

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY



PONY EXPRESS



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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
PONY EXPRESS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Anthony Godfrey, Ph.D.

August 1994

United States Department of the Interior/National Park Service



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PREFACE

The intent of this Historic Resource Study (HRS) of the Pony Express National Historic Trail is threefold: 1) to provide basic information to assist in the preparation of the trail comprehensive management plan (CMP) and to manage and interpret the trail, 2) to furnish National Park Service (NPS) managers and planners, state and local authorities, private landowners, and cooperating groups with an extensive trail database for action plans and implementation activities for the Pony Express National Historic Trail, and 3) to give to the public a general history of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company (C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.) otherwise known as the Pony Express.

This HRS is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One provides an account of the development of the Pony Express, giving the antecedents and historical context for the enterprise. Chapter Two discusses the founders of the Pony Express (William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell), and how they originated the idea for a Pony Express and put their conception of it into operation. Chapter Three looks at the actual organization, general operation, and ultimately the demise of the Pony Express during its existence from April 1860 to October 1861. The next five chapters give details about the history, location, and operation of each Pony Express station site along the route from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, and then on to San Francisco, California.

The ninth and final chapter examines the significance of the Pony Express in American history, and provides recommendations for further research to preserve and interpret the Pony Express National Historic Trail. Following this last chapter, the reader will find an annotated bibliography, illustrations, and a select bibliography.

In the preparation of this HRS, I profited from the help and advise of a great many individuals whom I wish to thank. My gratitude certainly goes to the various unnamed librarians and archivists nationwide, who helped me find critical sources as a part of their daily job. In particular, the staff members at St. Joseph Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri; University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri; Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska; Denver Public Library and Colorado State Historical Society, Denver, Colorado; University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming; Wyoming State Historical Society, Cheyenne,

Wyoming; Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; Nevada State Historical Society, Reno, Nevada; Nevada State Museum, Carson City, Nevada; and the California State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California; were especially helpful.

Next, I wish to acknowledge the time, patience, and supervision for this project provided by Michael Duwe of the National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, and to thank him, as well as Jere Krakow of the National Park Service, Denver Service Center for reviewing and commenting on an earlier draft of this manuscript, and Linda Carlson of the National Park Service for final copy editing.

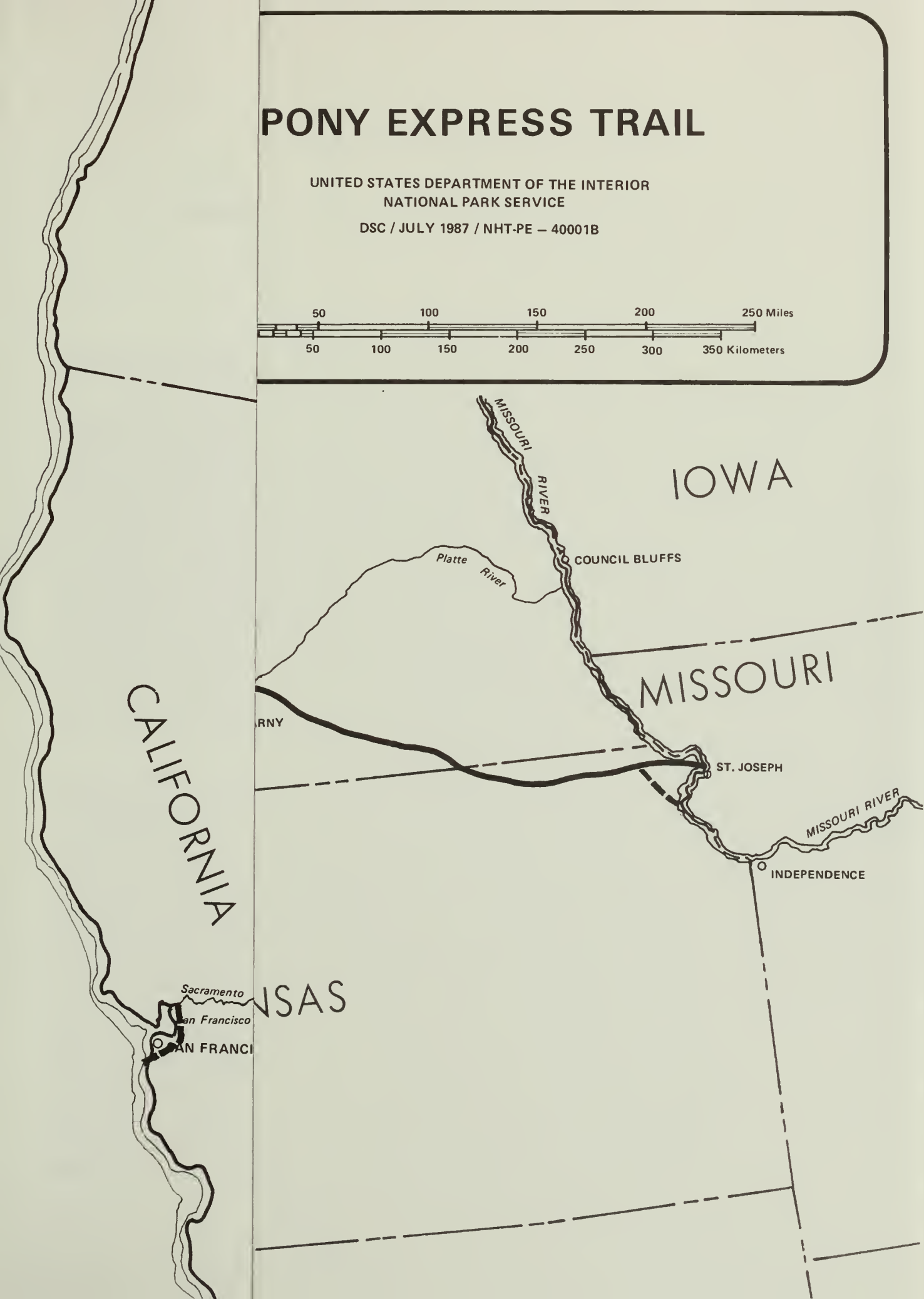
Finally, I want to extend my special thanks to various staff members of U.S. West Research, Inc., who played a substantial role in helping me prepare this HRS. They include: historians Mary Kay Schmidt, who assisted in organizing the research and developing early drafts of the station site chapters, Elizabeth Butterfield, who assisted in researching, preparing, and revising the final manuscript, especially the chapters on the relay/home stations, and Doug Connell for critical newspaper research. Needless to say, any sins of omission or commission are mine alone.

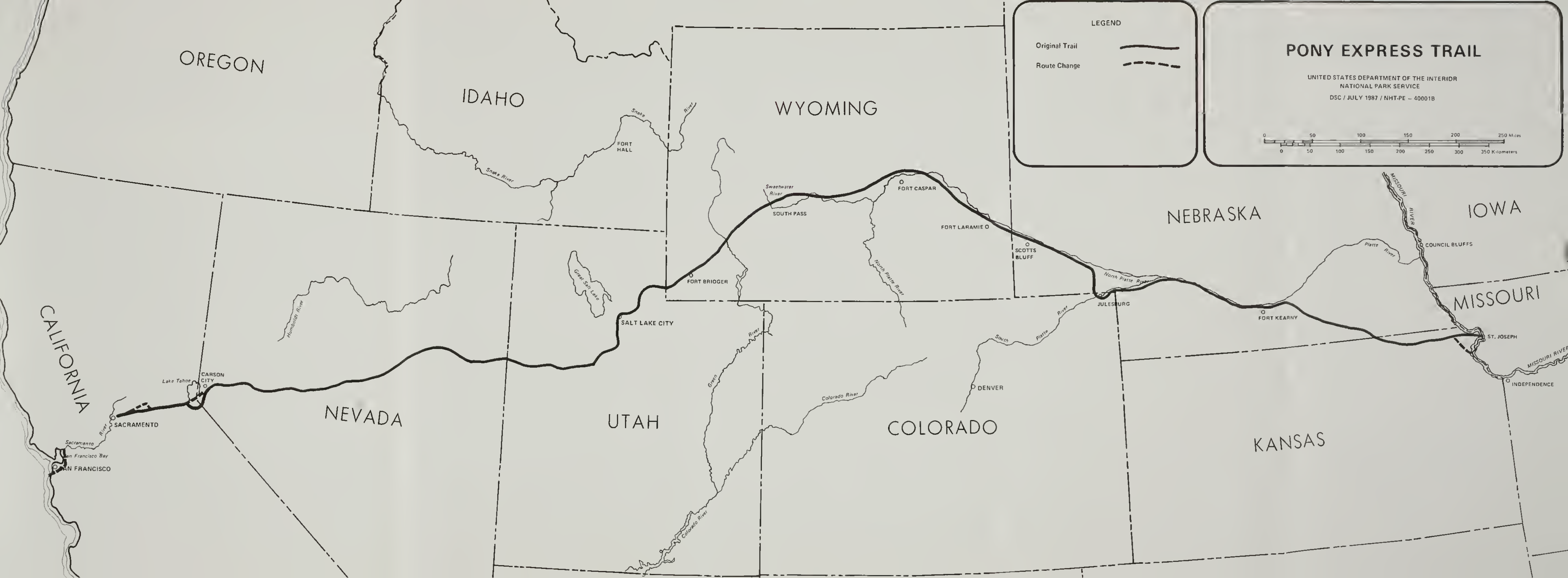
Anthony Godfrey, Ph.D.
U.S. West Research, Inc.
La Crosse, Wisconsin

PONY EXPRESS TRAIL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

DSC / JULY 1987 / NHT-PE - 40001B





OREGON

IDAHO

WYOMING

NEBRASKA

IOWA

MISSOURI

CALIFORNIA

NEVADA

UTAH

COLORADO

KANSAS

LEGEND

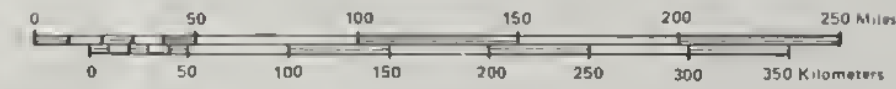
Original Trail

Route Change

PONY EXPRESS TRAIL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

DSC / JULY 1987 / NHT-PE - 40001B



Sweetwater River
SOUTH PASS

FORT CASPAR

FORT LARAMIE

SCOTTS BLUFF

FORT BRIDGER

SALT LAKE CITY

JULESBURG

FORT KEARNY

ST. JOSEPH

INDEPENDENCE

DENVER

CARSON CITY

SACRAMENTO

SAN FRANCISCO

Snake River

Snake River

Sweetwater River

North Platte River

North Platte River

South Platte River

Colorado River

Green River

Colorado River

Humboldt River

Missouri River

Platte River

Missouri River

Sacramento River

San Francisco Bay

Lake Tahoe

Great Salt Lake

Introduction

MYTH AND REALITY OF THE PONY EXPRESS

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps no event in Western American history has captured the imagination and held the interest of people as the story of the Pony Express. Since this episode of transportation history blazed across our frontier past (in service only eighteen months), many participants, eyewitnesses, as well as Western writers, authors, and scholars have written about it with great admiration in popular books, and scholarly monographs and journal articles. Even motion pictures¹ and television have adopted the heroic saga as their own, depicting the young men on horseback withstanding weather, enduring fatigue, and facing danger from attack by Indians, in order to carry the nation's mail as rapidly as possible across the nineteen hundred miles between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento, California. Today, this saga is deeply ingrained in our American heritage, and has become a symbol of our western past.

However, after 134 years in the saddle of history, the story of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company (C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.), otherwise known as the Pony Express has become entangled in a web of myth and reality. With limited available primary research material, amateur and professional historians, western writers, reporters, as well as motion picture and television producers have embroidered the truth, passing along a new "romantic" version of the history of the Pony Express to the next generation as if it were fact.

¹ In 1925, Paramount Pictures made the first movie using the subject of the Pony Express. Based on the book *The Pony Express: A Romance*, written by Henry James Forman, the silent screen motion picture was directed by James Cruze, who was responsible for "Covered Wagon." The movie starred Ricardo Cortez as the heroic pony rider and also Wallace Beery. Director Cruze filmed the movie partly in Sacramento, and he even had a portion of the old city reproduced for the film. See: Henry James Forman, *The Pony Express: A Romance*, (New York: Gross & Dunlap, 1925); and Blake McVeigh, "The Pony Express Comes to the Screen," *Union Pacific Railroad* (November 1925): 15-16.

Expanding on the same limited factual record, many authors passed on the previous generation's version of the history of the Pony Express, using similar routine phrases and descriptive adjectives of factual matters.

A majority of the works on the Pony Express have popularized its lore over the realities and hardships of the operation. From the start, literary writers depicted Pony Express riders in gallant, adventurous terms. For instance, in August of 1860, one newspaper writer described the "journey of the Pony" this way:

Bang goes the signal gun, and away flies the Express pony with "news of all nations lumbering on his back." But wither flies this furious rider on his nimble steed? It is no holiday scamper or gallop that this young John is bent upon. His journey has two thousand miles across a great continent, and beyond the rivers, plains and mountains that must be passed; a little world of civilization is waiting for the contents of his wallet. He and his successors must hurry on through every danger and difficulty, and bring the Atlantic and the Pacific shores within a week of each other. No stop, no stay, no turning aside for rest, shelter or safety, but right forward. By sun-light, and moon-light, and starlight, and through the darkness of the midnight storms, he must still fly on and on toward the distant goal. Now skimming along the emerald sea, now laboring through the sandy track, now plunging headlong into the swollen flood, now wending his way through the dark canon [sic], or climbing the rocky steep, and now picking his way through or around an ambuscade of murderous savages. No danger or difficulty must check his speed or change his route, for the world is waiting for the news he shall fetch and carry. . . ."God speed to the boy and the pony."²

Using a good thesaurus, a little imagination, and a flair for the written word, many authors simply rewrote, reorganized, and re-romanticized manuscripts about the Pony Express, such as the above quotation. Over the years, they have added little insight into the history of the Pony Express. Other sources tell the story of the Pony Express fairly accurately, however they provide little or no documentation to support their statements.

This process has gone on so long that the nexus of myth and fact has become too

strong to break. To sift and sort all the fiction from fact regarding the Pony Express would take years of careful study and research of a tremendous number of sources. Unfortunately, this type of research is not within the scope of work or the budget for this Historic Resource Study (HRS). One intent of this HRS conducted for the National Park Service (NPS) for the Pony Express National Historic Trail is to provide basic information to assist the preparation of the trail comprehensive management plan (CMP) and to manage and interpret the trail. Another intent is to provide NPS managers and planners, state and local authorities, private landowners, and cooperating groups with an extensive trail database for action plans and implementation activities for the Pony Express Trail. A third intent is to give to the public a good general history of the Pony Express under one cover. Accordingly, this HRS should not be considered a definitive history of the Pony Express, but instead be thought of as a planning study.

Extensive but not exhaustive archival research for this HRS was conducted in a number of collections and repositories nationwide. This research included trips to libraries, repositories, and archives in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California, as well as the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The research for this project was designed to provide adequate documentation for NPS personnel, scholars, and other individuals outside the federal government on a number of general research themes. They include (1) an account of the development of the Pony Express, (2) discussion of its operation, personnel, and management, taking into account day-to-day routines, (3) a description of the demise and significance of the Pony Express, as well as recommendations for further study, and (4) a historic base map of the route, historical photographs and illustrations, and an annotated bibliography.

The HRS of the Pony Express Trail, which follows, begins with Chapter One: "By Ocean or By Land: Roots of the Pony Express," which outlines the antecedents and historical context for the Pony Express, including the history of ocean and overland mail service to California from the late 1840s to 1859. Chapter Two: "The Great Race Against Time: Birth of the Pony Express," looks at the biographies of the founders of the Pony Express, William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell, and how their relationship, partnerships, and experience in the freighting and express business culminated in the birth of the Pony Express and the "Great Race Against Time." The actual organization, general operation, and ultimately the demise of the Pony Express during its existence from April 1860 to October 1861 are the subjects of Chapter Three. The next five chapters then

address the individual divisions of the Pony Express enterprise, giving details of the history, location, and operation of each station site along the route. The divisions of the Pony Express were Division One: St. Joseph to Fort Kearney; Division Two: Fort Kearney to Horseshoe Station (above Fort Laramie); Division Three: Horseshoe Station to Salt Lake City; Division Four: Salt Lake City to Robert's Creek; and Division Five: Robert's Creek to Sacramento and then on to San Francisco.

The concluding chapter examines the significance of the Pony Express in American history, a brief discussion of the anniversaries and organizations dedicated to commemorating the Pony Express, as well as recommendations for further research to preserve and interpret the Pony Express National Historic Trail for the general public. Following this last chapter, the reader will find an annotated bibliography regarding the historical resources pertaining to the Pony Express.

Chapter 1

BY OCEAN OR BY LAND: ROOTS OF THE PONY EXPRESS

INTRODUCTION

The roots of the Pony Express lie deep in the history of Americans living in far off Oregon, California, and Utah. By 1846, many American citizens willingly crossed the Great Plains for a variety of reasons. In 1842, frontier folk from Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky caught the Oregon "fever" and a sizeable number of them had migrated into Oregon country by 1845 to seek their fortunes there and to the south in California. Facing religious persecution at Nauvoo, Illinois, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, commonly called Mormons, abandoned their homes there to seek a new life in the "promised land" of the basin of the Great Salt Lake. Americans living in these far off places wished to communicate with their family, friends, and business associates living back home. Recognizing this need to keep connected in some way to the United States, President James Knox Polk stated: "It is important that mail facilities, so indispensable for the diffusion of information, and for the binding together [of] the different portions of our extended Confederacy, should be afforded to our citizens west of the Rocky Mountains."¹ Thereafter, the need for regular and direct communication between the west and the east coasts was manifested time and time again.

In 1848, demand for an east-west mail service in the United States rose proportionately with the acquisition of California territory after the Mexican-American War, and more importantly with the subsequent discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill on the south fork of the American River. The thousands of miners and other people who flocked to California during the gold rush wanted and called for mail service with the rest of the nation. Also in 1848, the continued migration of Mormons to the Great Salt Lake added to this explosive enjoinment for mail transportation beyond the Rocky Mountains. Continued population increase and

¹ Le Roy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlements, Precursor of Railroads*, Reprint of 1926 Edition (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969), 37.

settlement of Oregon, California, and Utah sustained a growing necessity for an east-west mail service. In response to these migrations and population increases, post offices were officially established in San Francisco (1848) and Salt Lake City (1849). Thereafter, the federal government let contracts to companies to provide east-west mail service.²

For the next decade or so, vital questions regarding delivery routes (ocean versus overland), frequency of service (monthly or semi-monthly), speed of delivery (number of days for delivery), and costs were answered through pragmatic means—trial and error.

OCEAN ROUTE MAIL SERVICE

The ocean route was the first choice for an east-west mail service. In 1847, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Department of the Navy to contract for the transportation of mail to the Pacific Coast from the Eastern Seaboard via the Isthmus of Panama. Ten-year contracts were let for monthly service to Oregon, one for each leg of the trip. In addition, special steamship vessels were built and commissioned by the United States Navy to provide suitable transportation for mail and passengers. The Atlantic-to-Panama leg of the trip was initially contracted to A.G. Sloo, who promptly transferred his contract to the partnership of George Law, Marshall O. Roberts, and Bowers McIlvaine of New York, who then formed the United States Mail Steamship Company. The Panama-to-Oregon service segment went to William H. Aspinwall of New York, who incorporated as the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Eventually, this later company built three steamships for the service, the *California*, *Oregon*, and *Panama*. The cost for ocean mail service started at \$199,000 per annum.³

² Carl H. Scheele, *A Short History of the Mail Service* (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), 80. In California, the population grew from an estimated 100,000 after the 1848 gold rush to 300,000 in 1858. By 1860, and the inauguration of the Pony Express, the population of California was estimated at 400,000. Raymond W. Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Effort—Tragic End," *Utah Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXVII (April 1959): 104.

³ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 38-41. For extensive histories of the subject of ocean route travel see: Arthur Hamilton Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era, 1843-1869* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910); John H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943); and Raymond Rydell, *Cape Horn to the Pacific: The Rise and Decline of an Ocean Highway* (Berkeley: University of California, 1952).

Except for the desertion of the *California* by its crew who caught the "gold fever" when it entered San Francisco Bay, the ocean mail route provided regular, reliable service with few problems. In 1851, the mail delivery schedule was increased to a semi-monthly service with a compensation of approximately \$350,000 per annum. For almost a decade, ocean transportation of mail between New York and San Francisco became the most significant east-west mail route, taking approximately four weeks in transit. In 1855, this route was improved with the completion of the Panama railroad across the Isthmus. Thereafter, the trip took little more than three weeks in good weather. In 1858, a record-setting twenty-one days, two hours, and thirteen minutes was accomplished from a New York departure point to the wharfs of San Francisco Bay. With time and population growth, the amount of transported mail grew as well, from approximately 6,000 letters in 1849 to 2,000,662 letters in 1859, not to mention the large newspaper mail carried back and forth. During most of these years, the rate of postage varied from 6¢ per single letter in 1851 to 10¢ a letter after 1855.⁴

Mail service was the only connecting link between the past and present lives of the people living in California and Oregon. The arrival of the mail steamer into San Francisco Bay was an important part of life and it became a celebrated event by all who sought news from their loved ones, friends, and business associates back in the "States." Upon its arrival in the bay, a signal was made on Telegraph Hill to alert citizens to begin lining up at the post office to receive their precious letters and other communications. Journalists greeted and clambered upon the ship even before it reached its mooring. They vied with one another to get the latest news quickly, so they could publish the month-old news in "extras," which they sold for a dollar a piece. The departure of the mail steamship, known as steamer day, mirrored the importance of its arrival. Citizens and merchants, alike, hurriedly prepared letters to relatives, and dispatches and bills for business partners. Local newspapers also summarized recent news events in "steamer papers" for communication with their eastern newspaper counterparts.⁵

From the beginning, the ocean route service had its critics. First, many Californians and Oregonians thought the service was too slow by sea. Having

⁴ Scheele, *A Short History of the Mail Service*, 80-81; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 47; and Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express: The Record of a Romantic Adventure in Business* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), 30-31 and 37.

⁵ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 45-46.

travelled overland, many people firmly argued that overland mail service had to be far more efficient than the then current ocean route via Panama.⁶ Some critics, who advocated a land route, also condemned the monopoly held by the United States Mail Steamship Company, the Panama Railroad Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. They wished to break this profitable monopoly by establishing a competitive overland route.⁷ These objections eventually became the basis for the formation of the overland mail route arguments.

OVERLAND MAIL SERVICE, 1848-1856

The development of a central overland mail service between California and the rest of the nation began soon after the California gold rush. Initially, some innovators envisioned a transcontinental passenger/mail service. For instance, in 1849, several businessmen attempted to establish an overland line from St. Louis to California, and actually made such a trip carrying 120 passengers. But the physical difficulties and cost they encountered prevented a second trip.⁸ Clearly, conveying mail and passengers across the continent was too costly an endeavor for any one firm to undertake without some form of a federal subsidy. Despite a lack of funding, arduous entrepreneurs persisted in this objective. Instead of one transcontinental line, they broke the overland route into two distinct segments: California to Salt Lake City and Salt Lake City to Missouri. They hoped for success in carrying the mails over these shorter routes.

California to Salt Lake City, 1851-1856

Inadequate, irregular, and erratic best describes mail service between California and Salt Lake City in the early 1850s. Harsh weather conditions, long distances over difficult and treacherous terrain, and problems with Indians along the route thwarted the effort to provide regular mail service.

In 1851, the United States advertised for bids to carry mail and/or passengers monthly from California across the Sierra Nevada range and the Great Basin on to Salt Lake City. The open-ended contract did not specify a designated route or point of departure. Thirty-seven bids were received, ranging from single

6 Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Effort—Tragic End," 104-105.

7 Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 47-49.

8 Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills: The Romance of the Express Companies* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), 195.

horseback delivery to two-horse coach service at \$200,000 per annum. Despite several elaborate and well-thought-out proposals, the federal government selected the lowest bidder—the firm of Woodward and Chorpenning. For a mere \$14,000 per annum, Absalom Woodward and George Chorpenning contracted to provide thirty-day mail service each way, starting in May 1851.⁹

For their passage, Woodward and Chorpenning chose the old emigrant route from Sacramento to Salt Lake City. The length of the route was approximately 750 miles, and ran via Folsom, Placerville, and

thence over the Sierra by the old emigrant road, through Strawberry and Hope Valleys into Carson Valley, through Genoa, Carson City, Dayton, Ragtown, and then across the Forty-Mile Desert to the Humboldt River, near the Humboldt Sink; then following the old emigrant route east along the Humboldt River to what is now Stonehouse Station, on the Central Pacific Railroad near which it left the river and turning to the southeast, took the Hasting's Cutoff to Salt Lake City.¹⁰

During the initial year, Woodward and Chorpenning encountered every imaginable difficulty. Service was delayed by heavy snow in the Sierras, which caused the trip an extra sixteen days to reach Carson Valley from Placerville; then they met June snow in the Grouse Creek Mountains west of the Great Salt Lake. The trip took not the required thirty days, but fifty-four days. To add to matters, during the November mail delivery, Absalom Woodward was killed by Shoshone Indians near Stone-House station, just west of the Malad River. To worsen affairs, deep snow in the Sierras prevented the December 1851 and January 1852 mails from ever crossing the Sierra Nevada mountain range from Placerville.¹¹

9 Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 63-64.

10 Thompson and West, *History of Nevada with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of The Prominent Men and Pioneers*, Reproduction, (Berkeley: Howell-North Publishers, 1958), 102-105; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, Vol. XXV (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 226-227.

11 Thompson and West, *History of Nevada*, 102-105; Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, 226-227; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 64.

In 1852, during the second contract year, Chorpenning continued to use the northern Nevada route to Salt Lake City in the summer months. However, he obtained permission to send the mail during the winter months down the California coast to San Pedro and then via Cajon Pass along the Mormon "corridor" trail to Salt Lake City. This trail was first traversed by fur trader and mountainman, Jedediah Smith. Later, in the 1850s, Mormons established a string of settlements all the way from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, California. The Mormon corridor ran from San Bernardino to Cajon Pass, then to the Mohave River, on eastward to Las Vegas and over to the Virgin River, and then northward through a series of Mormon settlements (Parowan, Beaver, Fillmore, Nephi, Payson, and Provo) to Salt Lake City. Despite setbacks, George Chorpenning continued to carry the mail until 1853 when his contract expired. In 1854, Chorpenning renewed his contract for more four years. This time Chorpenning eliminated the northern Nevada route altogether; instead he ran the monthly mail service by horse and pack-mule from San Diego over the Mormon trail to Salt Lake City, where it was carried with "fair regularity, and often in less than schedule time."¹²

Salt Lake City to Missouri, 1851-1856

Mail service from Salt Lake City to Independence, Missouri in the early 1850s was comparable to California-Utah mail service. Starting in 1850, following the heavy migration of Mormons to the Great Salt Lake region, the United States entered into a contract with Samuel H. Woodson for \$19,500 to transport mail from the Mississippi River to Salt Lake City on a monthly basis each way. From Missouri, this pioneer mail route traced the "Oregon Trail" all the way to South Pass, then headed westward to Fort Bridger, and then proceeded to Salt Lake City. Like the Chorpenning service from California to Utah, Woodson used pack animals to carry the mail with no established mail stations along the way. Predictably, the mail was seldom on schedule, and it was very unreliable during the winter months.¹³

In 1854, with the expiration of Woodson's contract, W.M.F. Magraw and his partner John M. Hockaday took over the Independence to Salt Lake City mail route. Their bid of \$14,440 promised monthly mail service by horse drawn coaches. But in the two years Magraw held the contract, he suffered considerable

¹² Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 64-69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 56-60.

losses due to Indian depredations. In 1856, the United States annulled the contract with Magraw because of poor, undependable service.¹⁴

The Mormons living in Salt Lake City desired more regular and reliable service. Given the poor service provided by previous contractors, they believed they could carry the mail more efficiently and effectively than it was being done. So, in 1856, Hiram Kimball of Utah, acting as an agent for the Mormon leaders, acquired the next mail contract for \$23,000. This four-year contract was the first step toward launching a Mormon-owned-and-run "express line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast." Unable to comply with the contract terms during the winter of 1856-1857, Kimball subcontracted the service to Feramorz Little and Ephraim Hanks who made one trip east. In the meantime, Kimball and his Mormon associates worked on organizing a new operation, unofficially called the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company (i.e., the B.Y.X. Company). It started in February 1857 and its first run arrived in Independence in twenty-six days. The return run to Salt Lake City spanned a twenty-eight day period. John Murdock and William Hickman supervised the Independence-to-Fort Laramie segment, while Porter Rockwell managed the Fort Laramie-to-Salt Lake City segment.¹⁵

The Mormons also planned a "swift pony express" to carry the mail between Independence and Salt Lake City in twenty days. Stations existed at Fort Supply, and Fort Bridger, and they hoped to establish additional stations at the "head of the Sweetwater River, near Rocky Ridge; at Devil's Gate, east of South Pass; at Deer Creek in the Black Hills; at Horseshoe Creek, thirty miles west of Fort Laramie; and at Beaver Creek (Genoa) 100 miles west of Florence, Nebraska" Ultimately, Brigham Young planned to build stations with settlements, mills, storehouses, and plant cropland approximately every fifty miles or the equivalent of a day's travel by a team of horses.¹⁶

14 Ibid., 60-61.

15 Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 61-63; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 164; and J.V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay, The Stage Coach King: A Chapter in the Development of Transcontinental Transportation* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 48-49.

16 Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 164-169; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 62-63.

Young's plans never fully materialized. Service was interrupted during the summer of 1857, when the government suddenly cancelled Kimball's contract without explanation, and the so-called "Utah War" with the Mormons began. The Utah War cut off communication with Salt Lake City during the fall and winter of 1857-1858, although service between Independence and Fort Bridger continued. Following the war, mail service resumed but under a new contractor. Thereafter, S.B. Miles contracted to carry the mail monthly on pack horses in the winter, and four-horse coaches during the months of April to December for \$32,000 per annum.¹⁷

OVERLAND MAIL SERVICE IMPROVEMENT POLICY, 1857-1858

Clearly by 1857-1858, Oregonians, Californians, and Utahans desired, needed, and expected better overland mail service in terms of delivery route, frequency of service, speed of delivery, and federal subsidies. Time and time again, they agitated for cheaper and faster service. For example, in 1856, a petition signed by 75,000 Californians demanding better overland mail was delivered to Congress.¹⁸ Unfortunately, determination of these important factors became clouded with sectional national politics between the Northern and Southern states.

The South's narrow Democratic victory in the 1856 election indicated to political prophets that a Republican victory in 1860 was inevitable. The stakes of power and the threat of sectionalism increased and naturally extended to policy debates regarding overland transportation and communications issues. Until 1857, Northern and Southern congressmen could neither agree on a route, nor a subsidy for transcontinental mail and passenger service. In that year, Congress broke the deadlock by passing an amendment to the 1857 Post Office Appropriation Bill. This important amendment authorized a transcontinental mail and passenger service in direct competition with ocean mail and passenger service.¹⁹

The 1857 post office appropriation bill approved a contract for the conveyance of letter mail and passengers from a specified point on the Mississippi River to San Francisco, California. The contract duration was for six years at a cost not to

¹⁷ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 62-63; and Frederick, *Ben Holladay, The Stage Coach King*, 48-49.

¹⁸ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 80-81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 80-87.

exceed \$300,000 per annum for semi-monthly service, \$450,000 for weekly service, or \$600,000 for semi-weekly service. The contract also stipulated that this service was to be performed with "good four-horse coaches or spring wagons, suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails." Finally, the contract provided land for stations and stipulated that the mail/passenger service be performed within a twenty-five day time frame for each trip.²⁰

With the passage of the appropriation bill, the Post Office Department advertised for bidders, specifying only that the starting point for the route be located on the Mississippi River and be selected by the contractor. Nine bids were received. The routes they proposed ranged widely. One bid proposed a northern line from "St. Paul by way of Fort Ridgely, South Pass, Humboldt River, and Noble's Pass, to San Francisco." Two bids proposed central routes via Salt Lake City, one with a detour north to Soda Springs, Idaho. Four plans preferred a southern route through New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, and then north to San Francisco starting either from St. Louis or Memphis. Finally, two bidders failed to propose a specific route whatsoever.²¹

With the passage of the post office appropriation bill, Northerners supporting the amendment "generally expected that the regular emigrant route by way of Salt Lake City would be chosen." This expectation went unfulfilled. The choice of the final route lay in the hands of postmaster general Aaron V. Brown from Tennessee, who was notably "strong in his Southern sympathies."²²

In late 1857, Brown announced the selection of a southern route that no proposal had outlined. Brown selected the following route:

from St. Louis, Missouri, and from Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas; Thence, via Preston, Texas, or as nearly so as may be found advisable, to the best point of crossing the Rio Grande, above El Paso, and not far from Fort Fillmore; thence, along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, California; thence, through the best passes and along the best valley for safe and expeditious staging, to San Francisco.²³

20 Ibid., 87-88.

21 Ibid., 88-89.

22 Ibid., 89-90 and 122.

Brown accepted the proposal submitted by John Butterfield for semi-weekly mail delivery at \$600,000 per year along a similar southern route. Butterfield was one of the founders of the American Express Company, and his investors included executives from the principal express companies in the nation: Adams Express, National Express, and Wells Fargo. Brown justified his choice to his northern critics by stating that repeated failures to carry the mail along the central route on a regular basis because of impassable snow conditions swayed his decision. Brown argued that the southern route was superior to the central overland route for winter travel, that the government was constructing a wagon road between the Rio Grande and Fort Yuma, and finally, that a southern route would serve our national interests in dealing with Mexico.²⁴

Though Brown and others did not mention this issue, the central route was also not chosen because the United States was technically at war with the Mormon church for resisting the authority of the federal government.²⁵ During the "Utah War" of 1857, it was clear that the United States could not control the central trail without great military effort, which was another reason to avoid selecting the overland route at this time.²⁶

Critics of Brown's choice vociferously objected to the southern route. They cried out "partisanship," especially since the new route selected by Brown was forty percent longer than the central route, and the new route was not even one promulgated by any of the bidders. They thought his selection was entirely biased by southern sectional considerations, as well as Butterfield's friendship with President James Buchanan.²⁷ Naturally northerners, midwesterners, and even some Californians rankled over the decision. Several newspaper editorials from these regions voiced their condemnation of it. For instance, the *New York Press*

23 Ibid., 89-90.

24 Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 89-90; and Richard A. Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 302-303.

25 For one description of the so-called "Utah War," and the "invasion" see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 170-194.

26 Frederic Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1924), 462-463.

27 Bartlett, *A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890*, 302-303; and Frederick, *Ben Holladay, The Stage Coach King*, 52.

called the southern route an "ox-bow route," while the *Chicago Tribune* denounced it as "one of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated upon the country by the slave-holders." Because the route bypassed Sacramento, the *Sacramento Union* condemned Brown's decision most vehemently, calling it "a Panama route by land, an overland route to Mexico, a military route to Texas, and an immigrant route to Arizona."²⁸

BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL SERVICE, 1857

On September 16, 1857, a six-year contract went to John Butterfield for a semi-weekly mail/passenger service stagecoach line, which could carry five to six hundred pounds of mail.²⁹ A year later, on September 15, 1858, the Butterfield Overland Mail Company line was in service along what became known as the southern route.³⁰ The established route was nearly 2,800 miles long. From St. Louis, a railroad brought the mail 160 miles west to Tipton, Missouri, where the mail/passenger stage line began. The Butterfield route turned southward to Springfield, Missouri, Fort Smith, Arkansas, and then southwest across Texas to El Paso, then westward to Tucson, and to Fort Yuma. From Yuma, it headed northwestward through Warner Pass to Los Angeles, and then northward over the San Bernardino Mountains through the central California Valley, eventually reaching San Francisco. The entire trip was scheduled to take no more than twenty-five days. The initial run took just under twenty-four days. With improvements in operation of the organization, the average time fell to less than twenty-two days during the fall-winter months of 1859-1860.³¹

To accomplish this task against the difficulties of inclement weather, arduous physical terrain, and an occasional skirmish with Apache and Comanche Indians, the Butterfield Overland Mail Company line ran a well-organized system of labor, horses, and equipment. Approximately 1,000 horses, 500 mules,

²⁸ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 91-92.

²⁹ For additional material on the Butterfield Overland Mail Company see also Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869* (Glendale, California: A.H. Clarke Company, 1947); and Waterman Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1954). The later is a reprint of a series of eight articles published in the *New York Herald* at various times from September 26 to November 19, 1858.

³⁰ Scheele, *A Short History of the Mail Service*, 81-82.

³¹ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 92-95.

and 500 Concord passenger coaches were purchased to start the line, and 800 men hired to run the operation. Stations were established a distance of eight to twenty-five miles from one another. Each station housed and supported stationkeepers and other help, teams of horses to replace weary ones, and adequate stores of hay, grain, and sometimes even water. Every few stations, there was a "home" station, where the weary traveler could procure a meal, and coach repairs could be made by a resident blacksmith, or wheelwright.³²

Even though northern interests continued to criticize the selection of a southern route by postmaster general Brown, mail service on the southern route proved satisfactory, averaging twenty-one to twenty-five days. First-class postage for letters was three cents per half ounce, and each stage carried an average of 170 pounds of letter mail and another 140 pounds of newspapers. By 1860, more mail was carried by Butterfield coaches than by any other means of transportation.³³

REDEVELOPMENT OF A CENTRAL OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE

The success and regularity of the Butterfield Overland Mail Company line did not discourage the northern proponents of a central route. They appealed to the postmaster general that the terms of the current postal contracts for service between Independence to Salt Lake City (\$32,000 per annum with S.B. Miles), and from that city to California (\$30,000 per annum with George Chorpenning), were unfavorable compared to the Butterfield contract. The postmaster general agreed and new contracts were let.

The contract for the eastern division of the central mail service route from Independence to Salt Lake City went to John M. Hockaday for a "weekly service in four-mule wagons or carriages at \$190,000 per annum on a twenty-two day schedule." The length of this contract ran two years (May 1858 to November 1860), and the additional monies allowed for improvements along the trail. Hockaday had been a partner of the failed W.M.F. Magraw Independence to Salt Lake City mail route, whose contract had been annulled in 1856. The new Hockaday line

³² Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 95-99; Bartlett, *A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890*, 302-303; and Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893*, 463-464.

³³ Scheele, *A Short History of the Mail Service*, 81-82; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 95-99; and Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 364.

followed the same route up the Platte River and through South Pass that the preceding company used. During the lifetime of this contract, the mail usually reached Salt Lake City within an acceptable twenty day span of time with few real problems.³⁴

Unlike the eastern division, the contract for the overland mail/passenger route from Salt Lake City to California had several problems. The contract for the western division from Placerville, California, to Salt Lake City went to George Chorpenning again. For service west of Salt Lake City, Chorpenning started out with a semi-monthly twenty-day schedule for \$34,400, but by July 1858, this service was upgraded to a semi-weekly, sixteen-day schedule for \$130,000 per annum.³⁵

At first, Chorpenning used his original 1851 northern route, which ran north of the Great Salt Lake and then followed the Humboldt River Valley to and across the Sierras and into Placerville, California. A one-way trip took approximately twelve days, making the entire trip from Missouri to California approximately twenty-nine to thirty traveling days, but sometimes longer. The people of Sacramento were happy with the results and publicly celebrated the arrival of the first overland mail from St. Joseph on July 20, 1858. By the end of July, Chorpenning established a continuous line of stations halfway to Salt Lake City.³⁶

However, compared to the much lengthier Butterfield Overland Mail Company line, the Chorpenning/Hockaday schedule was slow, and particularly needed improvement along the western division from Salt Lake City to Sacramento. To remedy the situation, in October 1858, Chorpenning set about exploring a more direct route between Salt Lake City and California—the so-called Egan Trail. In September 1855, Howard Egan, a Mormon, outlined a much shorter route south of the Great Salt Lake along the fortieth parallel, north latitude that took only ten days from Salt Lake City to Sacramento.³⁷

³⁴ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 109-110; and Morris F. Taylor, *First Mail West: Stagecoach Lines on the Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 48.

³⁵ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 110-111.

³⁶ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 110-111; and Ralph Moody, *Stagecoach West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 126.

³⁷ Egan later associated himself with Chorpenning and helped him establish his overland mail/passenger line across Nevada. The circumstances and Egan's route are described in Howard E. Egan, *Pioneering the West 1846 to 1878, Major Howard Egan's Diary* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Company, 1917), 197-198 and 211.

Clearly Egan's trail suited Chorpenning's needs and he "immediately set about moving his mail line to this more direct route." By December 1858, the contractor removed his stock and coaches to the new road. Passengers who came through spoke in high terms of the road, believing that soon the line would be running between California and Salt Lake City in a week's time without any difficulty. Chorpenning still had difficulties during the winter months. But when snow blocked the path of the horse coaches, the mail was transferred to horseback or even to the backs of men on snowshoes to see that it was delivered on time.³⁸

The "joint" venture of Chorpenning/Hockaday formed the "first central Overland mail stage, bringing letters and passengers from the East." In December 1858, it received extraordinary praise in the postmaster general's annual report. The report stated:

The routes between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Salt Lake City, and between Salt Lake and Placerville, California, have been so improved, that the trips through from St. Joseph to Placerville, and back, are performed once a week in thirty-eight days each way. For some months past this service has been performed with remarkable regularity, insomuch as to merit special consideration. It has received from the people of California the warmest applause, and called forth public demonstrations of a most enthusiastic character.³⁹

Additional improvements on the road, as well as more stations and additional stock and coaches, allowed them to carry more passengers. By April 1859, they were carrying 500 pounds of mail on the east-bound stage, and their central route put them in direct competition with Butterfield's southern line and the ocean route mail service. Their success during the winter of 1858-1859 threw into question postmaster general Brown's assertion that the southern route was the only viable way for carrying the mails across the West during inclement winter months.⁴⁰

³⁸ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 112-115. For a list of unverified stations and distances along Chorpenning's new route, see Egan, *Pioneering the West 1846 to 1878*, 197-198.

³⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Ex. Doc. 1, 722.

⁴⁰ Thompson and West, *History of Nevada*, 102-105; and Bancroft, *History of Nevada*,

Nevertheless, because of the limits of government compensation, Chorpenning/Hockaday could only maintain relay stations every fifty to seventy miles. Confident in their operations and hoping to prove the superiority of the central overland route, Chorpenning/Hockaday offered to cut the mail delivery time to twenty days and to provide tri-weekly service, if they could be assured of equal compensation (\$600,000) with the Butterfield line. With additional funding they wished to establish mountain relay stations in the High Sierras and to use snowplows to keep the road open during the harsh winter months.⁴¹

So confident were Chorpenning/Hockaday in their operations, they arranged a contest with the Butterfield line. In December 1859, they vied with the Butterfield line to deliver President Buchanan's annual message to Congress in the quickest time to California.

This "race against time" did take place, but the Chorpenning/Hockaday line lost the contest and the Butterfield line reached the finish line first. Nevertheless, Chorpenning/Hockaday lost for several good reasons. First, President Buchanan's partisanship to his friend Butterfield and other shenanigans by supporters of the southern route delayed the arrival of the message to Chorpenning/Hockaday in St. Louis by two days. By that time, ice had closed the Mississippi River, which delayed its passage from St. Louis to St. Joseph. Together, these delays gave the Butterfield line a head start of more than a week. The second reason for their loss was the blizzard conditions prevailing from the Midwest to the High Sierras. In the end, Chorpenning/Hockaday proved the superiority of the central overland route because, despite the delays and the adverse weather conditions, Chorpenning/Hockaday delivered Buchanan's message in seventeen days and twelve hours—two full days less than it took the Butterfield line. For some unexplained reason, the public never acknowledged this point.⁴²

Colorado and Wyoming, 226-227; and Taylor, *First Mail West*, 48; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 114-115.

⁴¹ Ralph Moody, *Stagecoach West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 127-128.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 128-132.

ADDITIONAL OVERLAND AND OCEAN MAIL ROUTES

The Butterfield Overland Mail Company route, the Chorpenning/Hockaday route, and the United States Mail Steamship Company, the Panama Railroad Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company ocean route carried the vast majority of mail from the East to California. After 1858, a number of new routes emerged that competed briefly with these established routes.

First, there was the Kansas City, Missouri to Stockton, California, route, which began in October 1858. Though this route was authorized in 1854, it was not until 1857 that postmaster general Brown entered into a contract with Jacob Hall and John M. Hockaday for this monthly mail route. The contract called for a six-mule coach to provide mail/passenger service for approximately \$80,000 and take no longer than sixty days round trip. The overland route left Kansas City and followed the well-established trail to Santa Fe and then Albuquerque, New Mexico. From Albuquerque, the route went westward along the Little Colorado River, and then onward to the recently established Fort Mohave, where the route crossed the Colorado River. From the river, the route crossed the Mohave desert to Fort Tejon, then up the central California valley to Stockton, California. The first trip took fifty-four days. Thereafter, depredations along the route by Mohave Indians interrupted the service. Only two mail trips made it all the way to the western terminus, Stockton, California. Only four mails reached Kansas City, Missouri, during the nine-month duration of the contract.⁴³

In 1857, another southern overland postal route was established from San Antonio, Texas, to San Diego, California. Under a four-year contract, James E. Birch provided semi-monthly and later semi-weekly mail service from San Antonio to San Diego via El Paso, Texas, for \$149,800. The 1,200-mile route used familiar trails from San Antonio to Fort Yuma, but from this point it struck across the inhospitable desert to San Diego. Southern Californians and Texans were very enthusiastic about the route, which was very successful in maintaining a regular schedule of approximately twenty-two to twenty-six days between San Antonio and San Diego. The San Antonio to San Diego route employed about "sixty men, fifty coaches, and four hundred mules." When the Butterfield line duplicated the route from El Paso to Fort Yuma, the postmaster general cancelled

⁴³ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 115-118; and Harlow, *Old Waybills: Romance of the Express Companies*, 196. For a full history of the Santa Fe mail route see Taylor, *First Mail West*.

this portion of the contract, but improved the route from San Antonio to El Paso and the route from Fort Yuma to San Diego to a weekly service.⁴⁴

In addition to the Kansas City to Stockton, California, route, and the San Antonio to San Diego route, postmaster general Brown also initiated a new ocean route for transporting mail. Known as the New Orleans/Tehuantepec/San Francisco ocean route, it began in October 1858, under contract to the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company. Starting from New Orleans, a Concord coach carried mail and passengers to Minatitlan on the east coast of Mexico. From there, the route crossed the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the Pacific Coast. Mail and passengers were then transferred to steamships going to San Francisco. The new overland ocean service from New Orleans to San Francisco took approximately fifteen to eighteen days one way. The accomplishment of the new company clearly presented itself as a shorter and faster alternative to all previous ocean and overland mail routes.⁴⁵

NORTH VS. SOUTH/LAND VS. OCEAN

By the end of 1858, United States mail was transmitted from the East to West by six different routes. The four overland lines in operation were:

- Central route by "joint venture" of Chorpenning/Hockaday Company. They provided weekly mail/passenger service from Missouri to California, via Salt Lake City.
- South-central route by Jacob Hall, who provided monthly mail and limited passenger service from Kansas City to Stockton, California, via Santa Fe.
- Southern route by the famous Butterfield line, which provided semi-weekly mail/passenger service from St. Louis to San Francisco, via El Paso, Texas.
- Southern extreme route operated by James E. Birch, who provided semi-weekly mail/passenger service from San Antonio, Texas, to San Diego, California, via El Paso and Fort Yuma.

In addition to these overland routes, in 1858, there were two ocean mail/passenger routes. They were:

⁴⁴ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 105-108.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 119-121.

- Atlantic route from New York City to San Francisco operated by three companies, the United States Mail Steamship Company, the Panama Railroad Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. This line ran a semi-monthly mail/passenger service via the Isthmus of Panama.
- Gulf of Mexico route from New Orleans to San Francisco via Isthmus of Tehuantepec. This route was operated by the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company, which ran a semi-monthly mail/passenger service.

That there were now options to overland and ocean routes undoubtedly pleased the people living in the Far West. They enjoyed better communication with the East than they ever had before. The federal government also subsidized the expense of delivery because the gross annual disbursements for mail services far exceeded the annual receipts for these services. In 1859, for instance, the annual cost of the Butterfield line was \$600,000, and the annual cost of the central route was \$320,000. However, the annual receipts for these two lines in 1859 respectively amounted to \$27,229.94 and \$5,412.03. With all the routes taken together, the postal outlay for the six different routes amounted to \$4.14 for each person, whereas elsewhere in the nation, the postal expenses reached only \$.41 for each person.⁴⁶

In spite of this exorbitant compensation to deliver mail to the Pacific coast, some Northerners and Westerners were highly displeased with the communication system as it stood. On one hand, Northern sectionalists considered the majority of the mail/passenger routes as favoring the South. They argued that because a war between the North and the South seemed imminent, speedy communication between the East and California was an obvious need of federal authorities. If all the mail/passenger routes went by way of a southern route, then the North would be at a disadvantage in maintaining a direct communication link with California, and it might lose California to the South. California's valuable minerals, excellent climate and soils, and its strategic location on the western frontier were prized and desired by sectionalists from both the North and the South. On the other hand, Sacramento and Salt Lake City boosters wished that the economic and communication windfall from an improved central route would pass through their communities.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 2, 1408-1409; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 121-122 and 135.

⁴⁷ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 122-126; and Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the*

Given the economic circumstances, Northern and Western friends of the central overland route attempted to make the central route more competitive by improving its schedule. They realized that if they could pass legislation mandating increased speed of service to California, then the central overland route would have the competitive edge over Butterfield's southern route. As a result, they introduced a joint resolution in Congress directing the postmaster general to increase the central route service from thirty-eight days to thirty days with a pro rata increase in compensation. Despite stiff opposition by Southern legislators, this resolution passed Congress. Nevertheless, President Buchanan vetoed the legislation. Critics of the president condemned his action accusing him of favoring his friend John Butterfield. They also believed that the president refused to sign because it would again demonstrate the feasibility and economy of the central route over its lengthy rival, the southern Butterfield route.⁴⁸

POSTAL REFORM, 1859

In March 1859, postmaster general Brown, the architect of most of the six overland and ocean lines, died suddenly. His death had far reaching consequences because his successor, Joseph Holt of Kentucky, sought to remedy the deficit spending on the mail service to California through better management. Unlike his predecessor, Holt did not think of the post office as a pioneering agency seeking to open communication lines to the West regardless of the cost. Instead, Holt envisioned the department as a self-supporting agency run on sound business principles. Following this philosophy, Holt set out to correct the so-called "abuses" of the previous postmaster general.⁴⁹

While Congress was out of session, according to one historian, Holt "slashed through Butterfield's competition like a reaper with a sharp scythe." First, Holt reduced the service on the San Antonio to San Diego line from weekly to semi-monthly service because it had produced only \$601 of revenues for the \$196,000 annual expenditure. Holt then cut back the central route from Missouri to California from weekly to semi-monthly service. The weekly service had been implemented during the Utah War, and now the secretary of war felt that this

Pony Express (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1913), 6-8.

⁴⁸ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 122-123.

