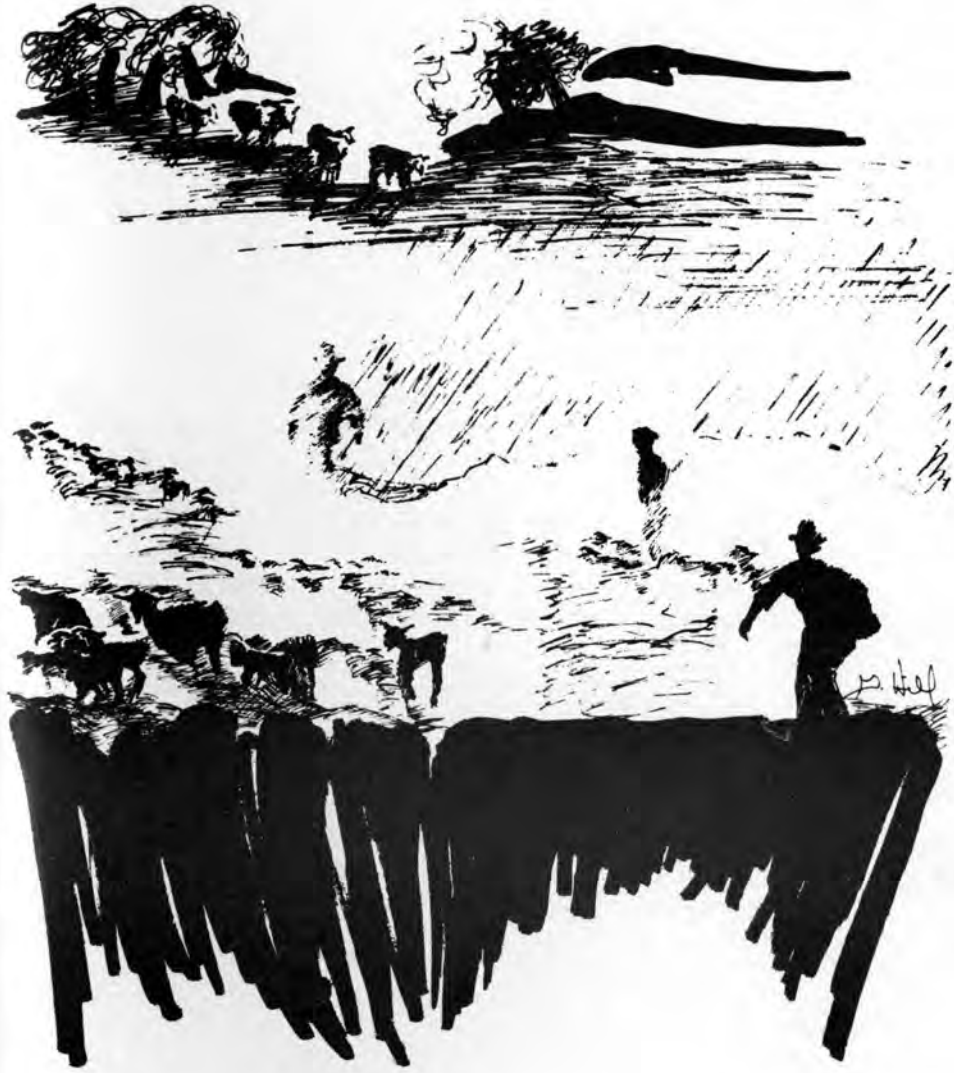
JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE

VOLUME 6, NO. 2 **SPRING 1991**

MESA STATE COLLEGE



MESA STATE COLLEGE

JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE

Mesa Stae College Historical Society

and

Phi Alpha Theta
Estephen Cordova ..... President
Shawn Cwalinski ..... Vice President
Janet Gregson ..... Secretary/Treasurer

Typeset by Colorado Stamp & Seal

Printed by Mesa State Printing Services

THE COVER ARTIST: Gwen Hill is a resident of Grand Junction and a senior Fine Arts Major at Mesa State College.

Contents

"BLOODY GRASS: WESTERN COLORADO RANGE WARS, 1881—1934"

A Study of the Sheepwars

by Diane Abraham

Diane Abraham graduated from Mesa State College in May of 1991, Magna Cum Laude, with a B.A. in history.

For over forty years, from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the third decade of the twentieth century, sheepmen and cattlemen fought bloody wars in Western Colorado for possession of the unregulated public grazing lands. These wars ended only when federal regulation of public land was instituted by the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. "Bloody Grass" is the story of this violent era.

After the removal of the Ute Indians in 1881 and the opening of the area to settlement, large cattle outfits quickly established control over the open range in Western Colorado. Whitewater, located south of Grand Junction, became a major shipping point for a cattle business established on foundations of free grazing lands, cheap cattle, and low operating costs.[1] Because water was scarce, possession of waterholes and streams meant control by cattlemen of land within a day's range. Custom also established the principle of "first in time, first in right," for land and water among the early cattlemen. Consequently, few contested the right of the first-comer. No written law stated that land belonged to the first or that it did

not, yet cattlemen felt justified in protecting their grazing rights. The first homesteaders seemed to respect the ranchers' right to use the open range because they did not fence the water or restrict the cattle's movements. Because of this respect of rights, there were no problems at first.[2]

However, the amicable relationship changed with the arrival of more homesteaders and other stockmen, some of whom were sheepmen. Clashes developed over free grazing. Established cattle ranches began fencing public domain to keep out the "range pirates"--their name for migratory cattle and sheep outfits.[3] These two groups, established ranchers and those without permanent quarters, would became combatants over grazing rights to the open range.

The ranchers put up many miles of fence on government land. In 1885, Colorado had about 2,640,450 acres of illegally fenced land, prompting Congress to authorize the removal of those fences through the office of their President, Grover Cleveland.[4] Despite the removal orders, illegal fences remained for years and some new ones were added. As late as 1910 the government accused Emery Knowles, R. T. Smity, and Ted Smith, well known pioneer cattlemen of Mesa County, of illegally fencing public domain.[5]

Changes in government regulations intensified competition for grazing land. In 1891 Congress began withdrawing land from the public domain for federal forest reserves and an 1894 prohibition against grazing livestock in reserve areas further increased competition. By 1900, 40,000,000 acres of Colorado land became unavailable for grazing. Nomadic herds of sheep had grazed this land on public domain. The implementation of government restrictions forced the sheep outfits to seek new grazing land--land utilized by cattlemen. The established cattlemen were in no mood for compromise because more homesteaders and small ranchers were arriving daily. The situation exploded into forty years of violence and destruction.[6]

Sheepmen argued their claim to the unreserved public lands of Colorado, but cattle ranchers refused to relinquish any

area, arguing that sheep were a menace to everyone. Cattlemen declared sheep ate everything, destroying the natural vegetation of the land; and that their sharp hooves cut the soil and caused erosion. They also claimed that a gland between the toes of the sheep left an odor over which cattle refused to graze.[7] Sheep were accused of using up the existing water. The Grand Junction News re-printed from the Delta County Laborer a "known fact" that large herds of sheep on the Grand Mesa had caused the water supply to decline. In addition, sheep drove all game out of the area and polluted the trout streams. The range would not be fit for anything but sheep.[8]

The Cattle Grower's Protective Association, a secret organization formed in 1890, used firearms to kill and chase sheep from the area.[9] The Association issued ultimatums: deadlines for sheepmen to leave the area. If they refused to comply, sheep, dogs, and herders would be killed or forcibly driven away.[10] As a boy, Mesa County pioneer Reuben Pitts saw a herd of sheep so large it took half a day to pass his father's ranch. The sheepman was vacating the area after threat of death.[11] Those who did not leave faced nocturnal raids. Sheep killing occurred in every section of the Western Slope.[12] During the ten years immediately prior to 1903, about fifty sheepmen were murdered in Wyoming and Colorado and 25,000 sheep were run over cliffs or destroyed by other means.[13]

