BRITISH INFLUENCES ON THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN WEST:
CAPITAL, CATTLE, AND CLUBS,
1870-1910

by

TODD DAVID HOLZAEPFEL

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October 23, 2009
ABSTRACT

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Todd David Holzaepfel, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2009

Supervising Professor: Stanley Palmer, Ph.D.

This dissertation seeks to show the evolution of the influence of British investment and culture in three representative regions in the American and Canadian West. The timeframe of the study corresponds roughly to the “Beef Bonanza” period in the Western United States (1870-1900) and from the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1880-1910) to the subject regions in Western Canada. Because the topic of British influence is vast the vehicle of English gentlemen’s clubs in each of the six subject cities was chosen as the focus to this study. The Commercial Club, renamed the Fort Worth Club, the Denver Club and the Cheyenne Club were selected as the most famous gentlemen’s clubs in the American West. The Assiniboia Club of Regina, the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary and the Union Club of Victoria, British Columbia were chosen because they are the most prominent clubs in the Canadian West. The individual English, Scottish and Irish gentlemen who immigrated to America and Canada and played instrumental roles in the development of the predominant industry, city infrastructure and
gentlemen’s club in their respective regions reflect the influence of British influence in those areas. The transatlantic exchange of financial investments between the London investors, the Dundee Company of Scotland and individual Irish investors and the subjects of their investment decisions in the American and Canadian West during this thirty year period is an important part of this study. The influence of British culture on the North American West as reflected in the popularization of polo, tennis, golf and squash and curling are examined.

How the influences exerted by these English Irish and Scottish gentlemen and British investments in the American and Canadian West were enhanced or moderated by the variables of geography, climate, government policy, the local majority population, the Union Pacific, Canadian Pacific and other railroads, and other institutions such as the North West Mounted Police and the Hudson’s Bay Company are also examined. The reasons for the reduction or continuation of the British influence in the six subject regions are discussed as well as the ongoing relationship of the six English gentlemen’s clubs to their respective communities. The overall effort is to establish the relationship of English gentlemen’s clubs as British institutions of culture and influence in the communities where they existed. Finally, the differences between the British influences in the American and Canadian West are analyzed and the causes for those differences are explained.
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CHAPTER ONE
PREFACE

The beginning is the most important part of the work.

_The Republic_, Plato

The choice of the topic for this dissertation was a gradual and evolutionary process. It began approximately thirty years ago with my interest in the American West of the mountain man and Plains Indian. I spent a good deal of my leisure time researching and recreating the equipment of the pre-1840 mountain men era. I read about the lives and exploits of William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry who took a brigade of men up the Missouri River to trap beaver in 1822. Young Jim Bridger, who later became a famous explorer and scout for the Army, made that historic voyage. Jedediah Smith, Joseph Walker and Kit Carson were a few of the other explorers and trappers that I read about as I learned the crafts, skills and lore of the mountain man. I spent roughly twenty years going to mountain man re-enactments called “Rendezvous” in Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. My interest in the history and the lore of the West was born in the process of re-living the history of that era.

More recently, perhaps 14 years ago, just before I entered the history masters program at UTA, I was introduced to the English and Scottish explorers of the Canadian West. While visiting Seattle one summer, I heard a recording of a local band singing a song about Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, John Franklin, Henry Kelsey and the other brave men, several of whom gave their lives to find the Northwest Passage. I later learned that song was written by a famous Canadian songwriter and folk singer Stan Rogers,

Ah for just one time, I would take the Northwest Passage,
To find the hand of Franklin reaching for the Beaufort Sea;
Tracing one warm line in a land so wide and savage,
And make a Northwest Passage to the sea”
Westward from the Davis Strait 'tis there 'twas said to lie
The sea route to the Orient for which so many died;
Seeking gold and glory, leaving weathered, broken bones
And a long-forgotten lonely cairn of stones

Three centuries thereafter, I take passage overland
In the footsteps of brave Kelsey, where his “sea of flowers” began
Watching cities rise before me, then behind me sink again
This tardiest explorer, driving hard across the plain.

And through the night, behind the wheel, the mileage clicking west
I think upon Mackenzie, David Thompson and the rest
Who cracked the mountain ramparts and did show a path for me
To race the roaring Fraser to the sea.

How then am I so different from the first men through this way?
Like them, I left a settled life, I threw it all away.
To seek a Northwest Passage at the call of many men
To find there but the road back home again.¹

It was a stirring song, sung *a cappella* style, that struck me as a challenge to learn who
those men were that struggled in the wilderness against nature and the elements to find the
Northwest Passage. I had never heard of these men before and I wanted to know their stories.
That song made me curious enough to begin reading about Alexander Mackenzie, David
Thompson and Simon Fraser. My fascination with Western Canadian history was born. It was
not long after that trip that I wrote a lengthy paper for a cartography course which was an
analysis of Alexander Mackenzie as a reluctant ethnographer. During his historic voyages to the
Arctic and Pacific Oceans across the Rocky Mountains and Canadian wilderness Mackenzie not
only drew an impressive map, he also had many dealings with the indigenous peoples along his
routes. That paper was written toward the beginning of my Masters work in Transatlantic
history. I never forgot my interest in the Canadian West because of that song and my research
into Mackenzie’s life and voyages. But the ground around Mackenzie seemed to have been
thoroughly plowed by previous scholars, leaving me with no idea of how to tackle a dissertation
on a western subject with a Transatlantic theme.

At the end of the Masters, in 2002, I attended a conference, at the Buffalo Bill Historical

¹ Stan Rogers Lyrics: “Northwest Passage,” [www.mp3lyrics.org/L71W](http://www.mp3lyrics.org/L71W) [accessed October 29, 2009].
Center in Cody, Wyoming, entitled “One West, Two Myths: Comparing Canadian and American Perspectives.” It was a comparative examination of the American and Canadian Wests from several perspectives: geography, folklore, literature, and history. David Breen, the professor emeritus at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, was one of the featured speakers. His paper was a call for a re-interpretation of the Canadian West in relation to the American West. In his paper he discussed the importance of Harold Innis the famous Canadian economic historian whose books, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930) and *The Canadian Pacific Railway* (1923) were seminal works decades ago. He mentioned the importance of Frederick Jackson Turner, who seems to have more respect among Canadian historians than his theory enjoys back in his own homeland. Breen’s paper appeared to me to be another challenge. It called to me to write a dissertation with a Transatlantic and comparative focus on the American and Canadian West. However, that subject is so vast it seemed to defy being a topic for a dissertation.

In an effort to build a foundation for an eventual dissertation on the American and Canadian West I began doing readings courses on ranching in Texas, on the influence of Victorian virtues on the American West and on the British influence on ranching in Texas. By the time I had completed the course work toward the PhD I was still no closer to finding a topic that would satisfy my interest in the American and Canadian West and meet the cardinal requirement of the Transatlantic history department.

The problem of writing a dissertation on a topic that was both Transatlantic and comparative continued to bother me for several weeks, until one evening, as I was enjoying a beverage in the Fort Worth Club, it dawned on me as I sat in the bar that the Fort Worth Club was a manifestation of British influence in the American West! I had found the focus for the paper. I began to research Gentlemen’s clubs in the American West. The three most famous English Gentlemen’s clubs in the American West are: The Fort Worth Club, The Denver Club and the Cheyenne Club. My profession as a downtown development director for the past
twenty-five years has allowed me to visit many cities in the United States and Canada. During those trips, which were always focused on the downtowns in those communities, I was able to learn about the history and influences on the communities’ downtowns.

Because of my interest in the West, I paid particular attention to the western cities during my travels. The western downtowns had unique cultures and institutions which separated them from the cities east of the Mississippi River. Some additional research helped me to discover The Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary, Alberta and the Union Club of Victoria, British Columbia. I had visited Victoria 15 years ago and again four years ago. During a conference in Edmonton, Alberta, I was able to take a side-trip to Calgary and Banff. I had an interest in Calgary, because it has much in common with Fort Worth. Both cities got their start because of cattle ranching and the arrival of the railroad. An International Downtown Association (IDA) conference took me to Winnipeg 18 years ago, where I discovered, quite by accident, the stately building housing the Manitoba Club of Winnipeg. From my visits to Victoria I learned that it has profoundly English culture. That piece of information would become important as the choice of what clubs in Canada loomed. As I debated what clubs to choose to focus in my dissertation, I was forced to exclude the Manitoba Club as one of my subject clubs. The problem with the Manitoba Club is that it is in the boreal forest of the Canadian Shield, not the Prairies of the Canadian West. I had decided on the three clubs in the American West and needed another club in the Canadian West to satisfy my sense of symmetry. The Union Club of Victoria was an obvious choice because of its British influence, rather than its geography.

Additional research led me to the Assiniboia Club of Regina, Saskatchewan. Even though the club is now closed, it had been an important institution in the capital city of the province of Saskatchewan for over one hundred years. I had begun to learn about Saskatchewan from Wallace Stegner’s *Wolf Willow* and his stories of the Cypress Hills. I now had three clubs in the American and Canadian West to study and learn about their British influences.
A meeting with a property owner in my office in Downtown Fort Worth to discuss his cooperation with a downtown project opened a new perspective on the dissertation. Dr. Robert Frost, professor of mining engineering at the Colorado School of Mines in Golden, Colorado, informed me as we were talking about my dissertation topic that “at one point most of the mines in Colorado were owned or financed by the British.”\(^2\) At that point I abandoned Colorado as a continuation of the “Beef Bonanza” and began to research the British influence on Colorado mining, on the creation of the Denver Club, and the development of Denver by a small group of British and Irish entrepreneurs.

My experience, as the downtown planner for the City of Fort Worth, and the Vice President of Downtown Fort Worth, Inc. provided me with the rare opportunity to manage the planning processes that have resulted in the past three Downtown Strategic Plans (spanning thirty years). This experience led me, naturally, to study the downtowns of these six cities. I had known about the history of downtown Fort Worth for over twenty-five years. Its history is entwined with that of the Fort Worth Club and the “Seventh Street Gang” --as the group of local business leaders were called who had considerable influence on the early history of Fort Worth. This knowledge of how the local business leadership influenced the development of Fort Worth led me to look carefully for those leaders, often times English, Scottish or Irish, who influenced the development of the other subject cities.

Well before I chose the topic of my dissertation, I was aware that Calgary was almost a mirror image to Fort Worth. Fort Worth is the home of the first indoor rodeo in the United States, and Calgary is the home of the Calgary Stampede. Approximately 25 years ago I learned, while on a camping trip in the Rockies that I happened upon a major rodeo in Cheyenne, Wyoming. It was then that I learned about the history of the Cheyenne Frontier Days. So these three towns were connected in my experience by their western heritage long

\(^2\) Interview with Robert Frost, Ph.D. with author about the British influence in Colorado mining history. Interview conducted without a tape recorder in the Downtown Fort Worth, Inc. office, 777 Taylor Street, Suite 100, on or about March 15, 2004.
before the idea of this dissertation ever took shape. It took a few years to get back to all of the
cities (except for Regina) to do the serious research of the British influences on each individual
region, city development, and gentlemen’s club. Luckily, the IDA had an annual conference in
Denver a couple of years ago, so I took that opportunity to visit the remarkable Denver Public
Library Western History Collection. Last year the IDA held its annual conference in Calgary
which allowed a second trip to the Glenbow Museum and archives, the Calgary Library’s local
history section, and the discovery of the Ranchmen’s Heritage Center in Cochrane, Alberta.

In 2007, my wife and I made the trip to London to research the London gentlemen’s
clubs which were the origin of the gentlemen’s clubs in colonial America, Canada, and the
western regions of both countries. I had arranged in advance of the trip to visit four clubs:
Brooks’s, Boodle’s, East India, and Travellers’. While in London, I was able to visit two more
clubs: Pratt’s and the Athenæum Club. Visiting these London clubs in person allowed me to
feel the 300 year old atmosphere and ambiance of those clubs. It was a profound experience
that picture books and monographs can not duplicate. The visits to the London clubs provided
me with the touchstone and benchmark with which to measure and compare the histories of the
American and Canadian clubs. It gave me a frame of reference to measure against when I
came back to my own club in Fort Worth and toured the existing clubs in Calgary and Victoria to
determine their level of synchronicity with the London clubs.

While in London, I learned first-hand about the secrecy of the clubs, their shrouded
traditions of black ball rejections of candidates for membership and their exclusivity. I saw the
subscription books and learned from the secretaries of Brooks’s (Graham Snell) and Boodle’s
(Andrew Phillips) that the waiting lists for the better clubs was often ten to fifteen years. If a
candidate did not have the large page in the subscription book, with their name as a candidate,
full of names of individuals that knew the candidate and thought he’d be a good member, then
he would likely never be admitted. Through my conversations with Graham Snell and Andrew
Phillips I learned that clubable means that an individual is congenial, has a ready wit, is a good
story teller, is from the right family, the right schools, university, and the right ancestors. The trip to London provided access to the manuscript department of the British Library and the records of several clubs at the London Metropolitan Archives. But equally, if not more, importantly the trip to London allowed me to know what it feels like to be in a London gentlemen’s club.

The choice of the topic for this dissertation is the result of the aggregation of all of the above experiences, chance meetings and discoveries, city planning and downtown development professional training, personal and academic interests of many years duration, twenty-five years of visits to downtowns in the United States and Canada, my Fort Worth Club membership, and a fascination with the lore and romance of the West.
CHAPTER TWO
GENTLEMEN’S CLUBS OF LONDON: GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT

There is nothing which has yet been contrived by man by which so much happiness is produced, as by a good club
Anonymous member of Brooks’s

2.1 Introduction

The influence of the English on the two principal countries of North America is as obvious as their shared language. Yet, the influence of the English, Scots, Irish and Welsh on the American and Canadian West, while significantly documented, remains a contested issue, and one often suppressed in the popular histories of the era. Many books and articles have been written on individual aspects of British influence on the two Wests: on specific and exceptional British gentlemen ranchers in the American and Canadian Wests; on British investment in the Texas cattle industry in general, and the Panhandle in particular; on British investment in Colorado and Denver, its mining and ranching center; and on the “Beef Bonanza” in Wyoming, with its share of unique gentlemen ranchers from across the Atlantic. In Canada, books have been written on the coming of the railroad and the British ranching interests in the Regina and Swift Current region of Saskatchewan, on the settlement of Calgary, Alberta and Victoria, British Columbia by hearty and steadfastly British individuals. The books and articles on the British investments in the American and Canadian Beef Bonanza; British investments in the mining industries of the United States and Canada; importation of British Victorian morality; and even the influence of British sports out west, have been described by dozens of authors, yet pertinent information about the significant British influence in the American and Canadian West has rarely been mentioned in the popular histories of the those regions. More to the point, there has not been an effort to synthesize these individual visions of the British influences on
the American and Canadian West or to draw conclusions about their overall significance. The very scope and breadth of such a study across the North American West between the Rio Grande and Saskatchewan Rivers from 1870 to 1900 argues against the undertaking. A study of the British influence on these two regions whose pioneer populations resisted the inference that they did not do it all by themselves magnifies the difficulties of the undertaking.

The mythologies that have become part of the culture of these two western regions of North America have both embraced and belittled the importance of the British gentlemen, as well as their pound sterling, social and moral standards, and leisure pursuits. There seems to be little place for British influence in the mythological wild American West which was “won” by the likes of Owen Wister’s Virginian, whose Southern sensibilities, ironically, were not far removed from the folkways of the English Cavaliers of colonial Virginia. In Texas the most popular histories of the Open Range Era give slight mention of the British ownership of a majority of the 37 significant ranches in the Panhandle, including the famous XIT, or to the importance of the Scottish bankers in providing capital for the western cattle industry to prosper. It is part of our myth, below the Medicine Line (the Indian name for the boundary between the United States territory and Canada), that rugged American individuals won the West without any help, much less direction from or financial support by our former English cousins.

On the Canadian prairie, the equally mythological script had the “mild West” bloodlessly tamed by the lone representative of the Queen: the red jacketed, generally recently arrived Englishman and member of the North West Mounted Police. The difficulty in telling the story of the Canadian West is to separate the influence of the “Brit” from the many other immigrant groups who settled in and only thinly populated the area between Regina and Victoria. Above the invisible line: (the Medicine Line), the influence of the British rancher, miner and businessman is both accepted and marginalized. He is sometimes lost among the numerous ethnic immigrants and the well-concealed but nevertheless very real pride of the Canadians in their own prowess in civilizing western Canada by themselves.
Yet the ranching, mining and business activities, Victorian standards and beliefs, and love of English sport tended to segregate these English gentlemen even before they formed the clubs to which they had been accustomed in London. It is the “gentlemen’s club” which these Englishmen formed, north and south of the Medicine Line, that can be viewed as a unifying focus for this study. The gentlemen’s clubs, which stand out like boulders in a stream, will literally be the touchstones of this journey in the transatlantic and comparative analysis of the British influence on the American and Canadian West.

Geographically these six touchstone English Gentlemen’s Clubs roughly form a “T”. The broad brush of a vertical line passes through the western plains of America. The base of this vertical line starts in Fort Worth with the Fort Worth Club, which was the “watering hole” of the ranching region of North West Texas and the Panhandle. The middle of the nearly vertical line is the Denver Club, the locus of the powerful ranching and mining interests in Colorado. Toward the top of the vertical line are the Cheyenne Club of Wyoming and the powerful Wyoming Stock Growers Association, whose memberships are closely intertwined. It is a line that moves roughly along the center of the North American Great Plains and across the border into Canada where the Great Plains becomes The Prairie. This was the geographical region that supported the Beef Bonanza for approximately 20 years, between the first cattle drives north in 1857 to the desperately harsh winter of 1885-86. In Canada the line becomes horizontal, following the path of human settlement and the Canadian Pacific Railroad west. It begins with Winnipeg, not quite at the edge of the Prairie, then follows the Canadian Pacific Railroad through Regina, Saskatchewan with its Assiniboia Club (where the vertical line from Cheyenne joins the Canadian horizontal one); then through Calgary, Alberta with its Ranchmen’s Club; and finally farther to the west the horizontal line of the “T” ends in Victoria, British Columbia with that city’s Union Club.

Victoria is unique among the western Canadian communities. It was, like Denver, influenced both by ranching and mining. But its outpost status lasted for several hundred years
following its discovery during Captain Cook’s second voyage to the Pacific. Victoria was the end of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad that crossed the continent from the East. Victoria owed its existence to the Hudson’s Bay Company, to its protected port and mild climate, to the two major gold rushes in the Klondike and Yukon, to the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and to the ranching industry in the valley north of Vancouver Island. Its origin as the westernmost outpost of the Hudson’s Bay Company insured its origin was British and that it would remain British. Its distinction as a way-station for the miners heading to the gold strike in the Yukon dramatically broadened the ethnic scope of its settlement. Yet, Victoria has the distinction of being the most British of all municipalities in Canada. This fact may appear somewhat ironic since it is the Canadian city furthest removed from England. However, it is also understandable, because the original British founders (1843) were the first to exert their influence and power in that region so far from the British homeland. The Bay Company did not relinquish ground without a struggle to the newcomers. The origin and growth of the Union Club of Victoria gives further force to that conclusion.

A sweeping line from Fort Worth through the Panhandle, then Denver and Cheyenne up into Canada reflects in a broad stroke the movement of Texas cattle, many millions owned by English, Scottish and Irish ranchers or investors from the southern plains to the northern plains and prairie. It is fitting that the beginning of this study of the influence of British capital and English gentlemen’s clubs, which originated in London, begins with Fort Worth. Fort Worth was the heart of the Texas cattle business, an industry which was profoundly influenced by British investment and British-owned cattle ranches. However, Fort Worth was not at the center of the geography of that industry, which was further to the west and north in the Panhandle. What gave Fort Worth its important status in the Texas Beef Bonanza was its dominance over smaller Texas communities such as Clarendon, Tascosa and Amarillo, which were closer to the many British-owned ranches of the Panhandle. Fort Worth became linked to the Panhandle by the
Fort Worth & Denver City Railroad (completed on May 1, 1888). Finally Fort Worth lured the Panhandle cattle barons with its amenities, the Stockyards and the Armour and Swift meat packing plants. The shift to the east of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association headquarters, from its origin in Graham, Texas to Jack County then to Fort Worth, helped to make that city the center of the Texas cattle business financially, if not geographically.

There were several connections between the Texas cattle industry and Colorado. It was in Pueblo Colorado that John Adair, an Irish gentleman and investor, met Charlie Goodnight, who took Adair on a hunting trip. Shortly thereafter, Adair and Goodnight formed a partnership which resulted in the formation of the JA ranch in Palo Duro Canyon just south of Amarillo. A. M. Britton, manager of the famous Matador Land and Cattle Company, was stationed in Fort Worth and Denver. He was an important player in the British influence in the Texas and Colorado cattle industry. Denver’s location at the edge of the American Rocky Mountains made it the center of the British investment in mining in the United States, as well as the regional headquarters for the Colorado ranching industry, which was also heavily leveraged by British investment. It is hard to overestimate the impact of British investment on Colorado and Denver. “The most dramatic sectoral change to take place between 1885 and 1913 in the whole field of British landed investment was the increase in the number of mining and exploration companies.”

The British influence on the mining industry in Colorado had its focus in Denver. As the City of Denver grew because of the gold and silver strikes, and the subsequent British investment in the Colorado mines, the British influence on the cultural development of Denver became obvious through the formation of the Denver Club and the Denver Athletic Club. One of the Denver Club’s most important “founders was James Duff, a Scotsman who represented the London-based Colorado Mortgage & Investment Company, which sunk millions of pounds into

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Colorado. The Denver Club dominated Denver’s club scene for almost a hundred years.\(^5\)

The trails that the cattle followed to market or to better grass and less settled territory passed through Cheyenne, Wyoming, then into Montana, and eventually crossed the Medicine Line into Canada. The famous Matador Land and Cattle Company, which was owned by an investment company in Dundee, Scotland, had ranches in Texas, Colorado, the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming and eventually Canada. This company originated in 1878 when Henry H. Campbell, who had purchased a small number of cattle and the range rights in Motley County in the Panhandle of Texas, went into partnership with A. M. Britton and S. W. Lomax of Fort Worth to form the Matador Cattle Company. In 1882 the partners sold the company to the Dundee Investment Company and the name of the ranch was lengthened to the Matador Land and Cattle Company. In 1891 Murdo Mackenzie became the manager of the famous Matador Land and Cattle Company. Long before many of the other ranchers, Mackenzie recognized the need to find new grazing lands, as settlers began to fence in the open range in Texas, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. The Scottish investors in Dundee took Mackenzie’s advice to further develop the million-acre ranch in Texas with other holdings. He purchased land with the Scottish investors’ permission in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota and Canada. “As the Matador Land and Cattle Company expanded, a ranch office in Denver, Colorado [was organized to] help coordinate business on the northern ranges in Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Saskatchewan, Canada.”\(^6\) The records of all Matador holdings were kept in Denver and in the general manager’s office in Trinidad, Colorado. Thus, the Scottish-owned Matador Land and Cattle Company, tied together the cattle industry of Texas, Colorado, Wyoming and eventually Canada. It also tied together the British influence in Fort Worth, Denver and Cheyenne and their respective gentlemen’s clubs which Mackenzie visited.

The influence of the British in the American West will be examined with a study of the

\(^6\) “The Ranch Industry Manuscript Collections”, p. 25, Manuscript & Photograph Collections of Southwest Collection/Special Collection, Texas Tech University.
founders’ lives and activities of the three U. S. Clubs in Fort Worth, Denver and Cheyenne. Their accounts will be covered in detail in chapters three, four and five.

In Canada the settlement of the Prairie West became possible only after three watershed events. Since the 1670s, the Hudson’s Bay Company laid claim to a growing area of Canada which extended from York Factory on Hudson’s Bay to its westernmost outpost on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. In 1868, The Company, as it was called, gave up its control of the half of Canada known as Rupert's Land. The strong grip that the Bay Company had on access to Rupert's Land for almost 200 years, and the secretive nature of the company’s activities there, had helped to keep the Canadian West sparsely populated until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Riel Rebellion (1869 and 1884-85) was the second dramatic event which brought hundreds of recently arrived British gentlemen soldiers to what had once been Rupert’s Land. These men, who had joined the Northwest Mounted Police to put down the rebellion, provided the nucleus of the British influence on the territories. Many of the Mounties retired from the force on half pay and settled in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta where they developed the Canadian cattle industry. The development of the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railroad was the third watershed event that hastened further exploitation and settlement of the Canadian West. The line of settlement moved from east to west along the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In certain locations where there was a confluence of geographical features (such as two rivers coming together), or a suitable grade for the construction of the railroad, or its proximity of valuable cattle grazing lands or mineral deposits, railheads became hamlets, hamlets became towns, then towns became cities.

As the communities developed economically and demographically, the influence of the British gentlemen ranchers, mine managers and owners, and early entrepreneurs in the region began to be felt. The development of the Assiniboia Club of Regina, N. W. T., the Ranchman’s Club of Calgary, a city that mirrors much of the geography of Fort Worth, and the Union Club of
Victoria, British Columbia reflects the immigration patterns and evolution of the influence of the British gentlemen in western Canada. These three Canadian metropolises developed along and around the line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad which allowed the great Canadian cattle ranches to speed their stock to market in the cities of Eastern Canada and beyond to the urban centers of England and Europe. There is an irony to this story of the railroad’s push west. It provided the means for the great cattle ranches of Saskatchewan and Alberta to become prosperous. But, the railway also brought the settlers to those regions, and thus an eventual end to the ranchers’ powerful, privileged position.

The thousands of settlers, who came to the harsh environment of western Canada were encouraged to do so by the land policies of the Canadian government and the cheap land prices and promotional efforts of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. These government and railroad practices are mirrored below the Medicine Line by the land policies of the federal government and the web of railroads. Both the federal government and the railroads distributed cheap land to the ranchers and provided investment opportunities to British and Eastern investors and later to settlers in Texas, Colorado, and Wyoming, as well as the other western states and territories.

The focus of this study is on the influence of the British on the American and Canadian West as seen through the prism of the gentlemen’s clubs that were established in those regions. It is important, therefore, examine the development of those clubs in London; and the mindset of the late Victorian gentlemen who populated those clubs. It was these men who brought their value system, financial resources, love of English sport, and their general love of club life to North America.
Clubland is an English invention.\(^7\) Had it not been for White’s, Boodle’s and Brooks’s and the 200 Clubs of London, there would never have been a Knickerbocker, a Union or a Century Club in New York.\(^8\) Likewise the Union League and Penn Club of Philadelphia, the Metropolitan and Cosmos Clubs of Washington D.C., the Chicago Club, all were patterned after the gentlemen’s clubs of London. The same is true of the St James’s of Montreal and the Manitoba Club of Winnipeg. The following chapters will study in detail the origins of the Fort Worth Club, Cheyenne Club, Denver Club, Assiniboia Club of Regina, Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary or the Union Club of Victoria, B.C. These clubs were chosen because they were the most outstanding clubs during this period and the best representative clubs in their individual regions.

Clubland had its start late in the seventeenth century with White’s Chocolate House. White’s was founded in 1693 by an Italian known as Francis White just as the South American import chocolate, and the Turkish import coffee, were becoming Sensations in England and on the continent. A spate of gentlemen’s clubs emerged generally around the time of the Battle of Waterloo in St. James Square, Regent Street and Pall Mall region of West London between what was to become Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly Circus and Buckingham Palace. The Clubs generally occupied large homes of Georgian design, similar to the country manors of the wealthy class. They consisted generally of three or four floors, from 30 to 50 feet wide and 75 to 100 feet deep. These clubs and their members form a microcosm in which the evolving values and norms of the Victorian English gentleman are displayed.

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\(^7\) Clubland is a widely used term in English histories of the various gentlemen’s clubs in London. Clubland refers to the area around St. James’s Square, Regent Street and Pall Mall in the heart of London, where at one time 200 gentlemen’s clubs had their home. Clublife refers to the activities that took place in the various gentlemen’s clubs in London. This term is also in common usage among the historians who write about the history of London gentlemen’s clubs. Clubable means that an individual is affable, a good story teller, and with the same conservative, aristocratic outlook that the other members of the club exhibit.

By the time of the explosion of the “Beef Bonanza” in the latter third of the nineteenth century in the American and Canadian West, clublife in London and the best cities in the eastern portion of the United States and Canada had taken on the pronounced standards and values of the Victorian Era. Both the “Remittance Men” (those second sons of the gentry who were not to inherit the family estate, due to the laws of primogeniture), and the wealthier acquisitive gentlemen investors of the clubs of London, the counting houses of Scotland, and an occasional Irish lord saw in the American and Canadian West a golden opportunity to dramatically increase their wealth. They brought to the American and Canadian West not only their remittances and their investments in land, cattle and mining, but also their Victorian culture and virtues, their sense of fair play demonstrated in their sports, and their idea of clublife.

Clubs began in the late seventeenth century, as shall be seen, and developed over a period of 150 years through the height of the Victorian Era. Following World War I they began to fall off in attendance, due in significant part to the tremendous drain of the Great War on the male population of Britain. Some introduction to the evolution of clubland is required if it is to be properly understood when it was at its height during the late Victorian era. From the 1750s the population of England started to increase significantly. Although Britain was producing more food than ever before, it witnessed some food shortages as well as corn riots. But the introduction of two New World crops – potatoes and corn (or as it was known in England, maize) -- improved the physical health of the poor as well as the growing middle class and the upper class. There were no famines in England for the next 85 years. Because of the growth and general health of the population in England after 1750, with more children being born and living, the youth of the country began to outnumber the middle-aged and older. This phenomenon affected the development of clubland.

2.3 White’s Club

White’s is the oldest London club as well as one of its most famous. It was founded in 1693, a year before the establishment of the Bank of England, as the American colonies were
beginning to develop their nascent ideas of their own importance. It was in this chocolate and coffee house that an “inner club” developed of the older gentlemen who frequented White’s. This group became known as the “Old Club”. Later in 1743 the “Young Club” was founded. It was made up, as can be guessed from its name, of younger gentlemen. Before White’s became a club it was open to the public which included both honorable and dishonorable men.

“In order to keep out cheats and other undesirables and to assure the honorable character of the assembly, arrangements were made to take over the house for the exclusive use of the members of the club formed for that purpose.”

The membership of White’s from the beginning included distinguished members of the government and aristocrats of the day as well as men known for their literary talents. Francesco Bianco, White’s real name, provided a congenial establishment that became, as Jonathan Swift remarked, “the common rendezvous of infamous sharpers and noble cullies.”

However, a good club, as Whites came to be, often experienced several moves before it found a permanent location. White’s moved due to a destructive fire from its original site to where Boodles now stands, 28 St James’s Street SW1. The main reason for the moves in the history of several new clubs was that their growth in popularity required larger quarters. Another reason was that their growth in membership included the need to improve the appointments -- the physical attractiveness of the club. White’s moved again four years after its first move, due to the fire, across the street into a larger house which became part of Arthur’s Club. John Arthur was Bianco’s assistant manager. White’s remained in that location for over a decade. It then moved to the “top of St James’s Street to an even larger house which John Arthur’s son Robert owned.” It was in 1763 in that “Old Club” that the younger members began to feel somewhat estranged from the older members. Therefore, the Young Club moved to “a Great House” owned by Robert Arthur. But the name, “White’s” was retained through a succession of

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11 Ibid.
proprietors who came to manage the facility/club. It was in 1781, the year of the victory of the Continental Army over Lord Cornwallis, that the two clubs merged and White’s took on its composition which is still recognized today as the leading political gentlemen’s club in London. The 200 London clubs which were to develop after White’s cannot claim the lineage of White’s. All of the clubs had interesting origins, however, and reflect the unique character of clublife, that achieved its zenith during the Victorian Age.

Almost from its beginnings as a club White’s was of interest to the general public. The club’s exclusiveness and the fact that the public were not allowed within its walls, gave it a celebrity and sense of mystery. It was therefore the subject of accusations and articles in the press, as well as pamphlets because so many of its members were in the government. Many of the attacks on the club were based on its growing reputation for condoning excessive behaviors. Gambling was a constant cause for rumor. “The popular conception of White’s as a gambling resort was built, of course, largely upon hearsay.”

The subjects on which the members gambled were also leaked to the press and became a source of public interest and condemnation. Many of the bets were actually recorded in the club’s betting book, so the legitimate existence of these bets were verifiable. Wagers were made on the color of the next horse which would appear at the window of the club, or on the next change in the weather, even on the longevity of its particular members.

White’s and the roughly 200 clubs which emulated it and were formed later continued to be a curiosity to the British public. Because of their aristocratic membership, the amount of drinking that took place in the clubs, and the excessive gambling, there were always stories and rumors about the various club members and their activities.

2.4 The Growth of Clubland

Brooks’s, for example, was founded by the younger members of the gentry who abandoned Almark’s in 1778 to create their own club on St James’s Street. These young men of the aristocracy were coincidentally rising on a tide of growing prosperity in Britain, following the defeat of the French in the Seven Years War and a significant shift in the balance of power on the Continent. “Between 1760 and 1780, the time of Brooks’s growth and formal establishment on St. James’s Street, the voice of the young was becoming louder and more dominant. Even louder and more visible was the young aristocracy.” The war with France and later with the American colonies, followed closely by the French Revolution resulted in a significant increase in the British military. The second sons of the landed gentry flocked to the service of their country and the chance for recognition, glory, and a pension. There was an explosion of garish experimentation in the military uniforms of the petty officers. The uniforms contained bright colors with considerable gold braid and epaulettes, which became larger and larger, especially in the cavalry where they offered protection from saber cuts. These young aristocrats reveled in their parades in the heart of London and their affairs of honor. But even as the gold braid was becoming more lavish on the young men’s uniforms the style set by the suave Beau Brummell, with its darker colors and close fitting, elegant suits of broad cloth, subtly accented with silk, were becoming the fashion. The young aristocrats could easily be recognized either in their gaudy military regalia or their tight tailored finery.

In 1760 there were only 180 families of noble birth in England. The growth in the population of the aristocracy did not match its growth in wealth, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. London’s architecture and that of the countryside experienced a boom. The gentry were celebrating their growth in wealth and their increased confidence with grand houses and large manicured formal gardens, many with exotic flora from the British colonies all over the

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world. The gentry basked in the Enlightenment, with its discoveries in science and its exploration of exotic lands. They sought to show their control over nature through their formal gardens. Frederick, Prince of Wales, established Kew Gardens, which abounded in rare exotic plants and displayed pristine organization. It was another way for the aristocracy to celebrate their increased wealth and sense of self-satisfaction.

2.5 The Grand Tour

Beginning in the early eighteenth century, on a gradual basis, the sons of the English aristocracy after graduating from public schools (which were actually private exclusive schools), began the practice of the “Grand Tour,” which was an elaborate and expensive tour, generally a year in duration. By 1730, the numbers of wealthy English youth going to Europe were increasing fast. In the latter half of the 1700s almost all families of wealth sent their eldest son to the continent after graduation. It was an expensive undertaking which involved a large number of servants and a tutor. The wealthiest families used their own coach, or rented one on the continent complete with driver. The elaborate and expensive tour was generally a year in duration. It included extended stays in various European cities. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century it included not only considerable time in Italy but comprehensive study of Roman history, culture art and architecture. While on the continent, especially in Italy, these young sons of the English aristocracy indulged their appetites in alcohol, art and amour.

An extravagant example of the Grand Tour is the “regime imposed on Lord Herbert” which “was a curious mixture of methodical and time-consuming activity spiced with license.” The Earl of Pembroke insisted that his heir receive both serious study as well as a liberal sexual education. Pembroke employed Archdeacon Coxe, a renowned historian in England, as young Herbert’s tutor. Pembroke insisted on a full day of study and physical training for the boy, the schedule was detailed in reports sent back to him three times a month. Herbert was given lessons in mathematics, history, geography and French. His physical training included dancing,

15 Ibid., 18.
16 Ibid., 19.
horsemanship and fencing, “At the same time, Lord Pembrook expected, indeed encouraged, Herbert to lose his virginity and strongly recommended a young mistress of his own who, by repute, had grown into an attractive middle-aged lady.”\textsuperscript{17} The young man, however, is reported to have made his own lesson plan for that particular subject.\textsuperscript{18}

While on the continent on their Grand Tour, the young sons of England’s wealthy class perfected their skills of conspicuous consumption. They purchased artifacts of local history, sculpture and art --antiquities both real and forged-- for shipment home. They took to affecting the attire of the locals, when it was garish enough and suited the tastes of these young aristocrats. This was the singular cause for the creation of Brooks’s. When several of the young men completed their Grand Tour, they returned to England and London affecting the style of the youth in Italy. They became known as “Macaronis,” after the name of a dish that they fancied in Italy and encouraged its preparation when they returned. The young men could be easily identified by their attire. They “wore their hair piled up at the back of their heads, under a very small cocked hat, and their jackets and breeches were distinguished by the tightness of their cut.”\textsuperscript{19} They also affected the use of a singularly long walking stick which had an eye-catching tassel, as well as a large nosegay. A visit to Italy was the important qualification of their loose association as Macaronis.

2.6 Almack’s Club

From the earliest days of the origins of the various London gentlemen’s clubs the custom was to appoint an individual, with requisite experience and decorum, often someone who had been in private service to a member of the aristocracy, to be the Master of the club. This office-holder was given the title “Secretary,” at a later date. The names of some of the most important clubs in London were derived from the name of the first owner or manager of the establishment. This is the case with Almack’s, Brooks’s, Boodle’s and White’s. The majority of

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
these young aristocrats who affected the foppish dress and mannerisms of the Italians were members of Almack’s. William Almack was probably a former valet to the 5th Duke of Hamilton. He retired from private service and purchased two Georgian style houses in Pall Mall, which was already a fashionable section of the West End. In one of the houses, at number 50 Pall Mall, he established a club in 1762. The other house at 49 Pall Mall he turned into a tavern. The original club at 50 Pall Mall was known as Almack’s for a short period. Then Almack put Edwin Boodle, originally the head waiter at Almack’s, in charge of the club that later became known as Boodle’s.

The young aristocrats who called themselves Macaronis were much more boisterous and ostentatious in their manners compared to the staid style of the older members of Almack’s. Finally, the division between the older generation and the young Macaronis came to a head: 27 members of Almack’s joined forces to form a club in a tavern also owned by Almack, across the street from the original club at number 50 Pall Mall. That club became known as Brooks’s. Almack had given the position of manager of that tavern to Brooks, who had been valet to a once-wealthy gentleman who had fallen on hard times. When Brooks’s employer began contemplating retiring to the continent to avoid his creditors, Brooks, in his former position as servant, informed his master that he had purchased all of the man’s markers (outstanding bills) and was thus his major creditor. The old gentleman was stunned. Brooks put his former employer up in one of his homes and became the manager of Almack’s tavern at 49 Pall Mall.

2.7 Boodle’s Club

Brooks’s and Boodle’s are across the street from each other in London today, and they share some of their history with Almack’s. “Edwin Boodle was the head waiter in charge of the original club which Almack established at 50 Pall Mall in 1762. The St James’s Street premises, with the richly decorated Salon, were built for a more sybaritic club, Savoir Vivre.”²⁰ The entry hall is not as wide or long as Brooks’s. It has a similar unsupported stairway up two walls. The

large paintings of thoroughbred horses on all of the walls below and above the staircase make the space even more intimate and warm, while by contrast the entryway to the Athenaeum and Brook’s are grand, yet cool to the visitor. The fireplaces are impressive with white relief sculptured marble mantles. “But the essence of Boodle’s lies not in fripperies but in the famous bow window facing St James’s Street. One old Duke was fond of sitting there because, he said, he enjoyed watching the damned people get wet.” Over one hundred years later Sir Winston Churchill, who had been made an honorary member after World War II, “had only one request when he visited the club for luncheon, accompanied by Lord Cherwell and Harold Macmillan -- that he might sit in the bow window and smoke his cigar; which he did, attracting quite a small crowd outside.”

Boodle’s began as a political club. Its membership consisted mainly of Lord Shelburne’s supporters. Adam Smith and Beau Brummel were counted among its earlier members. However, over time all political interest by the members faded. “The remarkable thing about the club’s 200 years of history is how uneventful they seem to have been.” There were probably various scandals of its members associated with the club, but they are past and were not recorded -- “which may be frustrating for historians but provides mute testimony to what a good club it has been.” A sign of a good club, in other words, was how well its affairs inside the walls of the club remained inside those walls. This is a universal characteristic of the London Clubs, that we will see in their American cousins: the demand for privacy. Club members came to expect several things of their clubs: good companionship, good service, fine food and beverages, few changes in the routine of the club, and privacy.

The thing that “a stranger” (non-member) notices after a while, when he is looking for a particular gentlemen’s club, is that it is not obviously a club. There are no signs stating what business occupies the building. This tradition has been carried across the ocean, not

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
universally, but generally in the United States and Canada, the clubs do not have signs with the name of the club. The Fort Worth Club, incidentally, is a notable exception to this rule.

2.8 Brooks’s

A member of Almack’s, James Hare, recorded the schism between the members of Almack’s. “Brooks opens his new house and invites all or as many as Please to come from the Club in Pall Mall. Almack desires us to stay but as there can be no reason for preferring a bad old house to a good new one, I imagine Brooks will be victorious.”24 James Hare was representative of the founders of Brooks’s. He was later a member of Parliament for over a quarter of a century and Ambassador to Poland between 1779 and 1782. Like many other members of the aristocracy who were part of clubland, Hare also lost a fortune at the gaming table.

Gambling was indeed another reason for clubs. Certainly the original desire was for a place in the city where gentlemen could be comfortable with others of their own kind. Clubs were developed for the purpose of exclusion of the middle class. They were facilities that embraced a certain view of life, a generally conservative political philosophy, although some clubs, like the Reform, came about because its members wanted a more liberal establishment in which to relax. But one of the most important reasons for the development of clubs was the desire of members for high-stakes gambling. Large amounts of idle time were boring for the upper class. They therefore resorted to gambling for entertainment. But they were not content to gamble in public, where they would engage in that activity with perfect strangers. The club offered a congenial, collegial atmosphere to wager with friends, and one of the marks of a gentleman in clubland was his ability to win or lose gracefully.

The original Macaronis who migrated from Boodle’s to Brooks’s had an average age of twenty-five. They were known as much for their “deep play,” such as expensive gambling.

habits, as for their dress and mannerisms. Their numbers grew from 25 to 141 elected by 1765. Their numbers grew to over 330 by the time they transferred their membership from Boodle’s to Brooks’s. Their interest in gambling and their exotic affectations were what set them apart at first. But from these Macaronis came men who would be influential in British government for decades to come.

One of the original twenty-seven Macaronis, the Duke of Portland, was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then Prime Minister of England for a year after the turn of the century. The Duke of Gordon, Lord Keeper of Scotland and his brother Lord William, were both members of Brooks’s. The Duke of Portland was followed by twelve other members of the Club who became Prime Minister of Britain. With all of its ambassadors and members of Parliament and of the Cabinet, Brooks’s had an illustrious political history.

But it was not just a club for gaming, nor just a political club. The club was a place of intellect as well as appetite. Edward Gibbon, author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was a member. Thomas Babington Macaulay, who served not only in Parliament in various positions of service to the Crown, but was also famous as a historian, was elected to Brooks’s in the same year as his election to Parliament. Sir David Hume was not only a famous philosopher, but also Secretary of the embassy in Paris. He too was a member of Brooks’s. Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, was also a member. Brooks’s was more than a political club or one where literati gathered. It was a club for gentlemen who were comfortable with each other’s company. Members enjoyed sharing company with like-minded individuals when they played cards, talked over the dinner table, or sat silently in the library as they drank their port and read the papers. Gentlemen’s clubs were sanctuaries for their members.

Brooks’s, originally built as a tavern, was easily modified to be a gentlemen’s club house. The early members of the eighteenth century needed only a comfortable place to gather to gamble, eat and talk. But as England moved into the height of the Victorian era, Brooks’s was expanded. The debate over expansion was long and tedious. That too is part of clublife. Every
little change, and no change is little in clubland, had to be debated endlessly by the members and voted on by the entire club, sometimes repeatedly in different forms, with different nuances. Finally, in 1889, the members decided to enlarge the clubhouse.

Change was difficult in clubland. Debated for hours, days, even months were decisions about which rooms would permit smoking and in which would allow non-members to enter, whether to allow billiards, whether to change from candles and oil lamps to gas, and then from gas to electricity. Tradition became an end in itself, even or especially when it was being challenged by new conveniences. Victorian ornamentation was added when Brooks’s was enlarged, including two new chimneys. A bar was added, called originally the Stranger’s Room, where footmen and chairmen had once waited for their masters. The addition of a bar proved to be a drastic change. The tradition in the clubs was that each member was provided a monthly bill for his beverage and consumption, and since for years, sometimes centuries, only members were allowed in certain clubs, the purchase of drinks at a bar was beneath consideration. Such changes were resisted strenuously. Often members would resign rather than suffer a change to their habits.

At first “gaming and gossip were the principal amusements” in the clubs, but there were other equally influential causes of clubland. The desire to associate only with one’s peers in a highly stratified and class conscious England was almost as important a cause, if not a more important one, than the desire of the landed gentry to secure good food and lodgings while in London. At first the clubs were non-political, but the combination of large amounts of leisure time, copious amounts of liquor and a congenial atmosphere among one’s peers propelled the conversations by the wealthy gentlemen members toward politics. The clubs were eventually opened to the middleclass professionals: barristers, doctors, members of the business community who could afford to associate with the gentlemen. Between the early 1800s and the mid 1800s several clubs became associated with Whig or Tory politics. White’s,

Regent’s Boodle’s, and the Reform Club were all obviously partisan. Opinions of Brooks’s as a political club vary. The confusion was caused in part by the fact that some of its more famous members were literati who also held political office. Brooks’s has been described by Sir George Trevelyan as “the most famous political club that will ever have existed in London.”

His reason in part came from the fact that thirteen Prime Ministers were members. Boodle’s was renowned for its large number of peers. “It used to be said that, if you called out ‘Carriage for Sir John’ in the smoking room at Boodle’s, at least a dozen members would look up.”

One of the more famous members of Brooks’s at the time of Victoria’s accession to the throne in 1837, was Lord Melbourne, who was also Prime Minister. He was to continue as Prime Minister for four more years. His father Sir Peniston Lamb, later Lord Melbourne, was one of the early members of Brooks’s. Many clubs have had members from the same aristocratic family for over a century.

Another Prime Minister and member of Brooks’s during Victoria’s reign was Lord Palmerston who served in office until his death in 1865. He was in and out of office for over fifty years. In both his public and private life he was a model of propriety and discretion. It was during Lord Palmerston’s political career and the first 30 years of the reign of Queen Victoria that the tenor of Brooks’s began to reflect the Victorian mind-set prevalent almost until the Great War. In the fifty years between Victoria’s ascension and the death in 1880 of Henry Banderet, the Master of the Club, the path had been set for the demeanor of the Club. Banderet was given this tribute published in the *Memorials of Brooks’s* in 1907:

None who did know him will forget the stately courtesy which he showed to every member of the Club, high or low, distinguished or insignificant, old or young; and to him probably is to be attributed the credit of having established in Brooks’s that refined, if somewhat solemn comfort which resembles rather the luxury of a first-class private house than a club, in which it is not surpassed by any in London, and which has led to its being humorously described as ‘like dining in a Duke’s house with the Duke lying dead upstairs.’

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This testimonial for a long-serving Master of Brooks’s during the height of Victoria’s reign gives an insight into the flavor not only of the London Clubs but also of the value system of the Victorian era.

The architecture of Brooks’s is similar to the other mansions on St. James’s Street. In fact with its Victorian embellishments, it looks similar to Boodle’s across the street. The appearance of Brooks’s is deceiving, however, because it has been enlarged several times. The process of expanding the club was excruciating because each measure had to be voted on by the entire club, and then only after considerable discussion had already taken place. The staircase at the end of Brooks’s entryway hall is built against two walls, without support and an ornate wrought iron banister. The floor of the long entry hall is a parquet design of two-color marble. There are several open archways which expose the second floor to the staircase and the end of the entryway. A fireplace stands at the end of the hall opposite the entry door.

To the visitor, the quality which stands out about Brooks’s and Boodle’s is how much like a home these two clubs are. The furnishings are both grand and homelike at the same time. It is easy to feel comfortable there. The thick leather chairs and sofas, which seem to enfold one when he sits down, are part of the ambiance. Another part is the rich texture of the carpets that are very attractive while at the same time appearing somewhat worn, in a way that only the finest quality will allow. There are a few writing tables in the large waiting room on the first floor, with the bay window. The writing paper, note cards with the Club name, wax and stamp are organized in a dark wooden secretary that looks like it has done its job for over a hundred years.29

2.9 The Athenæum Club

One last example of an important English gentlemen’s club in London during the Victorian era is the Athenæum Club. During the Victorian era it was the most important meeting place for the intellectuals and men of influence in the British Empire. It was founded in 1824 by

29 Observations from a tour of Brooks’s in March 2007, hosted by the Secretary.
John Wilson Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty and editor of Boswell’s *Johnson*, with the purpose of being a place where “eminent men in literature, the arts, and sciences and their patrons” could gather in comfortable surroundings and discuss the issues of the day in those respective fields.\(^{30}\) At this club in deep cushioned “club chairs,” over a glass of port in the library, or “between secretive bookshelves, events of enormous importance in scientific, academic, religious and political life have unfolded.”\(^{31}\) It was a sanctuary for debate, but also an uneasy meeting ground for all of the important scientific, academic, religious and political disputes of the Victorian era. Candidates for membership had to be well established and recognized in their professions. Because of the long-standing high reputation of the club which resulted in a lengthy waiting list, a special provision in the rules was developed so that “the Speaker of the House of Commons, cabinet ministers, bishops and archbishops, high court judges, ambassadors, high commissioners and governors-general, and the presidents of the Royal Society, the Royal Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Academy and the British Academy, can be elected immediately without waiting for the normal ballot” which might take between six and twenty years, as with the other prestigious London clubs.\(^{27}\)

Although it was Croker’s objective to establish a club for famous men of letters, who were most often lacking in the right family heritage to gain entry into the other clubs, “Lord Lansdowne warned him that the membership would have to be kept select, ‘as we shall otherwise be overrun with all pretenders to literature and the arts, than whom there is not anywhere a more odious race.’ ”\(^{32}\) The warning by Lord Lansdowne did not seem to be heeded because twelve years after the creation of the club its reputation had become common knowledge. An outspoken member of the club noted that

> all the little crawlers and parasites and gentility-hunters from all corners of London, set out upon the creep; and they creep in at the windows, and they creep down the area steps, and they creep in unseen at the doors, and they creep in under the bishops’ sleeves, and they creep in in peers’ pockets, and

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\(^{31}\) Ibid., vii.

they were blown in by the winds of chance\textsuperscript{33}

Among some of the more famous men of letters who were members of the Athenæum were Sir Richard Burton, Macaulay, Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, Thackeray, Darwin, and Trollope. All had worked at their craft in the library or the drawing room at the Athenæum. The story goes that Trollope would have breakfast at the Athenæum the morning after he had stayed the night in London. On one of those mornings in 1866 while he was composing *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, he chanced to overhear two members of the cloth talking. They were complaining to each other about Trollope’s habit of using the same characters over and over. The author listened for a spell until one of the clergy members stated, “If I couldn’t invent new characters, I wouldn’t write novels at all” as he complained about the recurrence of Mrs. Proudie.\textsuperscript{34} At that point Trollope introduced himself stood up and said: “As for Mrs. Proudie, I will go home and kill her before the week is over.”\textsuperscript{35} Both clergy men were aghast and offered their apologies. But it was to no avail. Mrs. Proudie was subsequently put out of her and the readers’ misery.

The Athenæum never lost its reputation for housing the era’s best minds. Theodore Hook used the club regularly. He wrote the humorous ode to the club’s elevated intellectual reputation,

\begin{quote}
There’s first the Athenæum Club; so wise there’s not a man in it
That has not sense enough for six—in fact that is the plan of it;
The very waiters answer you with eloquence Socratical,
And always place the knives and forks in order mathematical.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

The Athenæum was a somber place, as were many of the old and staid clubs. Yet the Athenæum was not an old club of the seventeenth century. Kipling once said that the Athenæum “was like ‘a cathedral between services’ and in 1858 Punch defined an Imaginary

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 43. \\
\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 44. \\
\end{quote}
conversation as 'Anybody speaking to anybody in the Athenæum'.

The members’ pleasures were not like the pleasures at other clubs. No one came to the Athenæum for “high play” or heavy drinking and gaiety. They came for the calm solitude, to avail themselves of the library, or for a quiet conversation with a peer from whom they might learn something new and interesting.

The Athenæum was also not known for its cuisine. Sir Ralph Richardson was interviewed in the Evening Standard in a short exchange about the food at the Athenæum:

“I said I’d found the athenæum food not too striking. “One should take a box-lunch but drink their wine.” he said [then] paused. “Perhaps you should say “Sometimes one should take a box lunch,”

While it was said that in “the early days the Irish stew and pancakes were praised, the eventual and lasting verdict was that ‘all the arts and sciences are understood there, except gastronomy’.

The Athenæum Club had a large representation of elected government officials and its share of Prime Ministers. But it was not a political club, like White’s, the Carlton or the Reform Club. The Athenæum was a club for the epicurean of ideas and it attracted some of the best minds in England from its inception down to the present day; but like many of the other London Clubs, its membership and reputation reached its zenith during the late Victorian period.

The architecture and appointments of the Athenæum are particularly dramatic, from its white Greek exterior, with blue and white frieze copied from the Parthenon to its dramatic central staircase with a series of double Grecian columns on either side of the great hall leading to the stair case. The exterior of the Athenæum is anachronistic because it calls attention to itself, which is a tendency that London’s other gentlemen’s clubs scrupulously avoided. The construction of the club with its dramatic exterior produced a sensation in clubland, causing consternation for many of its gentlemen members.

The preceding short histories of London’s clubs -- White’s, Almack’s, Boodle’s, Brooks’s

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38 Ibid., 43.
39 Ibid., 44.
and the Athenæum -- are only five examples of the similar stories of the 200 English gentlemen's clubs that existed in London before 1900. All were all populated by gentlemen who were brought up within the social, political, and economic environment of Victorian England. These gentlemen differed little in their politics (except for the members of the Reform Club), and some were more prone to drink, gambling or the other vices than their fellow members. But all were steeped in the standards that they learned in the public schools, both in the classrooms and on the playing fields; in their family pews at the Anglican Church; and at their dinner tables in their manner houses. These values were demonstrated in their business dealings, in their public service, on the battle fields of the Crimea and in their military campaigns in India, Afghanistan and the Sudan. Their Victorian values were almost a part of their DNA. The values described in the next section were cemented to what it meant to be an English gentleman at the height of the second British Empire and the Victorian Era.

2.10 The Victorian Mindset Of The English Gentleman


At its source, Victorianism begins with a problem for the scholar. Queen Victoria’s reign
was a period of tremendous change and diversity. The Victorian era harbored many ideologies—conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. It contained both believers, who fervently believed in part because their doubts were also a constant companion; and unbelievers "because belief and unbelief were so intimately and ingeniously related." The Victorian era contains such arresting contradictions as the twin public announcements in 1874 of the Pope’s infallibility and the publication of Charles Darwin’s *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, “with its humbling conclusion: ‘Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin’.”

Again, according to Himmelfarb, “It was an age of severe manners and morals, and of considerable latitude in behavior.” Various historians have described it as the “age of equipoise,” the age of reform, and the age of revolution. Houghton seems to bring these disparate aspects of Victorianism together in his description of the period as an age of transition. “Never before had men thought of their own time as an era of change from the past to the future.” The old world values and anchors for stability, the medieval world --as Houghton characterizes it-- was dramatically and rapidly giving way to a revolutionarily new way of viewing humankind's relationship to the state, society, religion, work, love, and self.