⁴⁹ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 133-134.

additional service was unwarranted. This reduction produced a savings of \$115,000 to the post office. These cuts were enough to bankrupt these firms and/or put them out of business. For instance, Hockaday and Company had borrowed heavily for stock, equipment, and for improving station facilities. The reduction of compensation for their St. Joseph to Salt Lake City route from \$190,000 per annum to \$130,000 did not begin to cover the cost of these improvements. The firm was soon bankrupt.⁵⁰

Next, the new postmaster general dismissed the Kansas City to Stockton, California route altogether as a failure, and discontinued it. Holt then did not renew the contract for the New Orleans to San Francisco line, known as the Tehuantepec Route.⁵¹ At the same time, Holt also refused to pick up and renew the ten-year Navy contract for the New York City to San Francisco ocean mail service via Panama with the previous contractors, which expired on September 30, 1859. Instead, the new postmaster general let a new nine-month contract to Cornelius Vanderbilt for \$351,000 per annum.⁵²

The only route left untouched by Holt was the Butterfield line, but only because certain contract stipulations prevented Holt from curtailing their service. Postmaster General Holt recommended a reduction of the semi-weekly service to a weekly service, which would have resulted in an annual savings of \$150,000. But for some inexplicable reason, the customary clause giving the postmaster general revisory power over the mail contract was omitted in the contract. According to the attorney general, Holt's action would have been illegal. Only an act of Congress could change the contract terms before its expiration date.⁵³

SUMMARY

By the spring of 1859, the matters of delivery route, frequency of service, speed of

⁵⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 2, 1410-1412; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 133-136.

⁵¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 2, 1410-1413.

⁵² U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1409; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 135-136; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 133-135.

⁵³ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Postmaster General*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 2, 1411.

delivery, and cost of mail service to California were still in question. Clearly the southern route of the Butterfield Overland Mail Service, favored by President Buchanan and Southerners in general, dominated and controlled the mail service to the West Coast. This dominance was not grounded in efficiency and cost of the route, but instead rested on a legal technicality. Nevertheless, the overland central route mapped out by Chorpenning/Hockaday, their predecessors, and their Northerner sympathizers seriously challenged the preeminence of the Butterfield line. This situation, along with other developments (e.g., Pike's Peak gold rush), set the stage for the birth of the Pony Express.

Chapter 2

THE GREAT RACE AGAINST TIME: BIRTH OF THE PONY EXPRESS

INTRODUCTION

Ironically it was that postmaster general Joseph Holt in early 1858 curtailed and scaled back the overland mail service to California and to the central region of the country just when there were new demands for the service in these areas. The gold rush to the Pike's Peak area in the summer of 1858 and a major silver deposit find in the Washoe hills of then Utah Territory (now Nevada) caused yet another rush. As soon as these spectacular discoveries became known, gold-silver seeking prospectors, speculators, and hopefuls rushed to these areas to make their fortunes. The first-comers, "finding themselves cut off from homefolks and friends, immediately demanded some means of communication."¹

Indeed, communication links with these remote mining areas were clearly needed. The question was how would that service be provided and by whom. The answer came in early 1859, with the organization and start of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company (L. & P.P. Express Co.) by the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, which a year later became the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company otherwise known as the Pony Express. These private enterprises stepped in to fill the need where the government had reduced postal services for budgetary considerations.

Unique people and extraordinary circumstances generated the birth of the Pony Express. Three men formed this unique private enterprise: William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell. These men literally connected the crossroads of several dynamic western events with commercial opportunity in the express business. Each man possessed distinct qualities, temperaments, resources, and skills that contributed to the firm.

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Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1955), 22.

WILLIAM H. RUSSELL, ALEXANDER MAJORS, AND WILLIAM B. WADDELL

William H. Russell

The consummate western entrepreneurial maverick best describes William H. Russell. This man, who clearly led the firm and masterminded the firm's activities in the express business, had many supporters and opponents. Those that backed Russell saw him as a true "visionary" and willingly invested their fortunes with him. On the other hand, Russell's detractors labeled him a "plunger" and criticized him for recklessly gambling with the fortunes of his partners without their consultation or approval.²

William H. Russell came from western Missouri, where his parents had moved in the late 1820s from Vermont. Little is known about his early life except that he had no formal education. Evidently, in his teens, Russell started out as a clerk for several frontier merchants in Liberty, Lexington, and Independence, Missouri, learning the "frontier mercantile business from the ground up." In 1835 he married Harriet Eliot, the daughter of a preacher. This alliance gave him social recognition and respect, and thereafter he began to rise up the social and civic ladder in the community. Starting in 1837, he gave up clerking to form limited partnerships that operated merchandise stores in Lexington, Missouri. However, for a variety of reasons, all of these ventures eventually ended in failure. Despite his setbacks, in the 1840s, Russell's luck suddenly changed. With borrowed money, he formed the partnership of Bullard & Russell, which ran a successful general store in Lexington. He then went on to become a partner in the established firm of Waddell, Ramsey, & Company. By 1848 and the outbreak of war with Mexico, Russell had enough money to build himself a twenty-room mansion in Lexington.³

The Mexican War marked the beginning of the great military freighting operations to western outposts on the frontier by civilian contractors. During the war, the War Department faced the difficult task of systematically supplying its troops in the Southwest by military wagon trains. To meet this objective, they

² Ibid., 5.

³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 1-4; and Ralph Moody, *Stagecoach West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 139-140.

hired civilian contractors who had considerable experience on the Santa Fe Trail to help. Following the Mexican War, the War Department decided that these civilian contractors could better conduct the business of supplying freight to the frontier posts scattered throughout the Southwest than the military could with its own wagon trains.⁴

Contracting to freight supplies to military posts was at best a speculative venture for civilian contractors. Depending on one's fortune, the venture could be profitable or an utter disaster for the contractor. With the award of a military contract, the civilian contractor first had to find bankers, investors, and backers to provide ample funding on good terms in order to purchase the necessary equipment for the work. Next, with available funding, the contractor had to assemble the necessary wagons, oxen, equipment, and teamsters before the contractor could set out. The contractor usually had very little advance notice of contract award, and very little time to gather enough men and equipment for the task ahead. The risks did not end here, for once on the trail, the freighter faced unpredictable weather conditions, difficult terrain, and the possibility of depredations by Indians. Upon returning to Fort Leavenworth in the fall, freighters paid off their creditors, and then usually sold everything because there was no assurance of receiving another military contract the following year. Whatever amount was left after the equipment was sold and the creditors paid was considered the profit for that year. Considering the initial start up expense, the potential for loss or damage of equipment and supplies due to inclement weather conditions, Indian depredations, and other variables, it is clear that the size of each year's windfall or liability depended largely on chance rather than skill.⁵

Weighing the risks involved in contracting, perhaps lightly, given the nature of his character, William Russell entered the merchandise and military supply trade between Westport Landing (Kansas City) and Santa Fe. In 1849, following the Mexican War, Russell attempted to capitalize on the new development of military contracting by joining in a partnership with James Brown of Independence, Missouri, to carry freight for the War Department between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe. James Brown had been an army train wagonmaster on the Santa Fe Trail beforehand and was the first civilian contractor to carry

⁴ Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 17-29 and 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17-29 and 38.

military freight to Santa Fe. With this kind of experience backing him, Russell fortunately succeeded in his first attempt at backing the transportation of military supplies to Santa Fe. The firm of Brown and Russell had little trouble along the trail that year.⁶

The following year presented a different story. Together with John S. Jones as his partner, the firm of Brown, Russell & Company, against the better judgment of wiser contractors, gambled on transporting military freight in midwinter between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe. Not only did the contractors lose their gamble with the weather, Russell's partner Brown died on the trip from typhoid fever. Brown, Russell & Company (which included Jones) was forced to ask Congress for relief, claiming a deficit of \$39,800, which they eventually received in installments. Subsequently, the surviving contractors formed a new company called simply Jones & Russell.⁷

Having made two trips to Santa Fe, one successful and the other not, William H. Russell's accomplishments and failures were regarded and perceived in different ways by individual people. Some admired him as one of the foremost freighters engaged in business at that time,⁸ while others thought of him as an "incorrigible, wheeler and dealer." One historian aptly characterized him this way:

Although his formal education was slight, his appearance, speech, and bearing were those of a cultured gentleman. He had a brilliant mind in many respects and considerable personal charm, and was animated by infinite confidence in his own judgment and ability. He was, however, extremely impulsive, improvident as a grasshopper, sanguine beyond all reason, and actuated in his business dealings by wishful desire rather than considered reasoning. The former characteristics made him promoter pre-eminent on the western frontier, enabling him to make friends among high-ranking Government officials in Washington and wealthy financiers throughout the East, to acquire monopolistic Government contracts,

⁶ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 139-140; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 34-35 and 254.

⁷ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 139-140; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 34-35 and 254.

⁸ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 33.

and to float enormous loans. The latter characteristics made him an extremely dangerous business associate.⁹

Russell's life followed one business venture after another—gambling that he could beat the odds in his business dealings, usually with other people's money. By 1854, William H. Russell held extensive financial connections in military freight contracting, and he engaged in numerous other diverse business ventures as well.¹⁰

Alexander Majors

Of the three members of the firm, Alexander Majors could be said to be the only "frontiersman" among them. In 1819, Majors' family migrated by covered wagon from Kentucky to the western frontier of Missouri, where Alexander Majors grew up. In 1834, he married Catherine Stalcup, had a large family of mostly daughters, and achieved limited success for his hard work at farming. Without sons to work the farm, in 1847, Majors turned to freighting in order to supplement his income. That year, he successfully traded a wagonload of cheap merchandise to the Indians living on the Potawatomi Reservation in Kansas territory. A long career of freighting followed this auspicious beginning.¹¹

In 1848, after the war with Mexico, Alexander Majors entered the burgeoning Santa Fe Trail freighting business. With limited experience, Alexander Majors became one of the first western Missouri traders to participate in freighting supplies to Santa Fe after the Mexican War. He started out with six wagons and freighted goods for other merchants. On his first trip, he set a record of ninety-two days for a round trip, making a profit of \$650.00 per wagonload. The following year, Majors set out with twenty wagons and grossed a profit of \$13,000, and in 1851, Majors set out from Fort Leavenworth with a train of twenty-five wagons, three hundred oxen and thirty teamsters. Two years later, he took a train of private merchandise to Santa Fe, returned and then transported a train of military freight to Fort Union, making \$28,000 in profit for his services that year.¹²

⁹ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 139.

¹⁰ These other business ventures included land speculation, banking interests, railroads, road building, and insurance companies. Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 39.

¹¹ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 142; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 6-10.

¹² Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 31-32 and 37; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 142.

Majors ran a very tight outfit, hiring only reliable and trustworthy teamsters, whom he required to sign a pledge to "treat animals in his care with kindness, use no profanity, stay sober at all times, and behave like a gentleman while in his employ." Majors also rested his oxen and men from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning, and held worship services for his men on Sunday. Because of his own practical first-hand experience and his hard work ethic, his outfits were very efficient since he himself had performed each task from driving oxen in searing summer heat and numbing winter cold to cooking under the stars over a campfire of cow-chips.¹³

Through skillful business practices and conservative investments in land purchased to provide pasture for his oxen, Majors developed an important freighting business and without forming any partnerships. By 1854, Majors earned and enjoyed a respectable reputation as a successful freighter on the western Missouri frontier. With his 100 wagons, 1,200 oxen and 120 employees, many considered Majors one of the foremost freighters west of the Missouri. This independent success ended in 1854, as we shall see, when changing circumstances in the freighting business prompted the individualistic Majors to seek out partners in the freighting business.¹⁴

William B. Waddell

In personality, William B. Waddell was the complete opposite of his partner William H. Russell. One source fittingly compared the two men in this way: "Whereas Russell was quick-thinking, dynamic, impulsive, sanguinary, wildly extravagant, and a compulsive gambler who was nothing short of reckless in business ventures, Waddell was phlegmatic, stoical, inclined to sulk if displeased, a cautious penny-pincher, and unable to reach a decision without ponderous deliberation."¹⁵

William Bradford Waddell was born in 1807 to parents of Scottish descent living and farming in Mason County, Kentucky. At the age of seventeen he ventured from home to first work in the lead mines at Galena, Illinois, and then later clerked for a time in a St. Louis dry goods store. In 1829, he returned to Kentucky, married and settled down to farm. But farming did not suit Waddell. Instead, he

¹³ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 143; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 31-32; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 6-10.

¹⁴ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 40; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 142-143.

¹⁵ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 141.

quit farming and opened a successful dry goods store in Mayslick, Kentucky. Then, in 1835, Waddell uprooted his family moving them to Lexington, Missouri, where he opened a dry goods store on the waterfront near Jack's Ferry. Over time and with hard work, he eventually built a brick store and a hemp warehouse.¹⁶

Waddell first became partners with Russell in Lexington in the early 1840s, when Russell associated himself with Waddell, Ramsey & Company. Waddell and Russell were members of the same Baptist church where they may have met. In 1853, they formed a large retail-wholesale-commission trading firm called Waddell & Russell. That year, they hauled military supplies by wagon train to Fort Riley, Kansas, and Fort Union, New Mexico. This was Waddell's first experience in freighting military supplies. The following year they failed in their effort to obtain a contract.¹⁷

Mildly successful in his business ventures, Waddell, in a move uncharacteristic of his cautious nature, joined his brother, William H. Russell, and another partner in 1854 to outfit a party of Lexington men going to the California gold fields. That venture proved unprofitable for all involved. The group reached Sacramento, but along the way they "lost one man and twenty per cent of their oxen." Following this failure, William Waddell appeared to take a more conservative approach to his investments.¹⁸

THE FIRM OF RUSSELL, MAJORS, AND WADDELL

Beginning in 1846, the federal government supplied military posts west of the Missouri by letting contracts to "individuals or firms with small outfits hastily thrown together after the contract was signed." Because there were few military posts, this system proved satisfactory. But by 1854, the number of posts needing regular supplies multiplied and the old contracting system could no longer meet the needs of the War Department. Hiring numerous small outfits to supply the many posts was cumbersome, time-consuming, and inefficient in the eyes of government officials and bullwhackers alike.¹⁹

¹⁶ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 10-13.

¹⁷ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 12-13; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 142; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 37.

¹⁸ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 39-40; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 13.

¹⁹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 9-10.

To remedy the situation, Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup decided to implement a new system of contracting. Instead of awarding yearly individual contracts to lowest bidding small companies for particular deliveries to certain forts, Jesup let one two-year contract for supplying most of the posts in the West and Southwest. As one historian pointed out, this new contracting arrangement raised the freighting business from "a highly speculative venture into a solid business enterprise." The new contracting system also changed from one of competitive bid to one based on monopoly. The new contracting arrangement drew William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell into a partnership. Alone they could not compete, but together they possessed the respected freighting business skills and finances to undertake this new type of government contract work.²⁰

In December 1854, the three men combined their capital and other resources amounting to \$60,000, and drew up a partnership agreement to engage in the business of transporting merchandise under various names. Responsibilities in the new firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell were divided among the three men and their roles in the firm clearly suited each individual's unique talents and temperament. William Waddell supervised the business activities of the office and headquarters of the firm in Lexington, Missouri, and later Leavenworth, Kansas. Waddell made sure that "local affairs ran smoothly." William H. Russell acted as the firm's representative in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York. He sought out contracts with the War Department, and cultivated other contracts as well as financing from government officials and banks. His affability and his polished ways made him effective in dealing with "bankers, department heads in Washington, congressmen, and senators." Finally, Alexander Major managed the freighting operations of the firm, including "hiring the teamsters, loading the trains, and overseeing them on the road." Major's job was to see that the "firm's trains got through on time."²¹

Three months after the formation of their partnership (March 27, 1855), the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell entered into a two-year contract with the War Department to transport supplies to the posts west of the Missouri River. This contract was the largest single contract for transporting supplies let by the

²⁰ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 39.

²¹ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 40-43 and 45-46; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 144; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 13-15.

quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth. It gave Russell, Majors, and Waddell a virtual monopoly on all western freighting contracting in that part of the country.²²

FREIGHTING EXPERIENCE

With its first contract with the War Department, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell succeeded in becoming the largest freighting company in western Missouri. From this contract to supply military stores between Fort Union and Salt Lake City and all intermediate military points, Russell, Majors, and Waddell gained important managerial and organizational experience that served them later in organizing the Pony Express. Running this freighting business meant building warehouses, bunkhouses, stables, corrals, blacksmith and wagon shops, and then managing these properties and their operation. William Waddell assumed a good deal of the overall management responsibilities for the firm. Additionally, the firm had to assemble men (wagon masters, bullwhackers, muleskinners, herders, freight handlers, and roustabouts), oxen, wagons from Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Philadelphia, and other essential equipment, and then maneuver them into place. This job fell to Alexander Majors. Finally, someone had to promote their freighting company and extol their capabilities in Washington, D.C., New York, and elsewhere in order to secure financing from investors and cash loans for their enterprise. This task naturally fell to William Russell.²³

Relations between the three men within the partnership were "generally harmonious." One historian described them in this manner:

Both Majors and Waddell leaned decidedly toward the conservative side of things. Russell was exactly the opposite. He was quick to make decisions, bold in carrying them out, and implicitly believed that every enterprise with which he was connected would turn out to be a bonanza. Majors and Waddell were deliberate, conservative, slow to make decisions, and unwilling to take long chances.²⁴

²² Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 40-43, and 45-46; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 144; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 13-15.

²³ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 144-145; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 42-45.

²⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 14-15.

Nevertheless, there were problems—mostly between Waddell and Russell. Waddell was an impatient person, thought Russell spent too much time back East, and oftentimes, he "questioned Russell's judgment and expenditures." On the other hand, Russell disregarded Waddell's "requests for instructions" and "neglected important details."²⁵

Despite personality conflicts, for the first two years (1855 to 1856), the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell prospered. In his memoirs, Alexander Majors reported that during the early years they made a profit of \$300,000 from their first government contract. With their profits, they diversified, first buying squatters' claims on the former Delaware Indian Reservation in Kansas, and second operating a general dry goods store in Leavenworth. In addition to these investments, Russell individually invested in a bank, a hotel, an insurance company, and in a large river steamboat, christened the *William H. Russell*.²⁶

Successfully completing the first contract all but guaranteed them to be the natural choice for the next one. In February 1857, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell signed their second major contract with the War Department. Their prospects never looked brighter. Yet, this contract did not bring fortune for the western Missouri freighting firm, primarily because the outbreak of the "Utah War" created problems that eventually set them on the road to bankruptcy.

In May 1857, after Russell, Majors, and Waddell's wagon trains had been placed, loaded, and already on the road a month or more, the Utah War erupted between the Mormons and the United States government. Accordingly, the United States mustered and assembled 2,500 troops to march on Utah, for which they needed supplies. In addition to the supplies already on the road, on very short notice, Russell, Majors, and Waddell were required to send along with the departing troops sufficient additional "wagons to transport two and half to three million pounds of military freight."²⁷

While this addition to their contract seemed like a bonanza, it proved otherwise for several reasons. First, it overextended the firm's credit (they were heavily into debt for the wagon supply trains on the road already). Second, during the Utah

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 146; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 47-48.

²⁷ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 147-148; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 51-53.

War, the firm lost three wagon trains (valued at \$72,000), three hundred head of oxen (worth \$13,260), as well as the supplies they carried (300,000 pounds of provisions at \$14.28 per hundred pounds or \$42,840), all of which the Mormons either captured, destroyed, or confiscated. Russell, Majors, and Waddell also lost seven hundred head of beef cattle the firm brought with them to deliver to the federal army in Utah. The development of the Utah War practically bankrupted the firm because Russell, Majors, and Waddell were forced to borrow extensively in order to meet their War Department contract obligations.²⁸

Before Russell, Majors, and Waddell learned of the Mormon attack on their wagon supply trains—they negotiated and signed another contract with the Department of War to supply the army in Utah and in New Mexico for the coming year. The firm expected to finance the 1858 contract based on payments from the 1857 contract. However, to add to their financial difficulties, Congress neglected to make the usual appropriation to the War Department because of controversies associated with the Utah War. As a result, Russell, Majors, and Waddell had even great difficulty finding financing for their 1858 contract obligations.²⁹

Fortunately for the firm, since the War Department needed the supplies forwarded to Utah as soon as possible, the Secretary of the War, John B. Floyd authorized the writing of acceptances or obligations against the 1857 contract. With Floyd's signature as security and backing, bankers and financiers willingly lent Russell large sums of money. This was a highly unusual situation. Eventually, borrowing money in this way haunted the financial situation of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, and ultimately led to their downfall.³⁰

LEAVENWORTH & PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS COMPANY

While the firm Russell, Majors, and Waddell grappled with their financial difficulties associated with the Utah War, in the summer of 1858, gold was

²⁸ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 149-153; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 49-79.

²⁹ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 149-153; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 83-85 and 90-92.

³⁰ Eventually, Congress passed a deficiency bill to pay the firm for ordinary contracting hauling costs in 1857 and 1858 (\$2,425,378.35), but Congress failed to authorize any payment to compensate the company's half million dollar claim for extraordinary losses in the Utah War. Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 149-153; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 83-85 and 90-92.

discovered near the mouth of Cherry Creek and the South Platte River by a prospector named William Green Russell. A year later, William Green Russell's modest discovery set into motion a rush of gold prospectors, or "fifty-niners," who soon dotted the mountain hillsides between Pike's Peak and Long's Peak in present-day Colorado with their mining claims and camps.³¹ To reach the Cherry Creek diggings, prospectors took one of two routes. They either followed the Oregon Trail to the south fork of the Platte River and then followed that stream to the Denver area, or they used the Santa Fe Trail to Bent's Fort, and from there headed westward on the upper Arkansas River to Fountain River and then to the gold rush region.³²

William H. Russell heard the news of the Pike's Peak gold rush during the late summer of 1858 while in Leavenworth. Convinced that the gold rush was not a "flash in the pan," Russell immediately attempted to capitalize on the situation by launching an express/passenger business to serve the almost "certain" heavy emigration to the Rocky Mountains. Together with several partners, including John S. Jones, his former freighting partner from the 1850s, Russell borrowed money to organize a stage and express line company to run between Leavenworth and Denver. They named the new service the Leavenworth City & Pike's Peak Express Company or L. & P.P. Express Co. This new firm hoped to transport mail and miners to the gold fields along a middle route between the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails.³³

Russell and Jones, both promoters and speculators, immediately invested their energies in this new project. First, the L. & P.P. Express Co. surveyed and laid out a new road from Leavenworth to the Rocky Mountain gold diggings between the Republican and Smoky Hill forks of the Kansas River. Second, they located twenty-seven stations along the 680 mile route, approximately twenty-five miles apart. Third, they improvidently ordered fifty new Concord coaches (costing \$12,500 and many more than were used on the Butterfield line) and bought 800 mules to pull these coaches. Fourth, to run the operation and attend the needs of

³¹ Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 296.

³² Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 96.

³³ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 154-155; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 93-94; and Le Roy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*, Reprint of 1926 Edition (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969), 146-147.

the travelers, they employed 108 men as drivers, stocktenders, harness makers, blacksmiths, messengers, and division agents.³⁴

By May 1859, the L. & P.P. Express Co. scheduled its first trip. This initial trip took nineteen days; however, when the problems were worked out, they reduced the schedule to six or seven days. The L. & P.P. Express Co. charged \$125.00 for a passenger ticket, \$1.00 a pound for express packages, and 25¢ for each letter carried. The blossoming town of Denver celebrated the occasion of the first arrival of the L. & P.P. Express Co. coach, and an "extra" was even published by the *Rocky Mountain News*. The returning coach to Leavenworth was heralded by an elaborate twelve-hour celebration there. Upon first impression, the L. & P.P. Express Co. mail/passenger service appeared to be a prosperous enterprise, albeit a speculative one.³⁵

In the long run, this first impression was deceptive. Despite Russell's predictions, the anticipated emigration to the Rockies did not come, at least not by the stage route Russell and Jones had forged. Instead, many prospectors went by "wagon train, in small parties of their own, on horseback, or on foot." Many traveled by these means because they could not afford the cost of passenger service. This lack of paying passengers caused an immediate deficit problem for the L. & P.P. Express Co. Undaunted, Russell and Jones pushed their plan forward by eyeing an even larger prize—a central overland mail route contract. Russell hoped to eventually secure a United States postal contract for his new enterprise.³⁶

On May 11, 1859, for the sum of for \$144,000, the L. & P.P. Express Co. purchased Hockaday & Company's semi-monthly contract to transport United States mail

³⁴ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 95-97; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 154-160; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 148. For a full account of the development of the Leavenworth City & Pike's Peak Express Company see: George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part I: Solomon and Republican Route," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, no. 3 (August 1944): 163-195. The station locations for the route can be found in George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part II: Solomon and Republican Route Concluded," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, no. 4 (November 1944): 221-242.

³⁵ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 148-149; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part I," 187-195.

³⁶ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 98-99.

between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Salt Lake City via Forts Kearney, Laramie, and Bridger. As noted in Chapter One, John M. Hockaday had been forced toward bankruptcy when the post office arbitrarily reduced compensation for the St. Joseph to Salt Lake City route from \$190,000 per annum to \$130,000, and reduced service from weekly to semi-monthly. By 1859, Hockaday & Company owned only a few light, cheap stages, and mules to go along with them, and apparently only seven stations existed along the route. These stations were at Independence (later St. Joseph), Big Blue, Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, Independence Rock, Black's Fork, and Salt Lake City. Apparently, Hockaday & Company simply ran the same team for several hundred miles, and then changed teams or grazed and rested them in pasture. The Hockaday contract ran until November 30, 1860.³⁷

Following their purchase of Hockaday & Company, Russell and Jones abandoned their Leavenworth to Denver route, transferring it northward to the Hockaday & Company route. This maneuver gave Russell and Jones "business over the eastern half of the route and put him in a position to secure a contract for carrying the mail to Denver, if and when such a contract was let." According to one source, this purchase was a "big step toward what Russell had wanted for a long time—a contract to carry United States mail to California over the central route."³⁸

Because Hockaday & Company possessed only seven stations, Russell and Jones built additional stations along the route, which added to the expense of the already unprofitable route. Under the supervision of Beverly D. Williams, stations were erected at various intervals along the route. The stations ranged from "sixteen to forty-three miles apart, [and] were set up as permanent locations, some of them at or near ranches or trading posts already in operation." Each station had a barn large enough to house several fresh teams of mules ready for the road day and night. The larger stations were made "home" stations for drivers and passengers, and provided travelers with meals and lodging.³⁹

³⁷ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 150-153; Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 98-99; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 165-166; and George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part III: The Platte Route," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, no. 8 (November 1945): 485-490.

³⁸ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 150-153; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 98-99.

³⁹ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 99-100; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 170-171, and 176-178; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part III: The Platte Route," 491-

The new L. & P.P. Express Co. was organized into three divisions. Under the supervision of Beverly Williams (later Benjamin Ficklin), the first division ran from St. Joseph to the South Platte near Julesburg. Nineteen stations stood along this part of the route. They included: "Leavenworth, Armors, Kinnekuk, Lochnane's [Log Chain?], Seneca, Guittard's, Cottonwood [Hollenburg], Rock Creek, Big Sandy, Kiowa Station, Liberty Farm, 32 Mile Creek, Fort Kearney, 17 Mile Station, Plum Creek, Cold Water, Cottonwood Springs, O'Fallon's Bluffs, and Lower Crossing South Platte." From here the "stage for Denver turned to the south and ascended the South Platte while those of the overland mail [destined] for Salt Lake and California crossed the North Fork [of the Platte River] and then followed this stream to its headwaters."⁴⁰ The second division, supervised by the notorious Joseph A. Slade,⁴¹ covered the route from Julesburg to South Pass. Finally, the third division ran from South Pass to Salt Lake City and was supervised by James E. Bromley.⁴²

The establishment of the L. & P.P. Express Co., the purchase, reorganization, and operation of the former Hockaday & Company route, and the lack of passengers on their former route from Leavenworth to Denver caused severe financial problems for William H. Russell. By late October 1859, the L. & P.P. Express Co.'s liabilities jeopardized the reputation and economic well-being of the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell because Russell used the credit reputation of Russell, Majors, and Waddell to raise his share of the investment for L. & P.P. Express Co. Majors and Waddell watched the mounting problems of L. & P.P. Express with growing apprehension. By October, the L. & P.P. Express Co. payrolls were in arrears, stations along the route were almost out of feed, and the firm owed \$525,000 to its creditors, including \$190,000 to the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.⁴³

What made matters worse was that William H. Russell had not consulted Alexander Majors, or William Waddell before he entered into his L. & P.P.

495, and 506-509; and Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), 44.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ For an interesting contemporary description of the "history" of Joseph A. Slade, see Mark Twain's, *Roughing It*, 1872, (New York: Airmont Books, 1967), 43-54.

⁴² Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 99-100; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 170-171 and 176-178.

⁴³ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 98-101; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 174-175.

Express Co. venture. After learning of the venture, Alexander Majors, the practical partner of the firm, thought that it was too early to invest in such an enterprise. Majors thought it best to wait and see whether the gold rush would produce the expected emigration before investing. On the other hand, William Waddell was outright angry with Russell for endangering the reputation of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, especially since they had just barely avoided financial disaster during their 1857-1858 War Department freighting contracts.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, by late 1859, given the difficult financial circumstances of the L. & P.P. Express Co., both Majors and Waddell had little choice but to support their partner's mail/passenger scheme. Therefore, on October 28, 1859, Russell, Majors, and Waddell entered into a new partnership agreement—one that assumed the debts and the assets of the L. & P.P. Express Co. In the agreement, Russell was named president of the yet unnamed firm.⁴⁵

In December, after their reorganization of their partnership, William H. Russell left for New York for two purposes: first, to raise capital for this new firm, and second, to stave off their creditors for awhile. Unbeknownst to his partners, on November 19, 1859, holding on to the hope of procuring a daily mail contract along the central route, and most likely without consultation with his partners, William Russell named the new firm the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company or C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. When he informed his partners of the name, Waddell was furious. This apparently mattered little to Russell. A month later, on January 27, 1860, Russell, again most likely without consultation from his partners, wrote his son John, the secretary for the new firm, stating: "Have determined to establish a Pony Express to Sacramento, California, commencing 3rd of April. Time ten days." As one historian put it, "Majors and Waddell found themselves in the position of men who had a bear by the tail and didn't dare let go!"⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 94-95; and Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 154-155.

⁴⁵ Another reason they decided to support William Russell was that they believed their military-freighting contract might not be renewed that year because of certain problems. Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 175-176.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 176-177.

BIRTH OF AN IDEA

The Pony Express certainly was not the first mail service of its type. In thirteenth century China, Marco Polo reported that the great Khan of Tartary and China had "post-stations twenty-five miles apart, and stations for foot carriers three miles apart, on the chief routes through his dominion." Similar ventures were also tried in Europe. Nevertheless, though it was not the first of this type of mail service in the world, it was the first time this type of enterprise had been attempted in America on such a scale.⁴⁷

But when, how, and by whom the American idea for a Pony Express was conceived is still a matter of dispute. There are several versions of who originated the idea.

The generally accepted story behind the origin of the Pony Express is that Benjamin F. Ficklin formulated the idea for a pony express, passed it on to William McKendree Gwin the senior Senator of California, who then passed it on to Russell, Majors, and Waddell, who ultimately fashioned and brought the idea to fruition. Senator Gwin reportedly acquired the idea in 1854, while traveling across the continent from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., via Salt Lake City and South Pass by horseback. Along part of the route, Senator Gwin's traveling companion was Benjamin F. Ficklin, later a general superintendent of the L. & P.P. Express Co. and an "enthusiastic supporter of closer communications with the East." Ficklin passed his enthusiasm on to Gwin, who in January 1855 introduced a bill in Congress, "looking to the establishment of a weekly letter express between St. Louis and San Francisco, the schedule to be ten days, the compensation not to exceed \$5,000 for the round trip, and the Central Route to be followed." This bill was never referred out of Committee on Military Affairs.⁴⁸

Years later, according to one story, Senator Gwin approached Russell while he was in Washington, D.C. about starting a pony express over the central route.

⁴⁷ Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean: Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast* (Hartford; American Publishing Company, 1867), 325; and Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express* (1950 reprint) (Topeka: Published by Authors, 1901), 105.

⁴⁸ W.F. Bailey, "The Pony Express," *Century Magazine*, LVI (October 1898): 882; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 165-166.

During the winter 1859, Senator Gwin supposedly befriended W.H. Russell and suggested to him that if the communication time between the East and California could be shortened through a pony express along a central route, increased emigration would follow and perhaps even a transcontinental railroad would be the result. The prospects of augmenting passenger travel along the central route conceivably would help the fledgling C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.⁴⁹ The senator also

laid before him [Russell] the probable closing of the present Southern mail routes [i.e., Butterfield line], and the necessity of finding some other not liable to interference by the South; also the vital importance of quicker communication between the Unionists on the Pacific coast and the Federal authorities.⁵⁰

Won over by Senator Gwin's proposal and the potential for a large mail contract, Russell supposedly convinced his partners to pursue the venture despite many initial objections.⁵¹

Statements made by Alexander Majors in 1893 confirm this interpretation that Senator Gwin engendered the idea, and that Russell quickly acted on it. In his memoirs, Majors stated that during the winter of 1859, Russell met Senator Gwin while in Washington, D.C., and that Gwin gave Russell the idea. Knowing that Russell, Majors, and Waddell were currently running a passenger/mail service from Missouri to Salt Lake City, Gwin reportedly asked Russell if "his company could not be induced to start a pony express, to run over its stage line to Salt Lake City, and from there on to Sacramento; his object being to test the practicability of crossing the Sierra Nevadas, as well as the Rocky Mountains, with a daily line of communication." With the feasibility of the route demonstrated, Senator Gwin promised he would ". . . use all his influence with Congress to get a subsidy to help pay the expenses of such a line on the thirty-ninth to forty-first parallel of latitude . . ." ⁵²

⁴⁹ John M. Burke, compiler, *Buffalo Bill: From Prairie to Palace, An Authentic History of the Wild West* (New York: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 1893), 113-114.

⁵⁰ W.F. Bailey, "The Pony Express," *Century Magazine*, (1898): 882-883.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 182-184.

Russell embraced Gwin's idea with zeal, proposing the route to his partners when he returned to Fort Leavenworth. After much persuasion and cogent appeals on the part of Russell, they embraced the undertaking, and immediately went to work to organize the enterprise.⁵³

Another version of the story maintains that A.B. Miller, a partner of William H. Russell in a sutler store at Camp Floyd, Utah, and his friend John Scudder originated the idea for a pony express in early 1859. Miller and Scudder conceived the idea while bringing mail to Salt Lake City from St. Joseph. They wrote Russell giving him the specifics and offered to demonstrate their plan. When Russell asked for more details, "they told him their plan was to station relays of fast horses and lightweight riders along the stage routes."⁵⁴

Still yet another version of the story states that the idea for a swift mail delivery along the central route came from Russell's nephew Charles Morehead, Jr., and James Rupe. After returning to Missouri from a mid-winter trip to Utah (November 1857-January 1858), Morehead and Rupe were summoned to Washington, D.C., by Russell. During conversations with Morehead and Rupe and Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd, Russell postured and discussed the feasibility of a "pony express across the continent." Were this true, then Russell picked up on the thought of developing a California mail contract then, and thereafter sought to compete against the Butterfield Overland Mail Company. If Russell originated the plan, then it follows that he sought to purchase the Hockaday & Company line for this purpose as well.⁵⁵

ORGANIZING THE PONY EXPRESS

We may never know with certainty who "invented" the Pony Express, but historians do know who made the idea of the Pony Express work. From the announcement of the formation of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. or the Pony Express on January 27, 1860, Russell, Majors, and Waddell had approximately

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 181.

⁵⁵ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 39-40; Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 181-182; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 165-166.

sixty days to prepare before they started riders along the route from both California and Missouri.⁵⁶

At the start, several difficult tasks confronted them. To set this project in motion, they first had to select a logical and viable route for the projected Pony Express, along with an eastern terminus for the operation. The western terminus, which was never in dispute, would be Sacramento. Next, they had to organize and construct the stations needed along the route, and to build or repair any necessary roads as well. Third, they had to supply each station with men, horses, supplies, and other equipment. Fourth, they had to hire stationkeepers and riders for the enterprise. Finally, they had to arrange for central offices and agents for the mail. That they accomplished these tasks in a mere two months was testimony to the organizing experience and ability of the partnership of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

An eastern terminus for the route was not determined until the first week of March 1860, when Russell, Majors, and Waddell chose St. Joseph, Missouri. St. Joseph made a convenient starting point for the Pony Express for several reasons. First, at this time, it was the largest town on this part of the Missouri River. Second, the railroad from the East terminated there, which made it a logical choice. The Hannibal & St. Joseph line reached St. Joseph in 1859, connecting St. Joseph to eastern railroads and telegraph lines.⁵⁷ On March 2, 1860, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. signed a contract with several prominent citizens in St. Joseph, "endowing the company with many advantages and concessions," which most likely convinced Russell, Majors, and Waddell to locate there. These concessions included conveying land, furnishing a building for an office, and other considerations.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184.

⁵⁷ Frederic Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1924), 465; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 36.

⁵⁸ Apparently, Russell did not disclose the route's eastern terminus until practically the last moment. The citizens of Leavenworth complacently anticipated and expected that their city would become the eastern terminus for the Pony Express, since Russell, Majors, and Waddell had conducted their freighting business there for so many years. However, with the advantages offered by the citizens of St. Joseph, the firm selected that city over the anticipated location of Leavenworth City. Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 112; Settles, *Empire on Wheels*, 77; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 36-37; and Olaf T. Hagen, "The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph," *Missouri Historical Review* XLIII (n.d.): 5-6. For a copy of the contract, see "Contract between

While the principals of the firm debated the eastern terminus question, the organization of stations, riders, and ponies took place during the winter of 1859-1860. Benjamin Ficklin was put in charge of the entire line,⁵⁹ which was split into five divisions, each with a superintendent. The divisions and superintendents were as follows: "St. Joseph to Fort Kearney, A.E. Lewis; Fort Kearney to Horseshoe station, Joseph A. Slade; Horseshoe Station to Salt Lake City, James E. Bromley; Salt Lake City to Roberts Creek, Howard Egan; and Roberts Creek to Sacramento, Bolivar Roberts."⁶⁰

Organizing the stations along the route from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City was relatively easy because the L. & P.P. Express Co. had been running a stage line between these points on a weekly basis. This stage route had "line" stations at varying distances placed according to the difficulty of the terrain, which could also be adapted and adopted for the Pony Express. Generally speaking, the stations were twenty-five to thirty miles apart. The C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. erected new stations between the older stations of the L. & P.P. Express Co., reducing the distance between stations to ten or twelve miles for the Pony Express. The route and geography from St. Joseph to Fort Kearney was relatively easy for riders, but from there to Salt Lake City the route became increasingly difficult. Joseph Slade was given the task of overseeing the construction of additional stations from Fort Kearney to Horseshoe Station (present-day Wyoming). From that station westward to Salt Lake City, James Bromley organized the route, including hiring "riders, station keepers, and stock tenders, some of whom were Mormons and French-Canadians."⁶¹

The terrain and organizing stations between Salt Lake City and Sacramento, California, was more difficult than the work east of the Rocky Mountains because the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was almost forced to start from scratch. In early 1860, George Chorprenning still held the mail contract for this route.

Citizens of St. Joseph and the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, March 2, 1860," Folder 1, *Central Overland Contract, 1860 Collection* (No. 1869), Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia.

⁵⁹ In June 1860, in a dispute between Russell and Waddell over the management of the company, Benjamin Ficklin resigned his position. He was replaced by J.H. Clute. Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 117-118.

⁶⁰ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 112-113.

⁶¹ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 40.

Chorpenning ran a semimonthly service between Salt Lake City and California for \$130,000 per annum.⁶² Therefore, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was obliged to build their own stations and their own road from Salt Lake City to Sacramento. Howard Egan, "noted explorer, frontiersman, and former bodyguard for Joseph Smith," and Bill Roberts, his assistant, were given the task of equipping and building the road and stations between Salt Lake City and Roberts Creek.⁶³ According to Major's autobiographical account, his men faced extreme hardship (mosquitos, etc.) while building willow roads (corduroy) along the route to the Carson River, most likely through the Humboldt sink area.⁶⁴ Fortunately, in May of 1859, Captain James H. Simpson of the United States Topographical Engineers, surveyed a new route from Camp Floyd south of Salt Lake City to Genoa, Nevada. This new route crossed the central Nevada desert instead of following the Humboldt River route, thereby shortening the distance by about 150 miles. By December 1859, George Chorpenning had built several stations along the new route, and the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. had done so as well.⁶⁵

During the early spring of 1860, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. sent out wagon trains with building materials and supplies to construct the needed relay stations along the entire route between St. Joseph and Sacramento. Supply trains originated from Leavenworth, Denver, Salt Lake City, and Sacramento along with work crews to locate and construct stations along the route. It is not known with certainty how many stations were in place by April 1860, when the Pony Express made its first run. One source states that there were 119 stations, with a "home" station every 75 to 100 miles apart so a rider could rest before returning in the other direction. Another source reported that in the beginning, the pony express system had a total of 153 stations and relay posts.⁶⁶ Whichever number is correct,

⁶² Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 115-116.

⁶³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 41. The Settles state that they built stations between the eight or ten Chorpenning stations, but since Russell, Majors, and Waddell had not acquired the Chorpenning contract yet, it seems unlikely that they used Chorpenning's stations, even after they acquired the route in May 1860, when Postmaster General Holt annulled Chorpenning's contract.

⁶⁴ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184 and 188-189.

⁶⁵ James H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin in 1859* (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1966); and Donald L. Hardesty, "Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Rock Creek Stage and Telegraph Stations," Report prepared for the Bureau of Land Management by University of Nevada, Reno Department of Anthropology, 1978, 5b-6c.

⁶⁶ Moody, *Stagecoach West*, 183; Settles, *Empire on Wheels*, 79; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 41.

certainly additional stations were added and subtracted during the lifetime of the operation.

Even though the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. started out in serious financial trouble, they spared no expense in constructing and equipping stations. Among the items sent were "brooms, candles, well wheels or pulleys, buckets, rope, window glass, doors, dishes, tinware for cooking, putty, horse brushes, curry combs, wagon grease, nails, screws, stovepipe, tin safes, scissors, axes, hammers, stovepipe dampers, etc."⁶⁷

Besides equipment, horses were also purchased that spring. According to Alexander Majors, the Pony Express required 400 to 500 horses.⁶⁸ During that winter, company agents quietly went about purchasing horses for the Pony Express, paying as much as \$200 a head for some stock. The company then distributed these horses along the planned route.⁶⁹ For instance, in February, Russell advertised in the Leavenworth *Daily Times* for "200 grey mares, from four to seven years old, not to exceed fifteen hands high, well broke to the saddle and warranted sound. . . ."⁷⁰ In Salt Lake City, pony express agent A.B. Miller bought approximately 200 ponies for the western division.⁷¹ The company most likely kept these horses at the Russell, Majors, and Waddell herd camp in Meadow, Rush, and Porter valleys near Camp Floyd, Utah, before distributing them along the trail from Salt Lake City to Roberts Creek.⁷² In California, William W. Finney reportedly bought 129 mules and horses for the company. He then dispatched the stock as far as Eagle Valley. Bolivar Roberts bought horses at Carson City and distributed westward from there to Roberts Creek.⁷³

⁶⁷ Settles, *Empire on Wheels*, 78.

⁶⁸ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184-185.

⁶⁹ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 106-108.

⁷⁰ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 47.

⁷¹ Settles, *Empire on Wheels*, 81.

⁷² Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin*, 46.

⁷³ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 30 March 1860; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 79.

In order to run the Pony Express, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. hired roughly 200 men for stationkeepers and eighty riders for the overland route.⁷⁴ Riders had to be "young, good horsemen, accustomed to outdoor life, able to endure severe hardship and fatigue, and fearless."⁷⁵ Natives of Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska were hired for the route between St. Joseph and Horseshoe Station above Fort Laramie. Mormons comprised the majority of riders and stationkeepers between Horseshoe Creek and Roberts Creek west of Salt Lake City.⁷⁶ Bolivar Roberts, who headed the westernmost division of the Pony Express, hired the riders and stationkeepers for the route west of Roberts Creek to California.⁷⁷

In order to gather and handle the incoming and outgoing mail for the Pony Express route, Russell, Majors, and Waddell established central offices in the East and the West and thereafter hired company agents to manage the business. In New York, messengers and bearers of letters went to the Continental Bank Building at 8 Nassau Street, where J.B. Simpson acted as the company agent. In addition to New York, communications could be delivered to Washington, D.C. (481 Tenth Street), as well as other cities. The company offices and agents were located in Chicago (H.J. Spaulding), St. Louis (Samuel & Allen), Denver (J.B. Jones), Salt Lake City (J.C. Bromley), and San Francisco, where their agent William W. Finley had his headquarters in the *Alta Telegraph* office at Merchant and Montgomery Streets. William H. Russell, president of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., had his office on Shawnee Street between Main and Second Streets in Leavenworth, Kansas.⁷⁸

With the final route laid out, the stations constructed, the stationkeepers, riders, and company agents hired and in place, the final task was to inform the country and the world of the existence of the Pony Express. That revelation was made on both coasts, but not simultaneously.

The first announcement came on March 17, 1860, when an advertisement appeared in the *San Francisco Bulletin* announcing "PONY EXPRESS—NINE

⁷⁴ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184-185 and 187.

⁷⁵ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 42.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 43.

⁷⁷ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 184-185 and 187.

⁷⁸ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 107-108; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 112.

DAYS FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO NEW YORK."⁷⁹ A little over a week later, the announcement came to the east coast. The organizers chose the *New York Herald* and the *Missouri Republican* to carry the announcement of this remarkable event. On March 26, 1860, advertisements appeared in these two newspapers that stated TO SAN FRANCISCO IN EIGHT DAYS BY THE CENTRAL OVERLAND CALIFORNIA AND PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS CO. The advertisements continued:

The first courier of the Pony Express will leave the Missouri River on Tuesday, April 3, at 5 o'clock p.m. and will run regularly weekly thereafter, carrying a letter mail only. The point of departure on the Missouri River will be in telegraphic connection with the East and will be announced in due time....

The letter mail will be delivered in San Francisco in ten days from the departure of the express. The Express passes through Forts Kearney, Laramie, and Bridger, Great Salt Lake City, Camp Floyd, Carson City, the Washoe Silver Mines, Placerville and Sacramento.⁸⁰

Russell, Majors, and Waddell were ready to test their system. The overall outlay of capital for the enterprise was estimated at \$70,000. This figure included acquiring and distributing the necessary stock, forage, and provisions for the route. It also was projected that the actual monthly expenses would amount to approximately \$5,000 per month.⁸¹ They were ready for the "great race against time."

"GREAT RACE AGAINST TIME," FIRST RUN: APRIL 3, 1860

The Pony Express' first ride on April 3, 1860, and the fanfare of the cheering

⁷⁹ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 170.

⁸⁰ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 107-108. Rumor had it that Russell, Majors, and Waddell had even wagered a \$50,000 bet with parties associated with the steamship lines that their pony express could reach Sacramento from St. Joseph in ten days—a wager that they won by twenty minutes. John W. Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1889), 41-45; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 58.

⁸¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 27 April 1860.

throngs in St. Joseph and Sacramento has been described so many times with flourishing detail⁸² that this study will provide only the highlights of the dramatic event. These depictions do not always agree on the details of the event, so the following description is a composite of those views.

St. Joseph to Sacramento Ride

The basic description of the first run from St. Joseph centers around three elements: the arrival of the mail from the East, the staging of the first ride, and the identity of the first pony rider.

Despite careful planning, when the day of the big event arrived, the initial run did not occur without some difficulties. First, the Hannibal and St. Joseph train arrived late. Scheduled to arrive in St. Joseph in the late afternoon (5:00 p.m.), it did not arrive until nightfall. Apparently, the letters from Washington, D.C., and New York were delayed in Detroit, where the mail pouch had missed its connection by two hours. Hearing of the delay, J.T.K. Haywood, Superintendent of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad ordered a special locomotive with one coach to carry the pouch directly to St. Joseph. Notwithstanding this effort and after apparently setting company speed records, it still arrived two hours late. From the train station at Olive and Seventh and Eighth Streets, the pouch containing "49 letters, 5 private telegrams, and some papers for San Francisco and intermediate points" was then delivered to the starting point. This point was at one of several locations, most likely either the Pony Express stables on Penn Street, or the Pattee House on Twelfth and Penn Streets, the location of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company office.⁸³

Before the mail pouch was delivered to the first rider, time was taken out for ceremonies and several speeches. First, Mayor M. Jeff Thompson gave a brief speech on the significance of the event for St. Joseph. Then William H. Russell and Alexander Majors addressed the gala crowd about how the Pony Express was just a "precursor" to the construction of a transcontinental railroad. At the conclusion of all the speeches, approximately 7:15 p.m., Russell turned the mail

⁸² One of the earliest elaborate descriptions of that first ride in a secondary source can be found in Clappitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 41-45. This account also contains lithographs illustrating the "Great Race Against Time" and the "Pony Express Riders Meeting on the Plains."

⁸³ *New York Times*, 5 April 1860; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 57-58; Hagen, "The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph," 9-11; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 52-53.

pouch over to the first rider. A cannon fired, the large assembled crowd cheered, and the rider dashed to the landing at the "foot of Jules Street where the ferry boat *Denver*, alerted by the signal cannon, waited to carry the horse and rider across the Missouri River to Elwood, Kansas Territory. The identity of the first rider still remains a puzzle. Most sources agree that the rider was Johnson William "Billy" Richardson rather than Johnny Frye of Wathena, Kansas, as some believed. However, in his reminiscences, Richardson denied this honor.⁸⁴

The first rider from the East reached Salt Lake City at 6:45 p.m. on April 9, 1860. The *Deseret News* commented upon his arrival that much credit was "due the enterprising and persevering originators of this enterprise and, although a telegraph is very desirable, we feel well satisfied with this achievement for the present."⁸⁵

The mail pouch reached Carson City about 2:30 p.m. on April 12th.⁸⁶ From Carson City it traveled over the Sierra Nevadas to Placerville, California, where crowds gathered, guns fired, and speeches were made. From here, the pony sped on to Sacramento, where, according to one newspaper account:

The Legislature adjourned in honor of the event, while the streets were draped with banners, ladies thronged the balconies, and crowds blocked up the sidewalks along the streets through which the pony was expected to pass. As he came galloping along, followed by a wild cavalcade of men, who had gone out on the Plains to meet him, the

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, 5 April 1860; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 57-58; Hagen, "The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph," 9-11; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 52-53; and Louise Platt Hauck, "The Pony Express Celebration," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (July 1923): 435-440. Apparently, Johnny Frye may have been chosen to ride the first horse, but injured himself the day before. Richardson was chosen to replace him. See: Lee Starnes, "The Pony Express Mystery," *Museum Graphic* Vol. 3 (Winter 1951): 4, 10-11.

⁸⁵ Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News*, 1916), 175; and J. Cecil Alter, *Utah: The Storied Domain* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1932), 310.