The violence prompted the Federal Government to ease its restrictions on grazing public lands. In 1897 Secretary of Interior Ethan Hitchcock ruled that the prohibition of grazing on forest reserves would not be enforced as long as no damage to the environment occurred. However, the ruling excluded sheep, except in humid states such as Oregon or Washington. In 1902 a permanent program permitted grazing in the national forests. Other public lands were not regulated and violence erupted as competition increased in these areas.[14] During this time, established Western Slope ranchers maintained their hard-nosed policy toward sheepmen. In 1902

the Gunnison County Stock Growers Association temporarily expelled two of its members from the organization for having a few sheep for domestic use.[15] Sylvester McCarty, a Mesa County commissioner, who supposedly owned 300 sheep and was sympathetic to sheep men, was shot and killed while working on a road. His haystack and ranch buildings were burned and his sheep were killed. The funeral was tense. It was reported that every man wore a gun.[16]

During the forty year span of the range wars, even when there was no open violence, the negative attitude towards sheep smoldered beneath the surface. Catharine Moore, a granddaughter of Charles Sieber, a Mesa County stockman, related her girlhood opinion about sheep: "How we hated them."[17] As a ten-year-old, Catharine and her fifteen-year-old sister rode horses, hunted up herds of sheep, and ran their horses back and forth through them, scattering the ewes and lambs.[18]

Throughout the period, it appeared someone was trying to precipitate violence or destroy livestock. According to one report, Utah sheepmen accompanied by hired gunmen came into Mesa County with a herd of old ewes as bait to entice cattlemen into an ambush. An all-night rain prevented Grand Valley cattlemen from falling into the ambush and certain death.[19] On another occasion, a Plateau Valley citizen poisoned a sack of alfalfa leaves and poured them where sheep would find them. Sheep found the leaves and one died, but burros chased the sheep away from the alfalfa. The result was one dead sheep and eight dead burros.[20]

In June of 1893, Western Slope cattlemen believed they had discovered a way to keep the transients out when a state statute was discovered which required non-resident stock owners entering the state to register information about their herd and pay a forty cents per head grazing tax. If the stock owners refused to pay the tax, the county commission could sue for the debt and collect fifty cents per head plus court costs. Within a month, the Mesa County commissioners filed suits against the owners of two herds of sheep totaling 24,000

(Carol Knapp drawing, courtesy of Museum of Western Colorado)

Charles Sieber

head.[21] A week later the Grand Junction News reported the sheep war had quieted, since non-resident sheepmen had started leaving the county.[22] Despite this lull, harrassment of local sheepmen continued. In August 1893, on Parachute Creek east of DeBeque, masked men drove a herd of sheep into Rio Blanco County. The sheepmen asked the Garfield County sheriff to protect their rights, and fear of open warfare swept the area.[23]

In the spring of 1894, the situation looked bleak for the sheep industry on the Western Slope. The Grand Junction News reported sheepmen were finally beginning to realize there was no place for them in the area. Local sheepmen were quitting the business or leaving the valley, and the threat of a "warm reception" discouraged new sheepmen from coming into the area.[24] Local persons voiced concern about watershed destruction by sheep at the headwaters of streams, especially on the Battlement Mesa Reserve. At a public meeting people discussed the reduction of water, wild game leaving the country, trout streams being polluted and dried up, and range rendered useless for anything but sheep. A new group, the "Citizens Mutual Protection Association of Western Colorado" was formed to combat the sheep invasion and thereby protect the watershed. The anti-sheep force pointed to government investigations in other states which proved that herding sheep at headwaters diminished water supplies by one-third. Sheep herders, especially those in Utah, received appeals to desist ranging sheep on headwaters. The Delta County Laborer suggested that all public minded persons--farmers, horticulturists, merchants, and professional men--should join the movement to curb the destruction caused by the four-footed pests.[25]

According to those opposed to sheep, not only were they destroying watersheds, but out-of-state herds were diseased and scabby. Mesa, Delta, and Garfield County ranchers vowed to stop an invasion of scabby sheep from Utah "Though blood may flow to the horses' bridles."[26] Newspapers asserted that war was certain if diseased Utah sheep entered the area.[27]

Local sheepmen worked with cattlemen to bar the infested and scabby Utah sheep from the Western Slope. A. R. King, an area representative to Washington, procured an order denying access of herded stock--inferring sheep--to Battlement Mesa Reserve. The proscription against grazing sheep on Battlement Mesa angered a local sheepman named Jensen, who declared his intention to fight his way through to Battlement Mesa Reserve with his herd of several thousand animals. Jensen received the warning that his sheep would die suddenly if driven to the Delta County line. Delta and Montrose counties established a quarantine.[28] Colorado Governor Davis Waite entered the fray by issuing a proclamation: No sheep from Utah would be allowed in Colorado without a certificate from the state veterinarian.[29] However, Utah sheepmen had their herds treated and obtained certificates from a veterinarian, merely circumventing Waite's proclamation.

Sheepmen faced another obstacle. Every county levied taxes on livestock within its boundaries, and because grazing animals crossed county lines over the course of a summer, often two or more counties tried to collect the taxes. When D. T. Clark moved his sheep from Mesa County to the high mountain range between the Eagle and Blue Rivers, this situation came to a head. Eagle County wanted to levy a tax on the sheep. Clark felt Eagle County should have split the taxes he had paid to Mesa County, and that Eagle County should collect from Mesa County.[30] The feud between sheep and cattle interests became a headache for Governor Waite. The governor was accused of double dealing: secretly encouraging sheepmen while upholding the interests of the cattlemen in Western Colorado. On one hand, he offered a $500 reward for the arrest and conviction of cattlemen killing sheep,[31] and then in April of 1894, he told cattlemen he would drive sheep from their range and protect them from efforts to hold them accountable for slain sheep.[32] Further politicizing the issue, the Populists spread a rumor that the Republican nominee for governor, Judge Albert McIntire, a farmer and

cattleman in the San Luis Valley, favored the interests of sheepmen. His supporters immediately replied with a statement in his favor and against Governor Waite.[33]

> And so far as the report that Western Colorado will be filled with sheep next spring, in the case of the election of Judge McIntire, let it be remembered, once for all, that it is absolutely and unqualifiedly false and it is concocted for the sole purpose of frightening voters from casting their votes for Judge McIntire. Under the law there is nothing to prevent Governor Watte (Waite) from offering a reward for the apprehension of the men who killed the sheep, nor is there anything to compel him to do it. But his having done so in the face of the attitude he assumed last spring at the outbreak of the sheep and cattle 'trouble of 1894' is conclusive evidence of his anxiety to please both classes of people; or, in other words, to ride both the sheep-horse and the cow-horse.[34]

The "Peach Day Massacre" in Garfield County in September of 1894 made the range wars an unavoidable issue to politicians. While sheepman John Hulbert of Parachute attended the Peach Day Festival in Grand Junction, masked men killed his herder on Roan Creek, and 3,800 of his sheep were clubbed to death or were driven over a cliff. Only one small lamb survived, and it was found clinging to an outcrop on the cliff where it could not be rescued. The destroyed herd had been sold and was to have been shipped out of the area in a couple of weeks; however, no money had changed hands and the massacre ruined John Hulbert financially.[35] Another herd in the area avoided destruction because the gun-slingers ran out of time and were able to leave only a warning note. The Governor issued a proclamation offering a reward for the

(Daisy Green Collection, Museum of Western Colorado)

John Hurlburt Family in front of family home on Parachute Creek, ca. 1886.

arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the death of shepherd Carl Brown and the destruction of the sheep:

State of Colorado
Executive Department, Denver
Executive order

October 2, 1894

WHEREAS: The board of county commissioners of Garfield County, Colorado, have offered a reward of Five Hundred (500) dollars for the arrest and conviction of any person engaged in the shooting of Carl Brown, and the killing of the sheep of J. B. Hulbert, J. F. Miller, A. W. Lynn and C. B. Brown, near Parachute, Colorado, on September 10th, 1894 and

WHEREAS: An additional reward of Five Hundred (500) dollars has been offered by private persons,

THEREFORE, I Davis H. Waite, Governor of Colorado, do hereby offer a reward of Five Hundred (500) dollars for the arrest and convictin of any or all the perpetrators of the aforesaid outrage, within one year from this date.