The impacts of the various obsessions with religion and the occult, morality and respectability, physical and educational improvement; sport and death and the ubiquitous attention to cleanliness in one of the dirtiest cities in the world are all the more intense in western culture because they are set against the backdrop of Britain’s enormous economic power. “Britain was, in the eighteen-fifties, by far the richest country in the world.” The *per capita* income of the English, in 1860, was approximately 30 percent to 60 percent greater than

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42 Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, xi.
France and Germany, respectively. “Whatever the true difference in national incomes, [t]he wealth of Britain was regarded as fabulous [by the rest of the family of nations]; and the prosperity of the wealthier of its citizens was all the more conspicuous for the sharpness of their juxtaposition with the many…who appeared to remain in something like immemorial poverty.”

The tremendous impacts of the morality and cultural standards of the Victorian era on other nations can in part be explained by the British financial preeminence in the world for most of the nineteenth century.

The Victorians were obsessed with religion and the occult. This contradiction did not bother the Victorians who were adept at maintaining contradictory ideas. Methodism and religious dissenters were growing phenomena during the Victorian era. The Second Great Awakening took place at the early stage of the Victorian era and helped set the stage for religious extremes later in the period. “The evangelical revival had also done much for historic dissent. In particular the Independents, or Congregationalists as they were beginning to be known, and the Baptists had been invigorated by the new wave of religious fervor.”

Women, especially, longed for a personal relationship with God. While personal decorum and self-control were cardinal virtues for the Victorian, it was not uncommon for women and young men to want to be moved not just emotionally but physically by their religious experiences. While maintaining an outward façade of reserved respectability, Victorians wanted to feel everything important to them intensely and emotionally. This is another example of the contradictions inherent in British Victorian culture.

Many Victorian Englishmen embraced the Rousseauian idea of sensibility. According to Mill: “Whatever a man felt was true was credited to the imagination or intuition, which was considered ‘to be the voice of Nature and of God, speaking with an authority higher than our

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45 Ibid. It is interesting to note that the huge amount of British investment in foreign, especially the American and Canadian markets only accounts for a 6 percent overall growth in Britain’s “Income from Abroad” as a percent of Total National Income between 1841 and 1891. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, 78.
Sensibility was raised to an Apollonian level by the Victorians and it caused them to be very much interested in heightening their experience in many areas. As believers, they wished to feel the spirit of the Holy Ghost wash over them. As men of courage they wished to experience the true knowledge of their bravery through the extremes of war. As believers in the efficacy of romantic love they wanted to feel the tremendous flood of emotions that were part of the infatuation and first stages of love. So many of their notions of different concepts like love, honor, and duty, were idealized and dogmatized to the level of “Platonic Forms” because the Victorians were pushed by their inner doubts and fears.

Too much credit can be given, though, to the religious character of the Victorian era. Public displays of religious behavior, church attendance being one example, can also be accounted for by the Victorians’ need to exude respectability. The Victorian’s dedication to Christianity did not stop them from giving considerable attention to the occult. They attended séances and fortune tellers in large numbers and many believed in astrology. It is widely known that both Mary Todd Lincoln and Queen Victoria dabbled in the mystical. The Queen was fond of Marie Corelli’s books which had occult and theosophical themes. The Queen also attended “Spiritualist séances” after the death of her husband Prince Albert. Mrs. Lincoln attended séances regularly, after the death of her son, and it was well known that the President was present at one séance in the White House. Finally Christian Victorian England had no difficulty being intolerant and un-Christian toward those with different religions than mainstream Protestantism. Most of those who attended Anglican service on that famous religious-census Sunday in 1851 generally considered Quakers, Mormons, Muslims, Unitarians and Roman Catholics to be heathen or at least misguided.

It was an era plagued with doubt. According to John Stewart Mill the changes in so many areas of mankind’s concerns were the cause for considerable doubt:

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47 Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, 150.
...and hence the multitude of thoughts only breeds increase of uncertainty. Those who should be the guides to the rest, see too many sides to every question. They hear so much said, or find that so much can be said, about everything, that they feel no assurance of the truth of anything.  

Doubt for the Victorians never reached the scale of terminal skepticism exemplified by Scottish philosopher David Hume. It was the medium in which the Victorian virtues were grown that gave them the “severe,” enthusiastic, dogmatic and sincere attributes so prevalent in the Victorian atmosphere. This sense of doubt made the Victorian embrace his value system all that much more fervently, as if his enthusiasm, his dogmatic attachment to the standards that he had chosen would somehow over-ride and defeat the doubt that lurked somewhere just beyond his conscious grasp.

According to Houghton, “the Victorian mind in general was committed to the concept of absolute law.” The Victorian believed that universal laws governed the nature of law, politics, morality, aesthetics, history, economy, and education. The Victorian was, in a word, the personification of the dogmatist. Yet, the Victorian was a dogmatist that harbored contradictory beliefs in several areas. “The Victorians reacted to their age with hope and dismay, optimism and anxiety.” Because the Victorian mind was made rigid by his dogmatism, it embraced different extreme positions.

It was also an age in which anti-intellectualism was hitched in tandem with a strong belief that education in the classics and the manly art of sport were considered the bulwark of the Empire. The character of a gentleman was enhanced by both. He was a gentleman by nature and by birth, but he built his character through an education in just those arts that had no practical or material use in society: Greek, Latin, and ancient history. This curriculum demonstrated to the gentleman that virtues --which he was called upon by birth to embrace-- were static, absolute and immutable. His character, and eventual service to the Empire, would be developed through the manly art of competition upon the playing fields of the public schools.

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52 Ibid., 144.
53 Ibid., 160.
The emphasis on sports and on sportsmanship was a trait nurtured on the playing fields of Eton and at Oxford and Cambridge. These traits were absorbed by the gentlemen who played on those fields, and who later took their love of English sports and their belief in sportsmanship with them to the American and Canadian West.

The Victorian believed in principal, if not religiously, that “the idle mind is the devil’s workshop.” Thus they had a lust for personal improvement. “Public lecturers flourished abundantly, across the gamut from religion to ribaldry; they were given by societies and institutions, by itinerant celebrities and professionals… and by local worthies.”

Music took on a mantel of virtue because it was seen as uplifting for Victorians. Attendance at Sunday brass band concerts “[was] soccer’s [middleclass] musical counterpart in every respect.”

Private libraries became more popular, with subscriptions increasing by the upper class. Public libraries multiplied thanks to the philanthropic efforts of both institutions and individuals. At the same time the Victorian’s love of literature grew. After all, a book in the hand satisfied the double imperative of keeping the hands and mind occupied. The Victorian era created “a mass-market for cheap literature, and an unprecedented explosion of the newspaper press.”

Travel books became quite popular, which had an impact on British investment and immigration beginning in the 1870s. Dozens of journals and magazines were established appealing to the growing variety of interests of Victorian men and women.

The Victorian era gave birth to a severe set of moral standards for personal and public behavior that can be summed up in the word “respectability.” “Respectability was a function of character . . . the moral social attributes of a person-- but [also] a more specific meaning as well.” According to Himmelfarb, “It was a written testimony by an employer of the qualities and

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54 Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, 212.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 225.
habits of his employee--his industriousness, honesty, punctuality, sobriety." While it was certainly possible to fail to live up to those standards, and many a gentleman emigrant fell well below the standard of sobriety, they were still the standards of the day.

At the beginning of the era, Victorians were ambivalent about work. The purpose of a gentleman's education was not to prepare him for employment, which was beneath a gentleman. Gentlemen, rather were educated to do nothing, but to do it with style. Their education was to equip the gentleman for the tasks of a gentleman: to serve his country and his class. That could be as a member of the government, the clergy, or the army, but not as a shopkeeper or an artisan. His calling as a gentleman was service, but not but not physical labor or work in the common sense of the term. However, as the industrial revolution created a plethora of new professions and a bourgeoning middle class, the notion of work changed. Victorians were at first conflicted about this new nature of work, the result of which could be a tremendous increase in one's fortune. They came to embrace a new relationship to the concept of work, in large part because it fit the Calvinist ideal, and while staunchly Anglican, these Victorian gentlemen came to be affected by the glorification of work as a measure of one's self-worth. They also embraced this new concept of work, because if successful, second sons could dramatically improve their economic and thus social standing in the world. Work changed in the minds of Victorians because work could now produce wealth, well beyond its former, pre-industrial revolution potentialities. In the later stages of the Victorian era, work took on a religious meaning. Himmelfarb quotes Thomas Carlyle as proof:

_Laborare est Orare, Work is Worship. . . All true Work is sacred; in all true hand-labour there is something of divineness. . . No man has worked, or can work, except religiously; not even the poor day-laborer, the weaver of your coat, the sewer of your shoes._

The Victorian ambivalence toward work mirrored, the changing attitude of the English toward leisure and sports. "In no respect was the Victorian Age more revolutionary than in all

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58 Ibid.
that related to leisure and recreation. When it began there were the privileges of the few, but by the end of the nineteenth century they had been widely extended to other classes of the community.\textsuperscript{60} Besides the theater and concerts, which had been popular for centuries, sport took on more meaning during the Victorian era. Sports that had some vestige from the era of the landed gentry: hunting and horse racing continued to be popular. The real change was the proliferation of team and individual sports such as cricket, rowing, squash golf and tennis. Bicycling became a national craze because it provided not only exercise, but also an inexpensive means of transportation. The Victorians came to see exercise as important for the body as religion was for the soul.

Cleanliness is another virtue of the Victorian, about which Himmelfarb has more to say than Houghton. “Cleanliness was next to Godliness” for the Victorian because it called upon the individual’s discipline to maintain a clean home and personal appearance when so much in the environment was working against the attainment of that virtue. As proof of the English Victorian’s fixation with cleanliness Himmelfarb offers the observation of Europeans toward the English. “Foreigners regarded this obsession with cleanliness as yet another English eccentricity. It was not entirely in admiration that the German historian Heinrich Treitschke observed: “The English think soap is civilization.”\textsuperscript{61}

Another characteristic of the English in the Victorian age is their sense of superiority over all other races and nationalities. From the standpoint of a hierarchy of different races, the English were not particularly astonished by Darwin’s findings. “Had not Tennyson spoken for all of them [Victorian Englishmen] by stating, ‘Even the black Australian, dying, dreams he will return a white’?\textsuperscript{62} The combination of the second British Empire in the Middle East and Asia and Victorian virtues at home helped to make English gentlemen insufferably smug in their sense of self-righteousness and superiority. Kipling captured that characteristic Victorian view

\textsuperscript{60} Sir Charles Petrie, \textit{The Victorians} (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1962), 160.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. See Also Jerrey Richards, “Victorian Values Revisited,” \textit{Encounter}, March 1987.
\textsuperscript{62} A.N. Wilson, \textit{The Victorians} (London: Hutchinson, 2002), 376.
with his famous poem calling on Englishmen to "Take Up the White Man's Burden."

Himmelfarb links work and cleanliness with the other values of "orderliness, obedience, thrift, sexual propriety-- [because they] centered in the family." "Respectability," one historian observed, "became a family enterprise; its Achievement depended upon cooperation from the entire membership and an understanding that collective reputation took precedence over personal preference". Victorian virtues were well represented up and down the economic spectrum in England. These virtues were most notably demonstrated, though, by the wealthy gentlemen, the aristocracy of Britain and their female relatives. Clublife provides a mirror into the Victorian virtues subscribed to by the members.

Clublife existed in the foreground in Victorian London. The once wealthy country gentlemen were finding new wealth by marrying into the nouveaux riches. The landed gentry who were lucky enough to be living on the interest on their interest were in the distinct minority. Second sons and Dukes rubbed elbows at the card tables in the London clubs. A growing number of gentlemen were making large returns on their investments overseas. The financial background of London seemed relatively stable. "One thing....did remain unchanged throughout the whole of the Victorian Age, and that was the pre-eminence of the City of London as the financial centre of the world. British investments abroad reached a figure of almost astronomical proportions, and in one way or another the city administered these vast assets...."

2.11 Connections Between England And America

The stage has partially been set for the English gentleman, the second son or remittance man and British investment to go west where they will influence the American and Canadian West in a concert that is more than the sum of its parts. That will be the subject of the
next seven chapters of this study. But an explanation of the circumstances that propelled Britain’s second sons and a significant share of British investment to leave the country for the real and imagined financial opportunities in the storied North America West will be dealt with later in this chapter.

The British role in American life did not spring into existence in the 1870s. From colonial times forward British politics, values and finances have played an important role in helping to shape America. The American Revolution stalled these influences for a time, but they continued because America was a young country in need of credit, and British investors could and did provide that credit. There was a second diminution of British financial influence during the War of 1812, but that too was overcome by British investors a short time after the Peace of Paris. “Important British influences in the United States persisted in the first half of the nineteenth century.” This thesis by Ritcheson runs counter to the long-held position of many renowned American historians. The national myth quickly grew during and after the American Revolution that: “the paramount interest in the history of the world rests on the colonies held by Britain in North America.” Americans were brought to the belief that our unique form of representative democracy and capitalism were peculiarly American, unblemished by the corrupt monarchical society of Britain and the countries on the Continent. Never mind that the Enlightenment ideas which were embedded in the Declaration of Independence were from the pen of John Locke, an English philosopher and part-time political appointee. Never mind that the capitalist system that America embraced with the explosion of the market economy was the brain child of Adam Smith, a Scotsman.

The development of this belief in our unique and unsullied American political and economic system was no accident. Three American historians had much to do with the development of that ideology: George Bancroft, Francis Parkman and Frederick Jackson

68 Ibid., 576.
Turner. Bancroft wrote that America had taken precedence over the entire world because of: “the practice and the defense of the equal rights of man.” Bancroft attributed to America’s unique position, separated as it was by three thousand miles from the corruptions of Britain and the Continent, a whole list of blessings of our own making: “Prosperity, even-handed justice, invention, the enjoyment of one’s own labor, and domestic tranquility.” Bancroft concludes his assessment with the belief that came to be shared by many Americans. “Our constitution, fixed in the affections of the people, from whose choice it has sprung, neutralizes the influence of foreign principles, and fearlessly opens an asylum to the virtuous, the unfortunate, and the oppressed of every nation.”

Americans became preoccupied with American progress, and prosperity. They imagined, then eventually gained real financial and political preeminence over the old ways of the British and European monarchies. Francis Parkman in Pioneers of France in the New World stated of France’s ambitions in North America that “the Bourbon power, that compound of ‘Feudalism, Monarchy, and Rome,’ not with Great Britain but with her northern colonies, collectively [is] ‘the most conspicuous representative’ of the natural antagonism between ‘Liberty and Absolutism, New England and France.’”

These views were embellished and repeated by many American historians to the degree that these ideas became part of the American ideology, a way of making sense of America’s privileged, isolated and untainted place in the world. Yet even as such views flourished in the early-to mid-nineteenth century, Britain’s influence on America continued and continued to grow through common religions, the popularity of British historians in America, and the influence of the success of the British Empire on American military and economic futurists of the time.

The Congregationalist Church of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the...
Episcopalian of Virginia and Maryland all demonstrated the continued influence of religion of
English origin in America.\textsuperscript{73} Correspondence between the religious leaders in these
denominations flowed across the Atlantic to their American brothers in faith. “The enormous
popularity of nineteenth century English historians in the United States suggests, at the very
least, some continuing interest in, even respect for Britain’s past.”\textsuperscript{74} The writings of Macaulay,
Buckle, Lecky and Green were more popular than Parkman, Bancroft or any other American
historian.

The development of the “Teutonic” school in American history came to the conclusion
that there was “a common Anglo-American racial stock and shared institutions.”\textsuperscript{75} By the 1880s
the idea of American uniqueness had been replaced by several American historians who now
saw “The War for Independence itself”\textsuperscript{76} as a “Saxon revolution, and conducted with the
sobriety, with the dignity, with the love of law and order that has ever marked the national
uprising of the Saxon race.”

The proposition that America was the recipient of British religious, political and
economic institutions became generally accepted by the members of the Imperial school by the
1890s. The publication of Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan’s \textit{The Influence of Sea Power upon
History, 1660-1783} united in Teddy Roosevelt’s mind the idea that American and British
interests were far more similar than different. In reflecting about the differences between Britain
and America for approximately a hundred years following the American Revolution, T.R. wrote
to Rudyard Kipling that “the policies of the United States and Great Britain toward one another,
and toward much of the outside world, were sufficiently alike to give a touch of humor to the
virtuous honor expressed by each at that kind of conduct of the other which most closely

\textsuperscript{73} David Hackett Fisher, \textit{Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America} (New York: Oxford University
\textsuperscript{74} Ritcheson, \textit{British Role in American Life}, 578.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 579.
\textsuperscript{76} Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert. History, 1, p. 2.

### 2.12 British Investment In The American And Canadian West

Anglo-American trade and investment were regenerated following the American Revolution. "As early as 1791 English capitalists had become interested in the securities of the United States, and by 1801 the British banking house of Baring Brothers had cashed the coupons of over four million pounds sterling of American debt."\footnote{Herbert O. Brayer, The Influence of British capital on the Western Range-Cattle Industry" The Journal of Economic History, 9, Supplement: The Tasks of Economic History (1949), 86.} The War of 1812 only slowed the trend of British investment in America. But it was the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) that induced a dramatic change in the British and American economic equation. American wheat began to displace English wheat. "The result in the British Isles was a decline in agriculture with a serious dislocation of farm labor and production."\footnote{Ibid.} Meanwhile, British traders had entered the cattle market in the Americas. English importers in Lima, Peru developed a lucrative trade in California hides before 1848. Both the Hudson’s Bay Company and its subsidiary the Puget Sound Agricultural Society, were raising cattle in Oregon and trading with Americans and the British who had settled there.\footnote{Peter Newman, the famous biographer of the Bay Company refers to it as the Hudson’s Bay Company in his three volume history. Some other historians and Canadians call it the Hudson Bay Company. However, company representatives and the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives in Manitoba retain the possessive form.}

In the British Isles "the British capitalist of the Victorian Era, his bank tally swollen from the rewards of centuries of mercantilism, industrialism, economic imperialism, intensified his global search for lucrative investment rewards."\footnote{Gressley Gene M. “Broker to the British: Francis Smith and Company,” Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXXXI, (July 1967 - April 1968): 7.} By the mid 1870s the British investor had sunk approximately 1.2 billion pounds sterling in land, mines and other projects throughout the world. But during this same period the British investor rarely invested at home, for the simple...
reason that “speculation in India or America promised more pecuniary gain.”

In England, besides the small amount of local investment, there was a decline in technological innovation, and lack of new markets. Against the world economy the British economy was beginning its long decline.

Coupled with the large amount of capital available, the impetus of the British investor to sink his capital in foreign ventures was the legal innovation of the “limited liability company.” Investors saw the limited liability company as their way to make huge profits while keeping their risk at the limit of the funds that they had invested. Investors had developed the habit over the past few decades of investing in foreign lands and foreign projects. That habit plus the growing knowledge of the American and Canadian West from travel accounts, pamphlets, books, magazine and newspaper articles of sportsmen, the aristocracy and its second sons all traveling and making observations about “the colonies” provided abundant information to the curious English gentlemen with money to invest. “During the late sixties and throughout the seventies British men of influence and means traveled throughout the West and noted the potentialities of the cattle trade.”

At a time when the British were getting primed to increase their investment in America generally, and in western beef in particular, a double tragedy promoted that investment. “At this juncture disaster struck the livestock industry in both America and Great Britain. Virulent disease appeared in the herds of both: Splenic or “Texas” fever in the American West and hoof-and-mouth disease in England and Scotland.” The impact in Texas was an effort by the northern states to quarantine Texas beef, while the herds north of Texas grew rapidly in size.

The problems with hoof-and-mouth in England and Scotland were much more serious than those in Texas. The increasing population of Great Britain had come to depend on imported cattle from Europe. However in the 1860’s the European cattle were struck by

\[\text{82 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{83 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{84 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{85 Brayer, 88.}\]
anthrax. The English therefore had to reject all beef from the Continent. However, the disease came into England by way of Ireland with devastating results. The British were forced to slaughter “tens of thousands of head . . . in a desperate attempt to combat the spread of the malady.” As a result the price of beef went through the roof. The only thing that stopped a beef famine in England was the importation of “large amounts of store cattle from Ireland” and “thousands of barrels of corned and dried beef from America.”

As a result “the British were beef hungry [and] they had the money to buy meat in any market, and as the great creditor nation they were at a distinct advantage in purchasing livestock in America and in the rest of the world.” Now the British were in a beef-buying mood, and in an investment mood, at just the time when America was increasing its supply of cattle. Reports were circulating in England and Scotland of tremendous earnings by the Scottish American Investment Company as early as 1870. The Scottish American Mortgage Company which had established the Prairie Cattle Company in West Texas in 1880 also reported high earnings. “The fantastic earnings reported by these and other companies during the 1870s prompted the British government to send a Parliamentary commission to the United States to investigate the range cattle industry; and when the two commissioners, Albert Pell and Clare Read, reported in 1880 that profits of 33 per cent could be expected in American ranching, the supply of investment money increased.”

According to one of the many articles written at the time about the British investment in the cattle industry, “1882 was the peak year in the investment boom. There was a feverish investment of British money in all directions; in August, 1882, the Economist reported that 1,581 new companies had been registered in the previous 12 months.” Texas and the cattle industry became a central focus of the British investor in the 1880s.

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86 Ibid., 87.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 “Scottish Capital Abroad,” Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine, 476.
The two books that probably had the most impact on British investment in the cattle business in America were *The Beef Bonanza; or, How to Get Rich on the Plains* by General James S. Brisbin, published in 1882, and *Cattle-Raising on the Plains of North America* by Walter Baron von Richthofen, published in 1885. While other English authors wrote travel books, and magazine articles about ranches in the American and Canadian West, Brisbin and von Richthofen wrote “how to” manuals for the novice and for the investor. Both authors give extensive lists of how some number of calves purchased at a certain price would yield dividends each year until an investment of $5,000 yields $4,600 in the second year, $6,800 in the third year, $10,200 in the fourth year, and another 14,600 in the fifth year.91 In his chapter IV titled “Great Lands in the Southwest,” Brisbin waxes eloquent about the huge opportunities in the Texas cattle industry:

I have often been asked to write something about the great cattle herds of Texas. As yet we have but few herds in the West, the business being too new. An owner with 10,000 or 12,000 head in Wyoming or Montana would be considered a large grower, but such a person in new Mexico or Texas a few years ago, when I was there, would have been called but a small herder. . . . The enormous total of 3,800,000 cattle in one state may well excite our astonishment. The increase each year was 750,000 calves. . . . The sale of beeves [from the King Ranch alone] amounted to from $75,000 to $80,000 per year.92

Baron von Richthofen’s book was similar to *The Beef Bonanza*, which “emphasized the cheap land, fabulous profits, and over-all financial success which were reputedly available in the West.”93 In his chapter 9 titled “Some of the Largest Herds”, the Baron tallies the number of head in Texas. “Texas alone is credited with having 40,000,000 head of cattle running on its prairies, although hundreds of thousands are driven yearly north to replenish the herds of the other states.”94

92 Ibid., 68-69.
93 Ibid., xi.
But the Baron and Brisbin were relative late-comers to the promotion of the cattle industry. Major C. M. Strickland wrote *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West; or The Experience of an Early Settler* which was published in 1853. While Major Strickland did not pursue the cattle trade, his book --like many others of this type-- pricked the interest of British arm-chair investor/explorers, and paved the way for the British officers who retired following the Reil Rebellion to begin to ranch on the Canadian Great Plains. William A Baillie-Grohman’s *Camps in the Rockies, Being A Narrative of Life on the Frontier, and Sport in the Rocky Mountains, with an Account of the Cattle Ranches of the West*, published in London in 1882, provided the investor with further reason to invest in the Americas.

Besides the travel motif and pointedly promotional books of the Baron and Brisbin, the governments of both Canada and the United States began promoting immigration and investment in farming and ranching on the Great Plains. Savvy British investors could also secure copies of the United States Census for 1870 and 1880, or the famous *Texas First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, statistics, and History, 1887-1888*. The railroad interests in both Canada and the United States produced their own brochures and pamphlets promoting their low shipping rates, great investment opportunities, “mild climate” and the availability of cheap or free land.

A typical immigrant handbook published by the state of Texas in 1878 described how an enterprising individual could become wealthy in the cattle industry:

> The cost of keeping cattle is about $1.50 per head, or $1,500 per thousand. Four men, with twelve to sixteen horses, will tend a herd of 1,500. The profits are as follows: Beeves per head, cost $15; running expenses, $1.50; sell at $22, with a profit of 32 per cent. Profit on cows costing $13.50 per head; cost of keeping, $1.50-$15. Increase of calves, 75 per cent, worth $5 per head. Net profit, 23 percent. On a mixed herd the beeves would pay expenses, and the increase will double itself in three years. A discount is made on a herd of 10 per cent, for losses. The profit on a mixed herd is about 20 percent.\(^{95}\)

Rarely did the estimates such as the one above include the cost of land. Rarely, too, did cattle

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\(^{95}\) Author unknown, *Southwestern* (Austin, Texas: State of Texas, 1878), 120.
Ranchers in the 1870’s concern themselves with purchasing land. In the 1880 Census calculations for the stocking of a successful ranch required “a cash outlay of $12,350 for stocking and equipping a ranch of thirty thousand acres, but the calculations made no allowance for either purchase or lease of the land.”\textsuperscript{96} It is difficult to determine what impact such pamphlets had on British investors or on British immigrants considering the cattle industry. “Nevertheless, cattle outfits soon swarmed over the free grasslands” in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{97}

It was difficult, at first, for the British investor to understand how the cattle industry in America could be so inexpensive to enter and so lucrative in its returns. When faced with so many documents promoting the American and Canadian cattle industry, though, the weight of that information became overwhelming, and overwhelmingly attractive. The attractiveness of the cattle business was enhanced by the opportunities that the land occupation system in America allowed for the business to flourish. With a very small investment, a rancher “was free to use his remaining resources to purchase, at from three to eight dollars a head . . .the hardy Texas Longhorns [that] were able to stand the long drives to their ultimate markets . . .Thus, with little overhead, the cost of ranging an eight-dollar steer did not exceed during this period, fifty cents per year.”\textsuperscript{98} Thus the British investor was primed to move into the lucrative cattle industry in Canada and the United States for several important reasons:

- The British investor had a long history of investing in foreign projects, especially in the Americas
- The British investor was reluctant to invest locally, due to the poor rate of return
- The British investor witnessed the growing demand for American beef in England during the outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease in the 1870s
- The British investor was being encouraged by the deluge of books, pamphlets,

newspaper and magazine articles written by British and American individuals, the Canadian and American government and the railroad interests in both countries, about the great opportunities to be gained from ranching on the Great Plains. The economic influence of Britain on the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century was a continuation, in some ways, of British mercantilism that had been set free by Adam Smith's new ideas. America provided Britain with raw materials, as she had done in colonial times, and Britain continued to provide manufactured imports of finished products to the United States market. “Obviously, the pre-revolutionary pattern of Anglo-American trade still held and the scale was expanding.”

British financial investments in the United States also continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. “The flow of British capital into private American bank stock, state securities, and Federal government bonds was equally significant. By 1818 nearly one-quarter of the public debt of the United States was held in England.”

Thus, it should not be viewed with surprise that British investors would dramatically increase their flow of pound sterling to the United States in the last quarter of the 1800s, since their investments had been growing in that direction for decades. But, something had changed in Britain that made British investment in western American and Canadian cattle and mining interests much more attractive to the potential investors. “In 1880 the London Economist reported that annual new capital subscriptions had almost doubled in amount between 1877 and 1880.” The amount of capital was increasing dramatically in British businessmen’s and the landed gentry’s hands at a time when the return on local investments were in the single digits. “Just at the time the cattle industry in America was proving such a profitable venture for both American and British individuals, an enormous accumulation of capital was taking place in

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99 Ibid.
100 Ritcheson, 586.
101 Ibid.
2.13 Why Britannia’s Second Sons Went West

British gentlemen were both born and made. They were born into wealthy titled families, and they were made in the “public schools” which they attended. While they were born into wealth, second sons were subjected to the legal restraints against division of land holdings. The oldest male heir, by law, was to receive the estate. If the family was exceptionally rich a military post could be purchased for the second son. But this often did not suit the individual who could not live at the level to which he had become accustomed as a youth.

English public school education did not really bestow much in the way of useful training for very many professions: the clergy, the bar after years at Oxford or Cambridge or the military were the principal avenues open to a graduate of the public schools such as Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Harrow or Charterhouse. While “the public schools . . .were easily one of the Victorians’ most venerated institutions . . .the schools were admired more as ‘character-building’ institutions than as places of scholarship” or vocational training. The public schools were the institutions that taught Britain’s well-born youth stoicism, self-reliance, and moral virtues, all the values of Victorianism.

The obvious question then arises: Why would these well educated young gentlemen, after their Grand Tour, after being chosen because of the father’s membership to join one, or more, of the prestigious clubs in London, choose to emigrate? The answer is not simple. Sometimes the young gentlemen emigrated due to economic necessity. Their debts at the club gambling table might become too large to manage. “There were the ‘broken-down’ or ‘reduced’ gentlemen who had large families but small incomes, and the liberally educated schoolboys who were unable to find suitable employment in an increasingly industrialized Britain” Army

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104 Patrick Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1981 ), 4.
105 Ibid., 6.
officers who were reduced to half-pay pensions following the Napoleonic Wars quickly realized that they could not maintain their standard of extravagance and clublife on half pay. This became the reason for many English military officers to seek their fortunes in the Canadian and American West. Several of these former military officers found their way into the ranks of the Royal Mounted Police during the Riel Rebellion in Western Canada. When the Rebellion was put down and the British officers again faced redundancy or retirement on half pay, several of them saw the economic opportunities of Western Canada. A few tried their hand at ranching, and thus was born the beginnings of the Cattle Kingdom of western Saskatchewan and Alberta.

While businessmen in England were becoming richer due to the industrial revolution and thriving market economy, there were at the same time declining incomes for the landed gentry. These factors conspired to push the second born sons of England’s aristocracy to take a chance of making their fortune in the American or Canadian West. Hundreds of Englishmen, Scots and more than a few Irish and Welsh made their mark in the American and Canadian West without leaving their homelands. These were the investors in American and Canadian ranching, mining, railroads and other investment opportunities which were presented to them by advertisements. American agents seeking British pounds sterling to capitalize ranches, mines and railroads came to the London Clubs and Edinburgh, Scotland in the 1870s and 1880s.

The result of the accumulation of wealth in Britain was an increase in opportunities for foreign investment at significantly larger rates of return for British investors. According to Clark C. Spence, an expert on British investments in the American mining industry:

The period between 1860 and the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 saw the pound sterling moving into even the most isolated corners of the world, seeking, amoeba-like, to reproduce itself with a minimum of effort. Among other areas to feel its impact and to reap its benefits was the American West, particularly the mineral frontier.¹⁰⁶

According to records from the Board of Trade in the forty years ending in 1900 there were 518 British joint-stock companies which were incorporated with a total investment of approximately

77,705,751 pounds sterling.\textsuperscript{107} Similarly large amounts of capital were investing in ranching and railroads in North America during this time as well.

The agents who encouraged these transactions, mentioned above, were derisively known as “Scadders” which was a term coined by Charles Dickens for an individual “who worked his claims or those of someone else with his jaw instead of his pick.”\textsuperscript{108} The interests of the Scadders were often aided by articles in the Fortnightly Review, the popular press, and other financial journals which praised the opportunities for high returns on investments in American and Canadian mines and ranches.

In an article written in the \textit{Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature: Science and Arts} in 1874 entitled: “Adventure of a Digger in Colorado” the author told the story of how after saving a miner’s life, the miner gave him directions to a location of good diggings. The author explained: “I followed the counsel given me, and worked the gulch, which by the bye, I proposed to call Annabella Laurentine Gulch, after my eldest daughter; but which the people about, and even the county surveyor would call Ugly Barney Gulch. I took many thousand dollars from it that summer, and then, sold it to a Company for many thousand dollars more.”\textsuperscript{109} In another article in the \textit{Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature: Science and Arts}, 1880, which was also anonymous, the author informs the reader of the huge profits to be made in Colorado ranching:

\begin{quote}
In Colorado there is a class of highly educated men engaged in the cattle-trade. The men are sun-burned, and wear flannel shirts while on the ranch; but none need mistake them for common or ignorant persons. They are in very many cases gentlemen of culture and standing. One gentleman --mine host-- had been in the royal navy of great Britain; but he now likes the billowy prairies better than the deep blue sea. Two young Englishmen, educated in Germany, herd their own flocks, and live temporarily in a dug-out. . . . The ranches are on government land. Anybody can graze their herds thereon. The man wishing to engage in stock business in Colorado buys so many head from a Texas herd, from men just in on the trail --that is, who have just driven a herd up from Texas. . . . The yearlings average nine dollars a piece; for two years old and cows thirteen dollars; for three-year old steers fifteen dollars.\textsuperscript{110}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Chambers’s Journal} (1884): 55-56.
The cattle can then be sold for two or three times that much at the rail head. In this way British investors received considerable information about business opportunities in Colorado.

A typical article in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1800 by J. W. Barclay gave a glowing report of the opportunities available in Colorado for mining, farming and ranching. Barclay proclaimed: “As the rage for gold [in California] began to abate, it was discovered that the mineral resources of Colorado far exceeded even the first glowing reports. Veins of silver ore were found cropping out on the surface of the mountains. The mineral veins already discovered extend for hundreds of miles along the ranges of the Rocky Mountains.” In that same article Barklay extols the opportunities in Colorado: “The situation of Colorado is peculiarly favourable to agriculture and stock raising.”

The second sons of wealthy English gentlemen read these articles in the comfort of their London club, their membership paid for by their fathers. They may have looked up from the journal at the scene beyond the window of the morning room, at an England divided into the few very rich and the mass of terribly poor, and see little opportunity for their own future. “The great survey of 1872 disclosed that four fifths of the land in the United Kingdom was owned by less than 7,000 individuals.” These second sons would been aware that opportunities in England for advancement were extremely limited when only “300 or so families who possessed a title, an income from between £3,000 a year and anything up to and over £50,000 a year, a country seat and probably another house in London” out of a total population in the United

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112 Ibid., 119.
113 Actually the view from any of the windows of the clubs in St James’s Square, Pall Mall and Regent’s Street would not have provided a glimpse of the massive poverty in London and the United Kingdom because the “rich and poor were kept apart in Victorian England to an unimaginable extent. The poor simply were not allowed into Piccadilly.” A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002), 383.
Kingdom of 21 million in 1871.\textsuperscript{115} There was a rising middle-class in England, the rising bourgeoisie was a reality. The second sons of country gentlemen did not aspire to join the middle class. The closest thing to a life that they could understand would be to become owners of a large amount of land and cattle in America or Canada and rule over that domain as their fathers and grandfathers had ruled over their estates. Those are some of the reasons why many English second sons became determined to take their chances to make their fortunes in the American and Canadian West. They were being pushed out of the United Kingdom by the lack of opportunity and the relatively closed system for advancement and drawn to North America by the many popular travel narratives and books and articles on getting rich quick in the cattle business.\textsuperscript{116}

There are dozens of examples, but none which exemplifies the pluck and resolve of those second sons as the life of Moreton Frewen, which will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five. For now it is enough to say that Moreton Frewen lived life large and is one of the most famous of the second sons who sought his fortune in the American West. He was somewhat typical of those Britishers who lost in their effort to win a fortune in the American West. But in his life in the West was the stuff of countless stories that gave the British immigrant and player in the cattle and mining industry in the American West their larger than life reputations.

Before we follow other British immigrants and investments to the American and Canadian West, it is first appropriate to examine the transplantation of the British coffee house to America’s shore, and its evolution into British-American gentlemen’s clubs. The similarities of the American colonial coffee houses to those which developed first in London are worth noting.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{116} “This appearance of a closed caste was deceptive.” Within the aristocracy... were enormous variations of wealth, outlook, and social origin.” Nash, \textit{Aristocracy}, 17. Yet only 7,000 people out of 21million owned land in the entire United Kingdom in 1871. The rich became much richer during the Beef Bonanza and most could afford to lose when the bottom fell out of that market in the 1890s. Many second sons lost everything that they had worked so hard to build in their adopted homes across the Atlantic.
The evolution in America of gentlemen’s clubs modeled on clubland in London, from coffee houses, and from their predecessors in London, also led to the development of the British style gentlemen’s clubs in towns and cities of the American West: Fort Worth, Denver, Cheyenne, and in the Canadian towns and cities of Montreal, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Victoria. The gentlemen’s clubs in these communities grew in part because of the influence of British entrepreneurs in and around those communities, and because of the influence of British investments in the cattle industry and mining interests in those areas.

It is undoubtedly the case that individuals from Britain, who were members of or familiar with the London gentlemen’s clubs, immigrated to such regions as North Texas, Colorado, and Wyoming in the United States; and Swift Current/Regina [Saskatchewan], Calgary [Alberta], and Victoria [British Columbia] in Canada. It is also a fact that businessmen, ranchers and mine owners who came to those communities from other parts of the United States or Canada, very often had experience with gentlemen’s clubs back east in New York, Philadelphia, Boston or Chicago in the United States; or Montreal and Winnipeg in Canada, and wished to transplant that kind of club to their community in the American or Canadian West. The purposes for the development of a gentlemen’s club in their communities in the American and Canadian West were surprisingly similar to the development of clubland in London. The Americans wished to establish a private membership-based facility of business leaders which reflected their pride in their community and promoted their community as one which had a prosperous future. They also wanted to establish a fraternity of like-minded gentlemen, where they could be comfortable with others of their station in life, to enjoy good food and spirits, sports including gambling in a gentlemanly manner, and stimulating conversation. In this way, even when the originators of the gentlemen’s clubs were American by birth, they shared many of the same reasons for establishing a gentlemen’s club in their community as the founders of the many clubs in London. The degree to which the gentlemen’s clubs of Fort Worth, Denver, Cheyenne, Regina, Calgary, and Victoria mirror those similarities as outlined in this chapter is for the reader to
decide. But it is a safe observation that if he reader will in fact visit all of the existing clubs in North America and London covered in this paper he will likely come to the conclusion that all of these clubs in the Atlantic world bear a similarity in their Rousseau-like “Sensibility.” In each of the clubs covered in this chapter and in the next seven chapters one will easily find examples of “The Perfect Clubman” as described by Ralph Nevill in his book, *London Clubs*:

> In most West End clubs, especially those of an old-fashion sort, there is to be found some member who is generally recognized as an institution of the place. . . . He likes to read the same newspaper in the same chair in the same place, to write his letters at the same table, to lunch at the same time, and to have his dinner served by the same waiter at the same hour in the same corner of the coffee-room. The club is his home, and at heart he dislikes leaving its walls. Unlike the old-fashioned club-man, however, he is not unaffable [sic] to new members or strangers, and is fully alive to the increased comfort to be obtained from any modern improvement. . . . He is well acquainted with the latest good stories about town, and explains mysterious floating gossip as to mediated divorces or hushed-up scandals. as a matter of fact, his conversation is generally amusing and occasionally instructive.”

Where you find the Perfect Clubman you will also find the Perfect Club. It is the one that has been so conceived and well managed that it provides for the member’s every want and need, so that the member rarely has to ask for a service, because the staff has already anticipated his desire. It is almost like Emerson’s transcendental experience. If you haven’t felt it, its hard to understand a description of the experience, If you have experienced it you will always know it when you experience it again in a different place. Good clubs are like that, and this is a story about six good clubs in the American and Canadian West that were influenced in subtle and profound ways by the character of their British members, British economic influence or the efforts of their American or Canadian organizers to create a likeness of an English gentlemen’s club in their own community.

Chapter Two will trace the evolution of the English Gentlemen’s Club in British-America as it developed in colonial times on the eastern sea board and moved westward. Chapters Three through Eight will provide a detailed examination of the British financial and social

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influence in the American and Canadian West through the formation of six English Gentlemen's Clubs at the center of these six regions.
CHAPTER THREE
FROM ENGLISH COFFEE HOUSES TO GENTLEMEN’S CLUBS IN NORTH AMERICA

It is easier for a man to be loyal to his club than to his planet; the bylaws are shorter, and he is personally acquainted with the other members.

E.B. White

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we examined the origin and evolution of English gentlemen’s clubs in London from coffee houses into social and eventually political clubs. England colonized North America between 1607 and 1776 in her thirteen colonies, and between the 1670s and 1900s in Canada. The colonization of British North America involved not only the transplantation of English men and women but also their religions, economy, governmental and societal institutions. Those important societal institutions include English taverns, coffee houses and finally gentlemen’s clubs, where English colonials met to discuss events of the day, to engage in commerce, to ponder political issues and eventually to plot revolution.

This chapter is an examination of the evolution of colonial taverns and coffee houses into gentlemen’s clubs. It also gives summaries of some of the most important American and Canadian gentlemen’s east of the Great Plains and Prairie.

3.2 English Taverns In Colonial America

Colonial American taverns preceded the development of coffee houses in the thirteen colonies. The English colonists brought their institution of the tavern with them in the first decades of the 1600s to Virginia and in the 1620s to New England. The history of colonial America is hard to separate from its three principal institutions: church, assembly, and tavern. It was in the tavern that colonists came together to discuss affairs of the day and politics. Once
the starving time was past and each colony was firmly established, the tavern followed the building of the church or meeting house. “Throughout the British world at that time, taverns, inns, ordinaries, and other public houses offered much more than accommodation for travelers and refreshments for locals. They were important public spaces where a variety of community activities took place.”

The Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay would seem to the casual student of colonial history to be a staid community which was alcohol-free. However, the tavern or public house, as it was called in England, was transferred to New England as the “ordinary.” The ordinary provided travelers with lodgings and food. It also provided a meeting space for locals, as well as other services, such as the posting of letters. The ordinary was such an important institution that in 1656 the General Court of Massachusetts made towns liable to a fine for not sustaining an ordinary. Colonial records of Connecticut in 1644 indicate that the colonial government there ordered that each town in that colony have an ordinary. By the end of the 1600s the term “ordinary” was passing out of usage in New England, and being replaced with “tavern” which included the meaning generally given to “inn.”

In the middle and southern colonies, where settlement was more sparse, ordinaries and taverns were also rare. Often plantation owners were asked to put up travelers for the night. The plantation owners were also restrained by custom not to demand payment from a guest for his lodging. The House of Burgess set rates for the first Virginian ordinaries. As Virginia grew in population, so too did the ordinaries. “By 1668 so many small tippling-houses and petty ordinaries existed in the colony of Virginia that laws were passed restricting the number in each county to one at the court-house, and possibly one at a wharf or ferry” In spite of this law, as the colony grew so did the number of taverns.

For example, almost as soon as the headquarters of the Jamestown Colony was moved

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119 History of Early American Tavern2020site.org/americantavern /oldtime [accessed April, 23, 2009].
from Jamestown to Williamsburg, colonial taverns became operational there. Three of the more famous taverns in Williamsburg were the Kings Arms Tavern, Shield’s Tavern and Christine Campbell’s Tavern. They provided lodging as well as meals and drink. They were also places where colonists came together for meetings to discuss common interests. Williamsburg had several taverns along its principal street, Duke of Gloucester Street, between the House of Burgesses and William and Mary College.

As Virginia and North Carolina grew, “from the Shenandoah Valley to the Savannah River, taverns were among the earliest and the most common establishments, and they serviced a variety of functions.”

Important as taverns were in colonial society, their existence was not a cause for universal approval. In 1768, Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican minister, wrote at length about his disgust with the activities at the local taverns, especially their popularity in comparison to church attendance:

> Magistrates have their Sittings ---Militia Officers their muster --- Merchants their Vendues---Planters their Sales, all on Saturdays: Is there any Shooting, Dancing, Revelling, Drinking Matches carrying on? It is all begun on Saturday, and as all these Meetings and transactions are executed at Taverns, Not a Saturday in the year, but some one or other of them (and at more than one Tavern) are stated repeatedly carried on. . . . So that at these Rendezvous there is more Company of a Saturday, than in the Church on Sunday. . . .

No matter how primitive colonial society was, one of the first institutions that developed in a colony was the tavern. For example, in the early summer of 1753 in Rowan County, North Carolina (a county which had just been established), the Court of Pleas and Quarter sessions met for the first time and established a tavern. The county government responsible for over ten thousand square miles with less than 1,000 white adult male inhabitants, took up as one of its first orders of business granting one of its citizens a license to operate a tavern.

Taverns developed throughout the colonies. For example, taverns flourished in New

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120 Thorp, Taverns, 662.
122 Thorp, Taverns, 661
Amsterdam, under the Dutch, then in 1674 when the English took over that colony, for the second and final time, English taverns continued to flourish. Examples are the Thistle and Crown, the Rose and Thistle, the Duke of Cumberland, the Bunch of Grapes, St. George and the Dragon, the Fighting Cocks, the White Lion, and the King’s Head.\textsuperscript{123} Pennsylvania had more than its share of taverns. “When William Penn arrived in Pennsylvania in 1682 there were already taverns in what was soon to become his new ‘green country town’ --Philadelphia. Lacking buildings some taverns were dug into the caves that lined the Delaware River. History records that Penn’s boat anchored right next to the Blue Anchor, a transplanted Irish pub that had been reassembled on the dock.”\textsuperscript{124} By the time of the American Revolution, Philadelphia had a tavern for every 25 citizens in that community. Philadelphia and Boston had more taverns than any other place in the English speaking world.\textsuperscript{125} In colonial America, “taverns were far more numerous than any other type of architectural space besides dwellings.”\textsuperscript{126} The colonial American tavern satisfied the contradictory needs of the colonists for accommodations, such as provided by the English tavern, and for “promiscuous drinking” as provided by the ale house. The growth of the number of taverns in colonial America was astounding. “The ratio of licenses to population was seldom less than one for every one hundred inhabitants; by the middle of the eighteenth century this was true of country towns as well as ports. That works out of roughly one vendor (unit of measure) of alcohol for every two dozen males over sixteen.”\textsuperscript{127}

The Old City Tavern of Philadelphia, built in 1773 served both needs –accommodations and alcohol-- of the American colonists. It was the favorite tavern of several members of the Continental Congress. In fact, “it was the unofficial meeting place for the First Continental Congress in 1774, a place of celebration for delegates to Congress on the first anniversary of

\textsuperscript{123} History of Early American Tavern\textsuperscript{2020site.org/americantavern/oldtime 7} [accessed April 23, 2009].
\textsuperscript{124} John Fischer, “Taverns and Beer in Philadelphia’s History”. About.com [accessed April 23, 2009].
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 1.
\textsuperscript{126} Sharon V. Salinger, \textit{Taverns and Drinking in Early America}, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 10.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 12.
the Declaration of Independence and hosted a dinner in honor of General Washington at the conclusion of the Constitutional Convention in September of 1787.  

Taverns became important institutions in colonial Americans’ lives. “Patriots viewed public houses as the nurseries of freedom, [and taverns were] certainly seed beds of the Revolution, the places where British tyranny was condemned, militiamen organized, and independence plotted.”

Taverns were also the sites for the organization of various kinds of clubs. For instance, “there were clubs within taverns for conspicuous consumption of exotic drinks, and some taverns catered to a refined clientele.”

3.3 English Coffee Houses In Colonial America

The origin of coffee is shrouded in mystery. It appears that it was grown, harvested and drunk over three thousand years ago in Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, which was geographically approximately the same region. The use of coffee dispersed throughout the Arab world as Islam spread as far west as Turkey. “In 1555, coffee and the coffeehouse were brought to Constantinople by Hakam and Shams, Syrian businessmen from Aleppo and Damascus, respectively, who made a fortune by being the first to cash in on what would become an unending Ottoman love affair with both the beverage and the institution.”

Different Europeans were supposed to have discovered coffee in their travels to the Arab world. Several Europeans knew of its drug-like qualities in the early 1600s. “Sir Henry Blount (1602 - 82), a Puritan teetotaler frequently dubbed the ‘father of the English coffeehouse,’ traveled widely in the Levant, where he drank coffee with the Sultan Marat IV. After his return to England, Blount told stories about his experience with the “Turkish renegade,” which was the name sometimes given to coffee.

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128 Fisher, Taverns, 1.
130 Salinger, Taverns, 8.
132 Ibid.
Coffee was reportedly introduced in England in 1652 by Raqua Rosee. He is said to have opened the first coffeehouse in London. He also sold coffee publicly in Holland in 1664. The knowledge of coffee was brought to Oxford by students who were frequently experienced travelers in Europe. They brought back their taste for coffee and entrepreneurs followed them to open coffeehouses in the capitals of learning in England, Oxford and Cambridge. The students became such aficionados of the drink that they formed the Oxford Coffee Club, which was the beginning of the Royal Society. Eventually, as students graduated and took their places as gentlemen on their landed estates, or as rootless second sons, they had occasion to travel to London, where they were followed again by entrepreneurs, such as Jacob, “the Lebanese Jew.” He took his coffee business from Oxford to London in 1650.

The membership of the Oxford Coffee Club eventually moved to London. “They may have joined forces with existing London groups that, from about 1645, had held weekly meetings to discuss science, or what hath been called the New Philosophy of Experimental Philosophy.”

At first the London coffeehouses served only coffee. But in order to increase sales it did not take long for chocolate, tea, and even sherbet to be added by the proprietor. “In 1659, the famous Coffee Club of the Rota convened” at the Sign of the Turk’s Head coffee house. Coffeehouses grew in numbers at an amazing speed, until “London around 1700 had one coffeehouse for every thousand people.” Coffeehouses quickly gained in such popularity that there was a resulting backlash against the coffeehouse. It was alleged that they became places where dangerous ideas were being discussed, that coffee was in fact a drug, and worse that too much idleness occurred. However Charles II’s efforts to ban coffee houses proved a failure, because he revoked his edict eleven days after the original proclamation on January 8, 1676.

133 Ibid., 152.
134 Ibid., 153.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 185.
137 Ibid., 158.
Coffeehouses continued to flourish following Charles’s death, during James II’s reign, and William and Mary’s time on the throne.

The drink seemed to draw the intelligentsia and gentlemen together for conversation. “Thomas Garraway’s Coffee-House, on Exchange Alley in Cornhill, which served as an auction house, is mentioned by Addison, Pope, and Swift. Jonathan’s Coffee-House, also in Exchange Alley, referred to in the *Tattler* and *Spectator*, was a center of trading in company shares.”¹³⁸ Men of similar interests gathered at the same coffeehouse to share their kindred ideas. The best example of this phenomenon is White’s Chocolate House. White’s was discussed in Chapter One as the precursor to the famous London gentlemen’s club. During its earliest days as a coffeehouse its prices were high, which excluded all but the upper class. According to Escott, it was the “one specimen of the class to which it belongs, of a place at which, beneath almost the same roof, and always bearing the same name, whether as coffeehouse or club, the same class of persons has congregated during more than two hundred years.”¹³⁹ The gentlemen’s club White’s stands today as the Aristotelian “final cause” of the coffeehouse founded in 1697 bearing its name.

According to Weinberg, “By 1750, the traditional London coffeehouse was dead.”¹⁴⁰ The coffeehouse had been reduced to ale houses as the fashionable set and the gentlemen had progressed to their exclusive clubs. As the century wore on, tea replaced coffee as the drink of choice of the typical English man. However, because of the general and well deserved bad reputation of water, necessary for the making of tea and coffee, alcoholic drinks remained the cheapest and the safest beverages available.¹⁴¹ Most alcoholic beverages were cheaper than coffee or chocolate. “In 1830, a pint of coffee cost about three pence, at least twice the cost of

¹³⁸ Ibid., 168.
¹³⁹ Ibid., 169.
¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
¹⁴¹ Ibid., 171.
 Since alcohol in the form of rum, grain alcohol, gin, mead, beer, ale, brandy, wine and reinforced wines such as port had been in existence long before cocoa (chocolate) was discovered by the European explorers in South America, it stands to reason that alcoholic beverages were available in the North American colonies long before coffee and chocolate.

3.4. From Coffee Houses And Taverns Into Gentlemen's Clubs In America

Coffee came to the English colonies by the 1660s. “Neither the passengers of the Mayflower in 1620 nor the first Dutch settlers of Manhattan in 1624 are recorded to have included any tea or coffee in their cargo.” When coffee subsequently arrived it had a similar impact on the English colonists as it did on the London gentry. “In 1663 William Penn… recorded in his Accounts that he purchased coffee in New York for his year-old Pennsylvania settlement and complained of the price per pound of eighteen shillings nine pence.”

The origin of the gentlemen’s clubs of America has similarities to that of the gentlemen’s clubs in London. “American coffeehouses, which continued the British coffeehouse traditions as ‘penny universities’ and enhanced their feared and celebrated status as ‘seminaries of sedition,’ soon opened in every colony.” Gentlemen of similar interests and backgrounds found themselves coming together in taverns and coffee houses to discuss the issues of the day, and other subjects of mutual interest. Their meetings became more and more regular, as well as their membership, to the extent that they often shared the expenses for the food, drink or entertainment. “There is reason to believe that the noun club derives from the verb to club ---that is to say, to share expenses for an entertainment. In any case, it was by men splitting bills in taverns in London, at least as early as the mid-seventeenth century, that

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142 Ibid., 178.
143 Ibid., 181.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid., 183.
clubs as we know them originated."146 This practice developed, or was transferred from London to the major colonial cities in the thirteen colonies.

Clubs that developed in colonial America from the tavern and coffee house meetings had various commonalities. “The gentlemen's clubs of pre-revolutionary Maryland, like those of Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, and New York, were formed not only for conviviality but for enlightenment.147 The Tuesday Club was a unique club that developed in Annapolis, Maryland in pre-revolutionary days. It was developed in 1744 on the model of a club in Scotland, but was also much like other clubs in the colonies. The Tuesday Club is therefore a good example of the early clubs in America. The minutes of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis are detailed and almost complete. The records of this early club include rosters of members and visitors as well as detailed descriptions of activities at club functions. Members were interested in discussing the pressing political issues of the day. The members had to exert significant caution, however, in order not to run afoul of the King and the laws of the land. Therefore, they chose to use humor as the cloak to hide their real intent. “They employed satire to serve the dual purposes of screening but not completely hiding the clever exposition of important issues and of providing an outlet for aesthetic talents in a popular literary mode."148

Alexander Hamilton (no relation to the Secretary of the Treasury) of Annapolis was one of the founders of the Tuesday Club. “Hamilton proposed the establishment of a society patterned on the Whin-bush Club of Edinburgh, of which he had been a member. The Tuesday Club of Annapolis he considered to be the Scottish organization ‘transmigrated to America.’149 Hamilton formed the Tuesday Club following a tour of the colonies during which he visited several other clubs. Thus, his reminiscence of the Whin-bush Club in Edinburgh and the clubs

148 Ibid., 296.
149 Ibid.
in other colonies that he had recently visited provides a firm connection between English eighteenth-century clubs and the clubs in the colonies.

The Tuesday Club was founded with eight members. Four members were from Scotland, as was Hamilton. The name of their club came from their decision to meet each Tuesday at one another’s homes. This was a change from the normal meeting place of similar clubs at coffee houses or taverns, “as was the usual practice of such groups in England and Scotland.”