⁸⁶ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 174; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 54.

city echoed with the ringing of bells, booming of cannon, and the long-continued shouts of the multitude.⁸⁷

At about midnight or 1:00 a.m., on April 14, 1860, the Pony Express from St. Joseph reached San Francisco via Sacramento and the steamboat *Antelope*. Prior to its arrival, at "every man's dinner table, men, women and children talked *pony*," the crowds getting out their watches to calculate and speculate the Pony Express' rate per mile.⁸⁸ Upon its arrival in San Francisco, the pony rider was escorted from the steamer to the heart of the city where "a great throng roared an enthusiastic welcome, the band played 'See the Conquering Hero Comes,' bonfires were lighted, speechmakers 'studied their points,' and a riotous celebration continued until nearly morning."⁸⁹

San Francisco and Sacramento to St. Joseph Ride

The sending of the first rider eastward from San Francisco and Sacramento was celebrated with as much gaiety as the festivities held in St. Joseph, Missouri. In San Francisco, on the appointed day, a substantial crowd gathered outside the *Alta Telegraph* office, where the firm's agent was located. According to one historian, San Francisco was decked out in flags and bunting for the occasion.

Thousands of people came in from the fields and neighboring camps and many joined the busy throng and helped participate in the exercises. Business was suspended and the city specially decorated for the occasion. Across the principal streets floral arches were built; cannons boomed from surrounding hills; brass bands played enlivening music, and the earnest speeches from state officials and local orators helped make the event one of the proudest days ever celebrated on the Pacific coast.⁹⁰

At 4:00 p.m. "a clean-limbed, hardy little nankeen-colored pony" sped away with the mail pouch, which read "Overland Pony Express" to the steamer *Antelope* that waited to carry the express mail up river to Sacramento. After a ten-hour ride, the steamer reached Sacramento in a hard rainstorm at approximately 2:00

⁸⁷ *New York Times*, 1 May 1860; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 16 April 1860.

⁸⁸ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 13, 14, 16 April 1860.

⁸⁹ *New York Times*, 1 May 1860; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 174; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 54.

⁹⁰ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 109-110.

a.m. Because of the lateness and the weather, no "reception committee" greeted it, except the express agent and the first rider eastward. The pouch was given to Harry Roff, who sped off into the night.⁹¹

In his memoir, Alexander Majors narrated the following description of the ride along the Pony Express route east of Sacramento:

The day of the First Start, the 3rd of April, 1860, at noon, Harry Roff, mounted on a spirited half-breed broncho, started from Sacramento on his perilous ride, and covered the first twenty miles, including one change, in fifty-nine minutes. On reaching Folson [sic], he changed again and started for Placerville, at the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountain, fifty-five miles distant. There he connected with "Boston," who took the route to Friday's Station, crossing the eastern summit of the Sierra Nevada. Sam Hamilton next fell into line, and pursued his way to Genoa, Carson City, Dayton, Reed's Station, and Fort Churchill—seventy five miles. The entire run, 185 miles, was made in fifteen hours and twenty minutes, and included the crossing of the western summits of the Sierras, through thirty feet of snow. This seems almost impossible, and would have been, had not pack trains of mules and horse kept the trail open. Here "Pony Bob"—Robert H. Haslam—took the road from Fort Churchill to Smith's Creek, 120 miles distant through hostile Indian country.⁹²

Smith's Creek was one of the last stations belonging to the western-most division of the Pony Express. Majors' account was largely accurate, except that Fort Churchill was founded August 7, 1860, during the Pyramid Lake War, four months after the inauguration of the Pony Express.⁹³

The second western-most division of the Pony Express ran from Smith's Creek to Salt Lake City. According to Alexander Majors, the rider:

Jay G. Kelley rode from Smith's Creek to Ruby Valley, Utah, 116 miles; from Ruby Valley to Deep Creek, H. Richardson, 105 miles;

⁹¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 3 April 1860; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 171; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 60-61.

⁹² Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 176.

⁹³ Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 93.

from Deep Creek to Rush Valley, old camp Floyd, eighty miles; from Camp Floyd to Salt Lake City, fifty miles; George Thatcher the last end.⁹⁴

The first pony rider from the west reached Salt Lake City on April 7, 1860.⁹⁵ From Salt Lake City, the first pony rider from California reached St. Joseph on May 14, 1860, and was "awarded an enthusiastic welcome." The local paper described the event as follows:

The Pony Express arrived in our city at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, just ten days from San Francisco. The event was duly and grandly celebrated last night by fire-works, firing of cannon, parade of the military, and illumination of Market square. . . .Twenty, or even ten years ago, the man who would have suggested such an event would have been termed a lunatic. Hurrah, then, for the Pony Express and its enterprising proprietors. Long may they live, and soon be the time when the "Iron Horse" shall supersede the Pony.⁹⁶

Eastern newspapers also noted the celebrations and rejoicings at the success of the first Pony Express run. For instance, the *New York Times* stated that St. Joseph was "illuminated," and that the "citizens paraded the streets with bands of music, fireworks were set off, speeches were made appropriate to the occasion, and the best feeling was manifested by everybody."⁹⁷

SUMMARY

It took seventy-five ponies to make the first trip from Missouri to California. The riders of these ponies had "shoved a continent behind their hooves," and many people recognized this important fact. The crowds cheered "Long live the Pony!" till their throats were sore. When the speeches ended, the bonfires were extinguished, the bells stopped ringing, and the last waltzes were danced, it remained to be seen whether the Pony Express would be a triumph or a failure.

⁹⁴ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 176.

⁹⁵ Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News*, 1916), 175.

⁹⁶ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 54-55.

⁹⁷ *New York Times*, 14 April 1860.

Chapter 3

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF THE PONY EXPRESS, 1860-1861

INTRODUCTION

Following the exhilaration of the first ride of the Pony Express on April 3, 1860, came the reality of facing the task of running this complex operation. From supplying and maintaining the stations, to hiring and paying riders, stationkeepers, and others involved in the process, to addressing the myriad unpredictable problems brought on by weather, physical hardships, and breakdowns, the running of this elaborate and sophisticated operation presented an immense challenge.

Before the April 3, 1860 ride, where plans for the full operation materialized, one wonders how Russell, Majors, and Waddell envisioned the Pony Express, not in the abstract, but as a concrete day-to-day structured organization. Did their theoretical master plan of stations, horses, and employees transporting the mail across the Trans-Missouri West actually perform well in the practical world? Or did the firm have to react, incorporate, and adapt as they went along, doing whatever was necessary simply to keep the Pony Express running, and, above all, running on schedule? And finally, as hoped, as promised, did the Pony Express fulfill its intention—to provide speedy, dependable, regular overland mail service. In other words, how did the "ideal" operation of the Pony Express actually compare to reality?

To begin, let us first consider the elements of this vast operation. These elements include: the home and relay stations, horses, pony riders, stationkeepers, and the method of mail handling.

ORGANIZATION OF THE "IDEAL" PONY EXPRESS

Home and Relay Stations

The Pony Express operation was divided into five operating divisions. The first division ran from St. Joseph to Fort Kearney; the second division from Fort Kearney to Horseshoe Station (above Fort Laramie); the third division from Horseshoe Station to Salt Lake City; the fourth division from Salt Lake City to Roberts Creek; and the fifth Division from Roberts Creek to Sacramento. For the final segment, the stretch from Sacramento to San Francisco, the mail was at first transported by horse relays, but thereafter normally transported by steamer unless there was some problem.

Each division of the Pony Express route had an established number of "home" stations with various "relay rider" or "swing" stations between them. The character of the country determined the numbers and distances between home stations and relay stations. During its nineteen-month history, the distances and particular stations on Pony Express route changed with time and varying circumstances. A brief history and names and locations of individual stations within each division are discussed in separate chapters presented later.

Generally, the distance between larger home stations and smaller relay rider stations varied. There were no systematic predetermined distances between stations. In his memoirs, Alexander Majors stated that home stations were located approximately sixty-five to one hundred miles apart.¹ Home stations were usually associated with a previously established stagecoach station. At these home stations, the "employees of the stage company were required to take care of the ponies and have them in readiness at the proper moment."² Normally, home stations had an agent or stationkeeper in charge of five or six boys.³ Some stagecoach stations were constructed under either the Hockaday & Company and/or the Chorpenning Company lines, and then absorbed by either the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company or its successor company, the

¹ Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier: Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (1893), edited by Colonel Prentiss Ingraham, Reprint (Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1950), 175.

² John M. Burke, compiler, *Buffalo Bill: From Prairie to Palace, An Authentic History of the Wild West* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 1893), 118-119.

³ Richard F. Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," in Pony Express Issue, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Vol. 3, no. 2 (April-June 1960): 7.

Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company when these firms acquired the mail contracts for these particular lines.

Between home stations, there were several relay rider or swing stations. At the beginning of the Pony Express, the relay rider stations were set approximately twenty to twenty-five miles apart, but afterward more relay rider stations were established at shorter intervals, with some twelve to fifteen miles apart.⁴ Relay rider stations normally had a single caretaker for the horses.⁵

Life at both the home and relay stations was very hard. According to the Englishman Richard F. Burton, a traveller on the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stage route in 1860 who passed through each station and witness to the arrival and departure of Pony Express riders, "setting aside the chance of death . . . the work [is] severe; the diet is sometimes reduced to wolf-mutton, or a little boiled wheat and rye, and the drink to brackish water; a pound of tea comes occasionally, but the doughty souls are always out of whisky and tobacco."⁶ Ironically, the cost of maintaining even this hard living at each Pony Express station was high. "Feed had to be hauled in some cases, hundreds of miles, all at a heavy expense . . . and, as the country produced nothing then, provisions were hauled by wagons from the Missouri River, Utah and California."⁷

Horses

It took approximately seventy-five horses to make a one-way trip from Missouri to California, so at each station, relays of horses were kept in sufficient numbers to meet the demands of the enterprise.⁸ Descriptions of the numbers and types of horses used by the Pony Express vary widely throughout the historical accounts.

⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 30 March 1860; Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean* (Hartford; American Publishing Company, 1867), 325; Burke, *Buffalo Bill: From Prairie to Palace*, 174.

⁵ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 7.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ John W. Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains: Reminiscences and Thrilling Incidents of the Romantic and Golden Age of the Great West*, (Chicago; Belford, Clarke & Co., 1889), 58.

⁸ Le Roy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*, Reprint of 1926 Edition (New York:AMS Press, Inc., 1969), 175.

Evidently, the types of horses used in the operation depended upon the region of the country the route traversed.

From the west coast, half-breed California mustangs, "alert and energetic as their riders," were ridden by Pony Express riders, according to Alexander Majors.⁹ Company agent William W. Finney distributed these horses from Sacramento to Carson City. Western or "Indian" ponies were distributed across most of the central part of the route from Carson City to Fort Laramie. They were purchased in Carson City, Salt Lake City, and perhaps Fort Laramie and then distributed from these points.¹⁰ These steeds were the "small, fleet, hardy Indian horses" and "active and lithe Indian nags," that the Englishman Burton and other travellers noted the express riders mounting.¹¹ It is likely that large grey mares purchased in the Leavenworth area by Russell were used along the eastern division of the route.¹²

Pony Riders

The "heroes" of the Pony Express were the eighty or so riders hired by Russell, Majors, and Waddell. Over time, their role in the Pony Express and their image of force, energy, steeliness, and concentration has been romanticized to extraordinary proportions, starting with Mark Twain's famous description while riding a stagecoach in Nevada Territory. Himself a believer of the heroic myth, Mark Twain furthered the image of the glorious rider with the following passage from his book *Roughing It* (1872).

HERE HE COMES! Every neck is stretched further, and every eye strained wider. Away across the endless dead level of the prairie a black speck appears against the sky and it is plain that it moves. Well, I should think so. In a second or two it becomes a horse and rider, rising and falling, rising and falling—sweeping towards us, nearer and nearer—growing more and more distinct, more and

⁹ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 175.

¹⁰ George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, (1946): 48; and Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), 79.

¹¹ Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 325; and Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1862), 29.

¹² Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies, Part IV: The Platte Route Concluded," 47.

more sharply defined—nearer and still nearer, and the flutter of the hoofs come faintly to the ear—another instant, a whoop and a hurrah from our upper deck, a wave of the rider's hand, but not reply, a man and a horse burst past our excited faces, and go winging away like a belated fragment of a storm!¹³

Twain was not the only one to romanticize the Pony Express rider. For instance, Alexander Majors described the riders as "faithful, daring fellows," stating that their service was "full of novelty and adventure," and further commenting that the "facility and energy with which they journeyed was a marvel."¹⁴ Another writer called them "modern Centaurs,"¹⁵ while yet another writer described them as "*sui generis*—brave young fellows, whose love of adventure principally led them away from the haunts of civilization, and whose wild, untamed nature found keen zest and enjoyment in the danger and excitement of their personal exploits."¹⁶

Romantic images aside, there were certain physical and other characteristics sought in each rider. According to Alexander Majors, "the services of over two hundred competent men were secured. Eighty of these men were selected for express riders. Light-weights were deemed the most eligible for the purpose; the lighter the man the better for the horse . . ."¹⁷

Though one newspaper advertisement stated that the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. wanted "young, skinny, wiry fellows not over eighteen" and "expert riders, willing to risk death daily," and "orphans preferred," in reality, Pony Express riders probably came in all ages and from all segments of life. Several lists of men and boys that reportedly worked for the Pony Express as riders or substitute riders exist, but none are definitive.¹⁸ Riders included men and boys from

¹³ Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, 1872, (New York: Airmont Books, 1967), 39.

¹⁴ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 174.

¹⁵ Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 325.

¹⁶ John W. Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains: Reminiscences and Thrilling Incidents of the Romantic and Golden Age of the Great West*, Chicago; Belford, Clarke & Co., 1889, 46.

¹⁷ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 173-174.

¹⁸ See Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga*, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1955, 73-112; and Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic history*

several ethnic backgrounds, including French, Germans, and at least one Mexican-American who died in the Pyramid Lake War.¹⁹

Each man was reportedly given a calf-bound Bible because Alexander Majors was a God-fearing, religious, and temperate man who was careful to employ only those who met his standards of morality.²⁰ It is not quite clear how much money each rider received beyond their board and room. One source stated that each rider received approximately \$120 to \$125 per month,²¹ while another source stated that riders received \$50 to \$150 per month.²²

Whatever the pay rate for riders, carrying the mail was highly dangerous work. They worked in a hard unsafe environment, where many of them suffered and/or were even killed by accidental occurrences along the route. One Pony Express rider that left San Francisco for St. Joseph on April 18, 1860, met such a fatal accident. Traveling at a great speed at night, the rider's horse "stumbled over an ox lying in the road, throwing the rider, and the horse fell upon him, so badly crushing him that it was feared he would soon die," which unfortunately he did.²³ In July 1860, another rider was thrown from his horse and killed while crossing the Platte River. The mailbags he carried were never recovered.²⁴ A month later, in August 1860, east of Carson City, another rider was thrown from his horse and presumed dead when his horse arrived at the station riderless.²⁵ In addition to these accidents, there were other misfortunes. In December 1860, an inexperienced rider of German ancestry lost his way near Ft. Kearney and froze to death.²⁶ Other less serious accidents occurred as well. For instance, in November 1860, five miles west of Camp Floyd, a Pony rider's horse fell and broke

of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express (1950 Reprint), Topeka: Published by Authors, 1901, 125-132.

¹⁹ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 189.

²⁰ Ibid., 192.

²¹ Ibid., 175.

²² Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 179.

²³ *New York Tribune*, 30 April 1860.

²⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 29 September 1860.

²⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, 1 September 1860.

²⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 27 December 1860; and *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 27 December 1860.

its neck. The rider escaped serious injury in the incident, but he had to pack the express to Camp Floyd on foot.²⁷

Stationkeepers

The backbone of the Pony Express were the stationkeepers. Though they did not receive as much notoriety as Pony Express riders in the historical literature on the Pony Express, they nevertheless were very important to the organization of the operation. While, a good majority of the Pony Express riders are known by name, the identities of two-thirds or more of the stationkeepers are still unknown.²⁸

Most of the stationkeepers, according to one historian, lived in reasonable comfort, especially those located in Kansas and eastern Nebraska and California in the west. For instance, at the Seneca Station in Kansas, the stationkeeper Levi Hensel and his wife lived in a two-story house, where they "set a splendid table" and held many dances.²⁹ But for those men and their families that worked in the home and relay rider stations located in the Wyoming-Utah-Nevada deserts, life was not so splendid. They endured unbelievably difficult conditions in relative isolation. Primitive and stark, the stations in these parts of the country were:

. . .constructed of adobe bricks in the middle of endless, dreary wastes, and others of loose stones isolated, treeless canyons and unnamed hills. Still others were mere holes dug in the hillside with crude additions in front. All of them, except those most favorably located, had dirt floors; window glass was unknown; the beds were pole bunks built against the walls, and the furniture consisted of boxes, benches, or anything else the ingenuity of the occupants could contrive. Most of them had water nearby, such as it was, and the stable for horses was only a few feet distant from the quarters of the men.³⁰

Weekly Mail Delivery

The intention of the Pony Express was to carry light-weight mail between St. Joseph and Sacramento, first on a weekly, then on a semi-weekly basis, and each

²⁷ *Deseret News*, 28 November 1860.

²⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 113-116.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

mail not to weigh more than twelve or fifteen pounds.³¹ Russell, Majors, and Waddell planned to cross the country on a fixed schedule of ten days. The first run from St. Joseph and San Francisco on April 3rd started on a Tuesday. However, the regular time for starting the express from St. Joseph soon changed to Friday mornings at nine o'clock. The run from San Francisco to St. Joseph continued to depart at 5 p.m. on Tuesdays. Consequently, the second express did not start until April 13th. The announced time schedule for the Pony Express nationwide was as follows:³²

Marysville	12 hours
Ft. Kearney	34 hours
Ft. Laramie	80 hours
Ft. Bridger	108 hours
Great Salt Lake	124 hours
Camp Floyd	128 hours
Carson City	188 hours
Placerville	226 hours
Sacramento	232 hours
San Francisco	240 hours

The C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. carried business letters and other important communications. The charge for transporting a letter was \$5.00 in gold per ounce or fractional part thereof,³³ — an expensive fee for the time period. This cost was reduced when a special kind of paper was manufactured that was very light in weight. This "Pony Express" paper made it possible to send an eight or ten page letter for approximately \$2.50.³⁴

In addition to letters, the Pony Express also carried press dispatches. The principal papers in New York and throughout the East, as well as papers in San Francisco, had their newspapers specially printed on light-weight paper for delivery across the country. According to one source, the "California press depended entirely upon the Pony Express for Eastern news, while western news

³¹ Clappitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 57.

³² *New York Tribune* 3, 14, 25 April 1860; *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 14 April 1860 and J. Cecil Alter, *Utah: The Storied Domain* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1932), 311.

³³ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 175.

³⁴ Clappitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 47.

was telegraphed east from St. Joseph upon the arrival of the Pony Express. Eastern papers sent correspondents to St. Joseph and Denver to collect news, and the Pony Express was a valuable service to them. Correspondents included Henry Villard (*New York Tribune*), Albert D. Richardson (*New York Tribune*), and Thomas W. Knox (*Boston Statesman*)."³⁵

For protection against the weather, the business letters, personal correspondence, and newspapers were securely wrapped in oil silk. But even this precaution was often insufficient because riders had to cross swollen streams.³⁶ The mail was reportedly then placed in the pockets of the *mochillas* or specially designed mail pouch system. A *mochilla* was:

made of heavy leather, with a hole for the horn and a slit for the cantle. When it was in place it covered the entire saddle and reached half way to the stirrups on both sides. It was not attached anywhere and could be put on or taken off with a sweep of the arm in a matter of seconds.

Upon each of the four corners of the *mochilla* a weather proof *cantina* or box of sole leather was stitched. Three of these, equipped with small padlocks, were for the "through mail" from terminus to terminus. Only the station keepers at St. Joseph and Sacramento had keys for them. The other was for the mail picked up along the way and was not locked. When the *mochilla* was in place, the rider sat upon it, with a leg on each side between the *cantinas*. So, as long as he remained upon his horse, there was no danger whatever of losing his precious cargo.³⁷

The *mochilla* system "covered the entire route between St. Joseph and Sacramento, without stopping, while the saddles shuttled back and forth between relay stations."³⁸ The *mochilla* system developed out of necessity—an adaptation made to problems encountered in the daily operation of the Pony Express. There is no indication that these special pouches were ordered and used before the first run of the Pony Express in April 1860. Evidently, they were not put

³⁵ Ibid., 58-59.

³⁶ Ibid., 59.

³⁷ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 48.

³⁸ Ibid.

in use until after late 1860, for when the English traveller Richard Burton passed along the route at that time, he mentioned that letters were carried in leathern bags, and that they were "thrown about carelessly" when the saddle was changed between horses.³⁹ Given the Spanish nomenclature, it may have been adapted from similar pouches in use in California.

The passing of the mail between stations has been described by many authors, each with a different view. In theory, one pony was ridden from one station to another, and one rider, using three horses, made three stations,⁴⁰ or approximately seventy-five miles.⁴¹ The average travelling time night and day for each rider was about nine miles an hour. Presumably only two minutes were allowed for changing horses and the mail at each station.⁴²

The mail exchange was explained by "Broncho Charlie" Miller, who in 1861 rode between the stations along the Sacramento and Placerville route, and reputedly was the "last" of the Pony Express riders. According to Charlie Miller, these stations were ten to fifteen miles apart.

At each of 'em there were three horses, and two men to care for 'em. . . . Each rider had to ride from thirty-five to seventy-five miles a day . . . that is, in the twenty-four hours, for the boys had to ride at night too. A rider would start out from a station, do his fifteen miles, and come on the run into the next station. When he was some distance from the station, he would blow a horn to let the horse wranglers know that a Pony Express rider was comin' in. The change would have to be made as quickly as possible, so they'd have a fresh horse waitin', and a snack of food, and then the mail would go speedin' on.⁴³

Miller's description differed markedly from other descriptions. For instance, according to the Englishman Burton, the riders rode "100 miles at a time—eight

³⁹ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 29.

⁴⁰ Burke, *Buffalo Bill: From Prairie to Palace*, 174.

⁴¹ Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 59.

⁴² *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 30 March 1860; and Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 175.

⁴³ Gladys Shaw Erskine, *Broncho Charlie: A Saga of the Saddle* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934), 30.

miles per hour—with four changes of horses, and returned to their stations the next day. . . ."44 Albert D. Richardson, a *New York Tribune* correspondent at the time, described the system and operation a different way. According to Richardson: "The posts were twenty-five miles apart, and the steeds small, fleet, hardy Indian horses. The rider kept his pony on the full run, and when he reached a new station—whatever the hour of day or night—another messenger, already mounted and waiting, took the small mail-sack, struck spurs into his steed, and was off like the wind."<45

The previous few pages described how the "ideal" operation of the Pony Express worked. The remaining sections of this chapter will compare that ideal to actual reality during the years 1860-1861.

OPERATION OF THE PONY EXPRESS, 1860

Critics of the central overland route predicted that weather conditions (especially winter conditions) along the route would cause delays for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. Perhaps to avoid an unsettling beginning to their new enterprise, Russell, Majors, and Waddell decided to the start the Pony Express in the springtime. Despite the springtime start, the first rider from Sacramento to St. Joseph encountered four-foot-deep snow in crossing the Sierra Nevada, and it looked as though adverse weather conditions would defeat the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. from the outset. Fortunately for the rider, a narrow mule-path created by pack-trains on their way from California to the Washoe mines opened the way for him. The rider was delayed by only a few hours,⁴⁶ indicating to many that the Pony Express could conquer the critics of the central overland route.

During the rest of the month of April, the Pony Express operated as its creators had planned. An added feature of the early days of the Pony Express was that telegraph messages could be transmitted to Miller's Station (30 miles from Carson City) in the west, if the customer missed the deadline for presenting letters to company agents. This gave about a twenty-seven hour window of opportunity for San Francisco customers.⁴⁷

44 Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 29.

45 Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 325.

46 *New York Tribune*, 1 May 1860.

47 *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 27 April 1860; and *Chicago Tribune*, 4 April 1860.

At the end of April, slight schedule changes were made in the operation that moved the Friday nine a.m. St. Joseph departure to either Saturday at eleven p.m. or to Sunday at nine or eleven a.m. But other than this uncertain time change, which was made to accommodate telegraphing schedules, nothing seemed out of order.⁴⁸ The operation ran smoothly. One source suggested that if the route continued to prove successful, a shorter route would be adopted for the next season. The proposed new route ran directly from the Missouri River to Pike's Peak, and from there through South Pass to Salt Lake City, "nearly a straight line."⁴⁹

During the initial month of operation, Russell, Majors, and Waddell were highly pleased even though the patronage for the service did not even come close to meeting their expenses. Californians quickly looked at the numbers of letters being sent and the cost of the operation and quickly recognized this disparity.⁵⁰ However, they assumed that Russell, Majors, and Waddell had not started the Express to make money, but to "get a mail contract over the route traversed by it." They thought that the federal government should appreciate the "advantages" of the Pony Express, especially since the War Department used it to send messages to the Commanding General of the Pacific Division concerning troop movements in Oregon.⁵¹ According to a San Franciscan recipient of a letter via Pony Express, the enterprise was a "brilliant success," binding together the Atlantic and the Pacific states.⁵²

So successful did the Pony Express appear during the first few weeks of operation, that it was rumored as early as April 14, 1860, that the Butterfield Overland Mail Company or Overland Mail Company planned on starting their own horse express to compete with Russell, Majors, and Waddell. Reportedly, the Butterfield express proposed covering the 1,500 miles between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Los Angeles in five or six days, and transmitting telegraph messages between these two points.⁵³ Not to be outdone, C.O.C. & P.P. Express

⁴⁸ *New York Tribune*, 25 April 1860; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 30 April; and 10 May 1860.

⁴⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 10 April 1860.

⁵⁰ *Sacramento Daily Union*, 26 April 1860.

⁵¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 10 May 1860.

⁵² *Sacramento Daily Union*, 30 April 1860.

Co. agents confidently promised they would compete by establishing a similar enterprise reaching California in *four and a half days*, whether or not the telegraph was extended further westward from St. Joseph, Missouri. Of course, Californians welcomed this competitive challenge and the constant shortening of the time between them and the East. California newspapers encouraged people to patronize the Pony Express for the "good" of California.⁵⁴

The operation of the Pony Express appeared to be going so well, that on May 11, 1860, Postmaster General James Holt, annulled George Chorpenning's mail contract and gave it to the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. Prior to this date, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. carried the mail to Salt Lake City, where Chorpenning picked it up and delivered it to Sacramento by coaches and mules over the high mountain passes during the winter. Presumably, Holt was discontent with Chorpenning's service on the contract. This gave Russell, Majors, and Waddell the complete government mail/passenger contract from St. Joseph to Sacramento, which paid about \$260,000 per annum.⁵⁵ It is not clear from the historical literature whether or not the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. acquired or bought out Chorpenning's outfit and stations between Salt Lake City and Sacramento at this time.

Pyramid Lake War

People were charmed with the success of the Pony Express. Critics of the central overland route had expected that weather—violent storms, furious blizzards, blinding snows—or harsh terrain—immense mountain ranges, trackless wastes of sand and sagebush—or the physical hardships of being in the saddle for seventy-five or a hundred miles would defeat the Pony Express. These problems did not seem to daunt the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. operation. What confounded the operation of the Pony Express was the outbreak of the Pyramid Lake War, an event that no one foresaw or could have predicted. Nevertheless, the consequences of this incident crippled the operation of the Pony Express in May 1860 and for many months afterwards.

The circumstances leading to the Pyramid Lake War are these: After July 1859, when a major silver deposit was discovered in the Washoe hills, a great gold and silver rush ensued. By April 3, 1860, when the Pony Express began, the excitement continued as hundreds of miners looking to discover riches poured

⁵³ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 23 May 1860; and *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 April 1860.

⁵⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 May 1860.

⁵⁵ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 33-34.

into the region from all parts of California and elsewhere. The entry of so many people into the mineral region, that extended for 100 miles or more, naturally brought prospectors into conflict with the native inhabitants. Prospectors trespassed on Indian land, encroached on their limited resources of land, water, and feed, creating tensions between the Indians and the invading population, especially after the severe winter of 1859-1860.⁵⁶ In many respects, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was guilty of the same charges. The Pony Express also trespassed on Indian land as well. There is no record that the land upon which the stations were built, or even the corridor for the route across vast tracts of Indian territory, was ever purchased by agreement or treaty from the local inhabitants. Furthermore, in the desert areas, station sites were located at critical watering holes, thereby usurping this limited resource from the native inhabitants. For these reasons, conflicts between Indians and the trespassing riders, and stationkeepers working for the Pony Express was probably inevitable.

For the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., trouble with Indians and delays on the route were foreshadowed in late April 1860. During the April 18th St. Joseph to Sacramento run, the transportation of the express was detained six hours because Indians had driven off the pony rider's horses at Roberts Creek Station.⁵⁷ This incident should have forewarned Russell, Majors, and Waddell that isolated stations in the Nevada-Utah deserts were quite vulnerable to Indian depredations. That lesson came in early May.

On May 7, 1860, an incident at the Williams Station in Carson Valley set off what became known as the Pyramid Lake War. There are several versions of what exactly happened to begin this conflict.⁵⁸ According to one contemporary newspaper account, J.O. Williams and his brothers abused an Indian woman. According to this explanation:

⁵⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 16 April 1860; and Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 64-69.

⁵⁷ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 23 April 1860.

⁵⁸ For differing versions of this war see Russell R. Eliot, *History of Nevada*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973, 92-94; Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 71-75; and Edward C. Johnson, et al., *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974, 30-33.

an old Indian man went to Williams' house with a squaw, when four white men tied the buck Indian, and then each committed an atrocious outrage upon the Indian woman. They then let the buck go. He afterwards came back with other Indians, and put a white woman, who was in the house, out of doors, and also three white men who had nothing to do with the outrage. They then bound the four white men who abused the squaw, and burned them in the house.⁵⁹

The reaction of the miners and settlers was immediate. Fearing a general uprising against white settlements, and also seeking revenge for a supposed affront, volunteers were "formed into military companies" with the idea of "ridding the area" of all the Indians. The Indians were eventually defeated and forced to withdraw at Pyramid Lake, but not until they had ambushed a "motley group of volunteers" under Major William Ormsby, killing seventy-six and wounding twenty-nine men.⁶⁰

Thereafter, Indian raids occurred throughout the Nevada-Utah desert, aimed particularly at easy targets such as Pony Express stations.⁶¹ First, several Americans were killed at Miller's Station, thirty miles east of the settlements on the Carson River.⁶² Next, on Monday, May 21, 1860, Indians menaced Smith's Creek Station. Because of fear of an Indian attack, the Pony Express rider from Reese River to Carson delayed his ride at Smith Creek for thirty-six hours. At Simpson Park Station, on that same day and only a few miles east of Smith's Creek Station, Indians killed the stationkeeper, burned the station to the ground and drove off the stock. A short time after this attack, three persons associated with the Dry Creek Station were killed by Indians, and somewhere along this portion of the line two riders may have been killed as well.⁶³ Ironically, because the depredations disrupted service on the Pony Express route, the disturbing news

⁵⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 May 1860.

⁶⁰ Russell R. Eliot, *History of Nevada*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973, 92-94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Chicago Tribune*, 2 June 1860.

⁶³ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 May 1860; *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City), 7, 14 June 1860; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 June 1860; and *Chicago Tribune*, 13 June 1860.

of all these attacks on C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stations was brought East via the Butterfield Overland Mail Company.⁶⁴

William W. Finney, the San Francisco company agent, acted as quickly as possible in the crisis. First, Finney implored the government to send armed troops to secure the stations against further Indian attacks. Without this protection, Finney feared operation of the Pony Express would have to be interrupted, and the stations vulnerable to attack abandoned. Despite the urgency of the plea, officials of the Pacific Division of the Army regretted that they could not supply a guard because they did not have the means.⁶⁵

In the midst of these troubles, for an unknown reason besides bravado on the part of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. announced that starting on June 13, 1860, the company would run the Pony Express on a semi-weekly basis. The schedule for the new service changed to meet this demand. The new schedule stated that the Pony Express would leave St. Joseph every Wednesday and Saturday at 11 p.m. after the arrival of the eastern mail express by train.⁶⁶ Despite this announcement, the semi-weekly schedule was not implemented.

Meanwhile, faced with no other choice, Finney ordered a temporary suspension of the operation of the Pony Express between Carson Valley and Salt Lake City because of the Indian depredations.⁶⁷ With military assistance from the Pacific Division unavailable, Finney next tried to re-open the route from Carson City to Salt Lake City on his own. With contributions raised from San Francisco and Sacramento⁶⁸ (both cities that had a vested interest in the continued operation of the Pony Express), Finney outfitted and supplied a force of volunteers to secure the stations. During the first week of June, with a company of a twenty or so "well-armed" and "tried" men, Finney set out eastward toward Salt Lake City.

⁶⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, 19 June 1860.

⁶⁵ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 May 1860; and *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 June 1860.

⁶⁶ Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 108.

⁶⁷ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 May 1860; and *Sacramento Daily Union*, 1 June 1860.

⁶⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, 27 June 1860.

Their mission was to resupply and rebuild the destroyed stations, thereby reopening the route.⁶⁹

While Finney approached from the west, a similar effort was made from Camp Floyd, Utah Territory, going westward. Unlike Finney's effort, this effort apparently had a twenty-five man United States troop escort attached to it. Unlike the Pacific Division of the War Department, it seems that the War Department in Washington saw the value of the Pony Express. They ordered the commander at Camp Floyd to place a patrol guard along the entire route from Salt Lake City to the Carson Valley.⁷⁰ By the end of June, the two groups completed their mission and met at Sand Springs Station. Afterwards, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. placed at each station along this portion of the route five additional men, who rebuilt and guarded the corrals and stations. They used stone and adobe materials, where available, to fortify the facilities.⁷¹

While Indian troubles closed the Pony Express route from Diamond Springs to the Carson Valley throughout June,⁷² the Pony Express continued to make runs between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City. The distance from Salt Lake City to St. Joseph was 1,200 miles, and the Pony Express covered it in approximately five and half days. Maintaining this portion of the service brought little revenue to the company because the contents of the mochillas leaving Salt Lake City contained very few letters.⁷³

On June 25, 1860, almost a month since the Indian depredations began, the first pony rider from the East reached San Francisco without delay. Californians once again had the pleasure of receiving news via Pony Express.⁷⁴ Later, on July 8, 1860, approximately one hundred letters from San Francisco and thirty-one letters from Sacramento made their way across the continent on the return trip.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 5, 25 June 1860; *Sacramento Daily Union* 9 June 1860; *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City) 7 June 1860; and *Chicago Tribune* 30 June 1860.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Sacramento Daily Union*, 2 July 1860.

⁷² *Deseret News*, 6 June 1860.

⁷³ *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City), 7 June 1860; and *Chicago Tribune*, 31 May 1860.

⁷⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 25 June 1860.

⁷⁵ *Sacramento Daily Union*, 10 July 1860.

These letters did not speed across the Nevada-Utah deserts because government troops escorted the pony riders on the journey. The troop escorts slowed the swift Pony Express to a mere forty miles a day. These delays continued throughout the month of July 1860.⁷⁶

Back on Track?

With the Pony Express back in service, Californians hoped that the government would subsidize this deserving private enterprise. They feared that without this federal aid, those daring spirits who risked their lives carrying a "sack of letters" across the continent would be unprotected and in danger. Therefore, many Californians supported a bill in Congress authorizing the postmaster general to support the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. with \$2,000 per month for weekly trips and \$3,000 per month for semi-weekly trips. William H. Russell assured everyone that the Pony Express would be maintained whether or not this bill passed. The bill failed much to the disappointment of Russell and his partners.⁷⁷

Despite Russell's assurance, rumors abounded that the Pony Express was in deep financial trouble and that it would soon be discontinued altogether.⁷⁸ These rumors were partly true. The recent Indian disturbances that interrupted the regular service cost the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. upwards of \$75,000—more money than it cost the company to set up the system. This figure included the loss of stock, the cost of rebuilding stations, and the "extra expense incurred by the hiring of fifty men at fifty dollars per month to guard the Pony Express during the brief period while the Indian troubles were at their height." Much of the high cost was due in part to construction of "fortress" stations in the Nevada desert. These new stations were "60 feet square, with stone walls eight feet high, being designed to serve as forts when necessary." Whatever the cost, Russell, Majors, and Waddell saw the importance of keeping the route active. During the Indian crisis Russell telegraphed orders to clear the route at any expense. Aware of their fiscal dilemma, Majors and Waddell sent Russell to Washington, D.C., to convince government officials, especially Postmaster General Holt, to give a small government contract to the company "to keep the Pony Express from going down altogether."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 31 July 1860.

⁷⁷ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 June 1860.

⁷⁸ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 2 August 1860.

⁷⁹ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 25 August 1860; and *Chicago Tribune*, 25 August 1860.

Russell tried to allay public fears regarding the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. financial state by publicly addressing them with bravado and half-truths. In the *New York Times*, Russell stated that the Pony Express was "running semi-weekly from each end of the route, and will arrive 'regularly' hereafter, as the Indian difficulties have been suppressed by Government troops."⁸⁰ But only weeks after his statement, Indian depredations again disrupted service over the central mail route.

This time the trouble began at Egan Canyon, and affected the Schell Creek and Dry Creek Stations as well.⁸¹ The *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* described the attack in full detail. On August 11, 1860, several hundred Indians came to the Egan Canyon Station, and according to the newspaper, demanded:

some powder and lead of the men in charge of the station, which they refused to let them have as a matter of course. They then wanted some provisions, and the men gave them two sacks of flour, and some sugar and coffee. One of the men then started out after the animals kept at that place, when the Indians told him that he could not go, and that they would take care of the animals themselves, and commenced singing and hallooing at a great rate. At that instant Lieutenant Weed, with twenty-five soldiers, came up and attacked the Indians, who returned the fire, wounding three men. . . .The Indians fled without driving off any of the stock. About the same time, six or eight Indians went to where some men were mowing, near Deep Creek, and ordered them away, but went off without molesting them further. They came back next morning, when four soldiers, who had secreted themselves in a wagon, fired on them, wounding two mortally. The others fled.⁸²

On the next day, the Indians made an attack on Schell Creek Station east of Egan Canyon Station. Two parties of Indians made a surprise attack, but no one was killed or wounded here. Thereafter, the Indians surrounded the station and drove off part of the stock. About a half an hour after the attack, Lieutenant Weed of the United States Army arrived, attacked and killed seventeen of the Indians,

⁸⁰ *New York Times*, 2 August 1860.

⁸¹ *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City), 23 August 1860; and *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 4 September 1860.

⁸² *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 21 August 1860.

wounding many more.⁸³ Unlike the May 1860 attacks, the station employees were prepared for these aggressions. In late July, the Acting Adjutant General in Utah had issued 100 revolvers and 800 cartridges to the Pony Express agent in Salt Lake City, who distributed them to the riders in order to defend themselves against Indian attack.⁸⁴

California newspapers hoped that these latest difficulties would not deter the efforts of the Pony Express, nor prevent merchants and businessmen from patronizing this private enterprise.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, by late August, Russell, Majors, and Waddell appear to have grown wary about continuing their unprofitable and financially draining venture—most likely because of the recent Indian depredations and the cost of protecting the stations in Nevada. In a company meeting, they decided to continue the operations until January 1861. By then, if Congress refused to patronize the route, they resolved to abandon the enterprise altogether.⁸⁶

Pressure to make that fateful decision came in mid-October, when rumors abounded that the federal government would not automatically renew the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s contract to carry the mail from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City. Ostensibly, when Russell, Majors, and Waddell's contract expired on November 30, 1860, Postmaster General Holt contemplated the idea of establishing yet a new mail route from Omaha to Salt Lake City.⁸⁷

When this news became public, the *New York Times* reproached President Buchanan for even considering cutting off the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. mail contract, and awarding it to another party.⁸⁸ The *San Francisco Daily Evening*

⁸³ *Chicago Tribune*, 23 August; 4 September 1860; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 21 August 1860.

⁸⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 13 August 1860. This incident was not the last delay in the mail service caused by incidents with Indians. In October, the Pony was delayed for 24 hours because several Indians had run off the ponies at Bear River Station near the Utah border. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 29 October 1860.

⁸⁵ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 17 August 1860.

⁸⁶ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat* 25 August 1860.

⁸⁷ Postmaster General Holt later changed his mind because the Omaha route proved 140 miles longer than the St. Joseph to Salt Lake City route. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 October 1860.

⁸⁸ *New York Times*, 20 October 1860.

Bulletin openly supported the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s as well, pointing out that "besides Californians, other large classes of people will be injured by the breaking up of the Placerville to St. Joseph mail, including the large numbers of Americans in the mining regions of Nevada and Colorado whose only means of direct communication was the Pony Express."⁸⁹

Russell, in conversations and a letter printed in the *Sacramento Daily Union* and the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* stated that if the federal government failed to renew C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s contract, then they would discontinue the Pony Express out of necessity. Russell stated that he was convinced that if the Pony Express had not been interrupted by Indian conflicts, it would be paying for itself. All he asked was for a "regular, reasonable mail contract, which would justify them in stocking the road, building convenient stations, and keeping open the communication line." Once the Pony Express was broken up, Russell publicly doubted that another party would invest money on such an uncertainty. At the end of his letter, Russell added that the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. had attained its principal object, that of "demonstrating that the [central mail] route is feasible and practical."⁹⁰

Russell's comments revealed the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s concerns. Simply put, the Pony Express could not pay for itself without the federal mail/passenger contract to subsidize and pay for its expenses. Fortunately for the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the Post Office Department renewed their St. Joseph to Salt Lake City mail/passenger contract on October 28, 1860.⁹¹

Meanwhile, in order to demonstrate the importance and viability of the Pony Express to the country, Russell, Majors, and Waddell determined in late October 1860 (before renewing their contract) to make special arrangements to carry November's election news to California as swiftly as possible. Telegraph lines originating from the east had been progressed at approximately twenty miles a day from St. Joseph. By election day of 1860, the telegraph was expected to reach to Ft. Kearney. Russell, Majors, and Waddell decided to carry the telegraphic dispatch of the election from Ft. Kearney via Pony Express to the wire service at Fort Churchill (east of Carson City) in a projected five days. Riders along the

⁸⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 13 October 1860.

⁹⁰ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 16 October; 10 November 1860; and *Sacramento Daily Union*, 18 October 1860.

⁹¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 29 October 1860.

entire line of stations between these two points were given notice to be ready and on the alert for this special run.⁹²

Fortunately for Russell, Majors, and Waddell, everything went according to plan. At 1:00 p.m. on November 7, 1860, a special Pony Express left Ft. Kearney carrying the news of the election of President Abraham Lincoln. The rider and the horse were decorated with ribbons and departed amid a large and enthusiastic gathering.⁹³ The special Pony Express arrived in Salt Lake City in three days and four hours, despite heavy snows in the area.⁹⁴ The memorable ride carrying the news of Lincoln's election traveled to San Francisco within the projected five days. Almost immediately in text and by lithograph, the event was praised as one of the most significant accomplishments of the Pony Express.⁹⁵

Following this special event, regular service resumed along the route. By the end of December 1860, nearly 1,200 letters had been sent from California eastward, while approximately 400 were received from the East. Patronage had nearly doubled since August, when the last Indian troubles occurred. By January 1861, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s business prospects appeared brighter.⁹⁶

Still, there were problems. Facing its first real test of operating in the winter, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. backed away from its normal operating schedule. The company informed the public that after the 1st of December and during the winter, New York news would be fifteen days in transit to San Francisco and eleven days between telegraph stations.⁹⁷ Actually, Russell had hoped to convince Postmaster General Holt that the Pony Express could carry the mail through to California on a daily or a tri-weekly basis that winter. He even offered to bond the service, and if it were delayed or his company failed, he would forfeit these bonds. Holt remained unconvinced. Consequently, out of financial considerations, Russell, Majors, and Waddell reduced their Pony Express schedule during the winter of 1860-1861.⁹⁸

⁹² *Sacramento Daily Union*, 13, 15 November 1860; *St. Louis Missouri Democrat* 6 November 1860; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 19 November 1860.

⁹³ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 8 November 1860.

⁹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, 26 November 1860.

⁹⁵ Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 325-326.

⁹⁶ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 19 January 1861.

⁹⁷ *Deseret News*, 28 November 1860.

It was fortunate that Holt had not accepted Russell's offer. The first full winter for the Pony Express tested the system to the extreme. Significant delays occurred. During December, heavy snows hit the Sierra Nevada region. Fortunately, the roads through the passes of the Sierra Nevadas were made passable by the constant passage of teams to and from the Washoe mines. This constant traffic aided in keeping the route open for the Pony Express. Unfortunately, when these same storms extended to the mountainous portions of the route in the Great Basin, and the trackless desolate regions between Salt Lake City and Fort Laramie, they became unbreachable obstacles.⁹⁹ Inevitably, as the snows piled up, they delayed the Pony Express. A single horseman could barely break passage through the unbroken winter snowfields. By mid-January, heavy snows covered nearly the entire route from California to Missouri, delaying the passage of the Pony Express by two days.¹⁰⁰ By the end of January, additional bad storms in the mountains caused a four-day delay for the entire operation.¹⁰¹

The winter storms proved that the Pony Express could not endure a harsh winter and still maintain a regular schedule. Without a line of stagecoaches daily breaking trail, the snows proved an insurmountable obstacle for the lone horseman. In this severe and final test, winter won. If this defeat was not enough to confront that winter, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell faced new troubles that spelled the ultimate demise of the Pony Express—serious criminal charges against William H. Russell for stealing bonds from the Interior Department to support and maintain their Pony Express business.

Indian depredations and weather—these undermined the effective operation of the Pony Express and presented difficult obstacles to overcome. But the financial scandal clinched the end of the Pony Express and brought about its eventual end.

OPERATION OF THE PONY EXPRESS, 1861

While the winter storms swirled over the nation in January 1861, William H. Russell faced a storm of publicity regarding his role in stealing Interior

⁹⁸ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 27 November 1860.

⁹⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 29 December 1860.

¹⁰⁰ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 21 January 1861.

¹⁰¹ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 1 February 1861.

Department bonds. The scandal unraveled the wavering finances of Russell, Majors, and Waddell and the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., displaying them before the public eye. What the public and their creditors saw was a firm in deep financial trouble, burdened with debts that emanated from a number of avoidable and ineluctable factors.

Financial Quagmire, 1857-1860

"The plain fact is," according to one historian, "the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell had been bankrupt since the winter of 1857-58. . . .The cause was the so called Mormon War in Utah." During the Utah War, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell lost several wagon trains of provisions, oxen and equipment for which they were not reimbursed. Thereafter, in 1858, when the War Department failed to pay the freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell for the 1857 freighting contract because of difficulties in passing the appropriation bill, the firm was left without funds from which to pay for wagons, oxen, and supplies for the next year's military contract. It will be remembered from an earlier discussion, the firm solved their financial problem when Russell convinced Secretary of War John B. Floyd to write "letters to bankers and financiers urging them to lend Russell large sums of money upon the acceptances as security." From March, 1858 to October 1860, some \$5,036,127 of acceptances were issued against anticipated earnings from the 1858 military freighting contract.¹⁰²

While dealing with financial quagmire, Russell, Majors, and Waddell took on new financial obligations. First, Russell and his partner, organized the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company in 1859, but a year later, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell was forced to assume control of L. & P.P. Express Co. because it fell upon difficult times. Russell, Majors, and Waddell reorganized the L. & P.P. Express Co. and renamed it the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company or the Pony Express. The operation of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. during 1860 only indebteded the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell even further.

Despite these problems, in the spring of 1860, Russell, Majors, and Waddell outfitted to freight supplies for military posts as usual. They managed to purchase supplies on credit and borrow additional monies to employ men for their yearly seasonal operation, thereby increasing their debt yet again. Then calamity struck when for various reasons their wagon trains, which should have left in

¹⁰² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 168-171.

March, were not put on the road until August and September—a delay of four or five months. This delay cost the firm dearly, because the company had to pay for idle men and equipment during the months between March and August. Since they could not get paid by the War Department until they presented their bills of lading, Russell, Majors, and Waddell had to take out additional notes to cover their initial notes that were due in mid-summer. This delay caused by their own misjudgment damaged their credit line even further.¹⁰³

While facing these difficulties in their freighting business, Russell, Majors, and Waddell hoped that the Pony Express would convince Congress of the viability of the central route and thereby secure the firm a large overland mail contract. Instead, the unforeseen Indian depredations along the Nevada-Utah portion of the route in May and June 1860. The C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. suspended Pony Express service for a time until the line could be resupplied, restocked, and fortified against further Indian attacks, steps which added to the firm's growing debt. Russell, ever optimistic and boldly believing in the freighting firm's capacities, brushed off and ignored these problems. Russell sanguinely expected to close in on a contract for overland mail worth some \$600,000 to \$900,000 per year.¹⁰⁴

For a time, it looked like C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. might get the overland mail contract they sought, especially since they had successfully completed the first run of the Pony Express. That spring, Congress vigorously debated the mail routes to the Pacific. During the debates, the Overland Mail Company route was thoroughly discredited when it was revealed that postage receipts for the \$600,000 a year route amounted to only \$27,229.94. To capitalize on the point, on April 11, 1860, Senator William M. Gwin of California introduced a measure providing for "semi-weekly service carrying all the mail from the Missouri River to Placerville, California in twenty days along the line of the Pony Express on the Central route, with a daily mail to Salt Lake City." Since the post office contract for ocean service was due to expire in June 1860, both Russell and Senator Gwin were almost certain that the central overland mail contract would replace it. The expiration of the ocean service left either the Overland Mail Company on the discredited

¹⁰³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 172; and Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966, 127-128.

¹⁰⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 172; and Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 124 and 161.

southern route, or Russell, Majors, and Waddell's Pony Express as the only means of communication with California. However, no contract materialized; Congress adjourned at the end of June 1860 without passing a bill for a central overland mail route.¹⁰⁵

Bond Scandal

When Congress adjourned, Russell, Majors, and Waddell were in a despairing state without the contract they dearly needed to stave off imminent bankruptcy. At the end of July, some \$200,000 of acceptances, backed by Secretary of the War John B. Floyd's signature and used as collateral for their increasing debts, were coming due for collection. Russell, Majors, and Waddell had no money to pay these debts. They knew if they missed their deadline, their acceptances would be protested for nonpayment. Ultimately the scandal associated with nonpayment would probably force Secretary Floyd to resign his cabinet post, since he backed them with his personal signature. All members of the firm acknowledged that they soon would be bankrupt, however Russell remained optimistic, believing that somehow he would find a way out.¹⁰⁶

Fortunately, or unfortunately, while William H. Russell was on his way back to Washington, D.C., from an unsuccessful trip to New York to raise the necessary cash, he met Luke Lea, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs. During their chance encounter, Russell explained his situation to Lea. The Commissioner told Russell he could not help him personally. However, Lea suggested that Godard Bailey, a relative of Secretary Floyd's wife, might be able to help him. Russell met Bailey and discussed the situation with him. Bailey wanted to protect the reputation and career of Secretary Floyd, and inquired into the matter. After a few days, Bailey decided to help Russell by "loaning" him security bonds worth \$150,000. Bailey did not ask Russell for any "interest, commission, or compensation whatever for their use," however, Bailey did stipulate to Russell that the individual bonds would have to be returned. Russell took the "loaned" bonds to New York, misrepresented them as his own, and pledged them as security to various investors for ninety days or less. He raised a total of \$97,000 with the borrowed bonds, a sum that temporarily eased Russell, Majors and Waddell's critical state of affairs and saved them from bankruptcy in mid-July.

¹⁰⁵ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 123-125.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 131.