Witness my hand and seal this 3rd day of October, 1894.

Davis H. Waite,

(SEAL) Governor of Colorado.[36]

While the ferocity of the Peach Day Massacre was shocking, residents of Western Colorado had been expecting some kind of trouble in 1894. Earlier in the year, men from

Mesa, DeBeque, and Collbran agreed that inside or outside the law, sheepmen and sheep needed to be removed. Cattlemen targeted Frank Reed, an aggressive Plateau Valley sheepman.[37] About 3:00 p.m. on May 3, 1894, a group of about twenty-five men met at Person's cabin with a sole purpose: to kill sheep. John Hawxhurst was captain of this masked group who used stones, knives, clubs, and guns to massacre 828 of Reed's sheep. Area residents William Covert and John Jackson were accused of the killings. Covert came to trial in January 1895. William McClaren, held in Montrose for cattle stealing, testified against the accused Covert. McClaren was a member of the Cattlemen's Committee and knew its primary objective was to keep sheep from crossing the hogback into Plateau Valley. [38]

Louisa Reed, wife of Frank Reed, testified at the trial that the accused Covert had told her he loved to stand on sheep's backs and cut off their heads, and he would kill every sheep that came across the hogback. (He helped kill some sheep belonging to Grant, another sheepman, and some rams the previous summer, and he had also sold mutton from these sheep in Grand Junction. [39]) Covert maintained that Judge Gray and several other officers of the court were controlled by the cattlemen and that he and his friends would escape conviction. Consequently, Covert was bound over for the next term of Mesa County District Court with bail set at two thousand dollars. That evening Covert's friends posted bond and Frank Reed received a warning: leave the country or die. [40]

On January 4, as Sheriff Dillon of Montrose took McClaren from the court house, a crowd of men rushed the sheriff in an attempt to take McClaren from him. Sheriff Dillon warned them away, saying he held the man on a warrant from superior court and would not give him up. Some cattlemen pulled guns and threatened the lives of McClaren and Sheriff Dillon. McClaren was put into the custody of Sheriff Innes of Mesa County. [41]

The trial of John Jackson, the man charged with

assisting in the killing of the sheep, began on January 5. Jefferson Reed, brother of Frank Reed, testified about the killing of the sheep. He confirmed that he and his brother were told to leave the county within forty-eight hours. Jackson was bound over for the next term of the Mesa County District Court and bail was set at two thousand dollars. [42]

Covert's trial ended with a verdict of acquittal, despite the testimony of McClaren. McClaren's shady character may have affected the outcome of the trial. The District Attorney entered a plea of dismissal in the case of the people versus John Jackson. [43]

The trial attracted consideraable interest as shown by a newspaper war between the Daily Sentinel of Grand Junction and Fruita's Star Times. The Star Times accused the Daily Sentinel of supporting the character of McClaren. The Sentinel replied that they had taken the side of the cattlemen in the past but not to the extent of upholding destruction of property and defiance of the law. [44]

On March 15 the Daily Sentinel printed an editorial about the case and lashed out at the Star Times. According to the Sentinel, the Times' satisfaction over the verdict in the Covert case could be explained by the $2,200 worth of the newspaper's stock held by various cattlemen of the Plateau. The Sentinel accused the Times of trying to prejudice public opinion. [45]

Many sheepmen trailed their herds from Montrose to Utah for shearing, returned them to Montrose in the spring, and then moved them to summer range in the mountains. In January 1901, two herds owned by Montrose and Salt Lake City persons and totaling 39,000 animals, passed through Grand Junction, guided by herders carrying rifles. Some of the flocks passed through the Grand Junction residential district causing complaints but little damage. The Sentinel remained neutral on the situation by saying, "The movements of these great herds are most interesting to watch." [46] Several days later a missing shepherd was found dead near the state line with bullet holes through his head. [47] Cattlemen had killed

him when he strayed from the armed body of the herd. Shots had been fired at sentinels at night but had fallen short of their mark. There was a report from Utaline, about forty miles west of Grand Junction, that on January 11, two hundred heavily armed herders with 35,000 sheep passed through the town. The herders expected trouble immediately after crossing the Colorado/Utah state line. The shepherds said they would no longer take chances, and they intended to shoot first in any clash with cattlemen.[48] The armed guard apparently prevented further incidents.

On May 21, 1909, the Daily Sentinel reported a slaughter of sheep:[49]

> Beyond a doubt one of the most dastardly, cowardly, diabolical and unusual criminal deeds ever perpetrated in the history of Western Colorado was carried out yesterday afternoon by a band of heavily armed men, nearly all of whom, according to reliable reports, were masked. The crime, foul as the foulest, is worthy of the darkest days of savagery and barbarism, and stands as a disgrace to the state. If the guilty men are apprehended (and it is hoped by all law-abiding citizens that they may be) they deserve penalties of a most severe nature.[50]

About 2,000 ewes and lambs owned by two Grand Junction men, R. A. Tawney and S. A. Taylor, were killed on May 20 near the Garfield/Mesa County line, five or six miles south of Atchee and about six miles east of Carbonera in isolated country. News of the incident spread indignation in the city, county, and state.[51]

The slaughter upset many people because the attack was apparently unprovoked. About 4,700 sheep had been grazing in the Carbonera and Atchee area for a number of months. They were not on cattle range nor were they violating

regulations. In fact, cattle had not used this range for seven or eight years. The sheepmen had herded the Taylor sheep into a corral in preparation for marking the lambs to be sent to market. Tawney's sheep, on the other hand, were scattered about the area grazing.[52]

The attack came at 5:00 a.m. The Taylor and Tawney camps were about one and one-half miles apart and two employees and a trapper, Hood Porter, were at the Taylor camp. There were four men at the Tawney camp including Abe Aragon, Taylor's twenty-five-year-old foreman. Men from both camps were tied up at Tawney's camp and were guarded by three of the attackers. The other raiders returned to Taylor's camp and started the killing.[53] They clubbed some of the creatures, shot the animals with their rifles, and used knives to cut off the front feet of lambs and disembowel ewes. Many sheep, crippled with broken legs and backs, died horrible, lingering deaths. Witnesses stated the criminals seemed to delight in the suffering of the animals. When the killing stopped around 1:00 p.m., 2,000 animals lay dead or dying in unimaginable pain.[54] The men left, taking an old Mexican with them. He was later released, and returned to the camp. He freed the bound men, who had lain in the sun about eight hours.[55]

The raid was well organized. The day before the killing, a stranger came to the camp looking for a stray horse, stayed only a short time, and left no name. Witnesses believed he was one of the killers.[56] The raiders assembled about ten to twelve miles from the camp the previous night, and moved to a ridge above the sheep camps to complete preparations for the raid. Here the posse found pieces cut from handkerchiefs for eye holes in the masks.[57] The men used signals to coordinate their actions during the slaughter.