While the club had only eight members, it hosted several notable visitors including Dr. Upton Scot, the Reverend James Sterling and the Reverend Thomas Bacon. Discussions were mellowed by the rule that all serious propositions by a member or guest be reduced to a jest by the use of satire. “Rather than avoid significant discussions, the members intended the ‘gelastic’ [sic] law to sharpen their wits for socially directed purposes in imitation of the European philosophs. Humor was employed to heighten consciousness for the express object of improving what the Reverend Alexander Malcolm described as the ‘arts, sciences, and all the advantages and pleasures of life’ by exposing the hypocrisy of human endeavors.”

The members of the Tuesday Club walked a narrow path through a dangerous swamp of the political consequences of their discussions. “Hamilton and the other social leaders in Maryland recognized and feared the dangerous potentialities of Maryland’s disorderly political life” in the 1750s. The issues of the day became too hot to handle satirically. Therefore, “when Hamilton died in 1756, so did the club.”

A little more than a decade later, a second club was developed in Annapolis: the Homony Club. It was another attempt to utilize humor and satire to mask the exchange of controversial ideas. “The Homony Club became a casualty in 1773 of those Revolutionary ‘troubles’ which Jonathan Boucher, president of the club, said ‘put

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150 Ibid., 298.
152 Breslaw, 305.
153 Ibid.
an end to everything that was pleasant and proper”.\footnote{154} As America approached 1776 and its break from England, the activities and conversations in the coffeehouses in the various colonies turned to sedition. “It was in the Green Dragon that Revere and his co-conspirators are supposed to have met to plan the Boston Tea Party.”\footnote{155} The Green Dragon also hosted the meetings of “the Grand Lodge of Masons, under the leadership of the first grand master of Boston’s first Masonic group.”\footnote{156}

Clubs developed throughout the urban areas of British colonial America in the early to middle 1700s. They developed in the thirteen colonies, as they did in London, from their meetings in taverns, coffee houses and chocolate establishments into more formalized institutions. Some clubs had permanent quarters, many did not. But it was not until well after the American Revolution that the most famous gentlemen’s clubs originated in America’s prominent urban environments along the east coast. Often the histories of these clubs acknowledge their London forbearers, though some do not. It is obvious that the London gentlemen’s clubs were the forbears of their American cousins. It is just as obvious from the above discussion that the coffeehouse in London and the British-American colonies served as the media in which their respective gentlemen’s clubs were founded.

3.5 The Union Club: The First Gentlemen’s Club Of New York

Clubland in New York grew with the city’s development between the 1840s and 1880s. New York’s most famous club, The Knickerbocker, was not its first. The first gentlemen’s club to form in New York was The Union Club in June 1836. At that time there were some 350,000 residents of that city. An informal meeting took place at 1 Bond Street and Broadway. That address demonstrated that the meeting would be of gentlemen, because in 1836 Bond and


\footnote{155} Weinberg, 183.

\footnote{156} Ibid.
Broadway were the center of New York’s fashion and aristocracy. The group present formed themselves into a Committee. Those present formed the leaders of New York society. They included Samuel Jones, Thomas P. Oakley, Philip Hone, Ogden Hoffman and John H. L. McCrackan, among others. It was a group which represented several of the old families of New York. There were several of the original Dutch settlers who would go on to form the Knickerbocker Club in 1871. But at the time the Stuyvesants, Van Rensselaers, Vandervoorts, Van Cortlandts, Dunhams, and Griswolds were content to join this first gentlemen’s club in New York City.

A site for the club was chosen, 343 Broadway, where it remained until 1842. In that year the Union Club moved to a building owned by a member: John Jacob Astor, the first millionaire in the United States. Eight years later, the club continued its journey up-town to 691 Broadway, in a large home formerly owned by Joseph Kernochan. The Club moved again five years later, in 1855, to the building owned at one time by the deceased Governor Dix. The address of the club was at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-First Street. The building was a large handsome brownstone mansion worthy of the Club and its august reputation.

The Union Club was organized like many of the famous London Clubs, with a reception room on the first floor and informal lounging rooms. On the second floor were the billiard rooms, a card room and the old library. On the third floor was the large dining room measuring 60 by 40 feet, as well as several small dining rooms for private meetings and affairs. The decor throughout the club was comfortable but with a sumptuousness befitting the stature of the principal headquarters of the finest gentlemen in New York. The ceilings were particularly high and the relief columns, ornate sconces and tall gilt edged mirrors around the smoking room and several of the other rooms were dramatic. At the time the decorations were considered to be quiet and in good taste, at least from the view point of an early Victorian perspective.

The Union Club had the look and feel of an exclusive London club. Its members were familiar with the London clubs and they were at pains to ensure that the design of the Union
Club was as elegant as the best clubs of London. There was considerable social cohesion within the Union club, with several generations of family members on the club rolls. This mirrors the historical composition of the membership of the most exclusive London clubs. The Union Club achieved a continuity and social cohesion through the practice of members placing their new-born son’s names on the membership waiting list.

The Union Club had many famous and wealthy men as its members: John Jacob Astor, August Belmont, and Henry A. Smythe. Since the club was the first and most exclusive club in New York, the decisions of its members not to include certain persons caused ill will which could last a lifetime. Candidates for membership were carefully screened. It did not matter how wealthy a candidate was or how well known and popular. The prime consideration for membership was how well a candidate’s views corresponded with those of the club’s members. The membership committee wanted only “clubable” members whose views would be in step with those of the majority of the members.

The rumor was widespread that because of the exclusivity of the Union Club, the Metropolitan Club was formed. Known around town as the “Millionaires” Club, it contained the second tier of New Yorkers, who had wealth but not the pedigree of the Union Club. Because of the great wealth of its membership, the Union club has always enjoyed a significant surplus or reserve, and thus has not had the financial troubles that several of the other clubs in New York experienced during difficult times.

The Union Club was, from the first, a gentlemen’s social club. Politics was not the basis for the organization or membership, but rather a like-mindedness and decorum that flowed from good breeding. Wealth was a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for entry. It was also known as a particularly conservative club. During the Civil War the Union Club did not expel its Confederate members. The reason for such a position for northern gentlemen to take during the Civil War is as much tradition as it was economic. New York had significant financial ties with the South which began before the importation of slaves was outlawed by Congress. New
York and other eastern seaports played a role in the triangular trade in slaves, molasses and rum. After 1808, New York bankers were the creditors for many of the rich plantation owners of the South. Thus, New York and the Confederacy were tied by the strings of commerce. Some members of the Union Club took a dim view of being in a club that had what they considered traitors in their midst, so they resigned and formed the Union League Club in 1863.

From its grand staircase to its large and well-appointed smoking room, dining room and library, the Union Club remains the premier gentlemen’s club of New York City, and the model that many of the gentlemen’s clubs in the great cities of the east coast attempted to emulate.

3.6 The New York Yacht Club

The New York Yacht Club and the New York Athletic Club (which will be described later) epitomize an important aspect of the English and American gentlemen: their love of sport, and their grounding in good sportsmanship. To be “clubable” meant, in part, that a member would be a good sport when he lost at cards, as well as gracious when he won. The gentlemen of the Victorian era, on both sides of the Atlantic, were inculcated in not only the physical skill necessary for the game, but also in the proper attitude when playing, and just as importantly, at the end of a hard-fought match. Members of the New York Yacht Club gave lessons by example in the etiquette of sport to their English cousins for over a hundred years, beginning with the race of the America.

The New York Yacht Club was formed on July 30, 1844. John Cox Stevens invited eight friends to board his yacht Gimcrack which was anchored in New York Harbor. While the gentlemen talked, they determined that they should form a club for the purpose of racing sailing yachts. The men present named Stevens as the first commodore of the club. Three days later Stevens announced that members of the new yacht club would be making a yacht-club cruise to Newport and back. That was the first yachting activity of the club.

It should be noted that from its inception yachting was a rich man’s sport. Men worked on boats and ships, hauling cargo or fishing. Whenever a gentleman was on a ship it was as a
passenger not as a worker. Gentlemen sailed their expensive yachts because they had the money and leisure time to do so. They sailed their yachts because it gave them enjoyment. By contrast, the man who worked on a ship or a boat did so because it provided him with a livelihood, albeit a meager one.

The first clubhouse of the New York Yacht Club was built on land, in 1845, donated by the organizer of the club, John Stevens. The building of the Club house was completed on July 15, 1846 and was celebrated the next day by the first club regatta. This first regatta was followed every year at that date by the New York Yacht Club’s Annual Regatta, except for such extraordinary circumstances as the Civil War, Spanish American War and the other wars affecting America.

The most famous race between an American yacht and another country’s yacht took place in 1851. Commodore Stevens sailed his own yacht America across the Atlantic and challenged any and all English yachts to a race. No English yacht was willing to race the America, one on one. However, the America joined a “free-for-all” advertised on posters as “The Royal Yacht Squadron Regatta.” It advertised that the Royal Yacht Squadron had put up “The R.Y.S. £100 Cup” The race pitted 15 English yachts against the America. Several of the English yachts attempted to block the America, but she was so superior to the English yachts that she sailed around the English squadron and beat the entire fleet by a considerable distance. Interestingly, the English boats did not display appropriate sportsmanship by plotting to hold back the America, the squadron’s faster boats attempting to get a lead on the America. The captain of the America, however was the true sportsman, when a sailor on a boat trying to impede the America, fell overboard, the America’s crew plucked an English sailor from the channel almost as quickly as he had fallen in. The English sailor continued for the balance of the race on board the America.

The race of the America around the Isle of Wright in 1851 was probably the most publicized event of any American club in the history of clubland in America. “On July 12, 1857,
surviving members of the *America* syndicate donated the silver trophy they won in England, the “Hundred Guinea Cup,” to the NYYC.” The cup was renamed “The America’s Cup.” It remained bolted to its stand in the NYYC club house for the next one hundred and thirty years.

### 3.7 The Century Club

The Century Association was formed in 1847 “at a meeting of the Sketch Club, a group of artists and writers, and took its name from the number of men who were invited to join it.” According to the author of a small pamphlet about the club by Henry S. F. Cooper, Jr. “[d]espite its debt to London clubs and the national and even international character of its membership, it could exist nowhere else.” While the Century Club began as an artist club, it rapidly developed into a gentlemen’s club, with all of the trappings of its relatives across the Atlantic. A member arriving at the club will enter and pass down a long hall. “On the left side of the hall is the hallman whose job it is to ascertain whether you are indeed a member of this club. “The hallman or his assistant will probably greet you by name before you are halfway down the hall, for the Century hallmen are legendary for their long memories.” This is a duplication with the gentlemen’s clubs of London, where the author has observed the porters behind their cages greeting each member of the club by name as they enter the hall from the front door.(The author has had the opportunity to visit the interiors of six London gentlemen’s clubs: The Athenaeum, Brooks’s, Boodle’s, Pratt’s, The Travellers’ Club, and The East India Club.) The hallman will give the member any messages or parcels which have been left for him. The treatment of guests is similar to the manner in which the London clubs deal with their members’ guests. (Although the customs for allowing guests in London clubs have expanded over time, there are still some London clubs that do not allow guests in certain parts of the club. The Travellers’ Club, to this day, does not allow women, even female members of the staff, in its...

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158 Cooper, *Inside the Century*, v.
159 Ibid.
160 Ibid., 1.
The guests who were not members of the Century Club, wait for their host in the Visitor’s Room. That room was once known as “The Stranger’s Room” to delineate the outsider from the membership who considered each other as friends. The number of guests that a member can entertain at the club is particularly regulated. A member may only have one guest at lunch on weekdays. Members may not have the same guest to lunch more than four times in a year “The hallman can always spot a fifth-time recidivist.”161 No guests are allowed after 3:00 P.M. before monthly meetings. This mirrors the privacy with which the business meetings of the London clubs are conducted. Several of the London clubs have their meetings to determine new members at midnight or 1:00 a.m.

Almost any gentlemen’s club provides a variety of services for its members, and the Century Club is no exception. A member of any New York club could have personal business to attend to including sending and receiving mail, purchasing cigars, or cashing personal checks, much as it was and still remains to this day in the London clubs. Another commonality with the London clubs are the bills. The Century Club sends its bills to members monthly (dues bills arrive semiannually) and all are expected to be paid by personal, not company, checks.162

Like some of the London clubs, the Century has two different classifications of members: resident and nonresident. A resident is anyone who lives within 50 miles of the New York City Hall. A nonresident is anyone living beyond the same radius. The executive secretary, like his London counterpart, is the manager of the club. One of his more important jobs is keeping track of the Admissions Committee documents. Unlike the London clubs, where the members support of a candidate is there for all to see in the Candidate’s book, at the Century Club letters of support written to the executive secretary are confidential.

The London clubs, based on LeJeune’s picture book on fifty of the best clubs in

161 Ibid., 3.
162 Ibid., 5.
London, have for the most part dramatic staircases leading from the ground floor to the dining rooms, card rooms and ball rooms on the second floor (which is called the first floor in England). Many of the American gentlemen’s clubs also have grand staircases, since like the London clubs, they are housed either in Victorian mansions, or were built to impress members and visitors alike. The Century Club is no exception for it also has a grand staircase.

Aesthetically, the London clubs fall generally into two categories: those with impressive entrances and those without. The Century Club has a less than impressive entryway. Since the Century Club began as an artist’s club, it is odd that it does not have a dramatic sculpture in the entryway or at the landing of the staircase. However, the club does have a replica sculpture of the Capitoline Wolf over the fireplace in the dining room.

Monthly meetings at the Century Club on the first Thursday between October and June are “black tie.” Waistcoats are encouraged, and there are six colors for each of the six decades in which a member might have joined the club. Formal attire is still required at most of the London clubs for special dinners. Dining at lunch-time requires a suit and tie at the Century Club, as it does at the London Clubs to this day. The Century Club has two private dining rooms on its fourth floor along with the Platt Library and the Bryant Room. The private dining rooms can be reserved, as can the Bryant Room for private meetings or private parties.

The Platt Library is a functioning library. “The books can be read in the Library, or they can be checked out --it is very much a working library, with a fine reference collection.” The club librarian sits in the southeast corner of the room. The library has a particularly good history section, including European, American and local New York works. And as to be expected it has a good collection of books on art. There are other floors in the Century with sections of books on Architecture, and other subjects. Biography, drama, humor, fiction and sports are all on the second floor in the East Room or the West Room. There are also several floors of art. Thus, the entire building is both a library and an art gallery.

\[163\] Ibid., 45.
The dining rooms of the London Clubs and America’s east coast gentlemen’s clubs are similar in appointment and function. They are all well appointed with appropriate paintings on the walls, clean windows, dramatic curtains and often dramatic carved high ceilings. Like the other clubs in New York and London, the Century Club also has a billiard room, sleeping rooms, and private dining rooms, but it is renowned for its art collection and its library.

3.8 The Union League Club

The Union League Club of New York originated as a result of the Civil War. It was established in 1863 because several members split from the Union Club which would not expel its Confederate members. The population of New York City as of the 1860 census was 813,669 inhabitants. Tensions were high in New York during the Civil War, and never higher than during the Conscription riots on July 13, 1863. Rioters roamed the city pillaging and setting fires. “The Union League Club was high on the vandal’s list of targets, but members kept them at bay by maintaining an armed vigil in the locked and barricaded clubhouse on East 17th Street, just off Union Square Park.”164 The Union League Club took the bold step a few months after the Draft Riots and formed an all-black regiment which it recruited, trained and equipped. “The 20th U.S. Colored Infantry was formed on Riker’s Island in February 1864.”165 The Club stood by its twin goals of cultivating “a profound national devotion” and to “strengthen a love and respect for the Union.”166

Later, in the 1870s some members of the Union League Club decided that its standards had fallen, so they resigned and formed the Knickerbocker Club. Many of those who left the Union Club to form the Knickerbocker also had a common Dutch background. The cause of the rift between the Union Club members and those who formed the Knickerbocker Club is one of the more famous urban legends of New York City.

165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
3.9 The Knickerbocker Club

Probably the most famous New York gentlemen’s club was founded in 1871: The Knickerbocker Club. Some say that it was founded as the result of a dispute in the Union Club, when some of its members resigned due to their perception that an unacceptable relaxation of some of the policies of that club allowed the admittance of members not of an appropriate station in society. However, it is the home of many of the original Dutch families who settled New Amsterdam before the coming of the English. Two of its notable members were Alexander Hamilton’s grandson and John Jacob Astor, also a member of the Union Club. But the preponderance of the membership of the Knickerbocker Club were the descendants of the first Dutch settlers in New York. Because of its unique history tied to a particular nationality, the Knickerbocker stands out in clubdom. However, like the Standard Club of Chicago with its Jewish origin, it is not typical of the English gentlemen’s clubs in America or Canada. What is remarkable about both clubs is the desire of the Dutch and Jewish founders to be a part of an institution that they created to be exclusively for their society, which was distinctively not Anglo Saxon and Protestant in origin. The preponderance of gentlemen’s clubs in New York, as in the other east coast cities, were Anglo Saxon and Protestant to the exclusion of all other ethnicities.

3.10 The New York Athletic Club

The New York Athletic Club was founded in 1868 by Henry Buermeyer, John Babcock and William Curtis. The Athletic Club was formed three years earlier than the Knickerbocker Club. The New York Athletic Club along with the Century Club and the Union League Club are the oldest and most famous gentlemen’s clubs in New York. The men who formed the Athletic Club were well-known athletes who came together to develop a club which would support the growth and development of amateur sport in America. While it was primarily interested in amateur sports, it became one of the more exclusive athletic clubs in the United States, and a

167 The grandson of Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury during Washington’s administration.
model for other athletic clubs throughout America. The NYAC is famous because it organized the first championship boxing, outdoor track and field and wrestling matches in the United States. The NYAC also brought the sport of fencing to the United States from Victorian England. The New York Athletic Club also sponsored rugby teams and tournaments during its first fifty years of existence.

According to *The Winged Foot*, the monthly magazine published by the New York Athletic Club, volume 29, 1918, the club is “the oldest and largest organization of its kind in the world.” This edition of *The Winged Foot* contained an article on the first amateur athletic handicap meet that was held in America, promoted by the New York Athletic Club. Alfred H. Curtis, who managed the meet, provided a copy of the program which was printed in *The Winged Foot*. Articles in the club magazine demonstrated the breadth and depth of athletic events sponsored by the New York Athletic Club by its fiftieth anniversary touched almost every sport which the American male was interested in. There was an article on a club organized deer hunt in the Adirondacks, an article on a swimming meet, a report on trapshooting at Travers Island, as well as baseball, boxing matches and domino tournaments at the clubs’ facility at its large estate on the island. The preserved copy of *The Winged Foot* provides a window into the many aspects of the New York Athletic Club’s activities after fifty years of existence.

The short histories of New York’s Century Club, Union League Club, Knickerbocker Club and New York Athletic Club provided are an exclusive but small sample of the many gentlemen’s clubs that developed in that city beginning in the 1860s. New York did not contain the oldest American gentlemen’s clubs, but it did contain some of the most famous and often emulated clubs in the United States.

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168 For example, the Milwaukee Athletic Club was founded in 1882 by a small group of men interested in developing their physical abilities through gymnastics and exercise. It was built on model established by the New York Athletic Club fourteen years earlier. Site visit to Milwaukee Athletic Club, Oct 3, 2009.

The Philadelphia Club: The Oldest Club In America.

The Philadelphia Club is an example of a club that can trace its origin to a coffee house. It began in Mrs. Rubicam’s Coffee House, then moved to Mrs. Arney’s Coffee House. According to the Philadelphia Club’s earliest biographer A. J. Dallas Dixon, as he recorded in the Club Book,\(^{170}\)

In the year 1830 a number of gentlemen were in the habit of meeting to play cards at Mrs. Rubicam’s Coffee House, at the northwest corner of Fifth and Minor Streets. They were joined later by another party of gentlemen who met at Mrs. Arney’s Coffee House, at Sixth and Minor Streets and early in 1834, removed to the old “Adelphi Building,” on the west side of Fifth Street, below Walnut (now No. 212 South Fifth Street). At this time they adopted the name of “The Adelphi Club,” and on March 21\(^{st}\), 1834, held their first recorded meeting for the purpose of organizing and adopting a Constitution and By-laws. At this meeting the following gentlemen, who may fairly be regarded as the “Founders of the Philadelphia Club,” were present:--

Henry Bohlen, Thomas W. Francis,
George Cadwalader, P.L. Laguerenne,
Henry Chancellor, James Markoe,
William F. Clemson, Henry Pratt McKean,
George C. Craig, James McMurtrie,
George Follin, Henry Falston,
Thomas Rotch.

According to Wister “In 1834, the first year of the Club’s existence, Philadelphia contained some 82,000 inhabitants….Andrew Jackson, seventh president, was in his second term. His name does not appear among the presidents who have been entertained at the Club. His successor, Van Buren, was more than once a guest.”\(^{172}\) This information would seem to bolster the public personae of both men, and possibly the attitude of the club membership as well toward a President who was represented as “Old Hickory, a man of the people” and other who was independently wealthy with an estate in Kinderhook New York.

In 1834 the club moved to the Adelphi Building, when it became the Philadelphia Club.

\(^{172}\) Ibid., 37.
The next year the club moved to the Bonaparte House, to the Butler House in 1849, then to the Hemphill House in 1884. According to Owen Wister, one of its more famous members: “Wherever situated, whether the old Adelphi Building, or in the Bonaparte House, or at 919 Walnut, or where it has stood for eighty-five years, the Club has always been within fifteen to twenty minutes walk from the town houses of those gentlemen who met to play cards at Mrs. Rubicam’s Coffee House in 1830.” The Philadelphia Club was known as “The Philadelphia Association and Reading Room” by its articles of incorporation in 1850. It was housed in the Butler House at No. 1301 Walnut Street. In 1859, the club officially changed its name from The Philadelphia Association and Reading Room to The Philadelphia Club.

Wister describes the interior of the Butler house that became the Philadelphia Club in detail. The main floor had front rooms that were designed for parlors, while the back rooms were organized with an office for the steward and the housekeeper with a room for dining. The second floor consisted of large rooms in the front of the building designed for card rooms as well as a small room for multiple uses. The back rooms on the second floor were designed “to use as dining-rooms for private parties.” The four large rooms on the third floor “are intended as billiard rooms.” The basement was arranged to serve as storage and as a washroom.

The club rarely gave balls but when it did the invitations were an important mark of distinction for the recipient. The first ball was given in January, 1851, on the occasion of its occupancy of its new clubhouse. The second ball was given on January 28, 1869. These were the only times when ladies were allowed in the club, except for the centennial celebration in 1934 when a reception and dinner was held at which the wives of members were allowed entrance to the reception. “Six hundred and three persons came to the reception and to the dinner one hundred and thirty-four.” So, tradition and decorum were aspects of the

173 Ibid., 4.
174 Ibid., 25.
175 Ibid.
176 Ibid., 67.
Philadelphia Club that were rarely broken, or when they were it was only after careful planning. Wister provides an amusing story that highlights how propriety was maintained by the staff in the face of life’s little problems,

A member of the Club was accustomed, while waiting for his dinner, to go to sleep in the library, a room where no one except the waiter was likely to disturb him. One day the waiter came to announce that the meal was ready, but could not, by merely speaking, arouse the member. To touch him, of course, was out of the question. At this moment a cat strolled in; the waiter picked the cat up, and tossing it in the sleeper’s lap, promptly retired behind the doors. When he perceived that his manoeuvre [sic] had succeeded, he reappeared, and said that the dinner was served.177

Wister ends his short biography of the Philadelphia Club, in which he gives particulars of the building’s design, a few of the rules, a couple of humorous stories, a list of visitors, and 120 pages of past members and officers, but nothing about the inner workings of the club or its, in all likelihood, powerful influence on the community. This we will see is typical of several of the official biographies of the English-style gentlemen’s clubs in the North America. Wister’s last sentence in his biography of the club seems to convey a profound sentiment but very little information,

Take it all in all, we carry on the tradition, patriotic, social, and civilized, of an honorable and happy past; and, despite adverse conditions and the vicissitudes of recent years, we look forward to carrying our tradition on into a happy future.

Owen Wister

1301 Walnut Street
June 1, 1934 178

It is interesting to note that the impacts of the social and economic upheaval at the height of the Great Depression were only “adverse conditions” and “vicissitudes of recent years” for the wealthy, elite members of the oldest gentlemen’s club in America. In his research on the upper class in Philadelphia in 1975, Thomas B. Priest determined that the Philadelphia Club continues to be one of the most prestigious clubs in that city. Of the

177 Ibid., 61.
178 Ibid., 69.
226 names in the *Social Register*, 90 percent were members of gentlemen’s clubs. The membership of the Philadelphia Club has 24.8 percent of the names listed on the Social Register and only 0.2 percent of its members are not listed in the Social Register.\(^{179}\) Less than a third of the total number of elite families are members of the Philadelphia Club, demonstrating the selectivity of that club. The Philadelphia Club continues to be an exclusive institution made up of that society’s most elite families.

Not only is the Philadelphia Club the oldest gentlemen’s club in the country, it maintains the tradition of leaving almost no trace. There are no electronic newspaper articles about the club, no articles about the club and the club does not have a web page. The only book listed in the Library of Congress on the Philadelphia Club is Owen Wister’s 69 page narrative published in 1934.

### 3.12 The Racquet Club Of Philadelphia

The Racquet Club of Philadelphia was established in 1889 by a group of 22 prominent Philadelphians. Edward Denniston, one of the club’s founding members, purchased its first clubhouse at 923 Walnut Street. It was a classic Philadelphia townhouse with three and a half stories and a red brick facade. The club’s first annual meeting was held April 14, 1890. At that time the By-Laws were adopted and the dues were set at $30 for residents and $10 for non-resident members. In December, 1900, the country’s first squash racquet court was constructed and used in a private club setting.

In 1905 the club’s membership determined that it was time to move to a larger facility. George Widener secured the club’s consent to control the development and construction of the new club. Widener hired Horace Trumbauer to design the new clubhouse. Trumbauer had designed the Ritz-Carlton and Benjamin Franklin Hotels and the Philadelphia Museum of Art prior to his work on the Racquet Club. The new finished clubhouse opened October 7, 1907. It

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contains a dramatic two story main hall with a wide staircase, a large reading room, large dining
room, bar, grill, fitness center, indoor pool, indoor tennis courts, and indoor doubles squash
court. It also has suites of sleeping rooms available for members and guests.180

3.13 The Union League Club Of Philadelphia

The Union League Club of Philadelphia was formed in 1863. It is similar to several
other Union League clubs formed during the Civil War to promote loyalty to the Union. The
Union Leagues also supported the United States Sanitary Commission which had the goal of
helping wounded soldiers. The first Union League Clubhouse was a “classic French
Renaissance styled League building, with its brick and brownstone façade and twin circular
staircases leading to the main entrance on Broad Street, was designed by John Fraser and
completed in 1864.”181

The second home for the Union League Club of Philadelphia was designed in the
Beaux Arts style by Horace Trumbauer. The Union League Club of Philadelphia exists today. It
is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is home to a rich collection of art and
artifacts which chronicle the history of the Union League Clubs of America, and Philadelphia’s
Union League Club’s contribution to civic improvement. Several other Union League Clubs
survive as social and civic organizations in cities throughout the East and Midwest. They
continue to contribute to the social fabric of the communities where they exist.

3.14 The Penn Club

The Penn Club originated March 18, 1875, but was later formed by an act of
incorporation on March 16, 1889. The purpose of the club was “for the association of authors,
artists, men of science, learned professions, amateurs of music, letters and the fine arts. For
the holding of receptions for distinguished men and women, and for the promotion of social

intercourse among its members."\(^{182}\)

The club was organized in 1875, just prior to the country's Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia. That city was to be the center of a grand International Exposition. The organizers of the International Exposition believed that the Penn Club could make a significant contribution to city's plans for entertaining the many important international visitors who would be traveling to Philadelphia. The forerunner of the Penn Club was the Penn Monthly Association, which published the *Penn Monthly*, a literary and scientific journal held regular discussion groups and meetings. The Penn Monthly Association met in small rooms "on the third floor of 506 Walnut Street."\(^{183}\) The size of the space limited the membership to not more than 35. When the Penn Club was formed it expanded its membership to 200 and "a suitable clubhouse was leased and comfortably furnished at 720 Locust Street."\(^{184}\)

Wharton Barker was elected the first president of the Penn Club in 1875. He served for two years and was succeeded by Dr. Furness, who served for the next ten years. The club fell on hard times in the 1880s. Serious consideration was given to joining with the Social Art Club, which had developed into a social club. However, the members of the Penn Club did not want to dilute their club by re-forming it into a primarily social club. Therefore the request to join their clubs together by the Social Art Club was rejected by the membership of the Penn Club. The Social Art Club went on to become the successful Rittenhous Club. The Penn Club continued its traditional role of "honoring men and women from many walks of life who have made significant contributions to American life and culture."\(^{185}\)

3.15 The Pen and Pencil Club and The Philobiblon Club

The Pen and Pencil Club and the Philobiblon Club, are two unique clubs in Philadelphia. The first is an association of journalists, "founded in 1892," representing the

\(^{183}\) Ibid., 36.
\(^{184}\) Ibid.
\(^{185}\) Ibid., 38.
“reporters and editors at the city’s seven morning and six evening newspapers by combining the Stylus Club and the Journalist Club of Philadelphia and the Reporters Club. Under the by-laws, the club is controlled by its members, the working press. It is a social club for the working press, which separates it from the gentlemen’s clubs that are the focus of this study.

The Philobiblon Club was founded in 1893 after John Thomson and Harrison S. Morris orchestrated an exhibition of rare books drawn from the private libraries in Philadelphia. The Philobiblon Club was formed later that same year. The club’s purpose is noted in Robert E. Spiller’s book, *The Philobiblon Club of Philadelphia: The First Eighty Years, 1893-1973*,

The maintenance of a club to promote the arts pertaining to the production of books, the union of book-collectors, book-lovers, and those practically interested and engaged in the encouragement of literary study, including the establishment of a library and the acquisition, furnishing, and maintenance of suitable premises for the safe-keeping of its property, wherein meetings, lectures, and exhibitions may take place from time to time.

The club’s first quarters were “rented rooms on the top floor of 1324 Walnut Street, a narrow building with its entrance around the corner on the west side of Juniper Street.” The club occupied these rooms until July, 1921, when it was forced to vacate its rented rooms and became “a migratory tribe, holding its meetings in the quarters of other clubs or occasionally in the homes of its members.”

The Philobiblon Club has counterparts in other cities in the United States. “There are other clubs of the same sort-- the Grolier Club of New York, the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston, the Rowfant Club of Cleveland come at once to mind—and together they form a sort of national and international fraternity.” At one time most of the members of these clubs were also gentlemen by definition because of the necessity for them to be wealthy in order to afford

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188 Ibid.
189 Ibid., 14-19.
190 Ibid.
the expensive hobby of collecting books, and because book collecting required a certain love of the literary.

3.16 The Gentlemen’s Clubs Of Boston

Boston is the home of the Lowells, Cabots, Lodges, and the other Brahmin families who settled that community when Massachusetts was a colony. The best families sent their sons to Harvard, after attending the right boarding schools. The next choice for the families of the recent Harvard graduate was which gentlemen’s clubs to join. This was a choice rarely made by the young Harvard alum, but rather it was made on the basis of the club the boy’s father had joined. Tradition was and is an institution of great importance to the Boston Brahmins.

Several of the Boston gentlemen’s clubs began as mansions that were converted to their new use. The Boston gentlemen’s club was “a mansion away from one’s mansion.”¹⁹¹ The club served a special function in the life of Boston’s aristocracy. The Boston gentlemen’s club was a much better alternative to restaurants and hotels which were open to the public. The Boston clubs “where places where men could smoke the mild cigar and sip a fine brandy while playing cards and catching up on the news from Europe.”¹⁹² The clubs were important also because the Boston Brahmins did not work, thus they needed a comfortable and private place to while-away the hours of their not too busy day.

Boston had several prestigious gentlemen’s clubs, The Philadelphia, the Somerset, the Union, the Algonquin, the St. Botolph, and Tavern Club. The men-folk of the upper class, those families whose patriarchs did not have to work, were generally members of more than one club in Boston. According to Hugh David Scott Greenway, Harvard class of 1971, “There was a whole class of people that didn’t have to work”¹⁹³ and thus had time to frequent more than one club. Greenway was a member of both the Tavern and the Somerset.

Gaining admission to one of the prestigious Boston clubs was itself a subtle form of

¹⁹² Ibid.
exclusion and selection. If an individual attempted to gain admission by direct solicitation, that would assure his failure to be chosen as a member. For a prospective candidate to gain membership in a Boston gentlemen’s club required several steps: first, one’s family had to be well known and of the appropriate respectability in the community; then the candidate had to have graduated from Harvard and, just as importantly, he must have been a member of the right clubs while at the university; and he must have had the reputation as an affable conversationalist. Those were the first steps in gaining admission. They were the necessary but not sufficient requirements for club membership. The ritual of being screened for the candidate’s “clubability” came next. “Candidates then attend a number of dinners over the course of several months. Membership selection is an elaborate process.”\textsuperscript{194} It is during that series of dinners that club members sound the candidate out, to determine his values, views and amiability. It is only after the elaborate process of attending several dinners, during which the candidate meets a large number of the club members, that he is ready to be selected by the club. In most of the clubs it only took one or, at the most, two black balls to reject a prospective member. It is not clear the degree to which tradition, and the candidate’s family connections with the club trumped a candidate’s shortcomings. However, tradition loomed large for the members of Boston’s most elite clubs.

3.17 The Somerset Club

The Somerset Club was founded in 1851. The members purchased the mansion owned by David Sears, who had graduated from Harvard in 1807, as the clubhouse. The mansion consisted of “four large oval rooms, two private dining rooms, a ‘morning room,’ a library and an immense living room in the Directoire style…”\textsuperscript{195} The mansion was originally built on the sight of a farm on the outskirts of Boston in 1819. It had ivy covered walls surrounding a

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
garden and terrace was known as “the Bricks.” This was a pleasant space where members and their guests could relax and sip their favorite beverage in utter tranquility. The Somerset has traditionally been considered Boston’s haughtiest and most prestigious club.

A famous story about the Somerset Club demonstrates its exclusive nature.

One night in January 1945 when the club caught fire, the firemen ran through the front entrance before Joseph, the club’s legendary majordomo, ordered them to go around back, through the servant’s entrance while he continued serving members their dinner. According to the Boston Post, “Although the fires created considerable excitement among the firemen and police who were detailed there, the club members were not disturbed in their dining room. They sat at dinner while the firemen fought on the first, second and third floors. The only recognition of the fire was the opening of one window in the first floor lounge in front of the club to let some of the acrid smoke out. Otherwise there was no sign about the tightly curtained windows that anything unusual was happening inside. The club members continued to come and go, swinging their canes, undisturbed by the mass of fire-fighting apparatus outside. One, more curious than the rest, came out to the door and with a glass of what looked like scotch and soda in his hand, but he did not remain long.

Tradition continues to rule at the Somerset. Its membership boasts the names of some of the best families in Boston. The club’s membership roster contains the former Harvard Business School Dean John H. McArthur, former Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Dean Theodore Eliot, class of ‘48, former Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox, class of ’34, and retired industrialist Louis Cabot, class of ’43.

3.18 The Union Club Of Boston

The Union Club of Boston, like the Union League Club of New York, began as a result of the Civil War. Legend has it that the club got its start,

In 1863, as Col Robert Gould Shaw, Class of 1860, and the 54th all-Negro regiment was marching past the Somerset Club, the members pulled down their blinds and hissed in disapproval. Shocked and horrified, Norwood Penrose Hallowell, Class of 1861, second-in-command of that regiment, reportedly led a group of his friends out the front door and formed the Union Club just down the street. Not until 1952 would a Hallowell finally agree to join the Somerset.
That story was an exaggeration of the facts surrounding the founding of the Union Club which occurred in 1865, after the death of President Lincoln. During the war the Somerset Club was not unanimous in its support for the Union cause. A group of members became more and more disenchanted with the lack of patriotism by some of the Somerset’s membership. The situation allegedly came to a head when the news of Lincoln’s assassination became known, and a member of the Somerset offered a toast to John Wilkes Booth. It was at that point that several members walked out of the Somerset and formed the Union Club. “As one of the founders of the Union Club would later remark, ‘We wanted a place where gentlemen could pass an evening without listening to Copperhead talk’.”

Over the years since the Civil War, the Union Club of Boston has devolved in prestige in Boston society. According to some observers, the reduction in prestige of the Union Club is given further proof by the large number of lawyers that it boasts today.

### 3.1.9 The Algonquin Club

According to many observers, the Algonquin Club is the most grand-elegant of the elite Boston gentlemen’s clubs. It is the only one which was designed for its specific purpose, rather than being a mansion that was bought and adapted for its use as a club.

Its massive granite exterior displays two stories of poricoid [sic] balconies. The inside boasts an enormous second floor reading room and a massive formal dining room on the fourth floor with fifty vaulted ceilings. The fifth floor offers sleeping accommodations. Unlike clubs like the Somerset, the Algonquin Club since its founding in 1866, is all about business. The club was founded by General Charles H. Taylor, the same man who resurrected the *Boston Globe*.²⁰⁷

The Algonquin Club was formed on October 16, 1885 by a group of fifty “prominent businessmen.” They came together for the specific purpose of forming a gentlemen’s club which would enhance their business opportunities in the community. “On March 9, 1886, by a special act of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of

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²⁰⁰ Ibid.
²⁰¹ [http://algonquinclub.com/history.htm][accessed September 27, 2009].
Massachusetts, the Algonquin Club of Boston was incorporated.\textsuperscript{202}

The land was purchased by the membership and the clubhouse was designed by the same firm, McKim, Mead & White of New York, that designed the Boston Museum of Art and its public library, as well as Penn Central Station in New York. Its location at 217 Commonwealth Avenue, its architectural design and its massive structure helped to insure that it has retained its prestigious status, next to the Somerset Club, as one of the most prestigious clubs in Boston.

\subsection*{3.20 The St. Botolph Club}

The St. Botolph Club, like The Tavern Club, originated as ‘artistic’ clubs. It was formed in 1880, which was “a golden period in Boston, a time when art, literature, music, architecture, clubs and public affairs were all in bloom.”\textsuperscript{203} John Quincy Adams is purported to be the club’s first and temporary chairman.\textsuperscript{204} He provided the suggestion for the name of the club, however both of these feats would have had to have been performed posthumously which is unlikely. St. Botolph’s Town was the site of a seventh century monastery in East Anglia, England where a town was formed. “Botolph” was corrupted into “Boston.” When the Puritans migrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, they transplanted the corrupted name of their former town, Boston to the new world.

The club’s early members include many luminaries of arts and letters, William Dean Howells, Henry Cabot Lodge (better known at first as an author and editor), the publishers Henry Houghton and George Mifflin, and artists such as Frank Hill Smith and John Singer Sargent. In the late 1800s “the Club fervently espoused the Impressionists during their wars with the Academy culminating in the famous exhibits of the work of Claude Monet, many of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{footnote}{\textsuperscript{202} Ibid. While the official web site for the St. Botolph Club and several other sites reference John Quincy Adams as the “temporary chairman” and originator of the name for the club, that would seem to be an impossibility since J.Q. Adams died in 1829. The Adams who occupied the “temporary chairmanship” must have been Henry Adams the historian and intellectual who was born in 1838 and died in 1918.}
\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}{\textsuperscript{203} http://www.saintbotolphclub.org/history.php [accessed September 27, 2009].}
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\begin{footnote}{\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.}
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whose paintings were loaned by Club members.\textsuperscript{205} The St. Botolph Club stands out among all the clubs in America as having as its first and temporary chairman the great grandson of a president of the United States and eminent historian, Henry Adams. The club’s first elected president was another famous historian, Francis Parkman. Few other clubs in America can boast of such famous charter members. The club’s address at 199 Commonwealth Avenue, four blocks from the Boston Commons in the Back Bay, was originally and remains today a prestigious address in Boston. The club’s appointments from its elegant, but understated simple entry bracketed by two Grecian columns, to its music room, library and three private dining rooms, its theatre, art gallery and concert hall give physical proof that this is a club originated for the celebration of the arts.

3.21 The Tavern Club

The Tavern Club is the second intellectual’s club of Boston, as famous as the St. Botolph Club for its members’ love of the arts and letters. The Tavern Club was established in 1884 by five individuals interested in literature and the arts. Its charter members include Arthur Rotch, William Dean Howells, Henry Cabot Lodge, Henry James and Charles Eliot Norton.\textsuperscript{206} In the second year of the club’s existence, the membership adopted the symbol or Totem of the Bear as the mascot of the organization. The Tavern Club is well known for its lectures, musical and theatrical performances. It has been the host for many dinners honoring authors and artists, including Mark Twain (1885), Rudyard Kipling (1895), Oliver Wendell Homes (1902), John Singer Sargent (1903), Booker T. Washington (1905), Winston Churchill (1907), George Macaulay Trevelyan (1924) and Owen Wister (1929).\textsuperscript{207}

Notable members of the club include Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., William Dean Howells, Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, and Charles Eliot Norton. Its membership was well known for their sense of humor. “The 1907 Annual Meeting treated the Members to a Puppy Raffle.

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{206} http://www.tavernclub.org/ [accessed September 27, 2009].
\textsuperscript{207} Ibid.
The Tavern Club played a baseball game against the rival St. Botolph Club on June 25, 1913. The members humor was also evident in the pamphlet that it printed commemorating *The Silver Wedding of The Bear, A Memorial of the Celebration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of The Tavern Club 15 January 1909, Boston, Privately Printed, 1910.* The pamphlet contained poems, plays and songs written to celebrate the wedding of the Bear, the mascot of the Tavern Club. Many of the submissions were by the great men of letters of the era, including Owen Wister, William Dean Howells, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and John Singer Sargent.

The St. Botolph Club membership sent a large barrel of honey for the members of the Tavern Club to enjoy. The evening’s celebrations included performances from plays written for the occasion, and songs composed for the occasion. An orchestra made up of members played various compositions during the evening. *The Silver Wedding of The Bear* demonstrated the humor, originality and depth of creativity of its membership.

Boston was the home of several other gentlemen’s club as well as several women’s clubs, the most famous of which is the Chilton Club (1910), named for Mary Chilton. Mary Chilton was the only member of Mayflower’s passenger list who moved from Plymouth to Boston. The Chilton Club was founded in response to the decision by the Mayflower Club, another women’s club that held strong temperance views. Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, the founder of the Chilton, “wanted a club where wine and liquor would be available and where a gentleman could be invited to dine.” The development of lady’s clubs in America is a topic for another dissertation, however, it is included here because the existence of lady’s clubs indicates that the wives of gentlemen of leisure in the United States had wives with considerable leisure time to spend not only on civic projects but in relaxation and conversation at their own clubs.

The gentlemen’s clubs of Boston were home to the Brahmins of the city who were accustomed to ruling not only the social life of the community, but also its political life as well.

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208 ibid.
209 http://www.archive.org/stream/silverweddingofb00abbo [accessed September 27 2009].
Following the Civil War, control of the city government devolved to the Irish bosses. “The former ruling classes of Boston reasserted itself by creating private charitable corporations and a network of hospitals, schools, almshouses. It was more than nobles oblige, it was a desire to recover some control over the city.\textsuperscript{211} Since the elites had lost control of city government, they compensated by founding museums, orchestras, hospitals and libraries.

\textbf{3.22 The Gentlemen’s Clubs Of Washington D. C.}

More than a few gentlemen’s clubs in eastern cities were formed around the time of the Civil War. The Cosmopolitan Club of Washington D.C. cannot claim to be the oldest club in the United States. Both New York’s Union Club and the Philadelphia Club claim that distinction. However, the Cosmopolitan Club of Washington D. C. is the oldest club of many distinguished clubs that developed in that city. Following the establishment of the Cosmopolitan Club was the Cosmos Club 1878, and the Army-Navy Club in 1885. The other three famous Washington D.C. clubs were all formed after 1900: the University Club; 1904; the Metropolitan Club, 1907; and the National Press Club in 1908.

Washington D.C. during the height of the Civil War had 75,000 residents (as of the 1860 census). It was a busy city because of the Civil War. The Union’s capital resembled more of a western settlement than a staid eastern urban environment. The city was a community in flux. The Cosmopolitan Club was the brainchild of six men who worked in the Treasury Department, which in many ways was the center of Civil War Washington. While armies are sustained by their commissaries as much as their artillery, wars are run on money as much as munitions. Thus, it was fitting that six men who worked together in the Treasury Department came together to form the Cosmopolitan Club. One member, John Lorimer Graham, was a well-known New York attorney, who probably had knowledge of the Union Club in New York, even if he was not a member of the first and most prestigious club in that city.

Little is known about J. Smith Homans, who was the second of the six organizing

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.
members of the club, other than it was remarked that he had “boundless energy.” Samuel Yorke AtLee was a senior clerk who was also in charge of the Treasury Library. The three men invited Edward Jordan, who was the lawyer for the Treasury. The last two men were “confidential clerks in the office of the Secretary, Augustine Edwards and S. H. Kauffmann.”

The first meeting was in the Treasury Library, with AtLee acting as the host. These men determined at that organizational meeting that forming a literary and social gentlemen’s club would be a worthwhile endeavor. The secretary for the evening: Atlee, memorialized their decision:

> The undersigned agree to contribute the sum of $50 each towards the establishment of a Social Club as soon as fifty names are signed hereto; and an additional sum of $50 in the course of the year, should such further assessment be required.

J. S. Homans and Augustine Edwards were appointed the search committee for the Club house. They found one that was suitable in less than two days. They reported to the full committee of six that they had found a house to rent at 15th and H Street northwest of the Capital. The house had recently been vacated by the Prussian minister. The group wasted no time in their deliberations. “Four days later a lease was signed at $2,250 per annum, with taxes and water rates extra.”

In 1873 the Club moved to the southeast corner of 15th and H Street, NW. It rented that building from J. Griswald for $3,000 a year. In 1883 the club purchased land at the southwest corner of 17th and H Streets NW and built a clubhouse at a cost of $55,000.

From its inception, the club began to draw members from the upper echelon of political life in Washington. In only the first few months of its existence, “four United States senators--William Sprague of New Hampshire, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, E.D. Morgan of New

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213 Ibid., 3.
214 Ibid., 3.
215 Ibid.
York, and Morton S. Wilkinson of Minnesota; at least five Congressmen . . . and two secretaries of President Lincoln, John Hay, and John G. Nicolay, were among the club’s new members.  

At the first anniversary of the club, its 44 members gathered and elected its second president. John Lorimer Graham, one of the six original founders, became the new president. “Born in London in 1797, he had risen to be an outstanding member of the New York bar.”

Here, then, is established a connection between the Metropolitan Club of Washington and the London clubs.

One of the more important aspects of club life, was the club members’ concern for the protection of the privacy of the club. Two incidents underlined the value that this club placed on decorum and privacy in all matters relating to the club’s good name and its membership. In the first incident, two members who had developed bad blood became involved in a fist fight during a chance meeting at The New York Horse Show. The details of the public fight made the New York and Washington papers, “and one of the parties made things worse by publishing or allowing a reporter to publish a number of personal letters as background to the whole quarrel. In these letters the name of the Metropolitan Club of Washington was mentioned in the most incidental manner, and certainly in no way bearing upon the quarrel.” The Board of Governors gave both parties to the public brawl a severe rebuke.

The second incident concerned a lapse in privacy by certain club members. Dr. William May, who was an older member and a prominent surgeon, sent a letter to the Board of Governors stating:

that the conversation of certain members of the Club had been reported and commented upon outside of the clubhouse by members of the Club.

The Executive Committee was quick to take action and had the staff post the following notice:

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216 Ibid., 12.
217 Ibid., 14.
218 Ibid., 124.
219 Ibid.
Whereas it has on different occasions been reported to the Board that conversations and actions of members within the clubhouse have been unfavorably criticized outside, and specific complaint of such an occurrence has recently been made the Board deems it advisable to bring the subject thus publicly to the attention of members feeling assured it will be sufficient to promptly and wholly correct the evil.  

Later in the club’s long life it began to accept members who were foreign diplomats. A Washington Post editorial about the “Vulgarity of American Clubs,” was apparently inspired by some disparaging comments of a recent British visitor who felt that clubs in this country were too ‘empirical,’ meaning not sufficiently snobbish for his taste. “Wrote the Post editor, ‘we happen to know that there is a least one club here which as regards its hospitable demonstrations might possibly be accused of ‘empiricism’.” In response to the complaint presented by the Post editorial, the Board of Governors of the club declared to its membership:

“Be it resolved that in the opinion of this Board any member of the Club who avails himself of his knowledge of the Club affairs as a member to attack and criticize it in the public press is unworthy of its membership.”

Thus, the Board of Governors understood the code of loyalty, fellowship and decorum that was bequeathed to it by the London gentlemen’s clubs and always took steps to correct a situation they felt was in violation of the high standards of a gentlemen’s club.

3.23 The Gentlemen’s Clubs Of Chicago

Almost on the edge of the Great Plains, Chicago, along with St. Louis, was the jumping-off point for immigration into the American West. The transcontinental railroad had its terminus in Chicago. The city’s economy was tied to the beef industry of the American West. For many of England’s second sons, Chicago was the last of civilization as they ventured out into the untamed regions of the Great Plains to make their fortunes in the cattle industry of Texas or the gold and silver mines of Colorado.

The Chicago Club and the Standard Club were both organized in 1869 during a boom

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220 Ibid.
221 Ibid., 185.
222 Ibid., 186.
time in the Windy City. “In January 1869, a meeting was called in the club room of the Sherman House, at that time Chicago’s leading hotel (the Palmer House wouldn’t open until 1871), for the purpose of gathering men from the city’s top families and institutions under one roof. To ensure that status, the initiation fee was a hefty $100.”\(^{223}\) The founding members present were two members of the Chicago City Council, George M. Pullman and General Philip H. Sheridan.

The Chicago Club, Standard Club and other prominent gentlemen’s clubs made concerted efforts to help settle and build the city. However, two great calamities befell the city and its two important clubs: the Great Fire of 1871 and the Panic of 1873. The Chicago Club was a total loss in the Great Fire. Many of its members, who were highly leveraged when the Panic of 1873 hit Chicago, were able to rebound. By the time the new club was opened in July 1876, both the Club and its members were coming out of the fog.

In 1890, following the award to Chicago as the site for the World’s Columbian Exhibition, a new building phase had been begun for the entire city. The Chicago Club members decided that they too would join in the rebuilding of the city by laying the foundation for a new club house, at the site of the old Art Institute, which is where the club sits today.

As the city of Chicago grew, so did the Chicago Club. In fact, the club grew in an interesting way with the development of its clubs within the club. “Most of the major private clubs in Chicago featured clubs within a club. The Chicago Club’s attempt at this idea served two purposes: it brought together men of like minds in special rooms decorated as mini-clubhouses and gave members a very private place to drink.”\(^{224}\) There were as many as six “Inner Clubs” during their heyday. These clubs were located on different floors of the building. Room 19, for example is an inner club, where a railroad theme is the decor. It was “inspired by the early railroad magnates who were once leaders of the club.”\(^{225}\)

\(^{224}\) Ibid., 80.
\(^{225}\) Ibid., 81.
Before the turn of the century both the club and its members had made an economic comeback. “A millionaires’ table in the northeast corner of the Chicago club’s main dining room was the regular lunch stop for Marshall Field, Henry W. Bishop, and T. B. Blackstone.”

Stanley Field, also a member of the Chicago Club, when interviewed, stated that while he did not sit at the millionaires’ table, “Everything that was to be done in Chicago was discussed by that group, and then the word was passed out.” We shall see that this is reminiscent of the reputation of the “Seventh Street Gang” who sat at the only large round table in the Fort Worth Club grill and made decisions about the economic path of the city and even who would run for city council. In fact many of the six Western clubs that will be studied in the following chapters had a similar and often well-deserved reputation.

3.24 The Standard Club

The Standard Club of Chicago is unique because it was a Jewish gentlemen’s club. It was formed a few months after the Chicago Club, and very likely from the remnants of the Concordia Club. In a city of 112,172 at the beginning of the Civil War, there were only 1,599 Jewish residents. Jews arrived in Chicago as soon as the city was incorporated in the 1830s. “The Chicago Club was founded by the wealthiest Protestant business leaders in Chicago, who generally restricted Catholics, Jews, and other ethnic minorities from joining”

That is why the Standard Club was formed, to provide the Jewish business community with the same, or almost the same, business opportunities as were commonplace in the Chicago Club. Chicago’s early years were quite different from the old bigotry of Europe against Jews. “In its early years, the city’s free-for-all environment posed relatively few social barriers for Jews,” except at the top rungs of social and political influence. And after the Great Fire, the city was in desperate need of a rapid rebirth. Therefore, “all white people with capital and vision were welcome to

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226 Ibid., 78.
227 Ibid., 79.
228 Ibid., 103.
229 Ibid.
Standard Club members were influential not only in their own community but in Chicago in general. While their philanthropic efforts were primarily directed toward those of their faith, it was a tide that lifted all ships, since it helped a segment of the population that would not be a drain on other charitable institutions. The club and the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago built the city’s first Jewish hospital. Members of the Standard Club also had a role to play in the World’s Columbian Exposition, although they were generally not allowed to receive due recognition for their efforts. The club played an important role for the Jewish business community and for Chicago as a whole from the time that “Standard men” (before the organization of their club) helped run-away slaves escape to Canada.

3.25 The Saddle And Sirloin Club Of The Stockyards Inn Of Chicago

The last American club to be reviewed before my examination of the British influence on the American and Canadian gentlemen’s clubs of the West, was the Saddle and Sirloin Club, which had its beginnings in the early 1900s. The club’s founders were dedicated to the “development of the leading types of improved domesticated animals found in great Britain and America.” The leaders of the Chicago Stock Yard Company envisioned an international exhibition that would showcase the improved cattle of Britain and North America. The idea, germinated in 1899, would become the International Live Stock Exposition. At the same time, the group of influential cattle breeders who were members of the Chicago Stock Yard Company also contemplated the creation of a gentlemen’s club that would meet at the Stock Yard Inn of the men who played an invaluable role in improving the cattle breeds of North America and Britain. The Saddle and Sirloin Club is typical of a “club within a club,” similar to the ones that existed in the Chicago Club.

Hanging in the hallways and dark wood-paneled rooms of The Saddle and Sirloin Club

230 Ibid.
231 Alvin Howard Sanders, At the Sign of the Stock Yard Inn (Chicago: Breeder’s Gazette Print, 1915), 3.
are hundreds of pictures of champions of the many breeds of cattle, sheep and horses that the breeders in America and Canada had brought from England and Ireland to improve their stock. Those paintings and photos of British livestock demonstrate the influence of British cattle breeders in the United States and Canada. It is also a fitting inclusion in this study of the British influence on the American and Canadian West. The Beef Bonanza in Texas began with the longhorn steer in 1867. The longhorn was a rugged animal, suited to the harsh environment of mesquite and prickly pear of South Texas, and the short grass of the Texas Panhandle. But it was tough beef when butchered, even before it was trailed 1200 miles to the closest railhead. Over the next thirty years of the Beef Bonanza, British and American cattlemen learned to import Herefords, Angus, and other British cattle breeds which improved the taste and price of beef cattle. The Saddle and Sirloin Club is a celebration of the many decades of British breeding influence on North American cattle. But, one should not forget that it all began with those tough Texas longhorn cattle and the long, dusty drives up the trails to the railheads in Kansas.

One of the important members of the Saddle and Sirloin Club was the famous Scotsman John Clay, who spent close to fifty years buying and selling American and Canadian cattle and ranches for British investors. He was influential, as well, in his efforts to improve the quality of American livestock, by importing and encouraging the importation of pure-bred English cattle for widespread use in American animal husbandry. The activities of John Clay are well documented in the histories of the cattle industry of the American and Canadian west, and form a link among all of the cattle oriented studies that follow.