Clearly, what Russell had done was very close to embezzlement. Prior to this event, Russell had not done anything dishonest in his business dealings.¹⁰⁷

In normal times, Russell may have succeeded in this scheme and put the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell back on a course of fiscal responsibility. However, these were troubled times because of the rising sectionalism between the North and South and the approach of the Civil War. As it turned out, Bailey had not been totally honest with Russell about the ownership of the "loaned" bonds. Bailey was not the owner of the bonds either, but was only the "custodian" of the bonds. The bonds were part of what was known as the Indian Trust Fund (payments made to Indian tribes that were held in interest bearing bonds by the government). As tensions mounted between the North and South, holders of these bonds wished to sell them and Bailey needed them returned. Russell had not known that Bailey had no legal right to loan him the bonds, and when Bailey asked for them back, Russell was backed into a corner. He and the company had no money to redeem the bonds or liquidate the acceptances backed by Floyd's signature. Now, according to one historian, he was a "thoroughly frightened, practically helpless man on the brink of financial ruin."¹⁰⁸

At this point, Russell should have quit trying to cover up the company's bad financial state. Instead he "borrowed" a second group of bonds from the Indian Trust Fund worth \$387,000, and gave Bailey a note for \$537,000, the face value of both borrowed bond groups. This action was clearly embezzlement since Russell knew his note was worthless. Notwithstanding, the second lot of borrowed bonds did not solve the firm's fiscal situation either. Because of the impending sectional crisis, Russell had to heavily discount this second batch of bonds in order to raise cash. To alleviate some of the pressure, in September, 1860, Russell called a meeting with bank representatives and private investors in St. Louis and elsewhere, who held Secretary Floyd's acceptances. He told them his firm presently could not pay on their debts and then boldly asked them for an additional \$200,000 loan to carry the firm through its financial crisis. Given the circumstances, the investors had no choice but to grant him the loan if they were ever to see their money again. Another financial crisis in the affairs of the Russell, Majors, and Waddell was averted temporarily.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 132-133.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 132-135.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 137-140.

After not getting caught for embezzlement for the second dip into the Indian Trust Fund, it became easier for Russell to rationalize a third trip to the well. By mid-December, Russell, Majors, and Waddell were once again on the brink of bankruptcy. In order to meet this latest emergency, Russell approached Godard Bailey once again. He convinced him that the Russell, Majors, and Waddell's affairs were in order. Bailey furnished him an additional \$333,000 worth of Indian Trust Funds, making a grand total of \$870,000 that Russell "illegally appropriated for his own use." As he had done before, Russell took the third group of bonds to New York to raise needed capital for Russell, Majors, and Waddell.¹¹⁰

Russell might have carried off his last embezzlement scheme were it not for the good conscience of Godard Bailey. Only a few days after he loaned the third group of bonds to Russell, Bailey despaired over what he had done. On December 1, 1860, he wrote out a full confession, but did not deliver it to friends until December 22, 1860. Immediately, his friends advised him to confess everything and to "make no attempt to escape, and take the consequences, as he alone was to blame for the whole difficulty." Secretary Floyd as well as President Buchanan were informed of the embezzlement as well. The president called an emergency meeting of his cabinet, questioned Bailey thoroughly, then ordered his arrest, setting his bond at a modest five thousand dollars.¹¹¹

William Russell never thought or feared that Bailey would reveal their transactions. So on Christmas Eve, 1860, when a United States marshal arrested him in New York City and then transported him to Washington, D.C., he was taken completely by surprise. Russell's bond was not set at a mere \$5,000. Instead, his bail was set at \$500,000! Since Russell could not meet the bail requirements, he was remanded to jail. Fortunately, public reaction to this exceedingly high sum forced the reduction of bail, and he was set free to stand trial.¹¹²

When the public heard the news of bond scandal, it created a "sensation, not only in Washington, New York, Boston and elsewhere in the East, but throughout the country." Conveniently overlooking Russell's clear criminal behavior, friends of Russell accused President Buchanan and the friends of the southern route of

¹¹⁰ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 138-142; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 176.

¹¹¹ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 143-144.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 144-146.

setting a trap for Russell. Others blamed the government in general for driving Russell, Majors, and Waddell into bankruptcy by not paying their claims in the Utah War.¹¹³ Western newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, took that viewpoint when the news reached them on January 11, 1861.

The charge appears to be a criminal one, but the fact that the Government owes the Company a large amount which the Treasury Department has not been in condition to pay, renders it probable that nothing will be lost eventually by the alleged crime.¹¹⁴

At once, a select congressional committee was appointed to investigate the case. On January 11, 18, and 23, 1861, Russell voluntarily appeared before this body. He submitted a written statement that discussed his taking of the bonds and securing acceptances against them and the reasons for them. On January 29, 1861, a grand jury for the District of Columbia indicted William H. Russell, Godard Bailey, and Secretary John B. Floyd for conspiracy to "combine, confederate and agree together by wrongful means to cheat, defraud, and impoverish the United States."¹¹⁵

Russell was saved from prosecution because the approach of the Civil War interfered with the case. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union, and during the weeks of January, one southern state after another voted to secede from the Union. First Mississippi, and then Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana followed South Carolina's action. Eventually, these Southern states formed a provisional confederate government. Naturally, the nation focused attention on these events rather than on the Russell bond scandal. In time, the indictment against Russell was quashed. On March 11, 1861, though Russell certainly was "guilty of feloniously and knowingly receiving stolen securities and appropriating them for his own purposes," he was freed on technicality of the law. None of the bonds were ever recovered, and Congress was forced to reimburse the Indian Trust Fund to the tune of \$759,525.56.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ibid., 146-147.

¹¹⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 11 January 1861.

¹¹⁵ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 149-151.

¹¹⁶ Floyd's case was dropped because clearly he was not involved and there was no proof to sustain the indictment. Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 151-155.

The bond scandal ruined the reputations of Russell, Majors, and Waddell in the community, and the firm soon collapsed into bankruptcy to its creditors. Those who trusted the institution of Russell, Majors, and Waddell—namely the people and hundreds of creditors of Lexington, Kansas City, Leavenworth, St. Joseph, and elsewhere in western Missouri, were hurt the most by the bond scandal as they tried to recoup their losses.¹¹⁷

OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY CONTRACT

When the bond scandal broke, the people of California naturally became alarmed about whether or not the Pony Express would continue. By this time, they relied on the service, and feared their communication link with the rest of the nation would be cut. With the country's sectional problems reaching a crisis, Californians and other westerners needed the services of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. even more than before.

Though the bond scandal brought down the freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was a separate corporation, and continued to "function under its original management as though nothing had happened." It continued to "capture the admiration of the public as its stage coaches ran regularly to Salt Lake City, Denver, and Sacramento,"¹¹⁸

Russell continued to lobby for a central overland mail route contract in Congress, but with little success until disturbing news reached Washington, D.C., on February 23, 1861, that Texas had seceded from the Union. Not long after, reports reached Washington, D.C., that the Overland Mail Company's line had been destroyed in southern Missouri and Texas by Confederate troops. Without a southern mail route, the "battle of the routes" no longer existed for Russell to fight.¹¹⁹ This news greatly encouraged Russell, especially when the Post Office Appropriation bill presented in Congress contained a provision for a route providing "daily mail from Missouri to California, with pay not to exceed

¹¹⁷ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 157-160.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 160-161.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 162.

\$800,000." This bill essentially prevented United States mail from passing through any seceded states on its way to California.¹²⁰

Russell set out to win the all-important mail contract for the central route. The C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was in an excellent position because it already held the government mail contracts covering the route from Missouri to California. Though the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.'s contracts could be annulled for cause by the postmaster general, that decision could not be executed because the Pony Express ran smoothly during the early months of 1861, in spite of the woes of the Russell, Majors, and Waddell. On the other hand, the postmaster general could not annul the Overland Mail Company's contract and simply give it to C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. It should be remembered that the customary clause giving the postmaster general revisory power had been omitted from the Butterfield contract, and their contract still had at least two years to run.¹²¹

On March 2nd, to solve the contracting predicament with the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. and Overland Mail Company, and to protect communication lines with California, both houses of Congress, with President Buchanan's approval, modified the Overland Mail Company mail service contract by discontinuing the transportation of mail along the southern route and transferring it to a new central overland route. This new service would originate in St. Joseph, (or Atchison, in Kansas) and provide mail service to Placerville, California, six times a week. In addition to this new route, the contract required that the company "run a pony express semi-weekly at a schedule time of ten days . . . charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding \$1 per half ounce" until the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line.¹²² Essentially the federal government turned the western half of the central route mail contract (Salt Lake City to Placerville, California) that the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. previously operated over to the Overland Mail Company. In exchange for giving this segment of the passenger/mail route to the Overland Mail Company, the government promised to indirectly support the Pony Express until the completion of the telegraph.¹²³

¹²⁰ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 161-162; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 14 March 1861.

¹²¹ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 161-164.

¹²² U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*, 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

¹²³ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 162-163; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 181-

For several reasons, this unusual arrangement held both the support of William H. Russell, president of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., and William B. Dinsmore, president of the Overland Mail Company. The Overland Mail Company lacked the finances to run the entire central route alone. It needed the services and stations of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stations along the route. On the other hand, Russell and his partners were in no position to argue because they needed financial support for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.¹²⁴

On March 16, 1860, the two companies signed a contract validating this arrangement. This contract made the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. a "subcontractor on the line it hitherto operated alone," and compensated the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. \$470,000 to operate the eastern half of the line. The contract also stated that the two companies had to divide equally the receipts from the Pony Express, with each "company paying the expenses on its own part of the route." In addition to these stipulations, the Overland Mail Company "reserved the right to make an exclusive contract with the Wells Fargo Express Company for all express business west of Salt Lake City and for all business originating west of Salt Lake City going East, the receipts to be divided equally."¹²⁵

According to one historian, this contract with the Overland Mail Company was auspicious for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.,

considering that Russell was under a cloud in Washington, his credit destroyed in the East, and he and his partners bankrupt. . . . Only by a stroke of good luck and favorable circumstances was he [Russell] able to participate in the million-dollar overland mail contract at all. Had the [Butterfield] Overland Mail Company been financially able to handle the whole route, Russell would probably have been thrust entirely out of this picture.¹²⁶

182.

124 Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 161-164; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 181-

182.

125 Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 162-163; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 181-

182.

126 Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 164.

CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE PONY EXPRESS, 1861

During the lobbying for a central overland mail route contract, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. continued to run the Pony Express on schedule. Following Abraham Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861, the Pony Express made yet another important ride—carrying this important news to the Trans-Missouri West.¹²⁷ Following Lincoln's inauguration, a Confederate Congress met on March 11th to organize a constitution stressing states' rights and protecting slavery. One month later, on April 12, 1861, South Carolina troops fired upon Fort Sumter. Within days, President Lincoln declared a "state of insurrection," which in affect declared a state of war.

The onset of the Civil War saw westerners eagerly anticipating the arrival of each Pony Express, with thousands of people congregating in the streets anxiously discussing the changing state of events. In the ten days between Pony Express rides, events transpired rapidly. For instance, when Californians learned that the nation's capital was exposed to Confederate troops from Virginia, they waited and worried for ten days to learn whether it had fallen into the hands of the Confederacy. During that time period, many people feared that "traitors were in possession of the Federal City, laying their destroying hands on national archives, and defacing the national monuments."¹²⁸

By the spring of 1861, the Pony Express was back on schedule and it was even early sometimes.¹²⁹ With the spring came the transfer of the responsibilities for the Pony Express west of Salt Lake City to the Wells Fargo and Company. On April 15, 1861, William H. Russell ordered that C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. offices in San Francisco and Sacramento be turned over to Wells Fargo & Company. Wells Fargo was made the temporary agent for the Pony Express and served in that role until July 1, 1861, when the Overland Mail Company took over the operation of the route between California and Utah.¹³⁰ San Francisco newspapers announced the changeover, stating simply that Wells Fargo & Company had become the pony agents and that they were reducing rates from \$2.50 for a letter of one fourth ounce to \$2.00 for half an ounce of weight.¹³¹ This arrangement

¹²⁷ *Deseret News*, 13 March 1861.

¹²⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, 21 May; and 28 June 1861.

¹²⁹ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 27 March 1861.

¹³⁰ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 165.

¹³¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 15 April 1861.

continued until the stated date, when Wells Fargo & Company began handling the "express, passenger and mail business, including Pony Express letters." One scholar contended that the relationship between Wells Fargo & Company and the Pony Express amounted to one of ownership or having an "interest" in the business.¹³² However, others contend that Wells Fargo never "owned the institution or had anything to do with the making of policies, fixing of rates, or the executive administration of business." The only official relationship between Wells Fargo & Company and the original Pony Express owned by the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was as a temporary western agent from April 15 to July 1, 1861.¹³³

On the other end of the route, the United States Express Company acted as agents for the Pony Express in St. Louis. Newspapers announced that the United States Express Company had succeeded Samuel & Allen as Pony Express agents in the city, and that the rates had been reduced there as well.¹³⁴ By May 1, 1861, American Express Company advertisements appeared in St. Louis papers, stating that letters received at their offices could be sent to California via Pony Express at St. Joseph every Wednesday and Saturday. Alongside these advertisements stood those of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.¹³⁵

With the anticipated revenues, Russell, Majors, and Waddell hoped to profit enough to pay their debts. However, Russell's days as president of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. were limited. On March 28, 1861, he made a public statement printed in most major newspapers nationwide. In this statement, he confessed that he had accepted the second and third lot of bonds from Godard Bailey, knowing full well that it was tantamount to embezzlement. His only defense to the country was that the "government owed his firm a large sum of money for losses in Utah in 1857-58." On April 26, 1861, he was asked to resign, and Russell

¹³² See W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo: Symbol of the Wild West?" *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, no. 2 (April 1972): 190-191; and W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo's Pony Expresses," *Journal of the West* Vol. XI, no. 3 (July 1972): 412- 426.

¹³³ See Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 165; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 184-186.

¹³⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 20 April 1861.

¹³⁵ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 1 May 1861.

tendered his resignation. Bela M. Hughes, a close friend of the remaining partners, was elected to replace him as president of the firm. Hughes was a St. Joseph lawyer and an agent for the company in that city.¹³⁶

Meanwhile, in late June 1861, the first pole of the Overland Telegraph Company was planted east of Fort Churchill, Nevada. The telegraph company hoped to lay wire at the rate of five miles a day, constructing a new telegraph station every fifty miles. Since the telegraph wire usually followed the line of the daily mail stations of the Pony Express and the Overland Mail Company, each fifty miles of wire shortened the time in which news by Pony Express could be sent by five hours.¹³⁷

Throughout July and August of 1861, the communication distance between the east and west coasts shortened every week. With each push of the telegraph line, the news of its accomplishment was published in the newspapers. By July 26, 1861, the telegraph line extended as far east from California as Sand Springs Station, linking the East and West by just seven day's time.¹³⁸ By August 8th, the telegraph had been extended to Reese River Station, 132 miles east of Fort Churchill.¹³⁹ By August 13th, Pony Express news was being telegraphed to San Francisco a whole two days before Pony Express letters arrived. By August, the Overland Telegraph Company had also extended the telegraph wire fifty miles west of Ft. Kearney, Nebraska.¹⁴⁰ Several weeks later in September, a crew from Salt Lake City started eastward to meet the line coming from Ft. Kearney and prosecuted their work with "equal energy" as their counterparts.¹⁴¹

During the progress of the Overland Telegraph Company, the Pony Express continued in operation filling the gaps between telegraph stations. By September 18th, a typical transmission of news was sent as follows:

¹³⁶ Settles, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, 165; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 179 and 187-188.

¹³⁷ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 June 1861.

¹³⁸ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 July 1861.

¹³⁹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 8, 17 August 1861.

¹⁴⁰ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 12 August 1861; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 17 August 1861.

¹⁴¹ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 13 September 1861.

By telegraph from St. Joseph to 100 miles west of Ft. Kearney; thence by Pony to Julesburg; by telegraph from Julesburg to a point nearly 250 miles from the latter place; then the Pony will take up the dispatches and convey them to the first telegraph station. . . .¹⁴²

One scholar proposed that the patronage of the Pony Express decreased with the construction of each section of the telegraph.¹⁴³ However, the following chart indicates that the rate of patronage actually increased from March to October, 1861:¹⁴⁴

<u>Date</u>	<u>Total No. of Addressees</u>	<u>Total No. Letters/Newspapers Received</u>
3/4/61	63	74
3/12/61	20	21
4/13/61	33	36
5/2/61	48	51
5/22/61	61	65
6/12/61	61	61
7/3/61	80	83
8/7/61	160	175
9/23/61	94	94
9/26/61	141	141
10/29/61	153	154

Despite this successful business, the last link of the Overland Telegraph, which had begun on July 4, 1858, when the first pole was erected east of Placerville, was completed. On October 26, 1861, the first news dispatch by telegraph was sent all the way to San Francisco, bringing instantaneous communication with every important city in the East.¹⁴⁵ Thereafter, businessmen crowded into the telegraph offices to send business dispatches via telegraph. Before the telegraph was completed, they paid upwards of \$150 for sending a dispatch by Pony Express. That rate was dropped to approximately \$50 for the privilege of communicating

¹⁴² *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 18 September 1861.

¹⁴³ W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo's Pony Expresses," *Journal of the West* Vol. XI, no. 3 (July 1972): 425.

¹⁴⁴ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, March-October, 1861.

¹⁴⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, 28 October 1861; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 7 November 1861.

with the East by telegraph.¹⁴⁶ Following the completion of the telegraph wire, San Francisco and other newspapers stopped printing the list of letters transported via Pony Express, and stopped using the by-line "Per Pony Express." The Pony Express left the stage of the history of the American West.¹⁴⁷

Now that the nation had two means of transcontinental communication (two choices—the transcontinental telegraphic wire, and the Overland Mail Company), many people thought that Californians should be satisfied and not appeal to Congress for better mail service. Some Californians disagreed. They thought that the telegraphic line was still too uncertain a system, especially since in its early days the wire had many difficulties that caused considerable delays. On the other hand, others thought that the Overland Mail Company mail/passenger service was altogether too slow. Ideally, these unsatisfied individuals yearned for a service that had reliability and speed—a permanent Pony Express.

The *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* editorialized on this point during the last days of the Pony Express, stating:

We need a well organized Pony Express, capable of crossing from St. Louis to San Francisco regularly within ten days time, to remedy both of these evils, and make our communication with the Atlantic States as perfect as it can be. Congress was guilty of a great lack of wisdom and foresight, when it inserted a clause in the Overland Mail bill which allowed the discontinuance of the Pony Express so soon as the telegraph line should be completed, for its appropriations were sufficiently liberal to have rendered both the Mail and the Express permanent institutions.

. . . It requires but a few thousand dollars to re-establish the Pony Express, so that fifteen days will be ample time to send letters from California to Washington.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 4 December 1861.

¹⁴⁷ For instance, the last of letters published list in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* was printed on *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 22 November 1861.

¹⁴⁸ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 7 January 1862.

Despite this popular support, the Pony Express was not reestablished. After October 26, 1861, when the Pony Express was officially discontinued because of the completion of the transcontinental telegraph, the Pony Express moved into the annals of history as a significant page in transportation and communication history.

Chapter 4

DIVISION ONE: STATIONS BETWEEN ST. JOSEPH AND FORT KEARNEY

INTRODUCTION

The following five chapters contain a list of 184 potential Pony Express station sites, located in seven states, stretching from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco, California. All stations associated with the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company for any period of time have been included in the text. This historical resource study of the Pony Express National Historic Trail synthesizes information from a broad base of primary and secondary sources regarding station sites. Whenever possible, the station history provided in this report includes general location, historical information, National Register of Historic Places listing date and number (NR, date, number), where available, and the current status of any buildings, or artifacts on the site.

While some stations' names, locations, and functions (home or relay station) have been concisely defined, information on others suffer from large inconsistencies in the documentation. Thus, the author has marked all stations of questionable existence or relationship with the Pony Express National Historic Trail with an asterisk (*) beside the name. Furthermore, since discrepancies also exist regarding home and relay stations, the author has made no assessment of these functions for each station. However, the text does incorporate and document other authors' points of view in relation to home versus relay station status.

In the area of geographic locations, the author makes no statement as to whether the stations are located on private, state, or public lands. Since the majority of the Pony Express stations require additional research, which includes field surveying, the author believes that the status of land will be gathered for each station during that intensive investigation process.

Through a process of consolidating a number of perspectives set forth by a variety of authors on the subject of the Pony Express stations, as well as examining some primary material, the following five chapters contain a cursory review of the history of the stations owned, operated, and used by the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.

Division One of the the Pony Express National Historic Trail includes twenty-six stations in the states of Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. The following chapter discusses the starting point of the Pony Express National Historic Trail at the St. Joseph Home Station, as well as the Pony Express stables and monuments associated with the enterprise. After leaving St. Joseph and crossing the Missouri River, twelve stations are located to the west in the state of Kansas. Division One then stretches only partially through Nebraska and covers thirteen additional stations. Six of the sites discussed in this chapter are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

MISSOURI

In St. Joseph, Missouri, there are several sites that are associated with St. Joseph Home Station area and the Pony Express National Historic Trail. They include the following:

1. ST. JOSEPH STATION AREA

- A. Pony Express Stables: NR, 4/3/70, 70000322

The stables, located at 914 Penn Street, face Patee Park in Saint Joseph, Missouri. In 1858, Ben Holladay constructed the original pine clad building, known as the Pike's Peak Stable, to serve his transportation business to Colorado. The original stable measured 60 x 120 feet and housed approximately 200 horses. Thirty years later, the St. Joseph Transfer Company remodeled the stables after they had been damaged by fire. During remodeling, while the roof retained its original configuration and shingles, the walls were resided with brick. In 1950, the Goetz Foundation restored the building by using original roof timbers and bricks. Today, the building serves as the Pony Express Museum.¹

¹ Roy Coy (ed.), "Frontpiece" *Museum Graphics* Vol. XI, No. 2. St. Joseph (Spring 1959): 2; Floyd C. Shoemaker, "The Pony Express--Commemoration, Stables, and Museum," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol XLIV, No. 4, (July 1950): 349-350; and Paul and Helen

B. Pony Express Monument

The monument, which stands in Patee Park in Saint Joseph across from the Pony Express Museum, was erected in memory of the birth of the Pony Express. The dedication ceremony for the monument, which occurred on April 3, 1913, included Pony Express riders such as "Buffalo Bill" (William F. Cody), "Cyclone" Thompson, and Charlie Cliff. This monument reads:

This monument erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the city of St. Joseph, marks the place where the first Pony Express Started on April 3, 1860—1912.²

C. Patee House: NR, 11/05/61, (number not available)

This hotel, built from 1856-1858 by John Patee, served as a general office for the Pony Express in 1860. The Patee House often lodged Pony Express riders and founders of the company, including William H. Russell and Alexander Majors. The Patee House is a four-story, brick, Italianate commercial style building that is handsomely decorated with brackets, quoins, pilasters, and ornamental window hoods. The building still stands at the corner of Twelfth and Penn Streets, approximately two and one-half blocks east of the Pony Express stables.³

D. Pony Express Statue

The Pony Express Memorial Statue stands in a park on the corner of Frederick Avenue and Ninth Street, and resembles an actual Pony Express rider with his mount. The statue was designed by Herman A. MacNeil. Since its dedication on

Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration" Folder: Stations in Missouri and Kansas, Box 31: Manuscripts, 1925-1979, *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, 1.

² Bartlett Boder, "The Pony Express," *Museum Graphics* Vol. XI, No. 2. St. Joseph (Spring 1959): 4.

³ Bartlett Boder, "There were Three Johnny Freys," *Museum Graphics* Vol. XI, No. 2. St. Joseph (Spring 1959): 24; and Floyd C. Shoemaker, "The Pony Express--Commemoration, Stables, and Museum," 345.

April 20, 1940, the life-size bronze statute, weighing 7,200 pounds, has stood near City Hall and the Saint Joseph Civic Center.⁴

E. St. Joseph Ferry Site

Two steam ferries, known as the *Bellemont Ferry* and the *Ellwood Ferry*, transported travellers, including Pony Express riders, across the Missouri River from Missouri to Kansas.⁵ Reportedly, the boat docked at either Jules or Francis Streets in St. Joseph.⁶ A monument, located along the shoreline of the Missouri River in Hustan Wyeth Park, represents the original site of the ferry crossing. This monument reads:

On this site, April 3, 1860, a ferry carrying a horse and rider crossed the Missouri River to start a 10 day journey of 1,966 miles to deliver mail to Sacramento, California.

The race against time, elements and a hostile land captured the spirit of Americans, helped hold California for the Union and proved a central overland route was possible.

Operators William Russell, Alexander Majors and William Waddell went broke without a government mail contract, and the telegraph replaced the daring Pony Express riders after 19 months of operation.

F. Pony Express Saddle and Mochila Monument *

This monument was recently erected at the site where the first rider reportedly departed from St. Joseph. It was dedicated on April 3, 1990, by the Western Trails Museum and Pony Express Trail Association during the 130th Pony Express Awareness Anniversary. It reads:

On April 3, 1860, the eastern Pony Express mail arrived by train. The mail was brought here, which was the site of the United States

⁴ Boder, "There were Three Johnny Freys," 18; and "The Pony Express Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri," (Brochure) St. Joseph: Wing Printing Company.

⁵ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 1.

⁶ Boder, "The Pony Express," 4.

Express Company. They were agents of the famous 'Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company' who owned the Pony Express and whose offices were located at 12th and Penn Streets in the Patee House.

The mail was first put in to the four cantinas (pockets) of the 'mochila' (mo-che-la). The mail consisted of a few newspapers, 49 letters and 9 telegrams that were printed on light weight paper and also wrapped in oiled skin for additional protection.

The first Pony Express left here April 3, at 7:15 p.m. and after nearly 2,000 miles arrived in San Francisco at 1:00 a.m., on April 14. That westbound trip took 10 days, 7 hours and 45 minutes.

KANSAS

2. TROY STATION

Various sources indicate that this site is located within the town of Troy. A monument in the northwest corner of the courthouse lawn notes the existence of the relay station. Some authors list the monument's location as the possible site of the station, but later research links the station with the Smith Hotel.⁷ Leonard Smith arrived in Troy in 1858 and purchased the Troy Hotel. Two years later, at the request of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., he constructed a barn large enough for five horses. The renamed Smith Hotel served as a relay station and was located at the present northeast corner of First and Myrtle Streets.⁸ The July 1936 *Pony Express Courier* reported that Troy served as the first relay station west of St. Joseph.⁹ Others sources also include Troy as a station.¹⁰

⁷ Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska From St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," *Nebraska History* 41 (June 1960): 94; and Jacqueline Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," *The Happenings* 18 (4): 8.

⁸ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 8.

⁹ "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370.

¹⁰ Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of The Overland Central Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Robidoux Printing Company, Inc., 1961), 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska From St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114; L. C.

Stories associated with handing pastries to the passing rider Johnny Fry by the Dooley girls probably originated in the Troy area. These pastries were supposedly the first donuts?!¹¹

3. LEWIS STATION

L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson named and mapped Louis as a station between Troy and Kennekuk.¹² Lewin suggests that Lewis (also spelled Louis) was possibly the same as the Cold Spring Ranch Station. The Lewis Station and Cold Spring Station were located the same distance between Troy and Kennekuk. Lewin identifies the station as part of the Cold Spring Ranch near Syracuse.¹³ However, one local history resource placed the station on North Independence Creek.¹⁴ According to Raymond and Mary Settle, a mother and her four children lived at the relay station as cooks and stock tenders.¹⁵ Several other sources give yet another location for this station. "Chain Pump" and "Valley Home/House" may be other names for the site as well.¹⁶

Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble* (Berkeley, California: Howell-North, 1959), 145; Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1955), 118; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 4; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

¹¹ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 8.

¹² L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

¹³ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 8.

¹⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

¹⁵ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 118.

¹⁶ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 94-95; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 5; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

4. KENNEKUK (KINNEKUK) STATION

Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson, experts on the Pony Express trail in this area, designate Kennekuk as the first home station from St. Joseph.¹⁷ Most other sources agree on the name¹⁸ but not the exact location of this station. Mattes and Henderson place it approximately forty-four miles along the trail.¹⁹ Another source states that the Kennekuk Station stood approximately thirty-nine miles from the beginning of the trail.²⁰ The stage route from Atchison and the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearney military road combined with the trail near Kennekuk and brought much traffic to the settlement in the early 1860s. Tom Perry and his wife ran the relay station and served meals to travelers passing through.²¹

In 1931, the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, a pioneering trail marking group that formed to mark the Oregon and other western trails, placed a Pony Express stone marker in Kennekuk for this station. A granite stone west of the marker and across the road indicates the site of the relay station.²² The stone memorial marker is one-and-one-half miles southeast of present-day Horton, Kansas.²³ As of 1991, this marker was still in place.

¹⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

¹⁸ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 9-10; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 6; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

²⁰ "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370-371.

²¹ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 9-10; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 6.

²² Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 9.

²³ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

5. KICKAPOO/GOTESCHALL STATION

This relay station stood on Delaware Creek (also called Big Grasshopper or Plum Creek) about twelve miles west of Horton, Kansas, and was generally known as Kickapoo or Goteschall.²⁴ Both the station and the stone Presbyterian mission, a nearby landmark, existed on the Kickapoo Indian Reservation. Noble Rising, a Kansas pioneer and surveyor, maintained the station with W. W. Letson.²⁵ The relay station and mission are nonextant.²⁶

6. LOG CHAIN STATION

Sources identify Log Chain as a Pony Express relay station and a stop on the overland stage route.²⁷ Noble H. Rising, the stationkeeper, maintained a twenty-four by forty foot log house and seventy foot barn.²⁸ Log Chain Station stood near Locknane Creek, also called Locklane and Muddy Creek on some maps. The origin of the name "Log Chain" is uncertain. Stories exist about pulling wagons across the creek's sandy bed with log chains, which may be one reason for its

²⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95. L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson list the station as Gatchells on their "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959. The following sources identify the station as Kickapoo: "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 7; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 7; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²⁵ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 10.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 118. The following sources identify Log Chain as a stage station: George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (November 1945): 508-509; J. V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 289; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 8; "70th Anniversary Edition Supplement to the *Washington County Register*," 16 September 1938, 12; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²⁸ "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 371.

name. The station's name may also be a corruption of Locklane, the creek's name.²⁹

Over the years, Log Chain Station was altered to an unknown extent, perhaps with clapboard siding, but it still may stand on its original location. A marker of unknown nature has been placed above the front porch, indicating its connection with the Pony Express.³⁰

It should be noted that some people have confused nearby Granada as a Pony Express station with the station at Log Chain.³¹ Mattes and Henderson favor the station at Log Chain, four miles north of Granada, as the next stop. They believe that other authors' identification of the Granada station is "erroneous."³²

7. SENECA STATION

Sources generally agree about Seneca Station's location and identity as an early Pony Express home station, also known as the the Smith Hotel.³³ John Smith managed station operations at the hotel, located on the corner of present-day Fourth and Main Streets. Smith entered the hotel business in 1858, and his two-

²⁹ "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370-371; Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 10-11; and Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

³⁰ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 10-11; and "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 371.

³¹ "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 371.

³² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 95.

³³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 118; Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 11; Coy, Roy. (ed.). *Museum Graphics*. Vol. XI, No. 2. St. Joseph (Spring 1959): 23; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

story white hotel also served as a restaurant, school, and residence.³⁴ Additional sources also identify Seneca as an overland stage station.³⁵

About 1900, the Smith Hotel was moved from its original site and relocated several blocks west. Thereafter, in 1972, the building was razed because of the lack of preservation funds,³⁶ but Jim Markley, the stepson of stationkeeper John Smith's grandson, Amos, marked and saved the building's components for future reconstruction. As late as July 1980, Markley still had the building parts.³⁷ A boulder with an inscription marks the hotel's original location at the corner of Fourth and Main Streets.³⁸ The status of the razed building is unknown today (1993).

8. ASH POINT/LARAMIE CREEK STATION

This site is supposedly located on the banks of Vermillion Creek. Ash Point, Laramie Creek, Frogtown, and Hickory Point were names associated with this Pony Express station and stage stop.³⁹ The tiny settlement of Ash Point began at the junction of the Pony Express route and a branch of the California Road prior to 1860. John O'Laughlin, a storekeeper, managed the station operations. Richard F. Burton, the noted English traveler, passed through Ash Point in November 1860, where the stage stopped for water at "Uncle John's Grocery." The town

³⁴ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 11-12.

³⁵ Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508-509; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 119; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 9.

³⁶ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 11-12.

³⁷ Rowe Findley, "The Pony Express," *National Geographic* (July 1980): 52.

³⁸ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 11-12.

³⁹ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959, refer to the site as Laramie Creek. Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134, and Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 12 use Ash Point to identify the site. The following sources identify the site as Ash Point but mention its alternative names: "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 10.

served as a stage stop in the 1860s and faded away by the end of the 1870s.⁴⁰ A stone-covered well, dug by John O'Laughlin, has been located at the station site.⁴¹

In the 1930s, a marker was placed near the station site. The text on the monument reads: "1858 Pony Express Station Overland Trail—Ash Point 240 Rods E."⁴²

9. GUITTARD (GANTARD'S, GUTTARD) STATION

Sources generally agree on the identification of Guittard's Station as a Pony Express and stage stop.⁴³ In late 1860, Burton saw the Pony Express rider arrive at Guittard's Station. Burton described the station as a "clump of board houses on the far side of a shady, well-wooded creek—the Vermillion, a tributary of the Big Blue River, so called from its red sandstone bottom, dotted with granitic [sic] and porphyritic boulders."⁴⁴

The George Guittard (Guttard) family arrived in Kansas in 1857, establishing

⁴⁰ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 12; and Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1862), 27.

⁴¹ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 12; and Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 96.

⁴² Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 12.

⁴³ The following sources list Guittard as a relay or home station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 118; Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 12-13; and Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 28-29. Guittard's is listed as a stage stop in Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508-509; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 11; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴⁴ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 28-29.

their ranch on Vermillion Creek as the earliest permanent settlement in that part of Marshall County, Kansas. George's son, Xavier Guittard, managed the station, which alternated as a home or relay base at various times, as well as a stage stop. A large, two-story house provided living quarters and a waiting room for stage passengers, and the roomy barn accommodated a blacksmith shop and stalls for some twenty-four horses.⁴⁵ In 1910, the house was dismantled, and the lumber went into a new dwelling on the same site, thereby destroying the site. Nevertheless, a door from the original house exists in a second-story room. A stone marker, with a bronze plaque from the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, was placed near the site in June 1931.⁴⁶ The text on the marker can still be read. It states: "1860-61 Guittard Station—East 80 Rods Oregon Trail."⁴⁷

10. MARYSVILLE STATION: NR, 4/2/73

After crossing some prairie country, the next stop was Marysville, which also was known as Palmetto City. According to the Englishman Richard Burton, it was a town that thrived "by selling whiskey to ruffians of all descriptions."⁴⁸ Sources generally concur on its identity as a station, but disagree on its status as a home or relay station.⁴⁹ In 1859, Joseph H. Cottrell and Hank Williams contracted with Russell, Majors, and Waddell to build and lease a livery stable as a home station. Riders stayed at the nearby American Hotel, which was north of the livery stable. The north end of the stone stable served as a blacksmith shop, and stalls were located on the other side.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 28-29.

⁴⁹ The following sources identify Marysville as either a home or a relay station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370 (relay or home); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114 (home); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 120 (relay); Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 14; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 12; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

After serving as a livery stable, the building later housed a garage, produce station, and a cold storage locker plant. In 1876, a hip style roof was added to the building after a fire destroyed the original board roof. On April 2, 1973, the stable joined the National Register of Historic Places. As late as 1991, it operated as a museum.⁵¹ It should also be noted, that in 1931, a marker was erected at the Marshall County Courthouse that identified Marysville as a home station of the Pony Express.⁵²

11. COTTONWOOD/HOLLENBERG STATION: NR, 10/15/66, 66000352

Sources generally agree on its location and identity as a relay station and a stage station.⁵³ The station, constructed as a ranch house in 1857, was known as both Hollenberg and Cottonwood because Gerat Hollenberg managed the station operations near Cottonwood Creek. The station served as the last Pony Express stop in Kansas. Hollenberg's station also supplied emigrants with food, clothing, livestock, and a place to rest themselves and their horses. The relay station is possibly the only unaltered Pony Express building on an original site.⁵⁴ It also served as a stagecoach stop on the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stage line.⁵⁵

In 1941, the Kansas State Legislature purchased the station and the surrounding

⁵⁰ Eulalia Guise and Byron Guise, *An Affair With the Past* (1991), 35.

⁵¹ Ibid; 35-36.

⁵² Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 14.

⁵³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 370; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 114; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 120-121; Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 15; Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 30; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration." 13; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵⁴ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 15.

⁵⁵ Coy, Roy. (ed.). *Museum Graphics*. Vol. XI, No. 2. St. Joseph (Spring 1959): 25.

acreage to preserve the site.⁵⁶ The Kansas State Historical Society manages the site today, and it is listed as a National Historic Landmark.⁵⁷

12. ATCHISON STATION

Some historical sources have determined that St. Joseph, Missouri, may not have served as the eastern terminus of the Pony Express throughout its operating period from April 3, 1860, to October 26, 1861. One such source, suggests that as early as January of 1860, the Pony Express may have changed its starting point from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Atchison, Kansas. Pony riders leaving from Atchison intersected with the old Pony Express route at Kennekuk.⁵⁸ However, it is more likely that Atchison served as the eastern terminus for the Pony Express after the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract was signed in March 1861. This contract stated that the eastern terminus could be either St. Joseph, Missouri, or Atchison, Kansas. Therefore, Atchison could have served as the terminus during the latter months of the Pony Express' existence.⁵⁹ Frank A. Root, who lived in Atchison in 1861 and was employed as assistant postmaster there, remembered that in the last six or seven weeks of the Pony Express, most, if not all of the Pony Express mail passed through the Atchison post office via the overland stage to and from Ft. Kearney.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Leo E. Dieker, "A Brief Historical Sketch: Hollenberg Ranch, Pony Express Station--Hanover, Kansas," n.d., n.p.

⁵⁷ Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," 16.

⁵⁸ J.T. Bristow, *The Overland Trail: Old Military Road and Pony Express Route* (Kansas: Charles H. Browne and the Headlight Printshop), 14.; "Seventieth Anniversary Edition," *The Washington County Register* Vol. 70, No. 31, (September 16, 1938): 12.

⁵⁹ "Claim Against C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. by James Watson," 30 October 1861, Folder 2: Central Overland Bills, 1861, *Corby Family Papers 1804-1905* (No. 86), Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁰ Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express* (Topeka, Kansas: W.Y. Morgan, 1901), 19 and 117.

13. LANCASTER STATION

If Atchison was used as the eastern terminus, Lancaster, located before Kennekuk, served as the first station east of Atchison. This relay station was located ten miles from Atchison, and eleven miles from the starting point of the original east-west Pony Express route.⁶¹ Lancaster was also known as a stage stop on the Holladay stage line.⁶²

NEBRASKA

14. ROCK HOUSE STATION

The Rock House Station, which was located in Jefferson County, served as a stop for stagecoaches, Pony Express riders, and weary travelers.⁶³ The Rock House Station was situated about three miles northeast of Steele City, where the Oketo cut-off merged with the main route.⁶⁴ Bishop and Henderson identify this first relay station in Nebraska as Rock House on their map of the Pony Express trail, while other sources suggest Caldwell and Otoe as alternative names.⁶⁵

15. ROCK/TURKEY CREEK STATION

Sources generally agree about the identity of this site as a relay station, but they do not concur about its exact location.⁶⁶ In 1859, David McCandles or McCanles

⁶¹ J.T. Bristow, *The Overland Trail*, 14.

⁶² Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289.

⁶³ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 2; Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 30; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁴ Ted Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail* (n.p.: Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, n.d.), 1.

⁶⁵ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 115. Gregory Franzwa identifies the station as Rock House in *Maps of the Oregon Trail* (St. Louis, Missouri: Patrice Press, 1990), 61.

⁶⁶ The following sources identify Rock Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959;

erected a toll bridge and log structure, which later served as the relay station, on the east side of the creek. The hewn-log building had an outside-accessible attic and stone fireplace and measured 36 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 8 feet high at the eaves.⁶⁷ The Rock Creek Station has an interesting history. Historians associate the site with a controversial gunfight between David McCanles and James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok on July 12, 1861. When the fight ended, three men were dead, and Hickok and Horace Wellman (Williams), the stationkeeper, faced murder charges. A judge later acquitted both men.⁶⁸

Alternative names and/or sites for the station include Turkey Creek, Pawnee, and possibly Elkhorn and the Lodi Post Office.⁶⁹ Stagecoaches, such as the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company, stopped at or near the station. Rock Creek was listed as a scheduled stop for the company.⁷⁰ Today, the site is part of the Rock Creek Station State Historical Park, three miles northeast of Endicott, in Jefferson County. An Oregon Trail and Pony Express marker lies near the park entrance.⁷¹ Reconstructed station buildings by the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission also stand within the park.⁷²

Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 115; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 122; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 1; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 61; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98.

⁶⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 122; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 3.

⁶⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 115; and Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 1.

⁷⁰ Frederick, *Ben Holladay*, 289; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

⁷¹ Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 116.

⁷² Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 61.

16. VIRGINIA CITY

This site is located four miles north of Fairbury, in Jefferson County, Nebraska. Other names for the station include Grayson's and Whiskey Run.⁷³ Bishop and Henderson identify the station as Virginia City on their "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," as does trail historian Gregory M. Franzwa.⁷⁴ Lone Tree possibly served as an alternate station site, one mile south of Virginia City.⁷⁵

17. BIG SANDY STATION

This site is reportedly about three miles east of Alexandria, in Jefferson County. Sources generally agree about its identity as a Pony Express station, with stagecoaches stopping there as well.⁷⁶ Dan Patterson owned and operated the site as a home station until 1860, when he sold it to Asa and John Latham. History also associates the Daniel Ranch, a post office, and the Ed Farrell Ranch with the Big Sandy Station.⁷⁷

⁷³ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁴ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 61.

⁷⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98.

⁷⁶ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 115; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 1; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 63. Big Sandy is listed as a stage stop in Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 5; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98.

18. MILLERSVILLE/THOMPSON'S STATION

This site, known as Millersville or Thompson's, is about two miles north of Hebron, in Thayer County.⁷⁸ George B. Thompson acted as the stationkeeper for Pony Express operations at this station, and the station was named after him.⁷⁹ As late 1960, Nebraska Monument No. 11, erected in 1912, stood near the site, about five miles southwest of Alexandria, on the east side of the county road. The text read: "Thompson's Stage Station, 125 rods West, 23 rods South."⁸⁰

19. KIOWA STATION

This site is reportedly about ten miles northwest of Hebron, in Thayer County. Kiowa served as a stop for both the Pony Express and for both the L. & P.P. Express Co. and C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stagecoaches. Jim Douglas managed the station operations.⁸¹ Sources generally agree on the identity of this station.⁸²

⁷⁸ The following sources identify the station as Millersville: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 3; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 63. Others list it as Thompson's: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98; and Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289.

⁸⁰ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98.

⁸¹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸² L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 98; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 3; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 65; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 6.

20. LITTLE BLUE/OAK GROVE STATION*

Sources disagree about the identity and location of this site in Nuckolls County, Nebraska. According to the 1861 mail contract with the Overland Mail Company, an unnamed station existed in the area. Several sources identify the station as Little Blue, but Mattes and Henderson suggest that Little Blue existed later as a separate stage station, four miles northwest of Oak Grove.⁸³

Several sources identify the unknown station as Oak Grove, located about one and one-fourth miles southeast of Oak, Nebraska.⁸⁴ Al Holladay managed this station, which reportedly had a "Majors and Waddell" store next to it. Ranchers in the area included Roper, Emory, Eubank, and E. S. Comstock, whose land carried the name of Oak Grove Ranch.⁸⁵

21. LIBERTY FARM STATION

This site is generally acknowledged to be located on the north bank of the Little Blue River, a half-mile northeast of Deweese, in Clay County.⁸⁶ In 1859, O. Allen, in his *Guide Book and Map to the Gold Fields of Kansas and Nebraska* mentioned Liberty Farm as a U. S. mail station. Allen stated it was at the "Jct. of Ft. Riley Road 19 miles from Oak Grove, U. S. mail station No. 12, 1 1/2 miles east of this place."⁸⁷ Sources generally agree on its identity as a Pony Express home

⁸³ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99. The following sources identify the station as Little Blue: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145.

⁸⁴ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 7; and Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99.

⁸⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99.

⁸⁶ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 8.

⁸⁷ O. Allen, *Allen's Guide Book and Map to the Gold Fields of Kansas and Nebraska* (Washington: n.p., 1859), cited in Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail*

station, and that it was then managed by James Lemmons and Charles Emory.⁸⁸ L. & P.P. Express Co. and C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. stagecoaches also stopped at Liberty Farm.⁸⁹ In 1864, Indians burned the station while J. M. Comstock served as stationkeeper there. The Pawnee Ranch assumed station activities after Liberty Farm burned. As late as 1960, Nebraska Monument No. 26 marked the site of Liberty Farm, and Nebraska Monument 26 1/2 identified the junction of the Fort Riley Road mentioned by Allen in his travel guide.⁹⁰

22. SPRING RANCH/LONE TREE STATION*

This site may have been positioned in Clay County.⁹¹ Since the 1861 mail contract did not list Spring Ranch as a stopping point, the positive identification of Spring Ranch as a Pony Express station remains controversial. Its location between two known distant stations, Liberty Farm and Thirty-Two Mile Creek, would have made Spring Ranch a convenient place for riders to change horses.⁹² A number of other sources identify this station as Lone Tree, a relay station and stage stop.⁹³

Company.

⁸⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99. The following sources identify Liberty Farm as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 123; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 5; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 69; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145.

⁸⁹ Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

⁹⁰ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99.

⁹¹ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 11.

⁹² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

⁹³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 123; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on*

Gregory Franzwa lists Spring Ranch and Lone Tree Station separately. A town called Spring Ranch existed in the 1860s, as well as the Spring Ranch stage station. Indian raids apparently destroyed the station in August 1864. An Oregon Trail marker identifies the station site on the east side of the county road going north to Highway 74.⁹⁴

23. THIRTY-TWO MILE CREEK STATION: NR, 2/20/75

This site is probably about six miles southeast of Hastings in Adams County. Many sources agree on its identity and location as a stage stop for the L. & P.P. Express Co. and C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. and as a relay station for the Pony Express.⁹⁵ George A. Comstock served as stationkeeper of the long, one-story building, named after the distance between it and Fort Kearney. In August 1864, Comstock abandoned the station, which Indians later burned to the ground.⁹⁶

Today, the National Register of Historic Places designates the station's location as an historic archaeological site.⁹⁷ In 1960, a small, numberless Nebraska Monument stood near the edge of the site. The text read "Dinner Station, I.O.O.F.E., Pony Express."⁹⁸

the Oregon Trail, 5; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 73.

⁹⁴ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 69-70.

⁹⁵ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508; L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 12; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁹⁶ Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 5.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99.

24. SAND HILL/SUMMIT STATION

This site is probably located one and one-half miles south of Kenesaw.⁹⁹ Franzwa suggests "probable" and "possible" sites for Sand Hill or Summit Station.¹⁰⁰ Sand Hill and Summit remain the most popular names for this probable relay station and stage stop, but sources also identify it as Water Hole and Fairfield.¹⁰¹ Mabel Loving and Roy Bloss refer to Fairfield as the next station after Summit (Sand Hill).¹⁰² However, Mattes and Henderson suggest that the Fairfield, identified by Pony Express rider William Campbell, is the same as Sand Hill or Summit.¹⁰³

Franzwa places the "probable" station site near Summit Springs, which suggests the origin of one of its well-known names. The nearby sandy wagon road gave the station its other name of Sand Hill. Apparently, in 1864, the station was destroyed by Indians and ended all stagecoach use of the station.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 13.

¹⁰⁰ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 73.

¹⁰¹ The following sources identify the station as Sand Hill: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 5. Others call the stop Summit: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289. Alternative names are listed in Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 5; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰² Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145.

¹⁰³ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

25. HOOK'S/KEARNEY/VALLEY STATION

This site was presumably located one and one-half miles northeast of Lowell in Kearney County and for a time served as a relay station for the Pony Express.¹⁰⁵

Even though Bishop and Henderson list Kearney Station separately from Hook Station,¹⁰⁶ a number of authors use a variety of names to describe the same station including Hook's, Hook's Station, Hook's Ranch, Kearney Station, Dogtown, Valley City, Valley Station, Junction City, Hinshaw's Ranch, and Omaha Junction.¹⁰⁷ Whichever name is associated with this station, M. H. Hook managed the station operations at the site. This station was the last one under the jurisdiction of St. Joseph-Fort Kearney Division Superintendent E. A. Lewis.¹⁰⁸

26. FORT KEARNEY: NR, 7/2/71, 71000485

Since Fort Kearney was a stage stop on the L. & P.P. Express Co. and C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. lines, it is likely that Russell, Majors, and Waddell also used this site as a Pony Express station.¹⁰⁹ Other sources list Fort Kearney as a station or

¹⁰⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 100; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 123; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 14; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰⁶ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959.

¹⁰⁷ The following sources identify the station with a multitude of names: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Hooks Station); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 99 (Kearney Station, Dogtown, Valley City, Junction City, Hinshaw's Ranch); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 6 (same as Mattes and Henderson); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (Hooks Station); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145 (Hooks Station); Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 289 (Hook's); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 123 (Valley Station); and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 74-75 (Valley Station, Valley City, Hook's Ranch).

¹⁰⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 100.

¹⁰⁹ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

stopping place for Pony Express riders.¹¹⁰ Mattes and Henderson express doubt that Fort Kearney ever served as an official Pony Express station. Privately owned businesses were not granted space on U.S. military bases. However, Pony Express riders possibly stopped at Fort Kearney to service the mail needs of the military.¹¹¹ The fort saw a lot of traffic from the military and riders possibly made stops at the sod post office, built in 1848. Mattes and Henderson suggest Doby Town (Kearney City), about two miles west of the fort, as a more likely location for the station. The site is located about five miles southeast of Fort Kearney, on the right bank of the Platte River.¹¹²

SUMMARY

Division One, which began at St. Joseph, Missouri and ended at Fort Kearney, Nebraska, included twenty-six Pony Express stations. Of the twenty-six stations, eleven sites are marked in some way with plaques/monuments. An additional three monuments and a statue represent the starting point at St. Joseph. In Division One, there are six station sites associated with the Pony Express National Historic Trail that are on the National Register of Historic Places. They are the Pony Express Stables, the Patee House in St. Joseph, Missouri, the Marysville and Cottonwood/Hollenberg Stations in Kansas, and Thirty-Two Mile Creek and Fort Kearney Stations in Nebraska. Several of these have been either moved and/or altered. Fort Kearney, an active federal government facility and stage stop, served as the last station in Division One.

¹¹⁰ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 123; and Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 7.

¹¹¹ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 15.

¹¹² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 100-101.

Chapter 5

DIVISION TWO: STATIONS BETWEEN FORT KEARNEY AND HORSESHOE CREEK

INTRODUCTION

Division Two of the Pony Express Trail stretched from Fort Kearney, Nebraska to Horseshoe Creek Station, Wyoming. This division, which extends through western Nebraska into eastern Wyoming, included thirty-three stations along the route as it crossed the High Plains toward the Rocky Mountains. Wherever possible, Chapter Five incorporates available information regarding locations, buildings, commemorative markers, and personal accounts of stations mentioned in the text.