Taylor's flock, confined to corrals, consisted of about 1,280 ewes and 1,000 lambs. After the killing, only about 500 were alive. (Scores of ewes and lambs were killed after suffering for twenty-four to forty-eight hours.[58]) Several days after the massacre, lambs were found alive under piles of dead

sheep. Tawney lost only a few hundred sheep, possibly because they were not corralled. Taylor had been a sheepman for less than two years and had no previous trouble with sheepmen or cattlemen. Sheepmen had bought the right to use the range from the Utah Hide and Livestock Company about five years previously.[59]

Hood Porter, the trapper in Taylor's camp, recognized several voices and saw a familiar face when a mask dropped accidentally. Three days after the massacre, men at the sheep camp saw two or three riders looking down on the camp from a ridge; it was believed those riders were part of the raiders.[60]

Sheriff Wilmoth of Garfield County, along with several deputies and Undersheriff Charles Wallis of Grand Junction, one of the best known cattlemen in Mesa County, went to the scene of the crime looking for clues.[61] The Daily News on May 21 reported that the killings resulted from friction generated by the transfer (for considerable cash) of the range from the cattlemen to sheepmen. Cattlemen, it appeared, had attacked the least protected or least feared sheepmen. Montrose sheepmen had avoided the attack because they had formed an organization as powerful as the cattlemen's organization and were ready to fight.[62]

There was considerable speculation about the attack. The Daily News disclosed it was known who the guilty were and authorities were ready to arrest them. A report from Mack on May 20 claimed the massacre resulted from the bitter rivalry between sheepmen of Colorado and Utah, not between cattlemen and sheepmen, and this was not the first confrontation among sheepmen.[63] Prominent sheepmen in Grand Junction denounced the assertion that the massacre resulted from differences between sheepmen. They declared this falsehood appeared every time sheepmen were attacked.[64]

The savagry of the attack caused people from outside the Western Slope to condemn the butchery. The incident was newsworthy because all who returned from the scene reported that the horror of the spectacle was indescribable.[65] The State did not issue a reward. However, Governor John Shafroth

declared the crime was an outrage against the good name of the state and that everything should be done to punish the guilty. The Governor said: "The idea that in order to wreak private vengeance on someone's enemy, hundreds of defenseless animals may be slaughtered, is preposterous."[66] On May 22 the Colorado Humane Society, voted to offer a $500 reward for the apprehension of the band that slew the 2,000 sheep. The Society believed that steps might prevent future attrocities: "Herders and cattlemen must be made to realize at any cost the avenging of injuries by the wanton and brutal slaying of defenseless animals has to stop."[67] Agents from the Humane Society came to Grand Junction and investigated the incident.[68]

On May 23 lawmen investigating the crime returned home, doubtful that anyone would be apprehended.[69] An editorial in the Daily Sentinel criticized the officers for abandoning the chase so soon, considering the horror of the deed. The editorial pointed out that cattle rustlers in the area were trailed until caught, yet the search for the sheep killers was abandoned after three days. Negative publicity about the great sheep tragedies of the past fifteen years, argued the Sentinel editor, retarded the growth of the area: "Such a massacre of dumb brutes to enforce certain contentions will be given almost world-wide publicity."[70] The whole peaceful community would be associated with the crime.[71] If Taylor had been encroaching on the grazing lands of others, the slaughter might have been justified under the "unwritten law of the range," but such was not the case. It was, therefore, the duty of the state to pursue those guilty of the slaughter.[72] Several prominent cattlemen deplored the reopening of the feud, the Sentinel reported; but it was time for heroic action to be taken to enforce the law and make both sides respect the other's rights.[73]

The Denver Republican joined the controversy and editorialized that the time had come to halt cattlemens' injustices. They had no more right than others to protection nor first call to the land. Futhermore, law-abiding citizens

should not protect outlaws with their silence. Half the people in a twenty-mile radius could probably name the evil-doers. The lawless conditions of the Wyoming range could not be permitted in Colorado. "The courts can punish these men if they will and the whole state demands that it be done."[74] The Pueblo Chieftan agreed: it was time the people of Colorado stood up against the slaughter by a handful of cowards. Such events kept Colorado on the wrong side of the moral ledger. The Chieftan hoped stockmen, public officials, and citizens everywhere would join to apprehend and convict the men responsible for the cruelties.[75]

The Fruita Telegram remained supportive of the cattlemen and responded to the rumor that the leaders of the raiders lived in Fruita. The paper acknowledged Taylor's cooperation with cattlemen over grazing land. Everyone knew, according to the Telegram, that sheepmen of Utah and Montrose were not on friendly terms. If cattlemen killed the sheep, they were hired by other sheepmen to do the work. The Fruita Telegram summarized about its ranchers and cowboys: "The cattlemen of Fruita are gentlemen and would not stoop to such acts unless dire necessity called for it. There was no call at this time."[76]

The Denver Republican reported that Agent McConnel of the Humane Society believed they had some strong clues that would lead to the arrest of the suspects, formal complaints, and prosecution.[77] That fall an issue of Child and Animal Protection, published by the Colorado Humane Society, included an article and pictures concerning the sheep killings. The article stated:

> "It is not an uncommon thing to hear the remark made in some localities that sheep don't seem to do well here at all. Fact is they won't live here at all, it is said with a leer and a grimace and means of course the stockmen in that neighborhood will exterminate sheep in much the same way they were."[78]

The article also reported that a few years earlier a woman raising Angora goats had her herd attacked in the same manner. Stock interests opposed those who threaten free open range. The Humane Society doubted the raiders would be caught, even though local people "knew who they were."[79]

During the following year of 1910, a conference was held in Grand Junction to discuss the possibility of building a wool scouring and pulling mill in town at the cost of about $50,000. A committee, formed to investigate the enterprise, filed an unfavorable report citing heavy freight rates and opposition to promotion among businessmen as a problem.[80] Prejudice against the sheep industry continued to interfere with the area's economic growth.

The spring of 1910 started badly for sheepmen, despite the previous year's outcry against unfair treatment. Big Park and Pinyon Mesa ranchers held a meeting, because of a rumor that herders were bringing thousands of sheep from Utah to graze on established cattle ranges. The ranchers requested sheep be excluded from an area bordered by the following: The Grand River on the north, the Colorado/Utah state line on the west, Unaweep Canyon on the south, and the Gunnison River on the east--an area of approximately 40,000 acres. It was rumored one large firm of sheep owners planned to purchase the range and ranches of Sieber Cattle Company, the biggest cattle outfit in Western Colorado. Local sheepmen and the cattle company denied the report. One of the sheep owners received an anonymous letter: if sheep came to the Glade Park and Pinyon Mesa area, his life and those of his men would be in danger. The Sentinel also reported that Undersheriff Charles H. Wallis, for twenty years a cattlemen of the Mesa County area and previously connected with the Sieber Ranch, had resigned his position to become the manager of a big sheep outfit.[81] A settler from the disputed area wrote a letter to the Daily Sentinel explaining the cattlemen's position. The Sieber Cattle Company, controlled by the Thatcher Brothers of Pueblo, had invited the Utah Hide and Livestock Company, to bring their sheep to the Little Dolores country which was the

(*Daily Sentinel* Collection, Museum of Western Colorado)

Branding at S-Cross Ranch, 1877, Charles Sieber Cattle Company.

range not only of the Sieber Ranch but other cattlemen.[82] The letter maintained the sheep would ruin the fertile lands by making countless trails, and when the snow melted the water would run on these trails into the creek instead of soaking into the ground. The settlers would have no range for their stock, and the once fertile lands would be a worthless ash heap. The deal would also bring other herds into the area. The settler wrote, "Why, oh why is there no protection for the settlers or the cattlemen? Must they sit back and say Thy will be done, oh Mr. Sheep Man? Cattlemen, settlers, home seekers, it would (will) be up to you again. Now what are you going to do?"[83]