3.26 The British In Canada

A word about the development of British Canada is necessary before the British gentlemen’s clubs in Canada can be placed in their proper context. The story of British Canada is a story about the struggle by four distinct ethnic and national groups for supremacy over almost half of the North American continent. From the arrival of the French under Champlain at
Quebec, then Montreal; and the English in the Hudson’s Bay area, these two European nations struggled for dominance of the vast northern territory. Both European groups competed for the fur trade with the native peoples. This competition resulted in both European trading groups to push further and further west to gain a trading advantage over the other group. The Hudson’s Bay Company eclipsed the French in its dominance over the prairies of the Canadian Northwest. But the presence of the French in that region did not completely disappear. When the French left the western part of Canada to the Hudson’s Bay Company, they left behind the Métis. “The name of the people --Métis-- comes from a French word that translates as mixed-blood, that is to say, people of mixed racial heritage.232

After the eclipse of the French by the British, the struggle for dominance in the Far West fell to the two British rivals. The First Nations as they are called today-- the Indian tribes of the Canadian Northwest-- were the trading partners of the English Hudson’s Bay Company and the Scottish North West Company. Since 1670, the Hudson’s Bay Company, under a charter from Charles II, King of England, owned an area called Rupert’s Land, which included most of western Canada. The company’s power and control were absolute in that region.233 “The Bay,“ as it was called ruled this vast territory in secret. The company did not share any information, if it could avoid it, with the English government, nor any other institution or agency about its activities or the geography of Rupert’s Land. Since the company’s sole purpose was the extraction of a profit from the fur trade, it did whatever it could to keep the vast fur-bearing region a wilderness, to better protect the beaver’s habitat to insure a continuation of the profits from the trade in beaver skins. The proprietors or factors of the Bay Company were content to have the Indians bring their furs to the “Factories,” as the forts and outposts were called by the Bay Company employees. This system worked well until competition by the Scots changed the calculus of the Northwest.

233 Ibid., xviii.
The North West Company (NWC) was created in 1783 by a group of Scots and Englishmen who immigrated to Montreal to seek their fortunes in the fur trade. Their creation of the NWC put them in direct competition with the Bay Company. “Operating out of their counting houses in Montreal and a hundred or so outposts connected by an inland navy of two thousand canoeists, they challenged the power and majesty --the very existence-- of the Hudson’s Bay Company and fought the Royal Adventurers to a standstill.”

The NWC leaders were more than entrepreneurs, they were men of curiosity and tremendous fortitude. Men like Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie were the pathfinders and mapmakers of the North American continent’s upper latitudes. These men pushed westward always staying ahead of the Bay Company in order take the fur trade away from their competitors.

In July, 1793, as a consequence of his fixation on finding a commercially viable overland route to the Pacific Ocean and the China trade, Alexander Mackenzie was the first European to cross North America, north of Mexico. Mackenzie and a small group of six Canadians, one American loyalist (Alexander McKay) and two Indians paddled and hacked their way to the Pacific Ocean.

Mackenzie and other explorers like David Thompson and Simon Fraser developed detailed maps of their explorations, which were then used by other Nor’Westers to plant trading posts and spread their trade with the Indians west of the divide.

The leaders of the North West Company were nearly all Scots. But they used the backs and the canoes of the French Canadians, and the Métis, to move their trade goods and furs from the Indian wilderness to Montreal. Both the Bay Company and the Nor’Westers used whiskey to lubricate their trade with the Indians. The alcohol reduced the bargaining power and price that the Indians could get for their furs; it was also instrumental in destroying their culture. The NWC traders and Bay

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235 Ibid., 5.
237 “Nor’Westers” or the “Little Company” (in contrast to the Hudson’s Bay Company), were other common names for the NWC.
Company men left behind a legacy of alcoholism, syphilis, and dissipated native culture as they pushed toward the Pacific in their destructive competition for supremacy in the West.”

Caught in the middle of the rivalry for power and permanence on the prairies were the Métis. It was “the Métis’s growing sense of nationhood, and the avowed strategy of the Nor’Westers to stop the Hudson’s Bay Company from interfering with their trade by driving out the land-squatters threatening their supply lines” that brought the North West Mounted police onto the prairie to bring order out of the chaos caused by these competing groups between 1869 and 1875. The North West Mounted Police were comprised, to a large degree, of Canadians and recently-arrived Englishmen who, following the Riel Rebellion, stayed in the Canadian West and developed the cattle ranching industry in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

3.27 The St. James’s Club Of Montreal

The English gentlemen’s clubs of Montreal and Winnipeg stand in the midst of the French influence in Canada. These two famous English gentlemen’s clubs were created in the center of the French culture (Montreal) and on the edge of the Prairie (Winnipeg). They stood at the beginning of the English and Scottish influence on western Canada. The St. James’s Club of Montreal was made up of former North West Company men (several of which had been members of the Beaver Club years before) and Hudson’s Bay Company men (after the union of the two companies in 1821).

The Beaver Club (1785-1827) was established by a small group of Montreal merchants and adventurers. They were predominantly the Scotsmen, a few Englishmen, an Irishman or two, and French-Canadians who had founded the NWC. The primary requisite for admission to the club was proof that the applicant had spent at least one winter in the Canadian back-country engaged in the Indian trade. The club met every two weeks in the winter. “Members wore large gold medals on club nights, and on the unvarying toast list were: ‘the fur trade in all its

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238 Ibid.
239 Ibid., xvi.
branches,’ and voyageurs’ wives and children.’ Pemmican, the dried buffalo meat mixed with berries and fat which was the staple food of the fur trade, was brought from the Saskatchewan to be served in the unfamiliar atmosphere of mahogany, silver and candle glow. Following hours of food and drink the climax of the evening was “The Grand Voyage,” during which members sat on the floor in a row, as if they were in a 25 foot Voyageur’s canoe. They would use fire tongs and canes as paddles as they sung the voyageur songs. The Beaver Club died partly as a result of the merger of the NWC with the HBC, as well as the depletion of its membership due to old age and repatriation to Scotland, England, and other parts of Canada.

The creation of the St. James’s Club occurred as Montreal was changing from a small frontier community isolated on the St. Lawrence River by the winter ice during the majority of the year into a prosperous community. As the fur trade boom was replaced by settlement and farming, the village grew into a town and then a city. On Tuesday, July 14, 1857, the Saint James’s Club of Montreal opened its doors to its members for the first time. The opening of the clubhouse was a significant undertaking, but one that had been accomplished in short order. It all began only four months earlier, at an organizational meeting on March 14. Harrison Stephens, a Vermont businessman, acted as the chairman during the meeting. At the end of the meeting, the minutes show that “the several parties who have affixed their names to the Subscription list, be, and are hereby constituted into a Club, to be established in the City of Montreal, and to be called the St. James’ Club.”

It was also determined by the founding members at the first meeting that a suitable club house should be located and secured as soon as possible.

The building which was chosen needed some renovation, which was accomplished in short order. The St. James’s Club had a floor-plan and function on the first floor that is typical of

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gentlemen's clubs. The drawing-room occupied the front of the building. Behind that was "the special dining room set aside for strangers. According to the regulations of the Club, no stranger introduced by a member could dine in the members’ room, but had to be taken to the separate stranger’s dining room." Exclusivity and privacy were two hallmarks of the St. James's Club. They were features which linked the St. James's Club irresistibly to its cousins in London.

On the second floor, the front of the building was partitioned into three rooms: the dressing-room, the smoking-room and the card-room (located between them). In the back of the second floor was the reading-room, writing-rooms and the offices of the secretary and for committee meetings. The third floor, originally an attic, was converted into a billiard room. Smoking was for many years permitted only in the billiard room.

Just before the official opening of the clubhouse to its members, the Committee of management that had made the club a reality in four short months had a small celebration. They felt it important enough to memorialize in a special memorandum: "The House was fully lighted for the first time with satisfactory effect; it being found necessary only to order one additional light on the stairs. After its rising, the Committee partook of a slight Cold repast, being the (first) entertainment provided in the house." The St. James’s Club was built on top of the French and Scottish heritage which was the foundation of Montreal. One of its original founders was the Honorable George Moffatt. He had played an important role during Montreal's fur-trading days. Moffatt had himself served for a winter in the brutally cold western trading post as a clerk for the North West Company or as it was called back then, Moffatt had been a member of the fur trader’s famous club: the Beaver Club. He had been one of the Caesars of the West. Moffatt joined that club in 1814 and was one of its last survivors in Montreal by 1857.

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242 Ibid., 4.
243 Ibid., 5.
Moffatt entertained his fellow members of the St. James’s Club when he told about his days at
The Beaver Club:

Each meeting of the Beaver Club was opened by passing round the calumet, the Indian pipe of peace. When the members had filled the room with the genial smoke, an officer of the club would deliver a speech, recalling his adventures in the North West. The whole company would then sing the old song, “A la Claire Fontaine.” Later in the evening they would come to the boisterous symbolism of the “Grand Voyage”. The members would seize fire tongs, pokers, or walking sticks in place of paddles, and would seat themselves upon the floor. Then all would make a roaring pretence of sending a canoe through the most appalling spray and down the most treacherous rapids. The songs of the voyageur would make them swing in motion, and the member at the end of the line would shout his commands.244

The festivities and secret rites of the Beaver Club would begin at four o’clock in the afternoon and end at four o’clock in the morning. The Beaver Club had its last meeting in 1827. By then George Moffatt had become a partner in a lucrative Montreal shipping company of Gillespie, Moffatt and Co. Moffatt’s long history in Canada and Montreal brought considerable prestige and personal stability to the club that he had helped to create.

Another important charter member of the St James’s Club was John Redpath. He was born in Berwick shire, Scotland and arrived in Montreal in 1816. Redpath became an important player in the struggle to open up the Montreal and Lachine region to better transportation. He built the Lachine Canal. With that success under his belt, he then built a significant portion of the Rideau Canal. His business branched out and he was able to supply the stone for several important construction projects in Montreal, including two sections of the Art Building on the McGill University campus.

Several of the charter members of the St James’s Club were born in England or Scotland, or had visited or been stationed in England in government appointments or for business purposes. Thus the membership was aware of the nature of London’s better clubs, and utilized that knowledge in both the physical layout and organization and rules of their own club. “The coming together of so many remarkable citizens to form a Club assured its success

244 Ibid., 8.
from the start. What is more, it also assured the Club’s distinction, and the desire for high standards of amenity." The attention to detail by the Committee of Management demonstrated the membership’s concern for the highest quality of food, spirits and service for its members. Two cases exemplify this point: It was a rule of the club that “Every evening the shutters of the drawing-room were to be closed and the curtains drawn. To prevent disagreeable odors from causing annoyance, the Committee had ordered ‘a door and partition at the kitchen-staircase, and a ventilator’.” Regarding the quality of service the Committee directed the servants to show “attention to their general appearance and dress,” and “to avoid loud talking and other disagreeable noises.”

As with the London clubs, seemingly small issues regarding staff behavior were considered important enough for committee action, in order to preserve the highest possible standards expected by the membership. Two examples: “One of the waiters had to be dismissed, for venturing to suggest that a new system of receipts at the Club could never work, ‘inasmuch as the Head Waiter was unable to read.’ This was regarded as ‘insubordination and incivility’.” In another incident, the porter had a habit of removing “newspapers out of the Coffee Room after being told to refrain from the practice,” and his behavior had to be attended to for the appropriate improvement.

The St James’s Club was such a success that its membership soon outgrew its first clubhouse and the Committee of Management was directed to locate and build a larger clubhouse. At the Annual Meeting in 1865, after the second clubhouse had been occupied the Committee of Management was able to announce a great achievement:

\[245\] Ibid., 21.
\[246\] Ibid.
\[247\] Ibid.
\[248\] Ibid., 23.
\[249\] Ibid., 41.
The Committee may now congratulate the Members on possessing a house which is an ornament to the city, and in appearance and comforts, is inferior to none in British America.\textsuperscript{250}

The club was growing along with Montreal. The size of the British military grew along with Montreal and Quebec. The St. James’s Club opened its doors to the officers of the British garrison. The number of military members in the club grew dramatically because “Montreal was one of the garrison cities of the British Empire, and it so continued until 1871.”\textsuperscript{251} In 1881 a syndicate who had come from Scotland to Montreal as fur traders, headed up the management team of a new railroad company. They hired George Stephen, the former president of the Bank of Montreal to manage the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The company purchased steamships and expanded trade between Quebec and the world. In 1890, the management of the CPR began a bold plan to link Victoria to London with a series of grand tourist hotels to promote the tourist trade. In Quebec City in 1893 the Château Frontenac Hotel opened its doors forming the CPR’s eastern link with the west coast of Canada for its wealthy passengers. The Empress Hotel of Victoria was opened in 1908 as the western port-of-call for wealthy English tourists traveling under the Union Jack from Hong Kong to London. The population of Montreal continued to grow along with the economy of Quebec throughout the thirty year period as the CPR established its business empire, headquartered in the Windsor Hotel next to Montreal’s grand railway station. The membership of the St. James’s Club grew along with the city, so that an extension was built on the new clubhouse in the 1890s. The St. James’s Club continues its operations today with over 150 years of “Privilege, Prestige and Renown.” The club took its “inspiration from the great English club tradition, it provided a welcome gathering place for the leading members of Montreal society at a time when their influence and power were increasing,” according to the club’s official website.\textsuperscript{252}

\textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid., 24
\textsuperscript{252} http://www.stjamesclub.ca/en/club_contenu.asp?idContenuSection=22 [accessed October 24, 2009].
3.28 The Gentlemen’s Club Of Winnipeg: The Manitoba Club

Located at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers as a HBC fort, the site was a center for trade between the First Nations for centuries before European contact. The first Europeans were French traders (1738) followed Lord Selkirk’s Red River Colony in the early 1800s on land purchased from the Bay Colony. The French lived and traded with the Indians in the area creating a Creole culture of the Métis. The North West Company built Fort Gibraltar there in 1809 followed by the Hudson’s Bay Company which built Fort Douglas in 1812. The two companies competed fiercely in the area until their union in 1821. Caught in the middle were the Métis who saw their farms surveyed by the English intruders and their claims to their lands questioned. This led to the first Métis uprising called the Riel Rebellion or the Red River Rebellion in 1869. This rebellion ended with the Métis moving west to the Saskatchewan River and the development of Manitoba into a Canadian province.

Winnipeg was incorporated in 1873 with the Selkirk settlers forming the nucleus of the community that grew at “the forks” as the area was called. The population in 1873 was 1,869 made up of English, Scottish, French and Métis. By 1881 the population had grown to 10,000. The community was originally built on trade but farming grew in the region and the town expanded significantly in 1885 with the arrival of the CPR. The railroad’s arrival ushered in a 30 year period of growth with a flood of immigrants, most of them from Britain during the first decade.

The Manitoba Club was established in Winnipeg in on July 16, 1874 at the St. James Restaurant. The club had 25 founding members at a time when Winnipeg had only 2,000 citizens. It is the oldest private gentlemen’s club in western Canada. “The first clubhouse was in a rented building which burned to ashes in February 1875 when Winnipeg’s first steam fire engine, on its inaugural run, failed to get there in time.”

It took only six weeks for the membership to find new quarters and a billiard table. Locating another billiard table at the edge

253 http://www.manitobaclub.mb.ca/ [accessed September 27, 2009].
of the prairie before the coming of the railroad was no small feat in those days.

The membership remained in the temporary quarters for six years before they decided to build their own clubhouse. The third clubhouse was built on land purchased for $8,000 from the Hudson’s Bay Company at 194 Broadway. The new clubhouse opened in 1905. The club was officially opened by His Excellency, the Governor General, Earl Grey. The facility is well appointed and boasts five floors and a total square footage of 55,000. In 1909 the club was expanded with the addition of an east wing and a card room on the second floor. The club’s facilities for entertaining large groups in its ball room and dining room are substantial. It also has sleeping rooms, a fitness room and a large billiard room, with several tables. The clubhouse is also equipped with a bar and several private rooms for meetings. It is the only gentlemen’s club in downtown Winnipeg. The club was well known not only in Canada, but also in the United States. It has been visited by such luminaries as Mark Twain and General William Tecumseh Sherman. The Manitoba Club remains today one of the largest clubs in Western Canada.

3.29 Summary

The similarities between the development of the English gentlemen’s clubs from taverns and coffee houses in London, and the development of American gentlemen’s clubs from taverns and coffee houses in urban America have been documented. The singular creation of the several American and the two Canadian gentlemen’s clubs in the eastern regions of North America demonstrates the American and Canadian efforts to mimic the decorum, rules and policies of their London cousins. While America of course did not have titled nobility following the American Revolution, the development of its gentlemen’s clubs was an obvious effort at exclusion as much as it was for the inclusion of those deemed worthy by their peers who were already members of the clubs. According to Cleveland Amory, who described clubdom in his book, *Who Killed Society*?:

The History of American clubdom is actually a story of Social Security—with capital “S”s.” From the very beginning, clubs were formed not primarily to get people in, but rather to keep people out. . . . The American city clubs were
patterned originally on the English idea of a gentlemen’s club. Although they never carried this pattern to the extreme of the English club, where in the old days members wore their hats everywhere in the club except the dining room, the American gentlemen found, like the Englishman, that his club, and not his home, was his real castle. "

Gentlemen’s clubs of the East were principally concerned with exclusion of those who were not considered appropriate dinner guests or business associates. In the chapters that follow we will see if that same concern is the prime factor in the creation of the clubs, or if local business promotion and public relations efforts for continued regional development as well as camaraderie were the principal motivations for the creation of the gentlemen’s clubs of the West.

In the next six chapters the British influences on the American and Canadian West will be explored in detail. The economic and cultural impacts of British investment and ownership of cattle, lands, mines and businesses in three regions in the American and Canadian West will be examined. The role of the six gentlemen’s clubs and their British members will be scrutinized in detail to determine the influence of those clubs on community building and politics, both locally and nationally. The microcosm of the influence of individual Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen on the origins and activities of the six gentlemen’s clubs will be dissected. This study will begin with the part played by British money and cultural influence on the Beef Bonanza in the Texas Panhandle in general and on the Fort Worth Club in particular.

CHAPTER FOUR
TEXAS CATTLE INDUSTRY AND THE FORT WORTH CLUB

Any history of the cattle industry in the West must begin with Texas since that state was the original home of ranching on a large scale in the United States, and from its vast herds were drawn most of the cattle for the first stocking of the central and northern plains.

Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*

4.1 Introduction

The last chapter described how the English gentlemen’s clubs migrated and germinated in the American Colonies before the American Revolution. The taverns and coffee houses were the soil from which the first gentlemen’s clubs grew in America, but the idea for the clubs came along with many of their members from mother England. This chapter and the one that follow describe the movement west of the English gentlemen’s clubs and their transplantation to the American Great Plains and the Canadian Prairie.

This chapter is about the relationship between the formation of the Fort Worth Club, originally the Commercial Club, and the financial and cultural impacts of British investment on the Texas cattle industry in general and in particular on the Panhandle range-cattle industry during the 1880s. No discussion of the Texas cattle industry between 1870 and 1900 would be complete without reference to the influence of British capital on the Texas cattle industry, a significant portion of which was owned and/or operated by Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen. The development and prosperity of Fort Worth, Texas and the Fort Worth Club is direct result of the Texas cattle industry. The Texas cattle industry was also tremendously influenced by the infusion of British capital. “Between 1879 and 1888, no fewer than thirty-three
British companies registered to invest in American ranching.²⁵⁵

That the Texas cattle industry was responsible for the growth of Fort Worth is as obvious as the stockyards which remain an attraction for the visitors to Fort Worth today. The influence of the western cattle barons on the Fort Worth Club is not quite as obvious. In fact, the direct influences of British capital and culture on Fort Worth and the Fort Worth Club are rather difficult to trace. However, the Fort Worth Club through its ranch owning members in the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association demonstrate the English connection. The origin of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, its significant influence on the state’s cattle industry and its relocation to Fort Worth also had an important role to play in the City’s and the Club’s future.²⁵⁶ Thus, the history of Fort Worth and the Fort Worth Club was directly influenced by the cattle industry, which in turn was heavily influenced by British capital.

The cattle boom in Texas was a part of the brief “Beef Bonanza” that took place throughout the Great Plains of the American and Canadian West. Texas --specifically north-central Texas and the Panhandle region-- was the origin of that development. This chapter concentrates on three issues. First, the Beef Bonanza in north-west Texas and the Panhandle was driven in large part by British capital. Second, the creation of the Stock-Raisers’ Association was an important link between the Beef Bonanza and Fort Worth. Finally, the Beef Bonanza of Texas had a formative impact on the growth of Fort Worth and the Fort Worth Club reflected that impact.

²⁵⁵ William Woodrow Savage, Jr. “Cattle King: Sir Horace Plunkett in Wyoming, 1870-1889” (Master’s Thesis University of South Carolina, 1966), 8. See also: Robert G. Atherton, Westward the Briton, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1953) 180. The total capital of these companies was over $37,000,000. Of this $27,000,000 was transferred to the United States.

²⁵⁶ The name of the association that was organized on February 15, 1877 in Graham, Texas was “The Stock-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas” according to Mary Whatley Clarke biographer of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association. The name changed to the Cattle Raisers (no ') Association of Texas in 1893. The name changed by 1951 to Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers (no ') Association.
4.2 A Little Known, Persistent Secret: British Investment In Texas

The British influence typically receives little treatment in the standard history textbook. For example, *The Texas Heritage*, edited by Ben Procter and Archie P. McDonald, says in the chapter on “The Cattle Frontier in Texas” that “large syndicates, some of them backed by European investors, bought or leased the grazing rights to hundreds of thousands of acres. These large-scale, non-resident owners contracted with Texans for a cattle herd to start their enterprises.”

Thus, even as the impact of the large European-owned ranches is alluded to, the nationality of the “non-resident owners” is hidden from the reader. Only two ranches are mentioned: the King Ranch, which is Texas-owned, and the XIT. The reader is never informed, though, that the Chicago syndicate mortgaged the XIT to a group of British investors, or the name of that British corporation. The authors conclude the chapter with the summary comment that “The Texas cattle industry also served as catalyst for significant changes in the United States” and a description of the improvements to the breeding of cattle for better meat production.

This makes more serious the authors failure to give credit to the British for having a large role in the process of upgrading the Texas Longhorn with British Hereford and Scottish Angus stock.

Another Texas history survey text: *Texas: The Lone Star State*, Sixth Edition, by Robert N. Richardson, Adrian Anderson and Ernest Wallace, which published six times between 1943 and 1993 gives only a few sentences to the impacts of British capital on the cattle industry. These authors do mention Charles Goodnight’s “partnership with John Adair, an Irish capitalist.” They mention the XIT, “a Chicago-based syndicate and the largest of the Texas ranches. . . .” These authors also fail to mention that the largest Texas ranch was mortgaged by the Chicago-based syndicate to a British syndicate. In their discussion of “People of the

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258 Ibid., 283.
260 Ibid., 285.
Range” the authors state that “most ranchers and cowboys were Anglo-Americans who moved west from eastern areas of Texas, but people of many cultures met and mingled on the ranges of South and West Texas.” Several other demographic facts are given about African Americans, black cowboys and Tejano-owned ranches. In 1900 Tejanos accounted for about 60 percent of the landowners in Cameron, Star, and Zapata counties in Southern Texas. The fact that most of the Panhandle was owned or controlled during the 1880s by British individuals or syndicates is not mentioned. At the end of the paragraph was a brief mention of the English:

Anglo-Americans, Mexican Americans, African-Americans, Germans, and people of other heritages shared the hardships of the trail drive and the daily routine of the range. In the hill country, Germans established prosperous ranches, and Scottish, English, and Irish investors invested millions in ranches on the plains of northwestern Texas.

The mixing of the various ethnic cattle drivers and small ranchers of the hill country almost buries the Scottish, English, and Irish who invested over $200,000,000 in the Panhandle of Texas by the end of the 1880s. At the beginning of that decade, the state was $5,500,000 in debt. In 1879, according to Governor O.M. Roberts, the total valuation of all land and property in Texas was $300,000,000 “appearing on the assessment rolls.” So, the British investment in land and cattle in Texas by the end of the 1880’s equaled 66 percent of the total value of all land and personal property in the state at the beginning of the decade. One does not get that impression from either Texas history text or from the two most popular histories of the state.

These few examples of the popular Texas histories and survey course texts demonstrate the limited attention given to the impacts and influence of the British and their capital in Texas during the 1880s. But the effort to erase any trace of that influence is further demonstrated in two older but important works on the Texas cattle history. The non-attributed

261 Ibid., 225.
262 Ibid.
263 Ibid., 255.
History of the Cattlemen of Texas: A Brief Resume of the Live Stock Industry of the Southwest and a Biographical Sketch of Many of the Important Characters Whose Lives are Interwoven Therein (1914) was originally privately printed for the families of the Cattle Raisers’ Association of Texas. It was later published for wider distribution in 1991 by the Texas State Historical Association. According to Harwood P. Hinton, the author of the Introduction, this work was an effort to rehabilitate the sagging reputation of the ranching and livestock industry following two famous incidents. The book told of the trial of the murderer of A.G. Boyce, ex-manager of the XIT Ranch in Fort Worth in 1912 and the trial of “millionaire stockman S. B. Burnett [who] fired a fatal shot at a King County rancher” and was acquitted based on an argument of self-defense in 1913; both trials were the talk of Texas for the months that followed. According to Hinton, the book was developed in an effort to counteract the growing perception that the “pioneer cattlemen were out of step and fast becoming relics of the past.”

What stands out in this work --both in its brief 54-page summary of the history of the cattle industry in Texas and in its biographical sketches-- is the almost complete absence of the names of any of the British ranch owners or ranch managers. In the entire 350 pages of this catalog of the most prominent Texas ranchers, one British immigrant, one Canadian immigrant, and the Irish moneymaker partner of Charlie Goodnight are the only foreigners mentioned. It is interesting to note that John Thomas Sargent became a resident of Bay City Texas “although [sic] born in London, England” --as if being born in England was seen by the author as some form of handicap to be overcome with sufficient time spent in Texas.

The short biographical sketch of Charles Goodnight in the History of the Cattlemen of Texas has him an equal partner with John Adair, the wealthy Irish investor. This does not correspond to the description of the arrangement in J. Evetts Haley’s biography: Charles

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266 Ibid.

267 Ibid., 217.
Goodnight: Cowman & Plainsman, in which Haley notes that on “June 18, 1877, the Adair and Goodnight partnership was effected, a five-year agreement providing that Adair should finance the enterprise while Goodnight should furnish the foundation herd and direct the ranch. He was to receive a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars, which along with operating expenses, was to be paid from current proceeds.”

Throughout these old histories of the Texas cattle ranching era, such arrangements are often pictured as partnerships, when in fact the Texan is often the employee of the wealthy British owner.

Nothing in my argument suggests that the contributions and importance of the Texas cattleman, nor the truth or myth about the Texas cowboy, should in any way be devalued because of the need for a realistic recognition of the importance of British capital in Texas.

4.3 The Texas Cattle Industry: Setting The Context

Most histories of Texas relate that the period following the Civil War was one of economic devastation for the state. Edward Everett Dale’s The Range Cattle Industry, Ranching on the Great Plains from 1865 to 1925 (1930) provides a comprehensive description of the state of Texas following the Civil War leading up to the cattle boom of the 1880s. When Texas joined the Confederacy, there was a rush of most of its young men to join the rebel armies and fight for the cause. That left few men, but rather mostly women, young boys and old men, to tend to the farms on the home front. Once the Mississippi River was captured by the Union, few herds could make it to the east. “It seems certain, therefore, that but few Texas cattle were consumed during the four years of war except those used to feed the civilian population of the state itself, and the comparatively small number of troops within its borders.”

Therefore, when the war was over and the Texas veterans returned home, they found their farms generally run down but there was an abundant supply of wild cattle. There was little money in Texas after the war and no local market for the cattle.

4.1 Cattle Trails and Ranches, Texas (1880).
According to Dale “It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the number of cattle in Texas at the close of the Civil War. The Department of Agriculture estimated the number in 1866 to be 3,111,475.”\textsuperscript{270} Dale and several other historians dispute that number, because so many cattle had gone wild during the four years of the war and wore no brands. According to the \textit{Eighth Census} the state’s population was 604,215 while estimates vary about the four to eight million cattle in a state at that time.\textsuperscript{271} The ratio of cattle to population was at least six head to one individual.

Because there was no market for the cattle in Texas, to speak of, and no easy way of getting the cattle to the east, the railroads having not made it into Texas, the price of Texas cattle was very low. It should be noted that Texans drove their cattle to market in the 1850s, and a few times during the Civil War to New Orleans. In 1858, according to the \textit{Western Journal of Commerce}, 11,000 head were driven from Texas to Chicago.\textsuperscript{272} Following the war, farmers and ranchers were known to sell their cattle for as low as one or two dollars a head.\textsuperscript{273} At the same time cattle were selling in the East for $32.83 in Missouri, $38.40 in Kansas, $40.19 in Illinois, $68.57 in New York and $86.00 in Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{274} With such price differentials, it did not take long for Texans to begin to take the long trail North. “Texas in 1865 was a vast reservoir fairly overflowing with cattle. To the north lay markets, to the north Texans must go with the only movable property left to them, their great herds of cattle.”\textsuperscript{275}

In 1874, after two decades in the cattle business Joseph G. McCoy published his work on the cattle trade as he knew it from Texas to Canada. His book, \textit{Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest by Joseph G. McCoy} (1874), has been quoted by many of the best western historians for over a century. In his chapter titled “Driving Cattle North

\textsuperscript{270} Ibid., 11; See also: \textit{Monthly Reports of Department of Agriculture}, 1866, 350-351.
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{272} \textit{Kansas City Daily Western Journal of Commerce}, (Sept. 25, 1858), 5.
\textsuperscript{273} Joseph G. McCoy, \textit{Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest} (Kansas City, Mo.: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson. 1874, Columbus, Ohio: Long’s College Book Co., 1951), 20.
\textsuperscript{274} \textit{Monthly Reports of Department of Agriculture} (1867), 108-109.
\textsuperscript{275} Dale, \textit{The Range Cattle Industry}, 14.
in 1866”, McCoy relates the stories of several small drovers who attempted just after the war to drive their herds through Oklahoma Indian territory, Missouri and Nebraska. The Indians in Oklahoma demanded a toll on each animal, while the Missouri “bushwackers” were known to beat up or kill drovers and steal their cattle. In his conclusion, McCoy states that “the year 1866 was, taking all things into consideration, one of great disaster to southern drovers. All the bright prospects of marketing profitably the immense surplus live stock of Texas faded away, or worse, proved to those who tried driving, a serious financial loss.”  

McCoy developed the idea to provide a railhead for Texas cattle in Kansas so that the drovers would be able to eliminate the problems of dealing with the Missouri bushwackers. Drovers took their choice and chances in the Oklahoma Territory, Kansas and Missouri. “On July 9, 1866, a newspaper correspondent at Fort Scott estimated that between 80,000 and 100,000 cattle were then grazing on the Cherokee Strip alone.”

An important and unfortunate result of the drive of 1866 was the outbreak of Texas fever in most of the states that Texas cattle passed through. Several states attempted to prohibit Texas cattle from going through their state. No law in any state could hold back Texas beef completely. By 1867 Abilene had become an important railhead and shipping point for Texas cattle. In Abilene “[Joseph] McCoy built shipping pens to accommodate three thousand head of cattle, a hotel, barns and livery stables.” McCoy was a pioneer in the development of Abilene for the cattle industry, but as the railroad continued to move west Abilene lost its prominence as the chief shipping point. By 1871, the main trails had shifted to the west to Newton, Wichita, and Dodge City. It is impossible to determine exactly how many cattle were driven up the various trails to the westward moving railheads in the 1870s. “Colonel Ike T. Pryor of San Antonio estimates that the average annual drives northward from Texas from 1870

276 McCoy, Historic Sketches, 109.
277 Ibid., 49; See also Leavenworth Daily Conservative, (August 11, 1866).
to 1890 were half a million head." But, by the 1870s, many of those cattle were driven further north into the states and territories above Kansas.

Events, however, conspired against the long drive. The scourge of Texas fever re-emerged in the northern states along the trails. This resulted in "a blizzard of quarantines and regulations." The cattlemen formed associations, like the Stock-Raiser's Association of North-West Texas established in Graham, Texas in 1877. They "lobbied Congress to create a national cattle highway that would run from the Nueces River to Canada, but the day and the mood had passed." By the end of the 1870s the era of the long drive was nearly over. Three events signaled the end of the long drive era and the beginning of the second phase of the Beef Bonanza. The arrival of farmers and barbed wire on the Great Plains began to ring the death knell for the long drive. The clapper rang louder as the railroads approached the Texas Panhandle. "The progress of the railroad into western Texas made the trail obsolete. By the end of the 1880s the way to Dodge City was increasingly difficult to navigate amid the legal, physical, and increasingly economic barriers." But the final stroke was the development of deep-well drilling for water that turned the prairies, especially those in the Panhandle, into an oasis for the cattle industry and for farming.

4.4 British Investment Comes To Texas

It should be understood at the outset of any study of the beef cattle industry in the American west that the industry was built not just on cattle but on capital. Capital was the life blood of the Texas cattle industry. According to the author of *When Grass Was King*,

Hundreds of domestic cattle companies were formed, financed at first by local capital and then, as the opportunities were recognized, by investment capital from the east. But the largest cattle corporations where those organized in

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279 Ibid., 43.
281 Ibid.
282 Ibid., 203-204.
foreign countries. They were relatively few in number but gigantic in their operations and influence.  

It was understood during the birth and maturation of the Beef Bonanza in the American and Canadian West that much of the industry was financed by borrowed capital. According to Joseph G. McCoy, the founder of one of the most famous cow towns in America, Abilene,  

It is common in transacting live stock business to borrow large sums of money, usually upon short time, say thirty to ninety days. Not one operator --whether he be drover, feeder, or shipper--in a thousand ever has money sufficient of his own to conduct all his business operations without borrowing capital.  

British investment came to Texas via several different routes, which combined to form a major financial and cultural influence in that state. The greatest financial impact was shared by British investment syndicates, under the limited liability company laws, and the mortgage banking practices of the Scottish and London mortgage companies. But it was the individual British citizens who came to Texas, bought ranches and accumulated land and cattle that had not only a financial impact on the state, but also a cultural impact. There were also the British and American entrepreneurs who promoted deals in Texas for individual British investors and syndicates. One needs therefore next to consider these economic and social generators as they came to impact the cattle industry in Texas and the lives of Texans.  

4.5 The Prairie Cattle Company  

The Prairie Cattle Company was the first British company to invest in land and cattle in Texas. This company was promoted by the American firm of Underwood, Clark & Co., which had connections with the Scottish American Mortgage Company. The “Scottish American Mortgage Company which founded the Prairie Cattle Company, [was] one of the largest ranching enterprises in the west.”  

The operations of the Prairie Cattle Company were carried  

283 Maurice Frink, When Grass Was King: Contributions to the Western Range Cattle Industry Study, (Boulder, University of Colorado Press, 1956), 7.  
284 McCoy, Historic Sketches, 363. McCoy’s book was published in Kansas City in 1874. It survives as the earliest complete account of the range cattle industry in the United States.  
on largely in Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas and it was said to own nearly 150,000 head of cattle in 1885, and to have paid heavy dividends. The company fit the stereotype that was to develop for roughly the next fifteen years. A Scottish company forms to invest in cattle and land in the Western United States. “An earl was made chairman of the board, a move characteristic of most of these companies.” The company has little difficulty getting investors when it announces its intentions to purchase ranches in Colorado and New Mexico. It later purchases a ranch in Texas. The Texas range of the Prairie Cattle Company covered more than 400 square miles and was stocked with close to 30,000 head of cattle worth, land and cattle combined, approximately $715,000.

In 1881 the company purchased the one thousand–square mile LIT ranch, previously owned by George W. Littlefield. “The company’s report for 1883 indicated holdings of 139,450 acres in fee simple and a herd numbered at 162,665 head.” The auspicious beginnings of the company were quickly turning sour as difficulties arose between Underwood, Clark and Co. and the Prairie Company. Various investors wrote letters to the editor of the Economist claiming that statements made in the reports of the company were exaggerated or incorrect. Another problem was that Underwood, Clark and Co. also formed the Union Land and Cattle Company, Limited. However, Underwood, Clark and Co. was forced to dissolve that company after the shareholders of the Prairie Company protested that Clark and Duncan Smith of the company had conflicted allegiance. In 1881 it was discovered that Underwood and Company had collected twice on the purchase of a herd of cattle and some horses. This represented a $100,000 loss to the Prairie Company. Underwood and Company reimbursed the Prairie Company for only 65 percent of the loss. Thus from the beginning of British investment in Texas land and cattle operations, the British were subject to a pattern of abuse, either from their

287 Dale, The Range Cattle Industry, 82
289 Ibid.
290 Economist. XLII (1884): 142.
American agents, or from Texas ranchers who sold cattle to the British based on book count, which was often off by as much as 50 percent.

4.6 British Companies Formed To Trade In Texas Land And Cattle

The initial success of the Prairie Company "seemed to carry the Scottish people off their feet, and they hurriedly formed many new cattle companies. Among them were: Hansford Land and Cattle Company, Matador Land and Cattle Company, The Texas Land and Cattle Company, [The Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, Limited, The Espuela Land and Cattle Company, the Rocking Chair Ranche, The Francklyn Land and Cattle Company, ] . . . and many others."²⁹¹

Underwood, Clark & Co. was involved in the creation of the next British company that invested in Texas cattle and lands. It was aptly named: the Texas Land and Cattle Company, Limited. Underwood, Clark & Company provided dividends to the shareholders based on "the increment of value on the stock of cattle during the year."²⁹² The reliability of that increase in value was questioned by The Manual, since it was not based upon actual sales of cattle (the increase was an estimate based on a number of variables including: the estimate of the number of calves, the estimated market value of the cattle not sold, and the "book count" which itself was often an inflated estimate of the total number of cattle on the range)

In 1882 British investors saw the creation of four major cattle companies with ranches in the Texas Panhandle: The Cattle Ranche and Land Company, Limited whose agents in the United States were Webster, Hoare, & Co.; the Hansford Land and Cattle Co., Ltd with herds bought from the Adobe Walls, Bugbee, Word and Snider ranches; the Matador Land and Cattle Company (discussed in more detail later in this paper); and the Western Land and Cattle Company, which was created with a capital investment of $15,000,000 and the purchase of over 25,000 head of cattle.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Dale. The Range Cattle Industry, 97-98
The Western Land and Cattle Company's first year was a very profitable one. "The familiar story of low costs was repeated in the annual report: 'No rent or taxes had to be paid, and . . . no expenditure whatever was incurred for feeding, the cattle thriving admirably on the prairie grasses'.'\(^{294}\) The Western Company declared a dividend on the increased value of the cattle, which had not yet been sold during the second year. A letter to the *London Times* expressed concern that such dividends were not based on sales of cattle and were thus spurious.\(^{295}\) Nevertheless, 1883 the boom was well underway for the British investor in Texas land and cattle companies.

The Pitchfork Land and Cattle Co. headquartered at Paducah, was organized and managed by D. B. Gardner until his death.\(^{296}\) Gardner, "one of the last survivors of the small body of cattlemen who organized the present Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association in 1877, died in Fort Worth. D. B. Gardner was one of the best known cattlemen of Northwest Texas."\(^{297}\) The Pitchfork Land and Cattle company was British owned and Gardner was a member of The Stock-Raisers Association of North-West Texas.

### 4.7 Six Case Studies in British Owned Texas Ranches

In 1854 the Texas Legislature had passed legislation that provided sixteen sections of land from its public lands in West Texas for each mile of railroad track built in the state. Competition between railroad companies for Texas land grew strong in the early 1870s. In 1872 the Houston & Great Northern Railroad merged with the International Railroad. Then this consolidated company transferred title of its lands to the Texas Land Company in 1875. In 1880 the New York & Texas Land Company, Ltd was formed for the purpose of making a profit from advantageous land purchases and sales. The New York & Texas Land Company purchased the Texas Land Company. During Reconstruction in Texas, the New York & Texas Land Company in turn purchased over 6,000,000 acres of land, situated mostly in the

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\(^{296}\) *The Cattleman*, XV. No. 2. (July, 1928), 39.

\(^{297}\) Ibid.
Panhandle and West Texas. Much of this land and the land around it in the Panhandle became the property of British-owned ranches.

In order to demonstrate the depth and the breadth of the British financial investment in the cattle business in the Panhandle of Texas, in order to contrast that picture with the one conveyed in the popular Texas press and at least some of the standard Texas history texts, it is necessary to study in more detail six of the thirty-seven British-owned cattle ranches.

4.7.1 One: The J A Ranch

One of the first British investors to make their mark on the Texas cattle industry was Charles Goodnight’s “partner,” John Adair. The story of Charlie Goodnight and John Adair is really two stories of the development of the Panhandle. “In the fall of 1877, Colonel Charles Goodnight established along Palo Duro Canyon what is said to be the first ranch in the Panhandle. This was the beginning of a big cattle outfit, spreading at first over five and later over seven counties, and a herd which eventually numbered 70,000 including 9,000 high-grade Herefords.”298 After Goodnight determined that the Palo Duro Canyon had everything he needed for a first-class ranch, he went back to Trinidad, Colorado to get his wife. It was then that he was introduced to John Adair by mutual friends. Adair was traveling around the United States trying to find someone to enter the cattle business with in the West. Adair was advised that only one man fit his needs, and that was Charles Goodnight. The two men were thus introduced. “As a result of this meeting Colonel Goodnight and John G. Adair entered into an agreement to the effect that Adair was to furnish the money for Colonel Goodnight to buy a ranch.”299 The arrangement involved Goodnight agreeing to be the range manager, and to develop the ranch for five years at a salary of $2,500 a year. “At the end of five years there was to be a division; Colonel Goodnight was to receive one-third of the land, cattle, and horses after he had reimbursed Adair for the one-third of the money invested, plus ten percent interest on

299 Ibid., 26.
this third that Adair had loaned Colonel Goodnight."  

Goodnight purchased the first 12,000 acres of the JA Ranch from Gunter and Munson in 1877, with an option on an additional 12,000 acres. Goodnight relates the genesis of the transaction as follows:

Adair furnished only money enough to buy twelve thousand acres. I knew that would not monopolize the ranch business, but I wanted to stay. However, the bad part of it was that Adair got mixed up with Gunter and Munson and they were too smart for him and the result was that they held me up for one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre on the twelve thousand acres. I had to get it through them or take my chances, and I wanted that canyon. I got them down to six bits [seventy-five cents] an acre and closed for twelve thousand acres, provided they would let me set the compass and they would run it; and that is where the Old Crazy Quilt comes in. I took all the good land and all the water I could get and under the contract they were to let me designate twelve thousand acres more that I was to take the next year at my option.  

In 1882 the JA Ranch erected the first wire fence. It ran along the northern portion of the ranch in Armstrong and Donley Counties. Its purpose was more to keep other ranchers’ cattle from mingling on the grazing lands of the JA, than to keep the JA cattle on the home range. By 1884, because of Goodnight’s aggressive and judicious purchases of land in the Palo Duro area he and John Adair owned or leased 668,520 acres.

In 1889, the tally books had the total number of cattle at 60,752 plus 12,614 branded calves in the Main Herd. There were an additional 35,000 cattle on other lands owned or leased by Goodnight and Adair for a total of 99,023, when the two men made their split. When the two men severed their relationship both had profited handsomely from the successful arrangement in which British financing and ranch acquisition was paired with the management by a Texan intimate with the region. Significantly, the two stories come about by either ignoring or emphasizing the nature of the partnership or salaried relationship between Goodnight and Adair.

That would seem to be the end of the story, with Goodnight going his own way, an

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300 Ibid., 27.
301 Ibid., 33.
302 Ibid., 62-63.
independent Texas rancher, free of the encumbrance of a partnership or employee/employer relationship with John Adair. It was not the end of Goodnight’s connection to British investors. “A proposed £70,000 loan to Colonel Goodnight, following the dissolution of the Adair-Goodnight partnership, was syndicated by Lord George Campbell. The loan was broken up with the Dundee companies proposing “to take £10,000 of it, along with sister companies.”

4.7.2 Two: The Matador Land And Cattle Company

Probably the most famous foreigner from the British Isles to put his mark on Texas, the American West, and Canadian cattle business was Murdo MacKenzie, manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company. The Matador Cattle Company was established in the center of the Texas Panhandle in 1879 by five partners: Colonel Alfred Markham Britton, Henry Harrison Campbell of North Carolina, Spottswood W. Lomax and John W. Nichols of Fort Worth, and Mr. Cata, who was Britton’s brother-in-law from New York. These five men subscribed $10,000 each for the purchase of the cattle and range rights from other smaller cattlemen in the central Panhandle region. Under the range right system Campbell and his partners expanded their range so that by 1882 they claimed one and a half million acres. In 1881 after the Texas and Pacific railroad had created a railhead at Colorado City, the Matador company sold their first cattle after a twelve-day drive from the range. The time was ripe for Britton and his partners to sell the “ranch” to a foreign investor or syndicate.

Britton approached a group of Dundee investors in 1882. They negotiated an agreement for the purchase of the Matador Cattle Company of Texas, which was valued at between $1,200,000 and $1,300,000 for the land, improvements, and cattle. “By the terms of the agreement,” William Robertson, Robert Fleming, George Halley, and John Robertson of Dundee, and William Smith of Kincairдинshire “undertook to incorporate within three months the

304 Ibid., 98.
Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, a joint-stock company, under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1880, and to purchase on behalf of the new organization the holdings of Britton and his associates for the sum of $1,250,000. Thus, the beginning of one of the few long-term and successful Scottish investments in the North American cattle industry was consummated.

The original members of the Scottish joint-stock company were seriously interested in making a profit in the cattle business. They created a Memorandum of Association which provided the goals of the enterprise in fifteen paragraphs which “all bore directly on one purpose - the raising of cattle.” The rules of the corporation allowed shareholders the option of “installment buying” which encouraged a wider participation by smaller investors. The majority of these small investors lived in Dundee, Scotland. The corporation offered 40,000 shares in the stock company, of which the directors held only 3,730. From the beginning, the directors provided close supervision of all aspects of the ranch operation. The supervision was so tight that “all purchases and contracts exceeding five hundred dollars must have the approval of both manager and superintendent.” On one occasion, Campbell, who was acting as the firm’s manager in Texas, was reprimanded for purchasing 250 bulls without the approval of the head office.

In the mid-1880s, the directors began to consolidate their land holdings, once it became obvious that the original land purchase included lands not owned in fee simple, but surrounded by other Matador land. “In 1885 the Scots entered into their largest trade, an exchange of property with the pitchfork Land and Cattle Company, whose range lay to the east of the Matador.” Considerable land was secured by the company through agents from the state of Texas. “With thousands of acres available for leasing early in the 1880s, little difficulty was experienced in obtaining grass rentals on huge tracts of state-owned lands, for which the

307 Ibid., 10-11.
308 Ibid., 13.
309 Ibid., 14.
310 Ibid., 23.
company paid nine cents an acre a year for a five-year lease."  However, by the mid-1880s farmers were beginning to move into the region and "nesters" began to settle on valuable range land. This reduced the company's leased land from 216,767 acres to 146,000 by the end of the 1880s.

Nowhere is the cattle industry's evolution from the open range to fenced ranch operation more dramatically portrayed than with the Matador operation in the mid-1880s. In 1884, the directors ordered that a fifty-one mile barbed wire fence be built between the Espuela range and the Matador. There was considerable cooperation between the Matador operators and the Espuela ranch manager, and similar cooperation was extended to the Pitchfork and Kit Carter Ranch companies.

In 1881, the Matador Ranch joined the Panhandle Stock association which was established by Charles Goodnight in order to deal with rustling and problems caused by northern states that blocked entry of Texas cattle due to Texas Fever. During the last half of the 1880s many Panhandle ranches were hit hard by droughts, blizzards, the disappearance of the free range and low prices for beef. Several foreign-owned ranches were liquidated because the companies went out of business. But the directors of the Matador Land and Cattle Company remained positive and firm in their position. "The board's position was made clear by Chairman Robertson in 1885:

You are to keep in view that the policy of the Directors has been--and I hope will continue to be--only to pay dividends out of actual sales. This policy, if I mistake not, met with the unanimous approval of the Stockholders at their last annual meeting. I am not, however to argue from this that your Directors are not to give the subject of a dividend--next to the stability of the Company--their very best attention, and to bring every possible effort to bear on the Company's management for that particular purpose.

In the face of mounting economic, environmental and political problems the Board of Directors of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd took a necessarily bold and long range view of

311 Ibid., 24
312 A derogatory name ranchers gave to farmers who claimed public lands under the Homestead Act.
314 Ibid., 34; See also Report of Proceedings, Third Annual General Meeting of Shareholders, 4.
their prospects. The problems had taken their toll on the Matador’s Manager William Sommerville, who announced that he was going to retire in May 1890. This news was followed closely by Hank Campbell’s announcement that he was going to resign as superintendent. The board hired Murdo Mackenzie, formerly of Trinidad, Colorado, as Sommerville’s replacement. Mackenzie had been the manager of the Prairie Cattle Company, Ltd since 1885. “As the Prairie’s manager in America, Mackenzie supervised the organization’s three range divisions, the shipping and marketing of its cattle, and cared for the company’s business in the United States.” It was a little-known fact that Sommerville, a Scotsman himself, was an agent for the Dundee Company and made trips to England to generate revenue from other British firms to invest in cattle and railroad operations. Sommerville was a member of the Stock-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas, which became the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association.

The hiring of Murdo Mackenzie signaled a shift in the Matador orientation from strictly a Texas cattle ranching operation to an interstate and eventually international cattle operation, with ranches in Colorado, Wyoming and Canada. One of Mackenzie’s first tasks was to bring some discipline to the Texas operation. The Board of Directors had determined that the previous management had allowed the cowboys too much latitude. Mackenzie was instructed to lay down strict rules, which he did, but not without protest and threats by the cowboys. “The establishment of these rules and the immediate dismissal of men who had the temerity to test them were accompanied by criticism of the manager and threats on his life.” Mackenzie met such threats head on which gained for him considerable respect in the Panhandle.

Murdo Mackenzie’s tenure as manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd coincided with his election as president of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association.

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315 Sommerville was a resident of Fort Worth and an important member of Fort Worth society and a member of the Commercial Club.
317 Ibid., 40.
Association in 1901.³¹⁸ Mackenzie’s impact and imprint on ranching in the Panhandle, other western states and the Canadian west were too important for this indomitable Scotsman to be left out of this study. “On May 30, 1939, Murdo Mackenzie died in Denver, and with his passing an era ended. Few men had been as intimately associated with the cattle industry as he had during the period of transition from the open range to fenced ranching to feed-lot operations; and few, if any, had a stronger hand in shaping the industry’s development.”³¹⁹ Murdo Mackenzie made his mark on the Panhandle and the United States because of the force of his will and his high expectation of his own and his employees’ behavior. He played a determinative role in the Texas ranch business as the manager of both the Prairie Land and Cattle Company and the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd. “He was a past president of the American National Life Stock association and was a power in it and other organizations, including the Texas and Southwest Cattle Raisers Association.”³²⁰

Murdo Mackenzie had been one of Theodore Roosevelt’s close friends. Roosevelt wrote of Mackenzie in his book: A Book Lover’s Holidays in the Open,

During my term as President he [Mackenzie] was, on the whole, the most influential of the Western cattegrowers. He was a leader of the far-seeing, enlightened element. He was a most powerful supporter of the government in the fight for the conservation of our natural resources for the obligation without waste of our forests and pastures, for honest treatment of everybody and for the shaping of government policy in the interest of the small settler—the homemaker. ³²¹

The Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd was profitable until it was liquidated in 1951 as the longest running foreign-owned cattle ranching company in the United States. The discovery of oil on Matador land probably had an impact on the value of its shares. On March 14, 1951 a report was published of the appraised value of the Matador holdings in Texas which

³¹⁸ He visited Fort Worth frequently in that capacity and was a guest at the Commercial Club when he was in town.
³²⁰ Ibid.
consisted of 791,707 acres with a “probable market value of . . . $19,800,000.”

4.7.3 Three: The XIT Ranch

The largest single holding by a British syndicate in Texas was the 3,000,000-acre XIT Ranch. The story is a familiar one to many Texans, to a degree. Governor O.M. Roberts promulgated a proposal to have a new state Capitol building constructed. The successful firm would receive as its payment 3,000,000 acres of Texas land. A Chicago-based syndicate took the challenge and constructed the Capitol building. The firm was called the Taylor, Babcock and Company. The syndicate was composed of Abner Taylor, A. C. Babcock, John V. Farwell, and Charles B. Farwell.

The sale or exchange for services of such a large amount of land by the state of Texas did not please all Texans. The Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association weighed in on the issue with the resolution passed at their convention:

Whereas, we believe that the sale of state lands in large bodies to one individual or corporation is contrary to the genius of our free institutions and has a tendency to organize and create huge corporations in our state, therefore, be it resolved that it is the sense of this convention that no legislation of any character is necessary for the benefit of the stock interest of Northwestern Texas and that we look upon any attempted change of existing laws or the enactment of any new laws on the subject, as inimical to the interest of the stockmen of Northwestern Texas.

The XIT Ranch or the “Capital Reservation” covered a distance of 200 miles north to south over most of ten counties. Babcock, who had inspected the land and listened to the other panhandle ranchers, especially Charles Goodnight of the JA decided correctly that cattle ranching had the most possibility for profit. But cattle ranching also had a high degree of risk. Elated by the idea of a ‘Cattle bonanza,’ Babcock returned to show what the profits of a range cattle operation would be from grazing 150,000 head of cattle. He figured that based on a calf crop of 90 percent that an investment of $3,000,000 would bring in $4,561,031, or

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324 Ibid., 55.
approximately 30 percent per annum. Babcock reported his figures to the other partners who had been considering the sale of the land to farmers for colonization. Colonization was not possible with the railroad at such a great distance from the Panhandle. Therefore, the Capital Company took Babcock’s suggestion and established the XIT as a ranch, until such time as the railroad and the farmer were closer to their land.

Fencing the land and purchasing the cattle and necessary buildings would take much more money than the Capital Company had or could raise in the United States. According to Haley: “American banks refused to lend on anything not quoted upon the stock exchange [therefore] John V. Farwell went to Europe.” In order to borrow money in England, Farwell realized that he must first establish a British company. Thus was the Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, Limited created. The company was authorized with a capital standing of £3,000,000 which equaled approximately $15,000,000. “As the Capital Company, the American organization, received its land from the state, it transferred it to the trustees of the Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, whose offices were in London.” The British company borrowed money via the sale of debentures totaling £1,000,000 in denominations of fifty pounds and larger at an interest bearing rate of 5 percent.

The British directors of the Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, Ltd. included men of prominence in their country. The Earl of Aberdeen, Quintin Hogg, The Marquis of Tweeddale and governor of the Commercial Band of Scotland became the chairman of the Board of Directors. In all there were seven British members and four American members of the board. The board chose the American John V. Farwell to be the managing director. “By November, 1886, more than 110,000 cattle had been purchased for 1 1/3 million dollars. From that time forward the XIT maintained about 150,000 head on its 3,000,000 acres, trailing cattle to the northern buyers in Kansas and elsewhere, operating a finishing ranch in Montana for

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325 Ibid.
326 Ibid.
327 Ibid., 71.
328 Ibid., 72.
some 10,000 head annually, and in general conducting a full-scale ranching enterprise. Annual reports were supplied to the board presenting the directors with an appraisal of conditions of the land and cattle, the tallies of the cattle, the kinds of sales and amounts that were realized from each sale.