NEBRASKA (Continued)

27. SEVENTEEN MILE/PLATTE STATION

In 1859, the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company (L. & P.P. Express Co.) established a stagecoach station at Seventeen Mile Station to serve as the first stop for passengers after Fort Kearney. When the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company assumed control of these stations and started the Pony Express, it is likely that they made the Seventeen Mile Station a relay station on the route.¹ In 1860, when the noted English traveller Richard F. Burton crossed the Great Plains and passed through this station, his stagecoach exchanged animals at Seventeen Mile Station.² It should also be noted that

¹ George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 13 (November 1945): 508.

² Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," *Nebraska History* 41 (June 1960): 101.

Merrill Mattes also proposed McClain's and Russell's Ranch as the site mentioned by traveler Richard Burton in his 1860 account.³

Nevertheless, many sources generally name this site as Platte or Platt's, located about five miles southeast of Odessa,⁴ probably because the station is listed as "Platt's" in the 1861 mail contract,⁵ and because the Holladay Stage Line stopped at Platte later on.⁶

In 1960, Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson suggested that Seventeen Mile Relay Station was possibly the same station site as Platt's.⁷ Whereas, Gregory M. Franzwa listed Seventeen Mile as a separate station west of Platte, but notes that historical sources also called it Platte Station.⁸

³ Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline Via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 272.

⁴ The following sources identify the station as Platte or Platt's: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of The Central Overland Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Robidoux Printing Company, Inc., 1961), 134; Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble* (Berkeley, California: Howell-North, 1959), 145; Ted Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail* (n.p.: Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, n.d.), 7; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272; Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail* (St. Louis, Missouri: Patrice Press, 1990), 75; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration" Folder: Stations in Nebraska & Colorado, Box 31: Manuscripts, 1925-1979 *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, 16.

⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

⁶ J. V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 290; Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101.

⁸ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 76-77.

28. GARDEN STATION

The exact identity and location of this site remains unknown. Mattes and Henderson place the station in Phelps County, about six miles southwest of Elm Creek. Mattes later lists the site as six miles southeast of Elm Creek.⁹

Sources give the site several different names, including Garden, Shakespear's, Sydenham's Ranche, Biddleman's Ranch, and Platte Stage Station.¹⁰ The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract listed the station as Garden.¹¹ Franzwa places Garden station between Craig/Shakespear and Seventeen Mile Stations but notes that the Garden and Craig Stations could be the same.¹² Nevertheless, in 1865, the station was evidently destroyed by fire.¹³

29. PLUM CREEK STATION

This site is likely about ten miles southeast of Lexington, Nebraska. Sources generally agree on its identity and location as a relay station.¹⁴ In 1859, the L. &

⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; and Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272.

¹⁰ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Garden); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101 (Garden, Craig, Biddleman Ranch, Shakespear); and Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272 (Garden, Shakespear's, Sydenham's Ranche, Biddleman's Ranch, Platte Stage Station).

¹¹ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Garden).

¹² Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 76-77; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 17.

¹³ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272.

¹⁴ The following sources identify Plum Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1955), 125; Ted Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail* (n.p.: Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, n.d.), 7-8; Mattes, *The Great*

P.P. Express Co. listed Plum Creek as a stop on its route.¹⁵ Later the station's log structures housed a Pony Express station and stage stop, and even later a telegraph station. Indian attacks on wagon trains and stagecoaches between 1864 and 1867 led to the establishment of a small garrison of troops at Plum Creek Station. Sometime after August 1867 the station was burned and abandoned. A small cemetery near the station contains the graves of victims of an 1864 or 1865 Indian attack.¹⁶

30. WILLOW ISLAND/WILLOW BEND STATION

The Willow Island or Willow Bend Station site is most likely in Dawson County, Nebraska, approximately six miles southeast of Cozad. Sources generally agree on its identity as the Willow Island an/or Willow Bend Station.¹⁷ Some sources associate Pat Mullaly's Ranch with Willow Island Ranch or Station.¹⁸ R. C. Freeman conducted ranch operations after Mullaly.¹⁹

Platte River Road, 272-273; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 78-79; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁵ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272-273; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

¹⁶ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 7-8; and Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 272-273.

¹⁷ The following sources list Willow Island/Willow Bend as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 79; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 19; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 79.

¹⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101.

In 1866 the station's structures included an adobe house, stables, and a frame store.²⁰

The Dawson County American Legion Post No. 77 purchased the station's original log cabin and moved the building to Cozad's park for Boy Scout activities. As late as 1960, a 1938 plaque identified the cabin's role in the history of the Pony Express.²¹

31. COLD WATER RANCH/MIDWAY STATION: NR, 10/15/69 (number not available)

The Cold Water Ranch/Midway Station site is possibly located three miles south of Gothenburg. Sources generally agree on its identity as a Pony Express and stage station, although opinions vary about its function as a relay or home station.²² L. & P.P. Express Co. stages stopped at Cold Water, located between Plum Creek and Cottonwood Springs.²³ Frank Root, an Overland Mail Company messenger in the 1860s, noted the station's name (Midway) came from its central location between Atchison and Denver.²⁴ In 1863, David Trout managed station operations at Midway Station, also known as Heavy Timber, Smith's East Ranch, Pat Mullaly's Home Station.²⁵ In 1866, Indians burned the station.²⁶

²⁰ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273.

²¹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101.

²² The following sources identify Midway as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273 (home stage station); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101-102 (home); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8 (home); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 81; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 125 (relay); Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 20 (home); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²³ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

²⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102.

²⁵ Ibid., : 92, and 102.

²⁶ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273.

Questions arise about the possible existence of one of Cold Water Ranch/Midway's log structures. As late as 1960, three miles south of Gothenburg, Harry Williams maintained a sturdy log structure on his Lower 96 Ranch. This building apparently stood on its original location as a surviving Pony Express station. The Oregon Trail Memorial Association recognized this station with a Pony Express bronze plaque, and a second bronze marker noted Pony Express rider Jim Moore's emergency trip from Midway to Julesburg on June 8, 1860, during a time of Indian unrest.²⁷ Notwithstanding, noted trail historian Merrill Mattes recently stated that: "If it is an actual Pony Express facility of 1860-1861, it somehow had to withstand the fire witnessed by Bratt [in 1866]."²⁸ Despite this apparent contradiction in the history of this structure, the cabin is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.²⁹

Even though Roy Bloss located Cold Water Ranch Station between Willow Island and Midway,³⁰ in 1960, Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson suggested Cold Water Ranch site as an alternative name or site for the Midway Station.³¹

32. GILMAN'S STATION

There is some confusion on the exact location of Gilman's Station.³² Musetta Gilman tells the story of the site, run by her husband's ancestors, in *Pump on the Prairie*.³³ Nonetheless, most sources generally agree on the identity of

²⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102.

²⁸ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 273.

²⁹ Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8.

³⁰ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

³¹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 101-102.

³² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 21; and Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8.

³³ Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 80.

Gilman's Ranch as a relay station and a stage stop listed on the 1861 mail contract.³⁴

33. MACHETTE'S STATION (GOTHENBURG)*

The identity and location of Machette's Station remains controversial. Local tradition places the site on the Williams' Upper 96 Ranch, four miles east of Fort McPherson in Lincoln County, Nebraska. Up until 1931, there was a two-story log cabin and a blacksmith shop linked to this site. However, in 1931 the American Legion Post No. 64 dismantled the main two-story log structure from the original site and moved the log building to Gothenburg City Park, where it was reassembled into a one-story building. Tourism signs along the highway advertise the building as an original Pony Express station. A marker attached to the building tells visitors that "Machette" built the cabin in 1854 as a trading post and ranch house, that the Pony Express used it from 1860-1861, and that it served "as an overland station, dwelling, bunk house and storage house on Upper 96 Ranch" afterwards.³⁵

Apparently at the same time they removed the log structure, a monument was placed commemorating this site. At that time, the blacksmith shop for the station remained at its original site. It read, "Erected by the people of Lincoln County, 1931, to commemorate the Pony Express riders. This is one of the regular stations of the Pony Express. The log blacksmith shop nearby is the original building used for shoeing horses."³⁶

³⁴ The following sources list Gilman's or Gilman's Ranch as a relay and stage station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 274; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 8; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 80-81; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 125; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

³⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102-103; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 22.

³⁶ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 102; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 22.

Nevertheless, some historians question the very existence of the Machette site as part of the original Pony Express route. Mattes and Henderson suggest two possibilities regarding the "Machette" building. First, Machette's existed as a ranch in the early 1860s but did not serve as a relay station. Second, "Machette" was a corruption of "McDonald," another name for the Cottonwood Springs Station, which will be discussed next. The building housed station activities at McDonald's and was later moved to the Upper 96 site.³⁷ Mattes notes later that some type of station existed in the area, variously known as Dan Trout's Station, Joe Bower's Rancho, and Broken Ranch. He concludes that the log structures from the Upper 96 Ranch probably belonged to one of the above road ranches.³⁸

34. COTTONWOOD SPRINGS STATION

The Cottonwood Springs Pony Express station site, may have been on the east side of Cottonwood Creek where a monument stood as late as 1960. The station, also known as McDonald's Ranch, served previously as a stop for the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company stage line as well.³⁹ Most sources do not dispute the identity of Cottonwood Springs as a station.⁴⁰ In 1864, Eugene F. Ware described a two-story log structure at Cottonwood Springs, which could have served as the site of Cottonwood Station.⁴¹ Mattes and Henderson suggest the

³⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 102-103.

³⁸ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 274-275.

³⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 103; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route,": 508.

⁴⁰ The following sources identify Cottonwood or Cottonwood Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 275; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 103; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 9; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 82-83; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 125; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴¹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 104.

building described by Ware possibly served as the Pony Express station, and might be the same building moved from the Upper 96 Ranch to the Gothenburg City Park in 1931.⁴²

35. COLD SPRINGS STATION

This site, which served as a relay station for the Pony Express, presumably was near Box Elder Creek, two miles south and one mile west of present North Platte, in Lincoln County, Nebraska. Cold Springs Station was also listed on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.⁴³ Mattes and Henderson note some confusion between Cold Springs and Jack Morrow's Ranch, also called "Junction House," twelve miles from Cottonwood Springs.⁴⁴ Based upon material in *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection*, it is possible that the well-known Morrow's store and trading post served as both a Pony Express and stage station.⁴⁵

36. FREMONT SPRINGS STATION

This site is possibly about one and one-half miles south of Hershey, Nebraska. Sources generally agree on its identity and location as a home station and stage stop.⁴⁶ However, Paul and Helen Henderson placed the station approximately

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The following sources refer to Cold Springs as a Pony Express station and stage stop: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 277; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 104; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 10; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 85; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 24; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 104. Junction House Ranch appears as a station between Cottonwood Springs and Fremont Springs in Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

⁴⁵ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 24; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

five and one-half mile southeast of Sutherland in Lincoln County.⁴⁷ In late 1860, the English traveler Richard F. Burton described the station's unique architecture in this way: "The building is of a style peculiar to the south, especially Florida—two huts connected by a roofwork of thatched timber, which acts as the best and coolest of verandahs."⁴⁸

37. O'FALLON'S BLUFF/DANSEY'S/ELKHORN STATION

In 1859, the L. & P.P. Express Co. utilized this station and identified it as "O'Fallon's Bluffs, and therefore it is logical that its successor, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., also used the station for the Pony Express.⁴⁹ O'Fallon's Bluff Station is probably about two miles south and four miles west of Sutherland. Located just west of the bluffs named for Indian agent Benjamin O'Fallon, the station appeared in the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract as "Dansey's." This name, a corruption of "Dorsey" or "D'Orsay," possibly identified the stationkeeper.⁵⁰ Besides O'Fallon's Bluffs and Dansey's, sources give the station a variety of other names, including Half Way or Halfway House, and Elkhorn.⁵¹

⁴⁶ The following sources identify Fremont Springs as a Pony Express station and/or stage stop: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 277; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 105; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 10; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 85; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 125; and Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290.

⁴⁷ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 25.

⁴⁸ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 277.

⁴⁹ Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290 (Elkhorn); and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508 (O'Fallon's Bluffs).

⁵⁰ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 105; and Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 278.

⁵¹ The following sources identify a Pony Express and/or stage station near O'Fallon's Bluff: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Dansey's); Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 277 (O'Fallon's Bluff); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (O'Fallon's Bluff); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 105 (Dansey's, Halfway House, and Elkhorn); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 10 (Dansey's); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 87 (Dansey's); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great*

38. ALKALI LAKE STATION

Many historical resources link Alkali Lake Station with the Pony Express. The Alkali Lake Station site is possibly two miles southwest of Paxton, in Keith County, Nebraska. Sources generally agree on its name as Alkali Lake.⁵² In the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract, the station was unnamed.⁵³ Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson believe that Alkali Lake Station served as a home station for the Pony Express.⁵⁴

39. GILL'S/SAND HILL STATION

Little is currently known about the Gill's/Sand Hill Station site. This site is reportedly in Keith County about one and one-half miles south of Ogallala, Nebraska. The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract identified the site as Gill's, while other sources called it Sand Hill Station.⁵⁵

Gamble, 146 (O'Fallon's Bluff, Halfway House, and Elkhorn); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga*, 125 (O'Fallon's Bluffs, Elkhorn, Halfway House); Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290 (Elkhorn); Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508 (O'Fallon's Bluffs); Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 26 (Dansey's, Elkhorn); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Dansey's).

⁵² The following sources identify Alkali Lake as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 278; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 105; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 10-11; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 89; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 27.

⁵³ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 105; and Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 278.

⁵⁵ The following sources identify Gill's/Sand Hill as a relay and stage station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Gills); Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 278 (both); Mattes and Henderson,

40. DIAMOND SPRINGS STATION: NR 10/15/70, 70000371

The site of Diamond Springs Station was probably about a mile west of Brule, in Keith County, Nebraska.⁵⁶ In 1931, O. H. Hinrichs visited the station site and noted several trenches that indicated the outline of a rectangular stockade. Glass telegraph insulators found at the site suggest that the station later served as a telegraph station as well.⁵⁷ As late as 1960, a monument identified the Diamond Springs site on the south side of U. S. 30, .9 mile west of Brule. The text of Nebraska Monument No. 40 read: "Diamond Springs .8 mile southwest."⁵⁸

It should be noted that some sources confuse Diamond Springs with the Beauvais Ranch, located two miles west of Diamond Springs.⁵⁹ The history of Beauvais Ranch is discussed next.

"The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 105 (both); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11(both); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 89 (Gill's); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Sand Hill); Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290 (Sand Hill); Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 28 (Gill's, Sand Hill); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Gills).

⁵⁶ The following sources identify Diamond Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 106; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 91; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 29; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵⁷ O. H. Hinrichs, "Diamond Springs Pony Express Station," *The Goldenrod* 2 (Winter 1932): 1-2.

⁵⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 106.

⁵⁹ The following sources identify Diamond Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 106; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 91; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 29; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

41. BEAUVAIS RANCH STATION*

Roy Bloss and Mabel Loving identify Beauvais Ranch as a station between Alkali Lake and Diamond Springs.⁶⁰ The ranch remained popular in the 1850s and 1860s as a fording area on the South Platte River. The ford had several names, including Upper Crossing, which the L. & P.P. Express Co. listed as a stage stop.⁶¹ The Hendersons assert that it probably did not function as a Pony Express station, unless it operated as U.S. Mail Station No. 20 listed by O. Allen's *Guide Book and Map to the Gold Fields of Kansas and Nebraska*.⁶²

COLORADO

42. FRONTZ'S/SOUTH PLATTE STATION

Frontz's/South Platte Station site is one of two stations within Colorado and was presumably two miles east of present Julesburg, in Sedgwick County. Sources generally agree on its identity as a station, known either as Frontz's or South Platte.⁶³ A marker improperly identifies the site as Butte Station, which Merrill Mattes lists as a separate ranch known as Butt's or Burt's.⁶⁴ Little more is known about this Pony Express station.

⁶⁰ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

⁶¹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 106; and Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508.

⁶² Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 29.

⁶³ The following sources identify Frontz/South Platte as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Frontz); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Frontz); Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 279 (both); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 106 (both); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11 (both); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (South Platte); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (South Platte); Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290 (South Platte); and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 30 (both).

⁶⁴ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 279.

43. JULESBURG STATION

This site is probably located one and one-half miles southeast of Ovid, in Sedgwick County, Colorado. Sources generally agree on the location of the Julesburg Station site and its identity as a Pony Express and stage station.⁶⁵ On the L. & P.P. Express Co. station list, it was probably called Upper Crossing, South Platte or Morrell's Crossing. In 1859, Jules Reni established a trading post at the site and served as stationkeeper for the Pike's Peak stage line and the Pony Express.⁶⁶ At Julesburg, Pony Express riders and stages crossed the South Platte and took the California Road/Overland Trail to Lodgepole Creek.⁶⁷

NEBRASKA (Continued)

44. NINE MILE STATION*

Very, very little is known about this particular station site other than its supposed location. According to the Mattes and the Hendersons, this site was probably in Deuel County, two miles southeast of Chappell, Nebraska.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ The following sources identify Julesburg as a Pony Express and stage station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 279; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 106-107; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King*, 290; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 126; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 31; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁶ Root and Hickman, "Pike's Peak Express Companies: Part III--The Platte Route," 508; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 279; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 126; and Fort Sedgwick Historical Society, "Map of Historic Julesburg," 1967, Folder: Julesburg Area, Box 33: Manuscripts, 1925-1979 *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

⁶⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 106-107.

⁶⁸ The following sources list Nine Mile as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The*

45. POLE CREEK NO. 2 STATION

The exact location of Pole Creek No. 2 Station site remains unknown. The name occurs in the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract, and Mattes and Henderson place the station along Lodgepole Creek near the town of Lodgepole, about halfway between Nine Mile Creek and Pole Creek No. 3. Trail historians Mattes and Henderson also suggest a possible connection between this site and another, that was later occupied in 1865 by E. Farrell.⁶⁹ Several other sources also list Pole Creek No. 2 as a station.⁷⁰

46. POLE CREEK NO. 3 STATION

The Pole Creek No. 3 Station site was likely about three and one-half miles east of Sidney, Nebraska, in Cheyenne County.⁷¹ According to Mattes and Henderson, the station's log and sod dugout once stood on the north side of Lodgepole Creek, which flowed through the St. George Cattle Ranch. For a time, Rouliette and Pringle operated the site as a stage ranch, near the intersection of the old California Road and stage routes heading for the North Platte and Bridger Pass.⁷² Other sources also identify Pole Creek No. 3 as a station.⁷³

Great Platte River Road, 471; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 107; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 32; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 107; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁰ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 471; and Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 11-12.

⁷¹ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 34.

⁷² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 107-108.

⁷³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 471; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 12; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial

47. MIDWAY STATION*

This supposed site is presumably on State Highway 285 and U.S. 385, about three miles south and one mile west of Gurley, Nebraska. The site does not occur in official records, but would serve as a logical place for a relay station between Pole Creek No. 3 and Mud Springs. In 1960, Mattes and Henderson identify Midway as a station between Pole Creek No. 3 and Mud Springs, and noted that evidence of structures existed at the site.⁷⁴ In 1866, Margaret Carrington, an officer's wife, noted that the mail station received water from a "government well" at the site.⁷⁵ Mrs. Francis Carrington, possibly a relative of Margaret's, mentioned this station in her diary as well.⁷⁶

48. MUD SPRINGS STATION: NR 4/24/73, 73001068

The Mud Springs Station is well documented and it has been well researched by several authors. Nevertheless, its exact location is in dispute. This site is possibly located about twelve miles southeast of Bridgeport, Nebraska, in Morrill County.⁷⁷ Sources generally agree on its identity as a home station for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.⁷⁸ James McArdle served as stationkeeper for the Pony

Celebration," 34; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 108; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 35.

⁷⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 108.

⁷⁶ Paul Henderson to J.G. Masters, 17 April 1938, *Joseph G. Masters Papers, 1926-1938* Denver Public Library.

⁷⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 108.

⁷⁸ The following sources identify Mud Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 108; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 12; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132; Paul Henderson, "The Story of Mud Springs,"

Express and stage lines, which probably shared the same sod structures. Mud Springs also later served as a telegraph relay station. In February 1865, Fort Laramie soldiers clashed with Indians returning from the Julesburg siege in the Battle of Mud Springs.⁷⁹

In 1896, Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Scherer purchased the property surrounding the Mud Springs site. In 1939, Mrs. Scherer donated the station site to the Nebraska State Historical Society. Thereafter, on June 11, 1939, Dr. A. E. Sheldon, Superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, dedicated a native-stone monument with a bronze Pony Express symbol and plaque on the site. As late as 1951, the monument and plaque still stood at this location.⁸⁰ The text reads:

MUD SPRINGS STATION/ A Station on the Pony Express Route--
1860-61./A station on the First Transcontinental Telegraph Line./A
station on the Overland Stage Route./Battle between Sioux Indians
and U. S. Troops, Febr. 6th-7th, 1865/This site given to the State of
Nebraska/by/Mrs. Etta A. Scherer and children/To be preserved as a
memorial to all the early settlers who/won the West./Monument
erected June 11, 1939,/by/The Mud Springs Womans Club.⁸¹

49. COURT HOUSE (ROCK) STATION

From Mud Springs, Pony Express riders followed a route that passed through Pumpkin Seed Crossing and southwest of the Court House Rock formation, where the Pony Express station was located.⁸² This site is five miles south and one and one-fourth miles west of Bridgeport, Nebraska. Most sources generally agree on its identity as a C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. station.⁸³

Nebraska History 32 (June 1951): 113; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 36; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁹ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 108-109; and Paul Henderson, "The Story of Mud Springs," 113-116.

⁸⁰ Paul Henderson, "The Story of Mud Springs," 119.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 109.

⁸³ The following sources identify Court House Rock as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul

50. CHIMNEY ROCK STATION

Trail historians generally agree that Chimney Rock was a Pony Express station,⁸⁴ however, the exact location of this site is still unclear. Two traditional sources place the station between the Chimney Rock formation and the river: one places the station at Facus Springs, nine miles northwest of Bridgeport, while the other source locates it two miles south and one mile west of Bayard, Nebraska.⁸⁵

51. FICKLIN'S SPRINGS STATION

This site is reportedly one mile west of Melbeta, Nebraska in Scotts Bluff County. The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract listed the site as an unnamed Pony station, later named for Benjamin F. Ficklin, superintendent of the entire Pony Express route.⁸⁶ Other sources also identify Ficklin's Springs as a station.⁸⁷

Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 109; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 12; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 97; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 38; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸⁴ The following sources identify Chimney Rock as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 109; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 14; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 99; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 109-110; and Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 39.

⁸⁶ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 110.

⁸⁷ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 14; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 99; and Paul and Helen

The site originated as a Pony Express station and later served as a telegraph station and temporary garrison in 1865. In 1871, cattle rancher Mark M. Coad acquired the sod station.⁸⁸ As late as 1987, a marker stood on Nebraska State Highway 92 identifying the station's visible stone foundations.⁸⁹

52. SCOTT'S BLUFF(S) STATION

This site is probably near or at the old Fort Mitchell (1864-1868) site, twelve miles west of Ficklin's Springs and about two and one-half miles northwest of Mitchell Pass, near a bend of the North Platte River.⁹⁰ Even though Mabel Loving and Roy Bloss identify Fort Mitchell as a station after Scott's Bluff,⁹¹ other sources generally link the two sites but differ on its function as a relay or home station.⁹² The Oregon Trail Memorial Association placed a granite site marker with their circular bronze Pony Express motif near the North Platte bridge, which stood as late as 1960.⁹³

Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 40.

⁸⁸ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 110.

⁸⁹ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472.

⁹⁰ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 110-111; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 41; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁹¹ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

⁹² The following sources identify Scott's Bluff(s) as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 472-473 (home); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 110-111; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 14; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132 (relay).

⁹³ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 111.

53. HORSE CREEK STATION

The Horse Creek Station site is most likely located on the west bank of Horse Creek, about two miles northeast of Lyman, in Scotts Bluff County. The station served as a stop for the Pony Express.⁹⁴ Several sources identify Horse Creek as a station, which, according to Mattes, possibly also served at one time as the site of Joseph Robidoux's second trading post.⁹⁵

WYOMING

54. COLD SPRINGS/SPRING RANCH/TORRINGTON STATION

A number of sources identify Cold Springs as a Pony Express station,⁹⁶ and give the location of this site as being about two miles southeast of Torrington, Wyoming.⁹⁷ It should be noted that the site of this station also served as the grounds for the signing of the Horse Creek Treaty.⁹⁸ A French-Canadian trader named Reynal managed operations at Spring Ranch with his Indian wife and

⁹⁴ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 111; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Pony Express Centennial Celebration," 42; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁹⁵ The following sources identify Horse Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 473; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 111; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 105.

⁹⁶ The following sources identify Cold Springs/Spring Ranch as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (both names); Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 473 (Cold Springs); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 111-112 (Cold Springs); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15 (Cold Springs); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 105 (Cold Springs); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga*, 132; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Cold Springs).

⁹⁷ Paul Henderson to J.G. Masters, 17 April 1938, *Joseph G. Masters Papers, 1926-1938* Denver Public Library.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

daughter. Pawnees had held him prisoner in his younger days as a trader and later adopted him as a tribal son.⁹⁹ It should be noted that Loving and Bloss list Torrington as a separate station after Cold Springs/Spring Ranch.¹⁰⁰ However, since Cold Springs possibly existed two miles southeast of the town of Torrington, the settlement's name may serve as another name for the Cold Springs Station.

55. VERDLING'S RANCH/BORDEAUX/BEDEAU'S RANCH/FORT BENARD STATION

According to Merrill Mattes, Verdling's Ranch Station is probably eight miles from Fort Laramie and two miles west of Lingle, Wyoming.¹⁰¹ James Bordeaux (spelled various ways), probably a French-Canadian, managed a trading post/store at the station and his association with the site was responsible for some of the many names for this station.¹⁰² Other sources also list Verdling's Ranch or Bedeau's Ranch as a station.¹⁰³

56. FORT LARAMIE STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of a Pony Express station at Fort Laramie.¹⁰⁴ However, the exact location of the station at or near Fort Laramie

⁹⁹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132.

¹⁰⁰ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

¹⁰¹ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 473.

¹⁰² Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 112; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132.

¹⁰³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (Verdling's Ranch/Bordeaux); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15 (Verdling's Ranch/Badean's/Beauvais Ranch); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 107 (Verdling's Ranch); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Bedeau's Ranch); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail* (Verdling's Ranch).

¹⁰⁴ The following sources identify a Fort Laramie station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 473; Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," 112-113; Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15-16;

remains unknown. Nevertheless, the well-known fort's distance from stations at Sand Point and Verling's Ranch makes the area just west of the post a logical station site.¹⁰⁵ Fort Laramie's adobe-stone sutler's store, which still exists, housed a post office in the 1850s, 1870s, and 1880s. Its status during the Pony Express era remains unknown.¹⁰⁶

57. NINE MILE/SAND POINT/WARD'S/CENTRAL STAR STATION

This site is nine miles west of Fort Laramie.¹⁰⁷ Sources identify this station by several names, including Nine Mile Station, Sand Point, Ward's, and Central Star.¹⁰⁸ Sand Point served as a both relay station for the Pony Express and stage lines.¹⁰⁹ According to Gregory Franzwa, in the 1840s, Ward and Guerrier operated the Sand Point Trading Post at the site, and then in the 1850s, Jules E. Coffee, managed a stage station here. As late as 1990, a Pony Express and stage station marker identified the site area.¹¹⁰

Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰⁵ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 112.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., : 112-113.

¹⁰⁷ Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 112-113; and Ted Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁸ The following sources identify the variously named site as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959 (9 Mile/Sand Point); Mattes and Henderson, "The Pony Express: Across Nebraska from St. Joseph to Fort Laramie,": 112 (Ward's/Sand Point); Stutheit, *The Pony Express on the Oregon Trail*, 15 (Ward's/Sand Point); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Ward's/Central Star); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132-133 (Ward's/Central Star); Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 110 (Sand Point); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (9 Mile House).

¹⁰⁹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 132-133.

¹¹⁰ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 110.

58. COTTONWOOD STATION*

Several sources identify Cottonwood as a station between Nine Mile Station (Ward's) and Horseshoe Creek.¹¹¹ However, Helen Henderson asserts that there were two Cottonwood Stations in the area. According to Henderson, the oldest of the two stations, which was one-half mile from the Badger railroad station, served as the Pony Express station. Cottonwood Creek is often mentioned in diaries and journals of pioneers and military men, as well as the itineraries of stage and Pony Express routes.¹¹²

59. HORSESHOE CREEK/HORSESHOE STATION

This site, known as Horseshoe or Horseshoe Creek, served as the last station in Division Two of the Pony Express. Division Superintendent Joseph A. Slade lived at Horseshoe Creek with his wife, Molly, and family.¹¹³ Several sources identify Horseshoe Creek as a Pony Express station.¹¹⁴

SUMMARY

Along the Pony Express National Historic Trail from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, to Horsecreek Station, Nebraska, nine stations have been marked with plaques/monuments, and three station sites (Cold Water, Diamond Springs, and Mud Springs) are currently on the National Register of Historic Places.

¹¹¹ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; James R. Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail 1860-1861* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Pony Express Productions, 1960), 15; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 109.

¹¹² Helen Henderson, "Cottonwood Station, 6 July 1970," Folder: Cottonwood Station, typed, 1970, Box 7: Manuscripts, 1950-1968 *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

¹¹³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133.

¹¹⁴ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express," 1959; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

Chapter 6

DIVISION THREE: STATIONS BETWEEN HORSESHOE CREEK AND SALT LAKE CITY

INTRODUCTION

Division Three of the Pony Express National Historic Trail consisted of forty-six stations. This division was the second largest division of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company or Pony Express. Only Division Five surpassed Division Three in numbers of stations. Division Three went from Horseshoe Creek, Wyoming, across the vast stretches of Wyoming's high desert landscape to Great South Pass and through the Rocky Mountains and then southwest to the Wyoming Basin and to Green River, and then through the Wasatch Range to Salt Lake City, Utah. This chapter discusses the use of each station during the days of the Pony Express, as well as any existing artifacts and/or buildings associated with the stations.

WYOMING (Continued)

60. ELK HORN STATION

L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson on their "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861, as well as the Overland Mail Company contract of 1861, list Elk Horn as the first station west of Horseshoe Creek. However, neither resource provides an exact location for this station. On the other hand, Gregory Franzwa in his *Maps of the Oregon Trail* identified Elk Horn Station, but he did not specifically designate it as a Pony Express Station.¹

¹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941; and Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail* (St. Louis, Missouri: Patrice Press, 1990), 113.

61. LA BONTE STATION

The next station after Elk Horn was probably La Bonte Station, which several sources agree was a Pony Express station.² In August 1860, for an unknown reason, the route apparently changed to include La Bonte as a station. Little existed at the site before that, except for a stock corral.³ Stagecoaches also stopped at La Bonte but used a separate site from the Pony Express station.⁴ The station's exact location has not been identified yet.

62. BED TICK STATION

The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract listed Bed Tick as a passenger/mail station stop, and Bishop and Henderson placed Bed Tick as a station on their map between Fort Fetterman and Lapierelle (La Prele). The only other resource that identifies Bed Tick as a potential Pony Express station is Gregory Franzwa who noted Bed Tick Station in his Oregon Trail maps. However, Franzwa did not specifically identify it as a Pony Express stop.⁵

63. LAPIERELLE/LA PRELE STATION

The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract also listed Lapierelle as a passenger/mail station stop, which Bishop and Henderson listed as Lapierelle (La

² L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 115; Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble* (Berkeley, California: Howell-North 1959), 146; Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1955), 133; James Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Pony Express Productions, 1960), 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133.

⁴ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 115.

⁵ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, p.115; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

Prele)—a station between Bed Tick and Box Elder. Franzwa also identifies a La Prele Station on his maps, but he does not specifically cite it as a Pony Express site.⁶

64. BOX ELDER (CREEK) STATION

Little is known about the history of Box Elder Creek Station other than several sources agree that it served as a Pony Express station.⁷ A man named Wheeler managed station operations at Box Elder, which probably also served as a passenger/mail stage stop under the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract. Franzwa does not indicate that Box Elder Station served specifically as a Pony Express station, but he plotted a station with this name on his maps.⁸

65. DEER CREEK STATION

Several sources agree on the identity of Deer Creek as a station for the Pony Express, largely because it appeared on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract. Stagecoaches and other travelers stopped here as well.⁹ Structures at Deer Creek included Indian Agent Major Twiss' headquarters, a post office, a

⁶ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 117; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 117; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 117.

⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 117; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

store, and a saloon operated by an Indian trader named Bisonette.¹⁰ The station's exact location has not fully been identified yet.

66. LITTLE MUDDY STATION

Raymond and Mary Settle, noted historians and experts on the Pony Express, and one other source identify Little Muddy as the next station west of Deer Creek Station.¹¹ The stone station, erected without mortar, reportedly stood ten miles west of Deer Creek.¹² However, its exact location has not been identified.

67. BRIDGER STATION

The Overland Mail Company contract of 1861, as well as Bishop and Henderson, identify Bridger as the station between Deer Creek and North Platte/Fort Casper. Franzwa also specifically mentions the site as a Pony Express station and locates it on his maps.¹³

68. PLATTE BRIDGE/NORTH PLATTE STATION

According to Raymond and Mary Settle, in 1859, Louis Guenot built Platte Bridge Station at a cost of \$40,000 and then served as its manager.¹⁴ Several additional sources name North Platte or (Fort) Casper as a station, largely because this name appears on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.¹⁵ Other sources

¹⁰ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133.

¹¹ Ibid; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

¹² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133.

¹³ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 119; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941.

¹⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 133-134; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

¹⁵ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (North Platte/Fort Casper); Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of the Central Overland Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint*

mention Platte Bridge Station, on the North Platte River, as the site of this station. Franzwa locates Platte Bridge near Fort Caspar on his maps, but he does not identify either site specifically as a Pony Express station.¹⁶

69. RED BUTTE(S) STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Red Butte(s) as a C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. or Pony Express station, also largely because this name appears on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.¹⁷ Franzwa specifically lists Red Buttes as a Pony Express stop on his maps.¹⁸

70. WILLOW SPRINGS STATION

Many sources identify Willow Springs as a station, including the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.¹⁹ The Hendersons located this station approximately twenty-eight miles southwest of current-day Casper, Wyoming.²⁰ According to the Settles, the site at one time consisted of a crude structure without a corral, and

Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California (St. Joseph, Missouri: Robidoux Printing Company, Inc., 1961), 134 (Casper); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Casper, Platte Bridge); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁶ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 121.

¹⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; Paul and Helen Henderson, "Willow Springs," Box 8: Manuscripts, 1950-1968, *The Paul and Helen Henderson Oregon Trail Collection* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁸ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 121.

¹⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²⁰ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Willow Springs."

it served as a home station for stage lines and a relay station for riders.²¹ Franzwa notes Willow Springs in his Oregon Trail maps but does not specifically identify it as a Pony or stage station.²² Records for the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell document the Pony Express station entitled "Willow Springs." In 1862, the stage line route via Fort Laramie and the Great South Pass was abandoned for a more southern trail through Bridger's Pass. Thus, within several years, the building at Willow Springs became obsolete and began to collapse from decay.²³

71. HORSE/GREESEWOOD CREEK STATION

Several sources list Horse Creek as a station, including the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.²⁴ Gregory Franzwa specifically identifies Horse Creek as a Pony Express station in his Oregon Trail maps.²⁵ Little more is known about this station site.

72. SWEETWATER STATION

Several sources identify Sweetwater as a station.²⁶ Sweetwater existed as a Pony Express station until the summer of 1860, when officials abandoned the site in favor of Split Rock.²⁷ Nevertheless, for some unknown reason, it still appeared on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.²⁸ Franzwa does not specifically identify the site as a Pony Express station.²⁹

²¹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134.

²² Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 133.

²³ Paul and Helen Henderson, "Willow Springs."

²⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²⁵ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 133.

²⁶ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

²⁷ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134.

²⁸ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

²⁹ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 135.

73. DEVIL'S GATE STATION*

A couple of sources identify Devil's Gate as a station,³⁰ however, Bishop and Henderson noted on their map that the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract did not list the site as part of the official route.³¹ Franzwa locates Devil's Gate Stage Station just south of the Devil's Gate rock formation.³²

74. PLANT'S/PLANTE STATION

L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson list Plant's or Plante as a station between Devil's Gate and Split Rock. Franzwa and the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract specifically identifies Plant(e)'s as a Pony Express station.³³ Little more is known about this station site.

75. SPLIT ROCK STATION

Most sources generally agree on the identity of this station, probably because it appears on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.³⁴ A French-Canadian named Plante managed operations at the station, known by the stationkeeper's name or the natural formation off to the northeast.³⁵ Gregory Franzwa does not

³⁰ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 135.

³¹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

³² Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 135.

³³ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 135; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

³⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 137; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

specifically list Split Rock Station as a Pony Express site, although he does mark it on his maps.³⁶ As late as 1988, a marker stood on the north side of U.S. 287/789, which read:

Split Rock. A famous natural landmark/ used by Indians, Trappers, and/ emigrants on the Oregon Trail./ Site of Split Rock Pony Express/ 1860-1861, stage, and telegraph/ station is on the south side of the Sweetwater./ Split Rock can be seen as a/ cleft in the top of the Rattlesnake Range.³⁷

76. THREE CROSSINGS STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of this site as a Pony Express station, probably because it appeared on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.³⁸ However, Gregory Franzwa identifies separate stage and Pony stations at Three Crossings, locating the Pony Express station site west of the stage station.³⁹ According to one source, an English Mormon couple with the last name of Moore managed station operations at Three Crossings, a home station for both stage lines and Pony Express riders.⁴⁰

77. ICE SLOUGH/ICE SPRINGS STATION

Bishop and Henderson, as well as the mail contract of 1861, identify Ice Slough or Ice Springs as a C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. station between Three Crossings and

³⁵ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 134; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

³⁶ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 137.

³⁷ Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 87.

³⁸ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 137; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

³⁹ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 137.

⁴⁰ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135.

Warm Springs.⁴¹ Other sources do not list the slough as a station, but they mention its nearly year-round ice as a well-known landmark.⁴² Franzwa locates Ice Spring and Ice Slough separately in his Oregon Trail maps, but he does not list either site as a Pony Express station.⁴³

78. WARM SPRINGS STATION

Several sources identify Warm Springs as a station and Gregory Franzwa specifically names Warm Springs as a Pony Express site. He locates it on the Seminoe Cutoff from the Oregon Trail.⁴⁴

79. ROCKY RIDGE/ST. MARY'S STATION

The 1861 Overland Mail Company contract listed this station site as Rocky Ridge,⁴⁵ but apparently the station was also known as St. Mary's. Several sources identify Rocky Ridge as a station site. Bishop and Henderson place the station between Warm Springs and Rock Creek, while James Pierson locates it between Rock Creek and South Pass.⁴⁶ Franzwa describes Rocky Ridge as a "desolate" summit in his Oregon Trail maps, but he does not identify any station site there.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Franzwa does list St. Mary's Station in his Oregon Trail maps, but he does not specifically identify the site as a Pony Express stop. He places St. Mary's between Warm Springs Station and Rocky Ridge.

⁴¹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 138.

⁴³ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 138-139.

⁴⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 139; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴⁵ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴⁶ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

⁴⁷ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 140-141.

Whereas, James Pierson identifies St. Mary's as a station between Three Crossings and Rock Creek.⁴⁸

80. ROCK CREEK STATION

Several sources list Rock Creek as a station, which also appears on the 1861 contract. However, these sources disagree about its exact location.⁴⁹ Bishop and Henderson place the station between Rocky Ridge (after Warm Springs) and Upper Sweetwater/South Pass.⁵⁰ Since Franzwa also places a Pony Express station named Strawberry Station between Rocky Ridge and Upper Sweetwater, it was probably the same site.⁵¹ The Settles identify Rock Creek as a station between Warm Springs and South Pass, while Pierson lists it between St. Mary's and Rocky Ridge.⁵² Finally, Loving and Bloss locate Rock Creek between Split Rock and Three Crossings.⁵³

81. UPPER SWEETWATER/SOUTH PASS STATION

Sources refer to this site as either Upper Sweetwater or South Pass Station but generally they agree on its identity as a station.⁵⁴ Two French-Canadians

⁴⁸ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 139-141.

⁴⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵⁰ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

⁵¹ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 141.

⁵² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15.

⁵³ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

⁵⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Upper Sweetwater/South Pass); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15 (South Pass); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135 (South Pass); Franzwa,

managed station operations at South Pass, near the Continental Divide.⁵⁵ Franzwa indicates South Pass in his Oregon Trail maps and specifically identifies Upper Sweetwater Pony Express Station several miles northeast of the pass.⁵⁶

82. PACIFIC SPRINGS STATION

Pacific Springs is identified as a station in several sources.⁵⁷ Located approximately two miles west of the Continental Divide, Pacific Springs served as a relay station for both stage lines and the Pony Express.⁵⁸ Franzwa lists Pacific Springs in his Oregon Trail maps, but he does not identify it as any type of station.⁵⁹ The British traveler, Richard Burton, in his narrative mentioned that the stage road crossed Pacific Creek two miles below Pacific Springs, and no doubt Pony Express riders followed the same path.⁶⁰

83. DRY SANDY STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Dry Sandy as a relay station, although it is not mentioned as a station on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.⁶¹ A

Maps of the Oregon Trail, 143 (Upper Sweetwater); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (Sweet Water); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (South Pass); Kate B. Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 37 (South Pass); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Upper Sweetwater).

⁵⁵ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135.

⁵⁶ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 143.

⁵⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 15; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135.

⁵⁹ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 143.

⁶⁰ Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1862), 166.

⁶¹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16;

young Mormon couple managed station operations at Dry Sandy Station, which Franzwa specifically identifies as a Pony Express site.⁶²

84. LITTLE SANDY CREEK STATION

Bishop and Henderson, the U.S. mail contract of 1861, and Pierson identified Little Sandy as a relay station between Dry Sandy and Big Sandy Station.⁶³ Little Sandy Creek, according to Richard Burton, was near the junction of the Great Salt Lake Road and on the road to Fort Hall, Idaho.⁶⁴

85. BIG SANDY STATION

Several sources identify Big Sandy as a relay station for the Pony Express, including the U.S. mail contract of 1861.⁶⁵ When Burton passed through the area, he noted that Big Sandy Creek was a resting stop for the stagecoach and that it was about twenty-nine miles from their previous stop at Pacific Creek. Apparently, a Mormon couple operated Big Sandy Station.⁶⁶

86. BIG TIMBER STATION

Bishop and Henderson, as well as the U.S. mail contract of 1861, list Big Timber as a station between Big Sandy Creek and Green River. Gregory Franzwa places

Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 145.

⁶³ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁴ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 167.

⁶⁵ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁶ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 167.

this station just east of the Slate Creek Cutoff to the Sublette Cutoff, but he does not specifically identify Big Timber Station as a Pony Express site.⁶⁷ Little more is known about this station.

87. GREEN RIVER (CROSSING) STATION

Key sources generally agree on the identity of Green River as a station, near an early fording area of the river.⁶⁸ Green River served as a home station for both the stage lines and Pony riders.⁶⁹ Richard Burton discusses the Green River Station at great length in his travel journal.⁷⁰

88. MICHAEL MARTIN'S STATION

Several notable sources identify Michael Martin's as a station, including Gregory Franzwa, who places it on his Oregon Trail maps as approximately ten or so miles southwest of Green River Station.⁷¹ Michael Martin, a French-Canadian, managed station operations at his trading post, where he sold a wide variety of items.⁷² Richard Burton mentions that Michael Martin had a store there, and that in 1860 his stage stopped there for a short rest, making it highly likely that the Pony Express stopped there.⁷³ However, Bishop and Henderson point out that

⁶⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 149; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁸ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 148-149; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁶⁹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 135; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 148-149.

⁷⁰ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 169-172.

⁷¹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 151.

⁷² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁷³ Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 173.

the 1861 U. S. mail contract did not identify it as a station,⁷⁴ indicating it may have been eliminated as a station by March 1861.

89. HAM'S FORK STATION

Historical sources agree on the identity of Ham's Fork as a station, including the 1861 mail contract.⁷⁵ David Lewis, a Scottish Mormon, managed station operations with his two wives and large family.⁷⁶ Franzwa lists Ham's Fork Crossing in his Oregon Trail maps, but he does not specifically identify it as any type of station.⁷⁷

90. CHURCH BUTTE(S) STATION*

James Pierson lists Church Buttes as a relay station, while Gregory Franzwa mentions the Church Butte Stage Station, but makes no connection between it and the Pony Express.⁷⁸ Bishop and Henderson note that the 1861 U. S. mail contract does not list Church Butte as a station.⁷⁹

91. MILLERSVILLE STATION

Several sources pinpoint Millersville as a station, including the 1861 mail

⁷⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

⁷⁵ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express-The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷⁶ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁷⁷ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 153.

⁷⁸ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; and Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 153.

⁷⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

contract.⁸⁰ The station received its name from A. B. Miller, a partner of William Russell and William Waddell. A Mormon named Holmes ran a trading post at the site, and also managed station operations there.⁸¹ In his research, Franzwa mentions Millersville Stage Station which shared its facilities with the Pony Express.⁸²

92. FORT BRIDGER: NR, 4/16/69, 69000197

Fort Bridger is identified as a station site by several sources, but these resources disagree about its function as a Pony Express station.⁸³ Raymond and Mary Settle suggest that the fort did not serve as a Pony or stage station because there was insufficient grazing land on the government's property. According to them, riders probably stopped briefly to get the mail at Judge W. A. Carter's store and post office before heading to Muddy Creek Station.⁸⁴ Pierson, however, argues that a station existed in the fort's quartermaster building. In 1857, General A. S. Johnston's Army of Utah established winter quarters at the fort and maintained a supply contract with the freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell's—the same firm that operated the Pony Express. This connection, according to Pierson, provides a logical reason for a Pony Express station to exist at Fort Bridger.⁸⁵ Franzwa lists Fort Bridger in his Oregon Trail maps, but the trail historian does not identify it as a stage or Pony Express station.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 16; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸¹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁸² Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 155.

⁸³ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁸⁵ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 17.

⁸⁶ Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 155.

93. MUDDY CREEK STATION

Several sources identify Muddy or Muddy Creek as a station, including the 1861 contract.⁸⁷ A French-Canadian and his English wife served as stationkeepers.⁸⁸ Little more is known about the station.

94. QUAKING ASP/ASPEN/SPRINGS STATION

Quaking Aspen or Quaking Asp Springs has been identified as a station in a few sources, probably because it is listed on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.⁸⁹ The Settles mention Quaking Asp, but do not specifically identify it as a station.⁹⁰ Most sources place the site between Muddy Creek and Bear River Stations, but for some unknown reason, Roy Bloss identifies Quaking Asp Creek between Horse Creek and South Pass.⁹¹

95. BEAR RIVER STATION

Though the U.S. mail contract and several other sources identify Bear River as the next station, the exact location of this site is currently unknown.⁹² According

⁸⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁸⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁸⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Quaking Aspen); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (Quaking Asp Springs); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Quaking Asp Creek); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18 (Quaking Asp Springs); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Quaking Aspen).

⁹⁰ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 136.

⁹¹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

⁹² L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134; Bloss,

to the Settles, a Mormon named Myers managed station operations there.⁹³ Bear River Station was the last Pony Express station within the state of Wyoming.

UTAH

96. THE NEEDLES/NEEDLE ROCK(S) STATION

The Needles/Needle Rock Station is presumably located near the Salt Lake Meridian line. Little is known about this station, other than its identification as Needle Rock in the 1861 mail contract.⁹⁴ Other sources also identify this site as a station, variously known as "The Needles," "Needle Rock," and "Needle Rocks."⁹⁵

97. (HEAD OF) ECHO CANYON STATION

Richard E. Fike and John W. Headley identify the station as Head of Echo Canyon mentioned in the 1861 mail contract as Castle Rock, and/or Frenchies. Castle Rock refers to a sandstone geological formation near to the head of the canyon. Apparently a man named Frenchie served as stationkeeper at the log structure, which a French trapper purchased and moved to another site in 1867.⁹⁶ Other sources identify Echo Canyon as the station site as well. Bishop and Henderson,

Pony Express--The Great Gamble, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 137; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁹³ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 137.

⁹⁴ Richard E. Fike and John W. Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives* Bureau of Land Management, Utah. Cultural Resources Series, monograph 2. (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 7.

⁹⁵ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (The Needles/Needle Rock); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 134 (Needle Rock); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Needle Rocks); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 137 (Needle Rocks); and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18 (Needle Rocks).

⁹⁶ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 10, 108; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

Loving, and Pierson list Echo Canyon as the first station west of Needle Rock, but give no exact locations.⁹⁷

98. HALFWAY STATION

A man named Daniels served as stationkeeper at Halfway Station, which was listed as the third Utah station in the 1861 mail contract. Local people also knew the station as Daniels or Emery.⁹⁸ Bishop and Henderson also identify Half Way as a station between Head of Echo Canyon and Weber.⁹⁹

99. WEBER STATION

This site appears on the 1861 mail contract.¹⁰⁰ James E. Bromley, division superintendent for stations between Pacific Springs, Wyoming, and Salt Lake City, managed the station operations at Weber Station. The stone station house and other structures there housed a general store, inn, saloon, blacksmith shop, jail, and later, a hotel at this site. In 1868, the Union Pacific Railroad bought the station and surrounding property to establish Echo City.¹⁰¹ The Settles mention Weber as a stone stage and Pony station, built in 1853, at the mouth of Echo Canyon. The station maintained a large supply of food for man and beast in the form of locally grown vegetables and wild hay.¹⁰² Apparently, the station house stood until 1931, when workers demolished it for safety reasons.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18.

⁹⁸ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 13; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁹⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

¹⁰⁰ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰¹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 15 and 19.

¹⁰² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 137-138.

¹⁰³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 15 and 19.

Several other sources identify Weber as a Pony Express station, but they do not agree on its location. Bishop and Henderson locate the site between Half Way and Wheaton Springs (exact location unknown).¹⁰⁴ Bloss places Weber between Needles and Carson House (exact location unknown).¹⁰⁵ Pierson identifies the station between Hanging Rock (exact location unknown) and Henefer (exact location unknown).¹⁰⁶ Kate B. Carter, of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, also mentions Weber Station at the mouth of Echo Canyon.¹⁰⁷ Pierson identifies Hanging Rock as a station between Echo Canyon and Weber.¹⁰⁸ However, Fike and Headley list Hanging Rock as another name for Weber Station.¹⁰⁹

100. BRIMVILLE EMERGENCY STATION*

After leaving Weber Station, under normal traveling conditions, Pony Express riders crossed Forney's Bridge over the Weber River and rode through Bachelors Canyon to Dixie Hollow. When high water and snow made the normal route unsafe, riders followed the valley to the Brimville Emergency Station, also known as Henneforville (Henefer, Utah). From Brimville, riders reached Dixie Hollow by way of Little East Canyon.¹¹⁰ Pierson identifies Henefer as a station between Weber and Dixie Creek.¹¹¹ This site does not appear on the 1861 mail contract,¹¹² and probably was used infrequently.

¹⁰⁴ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

¹⁰⁵ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18.

¹⁰⁷ Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37.

¹⁰⁸ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 15.

¹¹⁰ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 15-16.

¹¹¹ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18.