The Denver Republican reported that transfer of the Sieber property to the sheepmen might provoke a range war because ranchers feared the cattle range would become the grazing ground for thousands of sheep. According to the report, 150,000 head of sheep were headed for a crossing over the Grand River near the Utah line. Cattlemen threatened to take up arms and fight the invaders to prevent having their cattle driven off the land. Many cattlemen on the Pinyon Mesa felt this public domain belonged to them by right acquired through use. For the most part however, reported the Republican, cattlemen belonging to the Mesa County Livestock Association were trying to find a peaceful means to prevent the sheep invasion. One plan was to have a quarantine declared over the Pinyon Mesa.[84] The Republican also reported that the disputed land could have been included in the forest reserves with a "no-sheep" clause if the users had so desired. Instead the cattlemen opposed expanding the forest reserves, thinking they would enjoy the privileges of free grazing forever.[85]

On May 7 the Sentinel reported sheep had crossed the Colorado River by ferry and were being driven toward the Pinyon Mesa country. A new partially completed bridge would allow thousands of sheep to be driven into the area. The Sentinel hoped an agreement could be found before that occurred.[86] An interim agreement must have been reached because hostilities failed to erupt.

Five years later the local newspaper was still reporting trouble between sheepmen and cattlemen. A herd of 40,000 sheep, enroute from Oregon to Montrose, threatened to disrupt peaceful relations between the sheepmen and cattlemen. When the herd reached the desert north of Mack, cattlemen proclaimed the sheep were over the "dead line" and organized to remove them. They were stopped by a sheepman's use of an old musket. J. J. Baker, the out-of-state owner of the sheep and unfamiliar with local conditions, felt the payment of $600 in taxes entitled him to some grass during his brief stay. Only the promise of the immediate shipment of the sheep prevented a range war.[87]

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 ended the free range. Six Colorado grazing districts were laid out under the management of the Department of the Interior. Rights and permits were granted based on prior use. The principle of "firstest and mostest" was still favored, but the violence between sheepmen and cattlemen ended.[88]

The enmity between cattlemen and sheepmen caused destruction of property, cruelty to animals, and the deaths of many residents of the West. Hatred engendered by the range wars simmered for years, and sometimes when two men met in isolated areas, fevered words would lead to the death of one or both of the men. Opinions of non-stockmen and stockmen put friends and relatives on different sides in the range battle, causing long lasting breaches in relationships.

This era in Colorado's history is not pleasant, but it cannot be ignored. The conflict between cattlemen and sheepmen was over free open range--public lands the United States government did not supervise conscientiously. Therefore the government was responsible, to some extent, for the range wars. The forty years of violence during the sheep wars had lasting consequences. Cattlemen still have underlying feelings of scorn towards "range maggots", yet sheep have made their place in the economy of the West.

NOTES

[1]Caleb Casebier, *Twenty Sleeps West.* (Olathe, CO: Uncompahgre Publishing Company, 1979), 103.
[2]Richard Goff and Robert H. McCaffree, *A Century in the Saddle 1867-1967-100 Year Story of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association* (Denver: Colorado Cattlemen's Centennial Commission, 1967), 143-144.
[3]Casebier, 104.
[4]Goff and McCaffree, 145-146.
[5]Grand Junction Daily Sentinel, 14 January 1910.
[6]Duane Vandenbusche and Duane A. Smith: *A Land Alone: Colorado's Western Slope* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981.), 157; Goff and McCaffree, 149; The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado, 59.
[7]Ibid., 157.
[8]Grand Junction News, 24 March 1889.
[9]Colorado Magazine, Volume 14, January 1937, (Denver, CO: The State Museum), 165-166.
[10]Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado, (Colorado Historical Association, 1975) 60.
[11]Reuben Pitts, interview by H. L. Jack Weber, 10 February 1979, Mesa County Historical Society Oral History Tape #212, Grand Junction, CO.
[12]Vandenbusche and Smith, 158.
[13]Casebier, 104.
[14]*Sheep were admitted to these lands until 1925.* Goff and McCaffree, 155-156, 180.
[15]Vandenbusche and Smith, 158.
[16]Helen Hawxhurst Young, *The Skin and bones of Plateau Valley* (Grand Junction, CO: Wilson and Young Printers, no date), 105.
[17]James Curtis, *Riding Old Trails* (Grand Junction, CO: County Press, Inc., 1976), 10.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid, 24.
[20]Grand Junction News, 8 April 1893.
[21]Ibid., 17 June 1893.
[22]Ibid., 24 June 1893.
[23]Ibid., 19 August 1893.
[24]Ibid., 10 March 1894.
[25]Ibid., 24 March 1894.
[26]Ibid., 31 March 1894.
[27]Ibid., printed from Denver Republican.
[28]Ibid., 28 April 1894.
[29]Ibid., 28 April 1894.
[30]Ibid., 4 August 1894.
[31]Ibid., 13 October 1894.
[32]Ibid.
[33]Ibid., 27 October 1894.
[34]Murray, 126; Steven F. Mehls, *The Valley of Opportunity: A History of West-Centeral Colorado* (Denver, CO: Bureau of Land Management, Colorado, 1982.) 116; *Reinactment of the Peach Day Massacre on Radio History Theater,* information from Daisy Green, Mark Hulbert and Zelma Parks, Mesa County Historical Society Oral History Tape #478; Daisy Green, interviewed by Armand De Beque, 22 June ?, Mesa County Historical Society Oral History Tape #250, Grand Valley, CO.
[35]Grand Junction News, 13 October 1894.
[36]Young, 24.
[37]The Daily Sentinel (Grand Junction), 2 January 1895.
[38]Ibid., 4 January 1895.
[39]Ibid., 5 January 1895.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Ibid., 9 January 1895.
[42]Ibid., 14 March 1895.
[43]Ibid., 15 March 1895.
[44]Ibid., 4 January 1909.
[45]Ibid., 12 January 1909.
[46]Ibid.
[47]The Daily Sentinel, 21 May 1909.
[48]Ibid.
[49]Ibid.
[50]The Daily Sentinel, 24 May 1909.
[51]Ibid., 21 May 1909.
[52]Ibid., 24 May 1909.
[53]Ibid.
[54]Ibid.
[55]The Daily Sentinel, 25 May 1909.
[56]Ibid., 24 May 1909.

[57]The Daily News, 25 May 1909.
[58]The Daily Sentinel, 19 April 1910.
[59]The Daily News, 21 May 1909.
[60]Ibid., 21 May 1909, from Mack, CO, 20 May 1909.
[61]The Daily Sentinel, 21 May 1909.
[62]The Daily News, 22 May 1909.
[63]Ibid.
[64]Ibid., 23 May 1909.
[65]Ibid.
[66]The Daily Sentinel, 25 May 1909.
[67]Ibid.
[68]The Daily Sentinel, 26 May 1909, Editorial.
[69]Ibid.
[70]Ibid., 26 may 1909, Denver Republican, Editorial.
[71]Ibid., 27 May 1909, from Pueblo Chiefton, Editorial.
[72]Ibid., 31 May 1909, from Fruita Telegram.
[73]Ibid., 12 June 1909, from Denver Republican.
[74]Ibid., 13 September 1909.
[75]Ibid.
[76]Ibid., 20 January 1910.
[77]Ibid., 11 April 1910.
[78]Ibid., 19 April 1910, letter from a settler.
[79]Ibid.
[80]Ibid., 22 April 1910, from Denver Republican.
[81]Ibid.
[82]Ibid., 7 May 1910.
[83]Ibid., 26 May 1915.
[84]Erlene Durrant Murray, *Lest We Forget* (Grand Junction, CO: Quahada Corporation, 1973), 84.