Haley makes an interesting observation in an effort to minimize the influence of the British origin of the company and the British financing of the ranch:

The XIT Ranch was often thought of as an English institution because of the English capital used in its development. The organization in London constituted the necessary technical machinery for securing needed loans, raised through the sale of interest-bearing bonds, secured by a mortgage upon the lands under development. Foreign buyers of bonds were not shareholders in the ranch, only in the company as they received interest upon their money whether the ranch was paying dividends or not. When, in 1909, the directors completed the redemption of the bonds, the foreign company went out of existence. Then, in 1915, the Capital Reservation Lands, a real estate trust, was formed for the disposal of unsold land.

This explanation seems to be similar to one that demonstrates that the water which becomes steam in the boiler only coincidentally has anything to do with the forward motion of the locomotive to which it is attached. The directors of the Capital Company had put their 3,000,000 acres of property up as collateral for the loan to fence and equip the land, and purchase the cattle so that it could become a ranch. The reports made to the shareholders and at the Board of Directors meetings for the Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, Ltd. were not given as a courtesy, but as a statutory requirement by the English law under which the company was formed for the protection of its stockholders. Earlier, Haley had stated that “As the Capital Company . . . received its land from the state, it transferred it to the trustees of the Capital Freehold Land and Investment Company, whose offices were in London. The company borrowing money from British bondholders was predominantly British. The bonds and the title to the land were in the hands of the British company. Thus it is a fair assessment that the XIT

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329 Ibid., 73.
330 Ibid., 74.
was “an English institution.” Furthermore, “as early as 1883 the Times reported that a ‘London syndicate’ had agreed to purchase 3,000,000 acres from a Chicago company that received the land in exchange for building the state capital at Austin.”

The XIT was slow to show a profit, and that profit was insufficient to satisfy the English bondholders, many of whom had held their bonds far beyond maturity with no prospect of redemption. The lack of profits was the result of a combination of factors including, a large note on land with insufficient cattle to turn a profit, poor management and depressed cattle prices following the hard winter of 1886-1887. Faced with receivership, the syndicate decided in 1901 to begin selling its land wholesale in order to purchase the bonds. Much of the land was purchased by farmers who began farming with dry land management techniques and later deep well irrigation.

The XIT was the largest ranch in Texas in the 1880s: while it was managed by an American and the daily operations were performed by American, and Mexican cowboys, it was a British financed operation.

4.7.4 Four: The Espuela Land And Cattle Company

The Espuela Land and Cattle Company, better known as the Spur Ranch, was the subject of a book by William Curry Holden. He subtitled his book, “A Study of a Foreign-Owned Ranch in Texas.” Like many other ranches in Texas that became the property of British or Scottish syndicates, the Espuela Ranch began at the end of the free range era. It was centered in and around Palo Pinto County. Because Palo Pinto was located in the approximate north-center of the state, the free range era came to an end there a little sooner than in West Texas. The small cattlemen who had been running their cattle on the free range “had three choices: to move farther west where free grass could still be had; to acquire title to the land they occupied;

331 Ibid.
333 Ibid.
or to sell their cattle and such improvements as they had made.” Holden then informs the reader that the Slaughters, who owned a ranch adjacent to the Espuela, moved further west. The Daltons and the Edwards brothers sold their holdings to the Espuela Cattle Company. Almost all of the small cattlemen in the region sold to the Espuela.

“The Espuela Cattle Company was a corporation composed of A.M. Britton of Denver as President, S.W. Lomax from Missouri [but residing in Fort Worth] as Secretary, Tom P. Stephens of Fort Worth, S.T. Pepper from Missouri, and A.T. (Bud) Campbell of Ellis County. Britton and Lomax had established other ranches in Texas. Two years earlier, they had begun the Matador Ranch which they later sold to the Scottish syndicate. The sale of the Matador Ranch provided the Espuela owners with the capital to gain title to the land. By 1883, the Espuela Cattle Company owned 569,120 acres (which included 242,560 acres of public domain that the company had surrounded with their purchased land). The purpose of securing title to the land was to sell this ranch at an even greater profit to some British concern. Thus, “Colonel Britton hurried off to England to find a purchaser for the ranch. Soon he discovered several who were willing to exchange good British sterling for Texas land.” The buyers formed the Espuela Land and Cattle Company, Ltd., of London. They were Edward Bishop, Sir Robert Burnett, Alexander Staveley Hill, Sir Charles Edward Lewis, Baronet, M.P., James Badenoch Nicolson, Alexander McNab and his son Alexander Jr.; James McNab and George James Walker. Britton and Lomax made the deal with the British syndicate for the sale of the land and all of its cattle based on the unusual, for Texas, actual head count. On November 30, 1887 the London company paid $1,054,650 for the land and another $640,000 for an estimated 40,000 head of cattle at the market price of $15 a head. In the fall of 1885, the entire deal was consummated at a total investment of $2,278,435. Unfortunately, the Drought of 1886 struck at that time causing severe problems for the syndicate and the cattle industry.

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335 Ibid., 38.
336 Ibid.
337 Ibid., 43-44.
338 Ibid., 46.
“During the next twenty-two years, the Scots and Englishmen had many occasions to regret the acquisition of the property in distant Texas where droughts and breaks in the cattle market, both unheard of at the time of purchase, came all too frequently.”339

Lomax continued to manage the company but became unhappy in his relations with London. In May 1889, the Company cut his salary from $7,500 to $3,750. When he received the news, Lomax reacted with a threat to quit. The company responded by raising their offer to $5,000. During this same period Lomax had been offered a position with a bank in Vernon, Texas, which he accepted. The Board of Directors sent Fred Horsbrugh, a young Scotsman, over to the ranch in 1886 to learn the cattle business. The position paid $125 a month. Horsbrugh was ignorant of the cattle business when he arrived in West Texas. By 1889, he had learned enough to be considered for the manager’s vacant position. The company offered the manager’s position for $2,000 a year. Horsbrugh accepted and served as the manager of the Espuela from 1889 to 1904.340

The Spur was a marginally profitable ranch for the company. “The total income from cattle sales for a sixteen year period, 1889-1904, was $1,778,983.10, or an average of $196,811.44 a year. Unfortunately the ledgers containing the accounts from 1885 to 1888, inclusive . . .have been lost.”341 The annual expenses varied between approximately $48,600 in 1894 to $30,000 in 1896. Since the company had $1,500,000 invested in the land and cattle, the profits averaged about 4 percent annually, a far cry from the 20 to 30 percent rate of return that many books and pamphlets on the beef bonanza had boasted. Horsbrugh’s letters to London were regular and regularly dour. If it was not the heat and lack of rain causing the cows to drop their calves late in the season, it was the unseasonably cold winters, such as the one in 1898-1899: “I have to inform you that we have been visited with the worst blizzard that we have ever had in December. It has stopped snowing and blowing now, but the drifts are very deep.

339 Ibid.
341 Ibid., 26.
All business of course is at a standstill, especially in the office here, as I think every ink bottle and supply of ink is frozen. . . . The last time we had anything equal to this was in January, 1888; then it was worse and got colder." Such were the conditions at the end of the 1880s that drove several British syndicates out of the Texas cattle and land business.

4.7.5 Five: The Rocking Chair Ranch

In Estelle Tinkler’s history of the Rocking Chair Ranch, she paints a picture of the fate of the Rocking Chair that was tied to the Panhandle of Texas, to the national cattle industry and to the home of the absentee owners in London. “It is significant to notice that the roots of the Rocking Chair Ranch were deeply imbedded in the soil of Great Britain, for the Rocking Chair Ranch was controlled by an English syndicate and was set up under the old English system of an absentee landlord.” It was “The right Honourable Edward Marjoribanks, the Second Baron of Tweedmouth, and the Right Honourable John Campbell Hamilton Gordon, the Seventh Earl of Aberdeen” who were the absentee landlords of the Rocking Chair Ranch.

The Rocking Chair was born in 1866 when the State of Texas transferred 235 surveys of land in the eastern portion of the Panhandle to the Houston and Great Northern Railroad Company. In 1874, all the lands of the Houston and Great Northern Railroad became the property of The Texas Land Company. It was a company controlled by English capital but incorporated under the laws of Texas, and “was founded to promote immigration to Texas to facilitate the sale and settlement of lands by immigration, and to introduce laborers, skilled operators and capital into the State of Texas.”

After a report by a Parliamentary Commission which, after making a tour of the American West, validated the wild claims being made about profits to be had in the Texas and Western plains cattle industry, the two members of Parliament, John C.H. Gordon and Sir

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342 Ibid.
343 Estelle Tinkler, Archibald John Writes the Rocking Chair Ranch Letters by Estelle Tinkler (Burnet, Texas: Eakin Press, 1979), 1.
344 Ibid.
345 Ibid., 3.
Dudley C. Majoribanks, formed the Cattle Ranche and Land Company which purchased the land that became the Rocking Chair Ranche. Other land was purchased from the State of Texas and individuals until the land ownership totaled 152,300 acres.

With its absentee landlords the Rocking Chair Ranche was a prime target for mavericking cowpunchers. “Next to cattle raising, cattle stealing was the chief industry” in the Panhandle in the 1880s.\(^{346}\) According to an article in the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*,

The boys ‘up the creek’ mavericked the Rocking Chair cattle and made a joke of it, and the hardened old co-manager, who was really an Englishman himself but an experienced cattleman and toughened in the trail, mavericked 100 to the settler’s one. They all stole from the Rockers [as the Rocking Chair Ranche was called]. Rocking Chair money came in a steady stream, so why not? Archie did not care; apparently nobody cared. There were squatters on alternate sections of school land and there were nesters up on Elm. They could always sell to the Rockers and get paid in the coin of the Realm. They drove bunches down, counted them, delivered them and got their money. Then they drove the cattle over the hill and threw them in pasture; another outfit took them, drove them around from the other side, sold them and got their money a second time. This process was sometimes repeated until the same bunch of cattle had been sold four or five times.\(^{347}\)

Things were about to change for the maverickers and the owners of the Rocking Chair Ranche because the railroad was pushing out onto the prairie past Fort Worth. Therefore as the public lands became more valuable, the State began to lease them to the ranchers first, then later to sell them to the farmers, as the value continued to climb. Both the Rocking Chair Ranche and the adjacent Rowe Brothers Ranch, another British-owned enterprise, began to buy up all the leases they could. The Rocking Chair Ranche “signed a lease whereby they obtained control of 211 sections of 640 acres each, in Collingsworth County and 20 surveys of 640 acres each in Wheeler Country, and paid into the state treasury the sum of $5,862.40 as the first annual payment on this lease.\(^{348}\) But they were only forestalling, for a short period, the inevitable influx of the farmer. As settlers moved out onto the Panhandle, counties began to be formed around the Rocking Chair Ranche property and leases. At the same time the Texas and

\(^{346}\) Ibid., 38.

\(^{347}\) *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, July 15, 1923. This article was written several years after the events described.

\(^{348}\) Tinkler, *The Rocking Chair Ranche Letters*, 40.
Pacific Railroad had laid track across the Panhandle to Texline by January 26, 1888.

The pattern that had a decades-old history now played itself out in Collingsworth County, Texas. “Settlement quickly followed railroad construction and by 1889, Childress County, to the south of Collingsworth, had been organized.”\(^{349}\) The Rocking Chair Ranch, with its 300,000 acres, was being surrounded. By 1890 settlers began to organize Collingsworth county. “Tweedmouth and Aberdeen were still ‘Lords of the Prairies, by virtue of their control of 300,000 acres of panhandle plains lands, but the day of individual administration and untempered justice was passing’.\(^{350}\)

The Honorable Archie, as Archibald John the resident manager was called, could see that the end of an era was at hand. “As early as 1890,[he]had written these prophetic words to his brother Edward: ‘The ranchman’s time is about come’.”\(^{351}\) According to Tinkler: “The thirteen years of occupancy by the Rockers really left an indelible mark on this portion of land, up to the year of 1876, which had been a part of that vast region of Texas designated as Bexar Territory.”\(^{352}\)

The ranchers, like the Rockers, were a necessary step in the opening of the Panhandle to the next and final wave of settlement: the farmers. The British investors and syndicate owners had done their part also. Without the huge amounts of British money the fences, deep-water wells, improved breeding stock and other financial contributions to the settlement by the great cattlemen of the Panhandle could not have happened the way that it did, or with the speed that it was accomplished.

4.7.6 Six: The Francklyn Land & Cattle Company

The Francklyn Land & Cattle Company grew out of the complementary surges of railroad development with its inherent land speculation, and the Beef Bonanza and land investment of the 1870s and 1880s. The Francklyn Land & Cattle Company had its origin in the

\(^{349}\) Ibid.
\(^{350}\) Ibid.
\(^{351}\) Ibid., 165.
\(^{352}\) Ibid.
early 1880s when Colonel B. B. Groom on February 10, 1882, leased 529,920 acres from the
New York & Texas Company. This land was in Carson, Gray, Hutchinson, and Roberts
counties. The contract gave Groom the option to purchase the property on or before February
10, 1883. Before taking the option Groom sold his rights to that arrangement to Charles G.
Francklyn, a New York and London businessman. In this way the Francklyn Land & Cattle
Company was created.

Besides his own investments in mines in Colorado and Utah and in railroad stock in the
St. Louis & Pacific Railroad, Francklyn represented the interests of a group of large British
investors in America. His principal investor was his neighbor Lord Roseberry, possibly
England’s most wealthy individual. On November 8, 1882 the Francklyn Land & Cattle
Company purchased 637,440 acres in the Texas Panhandle for $887,654.353 “The payments
were to be made as follows: $45,654.40 on signing the agreement; $245,000 on May 1, 1884;
the balance of four notes of $146,750 each, payable on February 1 or each of the years 1885,
1886, 1887, and 1888, with interest at the rate of 5 percent per annum, payable semiannually
August 1 and February 1 of each year until paid.”354

Then Francklyn had to secure cattle and make the improvements necessary to turn the
vacant land into an operating ranch. “In order to secure funds for their enterprise, The
Francklyn Company issued 1,500 First Mortgage Gold Bonds in denominations of $1,000 each.
Francklyn sold most of those bonds in England. “The largest purchasers were Lord Rosebery
and Williams, Deacon & Company of the Bank of London.”355

After Francklyn sailed for England, his agents Frank G. Brown and Colonel Groom went
to Texas to “inspect and evaluate the recently purchased property” and to consider plans for the
creation of a cattle ranch on that property.356 For most of the next year, Groom was involved in

354 Ibid.
355 Ibid., 8.
356 Ibid., 10.
the surveying of the Francklyn land in anticipation of fencing it. The Francklyn Land & Cattle Company began its cattle operation at a critical time in the history of that industry. “The year 1883 saw the beginning of a transition from the old haphazard methods of handling cattle to more efficient and businesslike methods.” One would be on solid ground in attributing the movement from the free range form of cattle raising to the more efficient and business-like method to the influence of the British investors and British born ranchers who implemented: better breeding of the native Texas stock, development of large fenced ranch operations, and inter-state ranching operations to take advantage of the better quality of forage in the northern states.

Ironically, once the Francklyn Land & Cattle Company purchased its first herd of 80,000 cattle, its problems began in earnest. “Prior to the enclosure of the Francklyn in the spring of 1883 hundreds of thousands of cattle were grazing on the Greer and White Deer ranges” of the Francklyn property. Separating the other ranchers’ cattle from the Francklyn cattle, and branding approximately 35,000 cattle was the first concern of the ranch manager. “Several things occurred during the branding season of 1883 to cause delay and the addition of extra expense to the already rapidly increasing debt of the Company.” The money was becoming tight in 1883 for the Francklyn interests. Francklyn also faced problems with his mines which were nearing a financial crisis. There were issues between different partners in the ranching operation. To make matters worse the weather caused problems. In 1884 Colonel Groom, the ranch manager had considerable difficulty selecting enough cattle for market that were fat enough. Accordingly he stated in a letter to London, “We will be compelled to go pretty deep into good cows since almost all are going to have calves.”

The Francklyn Land and Cattle Company had more expenses than profits and this was quickly causing problems for the principals in the company. “The years 1885-1886 brought

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357 Ibid., 31.
358 Ibid., 73.
359 Ibid., 79.
360 Ibid., 143.
Colonel Groom the hardest work and the most disappointing experiences in all of his fifty years in the cattle business.”\textsuperscript{361} He realized that the drain on his producing cows for market would result in the company no longer being in the cattle business. Also, it was becoming increasingly difficult to protect the grass on the Francklyn and Greer ranges. The Francklyn range was located astride a major cattle trail. This caused significant problems with other ranchers to the south. That may have been the reason behind the purchase that the Francklyn Land and Cattle Company made of C. B. Harrold’s ranch as reported in the \textit{Dallas Morning News}, during the winter of the Big Freeze.\textsuperscript{362} The financial position of the Francklyn Land and Cattle Company continued to decline, with eventual lawsuits for payments and prevention of the sales of cattle claimed by creditors. All this resulted in the resignation of Charles G. Francklyn as well as other company officials. The financial crisis resulted in the English bondholders working out an arrangement to bypass the Texas law against foreign ownership of land, so that they could control and manage the Francklyn operation.

By the end of the decade the Francklyn Land and Cattle Company was still attempting to forestall its bondholders and to turn a profit. Serious consideration was being given to farming operations. Its financial problems continued for the next three decades, as the managers attempted to diversify into farming. Like many other ranches in the Panhandle, the discovery of oil on Francklyn land in 1919 provided the financial relief to several of the Francklyn’s problems. The company was finally dissolved and all proceeds liquidated in 1957.

Between 1882 and 1919 the Francklyn Land & Cattle Company had experienced many changes, including much crisis. Its bondholders were forced to take matters into their own hands. When the Francklyn operation began, the Panhandle was an open range. Even as the Francklyn was branding its first cattle, the range was beginning to be fenced. “This development encouraged small landowners to settle and engage in farming and stock

\textsuperscript{361} Ibid., 155.
\textsuperscript{362} Cattlemen in the City,” \textit{Dallas Morning News}. (February 16, 1885).
raising. Bad weather, competition for grass, and the ups and downs of the cattle market all encouraged the exploitation of the land on a smaller scale. As a result,

The Francklyn Company was forced to yield to the trend of the times. Then, in 1919, the discovery of oil and gas, aided by the scientific processing of their by-products, made the exploitation of this natural resource the dominant enterprise of the White Deer Lands, while farming and stock raising continued as subordinate to the major industry. Large cattle corporations belonged to the past.

The influence of British capital in Texas is reflected in the six case studies provided. There were at least 31 other Texas ranches owned by British companies, and many more ranches that had loans from British mortgage companies, such as the Dundee Company’s loan to the Reynolds brothers. There were other British influences in Texas. The English love of sport was observed by many Texans. The experience could not help but rub off on the Texans who often participated, if only as spectators.

4.8 British Sports In Texas

England’s second sons and wealthy aristocrats came to Texas for sport as well as, (and in some cases, in lieu of) profits. A few examples will make the point. The first case involves James Gray of the Moon Ranch. Mr. Gray viewed his ranch as “a sporting proposition more than as a business.” One could follow his trail on the range “by the trail of beer bottles and wild game hides left in its wake.” Gray and other gentlemen ranchers were more interested in running his “packs of greyhounds, kangaroo hounds and Scotch deerhounds than they were in coping with the monotonous details involved in keeping a cattle ranch operating at a profit. Many English sportsmen lost their ranches because of the constant temptations of hunting the many types of wild game which still covered the western prairies in the 1880’s.”

The most well known of this type of English sportsman in Texas was Joseph Heneage

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363 Ibid., 367.
364 Ibid., 368.
365 Thomas W. Cutrer, The English Texans (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1985), 111.
366 Ibid., 112.
367 Ibid.
Finch, the seventh earl of Aylesford.\textsuperscript{368} Due to “domestic difficulties” the earl migrated to Texas. He purchased a ranch close to Big Spring, where he ran his pure-bred horses and dogs rather than to have a care about his business. The earl was fond of the good life, so to make sure that he had a good bed, when in town, he built a hotel. Because he wished to have a good cut of meat, he bought a butcher’s shop, and because he liked a good drink, he acquired the only saloon in town, where he often treated his “guests” to free drinks. He spent his time running his horses and hounds after coyotes and wolves. His love of drink and the good life cut short his life, to such a degree that when he died his estate, once worth $40,000 for the livestock alone, sold for less than a thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{369}

Another example of British aristocratic sportsmen is the Anson brothers, sons of the second earl of Lichfield. In 1882 the eldest brother was ordered to Texas, where he was to learn the cattle trade. He worked for two years on a ranch in order to learn the cattle business. Following those twenty-four months of training he purchased “the Kickapoo Ranch east of San Angelo where he was joined by his brothers Frank and William. Gentlemen in England were taught how to ride and expected to be able to control a horse under difficult circumstances. The Ansons were able to put that knowledge of horses to good use when the market for good mounts skyrocketed due to the Boer War in South Africa. The Ansons were also able to make money selling good horses to polo teams back East. They bred their quarter horses to be good polo ponies, trained them, then shipped them to polo clubs in the U.S. northeast at a sizable profit.

A final example of the English immigrant’s love of sport as it was played out in Texas is told in the first person by John Molesworth, son of a hard-working middling sort, who tried to get his son educated in order to move into a profession. But young Molesworth could not make the grades, so his father took him out of school and apprenticed him to a weaver. After eight years of apprenticeship, Molesworth learned that there was not any work in that trade to be had in

\textsuperscript{368} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{369} Ibid., 113.
England. So, he decided to immigrate to America. His knowledge of horses, which he acquired at the private school that he attended, landed him a position as a freighter based out of San Antonio. Then he purchased a ranch in north-central Texas. He also learned how to pick good horses for sale to others and eventually to develop a polo team. He and a group of English remittance men played polo every Saturday. They played a couple of other local teams, but they did not meet his idea of a challenge. So, he and some of his polo friends shipped their horses to New Orleans. They were going to go to Philadelphia, in order to challenge the best team in America to a match. When Molesworth and his fellow team mates arrived in New Orleans, some of the members wanted to pay for their pleasure with the ladies until they were so broke that they had to sell their ponies to purchase a ride back to Texas. That was the end of Molesworth’s trip to Philadelphia to beat the locals at their own game. But he never tired of playing polo, whenever he and his friends could get together.\textsuperscript{370}

Besides the British investment in the cattle industry in Texas, the British have had some impact on sports in Texas, especially their love of hunting dogs. But the lasting impact was the gentlemen’s club that formed in Fort Worth. Murdo Mackenzie was a frequent visitor to Fort Worth, and often dined at the Commercial Club of Fort Worth, the predecessor to the Fort Worth Club. The influence of the few Britishers who came through Fort Worth going toward other parts had little direct impact on the development of the Commerce Club. One exception was a young Englishman, T. J. Powell, who “worked closely” with Burk Burnett “on a number of civic projects, including the revamping of the Commercial Club to make it more responsive to the needs of its membership and to the growing city with which it had always been so closely identified.”\textsuperscript{371} The founders of the Commercial Club in Fort Worth were familiar with gentlemen’s clubs in other cities in the United States, such as those in New York and Philadelphia. These eastern gentlemen’s clubs became models for club that the town fathers wanted to imitate.

\textsuperscript{371} Irvin Farman, \textit{The Fort Worth Club: A Centennial Story} (Fort Worth: The Fort Worth Club, 1985), 36.
4.9 Observations On The Influence Of British Capital & Culture On Texas

Between 1879 and 1890 English and Scottish investors and hands-on British entrepreneurs created 37 cattle and land companies in the Texas Panhandle. “Among the founders and directors of the British cattle ranches were some of the leading financial, industrial, and agricultural leaders in Great Britain.”372 English peers and Scotsmen of great wealth were joined by thousands of small investors from throughout the British Isles looking to make large returns on their investments in Texas lands and cattle. The popular literature abounds with stories of the bumbling tenderfoot Englishman attempting to learn about Texas ranching while maintaining his old-world Victorian ways. But the other side of the story, the financial side is very often given short shrift:

What is too often overlooked is that the British brought to the western range-cattle industry its first large capital investment. From numerous small operations they organized the great companies; they made possible the stocking of the ranges to a degree never before attained; they invested in the best stock they could secure and imported the finest pure-bred Shorthorn, Hereford, and Angus bulls to breed up the herds then on the ranges, they improved their range lands by developing water facilities, reseeding pastures, and fencing to prevent overgrazing; at a time when annual winter losses were high they introduced winter feeding on a mass scale and constructed livestock shelters. British managers were strong supporters of the livestock associations (which sought to bring order out of a business) and liberal contributors to the public life of the West.373

During the 1880s the 37 British syndicates and individual ranches controlled the vast majority of the land in the Texas Panhandle. They invested approximately $200,000,000 in Texas, but took a loss on that investment of approximately $25,000,000. “As they had already done in railroading, mining, milling, and agriculture, the British investor in the range-cattle industry had made a material contribution to the economic development of the American West” in general, and the Texas Panhandle in particular.374 “British holdings and mortgages were scattered over a region comprising some sixty-four million acres, of which about half were in the

373 Ibid., 97.
374 Ibid., 98.
panhandle, which consisted of 25,610 square miles." Thus, half of the Panhandle was owned by or mortgaged to British companies in 1886.

Several of the 37 British owned ranches were absorbed by larger British ranches. Following is a list of 25 of the British ranches and land companies:

- Prairie Cattle Company, Ltd., the first British ranch in Texas.
- Matador Land and Cattle Company of Fort Worth
- The Cattle Ranch & Land Co. Ltd.
- Rocking Chair Ranch & Land Co. Ltd.
- XIT
- LIT
- Hansford Land & Cattle Company
- Western Land & Cattle Co.
- Freehold Ranch & Cattle Company
- Consolidated Land & Cattle Co., Ltd.
- American Pastoral Company
- LX Ranch
- Cresswell Ranch & Cattle Company, Ltd.
- Espuela Land & Cattle Company, Ltd.
- Spur ranch.
- The T Archer Ranch
- The JA Ranch
- The Goodnight Ranch
- Cedar Valley Land and Cattle Company, Ltd.
- Horseshoe Ranch owned by the Texas Land & Cattle Co.
- Francklyn Land & Cattle Company.
- R O Ranch
- LS
- Land Mortgage Bank of Texas, Ltd.
- Texas Land and Mortgage Co., Ltd.

The list demonstrates a profound financial influence of British capital in the state of Texas in the 1880s. “As they had already done in railroading, mining, milling, and agriculture, the British investor in the range-cattle industry had made a material contribution to the economic development of the American West” in general, Fort Worth and the Texas Panhandle in particular.  

4.10 The Cattle Raisers Associations Of Texas

The cattle industry in Texas influenced the tenor of the state government and the rise and fall of many communities in the state. Since British capital was the life blood of the Texas

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Cattle industry, it is also given that British capital had an influence on the success or failure of several Texas towns. The history of Fort Worth is no exception. Besides the Stockyards, built in the 1880s following the arrival of the Texas and Pacific Railroad, Fort Worth became the home to the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association.

Livestock associations became important institutions for the protection of American and British capital investment in the United States and Canada.

Live stock associations began to be organized as soon as ranching on the plains had reached any considerable proportions and these organizations grew in numbers and power with the growth of the industry. There were of two kinds, local and general. The former usually consisted of all the ranchmen in a single region who organized for the purpose of mutual protection against fire, thieves, wolves and other destructive agencies, and for mutual aid in the round-up and branding of cattle. These local or district associations were united to form a territorial or state association, the power and influence of which was in many cases very great.377

The history of Texas cattle raisers associations mirrors Dale’s general description above. There were several cattle raisers’ associations created in Texas. The most famous association was the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association (originally The Stock-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas), formed in Graham Texas on February 16, 1877.

The geographical origins of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association were in north central Texas and the Panhandle. The area was a sparsely populated by white men because the Indians still held sway in the area after the Civil War. According to the Cattle Industry of Texas and Adjacent Territory, 1895, there were probably no more than 3,000 white people in the entire region between the Eastland-Young-Archer and Wichita tier of counties and the eastern line of New Mexico, with the Panhandle thrown in.378 The range cattle industry in Texas began slowly due to the Indian problems in the north central and Panhandle areas of the state. But in 1874 General Ronald S. Mackenzie and the 4th Cavalry “mopped up” the Texas Panhandle . . . and had driven out the Indians, but a few marauders occasionally left the

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378 Clarke, A Century of Cow Business, 1.
reservations in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), and swooped down upon the settlers in isolated locations. \textsuperscript{379} Frank Collinson, an English cowboy who had roamed the western plains in search of buffalo before the area became prime cattle country, guided Captain P. L. Lee, the commander of Fort Griffin, on one of the last raids on Indians in that area. \textsuperscript{380}

After the relocation of the Indians in the North Central Texas region to their reservation in Oklahoma, that area was developed by a few hearty cattlemen. They eke out a good living from their herds of longhorn cattle. The cattlemen also experienced several persistent problems: rustlers, occasional Indian raids, disease, and problems with driving cattle into Kansas. Several of the ranchers in the area met in Dillahunty’s store, on the ranch owned by a man of the same name, where they shared a few drinks and discussed their mutual problems. Col. C.L. (Kit) Carter was present, as well as Col. C. C. Slaughter, who ranched on the Dillingham Prairie just west of Jack County, and several other ranchers in the area. After the men had shared a few drinks, Captain Dillahunty got up on a wooden box and addressed the group:

\begin{quote}
Gentlemen we all know that a cattle drive is leaving this area soon for Kansas, and that there are stolen cattle in the herds. They could be mine; they could be yours. What are we going to do about it? Something has to be done. The stage driver from Albany was through here yesterday and reported that Judge J. C. Lynch, who ranches on Hubbard Creek in Shackelford County, had his entire herd of cattle driven off his range by rustlers. Two hundred mother cows were killed by blows on the head on Furd Halsell’s ranch and their calves were driven off. Cattlemen should organize and help each other. [The] Wyoming Stock growers have organized. South Texas ranchmen have banded together. We, too, must unite.\textsuperscript{381}
\end{quote}

The cattlemen present talked among themselves about other recent incidents. Colonel Carter noted, “The rustlers are getting bolder and bolder, I was in Graham last week and learned how Dan Waggoner, our ranching friend from Wichita and Wilbarger Counties, had outwitted a brand

\textsuperscript{379} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{381} Ibid., 7.
C. C. Slaughter then asked Col. Carter how that had happened to which Carter replied:

We all know that the 3-D brand belongs to Waggoner. One hundred and forty-four of his steers bearing this brand were recently stolen and rebranded. The thief burned a box around the familiar 3-D brand, making it the Boxed 3-D. Waggoner checked in the county clerk's office and learned that no brand of that description had been registered. He then registered the mark as his own, rode to the range and reclaimed his steers. We've got to do something, and do it soon, before our own ranges are bare of cattle.\footnote{Ibid.}

After more general discussion, Col. C. C. Slaughter suggested taking action. He told Col. Carter:

I want you to ride to my ranch on Billingham Prairie in a few weeks. I'll notify you. In the meantime I will get in touch with Jim Loving, one of my Jack County neighbors, and invite him and other nearby cowmen to attending a meeting in my home. Perhaps we can start the ball rolling.\footnote{Ibid., 8.}

That fall of 1876 several ranchers met at Slaughter's ranch and discussed the continuing problems ranchers were having with rustlers. "It was decided that Loving, the most scholarly of the group, should write a notice urging all cowmen in their area of Texas to meet in Graham, a central point, early in 1877 to organize a mutual protection group of some kind."\footnote{Ibid., 9.} Loving wrote the following notice:

Owing to the severity of the weather this season and the probability that stock on the frontier will be scattered to a greater extent than ever before, we would suggest that cattlemen of Northwest Texas meet at Graham City, Young County, on the 15th of February next for the purpose of determining the best method of gathering cattle, and otherwise protecting the interest of all concerned. A unity in action in this matter will promote the welfare of all interested, and every man who owns cattle, or has an interest in cattle raising in this section, is earnestly requested to be at Graham on the day above mentioned.

Respectfully,

The meeting was advertised “in the following newspapers: Fort Worth Democrat, Graham Leader, Frontier Echo of Jacksboro, Palo Pinto Country Star, Weatherford Times, Weatherford News, and Decatur Tribune.” It was attended by 40 ranchers, several of whom would play important roles in the development of Fort Worth and the Fort Worth Club. C.C. Slaughter, S. B. Burnett, George Reynolds, D. B. Gardner, B. B. Paddock, and J. C. Loving. A few years later A. M. Britton joined the association. Britton and Paddock were charter members of the Commercial Club of Fort Worth, the precursor to the Fort Worth Club.

According to its minute book, the formation of the Cattle-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas, took place when J. N. Simpson, a rancher in Parker County, called the organization meeting to order and made a few introductory remarks. Then Simpson nominated C. L. Carter, a rancher in Palo Pinto County, to be the chairman of that first meeting.

The meeting at Graham took place over two days, February 15-16, 1877. During the second day “it was decided that representatives of all districts would meet again in Graham two months hence, on April 10, 1877, to decide upon the time and place in each district where stockmen could meet and gather their cattle. . . . A resolution by S. B. Burnett of Fort Worth required that every stock raiser be requested to send his name, mark and brands, address and location of his ranch or ranches, along with one dollar to Colonel B. B. Paddock of Fort Worth and that Paddock be authorized to publish a Stock Journal for the association, into which the above information would be inscribed.” Paddock was one of the founders of the Commercial Club, the forerunner of the Fort Worth Club. It is interesting to note the connection between the Cattle-Raisers Association of North-West Texas and Fort Worth generally, and B. B. Paddock specifically at this early stage in the development of the association.

There were a total of sixteen cattle raisers associations in Texas. However, only three proved to be of any significant size, which were The South Texas Association, the Panhandle

387 Ibid., 13.
388 Ibid.
389 Ibid., 18.
and Southwestern Stockman’s Association, and the Cattle-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas (organized in Graham, Texas). The Panhandle and Southwestern Stockman’s Association, formed by Charles Goodnight in 1880, would be absorbed by the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association in 1921. As Fort Worth grew and the Texas and Pacific Railroad came to Fort Worth, it became the choice of the members of Texas and Southwest Cattle Raisers Association for its annual conventions. Several of the association’s organizers either moved to Fort Worth or did considerable business in Fort Worth. Therefore the move from Graham to Fort Worth was a logical step for the Cattle-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas, which later became the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, when other cattle raisers associations joined the Fort Worth based organization. The movement of the association, organized in Graham, to Fort Worth happened in stages. “By 1884 the association had grown and the headquarters were moved to nearby Jacksboro, but by 1893 another move had to be made. This time it was to the burgeoning livestock center called Fort Worth.”

The reason for the move to Jack County is that the ranch of the Secretary for the Association, J. C. Loving was in Jack county. In 1884 Loving moved his office from his ranch to Jacksboro.

At the meeting of The Cattle Raisers Association of Texas in 1893 a motion was made by Col. C. C. Slaughter that he wanted the headquarters of the Association moved to Dallas, being from Dallas himself. His motion did not pass. Then, “One enthusiastic booster from Fort Worth jumped up and said:

Fort Worth!
She’s the old Panther City!
She’s a whopper!
She’s a peach!
She’s the biggest and grandest city on earth.
She’s the cowman’s home, and the Cowman Rejoices in her greatness.”

391 Clarke, A Century of Cow Business, 94.
The enthusiasm for Fort Worth grew in the hall. “When the vote was taken in 1893, Fort Worth was unanimously chosen as headquarters for the association and annual meeting were held there for several years before branching out to Dallas and other cities.”

4.11 The Early History Of Fort Worth

Fort Worth, Texas grew from an Army outpost at the confluence of the Clear Fork and West Fork of the Trinity River, into a major shipping and slaughtering center for cattle and other livestock by the late 1800s. In between it saw its share of hard times. Fort Worth was struggling when the U.S. Post Office was established in February, 1856. By the end of the Civil War there were only 250 people in the community, and many of those were making plans to leave. The town began to grow again in the years following the Civil War as cattle herds were driven through Fort Worth on the Eastern Trail, and to the Chisholm Trail. By the time the Texas and Pacific railroad arrived, Fort Worth was beginning to develop into a livestock-oriented community. “With a population of 6,663, Fort Worth in 1880 was being hailed as the Queen City of the Prairie.”

The arrival of the Texas and Pacific Railroad had a considerable impact on the growth of Fort Worth, and put it on the map as “Cowtown” because Fort Worth became a shipping point east for much of the cattle ranches in Central and North Central Texas. “The opening of a direct railway communication with the eastern markets not only checked greatly the northern drive, but also led to the development of cattle feeding in Texas, especially in the cotton growing sections of the state.”

Fort Worth continued to grow because of its central location, which helped it to attract more railroads. The Fort Worth and Denver line was the key to getting the Panhandle cattle trade. When Armor and Swift plants were built in the Fort Worth Stockyards “Fort Worth began to assume a position of national importance in the meat packing

392 Ibid.
industry.” and thus in the cattle industry.”

Fort Worth morphed into an oil boom town early in the 1920s, just as the cattle industry was having a significant decline. The oil boom allowed the ranchers around Ranger Texas, and the Panhandle a new lease on life, as the large land holders reaped the rewards from the oil boom. The happy result for the Fort Worth Club was that its membership grew because of the free flow of money brought ranchers to town more often than prior to the oil boom. Many deals were consummated in the club as well as downtown hotels during this boom period. The future of Fort Worth was solidified, decades earlier, when K. M. Van Zandt and B. B. Paddock made the decision to hitch their wagon to Fort Worth and its prosperous future.

4.12 K. M. Van Zandt And B. B. Paddock: Fort Worth Boosters

K. M. Van Zandt and B. B. Paddock were tireless promoters of Fort Worth. Like most of the 18 to 60 year old Texans, Paddock saw service in the Civil War before he came to Texas. Paddock rode into Fort Worth one fall day in 1872 and he got off his horse in front of Van Zandt’s store. Paddock struck up a conversation with Van Zandt informing the proprietor that he planned to settle in Fort Worth. This began a conversation that cemented their friendship and cooperative relationship for the next several decades:

“What would you like to do?” Van Zandt inquired.
“I would like to run a newspaper, sir,” replied the twenty-eight year-old veteran.
“Well, we have one here, and we will give it to you if you will operate it.”, Van Zandt said.

That was the beginning of Paddock’s business and civic career in Fort Worth. “Colonel Paddock edited the *Fort Worth Democrat*, later went into banking and promoted the building of the Fort Worth and Rio Grande Railroad of which he was president for a number of years. He helped organize the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, and served as mayor of Fort Worth.

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395 Ibid.
396 Buckley Burton Paddock was born in Cleveland Ohio, lived in Wisconsin but enlisted in the cavalry in the Confederate Army of Tennessee, in 1861. He settled in Mississippi after the war where he studied law.
397 Knight, *Fort Worth: Outpost on the Trinity*, 56.
RAILROAD MAP
SHOWING THE DIFFERENT RAIL ROADS CENTERING AT
FORT WORTH,
ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR BREWER & WATERMAN'S REAL ESTATE BULLETIN.

4.2 B. B. Paddock’s “Tarantula Map” Fort Worth Texas (1883). © Oliver Knight, Fort Worth: Outpost on the Trinity (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1990), 63.
from 1892 to 1900." Paddock also owned a ranch west of Fort Worth. Paddock was one of the charter members of the Commercial Club of Fort Worth.

Khleber Miller Van Zandt migrated to Fort Worth following the Civil War in which he attained the rank of captain. Van Zandt was in three major battles and was captured and released in 1862 after being held at the Confederate Prison Camp on Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, Ohio. After he arrived in Fort Worth, he began a dry-goods business on borrowed capital and eventually became the owner of the City National Bank. He was a co-founder of the town's first newspaper, the Fort Worth Democrat. He also owned stock in the Texas and Pacific Railroad, as well as several ventures in and around Fort Worth.

Paddock and K. M. Van Zandt, who became partners in the promotion and growth of Fort Worth, from the first day they met were responsible for the success of Fort Worth. Together they organized the Tarrant County Construction Company, which was created to help the Texas and Pacific Railroad to get its tracks laid into the City limits of Fort Worth before a state-imposed deadline for a state grant. “The Constitutional Convention of 1875 provided that the land grant agreement with the Texas and Pacific (under which the railroad was to receive sixteen sections of land for each mile of track completed) was to be voided if the railroad did not reach Fort Worth by the adjournment date of the first legislature meeting in 1876.” The efforts of Van Zandt’s and Paddock’s construction company were not going to be enough. So “Volunteers from the city steamed out to the end of the tract to assist in any way they could.” After the workers got the railroad across Sycamore Creek on a makeshift bridge “the roadbed was forgotten, and the track was laid on bare dirt and anchored with stones. On July 1876, the

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398 Clarke, A Century of the Cow Business, 18.
399 K. M. Van Zandt was born in Tennessee. His family moved to Elysian Fields, Harrison County, Texas in 1839. He was educated at Marshall University in Marshall, Texas and Franklin College, Tennessee. He moved to Fort Worth in 1865 following the war.
401 Myers. Force without Fanfare, 165.
The Colorado & Southern Railroad

first train pulled into Fort Worth.” Without that railroad connection to the eastern United States, it is likely that Fort Worth would have withered away in the shadow of its larger neighbor to the east.

4.13 Founders Of The Fort Worth Club

The city continued to grow because of the cattle industry, which as we have seen in large measure was financed by British investment in three dozen ranches in North West Texas and the Panhandle. These owners or managers often had business in Fort Worth, some of them became members of the gentlemen’s club in Fort Worth. However, it was twelve civic and business leaders that came together in 1885 to form a business and gentlemen’s club which they named, The Commercial Club. “On October 16, 1885, there appeared in the columns of the Fort Worth Gazette the following news item:

The adjourned meeting of the Commercial club will be held at the City National Bank this evening, and every member who feels an interest in the prosperity of the association should be in attendance. There are now about 180 members on the roll, comprising the best men of the city, and their united efforts, properly directed, will result in great benefit to the city.

The club is not only a social organization; but, as its name indicates, it is to be the medium of advancing the business interests of the city. For many years Fort Worth has felt the necessity of an organization of this character, which can devise, consider and formulate matters of interest to the place, and by means of which a concert of actions may be obtained upon any question of public import.

There is nothing in the regulations of the club making it exclusive or contracted. A man need only be a resident of the city, 20 years of age and of good moral character, to entitle him to membership, and the rolls should be swelled to the maximum number --two hundred -- before the club is ready for active operation.

As soon as I can be practically done, a site will be selected and an edifice adequate to the demands of the club will be erected. This is one of the questions that will come up for consideration at the meeting tonight, and every member should put himself to a little inconvenience, if necessary, to be in attendance.403

Under the body of the article was a list in two long columns of the 180 members of the Commercial Club, “which had been organized in early1885. The best men of the City the

402 Ibid.
403 Farman, The Fort Worth Club, 17-18
That list also included A. M. Britton, “another one of the original directors,” who also served on the Board of Governors from 1885 through 1888. Britton was president of City National Bank, Manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, and member of the Board of Directors of the Espuela Land and Cattle Company.\footnote{Ibid., 18.} Lest there be any confusion about the exact purpose of the Commercial Club as merely a chamber of commerce-like organization, and not a social club, Fort Worth already had a Chamber of Commerce, of which C. M. Van Zandt was the Chairman. The periodic articles in the \textit{Gazette} and the \textit{Dallas Morning News} also made it clear that the Commerce Club was a gentlemen’s club. The articles also stated that membership in the club was open to anyone who had the best interests of the future of Fort Worth at heart. According to an article in the Fort Wroth Gazette on October 16, 1885,

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The club is not only a social organization; but, as its name indicates, it is to be the medium of advancing the business interests of the city….There is nothing in the regulations of the club making it exclusive or contracted. A man need only be a resident of the city, 20 years of age and of good moral character, to entitle him to membership…\footnote{Ibid., 17.}
\end{quote}

One of the charter members: C. W. Lamborn, who served as the club’s president from its inception in 1885 through 1887, purchased the lot for the club’s first building, which was at the corner of Main and Sixth streets. The \textit{Dallas Morning News} noted that the membership “will at once begin the erection of a building for club purposes”\footnote{\textit{Dallas Morning News}. (April 8, 1886).} Before the future home of the Commercial Club could be built, the Club needed a temporary home. On April 8, 1885 the following article appeared in the Dallas Morning News:

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The new rooms of the Commercial Club, corner of Second and Main streets, were formally opened to-day. These rooms are fitted up in an elegant style, with billiard and pool tables, etc. The walls are hung with beautiful pictures, while the floors are covered with fine body Brussels carpet. The expense of filling up temporary quarters will reach $1000. The club now numbers 150 members.\(^{408}\)

The Commercial Club was off to an illustrious beginning. In the 21 years before it changed its name to the Fort Worth Club, the Commercial Club enjoyed a reputation for elegant hospitality. Another article in the *Dallas Morning News* under the heading “Complimentary to Gen. Dodge” relates that:

> To-night the commercial Club are entertaining Gen. Dodge at their elegant club rooms, corner of Main and Second Streets. The rooms are crowded with leading citizens (ladies excepted), and one of the finest spreads is being enjoyed ever partaken of in the city. Wine, embracing all the favorite brands, is flowing like a spring branch, and all present are enjoying a royal good time. Gen Dodge intends to take a trip up the Denver Road in the Morning.\(^ {409}\)

Four lots, in all, were purchased by 1886, “and the next year a handsome three-story building at a cost of $40,000” was built.\(^ {410}\) It was noted in the *Gazette* that “The floor is laid with encaustic tiling of a beautiful pattern.”\(^ {411}\)

The Club was part of the growing sophistication of Fort Worth. “It was manifested in the magnificent homes of the cattle barons, the ornate palaces built by Burk Burnett, in what is now Burnett Park, and the Winfield Scott home, now Thistle Hill, on Pennsylvania Avenue”, and the W. T. Waggoner home built for his daughter, now located in the Hospital District.\(^ {412}\)

Some years after the Clubhouse was built, Burk Burnett, a prominent cattle rancher, owner of the famous 6666 Ranch in West Texas, enlisted the assistance of T. J. Powell, another of the original charter members of the Club, to renovate the building “to make it more representative to the needs of its membership and to the growing city with which it had always

\(^{408}\) *Dallas Morning News.* (April 8, 1885).
\(^{409}\) *Dallas Morning News,* (December 15, 1886).
\(^{411}\) Ibid.
\(^{412}\) Ibid., 34.
4.4 The Fort Worth Club, Fort Worth, Texas (1915).
been so closely identified.”

From its beginning the Commercial Club shared a characteristic with all of the London clubs: it did not admit women. “Miss Mullins remembers the Commercial Club as an all male bastion, without the amenities for family use that were built into subsequent structures.” Miss Mullins was the daughter of Dr. Mullins who moved to Fort Worth in 1884 to begin his practice. He was invited to join the club and was a member until his death in 1919. Miss Mullins’ memories of the club are the result of her father’s membership. Because of his membership she did have one occasion to enter the “forbidden premises”:

Somebody came for my mother and me one afternoon while we were at home. My father was a tubercular and he must have had a hemorrhage on the street. They took him upstairs to the Commercial Club. Then they sent for us.”

Miss Mullins recalls she had to walk up “a broad staircase to get to the club on the second floor,” and she’ll never forget the sight of her father “stretched out on the floor of that great big room. . . . The walls were dark . . . paneled walls . . . and there was a little office set in one corner of the room. . . . It had glass panels and you could peek over or under the glass. . . .

“And it was furnished like men would like it . . . with lots of leather chairs. . . . There was no dining room . . . no bedrooms . . . Just a big room where men could congregate to talk, smoke, play poker and billiards.”

There was no bar visible, but it is reasonable to assume that Commercial Club was a haven where men like Major Van Zandt and Captains Loyd and Paddock and Samuel Burk Burnett could enjoy an occasional libation. There was no food service. That would have to wait until the club’s next home.

Thus the Commercial Club, later in 1906 named the Fort Worth Club, was the center of male civic life in that growing “cow town.” Direct British influence in the club is difficult, but not impossible, to determine. Before the Stock-Raisers’ Association headquarters moved to Fort Worth (1893), the connection between British investors and the Commercial Club can be traced through several members. A.M. Britton was a charter member of the club and the manager of the British owned Matador Land and Cattle Company. The Scotsman, W. F. Sommerville was the principal agent for the Fort Worth branch of the Dundee Company, the Scottish Mortgage

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413 Farman, 3
414 Ibid., 33.
415 Ibid., 34
company. George Beggs Sr. and Ed Farmer were two English ranchers and important Fort Worth businessmen. After the Stock-Raisers’ Association relocated its headquarters to Fort Worth, that city became the focal point for the North-central Texas and Panhandle ranch business. Since approximately half the Panhandle was occupied by British owned ranches, Fort Worth was often visited by the British owners or agents for those ranches and the Commercial Club was where important business in Fort Worth was transacted.

It would appear that the important members of the club, such as Burk Burnett, also a charter member of the Stock-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas, were local businessmen or ranchers. Burnett was especially interested in appointments of the club being as luxurious as possible. There were local businessmen who worked for British interests who were members of the club. There were also at least three important British members of the Commercial Club. It appears from the continuous efforts to upgrade the size of the club and quality of the furnishings, that the membership generally wanted their club to reflect the standards and appearance of an English gentlemen’s club.

The rules promulgated by the membership mirrored those of the London clubs. The restriction regarding females was universal to gentlemen’s clubs of that era, except for balls. Two of the charter members of the Commercial Club: Britton and Lomax were board members of British owned Texas Ranches: The Matador Land and Cattle Company, and the Espuela Ranch. Besides A.M. Briton who was one of the charter members of the Commercial Club and at one time a manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Murdo MacKenzie, who became manager of the Matador and president of the TSWCRA in 1901-1903, traveled to Fort Worth several times. While in Fort Worth, MacKenzie often dined and had meetings at the Fort Worth Club’s predecessor, the Commercial Club. Another important British member of the Club was the Scotsman, William Fife Sommerville. Judging from the few available records available, Sommerville must have been an important business and civil leader in Fort Worth. He owned, according to the Fort Worth and Tarrant County Land Title Office several parcels of land in
downtown Fort Worth as well as several thousand acres in Tarrant and Parker Counties. Sommerville owned shares in the Fort Worth Board of Trade, and a second mortgage on Board of Trade property. He was also a member of the Stock-Raisers’ Association of North-West Texas, thus a portion of his land holdings were in the form of ranches. More importantly, he was an agent for the Dundee companies which invested in cattle ranches all over Texas. The Dundee Companies owned a building in downtown Fort Worth bearing the companies name at the top of the building. Sommerville’s office was in that building. “The Dundee companies used William Sommerville” according to their records in the Dundee Investment Co. Ltd, Minute Book 1-149. He was a regular in attendance at the Commercial Club.

Sommerville lived with his wife and daughters in a mansion on Summit Ave, overlooking broad fields some distance from the heart of Fort Worth. He entertained lavishly, in a similar manner to W.T. Waggoner’s legendary family at Thistle Hill. Sommerville must have been a leading citizen in the community, because he served as the Governor of famous Texas Spring Palace in 1890. He was obviously of a gregarious nature because it is known that he sang and acted in amateur theatrical and musical productions. According to his granddaughter, Mrs. J. M. McGregor, “My grandfather, William Fife Sommerville, was President & I believe producer, of what was then called “Fort Worth Musical Union” [an amateur theatrical group]. In 1888, he produced and took the part of Frederick in the ‘Pirates of Penzance’.” Mrs. McGregor also relates “I understand this was the first time a Gilbert & Sullivan opera was performed there. In 1890 the same company performed ‘Patience’.” On December 10, 1890, while his wife and family were in Scotland visiting relatives, Mr. Sommerville fell from the top of the windmill in his yard onto the tines of a wrought iron fence surrounding his home. He died shortly thereafter. His

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416 Fort Worth and Tarrant County Land Title Office record of the Estate of Wm. F. Sommerville, deceased. Biographic files: W.F. Sommerville, Tarrant County Archives.
418 Ibid.
importance to the city of Fort Worth was demonstrated at the time of his passing by the scroll sent to his family in Scotland, on the occasion of his death, with a message of condolences from the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce. The letter from the Chamber “goes on to state that all the Chamber will attend the funeral & that the building will be draped in mourning for thirty days as a mark of respect to an esteemed member.” An article in the Fort Worth Gazette the day after Sommerville’s death states “that in the death of Mr. Sommerville this chamber, and the important interests it represents, has sustained a very serious loss; that the community at large is much indebted to his untiring efforts in its behalf for much of its material and social advancement, and that his high order of intelligence and integrity and his kindness of heart were recognized and appreciated by all his social and business acquaintances.”

One prominent Fort Worth family of the early members of the Commercial Club and later the Fort Worth Club were the Reynolds brothers. “The Dundee companies backed the Reynolds Ranch for some £ 25,000”, which would have been equivalent to $125,000 at that time. Sommerville who must have known Reynolds because they were both members of the Commercial Club may have facilitated the arrangement of that mortgage.

One important British connection to Fort Worth, the Commercial Club, and later the Fort Worth Club, was the Beggs Cattle Company and its patriarch George Beggs, Sr. Beggs, Sr. came to the Fort Worth area from the British Isles in 1876. “He settled in Village Creek, which later became known as Hadley, six miles from the growing town of Fort Worth.” Mr. Beggs Sr. began ranching on leased land and gradually built his property holdings as he traded in cattle and horses until 1895. In that year “Beggs Sr. moved his family to Fort Worth and opened

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420 Correspondence from Mrs. J. M. McGregor to Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, January 13, 1985, Biological Files: W.F. Sommerville, Tarrant County Archives.
421 Fort Worth Gazette, (December 11, 1890) Biographic files: W. F. Sommerville. Tarrant County Archives.
422 Kerr, Scotland and Texas Mortgage Business, 97.; See: Correspondence with Mr. Thomas Drought, San Antonio, Texas, 15, August,1960 by W. G. Kerr.
a livestock commission and loan business in the Stockyards District." Beggs Sr. married after he arrived in Village Creek and had six children, including three boys who carried on his ranching and business tradition in Fort Worth and West Texas. During the period in which George Beggs Sr. was growing his business interest, his friend and fellow countryman "E. D. Farmer, hired George Beggs Jr. to manage Farmer’s real estate ventures in downtown Fort Worth." Mr. Farmer had several properties in the downtown and throughout Fort Worth as well as ranch land in Tarrant and Parker Counties. Soon George Beggs Jr. was able to open his own office in the downtown to conduct his own business as well as that of Mr. Farmer. George Jr.’s two brothers: “W. D. and J. E. were the cowboys and ranchers, ‘and my dad was the insurance and real estate man’ says George III. My dad’s perfect set up was the ranch he bought from E. D. Farmer’s estate after Mr. Farmer died.” During the development of the Beggs ranching and business enterprises the Beggs men became members of the Commercial Club and then when the name changed, the Fort Worth Club. The Beggs Cattle Company has had offices in the Fort Worth building for decades. Its unique brand is the sign of the British pound sterling. “‘My grandfather had ties to Great Britain, family and otherwise, and when we wanted a brand that had never been registered, my dad suggested the English pound symbol,’ George III recalls.” Today Beggs Cattle Company owns “ranches in Tarrant County, Parker, Garza, Kent, Dickens, King and Stonewall counties,” but it all started when a British immigrant moved to Village Creek and began to raise cattle and horses on leased land six miles from Fort Worth. The connection between the Beggs family and the Fort Worth Club goes back 115 years.

