jefferson Barracks	Mr. Storer from Indiana
Taylor } Servants	J. Herman from Baltimore
Kelley }	D. Herman from Baltimore
C. Menard from Illinois	H. Woods from Pittsburgh
G. Chouteau from Westport	Robinson }
E. Hepburn from New Orleans	Ayott and Tessont } Servants
C. Kennerly from St. Louis	

With these we started and camped on the Platte 25 miles below Stewart's camp, after appointing Mr. Greathouse our Captain. After traveling about 20 miles over good roads we met three white men just from the states going out as an express. All the news they could tell us was that times were hard. Fortunately the snow and cold weather lasted but a short time.

Advancing less buoyantly over the trails we had followed in the opposite direction six months before, we in due time camped near the little Sandy and Vermillion rivers on our progress to civilization.

Arriving in St. Louis in the early part of November, the party was disbanded and Sir William, taking his farewell dinner at *Cote Plaquemine*, departed, highly pleased with his trip, for his home in Scotland. He invited me to pay him a visit there for the shooting season, but what with crossing the plains eleven times before there were any railroads, all the way to California twice, and traveling in Mexico and Central America, my adventures never carried me across the ocean. Sir William was a mighty hunter and a prince among sportsmen, so I will finish this narrative with a toast to his memory, the same used in Oliver Cromwell's day as to that other royal Stuart, "over the water."