"THE LIFE OF THE SHEEPHERDER ... THEN AND NOW"

by Luanne Rock

Luanne Rock graduated from Mesa State College in May of 1990 with a B.A. in selected studies.

Every productive industry consists of a multitude of separate human tasks. The consumer, aware only that the industry is producing, is oblivious of the parts of the productive mechanism, the many "cogs" that make the larger mechanism work.

The sheep industry is a prime example of this. Without the activities of a little known cog in the sheep industry the supply of lamb might be dramatically curtailed. A great deal of credit is due the sheepherder for his valuable part in keeping lamb chops and crown roast on the tables of America's lamb lovers. Unrecognized and taken for granted, the herder is and has always been vital to America's sheep industry.

For more than a hundred years, throughout the vast open ranges of western America, the term "sheepherder" was analogous to "Basque". Although Mexicans, American Indians, Chinese, Scots, Portuguese, Greeks, Italians, and Anglo Americans should also be credited for being excellent sheepherders, the Basques were the ethnic backbone of sheep herding in the west.

Sheep were first introduced to the Southwest by the Spanish. Though some flocks were eventually driven to California and Texas, the southwestern sheep industry got its start in New Mexico. Throughout the Spanish period, sheep were the main staple and New Mexico's main export. The spanish colonists drove flocks of small sheep, known as "churros", up from Mexico. Grazing lands were free under Spanish laws, and sheep barons--"ricos"--prospered at the expense of the small operator. The situation eventually brought about the "partido"--a system in which a poor man signed a contract to care for the "rico's" sheep. At the end of the year, he returned a specific number of rams, ewes, and lambs to the "rico". The result was a continued increase in production with a minimum of capital.

Mexico was the primary market for most of the sheep raised in New Mexico. Every year, sheep were driven down the Rio Grande, over the Jornada del Muerto, across the river to old El Paso, and south to the cities of New Spain. Between two hundred thousand and five hundred thousand sheep were driven south annually.

The industry continued to prosper after the Southwest became part of the United States. By 1860, the production of wool and mutton had become a major industry in south and southwestern Texas. However, it fell into neglect during the Civil War. After the Civil War, Texas sheepmen suffered from falling prices. Hostile Indians expanded into the region best suited for sheep raising, the southwestern hill country of Texas. Not until the end of the Indian Wars, about 1880, did sheepmen prosper and the industry begin to expand.

Basque immigration into North America began with the discovery of gold in California. By the mid 1850s, some Basque miners turned to other endeavors, including raising sheep. The collapse of the Spanish land-holding system in California made available large tracts of public land. The mining industry created a huge demand for meat products. Because of these factors, by the end of the century, sheepmen were well established in southern California. They developed

the open-range system of sheep husbandry that is still used today in the American West. With their background as accomplished sheepmen on the pampas of Argentina, and their skill in moving sheep across the Pyrenees mountains, Basques initiated the practice of driving herds between high mountain summer pastures and lowland desert winter areas. This system worked well in western North America which had extremes of topography and climate.

In 1934, the Taylor Grazing Act began federal regulation of government-owned grazing lands by initiating a system of permits and fees. This changed the livestock industry because sheepmen could no longer wander around the west. It was no longer possible for adventurous men to build a flock with no investment in land and feed. Those who tried to maintain the old migratory pattern were run off their ranges, harassed, and sometimes killed.

By the 1940s, the sheep industry appeared to be headed for collapse. By the end of that era, the numbers of breeding ewes in the western United States had declined by forty percent.[1] Few men would take a job as sheepherder. Consequently, sheepmen organized to initiate herder importation programs. These organizations were developed in western and eastern Nevada in 1942. The Wyoming Woolgrowers Association and the California Range Association also addressed the problem.

Former sheepman Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada was instrumental in pushing for importation of Basque sheepmen from Europe. He sponsored Public Law 587 which allowed 250 herders per year to enter the United States.[2] In 1952, Public Law 307 allowed five hundred more men per year to come into the country. It also made the California Range Association into a national organization. Its officers were all Basque sheepmen who sent representatives to Europe to recruit herders.[3]

The open-range sheep industry is becoming obsolete, but the lives of those men who have become herders are an important part of the history of the American West. They are

significant as historical figures, as well as mythological characters.

Their dwellings varied according to the different styles of the herders. Home for nine months of the year--spring, summer, winter--was a compactly built canvas-topped wagon called a sheep camp, which contained everything the herder needed to keep him comfortable. The sheep camp tenant lived without running water, electricity, and plumbing. The sheep camp provided shelter and furnished subsistence. It contained a bed--large enough to sleep two--which occupied the entire width of the camp. Below, a long bench concealed storage space for gear and groceries. A wooden square on a side wall was lowered to create a kitchen table or a desk. When it was returned to its "up" position, it concealed a salt and pepper cupboard. A cast-iron wood burning stove sat beside by the camp's entrance, and when a fire was burning, the camp stayed warm. Without a fire, the wind created cold sleeping conditions. Behind the stove were cupboards and shelves for pots, pans, more groceries, and occasionally a wind-up alarm. Kerosene lamps lit the camp. Books and magazines were frequently part of the camp's contents since a herder had many hours of leisure time.[4]

The wagons were drawn by teams of horses, from one range to another, over the rough trails of the high mountains or the desert terrain. Today the wagons are not as common a sight, and when they are used, they are pulled by four-wheel-drive vehicles. Occasionally, however, one might encounter a sheep wagon pulled by a team of heavy work horses. The sight is not to be forgotten! Rarely are sheepmen able to find someone who has the knowledge to harness, drive, or care for a team of draft horses.[5]

Some sheepherders preferred to use tents--transported by pack mules--as their temporary homes. One tent was generally used as a cook tent with perhaps one bed in it, while the other was used as a bunk house for family members. Whatever the dwelling preference, each herder added his own unique touch to make it a cozy "home on the range."[6]

(Photo courtesy of Luanne Rock)

Sheep camps.

To attest to the comforts the herder enjoyed in his wagon or his tent, Michael Mathers, in his book Sheepherders: Men Alone, boldly describes the sheepmen's sentiments on comforts: "My wagon 'aint no Hotel Deluxe, but I feel as good livin' here as I do livin' over there in the Goddamn Aristocrat Hotel or any other fancy outfit!"[7]

Some herders lived in cabins during the summer months. One herder from the Rifle area, Warren Jewell, used a Power Wagon to transport his tents and equipment when he moved to another range. He remarked: "They would go too far into the rough country for wagons, but once in awhile some did follow along in wagons pulled by a team of horses."[8]

Paul Etcheverry, a Basque from DeBeque, who has spent most of his life herding sheep and running his own sheep outfit, confirmed that sheepherders did not have horses, as a rule, until the middle 1930s. At the age of fourteen, Paul made a solo trek from the mountains above Aspen, to a range near Mack, on foot with only his dog and one thousand sheep for company. The camp tender who brought him supplies and mail was the only human he would talk to for weeks on end.[9]

Another old-time sheepherder confirmed that horses were not common in the herder's camp until the later years. He explained: "we just didn't have horses in the early days." Sheepherders were accustomed to walking to the adjoining sheep camp to share stories and news. Some herders were not content until they climbed to the highest point on a new range to see what was on the other side.[10]

Later, horses became an integral part of a sheepherder's life. They provided greater mobility in traversing the range and were another companion for the sheepherders.