Individually these examples of connections between British ranchers, British investments and London clublife do not make a sufficient case for British influence in the

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424 Ibid.
426 Ibid., 6.
427 Ibid., 7.
428 Ibid., 6.
Commercial Club of Fort Worth. When taken together, however, they paint a picture of a strong British financial influence based on the local mortgage business of W.F. Sommerville and the presence in Fort Worth on a regular basis of managers and owners of the British owned ranches in the Panhandle, such as Murdo MacKenzie, who were members of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association of Fort Worth. The Commercial Club evolved from a business club into a gentlemen’s club because of individuals such as Burk Burnett who helped to improve the clubs furnishings and standards. Soon the Fort Worth Club had evolved so that it was formed on the same basic principles of the London clubs. With the following five clubs the linkages are even stronger and the British influence much more obvious.

4.15 Summary

The state of Texas benefited significantly from the massive infusion of capital from British and Scottish investments in land and ranches in the north-central region and the Panhandle. The Dundee Companies, with its officers in Fort Worth, San Antonio and Houston, had mortgages on land and buildings throughout the state. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the Beef Bonanza in Texas was driven in large measure by the British pound sterling. It has been documented that the British had $200,000,000 invested in the Texas cattle industry between 1880 and the end of the century.

There were many more American ranchers in Texas than British, Scottish and Irish ranchers in the 1880s. However, the three dozen British owned ranches were, with the exception of the Texan owned King Ranch, the largest ranches in the state. The influence of those British ranchers must have been profound, since they controlled a significant amount of land and financial power in the state. One example should help to show the extent of that power and influence. Theodore Roosevelt considered Murdo Mackenzie a good friend and advisor. It is also interesting to note that while several of the British ranch managers were members of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, the topic of the foreign ownership of those ranches was rarely part of the literature of that association before 1900.
The Commercial Club, while started principally by the native business leaders in the community as a social club for their enjoyment and relaxation, reflected a British influence in several ways. First, the club was patterned after a typical if somewhat rustic model of an English gentlemen’s club, with similar rules and restrictions. Second, as soon as the membership base and finances allowed, the club built a large imposing clubhouse on an important corner block in the downtown. Third, the club entertained many important visitors. Murdo MacKenzie manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company visited the club whenever he was in Fort Worth. The club also gave banquets for honored guests, and balls which demonstrated the importance of the Commercial Club in Society.

The Commercial Club had at least three British members. William Fife Summerville., George Beggs Sr. and his friend and business associate Ed Farmer were all members of the Commercial Club and important leaders in the community. They represent the direct British influence, however the indirect influence of British investment was much more profound in its total effect on Texas and Fort Worth.

For Fort Worth, the town would not have survived to grow into a city, had it not been for the British capital invested in the dozens of ranches in North Central Texas and the Panhandle and the vision, and determination of businessmen like Van Zandt and B.B. Paddock to push Fort Worth through the hard times, until the railroad came and Fort Worth’s future was stabilized by the cattle industry. Without that infusion of British capital throughout the state but especially in the Panhandle, and the connection of the Panhandle to Fort Worth by the Fort Worth and Denver City line, there probably would not have been a Commercial Club or the cattle baron mansions in “Cow Town.”
CHAPTER FIVE
COLORADO MINING INDUSTRY AND THE DENVER CLUB

Had the members of the famous clubs of Boston, Philadelphia, New York or Chicago wandered into the royally furnished apartments of the Denver Club Friday evening, they would have ceased to think of us as living near the bounds of civilization.

Rocky Mountain News 2-20-81

5.1 Introduction

The geography and the original inhabitants of Colorado isolated this area from Spanish, French and Anglo intrusion for several hundred years. Besides a few French, British and eventually American trappers and traders who hunted and traded for beaver with the indigenous peoples, Colorado was almost completely left to the native peoples until the mid-nineteenth century. Those explorers who did venture into the region did not take back to their superiors glowing reports of what they found. Spanish explorers, such as Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, reported in 1554 that little of value existed on the eastern slope or the plains between the Rockies and the Mississippi River. Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye, the French-Canadian fur trader turned explorer made several explorations between 1731 and 1743 further and further into the Canadian, then the American West. His goal was to find the Western Sea and an easy passage to the Pacific. According to Vérendrye’s biographer Nellis M. Crouse, on their last journey west his sons traveled further than their father. Chevalier de la Vérendrye reached the western most point in his North American journey. According to his journal, Chevalier de la Vérendrye traveled to a point northwest of present day Gillette, Wyoming and west of the Powder River where “he gained the distinction of being the first white
man, as far as we know, to gaze upon the lofty Rocky Mountains.\textsuperscript{429}

Whether the first non-native person to see the Rocky Mountains was Coronado or Vérendrye is of little importance because little happened as the result of either expedition. Zebulon M. Pike was the first American to explore and map a portion of Colorado. Pike explored the area between the Arkansas and the Red Rivers in 1806, during Jefferson’s second term in office. Like Coronado, Pike had little that was positive to report to his commander-in-chief. He wrote of Colorado that it consisted of: “tracks of many leagues where the wind had thrown up the sand in all the fanciful form of the ocean’s rolling waves, and on which not a speck of vegetable matter existed.”\textsuperscript{430} In 1820, Major Stephen H. Long led another exploring party into Colorado along the Platt River. After applying his name to a large mountain north of Pike’s Peak, Long’s trek southward along the eastern slope of the Rockies was uneventful and poorly recorded. Long probably retarded settlement of eastern Colorado for decades. “In his \textit{General Description of the Country Traversed by the Exploring Expedition}, Long became the author of the ‘Great American Desert’ myth, which caused people to consider the West as a desert and for which mid-western agrarians and historians in general have never forgiven him.”\textsuperscript{431}

In 1821 William Ashley took a group of 100 fur trappers up the Missouri River and into the history books. This was the beginning of the “mountain man” era of trapping and exploration of the Rocky Mountains and the Great Basin beyond. Kit Carson explored and trapped New Mexico and Colorado in the 1830s.\textsuperscript{432} Joseph Reddeford Walker, famous for his trek through the Great Basin to the Pacific and back, also explored the Rocky Mountains of Colorado in the 1830s.\textsuperscript{433} William and Charles Bent in partnership with Ceran St. Vrain constructed Bent’s Fort

\textsuperscript{431} William H. Goetzmann, \textit{Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863} (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1959, 1979), 43.
\textsuperscript{432} LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., \textit{Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the far West, Eighteen Biographical Sketches} (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 79.
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid., 291-310.
on the Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado in 1833. It was the only significant permanent white settlement on the Santa Fe Trail between St. Louis and Taos for sixteen years. During this period the Bents and Vrain controlled the fur trade in a vast territory covering most of present day Colorado, northern New Mexico and southern Wyoming known as the "Adobe Empire." Thomas Fitzpatrick explored Colorado from Bent’s Fort west in 1847. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century few white men were familiar with the vast region that became the state of Colorado.

During the height of the trek west on the Oregon Trail between the 1830s and 1840s, very few of the thousands of pioneers had a complimentary word about the high plains west of the Mississippi River or the Rocky Mountains. Both were seen only as obstacles to be overcome by the participants in the great wagon trains westward. The reputations of the indigenous peoples of the region also influenced the desire of those pioneers not to tarry long anywhere between the Big Muddy and the Cordillera. At the end of the decade, the ‘49ers had little reason to take their minds off their goal of the gold fields of California as they hurriedly passed through Colorado.

5.2 The Colorado Gold Rush

A persistent rumor of gold swirled around the area of Pike’s Peak in the 1850s. The rumor was that sometime in the 1850s that a group of Cherokee who were making their way to California had struck gold somewhere around Pike’s Peak. The rumor was made reality by party of white men and thirty Cherokee led by William and J. Oliver Russell from Georgia, and Reverend John Beck, a Baptist minister from Oklahoma, who traveled from their home states to Pike’s Peak to determine fact from fiction. The group of Cherokee and white men camped along Cherry Creek where Denver sits today. They found small amounts of gold in that creek and therefore made their way northward in search of other streams laden with the yellow metal.

The rumors of Cherokee gold attracted others to the area. John Easter, a butcher from

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434 David Lavender, Bent’s Fort (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), Front piece map.
435 Hafen, Mountain Men, 236-250.
Lawrence, Kansas, led a group to prospect in the area to determine if the rumors were true. The Easter group also panned the Cherry Creek area, where they found a little color and learned of the Russell group. In the autumn of 1858 the Easter group returned to Lawrence with gold dust in their pokes from whence stories of their discoveries. Their stories and those of the Russell party were repeated in the local papers. The Leavenworth, Kansas *Weekly Herald* reported the existence of gold near Long’s Peak along the South Fork of the Platte River. These rumors spread eastward with the help of the press. The Boston *Journal* picked up the story and helped to spread it throughout the east coast.

Once prospectors began to arrive in the Cherry Creek and Denver City area they quickly began to spread throughout the Rocky Mountains, always following streams to discover “color.” One of those prospectors was John H. Gregory, who came down from Wyoming early in 1859 when he heard rumors of gold in Colorado. It was Gregory who affected the course of Colorado history with his gold strike up the North Fork. He found color in the sands of Clear Creek, about fourteen miles above Golden, Colorado. As Gregory moved upstream, the gold in his pan became coarser and larger, until he was panning flakes of gold, then small pieces and nuggets. Approximately seven miles west and upstream from the junction of Clear Creek and the North Fork, where the town of Black Hawk is today, Gregory made a series of discoveries. He was working up the North Fork, panning the creek which had more gold in the stream bed than Clear Creek. Gregory noticed a sudden decrease in the amount of gold in his pan after he passed a small gully that led south. His gold prospecting experience in California had taught him that the origin of the gold in his pan was near. It was April in the Rockies and it was snowing, but Gregory was excited about his discovery. He tried to dig some of the dirt up both sides of the gully and pan it down at the stream, but the snow continued to fall and his supplies were getting low. His experience in California had taught him that staying alive means

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more than gold, so he decided to go back to a settlement for supplies.\textsuperscript{437}

He backtracked to the small town of Arapahoe. It was there that he met a small group of prospectors from Indiana led by Wilkes DeFreese. Gregory formed an immediate bond with DeFreese and asked him and his men to join him. Together they found a vein of gold and began to mine it. “The soil and dirt from the first lode was far richer than any placer found so far in the Pike’s Peak region. The party named the vein after Gregory and promptly staked out 100-foot-long claims.”\textsuperscript{438} Their claims produced a much higher yield of gold than anything around Cherry Creek. It was the beginning of a major gold rush to that part of Colorado. Once the news spread about Gregory’s strike prospectors flocked to the area. “Prospectors found new gold veins almost daily and opened up mines as soon as they could find picks, shovels and black powder.”\textsuperscript{439} Central City and Black Hawk became boom towns overnight.

Nathaniel P. Hill came to the Central City area in 1864 from Providence, Rhode Island, where he had been a professor at Brown University. “Acting as a scientific consultant, he came to assess the mineral potential of a large tract of land in southern Colorado.”\textsuperscript{440} Hill learned that mining the gold ore which had a high sulphur content made it difficult to impossible to extract the gold. He therefore returned to Providence, where he researched smelting technology. He then visited the smelting works in Swansea, Wales where he learned how to revolutionize the gold and silver extraction process in Colorado. Hill returned to Colorado and became very wealthy because of this discovery.

Because of Hill’s discovery and the “westering” of thousands of men to the Colorado gold fields, including both hard rock and soft rock (coal) miners from Wales and Cornwall, gold and silver production continued to expand throughout the 1870s. “By 1876 when Colorado was admitted to the union as the thirty-eighth state, commerce was booming and Denver had

\textsuperscript{437} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{438} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{440} Ibid., 22.
became the beneficiary of the boom.\textsuperscript{441}

A silver strike around Leadville, Colorado in 1877 continued the prospecting and mining activity. Silver prospecting increased all over the state as a result of the strike at Leadville. There were many strikes throughout the state. Some strikes played out quickly. “Silver production, nevertheless, climbed to the lofty level of 232,000 ounces in 1879.”\textsuperscript{442}

The Leadville strike developed over time. The Leadville region was swarming with prospectors looking for gold in the early 1870s. “In 1874 W. H. Stevens of Detroit, in company with A.B. Wood, came to the diggings and began the construction of a twelve-mile ditch for the California Gulch placer claim which they had purchased.”\textsuperscript{443} These two men had some knowledge of mining so they already had the suspicion that the heavy black sand that they were working in had high levels of carbonate of lead. Carbonate of lead carries silver. The men quietly filed eight more claims and brought their diggings in to be smeltered. “When Wood sold his interests for $40,000 to Levi Leiter of Chicago, mining began to pick up and a silver rush began.”\textsuperscript{444} The next large silver strike in the area was made by George Fryer and his partners in 1878 at a location that quickly got the name Fryer Hill. Then H. A. W. Tabor struck the next lode of silver at an area called Little Pittsburgh. It became a mine from which Tabor drew millions of dollars in silver. “David “Moffat, Horace Tabor, and Jerome F. Chafee [a member of the Denver Club] --once acclaimed as the three richest men in Colorado-- were joint owners of Leadville’s Little Pittsburgh Mine.”\textsuperscript{445}

The town of Leadville boomed overnight as more strikes were made. Soon one smelter was built, then another and another, as more and more rich strikes of silver were made. At first the men who swarmed into the area were satisfied to sleep in large tents for $1 a night on triple

\textsuperscript{441} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{442} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{444} Ibid.
level bunks with twenty to one hundred men in a tent, depending on its size. One huge tent could sleep 1000 men, and thus the owner made $1,000 a night. "...[W]ithin a year streets lined with frame buildings appeared, and by February 1879, the Town Board petitioned the Governor to issue a proclamation declaring Leadville a city of the first class." In May 1879 the population of Leadville was 1,500; by December, it was 18,000. "In 1880, Leadville’s silver boom doubled the state’s precious metal production, accelerating the influx of *nouveau riche* [sic] from the mountain mining camps into the just-as new mansions that sprouted up in Denver."*

Multiply this boom town by hundreds of others throughout Colorado over the next twenty years and one has an understanding of why Denver grew and prospered so quickly. The boom in gold and silver strikes with their mining camps that became ghost towns when the strike played out had another affect. With every gold camp or boom town gone bust, both the winners and some of the losers gravitated toward the more permanent towns along the eastern slope. “Instant cities” of Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo and Trinidad were the result.

Colorado’s last two major gold and silver strikes in the nineteenth century came in Cripple Creek and Creede in 1891 and 1892, respectively. The saga of Cripple Creek gold strike was the result of Bob Womack’s curiosity about a single rock. Bob with his brother William had been squatting, or homesteading, on dual 160 acre farms below Mount Pisgah, known as Welty Ranch. It was from Welty that the Womacks bought their homestead rights. Bob’s father and sister Lida also had two sections of 160 acres each on which the four Womacks developed a small ranch. While Bob Womack learned the skills of ranching, his heart was in prospecting. He would take time out whenever he could to look for gold. One day he found what is called a “float,” that is, a piece of gold ore that had “been part of an outcropping of quartz or other gold bearing ore...due to erosion or freezing or for some other reason, the

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446 Wolle, *Stampede*, 45.
rock had broken off the outcropping and ‘floated,’ rolled, or been washed down from somewhere on the slopes above. That piece of float would lead thirteen years later to the Cripple Creek Bonanza. A few weeks later Bob Womack took his piece of rock into Colorado Springs and had it assayed. It assayed out at $200 a ton of gold content. That was plenty for Womack to consider further exploration of area above the point where he found that float.

By 1884, Bob’s brother had grown tired of the cattle business and wanted to go back to his home in Kentucky. So that summer the Womack brothers sold their portion of the ranch, and while William Womack and his wife moved back to Kentucky, Bob moved into the little shack he had built up on Poverty Gulch, above where he had found that piece of float. The new owners of the ranch let Bob stay in that shack, which was just off ranch property. Bob worked for the new owners, and dug holes in the mountain during his time off. It took Bob Womack seven years of digging, but he finally found the “upthrust” from a million years ago that brought the molten lava laden in gold to the surface of the earth.

The story began in December 1889, when Bob had a tooth ache. He went to a dentist in Colorado Springs, and while his tooth was being fixed he talked to Dr. John P. Grannis about his piece of “float” and his theory that there was a mother lode somewhere on that mountain behind Pikes Peak. Dr. Grannis eventually gave Womack a grubstake of $500 to look full-time for that vein. The winter was not a hard one so Womack could prospect every day. He had staked claims all over the mountain that were years old. One day “toward the east side of his first claim, he discovered more and more small pieces of float much like the original gray one he had found” years ago. He began digging a large hole in the ground approximately 10 feet deep. Then he started digging lateral tunnels, called drifts underground. He dug several with no rocks of the kind he was looking for. At the end of his fourth or fifth tunnel at 30 feet he began to find more of the rocks that looked like the one that had assayed at $200 a ton. After months of digging, his effort finally paid off when his first shovel-full of the day, on October 20th 1890,

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449 Ibid., 11.
he struck solid rock. He cleared away the dirt from the rock, until he could see a sizable part of what had to be a rock upthrust from ancient volcano activity, just as he had described to the dentist.

Womack used dynamite to split the rock, which held a significant amount of gold. It assayed at $250 a ton. But the gold was imbedded in hard rock, which Womack could not work free by himself. He and the doctor also could not get a loan to buy the machinery to break up the rock and get at the gold ore. “He’d found his strike, but for want of $15,000 to develop it, the upthrust and its vein of gold might as well have been a thousand feet underground and undiscovered.”

News of Womack’s El Paso claim spread gradually, resulting in various individuals and groups staking placer claims and beginning to develop the town of Cripple Creek which serviced the growing number of prospectors’ various needs. Before long placer claims began to sell to “the money men” who could finance mining operations. In other cases the owner of a claim “had bargained for financing on a partnership basis so the real production could begin.” It was obvious that the Cripple Creek area was going to boom with gold mines all over the mountain. At that point Bob Womack sold his half interest in the El Paso mine to his partner Dr. Grannis for $300. It is a mystery why Womack did that, because he must have known that his claim was worth thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars. Some say that he was afraid of being rich, of what he would do with all that money after being poor all his life. Eventually, $3,000,000 was taken out of the El Paso mine, but Bob Womack only got $300 for his trouble. Colorado and Denver prospered because of the millions of dollars that came from Cripple Creek.

The last great silver strike of the century in Colorado came from a gorge that trailed off of the Rio Grande River about twenty-two miles west of South Fork, Colorado: the north entrance to the trail over Wolf Creek Pass south to Pagosa Springs. There was prospecting done in the region between Wagon Wheel Gap and Deep Creek in the area that became

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450 Ibid., 16.
451 Ibid., 29.
Mineral County, with little to show for it for years before 1889. In August 1889, N. C. Creede, E.R. Naylor, and G. L. Smith began to file claims within two miles of the present day town of Creede. Discoveries of silver ore were made by Creede and his partners at two of their claims on East Willow Creek and the King Solomon district. Creede looked around for partners to develop the Holy Moses claim that he had filed. David H. Moffat and Sylvester T. Smith learned of the opportunity back in Denver and with Major Lafayette E. Campbell, Creed's old army friend, and Smith, they purchased the Holy Moses claim for $70,000 in October 1890. "The announcement of the sale of the Holy Moses was the first notification to the outside world that an important discovery had been made and the news created a boom." By the time winter was past in 1891, the prospecting fever had captured the entire region around what is now the town of Creede. Nicholas C. Creede came back to that area in the spring and filed a claim next to the Last Chance claim owned by Theodore Renniger and Julius Haase. Creede's Amethyst claim proved to contain vast deposits of silver ore.

Moffat understood better than most that in order for a silver strike to become a bonanza, there had to be an inexpensive way to get the silver ore to the smelting plant. That is why Moffat went against the desires of the other owners, mostly British and European investors of the Denver and Rio Grande. The investors wanted more dividends before agreeing to the risk of building a spur from Wagon Wheel Gap to Creede. Wagon Wheel Gap was the location of a narrow gorge dug by the Rio Grande over millions of years, widened out into a valley following the meandering path of the river. Moffat had taken over the presidency of the Denver and Rio Grande in 1887. Sylvester T. Smith was his general manager of the railroad. When the board of directors balked at Moffat's plan, Moffat resigned from his position as president. When Smith continued to recommend the extension of the line to Creede he was fired.

Moffat then "spent $75,000 of his personal funds to extend the tracks to Creede with an understanding that it would be turned over to the Denver and Rio Grande upon his recovery of

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the construction costs.” The construction company, the Rio Grande and Gunnison Company, completed the construction of the line in six months. “The first mail train arrived in Creede on December 10, 1891. “The mines began shipping ore to the smelters immediately, producing ten to twelve cars of ore, or from 100 to 120 tons daily.”

Henry R. Wolcott bought into the Last Chance Mine, so his profits, which were in the thousands, were the result of Moffat’s railroad line to Creede. The Amethyst Mining Company was headed by D. H. Moffat, President; N. C. Creede, Vice President; Walter S. Chessman, Secretary and member of the Denver Club, and L.E. Campbell, General Manager. $3,090,000 worth of ore was taken from the Amethyst mine, in which Moffat and Chessmen were principal owners. Henry Wolcott also owned part of the New York Chance Mining Company, which was a consolidation of the New York mine and the Last Chance, incorporated June 24, 1892.

Several members of the Denver Club profited directly or indirectly from the Creede Silver Bonanza. “Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of investors financed the development of the Creede mines. . . . Influential individuals from Denver were among the investors, including Walter S. Chessman, David H. Moffat, and U.S. Senator Edward O. Wolcott,” as well as Edward Wolcott’s brother Henry.

From the two examples given one can follow the flow of capital from the mining camps to city of Denver and the flow of investment dollars from the “money men” in Denver to the mining camps. As the city of Denver grew from a boom town, several local and English, Irish and Scottish entrepreneurs grew wealthy. Several of these businessmen became founding members of the Denver Club. Six gentlemen of English, Irish or Scottish stand out as founding members of the club and as civic leaders. They built not only their own fortunes on the mining

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453 Ibid., 42.
454 Ibid., 43.
455 Ibid., 64.
456 Denver Republican (July 14, 1897).
457 Huston, A Silver Camp, 65.
458 Ibid., 66.
industry in Colorado, but also helped to build the city of Denver.

5.3 The Birth Of Denver

By the fall of 1858 and continuing through the winter and spring, a flood-gate opened as thousands of gold seekers began their trek toward the Rocky Mountains. Most of these adventurers were out to strike it rich and then return home or push on to settle further west, in California or Oregon, where the climate and soils were reported to be salubrious. One of those men who came to Colorado with other ideas in mind than gold was William N. Byers. He came from Omaha, where he was not faring well with his real estate interests. His plan was different from the other “59ers” who set out for Pike’s Peak and Cherry Creek. He arrived at the Cherry Creek settlement with a wagon full of a printing press, equipment, and the supplies necessary to begin a newspaper. He was a natural-born booster and used his paper to tamp down the rivalry between the two villages growing on either side of Cherry creek: Auraria and Denver City, which was named for the territorial governor of Kansas. Byers moved his newspaper, The Rocky Mountain News from one side of the creek to another before he settled on the final location. By April 1860, on the eve of the Civil War the two competing communities merged and became Denver.

Another booster instrumental in the development of early Denver was General William Larimer, Jr. His heavy-handed dealings with the St. Charles Town Company, the company which controlled Denver City, resulted in his ownership of that company and union with its rival, Auraria, across Cherry Creek. While the City of Denver was now a consolidated reality, its fortunes grew in fits and starts over the next decade. Over $27 million in gold came out of the streams and mountains west and north of Denver along with over one hundred thousand men who passed through the city on their way to the gold fields. Denver became a boom town which attracted an unsavory group of ne’er-do-wells who made their money with their wits, cards, blackjack, gun, knife or their feminine attractions. Crime was rampant in the community along

460 Ibid., 5.
with a transient tent city and cheap storefronts catering to all of the vices of the prospectors and miners. It was a period in Denver’s history when the businessmen were much more concerned with their own interests and could not be bothered with efforts to improve the community. “But Byers never gave up.”\(^\text{461}\) He used his paper to agitate and educate the businessmen in the community to take the long view and help make the city a better place. This resulted in far more than the creation of a police force and a jail, but his efforts could not soften the economic ups and downs which were the result of the Civil War and its aftermath.

During the Civil War Lincoln appointed Dr. John Evans territorial governor of Colorado. Evans was a wealthy real estate and railroad developer from Chicago. He had helped Lincoln get nominated for the presidency on the Republican ticket. Lincoln owed him, and Evans wanted to go out west where there was a larger playing field and larger opportunities. “Unquestionably Evans viewed the territorial governorship as a first step to still another career.”\(^\text{462}\) In order to rise in political power and eventually be elected to the office that he wanted, rather than just be appointed, Evans would have to make a number of friends in Denver. That he was good at shaking hands and slapping backs. “Ingratiating himself in Denver was the easiest task John Evans would face. He was, after all, the governor, a nationally renowned physician, and scholar.”\(^\text{463}\) He made friends with William Byers and General Larimer and several other businessmen. There were not that many powerful men, so it was not going to be hard for Governor Evans to enter that circle. Plus, he was already one of the richest men in the region in 1862, which made him a man that others wanted to befriend.

Byers was trying to get businessmen in Denver interested in developing the City. Byers found in Governor Evans a supporter of several ways to promote Denver and the region. Byers got the aid of the governor in developing the Colorado Agriculture Society in 1863. By 1866 Byers had promises for enough money to purchase 40 acres to build fairgrounds to promote

\(^{461}\) Ibid., 9.
\(^{462}\) Ibid., 12.
\(^{463}\) Ibid., 12.
Colorado’s agriculture. The fair finally opened with John Evans help. “For the next fifteen years the fair was held each year in Denver. Eventually, it became the Colorado Industrial Exposition.”^64

The boosterism that Byers and Evans demonstrated with the projects that they had developed finally began to catch on with other business men in the community. They began to see that they were in competition with Colorado Springs and Golden. If the business leadership did not organize to promote and support Denver financially, they could all miss out. It is at this critical juncture in the competition between Denver, Colorado Springs and Golden, that Byers and Evans are joined by David Holliday Moffat, Jr.

One of several other American businessmen who made Denver their home and worked for its prosperity as well as their own was David H. Moffat, Jr. Moffat came from a lower-class family in New York City, where he had worked himself up from a messenger boy to teller at the New York Exchange Bank. Then he moved to the Midwest where he met Byers who told him about the opportunities that lay ahead in Denver City. So Moffat moved to Denver a year after Byers and began his rise to millionaire status. Moffat put what little money he had into a store that sold books and stationery. Somehow the business prospered, so Moffat started looking around for other opportunities and began speculating in mine deeds and real estate. He got a job in 1867 as cashier at the First National Bank owned by Jerome B. Chaffee. Moffat also bought shares in the Bank and continued to look for other business opportunities. Moffat, Byers and John Evans, the territorial governor, became convinced that for Denver to grow it needed to be linked to the Union Pacific which had bypassed Denver, going instead through Cheyenne, Wyoming. The three men organized the Board of Trade and worked tirelessly to finance and build the first leg of what would eventually become the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Moffat utilized some Colorado Mortgage & Investment Company funds (loaned to the trio by James Duff) to help William Jackson Palmer make the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad a

\[^64\) Ibid., 14.
success. These same entrepreneurs (Moffat, Byers and Evans) also worked to get a line built from Kansas to Denver. “The first locomotive from Cheyenne rolled into Denver in June 1870, followed two months later by the first train from western Kansas.” The arrival of these railroads made Denver and the gold and silver mines to the west much more accessible to Americans back east. It also provided the immigrants landing on the east coast throughout the 1870s and 1880s with a quick route to their dreams of fortune and fame, although few were lucky enough to make that dream a reality. Among those immigrants were hard-rock miners from Cornwall and soft-rock miners from Wales. English mining engineers and essayists also ventured west to Colorado, where their services were in high demand.

Almost as important as the Denver and Pacific line into Denver, was Moffat’s Boulder Valley Railroad. Moffat and his partner Robert E. Carr had arranged a grand opening celebration of the completed line in January 1871. Moffat had invited a number of important Denver businessmen and civil leaders that day. The forty guests represented nearly all of Denver’s leading businesses, including the “Board of Trade; Wells, Fargo & Co.; Western Union; First National Bank; and the Rocky Mountain News.”

The short line terminated in the new community of Erie. The forty passengers toured the town, then re-boarded the train and headed back to Denver. Aboard the train the passengers toasted Moffat and Carr for their success. It was not that the new line connected the little community of Erie with Denver that was important. It was that the railroad line came close enough to a working coal mine that coal could be brought inexpensively to Denver to serve as the fuel of choice for that city. No longer would the citizens of Denver have to burn wood in their furnaces, fireplaces and stoves.

The instant society that developed in Denver because of the men who were made rich by their gold and silver strikes created the demand for instant mansions and instant high-society neighborhoods. Moffat’s own homes paralleled this growth. “From their honeymoon cottage on

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465 Ibid., 23.
Larimer Street, David and Fannie Moffat moved onto Denver’s first ‘millionaire’s row’ along 14th Street. Later, they moved into the newly upscale neighborhood of Capital Hill; their home at 800 Grant Street had thirty-six rooms, tapestried walls, Tiffany stained glass, and Louis XIV-style furniture.  

5.4 The British Influence On The Colorado Mining Industry

The mining boom in the United States came at a time when England’s moneyed elite had expanded tremendously in numbers and wealth. The moneyed class controlled a large reserve of capital, it was accustomed to the operational characteristics of the stock exchange, and it was well informed about financial opportunities overseas. Elite investors took their funds out of government bonds, with their relatively low yields, and began putting them instead into private enterprises in the Americas and in the British Empire. British capital was attracted to the American West for several reasons. Even though the British Empire covered most of the globe with relatively stable colonial governments, many English investors believed “that it is safer to invest capital under American law (with their written Constitution) than where you have to rely on the Colonial or Foreign Offices.” English investors’ concerns about the Indian problem were being assuaged prior to Custer’s last stand in the early 1870s. “The areas first to receive substantial amounts of British capital were those in which the Indian problem had been controlled or minimized relatively early.”

Another factor that encouraged British investment was accessibility. If an area was served by a rail line, it was far more likely to get infusions of British capital than if it did not have a railroad. The answer to this issue is simple. Many British investors wanted to see for themselves what they were investing in or have a trusted agent examine the investment.

opportunity. America’s transcontinental railroad was complete in 1869. This vast railway passed through Cheyenne, though not Denver, came within striking distance of the mineral fields in Colorado, Utah and Nevada. Other lines, such as the Kansas Pacific and the Denver Pacific, or the Virginia and Truckee in Nevada, brought these regions into sharper focus to investors abroad.\textsuperscript{471} It is interesting to note that American promoters of investment opportunities in Britain emphasized the ease of access to their regions. Of course, the town boosters knew that the railroad was a necessary though not sufficient lifeline to prosperity; without a rail connection, they feared, often correctly, their community was doomed.

By 1870, the first strikes in Colorado had been well publicized in England and Scotland. The first strikes revealed the surface gold that was relatively easy to extract. When the prospectors followed the gold in the streams to their sources in the mountains, it became a much more costly proposition to extract the gold from the mountain and from the ore in which it was imbedded. It was at this point that capital investment to purchase the equipment for deep tunnel mining, hire the miners, then process the ore and extract the gold was needed. Often the owner of the mine claim not only did not have the revenue to capitalize such a massive effort, he was often impatient to get on to the next strike. Therefore, mines were put up for sale that had considerable value. But it was value that the original owner could not extract. When the mine claim owner wants to sell a valuable claim, and the British investor wants to make an investment with a high rate of return, there is only one problem remaining: convincing the investor of the value of the owner’s claim. That function, like a catalyst, which makes two inert chemicals react, is filled by the promoter. He functions as the catalytic agent that creates "a union between capital and resources."\textsuperscript{472}

The mining boom in Colorado was an on-again-off-again affair, with three separate boom periods. The British investor became skittish during the period because considerable money was being drawn from London and Edinburgh above the ground, as jobbers called

\textsuperscript{471} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{472} Ibid., 21.
“scadders” hawked mines of real or dubious value in Britain. Scadders came in two general varieties: American or English. They were of all qualities as well. Some were reputable professional agents, others were rank amateurs or slick and unethical scadders. There were enough of the disreputable kinds to warrant a warning to his readers by the city editor of the London Times: “Nine times in ten the promoters are mere western adventurers, with nothing to spare of either capital or character, who could not find a respectable banker in New York to cooperate with them.” An article in the Wall Street Journal also had a negative appraisal of the agents that took their salted mine deals to London, calling these individuals “Carpet Baggers” with a dozen “excellent properties” to sell to the unsuspecting investor.

The secretary of the United States Legation in London made this observation in 1872:

I have observed that they [that day’s many visitors] are of a much lower class now than in any year heretofore in my time. There is seldom a gentleman among them. On the contrary the great majority are badly dressed and badly behaved, with rude manners and poor address. Nearly all are speculators and not a few have silver and gold mines to sell which are generally swindles. But the eagerness with which the English catch at these manifest frauds is remarkable. The result is that our credit is being damaged, and the popular idea that we are rascals—which was dying out— is rapidly being revived.

This view by Benjamin Moran of the United States Legation might have been a little extreme. There were many reputable promoters who sold mines that had value in their veins of ore. For example, Asa P. Stanford, the brother of the railroad builder Leland Stanford, had gone to London “to sell Nevada mines and remained to dabble in the shares of various companies.”

The flow of British and Scottish funds toward Colorado mines was affected by financial situations in the British Isles. “Victorian prosperity was occasionally disrupted by financial relapse as in 1873, 1882, and again in 1893, but in general the English investing public was quite willing to plunge funds into all types of enterprises in every part of the globe.” Sometimes the British investors were encouraged by their own countrymen. Robert O. Old was

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473 Ibid., 22. London Times (June 14, 1872).
474 Ibid.
476 Ibid.
477 Ibid., 11.
an Englishman who went to Colorado and then returned to London in 1869 and established the “British and Colorado Mining Bureau” the purpose of which was to “distribute accurate data” about various mining opportunities in the Rockies. He also offered his services to act as supervisor for any foreign-owned companies.\textsuperscript{478} Luckily for the investors, a downturn in the economy in England extinguished Mr. Old’s scheme before it received any takers.

During the heady days of the gold strikes in Colorado, there were millions of pounds that were invested in Colorado mines. Hundreds of syndicates and companies were formed in Edinburgh and London that invested in mining. From London money flowed into mines in Colorado unimpeded by laws that were being passed in certain American state legislatures to prohibit the alien ownership of American property. These laws were more desired by individuals trying to prevent foreign ownership of large tracts of land for cattle ranching or agriculture. The Colorado mine owners and promoters were never opposed to British investments. By the 1890s, “boomers for instance paid particular attention to foreign sources of capital and people were sufficiently alert to lament in 1896 that some British money was going to western Canada rather than to Cripple Creek mines.”\textsuperscript{479}

There were several parts to the gold mining industry. Money could be made or lost on any one of them. The Cripple Creek gold rush between 1893 and 1897 resulted in “3,057 new mining corporations . . . organized to work the district, with an average capitalization of a million dollars.”\textsuperscript{480} A few of those mining corporations were involved in the scientific processing of the gold ore to extract the gold. Mining included not only the dangerous task of removing the ore containing gold from the mountains, but also the difficult task of removing the gold from the ore. The science of metallurgy of precious metals was very young. All of the milling equipment had to be shipped from the states back east. Some was even shipped from England. “Hundreds of thousands of dollars were invested in the various plants, and the hopes of thousands of

\textsuperscript{478} Clements, \textit{British Investment}, 36.
\textsuperscript{479} \textit{Ibid.}, 43.
\textsuperscript{480} Turrentine Jackson, \textit{The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West after 1873} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), 201.
stockholders in the many companies represented were pinned upon their successful operation."\textsuperscript{481}

There was a solid group of English entrepreneurs who migrated west to seek their fortune in the Colorado gold and silver fields. "During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, men of British origins, whether in the mining West or the industrially diverse East, found opportunities for outstanding economic achievement. Such men were represented in the upper echelons of American business far out of proportion to their representation in the population generally."\textsuperscript{482} One of those solid entrepreneurs was Winfield S. Stratton, who discovered the Independence Mine in Colorado’s Cripple Creek district in 1891. Stratton worked the mine for a decade, removing much of the gold and ore from it, thus securing a considerable profit. Then he sold the mine to a group of British investors for an additional ten million dollars.

\textbf{5.5 David H Moffat: Charter Member Of The Denver Club}

Influential Denver businessmen such as David H. Moffat speculated in the mining industry and sold mines to English investors. The Henriett Lode, near Leadville is a case in point. In 1882 Moffat sold the Henriett Lode to an English mining investment company. "The prospectus of the purchasing company set the mine’s reserves at £200,000, its annual profits at £94,000, according to the estimates of George Henty."\textsuperscript{483} Moffat had pledged to support the statements in the prospectus "and made himself responsible to the firm, the Henriett Mining and Smelting Company, Ltd."\textsuperscript{484} However, after the initial returns on the investment dropped off and the quality of the ore went south, "and the company discovered that the vaunted ore reserves existed only in the imagination of certain interested parties," Moffat agreed to buy back all the shares originally sold to the company. Not that many investors were able to get their funds back when they learned that the information that they had been given was incorrect.

\textsuperscript{481} Harrison S. Cobb, \textit{Prospecting Our Past, Gold, Silver and Tungsten Mills of Boulder County} (Boulder: Book Lode, 1999), 3.
\textsuperscript{483} Spence, \textit{British Investments}, 75.
\textsuperscript{484} Ibid.
While millions of pounds sterling were flowing into mine operations in Colorado, and immigration by Americans looking to get rich quick and Welsh soft rock miners and hard rock miners from Cornwall were pouring into Colorado, the promoters of Denver and the region were finding business opportunities all around them.

5.6 The Denver Club And Its British Influence

With the two major railroad connections (Union Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande) to the east and west, Denver was on its way to becoming a metropolis, but only if the extractive economy continued. Over the next ten years several American businessmen helped to develop Denver as they made their fortunes, as had Moffat, Chaffee and Hughes. They were eventually joined by a distinguished Scottish gentleman: James Duff, an experienced entrepreneur with more liquid wealth than any other man in Denver. A principal with the Colorado Mortgage and Investment Company (CM&I), Duff also had the trust of several wealthy English and Scottish investors. Surrounding himself with other successful businessmen was Duff’s strategy to increase his own empire. Duff and several of these luminaries of Denver’s economic leadership met frequently at each others’ offices and homes to develop their plans to promote Denver and thus their own fortunes. “Finally, in 1880, Duff risked offending his American associates by suggesting that in the British Isles gentlemen of power had clubs where they socialized and discussed business. Surely Denver needed such an institution.” Duff’s business associates saw the wisdom in his counsel. They put their energies to work, and on July 10, 1880, they incorporated the Denver Club. Henry R. Wolcott was chosen as the president, after Duff declined the offer of that position. Other members at that first meeting were A. H. Jones, John W. Savin, H. R. Moffat, Jr., Moses Hallett, and James Duff.

The first meeting was held at the Grand Central Hotel at 17th and Lawrence streets. “The club moved to the Windsor Hotel, then to rooms in the Guard’s Hall, before moving in 1888 to the red sandstone structure at the corner of 17th and Glenarm which was the home of the

Dorsett, The Queen City, 68.
city’s most prestigious men’s club for 65 years -- until the new building, bearing the club’s name, was erected in 1953.\footnote{Denver Societies & Clubs: Denver Club,” The Denver Club Fact Sheet (Denver: Denver Library .July 1978), 1.}

From its very beginnings, the Denver Club was designed by its members to reflect the impressive wealth and success that the gold booms had provided to the city and to its most prosperous citizens. “Denver’s first generation capitalists made their money in the mountains to the west, but looked eastward for their definition of ‘high society’.”\footnote{Whitacre, The Denver Club, 7-8.} The club had elegant furnishings, its membership was restricted and exclusive, its wines expensive and its cuisine French. It was designed to eliminate the stigma that Denver was a city located on the edge of civilization. “The club’s charter members patterned their new organization after the private gentlemen’s clubs of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, which, in turn, imitated the old clubs of London.”\footnote{Ibid., 8.} The fact that the Denver Club had several members who were gentlemen from England, Scotland and Ireland helped to insure that the club lived up to the standards set by the London clubs. “Denver’s capitalists wanted to assure the national business community that their city was solid and mainstream, that it was a good place to do business, and that it was, ultimately, a place like the East.”\footnote{Ibid.}

The Denver Club began its career as the representative of the best and finest of Denver’s society. The club’s first official function was an elegant ball which, The Denver Republican reported, lasted until 8 a.m., the following morning. According to an interview of E. S. Kassler in the Denver Republican:

\begin{quote}
  The prime object of the Club is to foster and cultivate a social intercourse that has never existed in the West before. While many features of club life may be indulged in, gambling will be no form of it. The rooms will be connected with the homes of members by telephone and when the anxious wife desires to see her husband home, she can accomplish this easily.\footnote{The Denver Republican (July 10, 1880).}
\end{quote}
5.7 Roger Wolcott: First President Of The Denver Club

The President of the Denver Club, Henry Roger Wolcott, must have had a tremendous capacity for work because he was also on the Board of Directors of the Equitable Life Assurance Society as well as the boards of the First National Bank of Commerce and the National Trust Company. He was also a significant stockholder and director of the Denver, Utah and Pacific Railroad. Finally, he also became president of the Colorado Telephone Company.

Wolcott conducted considerable business in Boston and New York, where “he maintained memberships in several of the most exclusive clubs. . . .” Wolcott was a member of the oldest and most exclusive club in New York, the Union Club. He was also a member of Brooks, Lambs, Larchmont, and American Yacht clubs of New York. He must have enjoyed yachting because he was also a member of the Manhasset, Tavern, Atlantic, and Eastern Yacht clubs of Boston. He was also a member of the Metropolitan Club of Washington, D. C., which is described in Chapter Two. His business connections in the east gave him the opportunity to become an advisor to many wealthy entrepreneurs. For example, Wolcott “became close to the Boston Financier Henry Lee Higginson, the president of Lee, Higginson and Company, a major Boston investment house.” Wolcott became Higginson’s agent and invested large sums in several firms and business arrangements. At Wolcott’s advice, Higginson invested in the “Old Hundred Development Company,” a mining firm just outside of Leadville where the Tabor mine had brought out millions of dollars in high quality ore. “Wolcott also worked closely with Henry B. Hyde, president of New York’s Equitable Life Assurance society.” Hyde invested in several projects including coal mining. Coal was an important natural resource for Colorado, because the state’s deposits made shipping coal to Colorado for return trips to the east, unnecessary for the transcontinental trains that passed through Denver.

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491 Dorsett, The Queen City, 71-72.
492 Ibid., 72.
493 Ibid.
5.8 Sports And The Denver Club

Walcott is remembered in Denver in certain circles as the man who introduced golf to that city. He did more than introduce Denver to golf. Indeed, he built the first golf course in the city. It was only a nine-hole course, but it was one of the few west of the Mississippi River at the time.

The membership of the Denver Club was middle aged business men generally more interested in conversation than working up a sweat. “However, the Denver Club has always prided itself on the fact that it brought the game of squash to Colorado, and that the 1888 Denver Clubhouse included the city’s first squash courts.”

Squash is an indoor racquet game with its origins in England in the mid-1800s. The game developed in popularity especially with the younger members of the Club. The sons of the members who went back east to university learned the game there and brought their love of squash back to Denver. Thus, the game continued to grow in popularity.

There was one occasion when the members of the Denver Club were encouraged to perspire in the name of sport. That was when they were challenged by the Cheyenne Club to a game of baseball. According to Agnes Wright Spring, author of *The Cheyenne Club: Mecca of the Aristocrats of the Old-Time Cattle Range* (1961),

> On July 4, 1885, a party of fifty, made up of members and guests from the Cheyenne and Denver Clubs, reserved the Manitou House in Manitou Springs, to attend a challenge baseball game between club teams.

> On the morning of the Glorious Fourth, the entire group attended a lawn and tennis party, followed by a luncheon at Plum Crags (Briarhurst), the elaborate estate of Dr. W. A. Bell of railway fame.

> One thousand spectators hurried from Colorado Springs on foot, by horseback or in carriages, to watch the afternoon baseball game. According to a Denver Republican reporter, Henry Wolcott’s home run was the feature of the five innings completed.

> One of the clubs that came after the Denver Club was the Polo Club. Several members

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of the Denver Club were also members of the Polo Club. Polo was a popular sport with the British gentlemen immigrants to America and Canada. The sport was played by English gentlemen in Texas and even at a few of the ranches in Wyoming. In Chapter Seven we will learn of polo played around Calgary by members of the Ranchmen's Club. In Chapter Six it will be seen that polo was enjoyed by English immigrants in the Swift Current region, west of Regina, home of the Assiniboia Club. Polo was made popular in Victoria, British Columbia by the Her Majesty's Royal Navy. Thus it seems to be a common feature of the British cultural influence wherever English gentlemen's clubs were found in the West.

The Denver Club did not meet all the needs of Denver's better citizens. There was a need for an organization that could organize sports facilities and teams for Denver's growing sports-minded enthusiasts. "In the winter of 1884, William R. Rathvon requested that 'gentlemen interested in athletics' meet in his office at what is now 1645-47 Blake Street" The founders of The Denver Athletic Club (DAC) were following in the footsteps of the New York Athletic Club, founded in 1868. The founders of both clubs expressed their abiding interest, not only in sports, but also in "physical culture" and in the "athletic movement" which was becoming a popular aspect of the Victorian Era. Because of the elite's interest in Denver becoming a major city on a par with Chicago, Philadelphia and New York, they promoted Denver's cultural amenities and its sporting activities. The New York Athletic Club had become a playground for that city's elite. Therefore Denver had to have an athletic club.

By the fourth meeting of the DAC, the membership determined to purchase the old First Baptist Church on Eighteenth Street for their clubhouse and gymnasium. Shortly thereafter the club's sixteen members began to realize that they were going to be in financial difficulty. The club was plagued with members constantly coming and going because of the gold and silver strikes. When Henry Wolcott and Willard Teller joined the Denver Athletic Club, the future of the club stabilized. Both gentlemen were, not only wealthy business men in their own right, but also

brothers of U.S. Senators and thus their names had even more caché. With the addition of the editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Thomas M. Patterson, a former member of the U.S. Congress, the DAC was well on its way to becoming another elite club. The club’s membership grew in part because of the prestige of its members, but also because it was well managed and offered unique facilities. By 1889, the membership agreed that the existing facility was too small to support its members. The club announced that it was going to purchase and build a much larger, five-story building designed to be a sports and athletic facility. This announcement corresponded with the club’s membership drive. By 1890, the club had 405 members. The new DAC was designed by Frederick J. Sterner, who had just designed the new Denver Club and later designed the University Club.

The interior of the DAC looked like an English gentlemen’s club in several ways. It had a men’s bar. Its reading room had overstuffed club chairs that were worthy of any gentlemen’s club. In 1900 it expanded its reading room into a library with over 8,000 volumes. Newspapers were provided for the members to read, but not remove. It also had a billiard room. By the turn of the century, it was obvious that the DAC was evolving. It was becoming a social club as well as an athletic club. The DAC was becoming “the place to dine and dance, to catch up on reading and to play cards, to meet and cultivate business partners.” The DAC was gaining on the prestige of the NYAC.

The club continued to grow and field many successful sports teams in several different sports. The DAC football team was known to have beaten college teams in Colorado. The DAC began to function as a social club for its members. It started holding dinners and dances. By the time the Denver Club closed its doors permanently, the DAC and the Denver Country Club, both begun and sustained by members of the Denver Club, had taken over the role of the elite social clubs of the city.

The Athletic Club’s new facilities had a swimming pool, workout rooms, a steam room

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497 Ibid., 33.
and Turkish bath, as well as various meeting rooms and kitchen and dining facilities. The club began a bicycle division as part of its sports offerings.

In the 1880s the citizens of Denver created a number of clubs and organizations that promoted their growing recreational interests. There was also a bicycle club in Denver called the Denver Wheel Club, founded in 1892. Bicycling was becoming a popular pastime, especially in communities which had paved roads. It was also an activity that both sexes could participate in after bicycles were invented that had the same size wheels.

The Gentlemen’s Driving and Riding Club was established in the 1880s. It promoted harness racing as its major purpose. Since the stature of a gentleman was measured by the beauty of his carriage and the quality of his horses, the “Driving” part of the title also referred to the club members’ interest in improving the blood lines of their horses and the appearance of their stables and carriages. Several members of the Denver Club were also members of the Gentlemen’s Driving and Riding Club. Major Jacob Downing was given the responsibility of keeping the clubhouse and stable in order “For 52 years the Gentlemen’s Driving and Riding Club held Saturday afternoon matinees every summer at their race track” at the City Park.498

The Gentlemen’s Driving and Riding Club attracted members of the Denver Club because they were the wealthiest and most influential men in the community. These gentlemen wanted their privacy when they were at the Denver Club, but at other times were happy to flaunt their wealth. That is why they built such ostentatious mansions in Capital Hill and why they owned one or more carriages of the finest quality, with the best-bred and fastest horses that they could buy. That is the principal reason why they were also members of the Gentlemen’s Driving and Riding Club.

The Denver Country Club was founded in 1901 and was situated along Cherry Creek between University Boulevard and Downing Street. The Denver Country Club had a beautifully designed and appointed clubhouse, and manicured and lush putting greens. Several of the

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498 Margaret E. Ekstrand and Thomas J. Noel. The University Club: The First Hundred Years (Denver: The University Club of Denver), 3.
Denver Club’s members were also charter members of the Denver Country Club. The Fort Worth elite also developed a golf club close to the turn of the century. Several of the gentlemen’s clubs studied, had members who were instrumental in creating the first country club in their communities. The elite in America’s western cities wanted more than one place in their community where they could fraternize exclusively with other members of their social strata. The proliferation of clubs and associations for the middle class reflected an increase in leisure time, growing interest in new recreational activities and the Victorian virtue of improving the mind and body. The development of exclusive athletic clubs and country clubs around the turn of the century reflected the elite’s desire for more social outlets and their growing interest in new recreational activities.

5.9 Denver, The Clubable City

Besides the Denver Country Club and the Denver Athletic Club, there were also the Lotus Club and the University Club of Denver. Private clubs became the businessmen’s castle, where views were exchanged and opinions formed. They promoted a level of trust and understanding among their members. When a man was in his club he was with friends and peers. That was the dominant reason behind the formation of the Lotus Club and the University Club.

The Lotus Club formed three years after the Denver Club, in 1883. Its founders were not quite as powerful as the founders of the Denver Club, though there were a few members of the Denver Club who were also members of the Lotus Club. Charles B. Kountze, president of the Colorado National Bank was a member of both social clubs. Joseph Thatcher and Henry M. Porter, founders of the Lotus Club were also founders of the Denver National Bank. The members of the Lotus Club purchased a mansion on California Street and converted it into a clubhouse. It was an unusual social club, unlike the English variety, because it allowed wives and families to use the facilities. The Lotus Club operated for a decade then faded away with
The University Club was formed by Henry R. Wolcott, first president of the Denver Club, and Moses Hallet “first president of the Denver Bar Association and first federal Judge, joined the University Club.” At least ten other members of the Denver Club joined the University Club as well during the early years of that club’s existence. When the gold and silver strikes brought boom times to Denver, factories were established to manufacture mining equipment. Smelting operations brought engineers and chemists from back east to manage the smelters and deal with the engineering problems that mining operations entail. Henry T. Rogers and Charles R. Dudley were appointed by the group of educated gentlemen who wished to create a University Club, similar to the clubs of the same name in New York and Chicago.

After the articles of incorporation were approved by Colorado’s Secretary of State, Henry T. Rogers was elected the University Club’s first president. The first club house was established in David Moffat’s large Italianate-style home. Moffat had sold the home to William B. Daniels; when he died, his son sold the house to the University Club. It remained the University Clubhouse between 1891 and 1895. After that a larger and more elaborate building was constructed along the lines of an English gentlemen’s clubhouse. The new University Club at the corner of Seventeenth Avenue and Sherman Street, built in 1895 was unique for a gentlemen’s club because it contained, according to the Rocky Mountain News “ a ladies’ department with a separate entrance from Seventeenth.” The University Clubs in America, including Denver, provided its college educated members with a fraternal like organization after they left the university.

The University Club had a reading room with club chairs that looked like the reading rooms in many of the English gentlemen’s clubs. It had a billiard room with three tables. It created a comfortable environment for its members to discuss the issues of the day or to just

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499 Ibid., 1.
500 Ibid.
501 Ibid., 13.
relax have lunch and read quietly. From its inception, the club has stuck to its purpose: “To promote social intercourse...the encouragement of literature and art...a library, reading room, and clubhouse with all the appurtenances, belongings, matters and things usual or desirable in connection therewith.”

All of the clubs mentioned above filled a need for the gentlemen of Denver in the late 1800s. The Denver Club was the seat of business and political power for the city and the state. It was influenced by a small group of English Scottish and Irish gentlemen who became wealthy leaders of the community because of their success during the mining boom. These influential members of the Denver Club from the British Isles are the subject of the next several pages.

5.10 James Duff And The Colorado Mortgage Investment Company

The Scotsman, James Duff had access to the most investment revenue in Denver. Duff arrived in Denver in 1877, and soon was the talk of the several wealthy businessmen in that city. Duff was the representative for the Colorado Mortgage and Investment Company (CM&I), headquartered in London, England. The purpose of CM&I was, of course, to make a profit. The plan was to specialize in mortgages for private residences. Denver and Colorado were brimming with investment opportunities, which Duff found ways to invest in for his employers.

When Duff first arrived in Denver, it did not have a first-class hotel. Duff reported this to his English company. They responded to his advice and underwrote the construction of the Windsor Hotel. “The Windsor was Denver’s first grand hotel and, in the view of one English writer, brought 'civilization' to the Rocky Mountain hinterland.” The Windsor Hotel address became the place to be. The Denver Club moved into the Windsor a few months after it opened. James Duff moved his office into the Windsor, along with those of several other businessmen. The choice of the Windsor was obvious for an up and coming business that needed good exposure to the right people. The hotel provided its guests and visitors with a

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502 Ibid., 17.
503 Whitacre, The Denver Club, 33.
host of amenities, similar to the ones provided at a gentlemen’s club. The Windsor had a reading room where businessmen smoked their cigars, read their papers and made business deals, similar to the way that they functioned in the Denver Club.

Duff invested CM&I funds in several ventures that made Denver and its outlying areas prosper. He invested in the High Line Canal, an irrigation company that did not have the resources to finish the canal. This foreign investment gave the High Line Canal project what it needed to successfully develop irrigated farms in Eastern Colorado. Duff also invested CM&I funds in the Colorado Ranch Company, the American Pastoral Company, the Arkansas Valley Land and Cattle Company, the Larimer and Weld Irrigation Company, and several other irrigation companies, making the eastern plains of Colorado productive of cattle and produce.  

Several other Englishmen, Irishmen and Scots were members of the Denver Club: Hugh Butler, James Archer, John E. Pearson, Richard Pearce, Joseph Hyde Sparks, T.A. Rickard, William Hamill, and Henry Colbran. All “were British-born. All had welcomed The Denver Club because it offered them the kind of social institution they had enjoyed in the British Isles.” Charles A. MacKenzie of Russhire, Scotland and Murdo Mackenzie, manager of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, were also members and frequent visitors to the Denver Club. Following are sketches of some of the more influential of the foreign-born members of the Denver club.