¹¹² U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

101. CARSON HOUSE STATION

A few sources identify Carson House as a station. Bloss and the Settles place the site between Weber and Dixie Creek.¹¹³ According to the Settles, in the summer of 1860, two young Mormons managed station operations at the newly-built station.¹¹⁴ However, it should be pointed out that this site does not appear on the 1861 mail contract.¹¹⁵

102. EAST CANYON STATION

Identified in the 1861 mail contract, local people also knew East Canyon Station as Dixie Hollow, Dixie Creek, Bauchmanns, and Snyder's Mill. Mr. Bauchmann and James McDonald managed station operations at the stone structure. Travelers and sheepherders used the station site as late as 1881. Today, the East Canyon Reservoir covers the historic site.¹¹⁶ Bishop and Henderson listed East Canyon as a station between Wheaton Springs and Mountain Dale.¹¹⁷

Several other sources identify Dixie Creek as a station. Bloss locates the station between Carson House and Snyder's Mill.¹¹⁸ The Settles mention the site as a relay station before Big Mountain.¹¹⁹ Pierson places Dixie Creek between Henefer and Big Canyon, while Carter identifies the site somewhere between Weber and Bauchmann's.¹²⁰ Kate B. Carter also identifies Bauchmann's as a station somewhere between Dixie Creek and Mountain Dell.¹²¹

¹¹³ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 145; and Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 138.

¹¹⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 138.

¹¹⁵ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹¹⁶ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 21, 105, and 108.

¹¹⁷ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

¹¹⁸ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

¹¹⁹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 138.

¹²⁰ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37.

¹²¹ Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37.

In 1853, according to Fike and Headley, Snyder's Settlement (Snyderville) and Snyder's Sawmill sprang up several miles south of the Snyder residence. When Captain Albert Tracy spent a night at Snyder's home (between 1858 and 1860), he mistakenly identified it as Snyder's Mill.¹²² Several other sources mention Snyder's Mill as a station. Loving places it between Echo Canyon and Daniels, while Bloss locates the site between Dixie Creek and Big Canyon.¹²³ The Settles identify Snyder's Mill, also known as Big Canyon, at the foot of Big Mountain's western slope. Ephraim Hanks, a Mormon Danite and relative of Abraham Lincoln, managed station operations there.¹²⁴

103. WHEATON SPRINGS STATION

The Wheaton Springs Station, also known as Winston Springs, was identified in the 1861 mail contract,¹²⁵ and Bishop and Henderson identify Wheaton Springs as a station between Weber and East Canyon.¹²⁶

104. MOUNTAIN DELL/DALE STATION

Fike and Headley suggest two possible locations for this site. The traditional site is located eight and three-fourths miles from Wheaton Springs. A second possible site exists at the mouth of present Freeze Creek. The 1861 mail contract referred to this station as Mountain Dale, but it was also known as Mountain Dell, Big Canyon, and Hanks. Ephraim Hanks served as stationkeeper at the log structure. A vandalized marker stood near the traditional site in 1979.¹²⁷

¹²² Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 21.

¹²³ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146.

¹²⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 138.

¹²⁵ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 25 and 105.

¹²⁶ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

¹²⁷ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 28, 105, and 108.

Mattie Little, daughter of Pony Express rider George Edwin Little, wrote:

One day father was bringing in the mail from the east to the station at Mountain Dell. There was a heavy snow storm came up and crossing over Little Mountain, the snow became so heavy and deep that his horse gave out and he had to leave him. He took his pocket knife and cut the mail pouches open putting the mail inside his shirt. Then he broke trail over to Mountain Dell, arriving there at 3 [a.m.]. The next morning he rode a horse bareback to Salt Lake and delivered the mail to the Old Salt Lake House which was the home station. Ephraim Hanks his stepfather road back up to the canyon next morning and brought in the horse. . . .¹²⁸

Several other sources mention Mountain Dell or Mountain Dale as the relay station before Salt Lake City. Bishop and Henderson identify the site as Mountain Dale, while others refer to it as Mountain Dell.¹²⁹

Fike and Headley identify Big Canyon as another name for the Mountain Dell/Dale Station.¹³⁰ Several other sources identify Big Canyon as a station. Bloss places Big Canyon Creek between Snyder's Mill and Salt Lake City, while Pierson locates the site between Dixie Creek and Mountain Dell.¹³¹ The Settles, as mentioned earlier, called the station Big Canyon or Snyder's Mill.

105. SALT LAKE CITY STATION

Salt Lake City was a home station and the last station in Division Three of the

¹²⁸ Allen Roberts, Maxine Hanks, and John Senulis, "Report of Historical, Architectural, Archaeological Aspects of Mountain Dell Station, Utah, May, 1989." Prepared for Department of the Army, Sacramento Branch Corps of Engineers by Cooper/Roberts Architects, AIA.

¹²⁹ L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹³⁰ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 28.

¹³¹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18.

Pony Express.¹³² This station was listed in the 1861 mail contract as Salt Lake House. The wood frame structure, kept by A. B. Miller, stood at present 143 South Main, the site of the *Salt Lake Tribune* offices in 1979.¹³³ The Salt Lake House served as a home station for both stage lines and Pony Express riders. This building stood on the east side of Main Street, between First and Second South, in Salt Lake City.¹³⁴

SUMMARY

From Horseshoe Creek, Wyoming to Salt Lake City, Utah, Pony Express riders acquired new horses and food, as well as resting places at forty-six stations along the third division of the Pony Express National Historic Trail. Of the forty-six stations, two are marked by commemorative plaques/monuments. Only one of the forty-six stations documented in this division is listed on the National Register of Historic Places—Fort Bridger Station. Based upon the number of total stations in this section compared to the number of markers and National Register listings, Division Three requires a substantial amount of additional archival and field research of its station sites.

¹³² L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 18; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹³³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 32, 105, and 108.

¹³⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 138; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

Chapter 7

DIVISION FOUR: STATIONS BETWEEN SALT LAKE CITY AND ROBERTS CREEK

INTRODUCTION

From Salt Lake City, Utah, the Pony Express National Historic Trail headed southwest and then west into the Great Basin and Range toward Roberts Creek, Nevada, crossing many desert valleys and medium mountain ranges in between. Division Four of the Pony Express route encompassed thirty stations, eighteen of them in western Utah and the remaining twelve stations in eastern Nevada. The following chapter contains available historical data on each station, including present-day location of ruins, buildings, and commemorative markers.

UTAH (Continued)

106. TRADER'S REST/TRAVELER'S REST STATION

Richard F. Fike and John W. Headley locate this first station site west of Salt Lake City nine miles south of the Salt Lake House. The station once stood on State Street in an area referred to as Lovendahl's Corner.¹ Some sources generally identify this first relay station as Trader's Rest or Traveler's Rest.² The 1861

¹ Richard E. Fike and John W. Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives* Bureau of Land Management, Utah. Cultural Resources Series, monograph 2. (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 38.

² The following sources identify Trader's or Traveler's Rest as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Traders Rest); Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of the Central Overland Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Robidoux Printing Company, Inc., 1961), 135 (Travelers Rest); Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble* (Berkeley, California:

mail contract identified Trader's Rest Station, where Absalom Smith managed station operations. After the Pony Express era, someone added wood siding and a false front to the adobe building to convert it into a business establishment. The building was also used as a garage prior to its destruction sometime before 1979.³

107. ROCKWELL'S STATION

Sources generally refer to the station as Rockwell or Rockwell's, named after Orin Porter Rockwell, a Mormon Danite in Missouri and former bodyguard for Brigham Young in the 1830s,⁴ who was the stationkeeper at the stone structure.⁵ Kate B. Carter of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers disagrees about Rockwell's role as stationkeeper, arguing that he served as a special agent for the Overland Mail Company during the Pony Express era and then acted as Brigham Young's bodyguard.⁶

Howell-North 1959), 146 (Traveler's Rest); Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1955), 139 (Traveler's Rest); James Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Pony Express Productions, 1960), 19 (Travelers Rest); Kate B. Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 37 (Traveler's Rest); Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 38 (both); and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941 (Trader's Rest).

³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 38, 105, and 108.

⁴ The following sources identify Rockwell or Rockwell's as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 19; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 40; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 40, 42, 105, and 108.

⁶ Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

108. DUGOUT/JOE'S DUGOUT STATION

The 1861 mail contract referred to Dugout as a station, but sources also list it as Joe's Dug Out, Joe Dugout, Joe's Dugout, Joes Dugout, and Joe Butchers.⁷ Joseph Dorton managed operations there and ran a grocery at the adobe station, which also served as a stop for the stage lines. Station structures also included Dorton's two-room brick home, log barn, and a dugout for Dorton's young Indian helper.⁸ Dorton dug a deep well near the site, hoping to find a reliable source of water. According to Kate Carter, the well failed and led to the eventual abandonment of Dugout as a station site.⁹

109. CAMP FLOYD/FAIRFIELD STATION

Identified as Camp Floyd in the 1861 mail contract, this station had various other names including Fairfield, Fort Crittendon or Crittenden, Carson's Inn, and Cedar City.¹⁰ The settlement of Fairfield began in Cedar Valley in 1858, when John Carson, John Williams, William Beardshall, John Clegg, and others built

⁷ The following sources list Dugout or Joe's Dugout as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Dugout); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Joe Dugout); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 146 (Joe's Dugout); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139 (Joe's Dugout); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 19 (Joe Dugout); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (Joe's Dug Out); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 40 (Dugout, Joes Dugout, Joe Butchers).

⁸ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 43, 105, and 108.

⁹ Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

¹⁰ The following sources list the site as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Camp Floyd); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Camp Floyd); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Camp Floyd, later Fairfield); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (Camp Floyd, later Fort Crittenden); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139 (Camp Floyd); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 19 (Camp Floyd); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38 (Camp Floyd, Fairfield, Fort Crittenden); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 45 (Camp Floyd, Carson's Inn, Fort Crittenden, Cedar City, Fairfield).

homes and a protective enclosure called Cedar City Fort. John Carson built an adobe inn that same year, which served as a station for both Pony Express riders and stage lines. In 1858, General A. S. Johnston and his troops established a fort near Fairfield, which they named in honor of John B. Floyd, Secretary of War.¹¹ Troops stayed at the Camp Floyd until early in the Civil War, when they headed east to join the fighting. After Secretary of War Floyd joined the Confederacy, Union officials renamed the Utah garrison Fort Crittenden.¹²

The adobe station existed as late as 1979, with a wooden facade, under the protection of the Utah Parks system.¹³

110. PASS/EAST RUSH VALLEY STATION

Fike and Headley locate this dugout station ten miles southwest of Camp Floyd. Although the 1861 mail contract did not identify East Rush Valley as a station, it apparently received a lot of travelers from the military road just south of the site. Local people also knew the station as Pass and Five Mile Pass. In 1979, a depression identified the site where the dugout stood.¹⁴ Several other sources also list East Rush Valley as Pass Station, the Pass, and Five Mile Pass, located between Camp Floyd (or Fort Crittenden) and Rush Valley.¹⁵ In 1965, a monument with a plaque donated by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers marked the station site.¹⁶

¹¹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 45, 105, and 108.

¹² Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 19.

¹³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 45 and 47.

¹⁴ Ibid., 48 and 105.

¹⁵ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Pass); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139 (Pass Station); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20 (Pass Station); and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (East Rush Valley, The Pass).

¹⁶ Terral F. King, "The Pony Express Rides Again!" *Our Public Lands* (Fall, 1965): 1.

111. RUSH VALLEY/FAUST'S STATION

Fike and Headley place this station eight and three-fourths miles from East Rush Valley. The 1861 mail contract probably mistakenly identified this station as Bush Valley.¹⁷ Other sources list the stone station as Rush Valley, Bush Valley, Faust's, Doc Faust's, and Meadow Creek.¹⁸ George Chorpenning erected the station in 1858.¹⁹ Henry J. "Doc" Faust later purchased the land as a ranch and raised horses for the Pony Express and later military operations.²⁰ Faust served as stationkeeper during the Pony Express era and lived on the land until 1870, when he moved to Salt Lake City and went into the livery business.²¹ Kate B. Carter identifies Rush Valley as the first home station west of Salt Lake City and notes that the valley and station received their names from a body of water lined with bullrushes in the north end of the valley.²²

As late as 1978, the stone station house and a cemetery still existed on private land. A misplaced marker also stands north of the site.²³

¹⁷ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 49; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁸ The following sources list Rush Valley as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Bush Valley); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Rush Valley); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (Rush Valley); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139 (Faust's, Rush Valley); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 19 (Rush Valley, Faust's); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (Rush Valley, 5 Mile Pass, Faust); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 49 (Rush Valley, Bush Valley, Faust, Doc Faust's, Meadow Creek).

¹⁹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 49.

²⁰ King, "The Pony Express Rides Again!": 2.

²¹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 49 and 108.

²² Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 39.

²³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 50 and 53.

112. POINT LOOKOUT/LOOKOUT PASS STATION

The 1861 mail contract listed this station as Point Lookout, and other sources also identify the site as Lookout Pass and Jackson's.²⁴ A Mr. Jackson served as stationkeeper at Point Lookout, which saw Pony Express operations halted in June and July of 1860 because of the Pyramid Lake War. In 1876 Horace and Libby Rockwell lived in a log house at the site, which Fike and Headley suggest had possibly served as the station. In 1979, the Rockwells' pet cemetery, enclosed by a metal fence, still existed south of the station site.²⁵

113. GOVERNMENT CREEK STATION*

Fike and Headley list this station eight miles from Point Lookout. Also known as Davis Station and Government Well, because the army dug a well at the site, the station's function on the Pony Express route remains uncertain because it did not appear on the 1861 government contract. A rock foundation still existed at the site as late as 1978. In late 1861, David E. "Pegleg" Davis operated a telegraph station at Government Creek. This telegraph station operated until 1869. Fike and Headley suggest the telegraph office came to Government Creek because buildings already existed there.²⁶

114. SIMPSON'S SPRINGS/EGAN'S SPRINGS STATION

The 1861 mail contract listed Simpson's Springs as a route site, which other

²⁴ The following sources identify Point Lookout as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 139; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38 (Point Lookout, Lookout Pass); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 54 (Point Lookout, Lookout Pass, Jackson's).

²⁵ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 54 and 108.

²⁶ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 57-58, 60 and 105.

sources also identify as Pleasant Springs, Egan's Springs, and Lost Springs.²⁷ Fike and Headley place this station eight miles west of Government Creek.²⁸ George Chorpenning found the site promising in 1851, with a good source of water, and stone structures were erected soon thereafter. These structures probably housed Pony Express and stage operations, after Russell, Majors, and Waddell and the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company assumed the Chorpenning contract in May 1860. George Dewees managed the station.²⁹ The station received its name from J. H. Simpson, a Camp Floyd topographical engineer who in 1859 laid out an acceptable route from Salt Lake City to Carson Valley.³⁰

Activities at Simpson's Springs declined after the Pony Express and stage eras until the 1890s, when miners and other travelers began stopping at the site on their way to and from the Gold Mill area. During that time the Walters and Mulliner Stage Company adapted the rock station for its use, and other structures went up at the site. Dewey and Clara Anderson built a home about 1895, and someone else operated a log grocery store there. The Anderson home burned about 1957.³¹

In the 1930s the Civilian Conservation Corps established a camp west of the Simpson's Springs station site. In 1965, a monument was placed to mark the station site.³² Thereafter, in the 1970s, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM)

²⁷ The following sources identify Simpson's Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38 (Point Lookout, Lookout Pass); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 54 (Point Lookout, Lookout Pass, Jackson's).

²⁸ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 61.

²⁹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 61, 105 and 108.

³⁰ Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 39.

³¹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 61 and 63.

³² King, "The Pony Express Rides Again!": 3.

revitalized the area as a camping spot, and in 1975, BLM and Future Farmers of America finished reconstructing the rock station.³³

115. RIVER BED STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of the site, listed as Riverbed in the 1861 mail contract, although for an unknown reason Mabel Loving cites it as Redbed.³⁴ Fike and Headley identify this station eight miles west of Simpson's Springs.³⁵ William F. Horsepool, Oscar Quinn, and George Wright managed operations at the vertical log structure, named for its location in a dry riverbed.³⁶

The Civilian Conservation Corps erected a monument at the site about 1939 or 1940.³⁷

116. DUGWAY STATION

Most sources agree on the identity of this station, listed as Dugway in the 1861 mail contract.³⁸ Fike and Headley place this site ten and one-half miles from

³³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 61, 63, and 65-67.

³⁴ The following sources identify the station as Riverbed or River Bed unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Redbed); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 68.

³⁵ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 68.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 68, 105 and 108.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 68 and 70.

³⁸ The following sources list Dugway or Dug Way as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The*

River Bed Station.³⁹ A dugout with an adobe chimney probably served as the main structure at the station, noted for its three deep wells and lack of water. Someone hauled water from Simpson's Springs to Dugway on a regular basis. Dugway also experienced some activity in the 1890s as a stopping point for the Walters and Mulliner Stage Line from Fairfield to Ibapah. As late as 1979, a monument marked the station site area.⁴⁰

117. BLACK ROCK STATION*

Fike and Headley list this station thirteen and three-fourths miles from Dugway.⁴¹ Several sources identify Black Rock or Blackrock as a station between Dugway and Fish Springs, although Fike and Headley add Butte and Desert Station as alternative names.⁴² The exact location of the station, originally known as Butte or Desert, remains unknown. The Overland Mail Company may have erected a stone structure near the Blackrock volcanic formation after July 1861, but its connection with the Pony Express is uncertain because it did not appear on the 1861 mail contract. A damaged monument marks the general area of the station site.⁴³

118. FISH SPRINGS STATION

Fike and Headley identify this station ten miles from Black Rock Station.⁴⁴ Sources generally list the station as Fish Springs, including the 1861 mail

Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives, 68 (also Dugout).

³⁹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 71.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 73.

⁴² The following sources list Black Rock as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 68 (also Dugout).

⁴³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 73.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 74.

contract. Fike and Headley also add Smith Springs and Fresh Springs as alternative names.⁴⁵ Named for the abundant small fish that lived in the warm mineral springs nearby, Raymond and Mary Settle list two men at the station,⁴⁶ whereas Fike and Headley identify a Mr. Smith as the stationkeeper at the stone station.⁴⁷ In later years John Thomas owned a ranch that included the station site. The ranch buildings stood until the 1930s, and the site existed in 1979 as part of the Fish Springs National Wildlife Refuge.⁴⁸ The station's present-day status and condition are not known.

119. BOYD'S STATION*

Sources generally list the station as Boyd or Boyd's, although Fike and Headley also suggest Butte and Desert as alternative names for this potential Pony Express station, although it does not appear on the 1861 mail contract.⁴⁹ The Settles describe Boyd's Station as "a single room log hut," which does not agree with Fike and Headley's interpretation.⁵⁰ They suggest that Bid Boyd managed station operations at a stone structure and lived on the site into the twentieth century.

⁴⁵ The following sources list the station as Fish Springs unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Fish Creek); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* (Fish Springs); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 74 (also Smith Springs, Fresh Springs).

⁴⁶ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140.

⁴⁷ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 105 and 108.

⁴⁸ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 74 and 76-77.

⁴⁹ The following sources list the station as Boyd or Boyd's unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 74 (also Butte, Desert).

⁵⁰ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140.

Boyd's exists today as one of Utah's best-preserved Pony Express stations, maintained, protected, and interpreted by the BLM.⁵¹

120. WILLOW SPRINGS STATION

The location of the Willow Springs station, identified in the 1861 mail contract, remains controversial. Fike and Headley identify this site eight miles from Boyd's Station. A photograph from 1868 shows the Willow Springs stage station and adobe ruins next to it that possibly served as the Pony Express station.⁵² According to Fike and Headley, a foundation that possibly supported the Willow Springs stable exists "approximately 100 feet northeast of F. J. Kearney's boarding house [still standing in 1978] . . . [and] 3/4 mile east of the structure popularly known as the station house."⁵³

Terral King notes that the town of Callao now surrounds the Willow Springs Station site. In 1965 a monument stood near the gate to the Bagley Ranch, and preserved buildings associated with the Pony Express were painted red.⁵⁴

Other sources also refer to Willow Springs as a station but they do not agree on its location. Several sources place it between Boyd's and Canyon/Burnt Station.⁵⁵ Bloss lists Willow Springs between Canyon Station and Deep Creek Station.⁵⁶

121. WILLOW CREEK STATION*

Fike and Headley locate this controversial station six miles from Willow Springs.

⁵¹ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 78-79, 105, and 108.

⁵² Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 82; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁵³ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 80.

⁵⁴ King, "The Pony Express Rides Again!": 3.

⁵⁵ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37.

⁵⁶ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

They and the Settles are the only sources to list Willow Creek as a Pony Express stop.⁵⁷ If it was a stop, then Pete Joyce's cabin on Six-Mile Creek possibly served as the station.⁵⁸ Little more is known about the station.

122. CANYON/BURNT STATION

The exact location of this station site remains unknown. Sources generally list the site as Canyon or Burnt Station.⁵⁹ Howard Egan built the original Canyon Station for the Pony Express, possibly near Overland or Blood Canyon or on Clifton Flat. The site's structures possibly included a dugout, stable, and log house. Fike and Headley suggest that a Civilian Conservation Corps marker incorrectly identifies the station site location.⁶⁰

In 1863, two years after the Pony Express ended, Indians attacked Canyon Station, killing the residents, and burning the buildings. That same year, workers built a round, fortress-like structure above the mouth of Overland Canyon to replace the burned station. Local people distinguished between the two stations by referring to the burned station site as Burnt or Burnout, and the replacement as Round Station. Confusion occasionally arises from the reference to Canyon Station, but the second station, built after 1863, had nothing to do with the Pony Express.⁶¹

123. DEEP CREEK STATION

In the noted English traveller Richard Burton's account, he described the site as "two huts and a station-house, a large and respectable-looking building of

⁵⁷ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 86.

⁵⁸ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 86-90.

⁵⁹ The following sources list the site as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Canon); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Canyon); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (Canyon); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20 (Canyon); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (Burnt Canyon, Ibapah); and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 95 (Burn't, Canyon, Burnout).

⁶⁰ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 95.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 92-97.

unburnt brick, surrounded by fenced fields, water-courses, and stacks of good adobe." Burton also noted that a Mormon named Harrison Sevier acted as the stationkeeper.⁶² Sources generally agree on the identity of this station, sometimes known as Egan's.⁶³ Major Howard Egan, Division Superintendent of stations from Salt Lake City to Roberts Creek, apparently maintained a home ranch at Deep Creek, which produced hay, grain, beef, and mutton for other stations along the route.⁶⁴ Substantial structures at Deep Creek Station included Egan's home, a barn, and an adobe station, kept by Howard Egan, Mathew Orr, and Harrison Sevier.⁶⁵

NEVADA

124. PRAIRIE GATE/EIGHT MILE STATION

Several notable sources list Prairie Gate or Eight Mile Station as a Pony Express station, even though it was not listed on the 1861 mail contract station, and its exact location remains unknown.⁶⁶ The station possibly existed on the present-

⁶² Richard F. Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," in Pony Express Issue, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Vol. 3, no. 2 (April-June 1960): 9; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 99 and 108.

⁶³ The following sources identify Deep Creek as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Bloss, *Pony Express-The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 140; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 99 (also Egan's).

⁶⁴ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 99; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 40; and Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846-1878* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Company, 1917), 201.

⁶⁵ Fike and Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspectives*, 99, 101, and 108.

⁶⁶ The following sources list Prairie Gate or Eight Mile as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Prairie Gate); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Prairie Gate); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20 (Eight Mile); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (both); John M. Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook* (Reno, Nevada: Great Basin Studies Center), 55 (Eight Mile); and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10

day Goshute Indian Reservation,⁶⁷ and/or it may have been at Eight-Mile Springs, so-called because of its distance to Deep Creek.⁶⁸ It is thought that this station was probably erected after July of 1861 and was part of the Pony Express route for approximately three months.⁶⁹

125. ANTELOPE SPRINGS STATION

The Antelope Springs Station, which was listed on the 1861 mail contract, has been identified by several sources as a Pony Express stop.⁷⁰ In 1859, George Chorpenning constructed this station, that later served the Pony Express. On June 1, 1860, Indians reportedly attacked the station and burned the structures.⁷¹ When English traveler Richard Burton visited the site in late 1860, he found a corral, but no new station house. Burton also noted that the station burned the previous June.⁷² According to Burton, "the corral still stood; we

(Prairie Gate).

⁶⁷ *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁶⁸ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 11.

⁶⁹ Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-108.

⁷⁰ The following sources list Antelope Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 58; John M. Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook* (Reno, Nevada: Great Basin Studies Center), 55; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10; Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History," in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-100; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁷¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 58; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 55.

⁷² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 58.

found wood in plenty, water was lying in an adjoining bottom, and we used the two to brew our tea."⁷³ A new station went up sometime after Burton's visit.⁷⁴

In 1976 a log structure with a flat roof, corral, and two sources of water remained at the station site. Authorities disagree on whether the original station stood within the corral, or still exists as the log hut.⁷⁵

126. SPRING VALLEY STATION

Though Spring Valley Station was not listed on the 1861 mail contract as a station, and its exact location remains unknown, sources generally agree on its identity as a Pony Express station.⁷⁶ This station did not exist when Richard Burton traveled through the area on October 5, 1860, however, the Pony Express did stop at a site somewhere in the valley.⁷⁷ Constant Dubail or a man named Reynal possibly served as stationkeepers at Spring Valley.⁷⁸ When Pony Express rider Elijah N. "Uncle Nick" Wilson stopped at the station for something to eat, he found two young boys managing operations. While Wilson was there, several Indians stole the station's horses. Wilson reportedly was killed when he tried to stop them.⁷⁹

⁷³ Richard F. Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 11.

⁷⁴ *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁷⁵ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 58.

⁷⁶ The following sources identify Spring Valley as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 56-57; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 55; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁷⁷ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 56.

⁷⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 56.

⁷⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 56.

The Overland Mail Company line maintained a station in Spring Valley until 1869, which also possibly served as a Pony Express stop after July 1861. The Overland station stood on property owned by Reed Robinson in 1976. Foundations exist near a turn-of-the century stone house on the property.⁸⁰ Townley locates the Overland station site within the corrals, southwest of the stone house.⁸¹ Another theory suggests that the station stood on the present Henroid Ranch, an area that provided a shorter route to Antelope Springs Station through the Antelope Mountains.⁸²

127. SCHELL CREEK STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Schell Creek, also known later as Schellbourne or Fort Schellbourne.⁸³ George Chorpenning and Howard Egan established a station at the site in late 1859, which served the Pony Express during its existence and the Overland Mail Company line until 1869. English traveler Richard Burton stopped at Schell Creek on October 5, 1860, and identified Francois de France Constant Dubail as stationkeeper at the bullet-scarred log structure.⁸⁴ Several months earlier, on June 8, 1860, Indians attacked the station. According to one source, they scared away the station's residents and

⁸⁰ Ibid., 57.

⁸¹ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 54.

⁸² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 57.

⁸³ The following sources refer to the site as Schell Creek unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (Fort Schellbourne); Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 54-55; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 53-54 (Schellbourne); and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁸⁴ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 54; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 13.

destroyed the building.⁸⁵ Another source claims that Indians killed three people at the station before scattering the station's livestock.⁸⁶

After the Pony Express ended, the Overland Mail Company established its Utah-to-central Nevada district headquarters at Schell Creek in 1862-1863. Stone and log structures housed craftsmen who kept the coaches and other equipment in good repair, and the station compound grew into Fort Schellbourne, a town of 500 by the 1870s.⁸⁷ Two log structures, as well as other buildings, remain from the old fort. Local belief suggests that one of them served as the Pony Express station, but no actual proof exists.⁸⁸

128. EGAN'S CANYON/EGAN'S STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of this station site, known as Egan Canyon or Egan's Station, which also appeared on the 1861 mail contract.⁸⁹ Howard Egan and others established the station in Egan Canyon in the spring of 1860. On July 15 or 16, 1860, approximately eighty Indians arrived at the station, took stationkeeper Mike Holten and a Pony Express rider named Wilson as prisoners, and helped themselves to station food supplies. Rider William Dennis, enroute from Ruby Valley Station to Egan Station, saw the Indians and slipped away before they discovered him. He found Lieutenant Weed and sixty soldiers, whom

⁸⁵ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 53.

⁸⁶ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 54.

⁸⁷ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 53-54.

⁸⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 55.

⁸⁹ The following sources refer to the site as Egan's Canyon unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141 (Egan's Station); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20 (Egan Station, Gold Canyon); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 51-53; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 52-53; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10 (Egan).

he had passed shortly before reaching Egan, and returned with them to the station. The soldiers killed about seventeen or eighteen Indians and freed the two captives.⁹⁰ In early October of that same year, Indians returned to the station, killed the men there, and burned the buildings, according to Burton, "in revenge for the death of seventeen of their men by Lieutenant Weed's party." When Richard Burton arrived on October 5, he found part of the chimney, a few pieces of burned wood, and evidence of partially buried bodies.⁹¹

Sometime later, workers rebuilt the station, which served as an Overland Mail Company stop until 1869. In 1979, the station's stone foundations existed in a dense tangle of rabbit-brush.⁹²

129. BATES'/BUTTE STATION

Bates' station is mentioned in the 1861 mail contract,⁹³ and sources generally agree on the identity of this station as either Bates' or Butte Station, which they locate between Egan and Mountain Springs.⁹⁴ The station began in 1859 as part of George Chorprenning's mail route and continued to serve the Pony Express. In the spring of 1860, Indians burned Butte Station. When Richard Burton visited

⁹⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 52; and Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 51-53.

⁹¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 53; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 14-15.

⁹² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 53.

⁹³ Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-80.

⁹⁴ The 1861 mail contract lists this station as Bates. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*. The following sources refer to the site as Butte unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Bates); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 48-50; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 52; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

the site on October 5, 1860, an English Mormon named Thomas managed the rebuilt station. At that time, Burton described life at this station in great detail during his travel account.⁹⁵ Burton described a 15 x 30 feet, two-room structure, built of sandstone, wood, and mud. Parts of the fireplace, a wall, and other stone foundations still mark the site of Butte Station as late as 1979.⁹⁶

130. MOUNTAIN SPRING(S) STATION

The Mountain Spring(s) Station is mentioned in the 1861 mail contract,⁹⁷ and most sources generally agree on the identity of Mountain Springs as a station site.⁹⁸ This station, probably built in July 1861, served the Pony Express during its last few months of the year and the Overland Mail Company line until 1869. No original buildings stand on the site.⁹⁹

131. RUBY VALLEY STATION

Most sources acknowledge Ruby Valley as a Pony Express station.¹⁰⁰ The station

⁹⁵ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 13.

⁹⁶ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 48-50.

⁹⁷ Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-78.

⁹⁸ The following sources list Mountain Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 47; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 52; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁹⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 47; and Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-79.

¹⁰⁰ The following sources list Ruby Valley as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861,"

began in 1859 as part of George Chorpenning's mail route and later served the Pony Express and Overland Mail Company line. William "Uncle Billy" Rogers and Frederick William Hurst managed station operations at Ruby Valley. Rogers served as stationkeeper when Richard Burton visited the site on October 7, 1860.¹⁰¹ When Burton visited the station, it was considered a half-way point between Salt Lake City and the Carson Valley.¹⁰²

The area's rich soil provided excellent opportunities to raise food and hay for the other stations along the route. A band of Shoshone and the army also established camps near the station at various times. Camp Floyd's Company B of the 4th Artillery Regiment arrived at Ruby Valley in May 1860 to protect the mail route during the Pyramid Lake War and remained there until October.¹⁰³ Thereafter, the station's name appeared on the 1861 mail contract list.¹⁰⁴

As of 1979, a brass marker, provided by the Northeastern Nevada Historical Society, identified the station site.¹⁰⁵

132. JACOB'S WELL STATION

Jacob's Well is noted by many sources as a Pony Express station.¹⁰⁶ The station 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 42-46; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45 and 48-49; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

¹⁰¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 42-45.

¹⁰² Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 18.

¹⁰³ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45 and 48.

¹⁰⁴ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰⁵ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 46.

¹⁰⁶ The following sources list Jacob's Well as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147;

did not exist when Richard Burton passed through the area on October 8, 1860, but it probably went up a short time later, or as part of Overland Mail Company contract. General Frederick Jacobs and a crew of men dug a well and erected a small stone structure that served as a stop for both Pony Express riders and the Overland Mail Company line. Very little, if any, evidence of the station remains at the site today.¹⁰⁷

133. DIAMOND SPRINGS STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Diamond Springs Station as a Pony Express station, although for no apparent reason Mabel Loving cites it as Drumong Springs.¹⁰⁸ Richard Burton visited the station on October 9, 1860, and noted its Mormon stationkeepers and the site as a water source.¹⁰⁹ According to Burton, the station was named after the "warm, but sweet and beautifully clear water bubbling up from the earth."¹¹⁰ Another source mentions that Diamond Springs received its name from Jack Diamond, a miner and prospector.¹¹¹ Edna

Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 41; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁰⁷ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; and Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 41. *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10 mentions a caved-in well and a few foundation stones, while Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45 notes that no remains exist.

¹⁰⁸ The following sources refer to the station as Diamond Springs unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Drumong Springs, between Jacobs Well and Sulphur Springs); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 38-40; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

¹⁰⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 39.

¹¹⁰ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 21.

Patterson lists the stationkeeper as William Cox during the Pony Express era. Cox remained at Diamond Springs when the Overland Telegraph arrived and served as a telegraph operator and maintenance man for stations between Cherry Creek and Roberts Creek, Nevada.¹¹²

As of 1979, remnants of the station existed in a grove of cottonwoods near the mouth of Telegraph Canyon, and Diamond Springs still flowed nearby. A stone and concrete marker with a brass plaque stands one mile south of the station site.¹¹³

134. SULPHUR SPRINGS STATION

Many sources generally agree on the identity of Sulphur Springs as a station.¹¹⁴ However, a station probably did not exist at Sulphur Springs until July 1861, when the Overland Mail Company began running its stage through the area. The station may have served as a stop for the Pony Express during the last few months of the enterprise's existence. Ruins of a log wall, stone foundations, and pieces of various artifacts in an area near Sulphur Springs possibly served as the station site. There were still evident as late as 1979.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45.

¹¹² Edna B. Patterson, "Pony Express Station Still Standing," *Nevada State Journal* (3 January 1960): 25; cited in Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 39.

¹¹³ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 40.

¹¹⁴ The following sources list Sulphur Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 37; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹¹⁵ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 37.

135. ROBERTS CREEK STATION

The final station in Division Four was known as Roberts or Roberts Creek, a fact that all sources agree upon.¹¹⁶ The Roberts Creek Station existed as one of the original Pony Express stations. It was built in the spring of 1860 by either Bolivar Roberts' or Howard Egan's men. Other stations faced Indian troubles in May 1860, but it remains unclear whether any harm came to the Roberts Creek Station.¹¹⁷ Richard Burton definitely stated that Indians had burned the station, and workers had rebuilt only part of it by his October 10, 1860, visit.¹¹⁸ The site at Roberts Creek also later served as a station for the telegraph and the Overland stage line,¹¹⁹ and the station appeared on the 1861 mail contract with the Overland Mail Company.¹²⁰

The station's original log structure no longer exists. A log dugout stood near the site in 1981, but its relationship to the Roberts Creek Station remained unknown at that time.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ The following sources refer to Roberts or Robert's Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 141-142; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 34-36; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹¹⁷ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 34. This source suggests that the station was destroyed but does not specifically say so. Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 45 notes that the station apparently survived the Pyramid Lake troubles.

¹¹⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 35; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 22.

¹¹⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 36.

¹²⁰ U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹²¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 36.

SUMMARY

Stretching from Salt Lake City, Utah, to Roberts Creek, Nevada, Division Four of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company included thirty stations. Though many of these stations are potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, none are currently listed. After departing Roberts Creek, the Pony Express National Historic Trail went on its final leg to California.

Chapter 8

DIVISION FIVE: STATIONS BETWEEN ROBERTS CREEK AND SACRAMENTO/SAN FRANCISCO

INTRODUCTION

The fifth and final division of the Pony Express National Historic Trail ran from Roberts Creek, Nevada, through the Sierra Nevada Mountains to Sacramento, California, and then either by rider or steamer to San Francisco, California. This chapter discusses forty-nine stations along the route, as well as events, personal accounts, locations, and plaques/monuments associated with them. This division of the trail contained the largest number of stations.

NEVADA (Continued)

136. CAMP STATION/GRUB(B)S WELL STATION

The first station west of Roberts Creek was Camp Station or Grub(b)'s Well.¹ Many historical sources generally agree that this station existed, but that it may

¹ The following sources refer to Camp Station or Grubb's Well: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Camp); Mabel Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of the Central Overland Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Robidoux Printing Company, Inc., 1961), 135 (Camp); Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble* (Berkeley, California: Howell-North 1959), 147 (Camp); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1881. Ex. Doc. 21. Serial 1941 (Camp); James Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Pony Express Productions, 1960), 20 (Camp); Kate B. Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 37 (Camp); Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 32-33 (Grubb's); John M. Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook* (Reno, Nevada: Great Basin Studies Center, 1986), 45 (both); and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10 (Grub's).

not have existed until about July 1861, when it was probably built as an Overland Mail Company stage stop. Riders probably used the station during the last few months of the Pony Express' existence to breakup the thirty-five mile ride between Roberts Creek and Dry Creek Stations.²

No original station structures remain on the site. In 1979, a stone-and-concrete marker with a brass Pony Express emblem stood southwest of the site, eight miles north of Highway 50.³

137. DRY CREEK STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity and use of this station by the Pony Express during its entire existence.⁴ Men under Bolivar Roberts probably established Dry Creek in the spring of 1860, which possibly served as a home station as well.⁵ Dry Creek, like several other stations, experienced Indian troubles in May 1860. Indians killed Ralph Rosier, the stationkeeper, and badly wounded his partner, John Applegate, who soon thereafter committed suicide. Two other men escaped to the next station. On October 11, 1860, when Richard Burton visited Dry Creek, he noted the grave of Rosier (a.k.a. Loscier) and Applegate and identified the stationkeeper as Col. Totten.⁶ Hubert Howe Bancroft indicated that because

² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 32-33.

³ Ibid., 33.

⁴ The following sources identify Dry Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1955), 142; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 28-31; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 44-45; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

⁵ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 28; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37.

⁶ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 28-30; and Richard F. Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," in Pony

of Indian troubles, every station as far east as Dry Creek and Simpson Park, were broken up during the Pyramid Lake War.⁷

The Overland Mail Company stage line also stopped at Dry Creek from 1861-1869 but reportedly used a separate structure from the Pony Express station. In 1960, a stone monument with a brass plate was erected near the ruins. In 1976, stone foundations of the Pony Express station remained. They were located on land owned by Peter and Bennie Demele.⁸

138. SIMPSON PARK STATION

Sources, including a 1979 BLM report, generally agree on the identity of this station, known as Simpson or Simpson's Park.⁹ The crew of Captain J. H. Simpson, who camped overnight here while surveying a wagon road in May 1859, gave his name to the area. In the spring of 1860, the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company or Pony Express established a station at Simpson Park, known for its abundant wood, water, and grass. On May 20, 1860, the day before the attack on Dry Creek Station, Indians raided Simpson Park, killed James Alcott, the stationkeeper, scattered the livestock, and burned the station.¹⁰ When Richard Burton arrived at Simpson Park on October 13, 1860, he found an

Express Issue, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Vol. 3, no. 2 (April-June 1960): 24.

⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, Vol. XXV, San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890, 213.

⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 31.

⁹ The following sources name Simpson or Simpson's Park as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 142; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 25-27; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 41 and 44; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

¹⁰ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 25.

incomplete new station house.¹¹ During the last few months of the Pony Express, riders shared the station with the Overland Mail Company line, which stopped its stagecoaches at Simpson Park during most of the 1860s, until company officials shifted the route to include Austin.

Evidence of a small cemetery also existed on a hill north of the station as late as 1959. As late as 1976, the station's stone foundations existed near the mouth of Simpson Park Canyon, in the east end of a fenced meadow.¹²

139. REESE RIVER/JACOB'S SPRING STATION

Sources give this site several names, but generally they agree on its identity as a Pony Express station.¹³ Named for stationkeeper George Washington Jacobs, the station possibly began on the site of one of George Chorpennig's 1859 mail posts near the Reese River. In the summer of 1860, Indians burned the station and a new, incomplete adobe structure greeted Richard Burton when he arrived on October 13 of that same year.¹⁴ The Overland Mail Company and other stage lines also operated a station at the site, which grew into the promising little town of Jacobsville. When the silver boom began in Austin, Nevada, the Overland

¹¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 26; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 25.

¹² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 27; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 44.

¹³ The following sources list Reese River or Jacob's Spring as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Reece); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Reese River); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (Reese River); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 142 (Reese River); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20 (Reese River); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37 (Reese River); Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 24 (Jacobsville/Reese River); Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 40 (Jacob's Spring/Reese River); and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10 (Jacob's Spring/Reese River).

¹⁴ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 40; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 24; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 26.

shifted its operations to that settlement about 1864.¹⁵ In 1986, the ruins of the adobe Pony Express station still existed northwest of Jacobsville.¹⁶

140. DRY WELLS STATION

Several sources pinpoint Dry Wells or Dry Well as a station.¹⁷ Historical sources do not mention Dry Wells as an early Pony Express station, which suggests that it possibly began in the summer of 1861 as an Overland Mail Company stage stop. Without this station, the distance between Reese River and Smith's Creek was a long stretch for both horse and rider. The station possibly existed in Dry Wells Canyon, north of Railroad Pass in the Shoshone Mountains, but no ruins remain to mark its exact location. The Overland Mail Company used the station until about 1862 or 1863, when it shifted to a more northerly route that included Mount Airey, New Pass, and Edwards Creek.¹⁸

141. SMITH'S CREEK STATION

A number of sources identify Smith's Creek as a station, including the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract.¹⁹ John M. Townley lists the site as a home

¹⁵ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 40; and Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 24.

¹⁶ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 40.

¹⁷ The following sources list Dry Wells as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 23; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 40; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

¹⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 23; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*,: 40.

¹⁹ The following sources name Smith's Creek as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 142; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 22; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 10.

station.²⁰ On October 14, 1860, the English traveler Richard Burton visited Smith's Creek and recorded his unusually favorable impressions of the station house and stone corral.²¹ Two 1860 shootings remain associated with Smith Creek. One involved the stationkeeper, H. Trumbo, who shot rider Montgomery Maze in the hip after an argument. In the second shooting, rider William Carr quarreled with Bernard Chessy at Smith Creek. Carr later killed Chessy and was hanged at Carson City.²²

Parts of the station existed on the present Smith Creek Ranch as late as 1979. Two adobe buildings with willow thatch roofs, identified as the corral and station house, still stand. The adobe station, originally used by the Pony Express, also has a later stone addition.²³

142. CASTLE ROCK STATION*

Several sources identify Castle Rock as the next station west of Mount Airy,²⁴ but there appears to be little substantiation for this claim.

143. EDWARDS' CREEK STATION

Several Sources mention Edwards' Creek as a station, including the 1861 mail

²⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37.

²¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 22; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 26-27.

²² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 22.

²³ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 22; Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-37.

²⁴ The following sources list Castle Rock as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37.

contract.²⁵ Townley notes the existence of possible ruins along the creek, where several conflicts between Indians and whites took place.²⁶

144. COLD SPRINGS/EAST GATE STATION: NR, 5/16/78, 26CH310

Sources generally agree on the identity of Cold Springs as a station,²⁷ and Raymond and Mary Settle give Cold Springs the status of a home station.²⁸

Bolivar Roberts, J. G. Kelly, and their crew erected Cold Springs Station in March 1860 for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. as they prepared for the beginning of the Pony Express the next month. Several men managed station operations at Cold Springs, including Jim McNaughton, John Williams, and J. G. Kelly. In May 1860, Indians attacked the station, killed the stationkeeper, and took the horses. They raided the station again a few weeks later. When Richard Burton reached Cold Springs on October 15, 1860, he found a roofless, partially built station house.²⁹ Townley notes that the Overland Mail Company line dropped Cold Springs from its route about July 1861 in favor of a site west of present U. S. 50.³⁰

²⁵ The following sources identify Cold Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37.

²⁶ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37.

²⁷ The following sources identify Cold Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (also East Gate); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 142-143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 19-21; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 36; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

²⁸ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143.

²⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 19-21; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 27.

³⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 37.

Much of the station's stone ruins still exist today. Thick walls, complete with windows, gunholes, and a fireplace, identify the station, and the remains of a corral stand nearby. As in Burton's visit in 1860, the structure has no roof.³¹ The station is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and has been structurally stabilized for preservation and safety reasons.³²

145. MIDDLE GATE STATION

Several sources, including the mail contract of 1861, list Middle Gate as a station.³³ The exact location of Middle Gate or Middlegate remains unknown, but a station in this area would serve as a logical place to divide the thirty-five mile stretch between Sand Springs and Cold Springs.³⁴ Richard Burton mentions Middle Gate as a stopping place during his journey.³⁵

146. WEST GATE STATION*

Bishop and Henderson identify West Gate as a station between Middle Gate and Sand Springs.³⁶ According to John Townley, from West Gate, the trail split into a northern and southern route. Pony riders used the southern route, which continued on a relatively straight course through Sand Springs, Carson Sink, Hooten Wells, Buckland's, and Fort Churchill, until sometime between March and July 1861. After these months, the Overland Mail Company added a route

³¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 21.

³² *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

³³ The following sources identify Middle Gate as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (also East Gate); U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 36.

³⁴ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 36.

³⁵ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 28.

³⁶ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959.

that ran northwest of the old Pony trail and included such new stations as Fairview, Mountain Well, Stillwater, Old River, Ragtown, and Desert Wells. Stagecoaches could travel more easily along the northern route, and riders may or may not have switched to the new trail during the waning months of the Pony Express. The two routes joined again near Miller's or Reed's Station.³⁷ Richard Burton only mentions West Gate as a geographical location rather than a station.³⁸

147. SAND SPRINGS STATION: NR, 11/21/80, (number not available)

Several sources identify Sand Springs as a station, including the 1861 mail contract.³⁹ Like Cold Springs, this station existed due to the construction efforts of Bolivar Roberts, J. G. Kelly, and their crew in March of 1860 for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.⁴⁰ James McNaughton managed station operations for a time. On October 17, 1860, Richard Burton recorded his negative views of the roofless, dirty structure and its staff, stating that it was "roofless and chairless, filthy and squalid, with a smoky fire in one corner, and a table in the centre of an impure floor, the walls open to every wind, and the interior full of dust."⁴¹ Travelers found a reliable source of water at Sand Springs, but its poor quality often poisoned animals and probably made people ill.⁴²

³⁷ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 30-31.

³⁸ Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 28.

³⁹ The following sources identify Sand Springs as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 18; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 27; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁴⁰ Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-28.

⁴¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 18; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 28-30.

⁴² Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 27.

In addition to the Pony Express, other individuals and businesses utilized Sand Springs until World War Two. The telegraph came through the area, and the site served as a freight, milling, and ranching center. Structural ruins from many of these activities still exist around the springs.⁴³ In 1976, the site was determined eligible for the National Register.⁴⁴ By 1981, the station was listed on the National Register of Historic Places and was structurally stabilized. This source locates the station's ruins near Sand Mountain, about three-fourths of a mile north of Highway 50.⁴⁵

148. SAND HILL STATION

Bishop and Henderson, as well as the government mail contract of 1861, identify Sand Hill as a station between Sand Spring and Carson Sink.⁴⁶ Little else is known about this isolated station.

149. CARSON SINK/SINK OF THE CARSON STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of this station, known as Carson Sink or Sink of the Carson.⁴⁷ Townley suggests the station, which had a good source of water nearby, began as a few brush shelters on George Chorpenning's mail route in 1859.⁴⁸ In March 1860, Bolivar Roberts, J. G. Kelly, and their crew built an

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Helen R. Dunbar, "Cultural Resources Report: Archaeological Survey, Sand Springs Pony Express Station Excavation," Bureau of Land Management, 15 July 1976.

⁴⁵ *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁴⁶ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

⁴⁷ The following sources identify the station as Carson Sink unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Sink of the Carson); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (Sink of the Carson); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 16-17; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 26; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

adobe station and made other improvements there. When Richard Burton visited Carson Sink on October 17, 1860, he found a "frame house inside an adobe enclosure," inhabited by at least one grumpy, half-asleep station tender.⁴⁹ After the end of the Pony Express, the station functioned as a rest stop for travelers in the 1860s, and then as a hay ranch until its abandonment before the turn of the century.⁵⁰ Portions of the corral's adobe walls remain visible in 1979.⁵¹

150. WILLIAMS STATION

Several sources identify Williams Station as a Pony Express stop.⁵² Roy Bloss also lists the station as Honey Lake Smith's.⁵³ According to one source, J. O. Williams and his two brothers managed station operations until May 7, 1860, when Indians killed J. O.'s brothers and three other men. These deaths initiated the Pyramid Lake Indian War.⁵⁴ The exact location of this early station has not been determined.

151. DESERT/HOOTEN WELLS STATION

L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, as well as the mail contract of 1861, list Desert as a station between Carson Sink and Fort Churchill.⁵⁵ This obscure station probably housed telegraph activities and possibly served as a Pony Express station

⁴⁸ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 26.

⁴⁹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 16; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 32.

⁵⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 26.

⁵¹ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 17.

⁵² The following sources name Williams as a station: Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; and Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21.

⁵³ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

⁵⁴ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143.

⁵⁵ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

during the last few months of its existence. A good source of water later made the station a popular stopping point for travelers, miners, and teamsters in the 1860s.⁵⁶

A few sources identify Hooten Wells as a Pony Express station.⁵⁷ The site possibly functioned as a Pony Express station during the last few months of its existence and later served freight and stage operations. Rock ruins exist two miles south of Buckland's Station and twelve miles east of present Highway 95 alternate.⁵⁸ Townley lists the route from U.S. Alternate 95 to Hooten Wells as 11.5 miles and places Hooten Well slightly northeast of Desert Station.⁵⁹

152. BUCKLAND'S STATION

A number of sources identify Buckland's as a station.⁶⁰ Townley and the Bureau of Land Management suggest that Buckland's Station functioned as a home station.⁶¹ In 1859, Samuel S. Buckland established a log ranch and trading post and he made an agreement with Bolivar Roberts in March 1860 for his ranch to serve as a Pony Express home station. In the summer of 1860, due to the Pyramid Lake Indian War, soldiers established Fort Churchill a few miles west of Buckland's Station. The Pony Express then moved its station to the fort's

⁵⁶ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 25.

⁵⁷ The following sources list Hooten Wells as a station: Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 15; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁵⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 15.

⁵⁹ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 24-25.

⁶⁰ The following sources list Buckland's as a station: Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 14; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 24-25; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁶¹ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 24 and 37; and Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 14.

protective headquarters.⁶² On October 19, 1860, when Richard Burton visited Buckland's, he described the station, as usual, in negative terms.⁶³

The station's original log cabin no longer remains. By 1979, a house stood on the station site, eight and one-half miles south of Silver Springs, on Alternate Highway 95.⁶⁴

153. FORT CHURCHILL STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Fort Churchill as a Pony Express stop.⁶⁵ Built during the summer of 1860 by Captain Joseph Stewart and his men, the adobe fort housed the Pony Express station in its headquarters building. Construction on the fort began on July 20, 1860, approximately twenty-five miles from Comstock, Nevada, along the edge of the Carson River.⁶⁶ When Richard Burton arrived at Fort Churchill on October 19, 1860, he gave it a positive review in his journal and named Captain F.F. Flint as the commander.⁶⁷ Since the Pony Express used Buckland's as a home station, Fort Churchill probably assumed a similar function when the Pony Express transferred its station from Buckland's

⁶² Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 14; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 24-25.

⁶³ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 14.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ The following sources list Fort Churchill as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 13; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 22; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁶⁶ Donald L. Hardesty, "Historical, Architectural, and Archaeological Studies of Fort Churchill, Nevada. Nevada Division of State Parks (April 1978): 1; Bureau of Land Management, "Addendum History" in *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (Nevada Historical Society, May 1975), II-23.