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## The Rho Zeta Fraternity

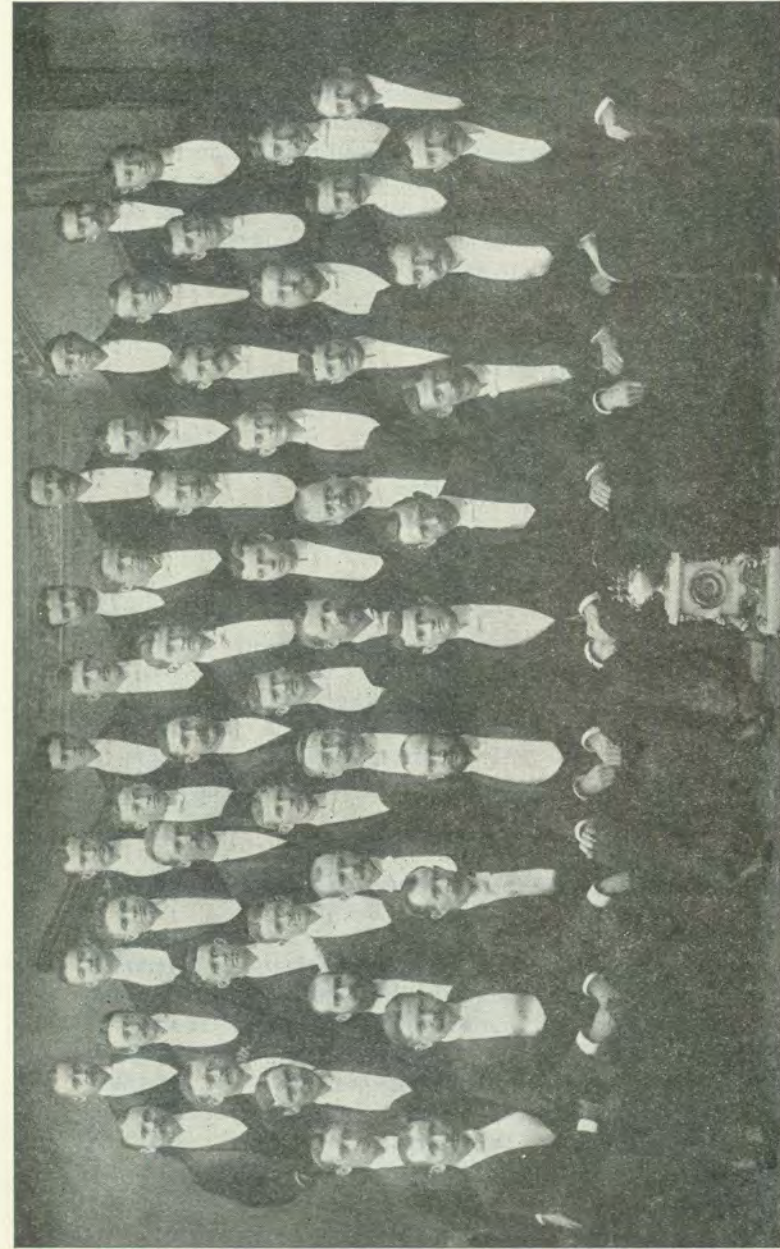
WILLIAM A. HOVER\*

The Rho Zeta Fraternity was in effect a reorganization of the Pro Tem Fraternity, organized in 1879 or '80, as I recall, by a group of Denver young men for the purpose of giving dancing parties during the winter seasons.

These parties were in the first instance held at Warren's Dancing Academy, located at the corner of then Holladay and 15th Street. Within the group when first organized there were three or four who did not quite fit in the picture, resulting in occasional discords. The result was the disbanding of Pro Tem. Later was organized the Rho Zeta Fraternity, leaving out the discordant members of Pro Tem.

About this time the Windsor Hotel opened for business and our future parties were given in the Windsor Hotel Ballroom. Our organization was an informal one. No secretary and no minutes of informal meetings kept.

\*Mr. Hover, now living in Long Beach, California, gave the State Historical Society the Rho Zeta dance programme of October 28, 1881. Mr. Edwin S. Kassler gave the programmes of March 17, 1882, and April 21, 1882. He also supplied the accompanying photograph and made the identifications.—Ed.



RHO ZETA DANCING CLUB, 1892

Left to right, front row: Fred W. McCartney, A. B. McKinley, Geo. B. Dodge, Gus Bartels, Robt. D. Thompson, Pres., E. W. Loveland, W. A. Hover, H. F. Brocker, E. S. Kassler, Treas. Second row: G. C. Kellogg, Finlay McFarland, J. P. Evans, L. C. Bogue, Sidney Schroter, J. M. Walker, Edward Lehman, Ed Ring, E. S. Curry. Third row: E. G. Patterson, Armstrong, C. M. Kassler, F. C. Vickers, G. S. Fraser, Frank Russell, Henry Charplot, Stanley Page. Fourth row: R. J. Pitkin, J. A. Vickers, William Wells, F. S. Woodbury, L. S. Storrs, H. C. James, Frank Palmer, J. G. Glendenning. Fifth row: Thomas Keely, S. G. Shaw, W. B. Morrison, G. C. Manly, George Crater, McKinley, F. R. Ashley. Sixth row: Samuel McMurtrie, D. A. Barton, M. M. Hamma, G. W. Gano, Frank Schroter, C. E. Brown, W. A. Moore, F. S. Brown, and Frank M. De Mauge.

Many meetings were held in the room occupied by R. D. Thompson and myself on the third floor of the McClintock Block, corner of Larimer and 16th.

The First National Bank was then located on the first floor and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had for their office the corner room on the second floor. The third floor was given to roomers, among them Judge Moses Hallett with a suite of rooms fronting Larimer Street. After his marriage, R. D. and I moved into the judge's former quarters, which we occupied until I was married in 1886. Our meetings were generally called for the purpose of naming a committee to arrange date and details of the next entertainment.

I have several of our programmes of meetings at the Windsor. The one of October 28, 1881, follows:

“RHO ZETA FRATERNITY PROGRAMME

Committee

R. D. Thompson

Chas. Beckurts

W. A. Hover

Frank Dunlevy

J. W. Clise

- |                     |                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Waltz            | 9. Gallop                   |
| 2. Plain Quadrille  | 10. Lancers                 |
| 3. Racquette        | 11. Racquette               |
| 4. Waltz Quadrille  | 12. Newport                 |
| 5. Waltz            | 13. Waltz Quadrille         |
| 6. Denver Quadrille | 14. Waltz                   |
| 7. Newport          | 15. Plain Quadrille         |
| 8. Waltz Lancers    | 16. Waltz—“Home Sweet Home” |
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