5.11 Denver Club Members From The British Isles

It was Hugh Butler, a fellow Scotsman and friend of James Duff, who presided over the first meeting of the Denver Club. Butler was born in Scotland in 1849, and joined the gold rush to Colorado. “By the early 1860s, the tall distinguished-looking Scotsman was practicing law in Central City, where he became mayor in 1871.” Three years later Butler re-located to Denver and became partners with other attorneys to form the firm of Fayre, Wright, and Butler. That

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504 Dorsett, Queen City, 61.
505 Ibid., 6.
506 Ibid., 15.
firm “served as legal counsel for several large businesses including the First National Bank and the Colorado National Bank.”\textsuperscript{507} Butler was a regular at the Denver Club and often was found in conversation with his friend James Duff. After his wife’s death in 1901, Butler made the Denver Club his residence.

Joseph H. Sparks was an Englishman who came to Colorado because of the gold rush. He made his fortune in mining, irrigation and railroads. Sparks had an illustrious career as a trustee for the Mining Company of Denver, according to an article in the \textit{Rocky Mountain News}.\textsuperscript{508} He was also a trustee of the Irrigation Company and of the Railroad Company of Denver, again according to an article in the \textit{Rocky Mountain News}.\textsuperscript{509}

Born in Great Britain in 1837, Richard Pearce became the manager of a silver and copper works in Swansea Wales. Because of his expertise in metallurgy, Pearce was asked by a group of British capitalists to go to Colorado and inspect several mines and milling concerns. Pearce then sent for his family and brought them to Georgetown in 1872 where he “took charge of the area’s smelter works.”\textsuperscript{510} Because of his skill as a metallurgist, Pearce “was hired as the metallurgist by Nathaniel P. Hill’s Boston & Colorado Smelting Company.”\textsuperscript{511} Pearce was an exceptional scientist and was one of the principal founders of the Colorado Scientific Society in 1882.

The Denver Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1884 by Moffat, Duff and several other members of the Denver Club. “One of the chamber’s first tasks was to commission the Colorado Scientific Society to do research and publish the results for the advancement of science and the promotion of Denver. Pearce had an important role in the creation of the report for the Denver Chamber of Commerce. An example of this joint enterprise was a little pamphlet

\textsuperscript{507} Ibid., 15-16.
\textsuperscript{508} \textit{Rocky Mountain News} (June 24, 1879), 4.
\textsuperscript{509} \textit{Rocky Mountain News} (May 9, 1879), 4.
\textsuperscript{510} Whitacre, \textit{The Denver Club}, 16.
\textsuperscript{511} Ibid., 17.
Another foreign founder of the Denver Club was James Archer. An Irish immigrant, Archer was able to work his way up as a Kansas Pacific Railroad promoter. He came to Denver for that purpose and “quickly saw the opportunities that were also available in public utilities.”513 “The blunt and candid railroad promoter knew that someone would bring gas and water service to the thousands of people, who were destined to settle in the new community in a few years. He prophesied to confidants that nothing could be more profitable than controlling natural monopolies.”514 Archer got backing from other local businessmen to organize the Denver Gas Company. In 1870 with several of the same businessmen: “Walter Chessman, Jerome Chaffee, Friedrich Salomon, Governor Edward McCook, and David Moffat, he created the Denver City Water Company.”515 A decade later Archer joined the Board of the Denver, Utah and Pacific Railroad Company Six Denver Club founders were on that same Board of Directors. “With David Moffat and several others, he invested in six railroads, and became the manager of the Denver Union Depot and Railway Company. He also joined Moffat and Wolcott on the board of the First National Bank and served with them on the Mining Stock Exchange.”516 At one time or another during the twenty years between 1880 and the turn of the century different combinations of these six British and Irish gentlemen entered into lucrative business relationships with each other.

5.12 British Influence On Mining Affects Denver’s Development

The six foreign members of the Denver Club did much to build the city’s infrastructure and its fortunes. These men also had a significant impact on their chosen fields, always in the orbit of the business of gold, if not directly involved in the mining industry on a day-to-day basis.

Richard H. Petterson notes in his book *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and

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512 Dorsett, *The Queen City*, 62.
514 Dorsett, *The Queen City*, 79.
516 Ibid., 19.
During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, men of British origins, whether in the mining West or the industrially diverse East, found opportunities for outstanding economic achievement. Such men were represented in the upper echelons of American business far out of proportion to their representation in the population generally.\textsuperscript{517}

The half dozen British members of the Denver Club fit the description that Patterson gave of outstanding businessmen who shaped the city and state in which they lived. Much of the infrastructure and transportation systems in the city were the result of the efforts of these gentlemen and their fellow members of the Denver Club who were often partners in their developments and business deals. Together they owned stock in all of the railroads that entered Denver. They were share holders or directors on the boards of: the Denver Traction Company, the Denver Gas Company, the Denver Waterworks, several of the hotels in Denver, and several of the banks. They owned stock or were on the boards of several of the large irrigation companies that had turned the “Great American Desert” east of Denver into a verdant farming region. They also owned stock in several land and cattle companies in the region. But their investments in mines west of Denver were even more significant. No other half dozen men, foreign born or native, had more of an impact on the economic vitality of Denver.

These British gentlemen affected more than just the skyline of Denver, they improved the quality of life for the citizens of that city. They changed the residential development of the city when they built their mansions in new parts of the community. “Whereas Fourteenth Street had once been the neighborhood of the elite, now the high land near the capital became fashionable and exclusive.”\textsuperscript{518} This area became known as “Capital Hill.” It was where “Chessman, Kountze and Moffat, as well as a number of silver and cattle barons built homes with an eye to permanence and extravagance. Most of these high-ceiling, two- and three-story homes were complete with carriage houses and servants’ quarters, along with landscaped


\textsuperscript{518} Dorsett, \textit{The Queen City}, 88.
gardens, lawns and trees, and ornate wrought or iron fences.\textsuperscript{519} These same British investors as well as others “gave Denver a look of modernity and elegance.”\textsuperscript{520}

5.13 Growth And Operations Of The Denver Club

The Denver Club grew along with the City of Denver. Therefore, it is not surprising that it had five different locations within the scope of this study. The Denver Club was founded in the Grand Central Hotel (1880). It moved to the Windsor Hotel as soon as that building was complete (1880-1881) but moved soon thereafter to the Guard’s Hall (Forrester Opera House) in 1881, where it remained until 1888. The first Denver Clubhouse was built at 17th and Glenarm (1888-1951).

The Denver Club became the center of social life for the elite of Denver, since it was the first social club organized in the city. “On February 18, 1881, The Denver Club held its first annual ball. Henry Wolcott and James Duff stood at the head of the receiving line, the latter’s Scottish accent lending a much-sought-after cosmopolitan tone to the affair.”\textsuperscript{521} The Denver Republican reported that James Cella’s restaurant served the dinner, which was prepared by chef C. Bartels, “one of the most accomplished cooks in the country.”\textsuperscript{522} “The Denver Club members and their wives and guests, dressed in the latest French fashions, dined on ‘Escallope of Oysters,’ ‘California Salmon au Beurre Frachois,’ and Capon with Truffles à la Valliere.”\textsuperscript{523} Prairie Chicken was one of only a few local dishes served that night. “Koenigsberg’s Orchestra provided the musical entertainment. According to the local papers, the guests danced until 3:00 A.M., circling around the clubrooms ‘to the inspiring and sensuous strains of the waltz,’ diamonds flashing, ‘mingled with the varying luster of silks and satins’.\textsuperscript{524}

Five years after it was created, The Denver Club had 218 members. “According to the 1885 club book, which appears to have been the first one published, the initiation fee was a

\textsuperscript{519} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{520} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{521} Whitacre, The Denver Club, 35.
\textsuperscript{522} Denver Republican, (February 19, 1881), 4.
\textsuperscript{523} Whitacre, The Denver Club, 35.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid. See also: Rocky Mountain News (February 19,1881), 8.
5.3 The Denver Club, Denver, Colorado (1888).
minimum of $100; annual dues were $80. This was at a time when the annual income of a laborer was approximately $400 and the cost of living for a family of four in an urban area was $600. The Board of the Denver Club wanted it to more than double its present membership of 500, as it was discussed in the 1885 Rule Book. The club also began to look for a larger facility for its growing membership.

The purchase, design and construction of a Clubhouse was a lengthy and complicated effort, as it often was for gentlemen's clubs. “On December 6, 1887, The Denver Club purchased a site at 17th Street and Glenarm Place from Samuel N. Wood.” The property contained two houses, but these were removed to provide the entire area for the clubhouse. The building committee --made up of Henry Wolcott, John Lathrop Jerome, Harry Fowler, Games Grant, and Edward Rollins-- solicited bids for the design of the clubhouse. Varian and Sterner were selected as the architects. Following their design of the Denver Club, this firm also designed the Denver Athletic Club in 1889 and the University Club in 1890. One-half of the architectural firm was British: Frederick Junius Sterner was born in England.

The Denver Clubhouse was completed in 1888. It “was built of red and gray sandstone quarried at Larkspur, Colorado. The building’s high -pitched red slate roof had clusters of dormers and tall chimneys.” It was built at a cost of $120,000. The historian Jerome Smiley noted in his book History of Denver (1901) that the “architecture, size, elegance and completeness of appointments, made it one of the notable establishments of its kind west of New York.” The architects had designed a massive building with “turreted corners and broad arched entrance.” The building was obviously not an office building, and just as obviously not a single family residence. “Varian and Sterner designed it to look exactly like what it was--the

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525 Ibid., 36.
526 U.S. Census. 1880.
527 Whitacre, The Denver Club, 37.
528 Ibid., 39
529 Jerome C. Smiley, History of Denver (Denver: The Denver Times), 1901, 911.
530 Whitacre The Denver Club, 40.
exclusive, downtown retreat of Denver’s rich and powerful.”\footnote{Ibid.} The Clubhouse’s entry arch was “one of the grandest entrance spaces in Denver . . . [It] was a singular example of the dark richness of the eighties.”\footnote{Richard R. Brettell, \textit{Historic Denver, 1858-1893} (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc. 1973, 1979), 187.}

The membership of the Denver Club celebrated the opening of its new Clubhouse with a reception on October 20, 1888. Invitations to 1,200 Denverites allowed them a peek at the otherwise very private space. The building covered a footprint of 60 feet by 100 feet, with a wing at the back which accommodated the kitchen, storerooms, and servants’ quarters, measuring 25 feet by 45 feet. The first floor included the main hall and a large dramatic wooden stairway, the strangers’ room, an office, the billiard room, card room and bar. A word about the stairway from the main hall to the second floor is in order. As described in Chapter One each of the London Clubs visited in researching this paper had dramatic stairways where were designed to impress the guests and remind the members where they were. The picture of the Denver Club stairway was different in style and material, but it is no less dramatic than the London clubs or the gentlemen’s clubs in the East. It should also be noted that in Victorian upper class residences, the first floor was not the main floor of the home. The first floor often contained work rooms, store rooms, servants’ quarters, and the kitchen. It was the second floor that was the primary floor where guests were entertained and where the dining room, drawing room and parlor were located. The second floor included: the library, the committee room, a private card room, the main dining room, two private dining rooms, and the kitchen. “The library and dining rooms opened onto the loggia, thee great stone veranda that fronted on 17th Street. The main dining room, described as looking like an English banquet hall, was 30 by 60 feet.”\footnote{Whitacre, \textit{The Denver Club}, 41.} The third floor contained 17 private rooms for members and guests. Each was furnished “with brass beds, oriental rugs, and fireplaces. Also on the third floor were the servants’ sleeping rooms.”\footnote{Ibid.} The basement contained the ladies’ restaurant, barber shop, bowling alley, gymnasium, and laundry.
The furniture was unique to the Denver Club because it was designed and made to order by the architects. The furniture was constructed by Andrews & Company of Chicago, a furniture company of the highest reputation. “The carpets were imported from England and the silver also custom made, came from Tiffany’s” of New York. 535 This is a description that rivals many of the finest gentlemen’s clubs on the East coast of the United States as well as London.

5.14 Clublife

Clublife in Denver was similar to that of the best clubs in London, where the accents of some of the Denver Club members would have blended better than they did in New York, since several were of British birth. Richard Peterson generalized about gentlemen’s clubs, including the Denver Club when he said that they were a “pleasurable escape from the scrutiny and responsibility of family life.” It was ironic that these all-male retreats from the family home had all of “the comforts and conveniences of home.”

536 As with gentlemen’s clubs in the East and in London, the members of the Denver Club were waited on by staff who anticipated the member’s needs and were prompt with personal service. The staff knew each member by name, a common trait in the better clubs of the East and London, as well as the member’s taste in beverage, cigars, and reading material. “The 1888 Denver Clubhouse had telephone service, but club staff often deflected calls from wives trying to locate their husbands.”

537 The Denver Club did not allow women in the Clubhouse proper. The sanctuary remained an all-male establishment until 1978, when women were finally allowed to become club members. The 1893 membership book clearly stated the following rule: “Ladies are only admitted on Thursdays, between one and five P.M., and only when accompanied by members.”

538 It was also part of the custom of the Denver Club regarding women, that they could only enter the building through the side door, which was located off of an alley. Women

535 Brettell, Historic Denver, 187.; See also: Western Architect and Building News, 1 (March, 1889), 5.; and Denver Republican, (October 20, 1888).
536 Peterson, Bonanza Kings, 120.
537 Whitacre, The Denver Club, 52.
538 Ibid.
were only allowed in the Denver Club after five P.M. once a year, specifically at the annual Denver Club Ball. It was also only on that occasion that women could enter through the main door on 17th Street.

An advantage of membership at the Denver Club, besides the obvious one of the possibility of lucrative business transactions with fellow members, was the ability to entertain there. Staff organized the private luncheons and dinners, including “having the invitations engraved, addressed and mailed. Menu-planning, reservations, and guest room accommodations were all handled by club staff.”

The Denver Club by-laws require an annual meeting, when new officers were elected and committees established, to be held in November. The most important committee was the membership committee, whose primary purpose of course being the screening of the club’s prospective members. One of the significant characteristics of all gentlemen’s clubs is their exclusivity. For purposes of granting membership privileges, the prospective member had to be proposed by a current member. That proposal had to be seconded by at least three members. The membership committee required that the prospective member be endorsed verbally at first, then in later years in writing. This practice is somewhat different from the better London Clubs where a prospective member’s name is entered on the Subscription List and is not considered until there are “sufficient” seconds, specifically other members’ names on the prospective member’s sheet. What constitutes “sufficient” varies from club to club. But according to the Secretaries of Brooks’s and Boodle’s fewer than twenty-five and considerable white space remaining on the prospect’s sheet would mean a long wait, if admission would ever be granted. The other determining factor would be the availability of new slots. The better gentlemen’s clubs in London presently have waiting lists from three to ten years. During the

539 Ibid.
540 Denver Club Book (Denver: The Denver Club, 1917).
541 Interviews with Secretary of Brooks’s and Andrew Phillips, Secretary of Boodle’s in March 15, 2007.
1800s some London Clubs had 20 year waiting lists.\textsuperscript{542}

It is documented by a former Denver Club member that at least once a prospective member was rejected because the committee had concerns that the prospect's business associates would not have been welcomed as guests.\textsuperscript{543} If a member exhibited “un-Club-like” behavior, the Board of Directors had the power, according to the by-laws, to suspend or expel members for infractions of rules. Such infractions could include, “any conduct which, in its opinion, is likely to endanger the welfare, interests or character of the club.” \textsuperscript{544}

When a new member received notice of his acceptance, he also received a copy of the membership book. The red leather-bound book \textit{Denver Club Book} also dictated the club rules: “no pipe smoking, no dogs, and no talking in the library.”\textsuperscript{545} One of the unusual rules at the Denver Club was no gambling. “Miners, laborers, and workingmen could boisterously gamble away their earnings in the saloons on Larimer street. But on 17th Street, in the plush dining room and library of the Denver Club mansion, Denver’s nabobs--who routinely gambled their wealth on Colorado’s railroads, mines, and businesses-- engaged only in gentlemanly games of whist. At least, that was the image they wanted to convey.”\textsuperscript{546}

The society of Denver between 1880 and 1900 was the height of the Victorian age. “The Victorian-era emphasis on etiquette had several underlying goals. Primary was the desire for financial success.”\textsuperscript{547} Proper etiquette was a public way to set oneself apart by exhibiting a refined, polite and also generally aloof demeanor. In this way the social elite could maintain their exclusivity even when they were out in public. Denver’s high society succeeded in creating a social structure that included private clubs, such as the Denver Club, the Denver Athletic Club and the Denver Country Club. That is why the members of Denver society, and those who

\textsuperscript{542} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{545} \textit{Denver Club Book}. (Denver: The Denver Club, 1914), 37.
\textsuperscript{546} Whitacre, \textit{The Denver Club}, 55.
wanted to join Denver’s elite, relocated to up-scale neighborhoods as their fortunes increased. Businessmen of the late 1800s also conducted themselves and their business dealings in a proscribed manner. In this way, too, they could judge whether a prospective business associate was worthy of one's business. It was critical, if one was trying to execute a business deal, to know how to behave in order to at least be given consideration. “There was an accepted standard of behavior that would tag them as among the city’s ‘best people’. ”

5.15 British Influence On The Ranching Industry In Colorado

Colorado offered more investment opportunities than just mining and city building. Eastern Colorado was an extension of the Great Plains which began in Texas, extended through Wyoming and into Montana. It was good cattle country with the extra benefit of having highly nutritious grass higher in the foot hills for summer grazing.\(^549\) The largest cattle company in Colorado was owned by John Wesley Iliff, an American who drove some of his cattle from Colorado into Wyoming, which helped to develop the cattle industry in that state.

Southeastern Colorado was home to the Prairie Cattle Company. “It was one of the most successful of the Scotch cattle corporations in America.”\(^550\) The Prairie Cattle Company also had ranches in Texas, New Mexico and Oklahoma. “The company owned 2,240,000 acres in the state on which was pastured 58,982 head of cattle.”\(^551\) Various historians purport that the total sales from the Prairie Cattle Company between its creation in 1881 and its sale during World War I were greater than any other cattle company in the United States.\(^552\) At one point during the enclosure movement by cattle ranchers in Colorado, the United States House of Representatives conducted an investigation that found that two of the larger British owned

\(^{548}\) Whitacre, The Denver Club, 56.
\(^{549}\) Interview with Texas and Colorado veteran ranch manager: Jim Altosa. Altosa also has a Masters from Texas Tech in dry land farming and land management. He explained why ranching in the foot hills of Colorado offered better opportunities to “finish out cattle” because the grass in the higher elevations developed more nutrients. Chromo, Colorado, 1986.
\(^{551}\) Ibid.
\(^{552}\) Ibid.
ranches in the state were guilty of illegal fencing. “The Prairie Company had “over a million acres [of public land] under fence, and the Carlisle an English corporation as having an ‘immense area’ enclosed.”

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Matador Land and Cattle Company had a large cattle operation in Colorado. Murdo Mackenzie was the manager of the Matador in Colorado as well as in the Texas, Montana and Canada. He was a member of the American National Livestock association and the Colorado Stock Growers Association formed in Denver in 1867. Mackenzie was a frequent visitor to Denver and a member of the Denver Club. He cast a large shadow over the cattle business in the American and Canadian West. Several of the other British owned ranches in Texas had land in Colorado where they “finished out” the cattle for market.

Investors in England were well aware of the opportunities for profits that the ranching industry of Colorado offered. For example, Colorado ranching was described in an 1880 issue of the popular business journal, *The Fortnightly Review*.

But although a great future undoubtedly awaits the farming interest in Colorado, the present profit is greatest for the stock keepers. There is,indeed, probably no part of the world where a young man with a few thousands can employ himself more agreeably or profitably than in rearing cattle on the plains of Colorado or Wyoming, or in the Parks of the Rocky Mountain ranges. A few hundred pounds expended on houses and the erection of coralls [sic] in the neighbourhood [sic]of a permanent stream will form a basis of operations, and he can graze his flocks of sheep or herds of cattle on the public lands around with-out rent....The increase of the stock, after deducting deaths, is about 80 percent.

While the bulk of this chapter is about the influence of British capital on mining and the development of Denver and the Denver Club, no study of the British influence on Colorado would be complete without some mention of the large scale British ranching interests in that state. It is also the case that not all wealthy men from England, Scotland and Ireland fit the

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553 Ibid., 74.
mold of those gentlemen who became members of the Denver Club. One wealthy Irishman in Denver stands out for his philanthropy. He never joined the Denver Club but he had a significant impact on Colorado.

5.16 John Kernan Mullen: Irish Patron Of Denver

John Kernan Mullen is a study in contradictions. He was an Irishmen from an artisan family who had fled the potato famine as a child. “His efforts to acquire and maintain a personal fortune contributed to Colorado’s financial, civic and commercial climate.”555 He invested in the cattle industry in Colorado and completely transformed the flour mills into the Colorado Milling and Elevator Company, which greatly improved the agricultural economy of Colorado.

Born in 1847 during the beginning of the potato famine, his father Dennis immigrated with his family to America in 1856. The boy quit public school in New York to work in a flour mill. He was later to put his knowledge of flour mill technology to work in the re-organization and modernization of the milling industry in Denver.

When he moved to Denver, Mullen gravitated to an Irish working-class neighborhood. He shunned the array of social athletic, and drinking establishments preferred by Denver’s Irish community.556 He worked hard, using his experience working in a small flour mill in Oriskany Creek, New York, from the time that he was fourteen, his drive and ingenuity to build a flour mill and grain empire that stretched across several states, from Texas to California. He was able to break into the fiercely competitive four mill industry in Colorado and drive out much of the competition. His humble beginnings stayed with him as part of his character even as he became wealthy and powerful. As he transformed himself from a worker into an owner of flour mills, he either avoided or downplayed his support of working-class-oriented and extremist Irish or Irish-influenced organizations that he had once embraced. “Instead he visibly affiliated with groups that espoused moderate, middle-class or trans-denominational values. His associations

556 Ibid., 73.
matched the self-consciousness of his social abilities. Awkward and reserved, Mullen shunned the social clubs of both his Irish and Protestant contemporaries.  

After Mullen migrated from New York to Colorado in 1871, he got work at the Shackleton and Davis West Denver Flour Mill as a junior miller. He was promoted to manager in two years. He married and began to raise a large Catholic family of five girls. He was a devoted father and once stated that “My home is my club,” which explained his reluctance to mix socially with gentlemen because of his lower-class origins and his Victorian devotion to family, work and religion.  

Mullen is remembered for his good works, but he also aggravated his friends, family, clergymen, business colleagues and hundreds of workers because of his relentless drive to control every aspect of his business, family, and religious life. He was roundly disliked by many of his workers for his resistance to unionization in his mills. However, he also enjoyed grudging respect from his workers because of his practice of paying workers “sufficient compensation so that they can support themselves and their families in reasonable comfort.” His flour mill empire grew as he instituted innovation in the mills that he owned in order to drive out the competition. Eventually he owned farms and ranches and had interests in other businesses, such as barrel making which benefitted his flour mill business. By 1886 Mullen owned four cattle companies: “the Weld County Land and Cattle Company, the Harmony Land and Cattle Company, the Riverside Stock and Ranching Company, and the Redstone and Buckhorn Land and Stock Company.” The drought and hard winter of 1886-1887 forced him to reduce his ranching interests and concentrate on his milling operations.  

One of Mullen’s first philanthropic activities was the organization of the St. Patrick’s Catholic Mutual Benevolent Society of Denver. He built the Mullen Home for the Aged. Later, he developed the Mullen Library and Foundation. He contributed heavily to the Catholic Church.

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557 Ibid.
558 Ibid., 40.
559 Ibid., 81.
560 Ibid., 117.
and various Catholic charities in Denver. Several of his philanthropic activities took place beyond the scope of this study, but they form an important part of his life’s work which was both as a capitalist and a philanthropist. While he was never a member of the Denver Club, he was nevertheless a gentleman in the Victorian sense of the word if not in pedigree. His influence was just as great on the Colorado economy and on the development of Denver as any of the members of the vaunted Denver Club because of his many contributions to charities and civic buildings in Denver and his flour milling empire that promoted the development of thousands of acres of wheat farms in eastern Colorado.

5.17 Summary

Several British gentlemen, and the British investments that they often represented, had strong influences on the development of the Colorado gold and silver mining industry between 1870 and 1900. British investors, both residing in Denver and investing from the comfort of their clubs back in England provided the financing of major mining operations throughout Colorado. The mining boom would undoubtedly have taken place without British investment, but it was equally beyond dispute that the Colorado mining industry, assisted by the presence of British capital in large amounts, accelerated the construction of smelting operations and large mining developments.

The British members of the Denver Club changed the face of the town of Denver in several ways. They set the standard for large, ornate and exclusive mansions which they built on Capital Hill, thus creating a new exclusive residential neighborhood that dwarfed the other Denver neighborhoods for splendor and displays of conspicuous wealth. The Traction Company, the Denver Gas Company and Denver City Water Company were developed by the British members of the Denver Club, making life more comfortable for all the citizens of the city.

The British members of the Denver Club increased the investment in Denver businesses dramatically. They owned stock in the railroads that entered Denver. They are responsible for the creation of two of those railroad companies. Moffat and Duff with several
other members of the Denver Club created the Denver Chamber of Commerce for the promotion of business development. British members of the Denver Club owned or sat on the boards of several of the banks in Denver, and they built several of the major buildings in the city.

The British members of the Denver Club were responsible for much of Denver’s cultural development as well as its physical infrastructure and many of its most successful enterprises. British members of the Denver club were instrumental in supporting the opera, theater, museums, and other clubs. The Denver Athletic Club, Lotus Club, and the University Club all had founding members who were British members of the Denver Club.

Finally, there were the wives of the British members of the Denver Club, who could not enter the club, much less become members, but had a significant impact on Denver none-the-less. They were members of the women’s clubs and did charity work that helped to build hospitals and orphanages. They also were the gate keepers of Denver society. They gave the balls and dinner parties in which only those members of Denver’s best society were invited. They worked to build the theater, symphony and opera in Denver. Thus with the exception of business, the wives of the British members of the Denver Club had impacts almost as wide ranging, if not as lucrative as their husbands.

These same few British gentlemen had an influence on the development of the City of Denver and the creation of the Denver Club well beyond their small numbers compared to the size of Denver or the Denver Club. It is interesting to note that they often had the larger vision in mind in their business dealings. They seemed, more often than not, to have two goals which they held simultaneously: to earn a profit for themselves and their representatives and share holders; and to build a community. They sought, in their civic and philanthropic efforts, to raise the standards of the society in which they lived. Their legacy lives on long after their deaths. Most residents of Denver do not know who those men were that built the city and whose names on street signs stand in mute testimony to their many contributions and achievements.
CHAPTER SIX

WYOMING CATTLE INDUSTRY AND THE CHEYENNE CLUB

Intended for purely a social home, the Cheyenne Club soon became the Business center of the cattlemen. Many a bottle of fizz was said to have paved the way for a big deal.

*The Cheyenne Club*, Agnes W. Spring

6.1 Introduction

Wyoming’s ranching history is rich with the stories of the Englishmen, Irishmen and Scots who had an important impact on that territory and state. John Clay and the Swan Ranch, Moreton Frewen and the 76 Ranch, Horrace Plunket, the Irish peer, and Jack Douglas-Willan are a few of the British names that stand out in that territory’s early ranching history. In 1870 the British and Irish population represented 20 percent of the total Anglo population of the territory.  However, the influence of that 20 percent of the population was much greater than its numbers would indicate. The British influence would only last for approximately 20 years. During that time British and Irish ranchers in Wyoming transplanted their customs and values to this part of the American West. The British, Irish and Scots began injecting large amounts of English pounds sterling in Wyoming in the early 1880s. “The British Occupation is one of the most flamboyant and interesting chapters in Wyoming’s kaleidoscopic frontier history.”

Between 1880 and 1900 British investment in the Wyoming cattle industry and the British gentlemen who brought their money and their culture transformed the social and economic fabric of this western territory. “There were other investors from Europe and the United States,

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of course, and their ranches dotted the entire Great Plains from Texas to Montana, but none had a more lasting impact on an area than the British occupation of Wyoming.\textsuperscript{563}

6.2 Short History Of Wyoming Before The British Invasion

But before the British invasion of Wyoming can be examined, the stage must be set for the territory to become attractive to foreign investment. Before the white man the Plains Indians controlled the western plains, which included Wyoming. “Historically, Comanche, Shoshone, Crow, Arapaho, and Cheyenne roamed through Wyoming, following game and seasons.”\textsuperscript{564} It was the Sioux who pushed the Crow north, and became the dominant Native American force in Wyoming, but they were by no means the only tribe in Wyoming. “The first white visitors to Wyoming found roving bands: Shoshonis in the west, Crow in the north, and Cheyenne and Arapaho in the southeast. The Oglala and Brule Sioux moved to eastern Wyoming from South Dakota in the 1830s to complete the pattern of Indian settlement.”\textsuperscript{565} The Sioux, with assistance from various bands of Cheyenne and Arapaho, caused the whites moving through Wyoming considerable trouble between 1853 and 1877.\textsuperscript{566}

Between 1825 and 1840 the fur trade dominated the economy of Wyoming, with the Northwest Company, Hudson’s Bay Company and after 1825, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company competing for a diminishing share of the furs. Except for the fur traders and trappers, most Americans saw Wyoming as an inhospitable place to move through as quickly as possible. In 1842 John C. Fremont, with several Mountain Men and other scouts, explored parts of Wyoming. In 1843 the “great Migration” began on the Oregon Trail which passes through the crossing of the North Platte River at present day Casper, Wyoming. In 1845 the Mormons began migrating westward and utilized the same crossing over the North Platte at Casper. That same year President Polk approved an act of Congress to build forts along the

\textsuperscript{563} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{565} T. A. Larson, \textit{History of Wyoming} (Lincoln: University Of Nebraska Press, 1965), 12.
\textsuperscript{566} Ibid.
Oregon Trail. In 1847 the Mormons established the first ferry boat crossing of the North Platte River at the present site of Casper. “As the heavy migration along the Platte continued in the 1850’s, a new grievance developed among the Indians.” The white travelers brought with them smallpox, measles, and other infectious diseases that caused great losses to the tribes.

At the conclusion of the Mexican-American war, Mexico by the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded all or part of what would become six states to the United States, including a part of southwestern Wyoming. The problems between Indians and whites continued through the Civil War and beyond. At one point, Red Cloud, chief of the Oglala, and bands of Cheyenne and Arapaho were able to close the Bozeman Trail and demand the abandonment of Fort Phil Kearny. The U.S. government continued to try to force the Indians in Wyoming, the Dakotas and Montana onto reservations. This effort resulted in the famous attack by Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. Shortly thereafter Sitting Bull’s band and the followers of Crazy Horse were captured and placed on reservations. In 1868, the first significant numbers of cattle entered western Wyoming but it was not until the 1880s that the cattle boom in Wyoming began. It is no coincidence that it was also in 1880 that the Cactus Club opened its doors in Cheyenne. In Wyoming, as with Texas and Colorado, the cattle and mining industries could not become feasible until the “Indian problem” had been successfully solved. At the time that the territory was experiencing its worst Indian problems, it was also experiencing the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad.

6.3 The Union Pacific And Settlement Of Wyoming

The cattle industry in Wyoming, as with the mining industry in Colorado, was greatly influenced by the coming of the railroad. However, while pioneers and gold seekers came to Colorado prior to the arrival of the railroad, the bulk of settlers came to Wyoming on board the railroad. According to the territorial governor John A. Campbell, “For the first time in the history of our country, the organization of a territorial government was rendered necessary by the

567 Ibid., 15.
568 Moulton, Roadside History, xiii.
building of a railroad. Heretofore the railroad has been the follower instead of the pioneer of civilization. The coming of the Union Pacific was crucial to the development of the cattle industry in Wyoming because it provided an economical means of shipment of cattle to the markets back east.

In 1862, the Pacific Railway Act established land grants to two companies to build a transcontinental railroad linking the east and west coasts of the United States. The Union Pacific began its line at Omaha on the Missouri River and the Central Pacific built east from the capital of California, Sacramento. Both companies received ten sections of public lands for each mile of track. Government bonds provided the companies with first mortgage loans. In 1864, the Union Pacific officials were able to convince Congress that the company needed an additional ten sections of land for each mile of track laid.

General Grenville M. Dodge had been stationed at Leavenworth, Kansas and in Wyoming during the Indian problems of 1865. While he was in southern Wyoming he found a route on the west slope of the Rocky Mountains that had the best grade. After he became their chief engineer, he convinced the Union Pacific to take his route. “In early July, 1867, when the tracklayers were seventy-five miles or so west of North Platte, Nebraska, General Dodge came out to locate the division point at Cheyenne.” The military were only too happy to assist the Union Pacific, whenever possible. General C.C. Augur, who had accompanied General Dodge to Cheyenne, located Fort D. A. Russell close to Cheyenne for protection of the railroad and community that would soon develop there. “The army smoothed the way by keeping order among both Indians and whites.”

The Union Pacific had over 6,000 men working on the line. Hundreds came and went. As the line moved west, towns sprang up it its wake. A half-dozen towns were built along the line, with Cheyenne, Laramie and Green River City being the three largest. “Cheyenne’s first

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569 Larson, History of Wyoming, 36.
570 Ibid., 39.
571 Ibid.
settlers followed close on the heels of Generals Dodge and Augur.”572 The first settlers in Cheyenne were six men and three women who arrived on July 9, 1867. These first families of Cheyenne were: “Mr. and Mrs. James Masterson, Mr. and Mrs. John Bachtold, a Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, James R. Whitehead, Thomas E. McLeland, and Robert M. Beers.”(Larson. p. 42.) Dodge gave orders to his crew to lay out town lots for the town-site. Mr. Whitehead opened an office to sell town lots. Sixteen days after the first settlers arrived the first frame house was finished. It stood above the rows of tents that were the only other shelters in Cheyenne. The town actually began before the rail line reached Cheyenne. In August, W. W. Corlett came to Cheyenne and Whitehead convinced him to become his law partner and prosecuting attorney. Corlett stated that “five or six hundred people were scattered around the prairie living mostly under wagons or in tents.”573

The residents formed a provisional town government. On September 27th Laramie County was established and on October 8th Cheyenne became the county seat on the east side of the divide. As of September 19, 1867, the date of the first publication of the Cheyenne Leader, the record of the development of Cheyenne became clearer. The editor, Nathan A. Baker, came from Denver with his press and a small amount of type. The railway tracks were laid to the city on November 13th. “A few weeks after the railroad reached Cheyenne, the town’s population had grown to perhaps 6,000, among whom there may have been about 400 women and 200 children.”574 But it was a largely transient population, many of whom moved on when the railhead pushed further west.

Sufficient articles from the Cheyenne Leader survive to indicate that law and order was a problem, even before the railroad arrived. Robbery, theft, knife fights, organized dog fights, and small riots occasionally broke out in one or another of the whore houses. The Cheyenne Leader put things in perspective when the editor pointed out in the September 28th edition “that

572 Ibid., 42.
573 Ibid.
574 Ibid., 44.
Cheyenne remains so free of crime and rowdyism \[sic\] in comparison with towns below.\(^{575}\) The town depended for its lifeblood on the Union Pacific, its workers, its freight and to a lesser degree on its passengers. The townsfolk hoped that mining would become an important economic activity over time. But “grazing and agricultural opportunities were scarcely noticed in the hectic end-of-track months.”\(^{576}\) The famous cattle rancher John Iliff and a few other cattlemen had stock on the prairie around Cheyenne, but no one considered Cheyenne a cow town in those early days of the arrival of the Union Pacific tracks.\(^{577}\)

The new decade brought a series of troubles to Wyoming in general and Cheyenne in particular. After the railhead moved west, Cheyenne lost almost half of its population. Within the next couple of years a nationwide depression took place. “The business panic of 1873, touched off by the failure of the investment house of Jay Cooke and Company in New York, brought depression to all parts of the nation, but it could add little to the woes of Wyoming.”\(^{578}\) This was due to the fact that few citizens in Cheyenne owned stock. Agriculture was barely in existence in southern Wyoming and mining was slow to get much interest, though iron ore deposits and coal had been discovered, and would later help spur the growth of mining in the next decade. The problem was that the railroad was not bringing many people to Wyoming. According to the census in 1870, Wyoming had only 848 railroad workers. The Union Pacific had not become the economic engine that the town fathers had hoped for. The sightseers and tramps who arrived by train were too few to be of any economic benefit.\(^{579}\)

Toward the end of the decade, the Black Hills gold rush, which began in 1875, helped Cheyenne regain some of its population and economy. “The completion of a military bridge over the North Platte at Fort Laramie in December, 1875, helped Cheyenne in its efforts to share in

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\(^{575}\) Ibid., 45. “Below” refers to mining boom towns in Colorado.  
\(^{576}\) Ibid., 55.  
\(^{577}\) Ibid.  
\(^{578}\) Ibid., 108.  
\(^{579}\) Ibid., 130.
the profits of Black Hills development." As many as 10,000 people poured into the Black Hills, many of them came through Cheyenne. "A Chicago reporter wrote in late 1876 that on a Deadwood Street he had seen 'half of the population that I met in Cheyenne last May'." While the Black Hills gold rush hit a peak in 1877, its decline was more gradual than gold booms in Colorado. The mines continued to produce gold in the millions of dollars annually. However, when the Chicago and North Western built a line to Rapid City, Dakota Territory in 1886, most of the Black Hills trade in Cheyenne ended. But just as the gold rush was beginning to slow down, Cheyenne began its halcyon days as the home of the "Cattle Kings."

6.4 The Cattle Kings Of Wyoming

Cattle had been present in the Wyoming area since the time of the fur traders. Captain William Sublette's brigade of trappers brought five head to the Wind River rendezvous in 1830. In the 1840s and 1850s thousands of cattle accompanied the wagon trains that made their way to Oregon, California and Utah. These cattle also did not remain in Wyoming, "except for a few that were left at Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger." A herd of Texas longhorns was driven by Nelson Story through Wyoming in 1866 into what is now Montana. But John W. Iliff is credited with bringing the first Texas longhorns to Wyoming to his ranch near Cheyenne in February, 1868. "Born in Ohio in 1831, Mr. Iliff had come to Colorado in 1859. As soon as the route for the Union Pacific had been established, Iliff planned to sell cattle to the construction crews and made a deal with Jack Casement to that effect. He established a cow camp a few miles down Crow Creed from Cheyenne soon after General Dodge selected that town site for the city, and early in 1868 Iliff transferred his residence from Denver to Cheyenne." In 1868 most of the cattle wintering around Cheyenne belongs to the freighters. In addition to these, however, there was a herd of longhorns belonging to Iliff, who bought them from Goodnight in the winter of

580 Ibid., 131, Also see Agnes Write Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes (Glendale, California, 1949).
581 Ibid., 132.
582 Ibid., 163.
Iliff was able to find a market for his cattle with the local meat dealers in the spring. "The papers took up the story of his success, and in the May eighth issue of the Cheyenne Daily Leader of 1868, an editorial set forth the possibilities of stock raising as one of the most profitable industries of the Territory." 

This was the beginning of the Beef Bonanza in Wyoming. It was a slow beginning as indicated by "[t]he assessment rolls of Wyoming Territory [that] listed 8,143 cattle in 1870." From this small trickle, a flood of cattle poured into the Wyoming Territory by the end of the 1870s. The Cheyenne Leader was probably stretching the truth somewhat when an article proclaimed on September 12, 1871 that "immense herds of cattle are constantly arriving from the east to be placed on the rich grazing fields adjacent to Cheyenne." It was no exaggeration that the cattle business had begun in earnest in Wyoming by 1871. The editor of the Laramie Sentinel, Judge J. H. Haford, appears to have been the first to call the growing numbers of large scale ranchers "Cattle Kings." John W. Iliff was probably one of the first recognized "Cattle Kings" of Wyoming, perhaps because his ranch was only 40 miles from Cheyenne and the Cheyenne Leader. Iliff's ranch supplied beef for all of the military facilities that protected the railroad from Fort Kearny to Fort Steele at the end of the 1860s. On September 20, 1875, the Cheyenne Leader and the Omaha Herald "published a list of 19 Wyoming outfits with one thousand or more cattle, and fifty-one smaller cattlemen."

One of the reasons for the influx of cattle in Wyoming in the late 1870s was the state of the range in Texas and Colorado. Historian Ora Brooks Peake notes that some of the ranges were wearing thin. So true was this in Colorado, for example that herds were being driven north out of that state in search of better grazing. Influx of sheep was adding to the threat. Numbers of cattle kept going

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585 Ibid.
587 Ibid.
588 Ibid. Judge Hayford was against ranching and ranchers. He believed “the future of the territory was dependent upon turning the dry arid Laramie Plains into Jeffersonian farmsteads.”
589 Ibid., 108.
590 Ibid., 165.
up, with almost as many longhorns (257,927) coming from Texas this year as last.\textsuperscript{591}

By 1880, the news of huge profits to be made by raising cattle on the public lands in the American West had energized British and Scottish investors to seek large returns for their investments in the “Beef Bonanza” of Texas, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. Gen. James S. Brisbin’s book, \textit{The Beef Bonanza; or How to Get Rich on the Plains (1881)}, was partially responsible for the cattle boom in Wyoming at this time.\textsuperscript{592}

Rapidly and remarkably, by the 1880s there were 19 British-owned ranches in Wyoming. They had a significant impact on the economy and culture of Wyoming, if only for a decade or so. The following English- and Scottish-owned ranches in Wyoming are listed in \textit{Peopling the High Plains: Wyoming’s European Heritage}, edited by Gordon Olaf Hendrickson:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Oxford Horse Ranch & Swan Land and Cattle Company \\
Wyoming Hereford Ranch & Willan Satoris Company \\
Wyoming Cattle Company Limited & Powder River Cattle Company \\
Dakota Stock Company & Four Jay Cattle Company \\
Sand Creek Land and Cattle Company & Anglo-American Cattle Company \\
Moorecroft Ranch Company & National Cattle Company \\
Frank and Anthony Cattle Company & Western Ranches \\
Western Livestock Company Limited & Frontier Land and Cattle Company \\
Wyoming Cattle Ranche Company Limited & Western American Cattle Company \\
Wyoming Cattle Ranche\textsuperscript{593} & \\
\end{tabular}

The resident owners and managers of these English- Irish- and Scottish-held ranches played a pivotal role in the economic and cultural history of Wyoming between 1880 and 1900. “The British and Scots began funneling English pounds sterling into American cattle operations in the


\textsuperscript{592} Brisbin’s book was first published in 1881 by J.B. Lippincott and Company in Philadelphia in 1881. It was preceded by Joseph G. McCoy’s \textit{Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest}, published in Kansas City in 1874. In 1877 the Britisher, James Macdonald, published his book: \textit{Food from the Far West} in London. In 1885, well after the \textit{Beef Bonanza} had caused a stampede by British and Scottish investors, Walter Baron von Richthofen, published his book: \textit{Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America}. Brisbin’s book was a “contemporary influence in luring the foreign investor and thus materially furthering a boom in the cattle business had far reaching consequences for the West and the United States.” Brisbin. xiii.

\textsuperscript{593} Ibid.
early 1870s, but investment in Wyoming ranch property began only in the early 1880s."\(^{594}\)

There were many reasons for the British to invest in American cattle and mining interests. Some were home grown, others were due to creative marketing by enterprising Americans and their British agents who promoted their properties in London and Dundee. “During the day of the cattleman, Britons of wealth and influence journeyed to Wyoming to oversee the management of their share of the range cattle industry and brought with them English refinement and culture. The Cheyenne Club served as a “mecca” for the British cattle men."\(^{595}\)

6.5 British Victorian Culture And The Wyoming Cattle Industry

British gentlemen such as Lionel Sartoris, Sir Moreton Frewen and the Irish peer, Horace Plunkett, not only invested their own funds and the funds of other Englishmen, Scots and Irish, but also brought with them their British outlook, their Victorian manners and habits and their love of sport. For example, Lionel Sartoris’ ranch, located just north of Laramie, had a two-story headquarters ranch house that looked like a baronial manor. Sartoris had also imported the only English “tally ho six-in-hand carriage” west of the Mississippi, in which he carried many visitors to his ranch and made many trips to Cheyenne’s famous gentlemen’s club. According to John Clay in his book, *My Life on the Range*:

> Lionel Sartoris . . . was a good looking Englishman, casual, completely out of place in his adopted home and not averse to letting you know it. He had been brought up in an atmosphere of wealth where servants ministered to every want and wish and he had not transplanted easily or gracefully. Although at heart and among his countrymen who understood him, he was quite a favorite, yet you could not graft him into America and especially western life. To the last the members of this outfit retained their English style and methods and when the end came they slipped away and disappeared.\(^{596}\)

These English gentlemen immigrants practiced many of their customs once they arrived in the American West. On holidays and special occasions, when they were particularly


\(^{595}\) Ibid., 16.

homesick, English gentlemen had their cooks prepare traditional foods in the manner that they were prepared back in British kitchens:

English immigrants baked pork pies, roast beef with Yorkshire pudding, crumpets, and Christmas fruit cakes while Scottish immigrants baked oat cakes, shortbread, scones, and blood pudding. In some British families, the Christmas pudding became the center of great ceremony with the fixing of the pudding beginning in late October, then steamed for two days before Christmas and, finally, flamed with brandy before serving. The custom of hiding a silver object in the birthday cake persisted in English families. The hidden object gave good luck to the finder. 597

6.6 British Sport On The Wyoming Range

Many English gentlemen came to Wyoming on tour or on an extended hunting trip. Some stayed and became ranchers. Others stayed and lived off their remittances from home. Not only did the remittances add to the economy of the region, but also the presence of the idle and sporting remittance men, more fond of drink and horse racing than hard work, became the stuff of stories and legend. The recreational activities of the English country squires and remittance men in Wyoming were largely the same as those of their relations back in England. “The English on Wyoming ranches practiced the traditional hunt with the horse and hounds chasing after the quarry, but instead of foxes, American coyotes, wolves, and antelope served as the game.” 598

An example of an elaborate “fox hunt” was recorded by George Cross in 1887 when he visited the Douglas-Wallin Sartoris Ranch, known as the Millbrook Ranch just north of Laramie. Amazed, Cross described the hunt in the following manner:

A ride to the hounds the next morning [sic]. The hunt was mainly for coyotes although wolves and antelope were sometimes the prey. A ‘four-in-hand’ coach for ‘dudes’ accompanied the hunt. . . .’ The group of riders, both men and women assembled around the coach riding English saddles, wearing red coats and tight white britches. A uniformed hornblower . . . resembling a Dickens’ character sat on the back of the coach . . . he lustily blasted out his melodious

598 Ibid.
halloos that echoed through hills and valleys . . . Twenty baying dogs were
turned loose and the hunting party was off. Such a sight must have
gotten quite a reaction from the local cowboys, but it was typical life on
the Millbrook Ranch, and many of the other British owned ranches in
Wyoming. A few British gentlemen built elaborate race tracks on their
ranches “for horse racing and elaborate barns stabled their prize animals.”

As with the British who immigrated to Texas and Colorado, their gentleman cousins in
Wyoming brought with them their love of English sport. For example: “Malcolm Moncreiffe and
his nephew, Oliver Wallop, respectively from Scotland and England, joined in bringing polo to
the Sheridan area.” Oliver Wallop had come to the American west in 1890. He drove some
horses into the Big Horn Basin in Montana. “He immediately liked the area and bought the O.P.
Hanna Ranch of 2,700 acres on Little Goose Creek.” He married an American, Marguerite
Walker of Chicago. Within a few years, Marguerite’s sister Amy married Malcolm Moncreiffe
who was also ranching on Little Goose Creek. “Malcolm Moncreiffe later owned the Polo Ranch
and William the Quarter Circle A. Malcolm introduced polo to the Sheridan area around 1900,
and local cowboys had found polo much to their liking.” At first the polo matches involved
some players in English attire, English boots and English riding saddles, mixed with traditional
cowboy attire, chaps, cowboy boots, western saddles and of course cowboy hats. It was not
until well after the turn of the century that traditional English attire became official for American
games.

The several large British ranch operations in Wyoming often had spacious and opulent
headquarters ranch houses, built like English manorial estates with many guest rooms. The
guest rooms were built for a purpose because the British owners enjoyed entertaining. “Ranch

599 Amy Lawrence. “From Foxhounds to Farming, the Millbrook Ranch in Albany County”.
600 Robert Homer Burns, Andrew Springs Gillespie, and Willing Gay Richardson. Wyoming’s Pioneer
601 Hendrickson, Peopling, 25.
602 Orlin Scoville, Remittance Men, Second Sons, and Other Gentlemen of the West. (Washington, D.C.: Great
603 Ibid.
headquarters functioned as bases for big game hunts and as hostelries for visitors from Great Britain." Moreten Frewen was especially well known for hosting important English guests and conducting elaborate hunts.

To further illustrate the extent of the economic and cultural impact created by British and Irish gentlemen migrants to Wyoming the following descriptions of three famous and influential individuals: Douglas-Willan Sartoris, Moreton Frewen and Horace Plunkett are presented.

6.7 Douglas-Willan Sartoris: British Ranching On A Grand Scale

Young Jack Douglas-Willan arrived in Wyoming in 1877 from England at about the time that the Beef Bonanza was just beginning to take off. Douglas-Willan had been encouraged to go to Wyoming by an acquaintance, George Cross, whom he had met in Colorado. When Douglas-Willan came to Wyoming, he purchased “the Millbrook Ranch on the Little Laramie River, which, flanked by rock-strewn dry grasslands stretching to the horizon, boasted lush meadowlands carved out of the Laramie Plains by the ancient glaciers and inland seas.”

The area that Douglas-Willan had decided to settle, above the small town of Laramie, was one of the centers of English settlement in Wyoming. “The little town perched on the edge of the still almost lawless prairie, was literally surrounded with large British outfits, which brought an exotic mixture of high-born British, or ‘swells’ as they were called, wealthy land owners and high rollers to this frontier community.” Douglas-Willan’s vision was not just to operate a profitable horse ranch but rather to create “an immense show place and breeding farm for both horses and cattle.” Since such an enterprise would require a lot of capital, Douglas-Willan took a trip back to England to find the financing for his dream-ranch. It was in London that he met Alfred Urban Sartoris, the head of a prestigious family of wealthy landed gentry. Douglas-Willan may have learned of Sartoris from Moreton Frewen, since Sartoris, whose wealth came

604 Hendrickson, Peopling, 17.
605 Lawrence, “From Foxhounds to Farming,” 4.
606 Ibid.
607 Ibid.
in large part from African diamond mines, had already invested in Frewen’s Power River Ranch. The elder Sartoris was persuaded to invest in Douglas-Willan’s Millbrook ranch. Lionel Sartoris and his brother Leonard spent considerable time at the Millbrook Ranch. The three men were bachelors who lived their lives at Millbrook as if they were manorial lords. They were well-liked by their cowboy hands as well as the local American ranchers, in part because of their generous spirit, in part because of their elaborate parties and balls.

The Douglas-Willan Sartoris partnership funded an impressive and elaborate ranch headquarters. The plan for the ranch house included a 30 foot square and two stories tall “recreation room” for entertaining. “The huge room was lighted by a skylight and offices and living quarters were arranged on two floors facing on the recreation room.”608 The ranch also boasted

a 20-room house, staffed with liveried servants, a main horse barn, measuring 53 feet by 130 feet, and besides the regular clutch of outbuilding, kennels for 80 ‘pedigreed’ fox hounds. There was running water in the main horse barn and a ‘refrigerated’ concrete trough by the cook-house where running water cooled the food. 609

John Douglas-Willan and the Sartoris brothers entertained on their ranch in elaborate and expensive style. “Among the magnificent parties given in the great recreation room at the Willan ranch was one given in 1890 for the ranch employees.”610 According to the article in the Laramie Republican-Boomerang,

Steve Frazer, who had charge of the buddy barns, was given the job of rounding up the girls for the dance, and Otto Burns called for them in the tally-ho. The company reportedly spent several hundred dollars on this party and old timers on the Laramie plains still remember it. In fact Mrs. Mary Bellamy has told the writer of the fine times she had as a girl accompanying some of her girl friends to these ranch parties. . . .Everyone who ever had anything to do with the Willan outfit remembers it with kindly feeling and the employees are high in their praise of it as treating them royally.611

609 Lawrence, “From Fox Hounds to Farming”, 4.
610 Laramie Republican-Boomerang (July 18, 1951).
611 Ibid.
The lavish manner of entertaining was not unique to the British gentlemen ranchers in Wyoming. What was uncharacteristic was the mild-mannered and gracious behavior of the Sartoris brothers toward their cowboy employees. The reputation of the Sartoris brothers for their treatment of their cowhands is in direct contrast to Moreton Frewen whose reputation for his poor treatment of his hands is legendary.

The owners of the Douglas-Willan Sartoris ranch were known not only for their elaborate hunts but also for their extensive farming, horse raising and cattle operation. The owners sought to improve their position financially in other ways as well:

The DWS company joined eight prominent Laramie businessmen to form the Wyoming Central Land and Improvement Company which was incorporated on July 26, 1884. It was capitalized at $1,000,000 with 10,000 shares of $100 each being held by each of the nine stock-holders. . . . Those signing the incorporation papers read like a list of ‘who’s who’ of Laramieites at that time.\(^{612}\)

The company was formed to generate sufficient capital for several major commercial operations, namely, “land sales, mining, transportation and communication facilities, water and timber rights for 620,000 acres of the checkerboard sections of the Union Pacific land in Albany County and a few in neighboring Carbon County.”\(^{613}\)

Part of the effort of the Wyoming Central Land and Improvement Company (WCLIC) was to make land available to settlers for farming. “The UP had wanted to sell the lands only in large chunks which would have kept out the smaller buyers, according to Hayford [owner of the Laramie Sentinel], so the willingness of the WCLIC to sell to small farmers was welcome indeed.”\(^{614}\) The WCLIC also benefited the community with its efforts to rescue the Pioneer Canal, which was failing because of lack of capital for improvements. The canal “is still an important part of the irrigation system of the Big Laramie Valley.”\(^{615}\)

The Douglas-Willan Sartoris partnership was not only heavily involved in the WCLIC’s farm promotion activities, it also “established its own farm operation and were innovators of new

\(^{612}\) Ibid.  
\(^{613}\) Ibid.  
\(^{614}\) Ibid.  
\(^{615}\) Ibid.
farm practice in the area.” Ibid. 616 The *Laramie Boomerang* in 1889 carried an article that reported in detail on the DWS farming operations:

> [T]hey have cultivated 1,500 acres, including 320 acres of oats with an estimated yield of 10,000 bushels . . . 200 acres of alfalfa, an expected 300 to 400 tons of timothy . . . a fine garden where all kinds of vegetables are raised. 617

Another article in the *Laramie Boomerang* discussed the “acres of field peas and rutabagas which were fed to hogs and lambs to be butchered for the markets in Laramie.” 618 The *Laramie Boomerang* in an April 1884 article noted how the DWS operation was improving the genetics of the local crops by its transatlantic importation of “pedigreed barley” from England.

The residents of Laramie were more than a little surprised when Lionel Sartoris reported the success of his farming operations after a three-year period of experiment in which he had grown successfully 600 acres of grain. But even more surprising was his announcement in which

> . . . he said that if people wanted to farm he would do all he could to assist them. He would donate the use of 160 to 320 acres to a dozen families for a few years and assist them in procuring seed. An excursion trip to the ranch was proposed to interest settlers. 619

This was not typical behavior for a “Cattle King” on the Wyoming range! It was somewhat similar to that of the English landed gentry from a previous generation. Sartoris’ promotion of farming and the efforts of the WCLIC had borne fruit. The governor’s report in 1883 detailed that there were somewhere between 7 and 8 million acres under cultivation in the territory. Later, in 1888, following the terrible winter of 1885-86, Governor Warren filed a report that there were “a total of 87 incorporated ditch companies capitalized at approximately 4.4 billion [dollars]” 620 So, just at the time ranching was being negatively impacted by over-grazing and the terrible winter of 1886-87, the southern regions of the territory were converting to farming operations.