⁶⁷ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 13.

to the fort. The Fort Churchill's ruins existed as late as 1979, including the headquarters building, and it is a Nevada state park.⁶⁸

154. FAIRVIEW STATION*

A few sources identify Fairview or Fair View as a station.⁶⁹ Fairview began as an Overland Mail Company stage station in the summer of 1861 and served as the first stop on the northern branch of the trail from Westgate. According to some sources, the Pony Express stopped at Fairview during the last few months of its existence. Little exists about Fairview in historical and/or contemporary sources, and its exact location remains unknown.⁷⁰

155. MOUNTAIN WELL STATION*

A few sources list Mountain Well as the second west-bound station on the Overland Mail Company's "Stillwater Dogleg" route.⁷¹ Pony Express riders may have stopped at Mountain Springs from July to October 1861, where they could find an abundant source of fresh water and plenty of hay and fresh vegetables from area farmers. After the Pony Express ended, the Overland Mail Company stage and telegraph continued to use the station for several years. Remnants of the station still exist, and in 1986 were included as part of a cattle camp.⁷²

156. STILLWATER STATION*

Several sources identify Stillwater or Still Water as a potential Pony Express

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The following sources list Fairview or Fair View as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 20; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 37; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 33.

⁷⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 30-31 and 33.

⁷¹ The following sources identify Mountain Well as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 33.

⁷² Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 33.

station.⁷³ This station also began about July 1861 as part of the Overland Mail Company stage line and the telegraph route. The Pony Express may also have stopped at the station during the last several months of its existence. Ranchers kept the station and the neighboring mining areas well-supplied with beef, grain, and hay. In 1868, before the mail and telegraph operations transferred to the Central Pacific Railroad, Stillwater served as the county seat and had 100 residents. No identifiable station remains existed in 1986.⁷⁴

157. OLD RIVER STATION*

A few sources also identify Old River as a station.⁷⁵ Like other stations along this route, Old River began about July 1861 as a stop on the Overland Mail Company line. The station stood between Stillwater and Bisby's, and the Pony Express reportedly may also have stopped at Old River during the last several months of its existence.⁷⁶

158. BISBY'S STATION*

Mabel Loving and Kate B. Carter list Bisby's as a station between Old River and Nevada.⁷⁷ About July 1861 it, too, functioned as an Overland Mail Company stage and perhaps a Pony Express station on the "Stillwater Dogleg" route.⁷⁸

⁷³ The following sources list Stillwater or Still Water as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 33.

⁷⁴ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 33.

⁷⁵ The following sources list Old River as a station: Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 31.

⁷⁶ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 30-31.

⁷⁷ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

⁷⁸ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 30-31.

159. NEVADA STATION

Loving and Carter identify Nevada as a station between Bisby's and Ragtown.⁷⁹ Pierson places it after Reed's Station.⁸⁰ It functioned as a Pony Express station during the late summer and early fall of 1861 and as an Overland Mail Company stage stop from 1861 to 1868.⁸¹ Little more is known about it.

160. RAGTOWN STATION*

Townley identifies Ragtown as a station between Old River and Desert Wells. Like other stations on the "Stillwater Dogleg," Ragtown probably functioned briefly as a Pony Express station in the summer and fall of 1861 and as an Overland Mail Company stage stop from 1861 to 1868. L. Kenyon and his family managed station operations at the site for nearly fifty years. The station's name supposedly came from the common site of freshly washed travelers' clothing spread out to dry on surrounding bushes.⁸²

161. DESERT WELLS STATION

Loving and Carter identify Desert Wells as a station between Ragtown and Dayton.⁸³ Pierson locates Desert Wells after Reed's Station, between Nevada and Dayton.⁸⁴ Desert Wells existed sometime after July 1861, when it began to serve as a relay station for the Overland Mail Company line. During the last few months of its existence, the Pony Express also used the Desert Wells station facilities.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

⁸⁰ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21.

⁸¹ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 30-31.

⁸² Ibid., 31.

⁸³ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; and Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38.

⁸⁴ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21.

⁸⁵ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 31.

162. MILLER'S/REED'S STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of this station as a C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. station, possibly located near the area where the north and south branches of the original Pony Express and Overland Mail Company trails rejoined.⁸⁶ Bloss lists Miller's and Reed's as separate stations, but other sources agree that the two names represent the same station.⁸⁷ The station began about 1849 or 1850 as a stopping point on the California Emigrant Trail, and the Pony Express included the site as one of its original relay stations in 1860. On July 1, 1861, the station passed into the hands of G. W. Reed. Even though Reed owned the station after that date, some people knew it as Miller's Station. On October 19, 1860, Richard Burton stopped at "Miller's Station" for about one and one-half hours, where he and his companions had a snack and waited for a heavy rain shower to end.⁸⁸ A letter written by an employee, C.H. Ruffing, on May 31, 1860, from Miller's Station to W.W. Finney stated:

I have just returned from Cold Springs--was driven out by the Indians, who attacked us night before last. The men at Dry Creek Station have been killed and it is thought the Roberts Creek Station has been destroyed. The Express turned back after hearing the news from Dry Creek. Eight animals were stolen from Cold Springs on Monday. Hamilton is at the Sink of the Carson, on his way in with all the men and horses. He will get to Buckland tomorrow.⁸⁹

Nothing remains of the station's structures, but a well still exists on the site.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The following sources identify Miller's or Reed's as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959 (Reed's); Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Reeds); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147 (both, listed separately); Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21 (Reed's); Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 12 (both); Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 23 (both); and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9 (both).

⁸⁷ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

⁸⁸ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 12; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 34.

⁸⁹ "Pony Express," Folder 43, *Robert A. Allan Papers* Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

⁹⁰ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 23.

163. DAYTON STATION

Many historical sources generally agree on the identity of Dayton as a Pony Express stop.⁹¹ In 1859 the Comstock Lode attracted 2,500 people to Dayton and made it a prosperous small town.⁹² Dayton had two Pony Express stations. The first existed in a building known as Spafford's Hall Station, which had opened in 1851. Soon after the Pony Express began, the station moved to a new building that also housed stage activities. When Richard Burton visited Dayton on October 19, 1860, he described a town that had already lost the gold-rush excitement of the previous year.⁹³ A gravel pit now occupies the site of Spafford's Hall Station, and the Union Hotel stands at the second Pony Express station site.⁹⁴

164. CARSON CITY STATION

Sources generally agree on the identity of Carson City as a station.⁹⁵ Little

⁹¹ The following sources identify Dayton as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 11; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 22-23; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁹² Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 23.

⁹³ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 11; and Burton, "The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains," 35.

⁹⁴ *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁹⁵ The following sources identify Carson City as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 21; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 10; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 21; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

information is available about the Carson City Station site, which was located on what is now Carson Street between Fourth and Fifth.⁹⁶ Bolivar Roberts, division superintendent, used Carson City as a base in March 1860 to hire riders and stationkeepers.⁹⁷ Since he worked as part of a team to build or acquire other stations along the route, Roberts probably established the Carson City station as well.

165. GENOA STATION

Most historical sources agree on the identity of Genoa as a station as well.⁹⁸ However, James Pierson also identifies the site as the Old Mormon Station.⁹⁹ The old post office apparently served as the station, and the livery stable across the street supplied riders with fresh horses. In 1976 the post office site was a vacant lot, and a picnic area occupied the livery stable location.¹⁰⁰

166. FRIDAY'S/LAKESIDE STATION

According to many historical resources, Friday's, also known as Lakeside, is considered a Pony Express stop.¹⁰¹ Friday's Station began operation in early 1860

⁹⁶ Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 21.

⁹⁷ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 10.

⁹⁸ The following sources list Genoa as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 9; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 18; and *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9.

⁹⁹ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 9.

¹⁰¹ The following sources identify the station as Friday's unless otherwise noted: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135 (Lakeside); Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*,

as a franchise station on the Kingsbury Grade, a new road through the Sierra Nevada Mountains, near the Nevada-California border. Martin K. "Friday" Burke and James Washington Small managed operations at this home station for the Pony Express and later stage lines. Structures at Friday's included a one-room log cabin, a two-and-one-half-story hostelry, dining room, kitchen, storeroom, woodshed, and a roomy building that doubled as a stable and hay barn.¹⁰²

Burke and Small conducted a profitable business at the station for several years after the demise of the Pony Express. In 1871 the partners split their land acquisition, with Small's share including the station site. In 1888 John Wales Averill purchased the station and surrounding property from James Small's brother, J. G. "Doc" Small, and renamed the site "Edgewood." The station experienced several phases of remodeling as it changed hands over the years, but portions of the interior retained their historical integrity as late as 1957.¹⁰³ In 1976 the original 20 x 40 foot log blacksmith shop still existed as a shed.¹⁰⁴

CALIFORNIA

167. WOODFORD'S STATION

Woodford, located in the northeastern Alpine County, served as an outpost as early as 1847 under the direction of Samuel Brannan. Later, an unofficial post office and a remount station for the Pony Express was located at this site. Bloss identifies Woodford's as the first west-bound station in California.¹⁰⁵ The station

147 (Lakeside); Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22 (Friday's, Lake Side); Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 8; Townley, *The Pony Express Guidebook*, 19; *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Department of the Interior, 1981), 9; Edward B. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 1* (Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe, Nevada: Sierra-Tahoe Publishing Company, 1957), 231; and Edward B. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 2* (Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe, Nevada: Sierra-Tahoe Publishing Company, 1973), 52.

¹⁰² Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 1*, 231-233.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 235-237.

¹⁰⁴ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 8.

¹⁰⁵ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

functioned from April 3 to April 28 or 29, 1860. At such time, the route was redirected when Rollon Daggett offered free toll over Daggett Pass in Nevada. Thus, Pony Express riders were able to avoid three remount stations.¹⁰⁶ A California Registered Historical Landmark's marker identifies the station site, now covered by Highway 88.¹⁰⁷ It reads:

During initial five weeks of its operation in 1860, an important remount station of the famous Pony Express was located a few feet from here at Cary's Barn.¹⁰⁸

168. FOUNTAIN PLACE STATION

Edward B. Scott locates Fountain Place at the headwaters of Trout Creek, "five air miles northeast of Meyers, on an off-shoot of the Placerville-Carson back road to South Stateline."¹⁰⁹ Garret Washington Fountain, a New Yorker, purchased 160 acres of land in 1859 and erected a log station near the creek in 1860. The Pony Express possibly used Fountain Place as a relay station during its earliest runs in 1860. Garret Fountain probably remained at the station as late as 1882, and thereafter it changed hands several times over the years.¹¹⁰

169. YANK'S STATION

Many sources identify Yank's as a Pony Express station.¹¹¹ In 1859, Ephraim

¹⁰⁶ "Application for Registration of Historical Point of Interest: Pony Express Remount Station--Woodfords, California," *California Landmarks File No. 805* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁰⁷ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), 7.

¹⁰⁸ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Pony Express remount station at Woodfords," *California Landmarks File No. 805* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁰⁹ Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 1*, 379.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ The following sources list Yank's as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides*

"Yank" Clement and his wife Lydia acquired the station and outbuildings from George Douglas and Martin Smith, who had operated it as a hostelry and stage stop. The Clements enlarged the hostelry into a three-story, fourteen-room way station, accompanied by a roomy stable-hay barn and large corrals across the road. The new facility thrived along with neighboring saloons, a general store, blacksmith shop, cooperage, and meat-processing facilities. In 1861, artist Edward Vischer captured the magnitude of the station with a detailed sketch of the complex.¹¹²

Business remained good for the station's owners over the years. It continued to serve as a hotel and store until November 25, 1938, when the building burned during the Meyers town fire. Today a California Registered Historical Landmark's marker identifies the original station site.¹¹³ It reads:

This was the site of the most eastern remount station of the Central Overland Pony Express in California. Established as a trading post in 1851 by Martin Smith, it became a popular hostelry and stage stop operated by Ephraim "Yank" Clement on the Placerville-Carson Road. Pony riders Warren Upson first arrived here on the evening of April 28, 1860. Changing ponies, he galloped on to Friday's in Nevada to deliver his mochila to Bob Haslam for the ride to Genoa. Used as a Pony remount station until October 26, 1861, it was sold to George D.H. Meyers in 1873 and the name changed to Meyers.¹¹⁴

170. STRAWBERRY STATION

Sources generally agree on Strawberry as a Pony Express station, and it appears on the 1861 Overland Mail Company contract as a station.¹¹⁵ In 1856, a Mr. Swift

On!, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38 (misspelled as Yonk's); Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 1*, 192.

¹¹² Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 1*, 190-192.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 195-196.

¹¹⁴ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Yank's Station-Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 708* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹¹⁵ The following sources identify Strawberry as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson,

and a Mr. Watson began operating the Strawberry Valley House as a hostelry. In 1859, a Mr. Berry managed station operations at Strawberry, and he established a partnership with Mr. Swan to build a road over the mountain. Berry also served as the stationkeeper when the Pony Express began.¹¹⁶ Another source suggests the station's name, Strawberry, came from Berry's alleged practice of feeding travelers' horses with straw, while the owners had paid for hay.¹¹⁷ In the early 1860s, artist Edward Vischer made a sketch of Strawberry Station.¹¹⁸ Today a California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque at the site reads:

This popular resort and stopping place for stages and teams of the Comstock, established by Swift and Watson in 1856, became a remount station of the California Overland Pony Express on April 4, 1860. Here on that date Division Superintendent Bolivar Roberts waited with a string of mules to help Pony rider Warren Upson through the snowstorm on Echo Summit.¹¹⁹

171. WEBSTER'S/SUGAR LOAF HOUSE STATION

Webster's Station appears on the 1861 mail contract, and several sources list Websters or Webster's as a Pony Express station.¹²⁰ The station, which stood on

"Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 143; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 2*, 463.

¹¹⁶ Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 2*, 463.

¹¹⁷ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 143.

¹¹⁸ Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 2*, 463.

¹¹⁹ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Strawberry Valley House-Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 707* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹²⁰ The following sources identify Webster's as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Vol. 2*, 460.

the Placerville Carson Road, began as an original C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. station in April 1860 and also served as a stop for teamsters and the stage lines until the late 1860s. Travelers also knew Webster's as Sugar Loaf House, from a nearby rocky mountain of the same name. Today, a California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque near the site reads:

This was the site of Webster's Sugar Loaf House, well-known stopping place during the Comstock Rush. Beginning in April 1860, it was used as a remount station of the California Overland Pony Express. In 1861 it became a horse change station for pioneer stage company and overland mail.¹²¹

172. MOSS/MOORE/RIVERTON STATION

This station served as the first Pony Express station eleven miles east of Sportsman's Hall at the junction of the American South Fork. Other sources identify this station as Moss, the name that appears on the 1861 mail contract.¹²² Today a California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque at the site reads:

This was the site of a change station of the Pioneer Stage Company in the 1850's and 1860's. During 1860-1861, the California Overland Pony Express maintained here the first Pony remount station east of Sportsman's Hall.¹²³

¹²¹ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Webster's (Sugar Loaf House)-Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 706* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹²² The following sources list Moss as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38 (misspelled as Mess); and "Central Overland Pony Express Trail Association, 15 August 1959," Box 31: Manuscripts, *Pony Express in California, Nevada, and Utah* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

¹²³ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Moore's (Riverton)-Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 705* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

173. SPORTSMAN'S HALL STATION

A number of sources list Sportsman's Hall as a station, which also appeared on a contract station.¹²⁴ Herbert Ralph Cross identifies Sportsman's Hall as a "rider relay" or home station, fifty-six miles from Sacramento and twelve miles east of Placerville.¹²⁵ A California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque at the site reads:

This was the site of Sportsman's Hall, also known as the Twelve-Mile House. The hotel operated in the late 1850's and 1860's by John and James Blair. A stopping place for stages and teams of the Comstock, it became a relay station of the central overland Pony Express. Here, at 7:40 a.m., April 4, 1860, Pony rider William (Sam) Hamilton, riding in from Placerville, handed the Express mail to Warren Upson who, two minutes later, sped on his way eastward.¹²⁶

174. PLACERVILLE STATION

Many sources include Placerville on their station lists for the Pony Express.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ The following sources identify Sportsman's Hall as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Herbert Ralph Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869* (San Francisco, 1954), 199.

¹²⁵ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199; and "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Sportsman's Hall," *California Landmarks File No. 704* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹²⁶ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Sportsman's Hall," *California Landmarks File No. 704* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹²⁷ The following sources list Placerville as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 22; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Cross, *The Early Inns of California*,

Louis Lepetit managed the station at Placerville, known earlier as Hangtown, as a roadside stop for travelers. During the days of the Pony Express, the building apparently stood on the east-bound side of the road from Placerville to Sacramento. However, building was moved to the west-bound side of the road in the 1880s and still existed as late as the 1950s. In 1954, a plaque was placed at this location reading: "To the Memory of the Riders of the Pony Express/1860-1861--the First Relay out of Sutter's Fort."¹²⁸ Today, a granite monument with a bronze plaque identifies the station site. The California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque located there reads:

Gold rush town and western terminus of the Placerville—Carson Road to the Comstock, Placerville was a relay station of the Central Overland Pony Express, April 4, 1860—June 30, 1861. Here on April 4, 1860, the first east-bound pony rider, William (Sam) Hamilton, changed horses, added one express letter to his mochela, and sped away for Sportsman's Hall. On July 1, 1861, Placerville became the western terminus of the Pony Express, until its discontinuance on October 26, 1861.

175. EL DORADO/NEVADA HOUSE/MUD SPRINGS STATION

Bloss identifies El Dorado as a station on an early route of the Pony Express along White Rock Road, between Placerville and Mormon Tavern.¹²⁹ In 1850 James Thomas erected a trading post at this site. One year later, the presence of a mining camp required the construction of several hotels and stores. One of these new buildings, known as the Nevada House, served as a remount station for the Pony Express.¹³⁰ Riders followed the White Rock Road route until June 1860, when the trail switched to the Green Valley Road.¹³¹ According to the files of the

1844-1869, 199 (Hangtown Crossing).

¹²⁸ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199.

¹²⁹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

¹³⁰ "El Dorado (Mud Springs) Early Remount Station on the Central Overland Pony Express Route," *California Landmarks File No. 700* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹³¹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; and Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199.

California Landmarks Commission, El Dorado/Nevada House/Mud Springs was a trading post, emigrant stop, and mining camp of the 1850s, and then became one of the remount stations of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co.. Here at the Nevada House on April 13, 1860, Pony Rider William (Sam) Hamilton changed horses while carrying the first west-bound mail of the Pony Express from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California.¹³² A California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque placed at the site reads:

El Dorado meaning "The Gilded One" was first known as Mud Springs from the boggy quagmire the cattle and horses made of a nearby watering place. Originally an important camp of the old Carson Emigrant Trail. By 1849-50, it had become the center of a mining district and the crossroads for freight and stage lines. At the height of the rush its large gold production supported a population of several thousand.¹³³

176. MORMON TAVERN/SUNRISE HOUSE STATION

Bloss identifies Mormon Tavern as another station on the early White Rock Road route, between El Dorado and Fifteen-Mile House.¹³⁴ The station stood approximately eleven miles east of the Fifteen Mile House and one half mile west of Clarksville.¹³⁵ Pierson also identifies Old Mormon Tavern as Sunrise House. It stood across the road from the present Old Rose Springs Hotel, in Rescue, California.¹³⁶ Loving places Sunrise House between Placerville and Folsom.¹³⁷ In 1849, a Mormon by the name of Morgan established the station. In the 1850 El Dorado County tax rolls, A.A. Lathrop paid taxes on the property. By 1856,

¹³² "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: El Dorado--Nevada House (Mud Springs)," *California Landmarks File No. 700* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹³³ Citation quoted from actual plaque text on monument.

¹³⁴ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

¹³⁵ "Central Overland Pony Express Trail Association, 15 August 1959," Box 31: Manuscripts, *Pony Express in California, Nevada, and Utah* University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

¹³⁶ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 23.

¹³⁷ Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135.

Franklin Winchell took over operation and increased the size of the station. By 1860, it served as an early relay station for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co..¹³⁸

177. FIFTEEN MILE HOUSE STATION

Bloss lists Fifteen Mile House as a station on the early White Rock Road route, between Mormon Tavern and 5-Mile House.¹³⁹ The station, three miles east of Hangtown Crossing, stood on the south side of the White Rock-Clarksville Immigrant Road. In 1855, A. M. Plummer managed Fifteen Mile House as a roadside stop for travelers. Two years later, Henry Frederick William Deterding bought the property from Plummer and enlarged the structure. The two-story inn contained a dining room, kitchen, parlor, bar, dance hall, and a number of bedrooms. Two stages lines and the Pony Express used Fifteen Mile House as a relay station. Deterding managed the inn until 1875, when his son Charles took over. His son ran the operation until at least 1890. Unfortunately, the building no longer is extant.¹⁴⁰ A California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque at the site reads:

Owned and operated from 1857 as a stage station by Henry F.W. Deterding, this was the site of the second remount station of the Central Overland Pony Express during March-July 1860. Here on April 4, 1860, Sam (Bill) Hamilton with the first eastward mail of the Pony Express changed ponies, with Mormon Tavern as his next stop.¹⁴¹

178. FIVE MILE HOUSE STATION

Roy Bloss identifies Five Mile House as the last west-bound station on the early

¹³⁸ "Mormon Tavern Remount Station on the Central Overland Pony Express Route;" Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Mormon Tavern, July 4, 1976," *California Landmarks File No. 699* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹³⁹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

¹⁴⁰ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 201-202.

¹⁴¹ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Fifteen Mile House--Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 698* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

White Rock Road route, between Fifteen Mile House and Pleasant Grove House.¹⁴² In 1856, A. B. Gilbert purchased the station, which had provided travelers with a resting place as early as 1849. West-bound rider Sam Hamilton changed horses at this relay station on April 13, 1860, before heading to Sacramento. Unfortunately, on June 14, 1863, a fire destroyed the station, which was also known as Magnolia House.¹⁴³ In recognition of the Five Mile Station a plaque was placed on the campus of California State University, Sacramento, on Jed Smith Drive, at the north side of Guy Westbridge. It reads:

Departing at 2:45 a.m. from the Alto Telegraph Co. in Sacramento, Pony Rider Sam (Bill) Hamilton carried the first mail eastward of the Central Overland Pony Express on April 4, 1860. Here, quickly changing ponies he sped on to the next stop at Fifteen Mile Station.¹⁴⁴

179. PLEASANT GROVE HOUSE STATION

Bloss and Cross identify Pleasant Grove House as a station.¹⁴⁵ This sits on the Green Valley Road, approximately ten miles east of Folsom via the old Mormon Island Road.¹⁴⁶ In 1850-1851, Rufus Hitchcock constructed Pleasant Grove House. Ten years later, the inn was owned by Henry Wickwire.¹⁴⁷ Ira Rounds Sanders possibly managed station operations at the site for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., which served as a stopping place for travelers and a relay and shoeing station for the Pony Express.¹⁴⁸ Riders did not stop at Pleasant Grove

¹⁴² Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

¹⁴³ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 195.

¹⁴⁴ "Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks: Five Mile House--Overland Pony Express Route in California," *California Landmarks File No. 697* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁴⁵ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; and Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869* (San Francisco, 1954), 229.

¹⁴⁶ "Central Overland Pony Express Trail Association: Pleasant Grove House Remount Station, 4 December 1959," *California Landmarks File No. 702* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁴⁷ "Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Pleasant Grove House, July 4, 1973," *California Landmarks File No. 703* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

until after June 1860, when the route switched from the earlier route along White Rock Road.¹⁴⁹ William Wallace Rust bought Pleasant Grove House in 1864 and turned its management over to his son-in-law, John Fleming. The two-story, gabled end, inn, with some alterations, and a front gable barn with shed extensions still exists today.¹⁵⁰ The Placerville Parlors of the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West placed a Pony Express monument at the site in 1937.¹⁵¹ Today a California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque placed at the site reads:

This was the site of a popular roadhouse where the ponies of the Central Overland Pony Express were changed during July 1, 1860-June 30, 1861. From here the route of the Pony riders continued westward to Folsom and eastward through Rescue, Dry Creek Crossing, and the Missouri Flat to Placerville.¹⁵²

180. DUROC STATION

L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, as well as the mail contract of 1861, identify Duroc as a station between Placerville and Folsom.¹⁵³ The location and additional information regarding this station are not available.

¹⁴⁸ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 229.

¹⁴⁹ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; and Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199.

¹⁵⁰ "Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Pleasant Grove House, July 4, 1973," *California Landmarks File No. 703* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁵¹ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 229.

¹⁵² "Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Pleasant Grove House, July 4, 1973," *California Landmarks File No. 703* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁵³ L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; and U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

181. FOLSOM STATION

A number of sources identify Folsom as a station on the Green Valley Road route.¹⁵⁴ From July 1, 1860, to June 30, 1861, Folsom served as the last stop for west-bound Pony Express riders. From Folsom, the Sacramento Valley Railroad carried the Express mail to Sacramento. Folsom served as the western terminus of the Pony Express for perhaps two-thirds of its existence.¹⁵⁵ Currently, a California Registered Historical Landmark's plaque stands at the site. It reads:

Gold Rush and railroad town, Folsom became the western terminus of the Central Overland Pony Express on July 1, 1860. During its first few months, after April 4, 1860, the Sacramento Valley Railroad carried it between Sacramento and Folsom until Placerville was made the terminus July 1-October 26, 1861.¹⁵⁶

182. SACRAMENTO STATION

Sacramento clearly served as a station site, and often referred to as the western terminus of the Pony Express.¹⁵⁷ The first Pony Express mail from St. Joseph,

¹⁵⁴ The following sources list Folsom as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 23; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*.

¹⁵⁵ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 199; and Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Folsom, July 4, 1973," *California Landmarks File No. 702* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁵⁶ Judge Sherrill Halbert, "Vignette for Pony Express: Folsom, July 4, 1973," *California Landmarks File No. 702* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁵⁷ The following sources identify Sacramento as a station: L. C. Bishop and Paul Henderson, "Map of California-Oregon-Mormon Emigrant Roads Featuring the Pony Express 1860-1861," 1959; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Contract with Overland Mail Company*; Loving, *The Pony Express Rides On!*, 135; Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147; Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 23; Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express*, 38; and Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 192.

Missouri, arrived in Sacramento with rider Sam Hamilton on April 13, 1860, at 5:25 p.m.¹⁵⁸ Express mail bound for San Francisco reached its destination on the ferry *Antelope*.¹⁵⁹ From April 1860 to March 1861, the Pony Express terminal in Sacramento was in the Hastings Building, on the southwest corner of J and Second Streets. During this time, the Alta Telegraph Company and the California State Telegraph Company served as agents for the Pony Express respectively. Thereafter, the terminus was moved to the Adams Express Building, at 1014 Second Street, which served as a station from March 1861 to October 1861. During this time period, Wells Fargo, & Co. acted as agents for the Pony Express mail.¹⁶⁰

183. BENICIA, MARTINEZ, AND OAKLAND STATIONS

Beyond Sacramento, for a short period of time during April 1860, a number of relay stations existed to carry Pony Express mail. En route to San Francisco, Benicia was the first of these stations west of Sacramento. It was followed by Martinez and then Oakland.¹⁶¹ By May of 1860, Pony Express mail was transported directly to San Francisco via boat down the Sacramento River. These three stations were used only as relay stations when riders missed the steamers leaving for San Francisco for Sacramento and vice-versa.¹⁶² Little additional information is available regarding these relay stations.

184. SAN FRANCISCO STATION

San Francisco was the final California stop in the Pony Express station list.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869*, 192.

¹⁵⁹ Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861*, 23.

¹⁶⁰ "Historical Landmark Data, District Three, Division of Beaches and Parks: Terminal of the Pony Express in Sacramento" *California Landmarks File No. 696* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁶¹ *Sacramento Daily Union*, 23, 28 April 1860; and Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

¹⁶² *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 22 May 1860; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 23 March 1861.

¹⁶³ Bloss, *Pony Express--The Great Gamble*, 147.

The office of the Alta Telegraph at 153 Montgomery Street, which was on the southwest corner of Montgomery and Merchant Streets, served as the western business headquarters for the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. Western representative, William W. Finney oversaw all business activities in San Francisco for the owners Russell, Majors, and Waddell.¹⁶⁴

SUMMARY

Division Five, which ran from Roberts Creek, Nevada, to San Francisco, California, included forty-nine stations. Fourteen of these sites are marked with plaques. Only two stations (Cold Springs and Sand Springs) in Division Five are currently on the National Register of Historic Places. San Francisco not only served as the final destination for mail en route from the East Coast, but it also functioned as a home station for mail travelling the opposite direction along the Pony Express trail.

¹⁶⁴ "Application for Registration of Historical Point of Interest: Western Business Headquarters of Russell, Majors and Waddell," *California Landmarks File No. 696* State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

Chapter 9

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PONY EXPRESS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The Pony Express was officially discontinued on October 26, 1861, with the completion of the overland telegraph line. During the eighteen months of operation, it made 308 rides each way, covering a distance of 616,000 miles, and carrying approximately 35,000 pieces of mail, with a good percentage of the mail (67 percent) going east from San Francisco and Sacramento.¹

In the end, the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company did not enjoy a favorable reputation. With \$400,000 of debt, its equipment in poor shape, and most of its stations displaced by the completion of the transcontinental telegraph, employees of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. derided the company, calling it the "Clean Out of Cash and Poor Pay" Express Company. Because Russell, Majors, and Waddell had borrowed extensively from Ben Holladay, a promoter and investor, during the months of May-July, 1861, to keep the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. afloat, Holladay secured a chattel mortgage on the entire line and its equipment as security for his investment. When the company went under, the firm executed a deed of trust to Holladay for the company. However complications arose and Ben Holladay was obliged to purchase the company in a foreclosure auction in order to protect his investment. On March 21, 1862, his offer of \$100,000 was the highest bid among those submitted. Though Holladay purchased the stagecoach line and made it prosperous and him famous as a

¹ Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1955), 196.

transportation entrepreneur, he had no intentions of resurrecting the Pony Express.²

ANNIVERSARIES

After its demise, people did not forget about the Pony Express, but its heroic history was resurrected from the annals of history as a significant page in transportation and communication history. Though William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody demonstrated the Pony Express in his Wild West shows in the 1880s, recognition of the significance of the Pony Express came at the turn of the century after the publication of Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in 1893. Thereafter, fearing the consequences of the frontier closing on our American character, we as a nation, drew strength from our frontier heritage and rise of the American West. In this quest for a usable past, the Pony Express became a usable American Western icon, symbolizing America's strength, work ethic, entrepreneurship, and individual heroism.

American companies soon capitalized on the Pony Express to make correlations between it and their products. For example, one nationwide credit card company offered its customers the opportunity to purchase a collection of United States historic coins, one coin displaying a Pony Express rider.³ Another nationwide automotive store advertised its tires by stating that they were tough enough to withstand a drive at high speeds over the Pony Express trail.⁴ In another instance, Harrah's, a famous Lake Tahoe hotel and resort, erected a statue of a Pony Express rider to promote tourism to the area.⁵ These forms of advertising, and many others, confirmed both the fact that the Pony Express was regarded as a widely known and important historical event, and that Americans held it in high regard as an important symbol of our American heritage.

² J. V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 63-65.

³ Bruce Rosenberg, *The Code of the West*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 112.

⁴ Rosenberg, *The Code of the West*, 112.

⁵ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), iii and 176.

Since the turn of the century, Pony Express celebration events have allowed Americans to become familiar with the activities of the Pony Express. The historical significance of the Pony Express was first highly publicized in 1912, when the Daughters of the American Republic erected a monument in St. Joseph, Missouri, to commemorate the starting point of the Pony Express.⁶ In honor of the event, Colonel W.F. Cody and Charles Cliff, former Pony Express riders, attended the dedication.⁷

Almost ten years later, in 1923, the first re-ride of the Pony Express was organized. Sixty riders traversed eight states in a celebration commemorating the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. that was formed sixty-three years earlier. Authenticity of the original days of the Pony Express was provided by the dress of the riders, as well as the route of the re-ride. In an attempt to confirm facts regarding the Pony Express, the Pony Express Celebration Committee conducted research regarding who was actually the first rider on the trail out of St. Joseph. They discovered that Johnson William Richardson to be the first rider and not Johnny Fry as supposed. During the 1923 celebration, Richardson was acknowledged as the first rider.⁸

In 1935, the Diamond Jubilee of the Pony Express, a second re-ride of the route was made, sponsored by the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. On April 3, the date that the Pony Express began, celebration activities began across the nation. In August, approximately 300 Boy Scouts participated in the re-ride of the Pony Express historic trail. All events ended in late October, which signified the start of the transcontinental telegraph and the end of the Pony Express.⁹ At the time of the Diamond Jubilee, the Oregon Trail Memorial Association gathered information in an effort to mark the graves of former Pony Express riders. Furthermore, the association also urged that the old Pony Express stable in St.

⁶ Rosenberg, *The Code of the West*, 113.

⁷ Mary Pack, "The Romance of the Pony Express," *The Union Pacific Magazine* II (August 1923), 9.

⁸ Louise Platt Hauck, "The Pony Express Celebration." *The Missouri Historical Review* XVII (July 1923): 435-439.

⁹ Howard R. Driggs, "Diamond Jubilee of the Pony Express," *New York University Alumnus* (October 1935).

Joseph be preserved.¹⁰ In the 1950s, the Pony Express stables were partially restored, and by 1959 they were opened as a museum dedicated to the Pony Express.¹¹

In 1960, the centennial celebration of the Pony Express received larger national attention than previous celebrations. Organizations from each state along the trail of the Pony Express worked closely with the National Pony Express Centennial Committee and other groups to ensure a banner celebration. Several state legislatures even appropriated money to finance work within their states. To raise enthusiasm for the event, the Department of Treasury and the United States Postal Service produced Pony Express commemorative coins and stamps.¹² Riders in the celebration departed from Saint Joseph on April 3 and arrived in San Francisco on April 15.¹³ Sixteen years later, in the spirit of the American Bicentennial, Congress authorized the Bureau of Land Management to mark the Pony Express Trail in Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming.¹⁴

On a regional level, state legislatures and trail committees have worked diligently to promote the historical significance of the Pony Express.¹⁵ For example, in 1919, Kansas endorsed a program to place historical markers along its highways

¹⁰ William H. Floyd, *Phantom Riders of the Pony Express* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1958), 78-85.

¹¹ "The Pony Express, Inc: A National Memorial--Case Statement," (St. Joseph, Missouri: Pony Express, Inc., 1990).

¹² "Unforgettable Days 100 years Ago," *Nevada Highway and Park*, XXI, Carson City, Nevada, 1961; Pete Kelly, "Plans for the Pony Express Re-Run," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* III (Spring 1960): 41-42; and U.S. Postal Service, "The Saga of the Pony Express 1860-1861" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960).

¹³ Don L. Reynolds, "Anniversary Re-Run of the Pony Express," *Museum Graphic* XII (Summer 1960): 20.

¹⁴ Nevada, Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (Harrah's, 1979), iii and 176.

¹⁵ The examples listed in this paragraph detail large-scale projects to promote the significance of the Pony Express in various states. In an effort to be concise, the author has not listed the actions of individual societies and organizations responsible for marking specific places along the trail. Their work, which was important in the continuing effort to substantiate the actual stations along the trail, should not be overlooked.

where the Pony Express route passed.¹⁶ Or, for instance, in June 1952, Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah supported the Pony Express Mid-Century Memorial Commission of Utah, which sought funding to erect a statue entitled "The Pony Express Memorial" in Washington, D.C.—an effort that failed to accomplish its vision.¹⁷ Additional regional efforts were made in California. By the late 1950s, the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the Central Overland Pony Express Trail Association erected Pony Express markers for the stations along the route in that state.¹⁸ During the 1960s, the National Pony Express Centennial Association erected markers in the eight states traversed by route of the Pony Express.¹⁹

In 1966, the National Pony Express Association (NPEA) was founded. This organization, with 700 current members, incorporated in 1978. Outside the United States, members also come from Germany, England, and the Czech Republic.

In the past, NPEA's chief involvement with the trail was their national reride, with the first occurring in 1980. The organization has become much more active in recent years, most notably with their efforts to have the trail authorized as the Pony Express National Historic Trail under P.L. 102-328 (August 3, 1992). This organization also worked very closely with the National Park Service to prepare the *Eligibility/Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment for the California and Pony Express Trails* (1986).²⁰

¹⁶ Floyd, *Phantom Riders of the Pony Express*, 78-85.

¹⁷ Kate Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), Foreword.

¹⁸ *California Landmarks File*, State Historic Preservation Division, Sacramento, California.

¹⁹ Waddell F. Smith. "National Pony Express Centennial Association Progress Report," 31 August 1965, Box 4, *H.A. Sorenson Collection*, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁰ Information provided to Mike Duwe, National Park Service by Ken and Arieta Martin, executives with the National Pony Express Association, February 25, 1994.

SIGNIFICANCE

Determining the significance of the Pony Express National Historic Trail is not an easy task because of the shroud of myth versus reality that covers this enterprise. The romantic idea and drama of a "chain of horsemen braving the dangers of the West, night and day," captured the imagination of many Americans.²¹ Today, the image of the Pony Express rider and his horsemanship as an icon of the American West supersedes any historical reality concerning the history of the business organization.

Several examples give weight to this premise. For example, by the time the 1976 American Bicentennial rolled around, Americans clearly viewed the Pony Express "ride" itself to be more important than the history of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. and the actual route of the Pony Express. In that year, to celebrate the nation's birth, a Pony Express '76 group formed to celebrate the Pony Express by organizing of all things, a non-stop Pony Express ride through the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia to Pennsylvania. Over 500 individuals participated in this elaborate twelve day "iconographic" event, which traversed 3,022 miles. Conspicuously, they ignored for the most part the history and reality of the actual Pony Express route, even while passing through Wyoming and Nebraska.²² More recently, several Czechoslovakian natives organized and took part in a Pony Express "ride" in their country. Furthermore, while the 139th Tactical Airlift Group was stationed in Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War, it added a so-called "Middle Eastern Station" to the Pony Express "route" complete with a list of riders.²³

At this point, any criticism of the Pony Express might be considered by many Americans as unpatriotic to say the least. Nonetheless, an assessment of the significance of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. has to be made—one that cuts through the myth to reality. In the author's judgement, the Pony Express played a role in the development of transportation and communication links between the

²¹ Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express: The Record of a Romantic Adventure in Business* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), 307.

²² Joan Covey, *Pony Express '76*. Soldotna, Alaska, 1982, 4 and 121.

²³ "Czechoslovakian Pony Express Riders Visit the St. Joseph & Pony Express Museums," *The Happenings* Volume 17 (1990): 23-24; and "Pony Express Station East," *The Happenings* Volume 18 (1991): 6.

west and the east coasts, but not a very successful one. Plain and simple, the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. failed to provide "reliable" mail service across the country as Russell, Majors, and Waddell promised.

Many unforeseen and known factors, contributed to Russell, Majors, and Waddell's failure. The primary problem they did not foresee was the Pyramid Lake Indian War, which severely interrupted and then slowed Pony Express service for several months. This event cost the business revenue, as well as large sums of money to fortify and defend stations in the Nevada desert against Indian attack. In the end, even these efforts were not enough. Fortunately, United States Army regulars came to the rescue and protected the vulnerable route against further depredations. Setting Indian depredations aside, unpredictable weather-related events actually defeated the company. Russell, Majors, and Waddell promised speedy reliable service come rain, snow, or sunshine. In good weather, the Pony Express system worked as it was designed. But during the long, hard, stormy winter of 1860-1861, actually the first real test of the system against harsh weather elements, the Pony Express system could not maintain a regular or speedy schedule, even with the help of the extension of the telegraph lines. Due to the severe winter that year, the system broke down delaying the mail for substantial periods of time, much as it had under previous mail contractors, such as George Chorpenning. According to one historian, the average time of the twenty-two midwinter trips between destination points was 13.8 days. On four of these trips, sixteen days were used between telegraph points. Additionally, one trip took seventeen days, and another trip was missed entirely.²⁴ Like it or not, postmaster general Aaron V. Brown was correct in 1857 when he thought the southern route of the Butterfield Overland Mail Company was superior to the central overland route because of winter travel conditions.

On another level, the Pony Express failed as a successful business venture. The undertaking of an enterprise on a scale and size of the Pony Express by a private business was not a "Great Gamble" as one author posed,²⁵ but instead, it simply was an imprudent business venture. Quickly looking at the possible numbers of letters sent versus the cost of the operation, any smart businessman could recognize the disparity. Alexander Majors knew that the amount of business transacted over this line was insufficient to pay one-tenth of the expenses, to say

²⁴ Le Roy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*, Reprint of 1926 Edition, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969, 185-186.

²⁵ Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express-The Great Gamble* (Berkeley: Howe-North 1959).

nothing about the amount of capital invested.²⁶ In Russell, Majors, and Waddell's defense, some historians argue that the "Pony Express was not an end in itself, but a means to an end,"²⁷ a legitimate business investment designed to place the firm in a favorable position to compete with the Butterfield line for the next overland mail contract. Russell, Majors, and Waddell knew it would be made obsolete by the telegraph.²⁸ If this supposition were true, then the Pony Express failed here as well. In March 1861, when the overland mail contract was signed due to the exigencies of the impending Civil War, Russell, Majors, and Waddell were not in a financial position to compete with the Butterfield line, and therefore they lost out on their only chance to obtain a overland mail route contract.

As the above arguments infer, the Pony Express' significance in American history does not rest on the company's capabilities. Instead, its significance is grounded in two different areas: 1) the Pony Express' basic contribution to transportation and communication history, and 2) its very existence during a critical time period in American history.

Clearly the Pony Express reduced the communication distance between the east and west coasts, and "speeded up news service to and from the Pacific Coast."²⁹ The Pony Express was a benefit to the public for this reason. Contemporary accounts also tend to agree that the Pony Express bound these two distant sections of the Union together before and during the Civil War.³⁰ The Pony Express also fostered closer communication links between Mormon communities at Salt Lake City, and other Trans-Missouri communities and eastern states.³¹

²⁶ Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier: Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (1893), edited by Colonel Prentiss Ingraham, Reprint (Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1950), 185.

²⁷ Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 165-166.

²⁸ Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 115.

²⁹ Chapman, *The Pony Express: The Record of a Romantic Adventure*, 308.

³⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, 4 April 1860.

³¹ Ashton, *Voice in the West*, 114-115.

The Pony Express also had a tremendous impact on newspaper journalism of the day. Many of the nation's papers depended on the Pony Express for their news. With the arrival of each express, journalists worked through the night to bring out "pony extra" editions of their papers. Some newspapers established special columns, bringing the most current news, emphasizing the method of obtaining the news (by "Pony Express") as important as the news itself.³²

Some historians have spuriously argued that the Pony Express established the feasibility of the central route across the continent and hastened the building of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads.³³ Alexander Majors in his autobiography stated that he and his partners undertook the enterprise solely to prove that the route could be made a permanent thoroughfare for travel at all seasons. He and his partners felt successful in this purpose.³⁴

However, the facts do not bear out Major's statement. Though the founders claimed to have shown that the central route across the continent was feasible for a railroad, but the company made no effort in that direction.³⁵ As Roy S. Bloss aptly stated in his monograph *The Pony Express-The Great Gamble*, "the belching giant of steam and smoke was wooed by western expansionists long before the equine mail was even a dream, and its wheels were set a-rolling not by the pretentious Pony but by talented promoters and an all-Northern Congress."³⁶ Though the Central Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated during the Pony Express era (June 28, 1861) for the purpose of constructing a transcontinental railroad, there seems to be no connection between its visionaries (Theodore D. Judah, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Collis P. Huntington) and the freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

³² Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 114-115.

³³ John W. Clappitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains: Reminiscences and Thrilling Incidents of the Romantic and Golden Age of the Great West* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1889), 52; and Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, 190-191.

³⁴ Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 185.

³⁵ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, Vol. XXV, (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 228-229.

³⁶ Bloss, *Pony Express-The Great Gamble*, 138.

Even though the Pony Express did not directly or indirectly contribute to implementation of a central transcontinental railroad route, the very presence of the Pony Express operation ensured the enterprise's place in history and for a variety of reasons. First, the establishment by the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. of the route across the Trans-Missouri West and the construction of stations along this route aided in the development of many western communities and fixed the permanency of many these localities.³⁷ Future local and county histories will no doubt point out the extent of the Pony Express' role in these communities. Additionally, riders passing through communities on the route gathered and spread news regarding Indian movements, and other regional tidbits about these communities to the rest of the country.³⁸

Second, the Pony Express provided a critical communication service to and from the Pacific Coast. According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, "it was the pony to which every one looked for intelligence; men prayed for the safety of the little beast, and trembled lest the service should be discontinued."³⁹ Many important business and personal letters as well as private dispatches were entrusted to the Pony Express, including valuable international documents, such as war reports from the English squadron in China, which cost \$135 to send.⁴⁰

This service became invaluable as the Civil War approached. Messages concerning Lincoln's election and inauguration were eagerly anticipated at the western terminus of the Pony Express. During the spring of 1861, when Texas seceded from the Union and Confederate troops destroyed the Overland Mail Company in southern Missouri and Texas, cutting off news to the Pacific Coast, people living in the western territories became even more dependent on the Pony Express for their news. With the onset of the Civil War one month later, and President Lincoln's declaration of a "state of insurrection," after South Carolina troops fired upon Fort Sumter, westerners eagerly anticipating the arrival of each Pony Express rider. When the mail arrived, thousands of people congregated in

³⁷ Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 54.

³⁸ William P. Bennett, *The First Baby in Camp: A Full Account of the Scenes and Adventures During the Pioneer Days of 49* (Salt Lake City: The Rancher Publishing Co., 1893), 18.

³⁹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of California*, Vol. XXIV, (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 281.

⁴⁰ Clampitt, *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*, 47.

the streets of San Francisco anxiously discussing the changing state of events. As one Pony Express historian succinctly stated: "that long, slender line of communication, which a handful of hostile Indians might easily break any day, was their sole reliance for keeping abreast of swiftly moving [Civil War] events."⁴¹

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Pony Express National Historic Trail began in St. Joseph, Missouri, and ended in San Francisco, California. The preceding narrative has detailed the contextual history of the Pony Express and delineated a list of 184 potential Pony Express station sites. Each chapter synthesized a wide variety of information from a broad base of sources to give the reader an accurate picture of the history of the Pony Express and the usage of each station and its relationship to other stations. Discrepancies exist regarding several stations' names, locations, and functions (home or relay station). These discrepancies can only be resolved with additional intensive archival research and fieldwork. Furthermore, forty-nine markers depict sites located from St. Joseph to San Francisco related to the Pony Express. Since some of the sources used to substantiate the existence of a Pony Express station, or a building, or marker at station site are not up-to-date, the above figure of 184 potential Pony Express station sites should not be considered definitive.

Twelve of the stations listed in the text as Pony Express stations are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). They are:

Missouri:

- Pony Express Stables
- Patee House

Kansas:

- Marysville Station
- Cottonwood/Hollenberg Station

Nebraska:

- Thirty-two Mile Creek Station
- Cold Water/Midway Ranch Station
- Mud Springs Station
- Fort Kearney
- Diamond Springs

⁴¹ Settles, *Saddles and Spurs*, 197.

Wyoming:

- Fort Bridger

Nevada:

- Cold Springs/East Gate Station
- Sand Springs

Though only twelve stations are currently on the NRHP, there is a significant number of standing buildings associated in some way with the Pony Express National Historic Trail that have been documented in the previous chapters. In the author's opinion, all extant standing structures, as well historical archaeological sites, are potentially eligible for listing on the NRHP. Many of the standing structures that are currently not on the NRHP may fall into this category.

Each station site should be evaluated as an NRHP multiple property nomination in accordance with the guidelines detailed in *National Register Bulletin No. 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*, National Park Service, 1991. The author recommends that an intensive field and archival survey of each station's history be completed. Furthermore, those stations that are listed as non-extant may have historic archaeological potential which can only be determined by actual field evaluations by a qualified professional historical archaeologist. Station sites should be evaluated under national, state, and local significance using criteria guidelines set forth in *National Register Bulletin No. 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Park Service, 1991. The Pony Express stations would fall under Criteria A (events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history) and D (Information that yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history). For information on the theme of historic transportation corridors, see various articles in "Historic Transportation Corridors," *Cultural Resource Management (CRM)* Volume 16, No. 11, 1993. These articles were generated in a Historic Transportation Corridors Conference held at the Northwestern State University of Natchitoches, Louisiana, in late 1992.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON THE PONY EXPRESS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

There are two primary areas regarding the history of the Pony Express that need

further development. First, as suggested earlier, an intensive field and archival survey of each station's history not already listed on the National Register of Historic Places is recommended. This Historic Resource Study demonstrated that there is a paucity of accurate material relating to the specific history of the majority of the 184 potential station sites, especially in Wyoming and Utah. For instance, there are forty-one stations in Wyoming, but only one listed on the NRHP, and in Utah, there are eighteen stations, none of which are listed on the NRHP.

Determining a "definitive list" of station sites and their locations along the Pony Express National Historic Trail should be given high priority in each state. This station list should also determine whether the station site is on private, state, or public lands. Today, federal, state, and local projects are inadvertently and adversely impacting station sites because we do not have definitive data on each station site. For example, recently in Utah, the Army Corps of Engineers was forced to determine the location and eligibility of the Mountain Dell/Dale Station for the NRHP, when the Army Corps was advised that the Pony Express station lay within the Little Dell Lake Project area.⁴² Fortunately, Section 106 review process of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 caught this issue before information regarding a valuable station site was entirely lost. Other station sites might have a similar fate, unless action is taken soon to determine the eligibility of each station site for the NRHP.

Besides compiling a definitive list of Pony Express station sites, there are many other interesting historical questions that need further research. For instance, what parties received the 35,000 pieces of mail delivered by the Pony Express, and how significant was the news they received from their business partners or others. Only an analysis of the parties listed in the newspapers will determine the answer to this question.

Surprisingly, little scholarly material has surfaced analyzing the ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds of Pony Express riders and stationkeepers. Before such a study can be undertaken, a "definitive" list of Pony Express riders and

⁴² Allen Roberts, Maxine Hanks, and John Senulis, "Report of Historical, Architectural, Archaeological Aspects of Mountain Dell Station, Utah, May, 1989." Prepared for Department of the Army, Sacramento Branch Corps of Engineers by Cooper/Roberts Architects, AIA; and Request for Proposal, "Cultural Resources Investigation and Data Recover, Little Dell Lake Project, Salt Lake Streams, Utah," May 1992, Department of the Army, Sacramento Branch Corps of Engineers.

stationkeepers needs to be developed. This list should then be analyzed to determine correlations in the backgrounds of individual riders. Were they all of Anglo-American descent, or did they come from diverse ethnic backgrounds, such as Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans? Were they all men? Were they all young? How were they recruited? What were the labor conditions they worked under? Was there a high employment turnover rate attributable to the hazards and harsh working conditions of the job? Did women and children live at Pony Express stations, and how did they contribute to the overall operation? All of the above are worthwhile questions to pursue. Yet to date, no serious, scholarly, socioeconomic study of Pony Express riders and stationkeepers and the conditions they worked under has been written.