The sheepherder's primary companion has always been his dog, although his working partnership with his dog is not the ordinary house-pet situation. The dog is an equal, working partner of the sheep-tending team. Whatever the breed, perky little Border Collie, watchful Australian Shepherd, or shy Dingo, the dog serves as a loyal friend and

hard-working partner in the business of trailing large flocks of sheep. Border collies, Australian shepherds, and mixes from the two breeds are the most common dogs used by the herder. Some herders say, however, that any dog, given the opportunity, can learn to work sheep. While still puppies, dogs begin to help their mothers. A dog's natural ability, the example of older dogs, and discipline from the herders combine to make a working dog.[11]

According to Etcheverry, a sheep dog is usually a one-man animal, a condition which can sometimes be a problem. When a sheepherder moves on to a different outfit, the dog usually stays with the flock. The dog must learn to take commands from a new herder, and this may take several days or weeks. To make the transition work, the new herder begins feeding the dog, and devotes a great deal of time petting and talking to the dog. Sometimes dogs fail to adjust to new masters. When this happens, the dog has lost its usefulness and is usually given away.[12]

The sheepherder shares a unique relationship with his dog, his horse, and the sheep. Sheepherder John Conroy summed up this attitude in his narrative: "I tell 'em how good they are and how proud I am of 'em. A dog and a horse have a cravin' for affection...like a human being".[13]

Retired herder John Hunt had a dog who would hold the sheep back from the hay until his master gave permission to let them eat--"In the days when we fed from a hay wagon I could scatter the hay over a big area and the dog would keep the sheep back until I was all done," Hunt said.[14] Paul Etcheverry remarked that a sheep herder usually has two dogs. "You could wear out a dog so you'd leave one in camp and use him every other day."[15]

Not every herder uses a dog, however. Warren Jewell believes, as his father before him did, that coyotes will smell dogs and that the presence of dogs attracts coyotes. He said that more and more sheepmen are realizing the truth of this theory.[16]

Predators have always been a constant worry for the

sheepherder. Bears, coyotes, and mountain lions can do a great deal of damage to a flock of grazing sheep. Empty shotgun shells set on a timer to go off at different intervals throughout the night were used to scare off bears, cougars and coyotes. According to herder Jim Mays, "We have this propane canon to scare off coyotes that lets out a big BOOM every hour."[17] A herder's gun was the best way for him to solve the problem of a marauding predator. The use of poisons, once effective weapons in dealing with the coyote, is now illegal. Many herders believe that this has made the predator problem more serious.

Sheepherders' food was as diverse as the dwelling he lived in. Fresh mutton was always available for the herder. However, in the early days, herders did not have refrigerators and could not keep meat from spoiling. Therefore, herders consumed a great deal of canned food. Bacon was a staple in the herder's diet, and fish from the streams offered variety to his menu.[18] According to Paul Etcheverry, "bacon, beans, flour, and milk was the common grub of the herder in the early days."[19] Occasionally, one of the flock would stray, and the unfortunate creature became Sunday chops for the herder in the next valley. This was not, however, a common practice among herders.[20]

The camp tender played a vital role in the sheep herder's life. He came at regular intervals--every three to four days--bringing fresh meat, and fresh water if a good water supply was not available, news from town, news from home, and letters from loved ones. He also checked to see that the herder was not ill or injured. It was his job to place the sheep camp where the herder had designated. Sometimes the camp tender was also the camp cook, but usually the herder cooked his own meals. In modern times the camp tender arrives every two days.[21]

Today's herder cooks his own meals. The average sheepherder is a capable cook who produces tasty dishes from a limited variety of ingredients. Sourdough biscuits and bread, a common specialty of the herder, have become a trademark of

his profession. Cooked on top of the stove in a dutch oven, these delicacies of the herder's own making have become legendary.[22] Herders took special precautions to protect their precious sourdough mix on cold nights. According to retired sheepherder, Bob Hughes:

> If they thought it'd work to sleep with the sourdough jug, they would. But a man will wrap it in his sheepskin coat, put a blanket over that and then put it in his box. On thirty-below nights after the fire goes out, everything in the camp freezes. In the morning canned goods will be popped. But if the sourdough jug is okay, a man feels all right![23]

Herders who cooked with sourdough insisted that quality sourdough products came from strong, old starter, "the rottener the better." Frequent use improved sourdough flavor. One herder, Virg Shinn, said he sometimes used his sourdough up to three times a day.

> In the morning, I'd make hot cakes. At lunch, I'd make my bread, and at night, if someone come by, I'd make biscuits. In hot weather if you're using it that often, a batch o' bread will raise in a hour. Raise and run all over.[24]

'Shinn said that herders all know not to wash sourdough jugs. "If you use a sourdough jug for a year, or year and a half, without washin' it, you'll really have good dough."[25]

To combat loneliness, the herders had many pastimes. Many sheepherders read magazines, books, and newspapers brought by the camp tender. Paul Etchevery's hunger for reading material brought the world closer to him as he poured through textbooks of geography, math, and American government: "Anything I could get my hands on I'd read." He was lucky enough to have the friendship of a school teacher in

DeBeque who made sure he had plenty of reading material at his disposal.[26] Others limited their reading to newspapers "just to find out who had died and one thing or another."[27] Still others whiled away the hours carving simple sculptures from fallen timber, or carving original poetry on the soft trunks of Aspen trees or on the sides of long-standing homestead logs.[28]

Music was a common pastime for many herders. Melodic tunes and haunting ballad broke the stillness of the high mountain air as a herder picked out the chords on his guitar or formed perfect sounding notes on a worn and aging harmonica. His voice rang out, reflecting the loneliness he felt.[29]

The herders also cut designs and pictures into white bark of Aspen trees. Mr. Etcheverry, knowing something of this art himself, explained that there is a knack to holding the knife, which is the tool used to attain such masterpieces, and not everybody possesses this talent![30] The men depicted many things in their Aspen bark art, including the female form. Some of the art leaves nothing to the imagination of the observer.

Necessary chores took many hours. The herder's footwear, which were short shoes rather than the high-top boots worn by men today, were important to him, and it was vital that they be well cared for. Getting the maximum amount of wear required preserving leather soles by driving hob nails into the soles and heels with a hammer. When the hob nails wore down, sheepherders pounded in new ones. Walking across the dry desert terrain could quickly ruin leather, and they took great pains to oil the leather every night. Tallow rendered from the fat of a butchered sheep served as the oil. They made their own leather laces, and some made little boots for their dogs as well, thus protecting their canine friends from sore and swollen paws.[31]

In modern times, sheepherding is as important as it was in the past, but changes have altered the image of the occupation dramatically. A fifth-wheel trailer, complete with

electricity, running water, and all the comforts of home, has taken the place of the once familiar sheep wagon on wheels.[32] Sheep are no longer trailed hundreds of miles to summer ranges. Instead, semi-tractors haul 400-450 sheep at one time in specifically manufactured trailers. The glamour and romance of a quiet and peaceful mountain scene has been replaced by the smell of diesel fuel and chrome stacks spewing forth clouds of billowing black smoke.[33] Portable television sets and citizen band radios have invaded the quiet silence of a Rocky Mountain evening. Paper plates have taken the place of enameled cookware, and portable phones have made it possible to make contact with civilization within a matter of minutes.

Predator problems still exist, and a battle rages between the sheepman and the environmentalists about predator control.[34] The herder still rides a horse, but roads are improved and maintained and four-wheel-drive pickups bring supplies to the herder and carry him to town on pay-day. Progress has changed the old ways and habits of the sheepherders. They have been swallowed up by progress and technological advances. The sheepherder has, however, made a lasting mark in carving out our heritage, and the romance and intrigue of the life of solitude will always be alive.

JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE is published quarterly by two student organizations at Mesa State College: the Mesa State College Historical Society and the Alpha-Gamma-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. Annual subscriptions are $10. (Single copies are available by contacting the editors of the Journal.) Retailers are encouraged to write for prices. Address subscriptions and orders for back issues to:

Mesa State College
Journal of the Western Slope
P.O. Box 2647
Grand Junction, CO 81502

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS: The purpose of ***JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE*** is to encourage the scholarly study of Colorado's Western Slope. The primary goal is to preserve and record its history; however, articles on anthropology, economics, government, natural history and sociology will be considered. Authorship is open to anyone who wishes to submit original and scholarly material about the Western Slope. The editors encourage letters of inquiry from prospective authors. Complete instructions to contributors to the Journal may be secured by inquiry to: Mesa State College, ***JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE***, P.O. Box 2647, Grand Junction, CO 81502

NOTES

[1]William A. Douglass, *Basque Sheep Herders of the American West,* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1985) p. 7.
[2]Ibid., p. 18.
[3]Ibid., p. 19.
[4]Patti Sherlock, *Alone on the Mountain: Sheepherding in the American West.* (New York: Doubiday & Company, Inc. 1979) p. 22.
[5]Ibid., p. 20.
[6]Ibid., p. 24.
[7]Michael Mathers, *Sheepherders: Men Alone.* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975) (Ed) p. 97.
[8]Warren Jewell interview, 20 November 1989, Silt.
[9]Paul Etcheverry interview, 3 October 1989, De Beque.
[10]Michael Mathers, *Sheepherders: Men Alone.* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975) (Ed) p. 97.
[11]Patti Sherlock, *Alone on the Mountain: Sheepherding in the American West.* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1979) p. 43.
[12]Jewell interview.
[13]Mathers, Sheepherders, p. 63.
[14]Ibid., p. 65.
[15]Etchevery interview.
[16]Jewell interview.
[17]Sherlock, *Alone on the Mountain.*
[18]Etcheverry interview.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Jewell interview.
[21]Sherlock, *Alone on the Mountain.* p. 83.
[22]Ibid.
[23]Ibid., p. 68.

BACK ISSUES

Vol. 1 #1 Hard Times But Good Times: Grand Junction Women During the Great Depression
Recollections of the Redlands, 1920-1974

#2 Uncompahgre Stateman: The Life of Ouray

#3 The Grand Junction Town Company and the Land Dispute with William Keith
Book Review - The Great Heritage: A Pictorial History of Grand Junction
The Avalon Theater

#4 The Grand River Ditch
Recollections of Naturita

Vol. 2 #1 The Roan Creek Toll Road
Harvesting Peaches with German Prisoners of War
Historical Notes, Museum of Western Colorado

#2 Birds of Mesa County
Crawford: A Good Little Town
Chinese in Early Grand Junction

#3 Reminiscences of Early Life in Colorado

#4 The Schiesswohl Building: An Economic Barometer of Grand Junction Business Activity 1908-1934
Book Review - The Telluride Story
The New Deal Program as Seen from Loma
The Peach Festival 1887-1909, A Celebration of the Land

Vol. 3 #1 Volunteer to Professional: A History of the Grand Junction Fire Department

#2 "A Monument for Good in the World and the Glory of God": The Parachute Home Culture Club
The Little Empire of the Western Slope: Boosterism in the Early Grand Valley

#3 Development of Grand Junction and the Colorado River Valley to Palisade from 1881-1931, Part 1

#4 Development of Grand Junction and the Colorado River Valley to Palisade from 1881-1931, Part 2

Vol. 4 #1 The Ku Klux Klan in Grand Junction 1924-1927

#2 The Schmidt Family Hardware Store and Grand Junction, A Partnership
Early History of the Grand Junction High School Band
Transcendental Twisted Trees and Enos Mills

#3 The Crawford Mill
The Survival of Judaism in a Far Western Town: A Brief History of the Jewish Community in Grand Junction

#4 Archaeological Investigations at Battlement Mesa
Enstrom's: More Than Just Toffee

THE PATRON'S PAGE

Those persons who send a patron's subcription of $25 or more for a one year's subscription make the ***JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE*** a better publication. Patrons' contributions make possible the publication of special editions such as the biography of Chief Ouray. Also, patrons enable the editors to furnish some complimentary subscriptions to educational institutions and to publish more photographs in each issue. Without the support of patrons, the publication of this Journal would be difficult. The members of the Mesa State College Historical Society, the Alpha-Gamma-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, and the editors of the ***JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE*** thank the individuals and businesses listed below who are our patrons:

Aspenwood Dental, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Walter R. Averett, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Bacon, Grand Junction
Charles W. & Velda Bailey, Grand Junction
John N. Bertrand, Grand Junction
Dr. John Bull, D.D.S., Grand Junction
Dr. Chris Buys, Grand Junction
Perry Carmichael, Grand Junction
Dr. & Mrs. Joe Carter, Alamosa
Iona Coe, Grand Junction
Mrs. Marjorie West Crow, Palisade
Dr. & Mrs. R. B. Crowell, Grand Junction
Frank E. Dinges, Lakewood
Frank and Mary Drake, Paonia
Mr. & Mrs. Lit DuPont, Fruita
Mr. & Mrs. William M. Ela, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. T. F. Ela, Santa Fe
Eye Center of Colorado West, P.C.
Grand Junction
Abbott E. Fay, Paonia
David & Monna Fisher, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Dave E. Flatt, Grand Junction
Betty Goff, Grand Junction
Golden Mumby, Summers & Livingston,
Attorneys at Law, Grand Junction
Pat Gormley, Grand Junction
Calvin & Alma Gower, St. Cloud

Marvin Gregory, Ouray
Harry Griff, Grand Junction
Monte Ray Griffith, Clifton
James R. Grisier, Grand Junction
Vi Haseman, Grand Junction
Rosemary C. Heaney, Grand Junction
Elaine Henderson, Hotchkiss
Enno F. Heuscher, M.D., Grand Junction
Dorothy J. Honnen, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Karl Johnson, Grand Junction
Bruce B. Johnson, Grand Junction
Stephen L. Johnson, D.D.S., Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen B. Johnson, Jr.
Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Miles Kara, Grand Junction
Ray Kieft, Grand Junction

Robert J. Kretschman, Evans
Mr. & Mrs. Nathan Liff, Grand Junction
Aaron & Beth Long, Grand Junction
Dale W. P. Mackley, PH.D., San Francisco
Tom Mehs, Aurora
John A. Molloy, II, Loma
Mr. & Mrs. Melvin R. Muhr, Grand Junction
Keith G. Mumby, Grand Junction
Don MacKendrick, Grand Junction
Jeffrey M. Nakano, Grand Junction
Hal Nees, Boulder
Steven F. O'Dell, D.O., Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Rob Peckham, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. John Pendergrast, Grand Junction
Morton Perry, Lakewod
Walter J. Phillips, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. T. J. Prince, Grand Junction
Daniel E. Prinster, Grand Junction

William & Wanda Putnam, Grand Junction
Mrs. Gertrude Rader, Grand Junction
Rangely Museum Society, Rangely
Ann & Paul Reddin, Grand Junction
David Rees, Grand Junction

Dr. Anthony Richards, Grand Junction
Robb Beckner, Achziger & Nugent
Attorneys at Law, Grand Junction
Katherine B. Roe, Colorado Springs
Dr. & Mrs. Geno Saccamanno, Grand Junction
T. J. Sadler, Grand Junction
Steve and Tracy Schulte, Grand Junction
Dan M. Showalter, Grand Junction
Dr. Gene H. Starbuck, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Thiebolt, Los Alamos
Larry D. Tice, M.D., Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. John Tomlinson, Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Dwight H. Tope, Albuquerque
Peter Walsh, D.O., Grand Junction
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Wenger, Grand Junction
Jewell Willsea, Grand Junction

Frank E. Woodard, Grand Junction
Donna H. Young, Collbran