Though there is an extensive body of literature on the Pony Express, much of it focuses on the "heroic human interest" side of history. Future historical work needs to concentrate on specific data regarding the trail and its operation. By understanding the "real" circumstances behind the Pony Express, we will better understand the significance the Pony Express National Historic Trail, and pass that history on to future generations who wish to follow it across the Trans-Missouri West.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

The historiography of the Pony Express can be broken down into the following two general categories: 1) primary resources (which include archival manuscript material, contemporary newspapers, traveler journals, diaries, autobiographies, and reminiscences of people directly or indirectly associated with the Pony Express); 2) secondary historical resources (which include undocumented historical narratives, articles, and other research efforts, as well scholarly research). The following annotated bibliographical essay will guide the reader/researcher through the more significant resources that pertain to the history and understanding of the importance of the Pony Express. For additional resource materials see the full bibliography at the end of this manuscript.

PRIMARY RESOURCES

ARCHIVAL MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

Unfortunately, there is very little primary manuscript material readily available that is directly related to the origins, operation, and management of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company otherwise known as the Pony Express. The records of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. were not preserved by the firm, and only a few of them have survived the onslaught of time to be conserved in today's archives. The major collection concerning the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. are the private papers of William B. Waddell at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. In 1946, the Huntington Library acquired the Waddell Collection from Mrs. William B. Waddell of Lexington, Missouri, the daughter-in-law of William Bradford Waddell. The Waddell Papers contain a total of 550 pieces of correspondence, financial statements, and contracts that provide detail regarding the business operations and legal affairs of the firm of

Russell, Majors, and Waddell. The Waddell Papers cover the period 1839-1868, and they have been extensively researched by previous scholars.

Because the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. was a private enterprise not associated with the post office system of the federal government, there is no material in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., other than copies of the original postal contracts. However, smaller collections of primary material associated with the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. can be located and secured at various archival repositories and libraries along the trail in the states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California.

In Missouri, the researcher should start at the St. Joseph Museum in St. Joseph. The museum's library has a good collection of secondary historical resources pertaining to the Pony Express, including photographs, maps, and slides. The St. Joseph Museum also operates the Pony Express Museum (renovated former stables of the Pony Express), which exhibits and displays material that illustrates the creation, operation, management, and termination of the enterprise. In addition to visiting the St. Joseph and Pony Express Museum, the researcher should turn to the holdings of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection of the University of Missouri at Columbus for a few primary resources. The University of Missouri possesses an original copy of the "Pony Express Edition" of the *St. Joseph Daily Gazette* dated April 3, 1860. Of further interest is the original contract between the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. and the citizens of St. Joseph giving land in St. Joseph to the company in exchange for locating offices and mail services in the town. Beyond these items, there are a few individual items related to the Pony Express in other collections, such as bills of lading, and so forth, as well as some manuscript items corresponding to the 1960 centennial celebration ride sponsored in part by the National Pony Express Centennial Association.

In Kansas, there is little primary resource material associated with the Pony Express. Though the Spencer Library Kansas Collection located at the University of Kansas has research material related to Kansas Pony Express stations, and some rider reenactment material for the 1923 celebration, little of it was of much use for this particular manuscript. For information on individual station sites in Kansas, the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) can provide National Register of Historic Places documentation on the eligibility of sites.

In contrast to KSHS, the Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS) has a few important collections bearing upon the Pony Express besides National Register of Historic Places nomination forms for sites within the state. At NSHS, the researcher should look at the Leonard Whiting Gilchrist Papers, which contain his California journals. Gilchrist's journals make numerous references to the arrival of the Pony Express and the role it played in bringing the news from the East. In addition to the Gilchrist Papers, the researcher should consult the record collections pertaining to the National Park Service, Scott's Bluff National Monument, which has material related to the Pony Express Centennial, 1958-1963, and NSHS' Pony Express vertical files of newspaper clippings and correspondence pertaining to the 1960 centennial re-ride of the Pony Express, including congressional legislation sponsoring it. A good collection of photographs related to Pony Express stations in Nebraska can also be found at the historical society.

In Colorado, there are two main sources for primary and secondary information on the Pony Express. The first source is the Colorado State Historical Society in Denver, which holds a few published and unpublished articles on the Pony Express, as well as the Clarence Dawson Newspaper Scrapbooks, a collection of articles from various newspapers pertaining to sundry Colorado and western history topics including the Pony Express. The other source to consider is the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library. Besides having an excellent collection of secondary works on the Pony Express and the American West in general, the Denver Public Library is a good resource for contemporary newspaper accounts for the period 1860-1861 and later references to the Pony Express. Beyond these considerations, the Denver Public Library also possesses several very useful photographic files on Pony Express stations, equipment, riders, and monuments and markers along the trail.

In neighboring Wyoming, the researcher should turn to both the Wyoming State Historical Society in Cheyenne, and the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie. The vertical files of the Wyoming State Historical Society contain secondary material regarding Wyoming Pony Express stations, various re-rides and celebrations of the Pony Express, as well as a file of photographs and maps of the Pony Express trail. Additionally, there is manuscript material on trail maps of the Pony Express produced by W.R. Honnell and by L.C. Bishop and Paul Henderson. At the University of Wyoming in Laramie, the critical archive collection is the Paul and Helen Henderson Trail

Collection. This collection retains a wealth of important Pony Express material, including correspondence files between Paul and Helen Henderson and other historians (Merrill Mattes, Gregory Franzwa, etc.) regarding the trail and station sites in Nebraska and Wyoming, several published and unpublished typescript articles and pamphlets on various stations (e.g., Cottonwood Station, Mud Springs, Willow Springs, etc.), field notes and maps associated with sites and monuments relevant to the Pony Express trail, and also photographic files on multifarious stations. Included in the Henderson Collection is a subject file section on various Pony Express stations, as well as maps, such as the original Pony Express map researched and drawn by Paul Henderson and L.C. Bishop for the centennial celebration. At the American Heritage Center, other manuscript collections that the researcher should consider are the Joseph G. Masters, W.W. Morrison, L. Clark Bishop, Waddell F. Smith, Robert W. Howard, and the Merrill Mattes materials.

Unlike Wyoming, in Utah there is a paucity of material directly related to the role of the Pony Express in that state. The Utah State Historical Society (USHS) in Salt Lake City does have a few collections relevant to the Pony Express. Besides the USHS' vertical and photographic files, and a few unpublished typescripts on the Pony Express and Utah and the marking of station sites, the researcher at USHS should consult the H.A. Sorenson Collection for material on the National Pony Express Centennial Association and the role it played in the 1960 centennial re-run.

For primary materials related to the Pony Express in Nevada, the historian should conduct research in three locations: the Nevada State Museum, Carson City, the Nevada Historical Society, Reno, and the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada, also in Reno. A number of unpublished cultural resource reports of surveys and historical archaeological site surveys of various Nevada station sites can be found at the Nevada State Museum. The Nevada Historical Society's holdings include vertical files on the Pony Express stations in Nevada and a selection of photographs pertaining to Pony Express stations. In addition to these items, the researcher will find a few other items of interest in the Robert A. Allen Papers (Allen was a state highway engineer and amateur historian, who in the the 1930s retraced the Pony Express trail across Nevada). The Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada possesses limited

material in the form of secondary works, historic maps, and a few photographs of Nevada station sites.

In California, the researcher should start at either the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, or the Bancroft Library, San Francisco, for background material on the stations in California. Beyond these repositories, the Historic Preservation Division of the State of California has designated all the site locations within the state as registered historical landmarks and their files contain survey forms and some supportive documentation for each site. One should also turn to the California State Historical Society for contemporary newspaper material on the Pony Express, and the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center for a few photographs on the Pony Express.

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers are the critical resource for specific information regarding the arrival and departure of the Pony Express along various points of the trail, incoming and outgoing news, as well as troubles along the route. Microfilm copies of various newspapers can usually be found at universities along the Pony Express National Historic Trail. Naturally, the newspapers at either terminal point of the Pony Express made considerable references to the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. Sources for the eastern terminus include: *St. Joseph Free Democrat*, *Missouri Republican*, *Weekly West*; papers from the Midwest, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, and *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City) also provide additional material; and east coast papers such as the *New York Tribune*, and the *New York Herald* should also be consulted. Newspaper sources for the western terminus include: *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*; *San Francisco Alta Californian*; *Sacramento Union*; and the *Nevada Territorial Enterprise*. The *Deseret News* from Salt Lake City and the *Rocky Mountain News* from Denver provide additional information on arrival and departure dates, as well as news about incidents and delays along the trail.

It should be pointed out that the Pony Express had a significant impact on local, regional, and national newspapers as they adjusted to supplying news to their readers via "pony" extra issues or special columns in their newspapers. For the impact of the Pony Express on one paper (*Deseret News*) see Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (1950).

TRAVELER JOURNALS, DIARIES, AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, AND REMINISCES

Two of the earliest impressions of the Pony Express come to us from first-hand accounts of travelers along the Pony Express route by stage, such as Englishman and adventurer Richard F. Burton, and novelist and short-story writer Mark Twain. In 1860, Burton came to the United States as a student of religion to study the Mormon Church. In his classic travelogue *City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (1862), Burton witnessed the arrivals and departures of Pony Express riders, providing us with realistic, unromantic descriptions of stations along the route. On the other hand, in his artful account of the Far West entitled *Roughing It* (1872), Mark Twain became one of the first writers to view the Pony Express as a romantic adventure. He penned them as the "riders of the purple sage," but provided little detail about the actual operations of the Pony Express itself. There are other primary narratives that should be considered by the scholar, such as former *New York Tribune* reporter Albert Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi: Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast* (1867), which promoted the Pony Express as the forerunner of the transcontinental railroad, and commended its contribution to transcontinental communication of events, such as the news of Lincoln's election.

Reliable diaries and autobiographies directly related to the Pony Express are few and far between. Published accounts include Howard R. Egan's diary *Pioneering the West, 1846-1878: Major Howard Egan's Diary* (1917), which provides material on Egan's role in laying out the overland trail across Utah and Nevada for W.G. Chorprenning, and Egan's experience riding for the Pony Express during the Indian troubles along the Nevada and Utah portions of the trail. Autobiographies under consideration by the researcher should include William F. Cody's *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok* (1920), although Cody's account is somewhat suspect and is contradicted in Herbert Cody Blake's *Blake's Western Stories: The Truth About Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok* (1929). By far the most often quoted autobiographical material is Alexander Majors' *Seventy Years on the Frontier: Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (1893). Majors' *Seventy Years on the Frontier* is a good starting point for anyone that is interested in obtaining a succinct description of the origins and mission of Pony Express, the day-to-day operations

of the enterprise, and the feats of various riders as seen through the eyes of one of its founders.

Reminiscences from people associated with the Pony Express began as early as 1889, when John W. Clappitt gathered stories he heard of the "world renown" Pony Express from riders, such as J.S. Robinson of San Francisco. Clappitt published them in his *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains: Reminiscences and Thrilling Incidents of the Romantic and Golden Age of the Great West* (1889). From Clappitt's account comes material regarding the contracting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, material regarding the operation of the Pony Express, and romantic stories about the personal exploits and feats of certain riders. One of the last reminiscent accounts came from Broncho Charlie Miller, the so-called "last" of the Pony Express riders. Miller detailed his brief career as a rider along the Sacramento to Placerville segment of the trail in Erskine, in Gladys Shaw's *Broncho Charlie: A Saga of the Saddle* (1934).

SECONDARY RESOURCES

Secondary historical resources on the Pony Express cover a wide spectrum of works of varying quality and reliability. They include undocumented historical narratives, articles, and other research efforts that were based on limited factual material and scholarly discipline. These accounts began in the late 1880s and tended to popularize and romanticize the Pony Express. They continue to be produced even today. Paralleling these undocumented works was a series of scholarly monographs and journal articles that uncovered documentation on the Pony Express, and provided insight and synthesis to the history and role of the Pony Express in American transcontinental communication history. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, these historical works have slowly revealed the significance and history of the Pony Express.

UNDOCUMENTED HISTORICAL MATERIAL

Undocumented historical accounts can be defined as material that tells the "story" of the Pony Express without reference to sources by acceptable historical professional standards. These accounts usually personify and dramatize the tale

in a narrative style, placing emphasis on the heroism of the riders, and even sometimes supplying character dialogues for people associated with the Pony Express, such as Russell, Majors, and Waddell, or for "famous" riders, such as Bob Haslam ("Pony Bob"). While many of these accounts have the general history of the Pony Express correct and are well-illustrated, material in them cannot be totally relied upon because they lack primary or secondary documentation to support their statements. Many of these accounts have also freely incorporated previously written material into their narrative without giving due credit to the authors.

There are numerous examples of undocumented accounts. One of the earliest is John W. Clappitt's *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains* (1889), which was mentioned earlier. Other early narratives of this nature are John M. Burke's, *"Buffalo Bill" From Prairie to Palace: An Authentic History of the Wild West* (1893), and Colonel Henry Inman's and Colonel William F. Cody's *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (1898). This latter work egregiously borrowed material from Alexander Majors' *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, and added additional stories about the feats of riders such as J.G. Kelley, Robert Haslam, Charles Cliff, James Moore, and of course, William F. Cody.

By the turn of the century, the broad story of the Pony Express was outlined in these undocumented works. The first strong synopsis of the outlines of the Pony Express was presented by W.F. Bailey in "The Pony Express," *Century Magazine* (1898). It was followed by Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley's *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express* (1901). A decade later, the first full-length history on the Pony Express was written by Glenn D. Bradley. In his *Story of the Pony Express* (1913) Bradley used some primary material (contemporary newspapers and congressional documents), but his monograph largely covered material developed by earlier sources, such as Bancroft, Bailey, Root and Connelley, Inman, and of course Alexander Majors. Nevertheless, Bradley's work became a "classic" on the Pony Express, and in 1976, it was reprinted by Waddell F. Smith as the "official" centennial history of the Pony Express.

Following Bradley, came a series of popular histories on the Pony Express, one being produced approximately every decade. They include William and George

Hug Banning's *Six Horses* (1928); *The Pony Express Goes Through: An American Saga Told by Its Heros* (1935) written by English-Education professor, Howard R. Driggs (illustrated with William H. Jackson prints of scenes related to the Pony Express); Gene Morgan's, *Westward the Course of Empire: The Story of the Pony Express, Forerunner of the Burlington Zephyrs* (1945); and E.A. Brininstool's, *Fighting Indian Warriors: True Tales of the Wild Frontiers* (1953).

In addition to the above literature, research including monographs, articles, and stories has been conducted by many to celebrate anniversary trail reenactments. The first celebration of the Pony Express through an reenactment came in 1923 and is described in Louise Platt Hauck, "The Pony Express Celebration" *Missouri Historical Review* (July 1923). Retracing the Pony Express segment by segment began largely after the 1935 Diamond Jubilee Anniversary commemoration was organized by the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. Following the 1935 celebration, a monthly speciality paper devoted to the Pony Express and other western topics entitled the *Pony Express Courier* (later *The Pony Express*) began. This monthly ran sporadically until 1971.

Indoor research in documents was supplemented by field investigations that tried to retrace the Pony Express and other historic trails nationwide and bring them to life again. One early published resource of this nature is Irene D. Paden's *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* (1943).

With the approach of Pony Express centennial anniversary in 1960, a number of histories were written to celebrate its past. For instance, see Lee Jensen's, *The Pony Express: Illustrated with a Unique Collection of Historical Pictures* (1955); William Harris Floyd's, *Phantom Riders of the Pony Express* (1958); Robert West Howard's, *Hoofbeats of Destiny* (1960); James Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861* (1960); Nolie Mumey's, *Hoofs to Wings: The Pony Express* (1960); Roy E. Coy, "St. Joseph Celebrates Hundredth Anniversary of Pony Express," *Museum Graphic* (1960); and Mabel Loving's, *The Pony Express Rides On!: A History of the Central Overland Pony Express 1860-1861 Between Saint Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento and San Francisco, California.* (1961).

Thereafter popular works on the Pony Express continued to appear approximately every five years. For instance, see Fred Reinfeld's, *Pony Express* (1965); *Heroes*

on Horseback: The Story of the Pony Express (1969) by Tom West; and the Time-Life Books series *The Old West: The Expressmen* (1974), text by David Niven.

In addition to the above describe monographs, from the turn of the century onward, numerous undocumented articles appeared in magazines about the Pony Express. The first magazine article appearing in a national periodical to be written about the Pony Express was W.F. Bailey's "Pony Express," which appeared in *Century Magazine* in 1898. Since that time numerous articles have appeared in many national magazines like *Union Pacific Magazine*, *Reader's Digest*, *Literature Digest*, *Sunset*, and popular western magazines such as *True West*. For examples of this literature, see Ray H. Fisher, "The Pony Express," *Improvement Era* (February 1949); and Bartlett Boder, "The Pony Express," *Museum Graphic* (Spring 1950). After 1960, general articles appear in such diverse magazines as the *American Legion Magazine*; *American Bar Association Journal*; and *National Geographic*, such as David Nevin and Rowe Findley's, "The Pony Express" (July 1980). For more recent articles, whose titles belie their substance, see: Carolyn Z. Roth, "On the Trail of the Pony Express," *American West* (August 1988); and Jaqueline Lewin, "Czechoslovakian Pony Express Riders Visit the St. Joseph & Pony Express Museum," *The Happenings: St. Joseph Museum* (1990).

Various celebrations and reruns of the Pony Express, including a reenactment for the 1976 Bicentennial, eventually led to desire to preserve the Pony Express Trail in some way. With the passage of the National Trails System Act in 1968, the National Park Service commissioned a number of feasibility studies regarding the preservation of trails nationwide, including the Pony Express. For the Pony Express study, see National Park Service, *Eligibility/Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment for the California and Pony Express Trails* (1986).

SCHOLARLY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

In comparison to the undocumented popular works on the Pony Express, scholarly research is less prolific. Probably the first scholarly look of the Pony Express was Arthur Chapman's *The Pony Express: The Record of a Romantic Adventure in Business* (1932). Based on primary and previously written secondary material, Chapman's book offers background material on the mail and steam routes prior to the Pony Express. The book also provides chapters on the

operation of the enterprise, on various riders, including "interviews" with some of them, and on the demise of the Pony Express. For many years, Chapman's book was accepted as the "authoritative account" on the Pony Express. Nonetheless, Chapman's book is largely uncritical and has been outdated by new, more "scholarly" material. It should only be used as a starting point for the reader interested in the Pony Express.

New material on the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. came in the late 1940s, when Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle gained access to the William B. Waddell Papers located at the Huntington Library. In conjunction with national archival and local research, the Settles wrote the first of several books on the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, entitled *Empire on Wheels* (1949). With personal family interest to motivate them, (Raymond Settle's grandfather was a bullwhacker for Alexander Majors), the Settle's book provided detail on the personalities of each man, information on Russell, Majors, and Waddell's various business enterprises, including the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. *Empire on Wheels* put the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell and the Pony Express in context with national developments in transportation as well.

Six years later, the Settles followed up *Empire on Wheels* with *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (1955), which concentrated solely on the history of the Pony Express. Based on research collected for their previous volume, as well as additional research, this well-illustrated, reliable volume: 1) detailed the personalities of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, 2) gave excellent background information to the Pony Express' organization and daily operation, 3) provided a roster of riders and station histories, and 4) discussed the financial difficulties and troubles of the business. *Saddles and Spurs* ended with a look at the ultimate defeat and demise of the Pony Express. Though *Saddles and Spurs* should perhaps be considered the "authoritative" work on the Pony Express, the volume has drawbacks. First, like authors before them, the Settles at times appear to be uncritically romantic—even regarding the Pony Express' failure. Second, though the Settles include an extensive bibliography in *Saddles and Spurs*, the monograph is not footnoted, a serious flaw to what should be considered a "standard work" on the Pony Express.

Saddles and Spurs was not Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle's last work. Raymond W. Settle wrote "The Pony Express, Heroic Effort—Tragic End," *Utah*

Historical Quarterly (April 1959), and in 1970, they added to their research on the Pony Express and the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell with yet a new monograph. They published *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors, and Waddell* (1970). This last volume by the Settles broke new ground on the contracting problems of the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. *War Drums and Wagon Wheels* also provided insight into the bond scandal associated with the financing and bankruptcy of the Pony Express, an event that eventually brought the firm into national disgrace.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a few general histories of the Pony Express followed *Saddles and Spurs*. They mimicked previous works such as those by Glenn D. Bradley and Arthur Chapman, but they added little new material or insights on the subject. The most notable of them is Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express—The Great Gamble* (1959). However, one short history of the evolution of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co. from the Pike's Peak Express Company and the Hockaday Line that should not be passed by is George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman's, "The Pike's Peak Express Companies" Parts I-IV in *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (1944-1946).

Beyond general histories of the Pony Express, scholars have broadly viewed the Pony Express in conjunction with transportation history and other express companies. One early study of this nature and by far the best scholarly history of the postal service from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast, and the role the Pony Express played in transcontinental transportation of the mail, is Le Roy R. Hafen's *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads* (1926). However, Hafen's well-documented analysis of the subject perceives the Pony Express as the "demonstrator" of the central route for the railroads, a point in dispute with this author's opinion. On the subject, Alvin F. Harlow's *Old Waybills: The Romance of the Express Companies* (1934) should not be overlooked as well. Works on the overland stage companies that mention the role of the Pony Express include J.V. Frederick's standard work on the Central Overland Stage Route entitled *Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King: A Chapter in the Development of the Transcontinental Transportation* (1940); Oscar Osburn Winther, *Via Western Express and Stagecoach* (1945); Waddell F. Smith's *Stage Lines and Express Companies in California* (1965); and Ralph Moody, *Stagecoach West* (1967).

One major controversy regarding the Pony Express is the role that the Wells Fargo Company played in the operation and control of the Pony Express in its last

year. For material on this controversy, see Waddell F. Smith, *Pony Express Versus Wells Fargo Express: Or Hoof Prints That Can Not Be Eroded By Time* (1966); W. Turrentine Jackson, "A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches, and the Pony Express," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (December 1966); Noel M. Loomis, *Wells Fargo* (1968); and W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo's Pony Expresses," *Journal of the West* (July 1972).

Less controversial is the philatelic history of the Pony Express, which is of interest to many readers and historians alike. For those interested in express charges, postal rates, and envelope markings of the Pony Express, see Julius Loeb, "The Pony Express," *The American Philatelist* (November 1930); and M.C. Nathan and W.S. Boggs, *The Pony Express: Collectors Club Handbook No. 15* (1962).

For the reader interested in a particular station's history, there are only a few specific articles available. It is an area that seriously needs further research by historians, preservationists, and historical archaeologists. Material pertaining to stations and sites related to the Pony Express largely began appearing in the 1950s, as researchers began to take interest in the centennial celebration of the Pony Express. One of the first articles to appear on the subject was Floyd C. Shoemaker's "The Pony Express—Commemoration, Stables and Museum," *Missouri Historical Review* (July 1950). Shoemaker's article covered the restoration of the Old Patee House and Pony Express Stables in St. Joseph, Missouri. Also see Rich Nolf and Jaqueline Lewin's, "The Pony Express Museum," *The Happenings: St. Joseph Museum* (March-April 1989); and Mike Fisher's, "Archaeological Investigations at the Pony Express Museum," *The Happenings: St. Joseph Museum* (1990).

Short individual station histories have been written by local trail historians, but the quality of this work has not been tested rigorously. For examples of these types of works see: O.W. Hinrichs "Diamond Springs Pony Express Station," *The Goldenrod* (1932), Paul Henderson, "The Story of Mud Springs," *Nebraska History* (June 1951); Alice Baltzelle Addenbrooke, *The Enchanted Fortress (Fort Churchill)* (1968); and Jackie Lewin, "Log Chain Pony Express Station Owners Recognized," *The Happenings: St. Joseph Museum* (1990). To date, the best research on station histories have been done by historical archaeologists working on cultural resource management (CRM) studies for federal government agencies. Examples of past and recent "grey" literature in public history are too

numerous to list here or even in the final bibliography for this study. See for instance, Donald L. Hardesty's, *The Archaeology of Cold Springs Station*, Bureau of Land Management (1977), or *Report of Historical, Architectural, Archaeological Aspects of Mountain Dell Station, Utah*, by Allen D. Roberts, Maxine Hanks, and John Senulis written under contract for Sacramento District Corps of Engineers (1989).

For individual lists of stations see Kate B. Carter's *Riders of the Pony Express* (1947) (reprinted in 1960 as *Utah and the Pony Express*); Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle's, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (1955); Lee Jensen's, *The Pony Express: Illustrated with a Unique Collection of Historical Pictures* (1955); Roy S. Bloss', *Pony Express—The Great Gamble* (1959); Mabel Loving's, *The Pony Express Rides On!* (1961); and Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson's, *The Pony Express Across Nebraska From St. Joseph to Fort Laramie* (1989).

For historical sources looking at the trail in its entirety directly or indirectly as a subject see: James Pierson, *The Pony Express Trail, 1860-1861* (1960); Roy E. Coy, "The Pony Express," *Museum Graphic* (Spring 1960), Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline Via Fort Kearney to Fort Laramie* (1969); and also Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail* (1990).

Many general histories of the development of the American West devote some space and energy to including the Pony Express in sections related to transportation history. These summaries are usually written without criticism and based upon early knowledge about the Pony Express. For a sampling of early works, see Randall Parrish's *The Great Plains: The Romance of Western American Exploration, Warfare and Settlement, 1527-1870* (1907); Frederick Logan Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (1911) and *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (1924); Katherine Coman's *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (1912); Dorothy Gardiner's, *West of the River* (1941); Everett Dick's *Vanguards of the Frontier* (1941), an early scholarly summary of the Pony Express that romanticizes the "swift couriers of the plains;" and Jay Monaghan's, *The Overland Trail* (1947).

The role the Pony Express played in the history of particular states is covered either in individual state histories or historical writings that discuss individual

stations within their borders. These accounts are of differing scholarly value, but those that appear in state historical journals can be generally relied upon.

For source material specific to Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado stations see "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Winter 1959); Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson, "The Pony Express Across Nebraska From St. Joseph to Fort Laramie," *Nebraska History* (June 1960), later updated and reprinted as Merrill Mattes and Paul Henderson, *The Pony Express: Across Nebraska From St. Joseph to Fort Laramie* (1989); and Jacqueline Lewin, "The Pony Express Trail in Kansas," *The Happenings: St. Joseph Museum* (1991).

Unfortunately, though a number of general histories identify Pony Express stations in Wyoming, no one source covers station locations and their specific histories in Wyoming. For general information on these stations, see research conducted by trail historians Gregory Franzwa, Paul Henderson, Merrill Mattes, and Raymond and Mary Lund Settle.

For Utah see Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (1889), which gives background on the Utah War; Kate B. Carter's *Riders of the Pony Express* (1947) (reprinted in 1960 as *Utah and the Pony Express*); Terral F. King, "The Pony Express Rides Again," *Our Public Lands* (Fall 1965); and Richard E. Fike and John W. Headley, *The Pony Express Stations of Utah in Historical Perspective* (1979)—the most reliable source on Utah Pony Express stations.

The stations within the borders of Nevada have been thoroughly researched in many regards. See Thompson and West, *History of Nevada: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of the Prominent Men and Pioneers* (1881), which gives a brief background on the development of mail and stage routes across Nevada. Later state histories that should be considered are: Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888* (1890); Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada: A History of the State from the Earliest Times Through the Civil War* (1936); Nevada State Historical Society, *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (1940); and Dale L. Morgan's, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (1943). For a synopsis of Richard F. Burton's contemporary account of his journey across Nevada, see "Pony Express Issue," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (April-June 1960).

Sources that specifically cover Nevada Pony Express stations are: Edward B. Scott, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe: A Complete Documentation of Lake Tahoe's Development Over the Last One Hundred Years* Volume 1 (1957) Volume II (1973); Nevada Bureau of Land Management, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (1976) written for the 1976 Bicentennial; Donald L. Hardesty's, *The Pony Express in Central Nevada: Archaeological and Documentary Perspectives* (1979); U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Pony Express in Nevada* (1981); and finally John M. Townley's, *The Pony Express Guidebook: Across Nevada with the Pony Express and Overland Stage Line* (1986). For an early CRM study of the Nevada Pony Express stations, consult Bureau of Land Management, *Nevada Pony Express Route: Historic Digest and Interim Recreation Management Plan* (May, 1975), unpublished.

For the role of the Pony Express in California's history see Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of California, 1860-1890* (1890), George Wharton James' *Heroes of California: The Story of the Founders of the Golden State* (1910); and Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (1922). For California stations see Ralph Herbert Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869* (1954), and Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express: Fact & Fiction* (1991).

Few authors have written about Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the founders of the C.O.C. & P.P. Express Co., other than Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle. However, for those interested in biographical material, one should also consider Victor M. Berthold, "William H. Russell: Originator and Developer of the Famous Pony Express," *Philatelist* (January 1929); and Don L. Reynolds, "Grand Old Gentlemen of the Pony Express," *Museum Graphic* (Spring 1969).

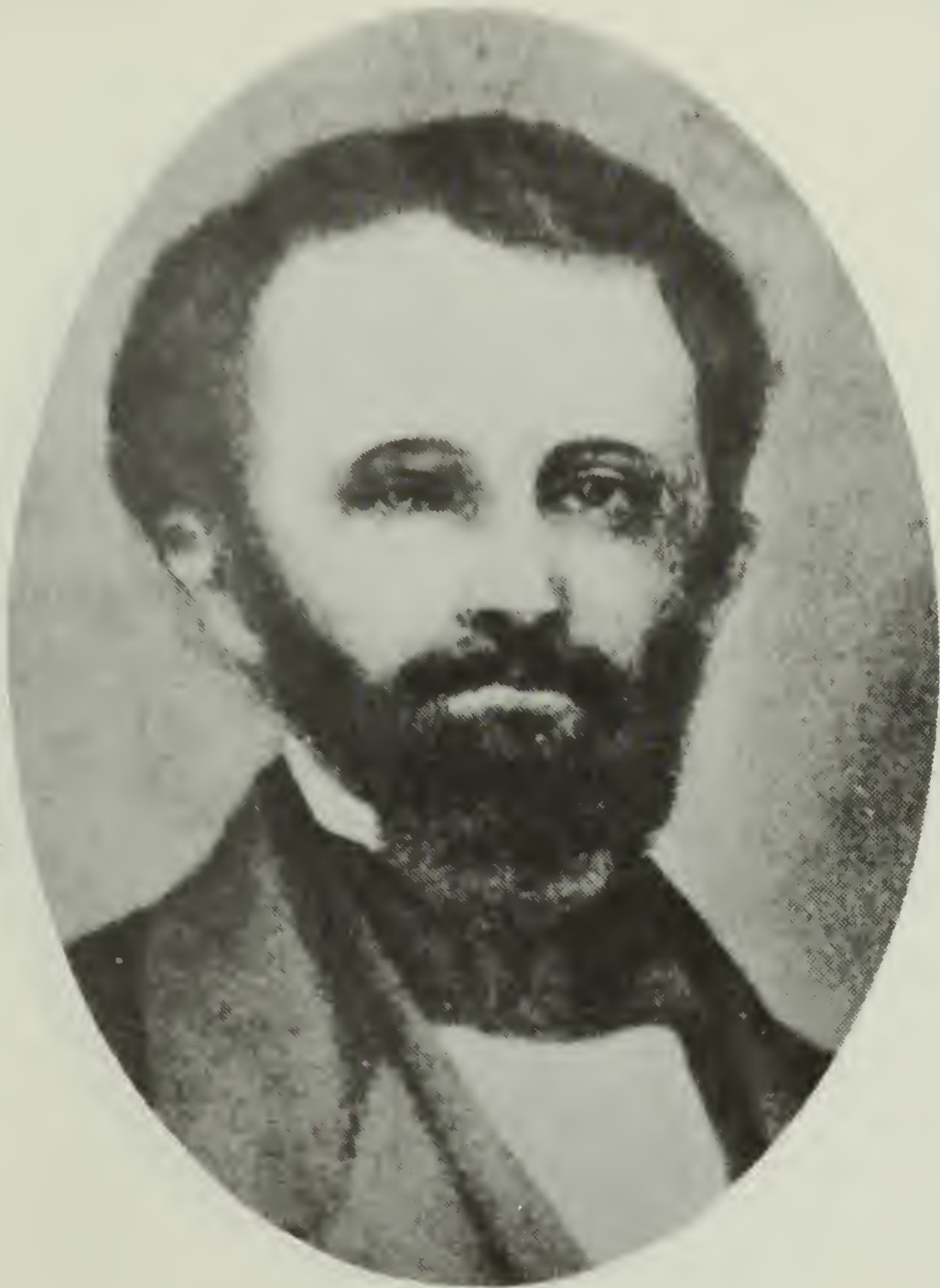
Interest in individual Pony Express riders began in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when genealogists, antiquarians, and amateur and professional historians conducted research to determine such questions as who the first rider for the Pony Express was, and to list the names of individual riders. For the first rider of the Pony Express controversy see Lee Starnes, "The Pony Express Mystery," *Museum Graphic* (Winter 1951). There is no single authoritative list of Pony Express riders or stationkeepers, although many have attempted to develop a comprehensive list. For an early list of riders with biographical sketches, see Kate B. Carter's *Riders of the Pony Express* (1947) (reprinted in 1960 as *Utah and the Pony Express*). This resource is undocumented and also contains an

undocumented list of stations and brief histories. Other lists of riders can be found in Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle's *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga* (1955); Lee Jensen's, *The Pony Express: Illustrated with a Unique Collection of Historical Pictures* (1955); William Harris Floyd, *Phantom Riders of the Pony Express* (1958); Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express—The Great Gamble* (1959); Nolie Mumey's, *Hoofs to Wings: The Pony Express* (1960); and Mabel Loving's, *The Pony Express Rides On!* (1961), all of which place emphasis on the heroic efforts of the riders against the hardships and danger associated with their jobs.

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION 1

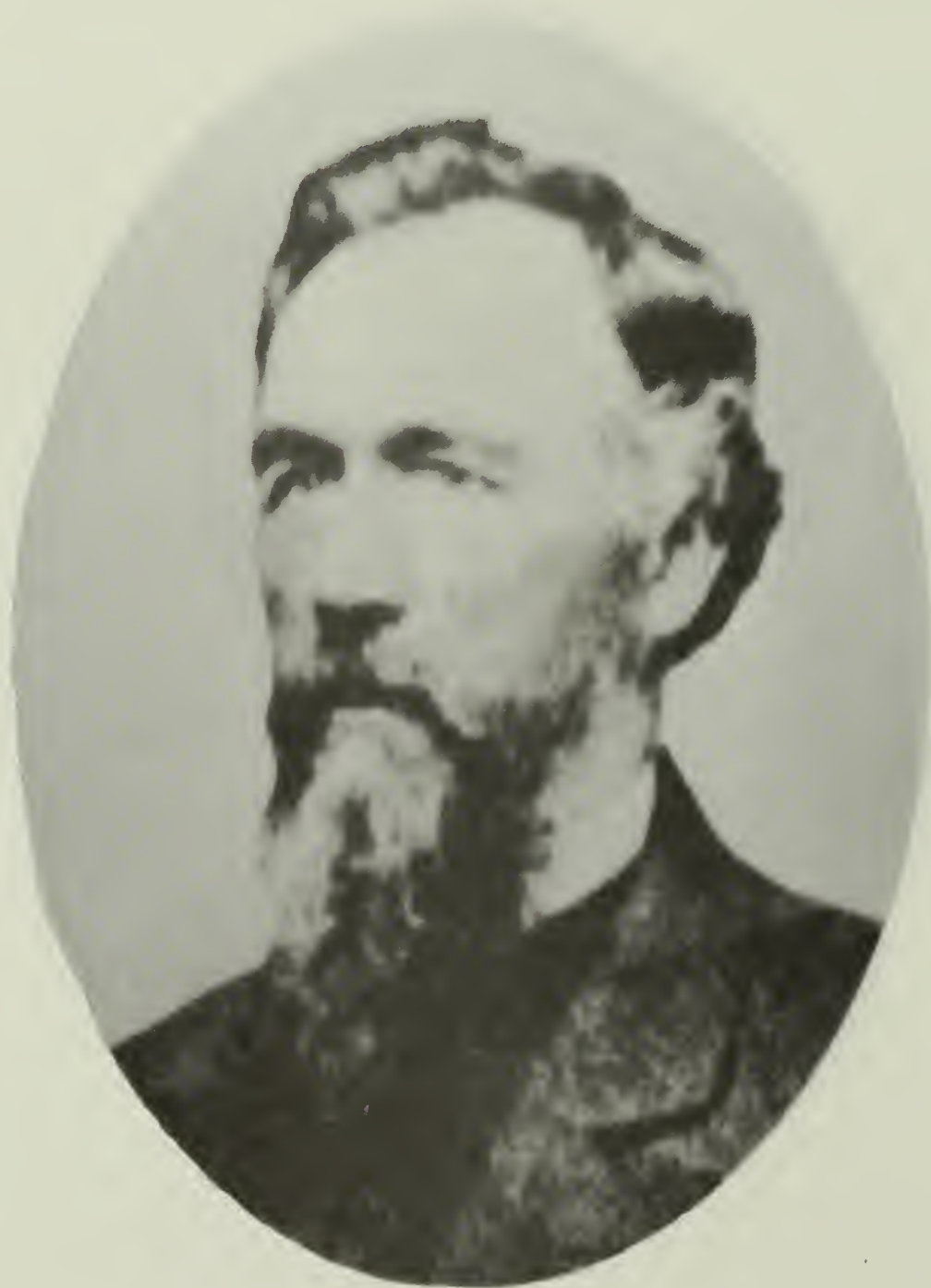
William H. Russell



Source: Courtesy of Pony Express National Memorial, St. Joseph, MO.

ILLUSTRATION 2

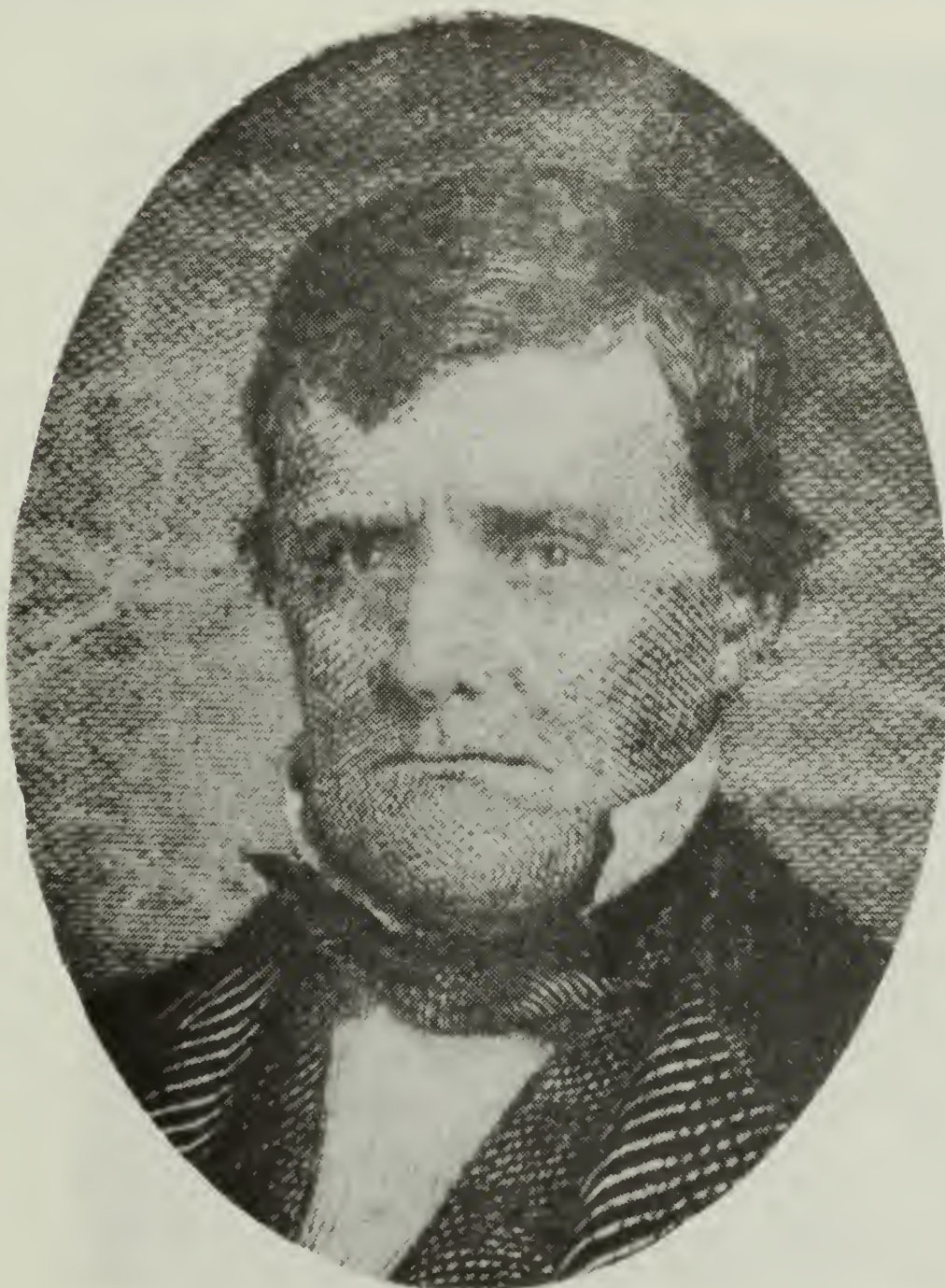
Alexander Majors



Source: Courtesy of Pony Express National Memorial, St. Joseph, MO.

ILLUSTRATION 3

William B. Waddell



Source: Courtesy of Pony Express National Memorial, St. Joseph, MO.

ILLUSTRATION 4

"Composite Sample" of Pony Express Poster Advertising for Riders



PONY EXPRESS
St. JOSEPH, MISSOURI to CALIFORNIA
in 10 days or less.

WANTED

YOUNG, SKINNY, WIRY FELLOWS
not over eighteen. Must be expert
riders, willing to risk death daily.
Orphans preferred.
Wages \$25 per week.

APPLY, **PONY EXPRESS STABLES**
St. JOSEPH, MISSOURI


Source: Courtesy of Pony Express National Memorial, St. Joseph, MO.

ILLUSTRATION 5

Typical Advertisement for Pony Express on east coast.
Dated 7/1/1861.

PONY EXPRESS!

CHANGE OF
TIME!



REDUCED
RATES!

10 Days to San Francisco!

LETTERS

WILL BE RECEIVED AT THE

OFFICE, 84 BROADWAY,

NEW YORK,

Up to **4 P. M.** every **TUESDAY**,

AND

Up to **2½ P. M.** every **SATURDAY**,

Which will be forwarded to connect with the PONY EXPRESS leaving
ST. JOSEPH, Missouri,

Every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY at 11 P. M.

TELEGRAMS

Sent to Fort Kearney on the mornings of MONDAY and FRIDAY, will connect with PONY leaving St. Joseph, WEDNESDAYS and SATURDAYS.

EXPRESS CHARGES.

LETTERS weighing half ounce or under..... \$1 00
 For every additional half ounce or fraction of an ounce 1 00
 In all cases to be enclosed in 10 cent Government Stamped Envelopes,
 And all Express CHARGES Pre-paid.

☛ PONY EXPRESS ENVELOPES For Sale at our Office,

WELLS, FARGO & CO., Ag'ts.

New York, July 1, 1861.

SLOTE & JAMES, STATIONERS AND PRINTERS, 20 FULTON STREET, NEW YORK

Source: Courtesy of Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.

ILLUSTRATION 6

Typical List of Pony Express Letters Arriving on west coast.

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin. Dated 6/12/1861.

fields. Cutting off foreign recruits from their privateering fleet, kills it as effectually as President Pierce's proclamation did the Mexican attempt at privateering. This bugaboo about privateers will, therefore, be found to have really had "nothing in it."

List of Pony Express Letters.

The Pony Express will arrive here to-night, by the steamer from Sacramento, bringing letters addressed to the following persons in this city:

W. H. Watson,	William Faulkner,
Barron & Co.,	J. G. Eastman,
James Eldridge,	M. Weller & Bros.,
J. Cohen & Co.,	Stanford Bros.,
George F. Bragg,	George Stevens,
DeWitt Kittle & Co.,	Jesse Halladay,
Kerby, Byrne & Co.,	J. B. Newton & Co.,
Joseph Genella,	Mrs. James Stanton,
Dickson, De Wolf & Co.,	Haggin & Tevis,
White & Wilson,	Tubbs & Co.,
Smiley, Yerkes & Co.,	<i>Alta,</i>
John Winter,	Thomas Smiley & Co.,
H. Applegate,	Samuel Knight,
William Newell & Co.,	Forbes & Babcock,
Mary Dempsey,	J. Y. Hallock & Co.,
Bachman Bros.,	H. Cohen & Co.,
W. B. Vandyke,	Conroy & O'Conner,
G. W. Guthrie,	Edward Seaman,
<i>Echo du Pacifique,</i>	Frank Baker,
C. H. Burton,	Wm. H. Coddington,
W. B. Cummings & Co.,	Eugene Casserly,
Alexander Leikauff,	Levi Strauss,
David P. Belknap,	Taylor & Swasey,
William Walsh,	Falkner, Bell & Co.,
<i>Evening Bulletin,</i>	J. H. Coghill & Co.,
John S. Hittell,	C. W. Brooks & Co.,
William Booth,	W. Alvord & Co.,
Neustadter Bros.,	Hoslin & Rosenstock,
J. Neale Plumb,	R. S. Eells,
W. J. Hartman,	I. B. Purdy & Co.
Eppinger & Co.,	

Doings at Virginia—The Disunionists Cheek-mated.

A correspondent of the *Bulletin*, writing from Virginia City, N. T., on Saturday evening, the 8th of June, says:

of May 31st contains the following special Washington despatch to the *Commercial*:

Two captains of the Massachusetts troops at Relay House have been placed under arrest for tending their pickets without authority.

A postoffice has been established at Fort Pickens and letters will be taken by Government vessels.

The N. Y. *Post's* special Washington despatch says, preparations are rapidly making for a movement of the Government troops. They are all under arms, and are ready to march at a moment's notice. The probable object is a concentration upon the rebel forces in Virginia.

A party of 50 rebels had reached Baltimore Harbor's Ferry; they are Baltimoreans. Confederates have an eye on them.

The N. Y. *Tribune's* Washington correspondent says all is quiet at Fortress Monroe; 150 negroes were at the fortress, and the number was increasing.

The *Washington Star* says 9 rebels were killed at Sewall's Point in the recent conflict; also, the rebels had stopped work on the entrenchment at Manassas.

15,000 soldiers were concentrated in West Virginia.

Four companies of the District militia crossed into Virginia with six days' rations.

In the Wheeling District the Union candidate has a 1,300 majority. In the Parkersburg District, the Union candidate has a 1,000 majority.

WASHINGTON, May 31.—James Watson has been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil.

The Revenue laws require vessels entering with informal papers to be seized; but inasmuch as those coming from the South, where the Customhouses are in possession of insurrectionary papers, and they cannot obtain the proper clearance from the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view of removing the embarrassment and trouble under the circumstances, has decided that in all cases where it appears that there was no fault on the part of the commander, the latter shall not be compelled to go into court; but on a correct representation to the Collector where the vessels arrive, the fees and shall be remitted.

Postroutes and postoffices managed by loyal

ILLUSTRATION 7

Dedication of Pony Express marker at South Platte Station on June 14, 1932. Dr. Smita (left), unknown individual (center) and Pony Express author Howard Driggs (right).



Source: Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society. Collection K83. Item 7.

ILLUSTRATION 8

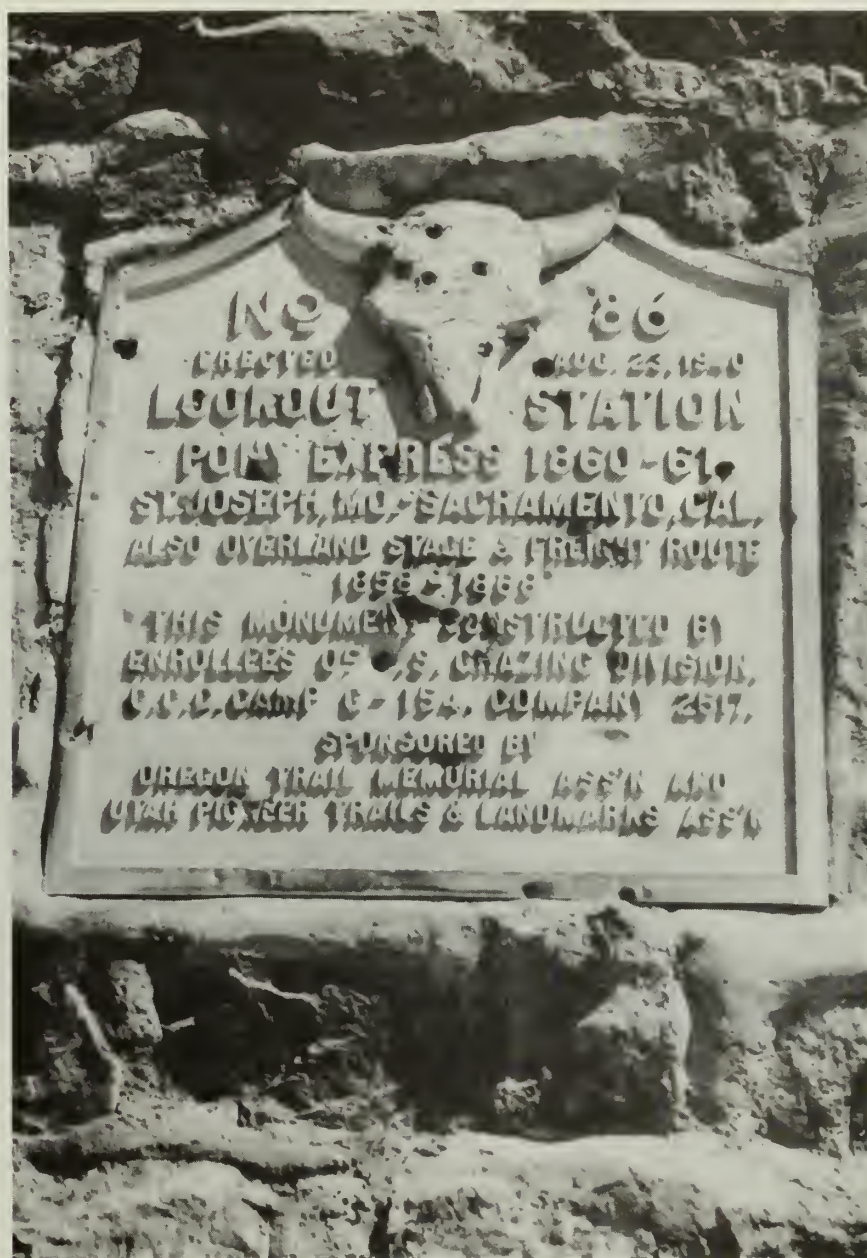
Three Crossing Pony Express Station, Wyoming. Photograph by W.H. Jackson. 1870.



Source: Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society. Collection K83. Item 321.

ILLUSTRATION 9

Monument to Point Lookout/Lookout Pass Pony Express Station, Utah.



Source: Courtesy of Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.

ILLUSTRATION 10

Fish Springs Pony Express Station, Utah.



Source: Courtesy of Photograph Archives, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

ILLUSTRATION 11

Diamond Springs Pony Express Station, Nevada.



Source: Courtesy of Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.

ILLUSTRATION 12

Illustration of "Last Days of the Pony Express."



Source: Courtesy of Wyoming State Museum, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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