The drought that followed the terrible winter of 1886-87 hurt the farmers as much as the

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616 Ibid.
617 Ibid.
618 Ibid.
619 Ibid.
620 Ibid.
ranchers. Notices began to appear in the *Laramie Boomerang* and *Cheyenne Leader* about farm foreclosures. The drought, the normal high winds on the Wyoming prairie, the short growing season, and the over-financing of farming operations all led to hard times which affected not only the farmers in southern Wyoming that the DWS partnership had tried to promote, but also the WCLIC. In 1892 the first cracks began to show when an advertisement appeared offering:

> At Sacrifice for Cash, the Model Farm, 673 acres with improvements and water as well as 350 shares of the Wyoming Central Land & Improvement Company stock.\(^{621}\)

In 1890, a very ill John Douglas-Willan had returned to England. Shortly thereafter rumors of a pending sale of the DWS Millbrook ranch began to circulate. Lionel Sartoris imported a large carriage about this time to ferry visitors out to the ranch. All this activity culminated on August 15, 1893 when the *Laramie Boomerang* contained the following notice:

> The Sartoris ranch . . . and mining properties . . . were sold this afternoon under mortgage foreclosure . . . and went for a mere song.\(^{622}\)

The Sartoris brothers had left Wyoming for England just before the sale.\(^{623}\) The failure of the ranching and farming operation of the DWS partnership had several contributing causes. “Over financing, poor management, extravagant lifestyle, stock losses in ‘the great blizzard/ and a growing national depression”— all contributed to the failure of not only the DWS operation, but also of many other large British-owned ranches in Wyoming between 1886 and 1900.

Lionel Sartoris had been a member of both the Laramie Club and the Cheyenne Club, and was known to have entertained lavishly at both establishments. He would arrive with his guests in his Tally Ho carriage and entertain them with the finest wine, cigars and food that the

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\(^{621}\) Ibid.

\(^{622}\) Ibid.

\(^{623}\) Lionel Sartoris died 18 years later in 1898 in London of unknown causes after he left his club late one night for a bath in the local Turkish baths. When he did not arrive back at his home in the morning, his wife began to make inquiries which led to the discovery of his body in a sleeping room at the baths. *Laramie Boomerang* and *London Mercury* in the Sartoris, Lionel Collection B.5a 72-L, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
clubs had to offer. John Douglas-Willan was also a member of the Cheyenne Club, as was Lionel Sartoris’ brother Leonard.

While the DWS partnership was ultimately a financial failure, it did provide during its operation considerable positive assistance to the development of the Big Laramie valley. At least one researcher in the Beef Bonanza of Wyoming was forced to conclude:

Although both the DWS ranch and the Land Company were economic failures, they left a permanent impact on the land and culture of Wyoming. In this sense they are symbolic of the numberless similar ventures that in a few decades transformed the West from an open land, occupied by nomadic peoples into a land cut by the fences and roads that designate private ownership and 'progress.'

6.8 Moreton Frewen: An Atypical British Rancher In Wyoming

Probably the most gregarious and ostentatious English gentleman who ranched in Wyoming was Moreton Frewen. His ranching operations and gentlemen’s lifestyle of grand entertaining, elaborate hunts and horse racing were the substance of legend and local folklore. Frewen’s influence on the landscape, finances and culture of Wyoming was profound.

Born on May 8, 1853, Moreton Frewen was the younger son of a wealthy Sussex gentleman. Thus he was eligible to receive a gentleman’s education but not his father’s estate. His stay at Cambridge did not inculcate in him the intellectual discipline necessary to keep him from deleterious pursuits. He was more interested in the horse races at Newmarket than in his studies. His favorite pastimes at school were polo and steeple-chasing. From an early age, he was attracted to gambling and horse racing. “He hardly knew when his formal schooling ended, because his life moved effortlessly forward—wenching in the shires in summer, shooting grouse in the fall and gambling in the south of France if the British winter was severe.”

Unable to receive the family estate because he was a second son, young Moreton came to depend upon his Uncle Charles and the hope that upon Charles’s death he would

624 Ibid.
receive an inheritance. Uncle Charles died without leaving Moreton a farthing. It was at that time that Moreton “turned to cards and had a run of good luck until he decided to test his fortunes fully and with finality on the horses.” He decided to bet all that he had on a single race. He studied the racing forms and put his money on a horse named Hampton in the Doncaster Cup, which was run on September 13, 1878, when Moreton was just twenty-three years old. His plan was that if he lost the bet, he would emigrate to America and find his fortune in the cattle business in Wyoming. His horse did lose, so Moreton sold all of his remaining possessions and prepared to sail to America.

Moreton Frewen learned about the American cattle business, not from the *Fortnightly Review* or any of the books and pamphlets on the topic, but from the personal experience of a family acquaintance. “Moreton and his brother, Richard, became interested in ranching as a result of an evening’s conversation at their Melton Mobray home with John Adair, an Irishman, who in partnership with Charles Goodnight had bought a ranch in Palo Duro Canyon in the Texas Panhandle.”

Moreton Frewen wondered about life in America as he sat in the Club that day after the race. It was a daring move as the result of a reckless decision, but that was the way with Moreton Frewen. He convinced his older brother, Richard, to join him, which served to increase their combined resources. They were both the sons of a second marriage, by which Richard had gained £16,000 pounds in inheritance. With the use of Richard’s funds Moreton was able to launch his Wyoming cattle business. Richard and Moreton were to have a stormy relationship in Wyoming, to which several of their letters attest.

Being an English gentleman, Moreton was prone to mix business with pleasure. Rather than leave straight away for America, he first arranged with four of his sporting friends to join him and his brother on a hunting trip as the Frewens scouted Wyoming for a suitable ranch site. But before leaving England, Moreton had to bring his relationship with his mistress, Lillie

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626 Ibid., 73.
Langtry, the famous English actress to a close. “The farewell with the actress took longer than expected, but he finally presented her with the gift of his favorite carriage horse and bolted for the point of departure, Liverpool.”

Always living beyond his means, Moreton chartered a train and raced for the coast where his brother and his four sporting friends were waiting for him aboard the ship.

The party of English gentlemen hunted in the Big Horn mountains of Wyoming, north of Rawlins. The hunt was over by December and the four hunting companions headed back to England, while Moreton and Richard, with a couple of guides, in the dead of winter went in search of land for their ranch. This was another example of Moreton’s typical foolhardy nature. The small party became snowbound during a blizzard, and were only saved from being frozen by the quick thinking of Jack Hargreaves, one of the guides, who was able to stampede a herd of buffalo through the pass which led to the Powder River country. It was in that area that Moreton and Richard were able to find suitable land for their ranch and a homestead for their accommodations. In typical fashion at this time in the American West the Frewens bought the land around the water supply and their ranch house, with the plan to graze their cattle on the public domain. It was a site that was both wooded and had a good source of water, without which no ranch in the west could be successful.

Having bought the land for the ranch, they build a large two-story cabin, which was uncommon for ranchers just beginning in the American West, where the first dwelling was often a dugout cabin or “soddy” as they were commonly called. But it was typical of Moreton, who always wanted to start out any enterprise in a big way. The locals called the Frewen ranch house “The Castle” because of its imposing size. Moreton had a reason for building a large dwelling. Their plans called for the development of a very large ranch. “The Frewens claimed that their range, mostly public land, and covering most of northeast Wyoming, equaled Ireland in

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Olson, *Marmalade & Whiskey*, 73.
Moreton knew that they did not have enough resources to stock that much land with cattle, so they needed to get investors, and the large ranch house would help them impress their rich English visitors who could be more easily persuaded to invest in their ranching enterprise.

Moreton worked tirelessly to raise the revenue necessary to stock their ranch. The two brothers formed the Frewen Brothers Ranch Company of New York and London. Moreton began the first of one hundred (!) trips to New York and London to raise money for his ventures. He often invited friends, and friends of friends to the Frewen ranch for elk and buffalo and bear hunts. Sometime during the hunt, Moreton was sure to bring up the subject of how profitable the cattle ranching business was in that region. Besides entertaining his wealthy visitors at The Castle, he also became a supporter of the Cheyenne Club, modeled after the English gentlemen’s clubs of London. Moreton, his brother Richard and the Irish baronet Sir Horace Plunkett through their leadership gave the Cheyenne Club much of its collective charm.

“Desiring a staging area in Cheyenne, where wealthy cattlemen congregated, he joined the prestigious Cheyenne Club, which catered not only to Wyoming land barons but rich American and British adventurers arriving aboard Union Pacific trains, and built a charming guest house a few blocks from the club for his convenience and for entertaining guests bound for Powder River.”\(^{630}\) The Cheyenne Club served Moreton’s purpose of providing a bit of English civility and hospitality for his wealthy visitors.

Moreton was finally able to raise enough funds to purchase the cattle he needed to begin ranching on a grand scale on his Powder River ranch. But his struggle to raise the funds to maintain his ranch required continuous efforts. On his many trips back east and to London he somehow found time to court, become engaged to and marry Clara Jerome, the sister of Jennie Jerome, later the wife of Lord Randolph Churchill. Clara’s father was Leonard Jerome, a millionaire yachtsman of New York City. Because of Moreton’s charm and large store of

\(^{629}\) Ibid., 74.
^{630}\) Ibid., 75.
entertaining stories about the Wild West, as well as his English accent and pedigree, he was invited to many dinner parties while on the east coast and waiting for a liner to London. “One day Moreton had tea at the Jerome mansion, 25 Madison Square.”\textsuperscript{631} There he met Clara, who was the older sister and still unmarried at twenty-nine. Clara had been on the fringes of British society and while not involved became somewhat tarnished by a scandal involving the Prince of Wales. It was after she had returned from London to New York, feeling that her chances of a good marriage were beginning to look rather desperate, that she met Moreton Frewen for tea. Moreton and Clara were married at the Grace Episcopal Church with a reception at the intimate Madison Square Garden. The society papers noted that she wore a necklace “with thirty large diamonds.”\textsuperscript{632} This remark gives some indication of how the marriage was one that provided good fortune for Clara’s husband.

After their short honeymoon on the Hudson River, Moreton took his bride out west to his ranch. It was an arduous journey for the socialite Clara. The trip by train to Cheyenne was not nearly as comfortable as a first-class cabin on an Atlantic steamer. The next-to-last leg was a rough ride in a stage coach behind a four-horse team from Rock Creek to Fort Fetterman, then finally by buggy to “The Castle.” She tried hard to make the most of life on the isolated ranch. The Castle boasted a drawing room with a grand piano. The Frewens regularly entertained visitors from the east and from England on hunting trips. Several of the gentlemen also brought their wives, which provided rare feminine company for Clara.

Life on the ranch was a far cry from New York or London and Clara finally lost patience with it entirely after a miscarriage. “She left for New York and then London--the two cities in which Clara and Moreton were to maintain a haphazard but loving marriage that had to be strong because it was beset by constant money problems.”\textsuperscript{633} These financial constraints required Moreton to make innumerable trips to New York and London, during which he was

\textsuperscript{631} Ibid., 76.
\textsuperscript{632} Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{633} Ibid., 78
constantly trolling the dinner parties and Club luncheons and card games for financial investors in his ranch and other schemes.

By 1882, his entire Wyoming ranching enterprise faced ruin. His brother Richard, with whom Moreton had a stormy relationship, finally determined that he was going back to London. He wanted his money back from the £16,000 that he had originally invested in the ranch, as well as half of what they had earned from their partnership in the ranch. Moreton did not have that kind of liquid capital, so he took his ranch public and raised over £300,000. The ranch enterprise was now called the Powder River Cattle Company Ltd, which continued to use the “76” brand, from their first ranch. This public offering gave Moreton enough funds to satisfy his brother and to finance a plan to ship live cattle to England by way of Canada. However, London refused to lift its restrictions on the importation of live cattle, having received word of the Texas Tick fever which had spread to the Wyoming range. This injunction caused Moreton to lose a considerable sum just at a time when his backers were becoming disturbed because of a lack of profit on their investment in the Powder River Cattle Company. Because he had finally “lost his shareholders’ confidence, Moreton resigned from the company in 1886.”

During the summer of 1885 when Moreton saw that the Wyoming range was being over-grazed, he shipped thirty-nine thousand cattle to Canada where they were saved from starvation during the blizzard of 1886. Although the winter of 1886-87 almost totally wiped out Moreton’s resources, he was able to pull together enough money to return to London where he purchased a house for Clara and his family. He continued to borrow and play the horses. He mortgaged his house and fought with his creditors. His wife died and Moreton tried unsuccessfully to get his daughter’s inheritance from his wife’s estate. His schemes continued as did his trips back and forth across the Atlantic.

At one point he invested borrowed money in “a newly patented ore-reduction mill in

\[634\] Ibid.
Cripple Creek, Colorado." This scheme, also, was a failure. His character flaws were as large as his dreams and schemes and somewhere along the way he gained the nickname “Mortal Ruin” which seemed to fit his frenetic and exaggerated lifestyle. His reputation back in Wyoming and at the Cheyenne Club was mixed. He was remembered for his extravagant entertaining, as well as for his haughty British attitude. “He left a legacy of bitterness among newer Wyoming settlers because it was he who ordered the hanging of a cattle rustler in an event which became, in Owen Wister’s masterpiece, *The Virginian*, a symbol of heartless cattle barons arrayed against small farmers and ranchers.” Moreton aided in building his own poor reputation in that he saw himself as a land baron in Wyoming because that was what his heritage had been for generations in England.

While it cannot be disputed that the Frewens’ enterprises in Wyoming and the American West ended in financial disasters, it is also the case that the Frewens poured considerable capital into Wyoming, which along with the millions of pounds provided by the other British investors, contributed to the growth and settlement of not only Wyoming but the American West in general. “It was stated by the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association in 1882 that six million pounds of English and Scotch capital had been invested in ranching largely in Wyoming and the Texas Panhandle. (See By Laws and Reports of the Wyoming stock Growers’ Association, 1882. p. 19)”

6.9 Horace Plunkett, Son Of An Irish Peer In Wyoming

The story of Horace Plunkett, the son of an Irish peer, who immigrated to the Wyoming Territory in October 1879 is quite different from the examples of British gentlemen ranchers discussed above. Plunkett’s ranching and other financial efforts were marginally profitable. Like Douglas-Willan and the Sartoris brothers Wyoming Cattle Land Development and Improvement

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635 Ibid., 81.
636 Ibid., 80.
Company (WCLIC), Plunkett invested in efforts to irrigate 60,000 acres of Wyoming farmland. His ranching operations consisted of: the Powder River Cattle Company of which he was the manager; the Frontier Land and Cattle Company of which he was the President; the Union Cattle Company of which he was a representative in England; and the Gilchrist, Boughton and Plunkett Land and Cattle Company of which he was a Director. Plunkett had other business interests in Wyoming: The International Title Company, of which he was a Director; The Wyoming Development Company of which he was a Director; and the Johnson County Loan and Investment Company of which he was the Treasurer.

Like John Douglas-Willan, the Sartoris brothers and the Frewen brothers, Plunkett’s career as a Irish investor in the Wyoming cattle business was not typical because all three of these Irish ranchers personally oversaw their operations. “The great majority of British and Irish investors never saw where their money went because shareholders seldom left the British Isles. Plunkett, however, spent several months of each year in Wyoming, actively attending to his business in behalf of those who had entrusted their money to him.” What separates Plunkett from his British neighbors in Wyoming was that he was more successful in managing his financial affairs than they were. He suffered losses due to the Blizzard of 1886-87, but he was able to endure the losses while many of the British and American owned ranches in Wyoming lost fortunes.

Horace Plunkett was born on October 24, 1854 on the manorial estate of Edward Plunkett, who “held an Irish title which dated from sixteen generations past.” Horace was the third son, which should have relegated him to financial oblivion. However, the deaths and poor business abilities of his older brothers eventually made Horace Plunkett the head of the family estate. This did not happen until after his eventual permanent return to Ireland. Plunkett’s early life was plagued by the deaths in his family. After Plunkett graduated from

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639 Ibid., 1.
University College, Oxford in 1877, he returned to Ireland where his mother, his one sister and a younger brother died of tuberculosis. By 1879 Horace Plunkett had become infected. His doctors recommended a change in climate, preferably one that had a high altitude and was dry. South Africa and the American Rocky Mountains were suggested. "He chose the Rockies."\footnote{Margaret Digby, \textit{Horace Plunkett, An Anglo-American Irishman} (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1849), 2. See also: Sir Horace Plunkett, \textit{The Rural Life Problem of the United States: Notes of an Irish Observer} (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 6.}

Plunkett’s early diary has been lost, so little is known about his first two years in America. He arrived in October, 1879 and much of the period between 1879 and 1881 can be pieced together from other records. He probably settled on the EK Ranch close to the Powder River in Johnson County, Wyoming, with his partners Alexis and Edmond Roche.\footnote{Ibid., 21. See also Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association. \textit{Brand Book for 1884}. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Northwestern Live Stock Journal, 1884.} He and his partners began to build up their ranch and stock it. From the very first, Plunkett could not completely divorce himself from Ireland and the responsibilities that he felt to his family there. From his earliest time in Wyoming, he began his practice of spending the winter months of the year back in Ireland.

The diary of 1881 presents a full picture of Plunkett’s activities. He disembarked from Ireland in April of that year. When he arrived in Cheyenne, via New York, Chicago and Omaha, he stayed at the Cheyenne Club, which indicates that he had joined the club prior to 1881. While he had spent the winter in Ireland, Plunkett had been elected to membership in the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association.\footnote{Clay, \textit{My Life on the Range}, 235.} During the period that he was enjoying himself at the Cheyenne Club he had a conversation with N.R. Davis, who would later become the president of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association. During that conversation, both men agreed about the negative consequences of over grazing.\footnote{Diary, May 25, 1881.}

After a short stay at his ranch on the Powder River, Plunkett returned to Omaha and then to Iowa where he was looking into the feasibility of starting a feedlot operation. While in
Ogalalla he became ill, so he traveled back to Cheyenne and stayed at the Club to regain his health. As he was recovering at the Club from his bout of diarrhea, which caused him frequent problems while he was in America, he confided to his diary:

> Living at a Club where one is supposed to have certain social relations with fellow members one feels one’s position among the people of the country. They don’t like us naturally & on the whole I don’t like them. They are to a certain amount clannish & feel our invasion.¹⁶⁴⁴

Several other entries in Plunkett’s diaries indicate that his relations with his fellow Wyoming ranchers were more cordial. He also had dealings with English ranchers in Wyoming, specifically Moreton Frewen, with whom he would later become embroiled in a battle of words and letters over a financial transaction. During a trip to Chicago and the cattle market, Plunkett met Richard Frewen, Moreton’s brother. “Frewen wanted Plunkett to join him in a plan to obtain from the United States government a monopoly on tourist accommodations in Yellowstone Park.”¹⁶⁴⁵ The proposal was fraught with expensive problems, not the least of which was the need to establish a stage line between Cheyenne and Yellowstone, with several hotels along the way. Plunkett gave up the idea because his opinion of the Frewens as businessmen was low.

When Plunkett returned to his EK ranch on the Powder River, he found seventeen guests in the ranch house. The house guests prevented him from conducting any business affairs. Plunkett returned to Ireland in the fall of 1881 with little to show for his efforts. When he returned to Wyoming in 1882 he began the season with large purchases of cattle. “During the summer of 1882 Plunkett met with Andrew Gilchrist, a fellow member of the Cheyenne Club and Stock Growers Association. Gilchrist owned a ranch on Crow Creek, but he chose to live in Cheyenne. Plunkett suggested a partnership together with Alexis Roche to purchase cattle for the fall market.”¹⁶⁴⁶

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¹⁶⁴⁴ Diary, July 21, 1881. Generally Plunkett’s relations with his fellow ranchers in Wyoming were cordial. His illness may have affected his outlook at this time.
¹⁶⁴⁵ Diary, Sept. 4, 1881.
¹⁶⁴⁶ Diary, July 15, 1882; See also Clay, *My Life on the Range*, 245.
It was also during this period that Moreton Frewen was establishing the Powder River Cattle Company, Ltd. as a joint stock company in order to raise capital for the purchase of more land and cattle. Frewen’s plan was to sell his properties in Wyoming to the Powder River Cattle Company, Ltd. “in return for managership [sic] of the company for five years and one-third of the shares of ordinary stock.”647 As part of his plan to expand the Powder River Ranch holdings, Frewen through his assistant Frank A. Kemp proposed to Plunkett and his partners the purchase of the EK Ranch for $175,000648 Plunkett’s reply was sent to Kemp and Frewen in care of the Cheyenne Club, proposing a counter offer of $260,000. “Frewen made no reply.”649

The year 1882 was a good one for Plunkett to form partnerships. “In September, Plunkett went into business with two men named Windsor and Coble. Their range was to be the headwaters of the Powder River.”650 The deal that Plunkett made at the end of the season to sell EK cattle to Frewen’s Powder River Cattle Company at “five cents a pound, delivered in Chicago” would cause Plunkett problems with Frewen that would drag on for some time.651 The origin of the problem was that Frewen realized that under his contract with Plunkett, he was purchasing cattle for more than he could sell them. Therefore Frewen attempted to back out of the deal.

When Plunkett was in Wyoming in 1883, he negotiated with several men and formed the Wyoming Development Company. The purpose of the syndicate was “to irrigate 60,000 acres of land eighty miles northeast of Cheyenne.”652 It proved to be a significant undertaking because the land was eighty-six miles from the Laramie River. Half of that distance had to be excavated, which included 3,000 feet of tunnel through a mountain! Once the trench arrived at the syndicate land, irrigation of the 60,000 acres required 200 miles of ditches. “The work

648 Diary, Aug. 18 1882.
649 Diary, Aug. 22. 1882.
650 Diary, Sept. 7, 11, 14, 1882
651 Diary, Oct. 1, 1882.
involved cost the syndicate nearly $500,000."\textsuperscript{653}

Plunkett’s busy schedule in 1883 included attending meetings of the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association in early July. At that meeting, on July 2nd, Plunkett helped to organize the ranchers to combat the rising railroad freight rates for the shipment of cattle back east. There was more than one reason for Plunkett to spend some of his time working on that project as he confides to his diary:

This puts a good deal of work on my shoulders for a time. But it will pay me well if I succeed in getting even 50 c a head reduction. But in any case it is well to take a prominent part. It helps one in getting into good things with good business men.\textsuperscript{654}

His effort of working with good business men paid off because “he was able to get into a good thing three weeks later when he bought ‘about £2000 worth of stock’ in the Cheyenne Electric Light Company.\textsuperscript{655} Plunkett’s stock sale did not go well for him that year, because of the glut of cattle on the market.

The cattle season of 1884 saw considerable investment opportunities for Plunkett and Gilchrist who purchased 40,000 acres of Union Pacific land close to the Wyoming Development Company. The land which Plunkett and Gilchrist bought was also close to the Swan Land and Cattle Company land. Plunkett and Gilchrist were joined by Boughton who had 95,000 acres adjacent to the 40,000. “Together they formed a land and cattle company with a capital of $2,000,000. The total amount of land was 135,000 acres, purchased for one dollar per acre.”\textsuperscript{656} A month later Plunkett’s new company sold to the Swan Land and Cattle Company 50,000 acres for $1.50 an acre, which was a profit of 50 cents an acre.

Shortly after the Fourth of July Plunkett had another idea for a land and cattle company. He organized the Frontier Land and Cattle Company with Gilchrist and Boughton with a capitalization of $1,100,000. It had been a profitable season for Plunkett. “He had formed two

\textsuperscript{653} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{654} Diary, July 2, 1883.
\textsuperscript{655} Diary, July 25, 1883. The £2,000 represented roughly $10,000.
\textsuperscript{656} Savage, “Cattle King”, 34.
land and cattle companies and was realizing profits from earlier investments.” At the time prospects for the next cattle season looked good to him, but 1884 was the last good season for Plunkett in Wyoming. There were little profits to be made in 1885 as several ranchers in Wyoming began to have financial difficulties. The winter of 1886-87 left most of the ranchers ruined in the territory. Plunkett was able to get out of the cattle and land business with considerably lower losses than his neighbors, both American and British.

Life in Wyoming was not all business for Plunkett. He spent considerable time each year in Cheyenne, alternately conducting business and enjoying the refinements of the Cheyenne Club and social life in Cheyenne. “In Cheyenne, for example, one might play lawn tennis before breakfast and by evening become engaged in a symposium ‘dividing the laurels between agnosticism & Roman Catholicism.” The Cheyenne Club could occasionally let down the rules to provide amusement for its members. In 1884, for example, the British members were hosted by the American members to a dinner. The event became an obvious disaster because “too many of the hosts were drunk before the Dinner began.”

The years 1886 and 1887 were bad for all farmers and ranchers in Wyoming because of the terrible blizzard and the drought that followed. Plunkett worked hard to curb his losses by selling his interests in various holdings while maintaining financial positions that he felt were safe, such as the manager’s position of the Powder River Land and Cattle Company, that he acquired just before the big freeze.

At the end of the season, in November, 1887, Plunkett was given a going-away dinner. He sat in some degree of embarrassment as several speeches were given in testimony to his “high honor in business” and, to his surprise, “to his readiness to help others in the pursuit of the dollar.” After spending some time thinking about the kind words of his toastmasters, Plunkett concluded that they were generally accurate. He mused in his diary: “The cattlemen have had

657 Ibid., 35.
658 Diary, June 20, 1884 and Sept. 15, 1881.
659 Diary, Oct. 14, 1884.
660 Diary, Oct. 2, 1887.
my good will & all the help I could give them."

Plunkett came back to Wyoming in 1888 and 1889. But when he left in 1889, he knew it was for the last time, because of the death of his father. His observation of Cheyenne that fall was as somber as the hard times that had fallen on the American West:

Cheyenne dull & doleful. Surely the glory has departed. The cattle kings are gone & Cheyenne must settle down to the hum drum life of a farmer town—unless mineral wealth takes the place of the cattle wealth.

Toward the end of Plunkett’s ten-year stay in the American West, he became concerned about the conservation of the beautiful Yellowstone basin. He had traveled to Washington to promote the idea of the preservation of that national treasure. He did not meet Theodore Roosevelt until 1895. However, they developed a strong friendship very quickly because of many shared interests and values. Roosevelt wrote to William Howard Taft of his friend:

I know of no man anywhere who is as safe and wise a guide, no man who couples as he does an enthusiastic conviction with sanity as to the methods that ought to be pursued to turn that conviction into accomplished fact.

Horace Plunkett came to America at the birth of the Beef Bonanza. He became one of the “Cattle Kings” of Wyoming. But he was also interested in the development of Cheyenne, the culture of the community, and the prosperity of Wyoming as his many activities demonstrate. According to one biographer:

Horace Plunkett had witnessed within ten years the advent and dissolution of the great beef bonanza. He saw cattlemen abandon speculation in favor of moderation and common sense. He saw the close of the high plains frontier, and he saw himself turn from ranching to reform.

Horace Plunkett, John Douglas-Willan, Lionel and Leonard Sartoris, and Moreton and Richard Frewen are but a few of the hundreds of British gentlemen ranchers, remittance men and British immigrants who made their way to Wyoming between 1870 and 1900. The

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661 Diary, Nov. 2, 1887.
662 Diary, Oct. 5, 1889.
gentlemen ranchers and remittance men stand out because of their economic and cultural impacts on the territory. Of the hundreds of Irish who worked on the Union Pacific, most continued right on past Cheyenne and Laramie as the railhead moved west. But some stayed and opened shops or worked as laborers and a few even became cowboys. With their investments in land and cattle and with their values and cultural tastes, it was the gentlemen ranchers from Ireland, England and Scotland who influenced the development of Wyoming, in general and Cheyenne in particular,

6.10 Cheyenne: "Hell On Wheels" To "The Magic City Of The Plains"

The Union Pacific Railroad brought Cheyenne into existence, but cattle and gold made it rich. The settlers and the future cattle barons arrived in Cheyenne in the comfort of the railroad and Pullman sleeping cars, unlike the settlers of Denver and Fort Worth who arrived by horseback and covered wagon. From the six men and three women who arrived on July 9, 1867, a flourishing city of over 11,000 grew by the turn of the century. Cheyenne was born while the tracks were still 75 miles east of the settlement on Crow Creek. By the time the tracks were within twenty miles, the population had reached 3,000. Even before the first train reached Crow Creek, the first hospital had been set up in a tent to take care of the injured railroad workers. When “Hell on Wheels” (the name given to the behemoth construction operation and boom town that sprang up at each railhead) got to Crow Creek, Cheyenne had grown to 6,000.665 “As soon as the first settlers arrived at the new terminus, merchants immediately set out their wares --on boxes near Crow Creek, in tents, in ramshackle buildings and by the end of the year, in more substantial buildings along 16th and 17th streets.”666 That was the beginning of Cheyenne’s business district which expanded to cover several streets within a few years.

After “Hell on Wheels” moved off toward Laramie, it left behind 500 or 600 souls who decided to make a living in that new town on the prairie. Cheyenne became their home, and

666 Ibid., 20.
they made it into a town. “The city council held its meetings in one of the first row buildings, constructed by Judge William Kuykendall and James Whitehead in the 1600 block of Eddy Street, later renamed Pioneer Street and known as the Whitehead Block. The same building also hosted the first religious service in the community by an itinerant Methodist minister. “As the tracks extended west beyond the town, most of the gamblers, prostitutes, and other undesirables moved on to the next terminus, and by 1870 Cheyenne had settled into a more stable existence.”

The town’s existence was firmly established in 1868 when the Union Pacific Railroad decided to build its repair barns in Cheyenne. The town fathers’ vision of Cheyenne becoming a huge city based on those few permanent U.P. workers was a mirage. That same year saw the first school open in February with 114 students enrolled. A more propitious event, in that same year, was the opening of the rail connection between Denver and Cheyenne. Many of the town fathers were in fear that Denver would drain the trade away from Cheyenne; however, the opposite became the norm.

A Report of the Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior in 1885 gave an early history of the territory including the financial growth of Laramie County and Cheyenne, the county seat. In 1870 the assessed valuation of the county was $1,397,771; in 1880 it was only $3,857,142; but in the next five years, to 1885 the assessed valuation of the taxable property of the county increased to the enormous sum of $8,680,980.

An early generator of business for Cheyenne was Fort Russell, the adjacent Calvary fort. It protected not only the railroad workers along the line but also the towns along the Union Pacific Railroad, especially Cheyenne. The Cheyenne and Sioux were on their reservations and peaceful during the winter months, but when spring came so did the Indians, attacking wherever the railroad workers, settlers or cattlemen let down their guard. “When there was trouble in Cheyenne, the troops were ready to help, whether it was a problem with construction

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667 Ibid., 15.
668 Ibid.
workers or cowboys becoming too rowdy, or a disaster such as the fire of July 3, 1874. Because of its strategic importance Fort Russell, it became a permanent Army post in 1883. Over the years the army post and Cheyenne developed a close and reciprocal relationship. The cavalry led the first Cheyenne Frontier Days celebration in 1897.

After the 1874 fire that burned down most of the downtown, the buildings constructed were generally made of brick. “In 1878 Ida Hamilton took advantage of prosperous times in Cheyenne and built the biggest and most pretentious brothel ever to flourish in Wyoming. The walls were of the best brick, window sills and lintels were of carved sandstone and the interior was lavishly furnished.”

The combination of the Union Pacific Railroad, cattle and gold put Cheyenne on the map. The city grew rapidly in the decade following its establishment. The refinements of Cheyenne amazed many visitors who passed through on their way to California. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, a German travel-writer, visited Cheyenne in 1876 and wrote the following description:

We could not understand how a city of 4,000 could emerge in this place, a desert without trees, grass, or other vegetation! . . .In all Cheyenne’s environs, not a farm, not a house, not the faintest sign of culture. Yet here this important city thrives, the most important between the Missouri and the Great Salt Lake! . . . These facts add up to a mystery. The Magic City of the Plains.” Cheyenne is magic indeed. But of the plains? Thirty miles west by train you cross the Rockies at 8,242 feet! . . . Cheyenne is another American miracle . . .then years ago Judge Whitehead built the first house on the Cheyenne plateau . . .only ten years-- and we arrive by Pullman Palace car and find the place a substantial, thriving city with friendly wide streets, splendid hotels, banks, jails, insurance companies, opera house and churches! Yes, churches . . .each faith has its own church in a city that, five years ago consisted of dugouts and moveable shacks. the shacks, portable on their wooden wheels, made Cheyenne known as Hell on Wheels.

Cheyenne Frontier Days, the Fort Worth Fat Stock Show and Rodeo, and the Calgary Stampede share a tradition of celebrating the cattle industry that was responsible for turning each of these small towns into prosperous cities on the Great Plains and Prairie. The Cheyenne Club, Fort Worth Club and Ranchmen’s Clubs played important roles in the development of each of these celebrations in their respective cities.

Adams, Cheyenne, City of Blue Sky, 22.

Ibid., 24.
By 1890, Wyoming had become a state and Cheyenne its capital. At that time the city had a population of 11,690. The prominent industries in the city supported the cattle industry and the railroad, in that order. The industries consisted of the stockyards, saddle makers shops, wholesale and dry goods stores catering to the ranching trade, blacksmith shops, wagon manufacturers, and the railroad shops.

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of Wyoming and Dakota in 1875 created a boom in Cheyenne. Cheyenne was the closest rail terminal to the “diggings.” This led to the formation of the Cheyenne-Black Hills Stage. The 300-mile stage ride was a dangerous one until after the battle of Little Big Horn, when Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse were eventually captured and placed on reservations. The trip from Cheyenne to Deadwood took three hard days of traveling, 24 hours a day. The Cheyenne to Deadwood stage made its last run in February, 1887 when the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad began service from Chadron, Nebraska to Rapid City, South Dakota. During that brief period at the height of the Black Hills Gold Rush, Cheyenne saw a commercial boom that also brought many famous individuals to the Magic City. “Wild Bill Hickok, Calamity Jane, and Buffalo Bill Cody were in and out of Cheyenne during those years. Outlaws such as Joel Collins and Sam Bass [also of Texas fame], Frank and Jesse James, and ‘Big Nose’ George Parrot also became familiar names in the area, thanks to reports of gold shipments.” Cheyenne even boasted of having as a resident for a short time Wyatt Earp, who took the dangerous job of riding shotgun on the Cheyenne-Black Hills stage and the special gold wagon that was armor-plated.

The staple of the Cheyenne economy was not the brief Black Hills gold boom, but rather the cattle business. From shortly after the town was formed until the late 1890s the Beef Bonanza was the mainstay of Cheyenne’s prosperity. “Cheyenne is the headquarters of the ‘cattle kings’ of Wyoming stated the Omaha Herald in 1875.”

While some of the cattle barons—such as John Douglas-Willan and the Sartoris

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673 Ibid., 45.
674 Ibid., 50.
brothers, the Frewens, and Horace Plunkett--had palatial houses on their ranches, most of the “cattle kings” preferred to live in Cheyenne in their elaborate Victorian and Gothic mansions. “Carey Avenue, 18th Street, and 17th Street became known as ‘Millionaire’s Row’ and “Baron’s Row” for their display of large, expensive ($30,000 to $50,000) homes, many of them designed by George Rainsford, a local architect.”

The British born “Cattle Kings” suffered from a mixed review by their American neighbors. Their economic investment in cattle, land development and mines in Wyoming made the state extremely prosperous. At the height of the cattle boom, Cheyenne boasted the largest number of millionaires per capita in the United States. But the foreigners were also looked on with disfavor because of their aristocratic behavior and ostentatious ways:

The Europeans, most of them Britishers, came to Wyoming with the notion of feudal domains still in their minds. They operated on a large scale, and ‘absentee ownership’ was common practice among them. . . . These foreigners had a knack for enraging the people among whom they lived. Their ranch houses were often luxurious in contrast to the log houses of their neighbors.

The Union Pacific railroad allowed the “cattle kings,” both British and American, to build and furnish their palatial mansions in Cheyenne and on the range with the best materials available not only in the east but in Europe. An example of such elaborate mansions is the one constructed for Alexander H. Swan as a wedding present for his daughter. It included mahogany and other hardwoods on the floors, stairs and walls, imported marble, and the finest chandeliers from the best suppliers in the east. The house was a three-story limestone structure with castle-like turrets, elaborate conical roofs, and a two-story attached carriage house. The entire structure had over 6,000 square feet of floor space.

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675 Ibid.
677 A.S. Mercer, The Banditti of the Plains (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1935), ix. This was a quote from the forward by James Mitchell Clarke. The book was a biased account (against the large ranchers) of the Johnson County War.
678 Before Swan could give his daughter the mansion, he was forced to sell it because of the Blizzard of 1887.
One of the luxurious mansions on Carey Avenue, built in the 1880s cost $55,000. “The home featured fireplaces in every bedroom, a ballroom, oak paneling, and treasures” from the owners’ world travels.\(^{679}\) This home, like most of the others on “Barons Row,” had two- and three-story turrets with conical and Byzantine roof treatments. Several of the cattle kings’ mansions were wired for electricity as early as 1882. The L.R. Bresnahen home, built in 1882 by wealthy cattleman William C. Irvine, was originally wired for electricity generated by batteries that had to be recharged frequently. When a central power plant was built in Cheyenne, this house was the first to be connected.\(^{680}\) Both Alexander Swan and Plunkett owned interests in Cheyenne’s competing electric companies.\(^{681}\) The British cattle kings and their American counterparts entertained lavishly in their Cheyenne mansions, many of them constructed with ball rooms. The balls that the British cattle kings, such as Alexander H Swan, held were as elaborate as they were expensive. “Fruits and seafood shipped from the coasts were served at the best tables, and the men as well as ladies dressed in the latest Eastern fashions.”\(^{682}\) Cheyenne society was significantly influenced by the British manners and tastes, to the extent that the American cattle kings took their lead from the British manners and customs when it came to grand dinner parties and balls. “Cheyenne society was [also] influenced by the city’s status as territorial capital and later state capital; the legislature met there every two years, and the governor made his residence in Cheyenne.”\(^{683}\) The territorial governor often entertained various British and American cattle barons at the governor’s mansion.

The favorite past times and leisure pursuits in Cheyenne were often promoted by the British residents of the community. Polo, tennis, and horse racing were special favorites of the Frewens, Sartoris brothers and others from across the Atlantic. “With horse racing a popular diversion of Cheyenneites during he 1880s, fine horseflesh was owned by many [Cheyenne]

\(^{679}\) Adams, *Cheyenne, City of Blue Sky*, 100.
\(^{680}\) Ibid., 101.
\(^{681}\) It seems to have been a habit with the wealthy British immigrants to invest in local municipal utilities. Both Denver and Cheyenne had foreign owned electric and gas companies.
\(^{682}\) Ibid., 50.
\(^{683}\) Ibid., 50.
Sulky racing was a favorite sport among the cattle kings and club members. "All officers of the Cheyenne Driving Park Association, of which A. H. Swan was president in 1880, were on the Club rolls." Roller skating and bicycling were both popular leisure activities in Cheyenne. "A bicycle club was organized in 1882, and the Leader commented, 'The untamed velocipede continues to travel about town, with one man on its back, and a dozen holding him there'." The residents of Cheyenne also enjoyed the arts. Several of the British and American members of the Cheyenne Club funded the creation of the Cheyenne Opera House. It was constructed "on the corner of Capitol and 17th Street by Francis E. Warren in 1882, and became the setting for performances by traveling theatrical troupes as well as local groups for the next two decades."

The Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association predated the Cheyenne Club by a decade. Every member of the Cheyenne Club was a member of the association. The large British and Irish ranchers were also members of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association. The association had considerable political power in a territory whose economy was based primarily on the cattle industry.

6.11 Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association And Its British Members

The creation of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association was the result of the convergence of several forces affecting the economic viability of the early cattle ranchers of the Wyoming Territory. The influx of cattle, principally from Texas, though from other regions as well, such as Oregon, Kansas and Nebraska, the opening of the Union Pacific rail connection between Wyoming and Chicago, and the growth in cattle rustling that mirrored the rise in cattle business in the late 1860s and early 1870s—all these made for a heady mix. “The range cattle

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685 Ibid., 6.
686 Adams, *Cheyenne, City of Blue Sky*, 51.
687 Ibid.
industry had grown so rapidly during the early seventies that the territorial laws, courts, and local governments were inadequate to minister to a business which was spread over an area of nearly a million square miles and for which there was no precedent in the world’s history.”

The causes for the creation of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association are clear. The manner of its organization follows. Sitting in the southeastern portion of the territory, Cheyenne was an ideal location for the creation of the stock growers to organize. It was the largest community in the Wyoming territory, and the major stop on the Union Pacific line in Wyoming. It became the capital of the territory early in the history of the territory, thus it was natural that it became the “administrative and social metropolis of the immensely larger cattlemen’s range.”

On November 29, 1873, a group of eleven stockmen in Laramie County met in the county clerk’s office and organized the “Stock Association of Laramie.” Among those first organizers were A. H. Swan, whose British-backed Swan Land and Cattle Company became one of the largest in the State, and Thomas Sturgis who became the Secretary of the Stock Association of Laramie, the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association and the Secretary of the Cheyenne Club. Between the first meeting and the second meeting in February, 1874 the eleven members formed a committee that promulgated laws and regulations that would aid the cattlemen in curbing cattle rustling in the Territory.

At the second meeting held on February 23, 1874, twenty-five ranchers attended and joined the association. They voted on the acceptance of the laws and regulations developed by the committee. “Over the next four years thirty-one names were added to the membership list.” Of particular importance was the establishment of the date and rules for the spring round-up, which is when the stockmen believed that the majority of their stock was being stolen. The round-up system was recognized in law by the Territorial Legislature in 1884. The round up law gave the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association considerable political power and control

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688 Knollenberg, History of the Wyoming Cattle Industry, 60.
689 Ibid.
690 Knollenberg, History of Wyoming Cattle Industry, 63.
over their destiny. The law “made it the duty of the Association to provide for a ‘general spring round-up and a ‘general fall round-up’.”

One of the more controversial parts of the Law of 1884 dealt with mavericks. Mavericks are calves that had no identifiable mother, and thus no ownership. Under the Law of 1884, mavericks became the property of the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association. Many of the small operators believed that this part of the law hurt them, but they were forced to live with this part of the law for several years. Another important aspect of the range law of 1884 was the requirement for all brands in Wyoming Territory to be registered with the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association. Many of the Association’s rules were created to reduce the possibility of cattle rustling in the Territory. It was a rule, for example, not to employ cowhands who were known to also own their own cattle, because it was too easy for those cowboys to brand mavericks with their own personal brand, thus stealing from a specific rancher and from the Association, to which all mavericks belonged by law. “The Association kept a black-list of cowboys who were known or suspected of having a record. Copies of this list were sent to all members, who were forbidden to employ anyone whose name appeared upon it.”

Over time the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association dealt with every aspect of the range cattle industry, because its membership had grown to include almost all of the cattle ranches in the Territory. The Association was doing what it had been organized to do: protect the investments of its members. The principal investments of its members were cattle. The matters that the Association dealt with varied from the local to those which were national in scope, such as the public domain and free range grazing. The Association also lobbied for its members against the railroads and their arbitrary and often unfair shipping charges.

Another aspect of the life of members of the Association was its social side. Since all of the members of the Cheyenne Club were members of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association, the Cheyenne Club was often host to spill-over social events held by the

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691 Laws of Wyoming Territory, 1884, Sess. 8, 148-152.
692 Knollenberg, History of Wyoming Cattle Industry, 63.
Association. The Annual Wyoming Stock Growers' Association meeting would attract not only the Wyoming cattle kings but also cowboys, railroad representatives, Chicago cattle buyers, managers of feed stations, job seekers and the merely curious. “The meetings attracted all sorts of people and for various reasons.” The poorer of these would find their way to the local watering holes, such as Luke Murrin’s saloon. The more well-healed and better-connected would accompany the members of the Association who were also members of the Cheyenne Club to that well appointed watering hole. According to John Clay:

At all times . . . the Cheyenne Club was the real center of social activity and also of business activity. In the year 1882, the cattle business was in its full glory. It was fashionable, and this spirit was reflected in the life of the Club. Here men dined and drank generously, talked over their business, described their travels to foreign lands, played tennis, and arranged horse races. “Cowpunching, as seen from the veranda of the Cheyenne Club,” reflected an Englishman, “was a most attractive proposition.”

When the Blizzard of 1886 struck it was the beginning of the end for the Cheyenne Club. It was also the beginning of a change in Wyoming for the locus of political control moved from the minority of large ranchers to the small rancher and the farmer, or grangers. Grangers were farmers who were members of the fraternal order of the Patrons of Husbandry. The Grangers was an organization that attempted to organize the farmers to attack their problems of unfair transportation costs, the high cost of credit and produce storage. They were generally unsuccessful and were replaced by the Farmers Alliances in the 1890s. In 1892 the small ranchers of Johnson County, Wyoming were in open revolt against the brand inspectors of the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association and refused to cooperate with the Association-sanctioned round-ups. Several small ranchers in Johnson County held their round-up a month early in May. This action was illegal and was seen by members of the Association as an admission that the ranchers in Johnson County were rustlers. Several members of the Association organized a raid using their own cowboys, and several out-of-work Texas cowboys, to capture the organizers of the illegal round-up in Johnson County. The organizers utilized a special train that

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693 Ibid., 66.
694 Clay, My Life on the Range, 117.
went north to Casper. From there the raiders rode horseback to Johnson County.

Things went quickly awry for the leaders of the Association's raid into Johnson County. Their first objective was the capture of two rustlers, Nathan D. Champion and Nick Ray. On April 9th these men were tracked to the "KC" ranch house where they were shot and killed. The "regulators" as they were called by the citizens of Johnson County then headed northward to the "TA" ranch, which was on the way to Buffalo, Wyoming. The citizens of Buffalo learned of the killings. The sheriff of Buffalo organized a posse to stop and arrest the regulators. Sheriff Red Angus and his posse surrounded the regulators who had barricaded themselves at the "TA" Ranch.

Meanwhile, the Acting Governor Amos Barber learned of the siege of the "TA" Ranch and "wired frantically to Washington requesting President Harrison to order out the Federal troops stationed at Fort McKinney, twenty-five miles from Buffalo."\(^{695}\) The army arrived just in time, as the posse was about to send a wagon full of dynamite at the barricaded cabin.

The regulators surrendered to the army and were taken to Cheyenne under guard. There were 46 men who surrendered that day at the "TA" Ranch. Twenty-five of them were the out-of-work Texas cowboys, "the remainder were men prominent in the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and the government of the State."\(^{696}\) The army took the Invaders, as they were called to Fort Russell, where they remained for two months in loose confinement. The cattlemen's lawyers developed a strategy to drag the legal proceedings out in order to bankrupt Johnson County. The strategy worked and the indictments against all defendants, including the Texans (who had already traveled back to Texas by train), were dismissed seven months later. Because of the wealth and political power of these men --who organized the raid and were captured after committing two murders-- they were able to walk away from the Laramie County Courthouse free men. Efforts to try the regulators for the murder of the two "rustlers" never

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\(^{696}\) Ibid., See also: O'Neal, *Johnson County War*, 212-242.
resulted in a jury trial. Some of the individuals captured and subsequently released were:

Major Wolcott, commander of the expedition; W. C. Irvine, who would later become president of the Association; H. W. Davis, former president of the Association, and member of the Legislature; Frank Canton, deputy United states marshal; W. J. Clarke, state water commissioner; Fred Hess, manager of the 76 outfit (Morton Frewen’s old ranch); H. E. Teschemacher, member of the Association Executive Committee and former President of the Cheyenne Club; F. de Billier, Association member and member of the Cheyenne Club; and W. E. Guthrie, Association member and member of the Cheyenne Club.

The aftermath of the invasion of Johnson County by the Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association demonstrated a shift in the majority feeling in the State. After all, the “regulators” incident was “an attempt on the part of the cattlemen to protect their property, which the ordinary agencies of the civil government had failed to do. Many times before in the history of the frontier similar bodies of citizens had banded together to enforce the law.” The invasion was not typical vigilante justice, because it had many prominent citizens and members of the state government as well as a deputy United States Marshall as part of the group. Gertrude Knollenberg suggests:

The reason that the invasion of 1892 became the fiasco that it did was because it did not represent the will of the majority of the people of the State at the time. It merely was in the interests of a powerful and very unpopular minority. A similar undertaking, had it occurred ten years sooner, might have been a success, but in 1892 it was too late. The whole incident serves to emphasize the fact that frontier conditions were a thing of the past.

The “Johnson County War” was proof positive that the era of the free range was over. The Wyoming Stock Growers’ Association continued to play an important role in support of Wyoming cattle ranchers. However the capture of the regulators by a posse of citizens from Buffalo and Johnson County demonstrated that the era of the “Cattle Kings” unquestioned authority was at an end. No longer was the law whatever the Association proclaimed or could

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697 Ibid. See also O’Neal. The Johnson County War.
lobby through the state legislature. Other forces were at work in Wyoming politics; the majority of small ranchers and farmers had found their voice. The large ranchers were now in the minority. The principal lesson of the Johnson County War was:

The reason that the invasion of 1892 became the fiasco that it did was because it did not represent the will of the majority of the people of the State at the time. It merely was in the interests of a powerful and very unpopular minority. A similar undertaking, had it occurred ten years sooner, might have been a success, but in 1892 it was too late.699

The Johnson County War became the subject of songs, novels and movies. Probably the most famous novel was Owen Wister’s The Virginian, which was published a decade after the Johnson County War. The movie The Virginian (with Cary Cooper and Walter Huston), and later Shane, which also featured a one-name hero involved in a Wyoming range war, captured the imagination of movie goers. The popularity of the dramatization of the Johnson County War is probably due to the fascination of Americans with the struggle between a society’s rich and powerful minority and the majority made up of the individually weak and poor, who triumph in the end.

Rich and powerful members of the Cheyenne Club played key roles in the Johnson County War. They had organized their club thirteen years earlier, when the Beef Bonanza was just beginning in Wyoming. Their capture and prolonged legal wrangling, after the raid, which ended in 1893 demonstrated the coming demise of the Beef Bonanza in Wyoming and the redistribution of political power in a more democratic manner.

6.12 The Cheyenne Club And The Influence Of Its British Members

The Cheyenne Club was not the first gentlemen’s club to be formed in Cheyenne. It was preceded by the Cactus Club, which was organized in June 1880. During its short life history the Cactus Club met at Tim Dyer’s Hotel, the Inter-Ocean Hotel, and the Union Pacific Rail Road House, which served to entertain and provide business meeting rooms and sleeping rooms, but was open to the public. The Cactus Club was replaced by its directors with the

699 Ibid.
6.2 The Cheyenne Club, Cheyenne, Wyoming (1888).
Cheyenne Club which was incorporated a few months later, on September 22, 1880. William Sturgis, Jr. the secretary of the new organization, sent invitations to a select group of ranchers to join the new club:

8 June, 1880
My dear Bronson
I am directed by the members of the “Cactus Club” to inform you of the organization and to invite you to join it. Twelve of us whom you know have formed a club and propose as soon as may be having a clubhouse and all things fitting. We shall have rooms for a limited number a good restaurant for all, billiard room, reading rooms, etc [sic]. Philip Dater is President, myself Secy. The numbers are limited to 50 to the end that they may be selected with great care. The entrance fee is set at $50 and annual dues at $30. Hoping for an early and favorable reply and that we may meet before long.

Yours sincerely
Edgar B. Bronson, Esq. Wm Sturgis Jr.
Camp Robinson, Neb. Secy. 701

In other letters to the fifty prospective members Sturgis wrote:

We do not propose doing anything extravagant but hope to have a quiet social club where members can live instead of going to a hotel...in short a good club on an eastern basis...the Somerset moved West and barring Beacon St. and India China. We feel it will fill a social want that we have long felt and be an altogether pleasant arrangement with the same advantages that are found in eastern clubs so far as the capabilities of Cheyenne can compass it... We shall have rooms for a limited number, a good restaurant for all, billiard room, reading room, etc... 702

The Cactus Club was actually the first name given to the club, which the same organizing members re-named the Cheyenne Club at a meeting held on August 14. The organizing members were: Philip Dater, and his brother James, W. C. Lane, G. B. Goodell, C. M. Oelrichs, J. Howard Ford, Thomas and William Sturgis, Henry G. Hay, John B. Thomas, N.R. Davis and J. C. Kingman. 703 Richard Dick Frewen was made one of the first members of the original board of governors. Moreton Frewen, A. H. Swan, H. C. Plunkett and Andrew Gilchrist were only a few of the many British, Scottish and Irish members who were invited to join.

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702 Spring, The Cheyenne Club, 3.
703 Ibid., 2.
The British members of the Cheyenne Club had been members of clubs in England, Ireland and Scotland. Many of the American members had been members of clubs back east before they came out west to Wyoming. They were “drawn together by similar expensive tastes and an innate desire for congenial companionship.”

When an attempt to purchase an existing two-story house for use as the club failed, the 12 members decided to purchase the land and build a clubhouse. “The Club authorized its board of governors to issue second mortgage bonds of the Club to the amount of $7,000, dated October 1, 1880, payable in ten years after date and redeemable at the option of the Club, after three years.” The bonds’ sale revenue was used to purchase the land and construction of the Club. A block and a half was purchased for the club site, just off the main street in Cheyenne, at the corner of 17th Street and Warren Ave. Built over the winter months of 1880-1881, the club was completed in March 1881 and opened the next month. The cost of construction was approximately $25,000.

The Cheyenne Club was a three-story brick structure with a porch that wrapped around three sides of the building. The 65-foot-by-46 foot structure boasted a stone basement and foundation walls with ample basement storage as well as a separate room for wines and spirits. The basement also housed a modern coal furnace which heated the entire building, as it was equipped with radiators. The kitchen was also housed in the basement, which was equipped with a dumb waiter connected to the dining room.

The layout of the main floor consisted of several rooms that were finished in hardwood paneling: entrance hall, the dining room, “smoking room, billiard room and reading room with hardwood floors and attractive grates, topped by beautiful mantels.” There were also game rooms and a library on the first floor. The interior of the first floor was as ornate as any of the

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704 Ibid., 4.
705 Ibid., 4.
706 Ibid.
707 Ibid., 5.
fine mansions that lined Cary St. The grates that acted as radiators were fringed with blue-and-white, and brown-and-white tiles hand-painted with Shakespearean quotations. “These grates, it was hoped would ‘supply cheerfulness or heat in case of necessity’.” The rooms had fireplaces with rugs in front of them. The walls had paintings depicting ranching and nature scenes as well as the famous Albert Bierstadt painting: “In the Heart of the Big Horns,” which was given to the Club by Bierstadt himself. Other art work including small sculptures adorned the club.

One piece of art caused considerable consternation with club members because of the behavior of one of its members. A painting of a cow and a bull of pedigreed stock by the Dutch painter Paul Potter was purchased and hung in the club. John Coble, of the Two Bar outfit, was so offended by the painting that he shot holes in it with his pistol, probably while under the influence, hitting the bull in the legs. The governing board determined that the offense required a reprimand and Coble was suspended. Coble responded by resigning his membership. He “admitted that he had acted somewhat irresponsibly, but still protested that he thought the painting was ‘a travesty on purebred stock’.”

Rules and decorum, an important aspect of any gentlemen’s club, were noted in the bylaws of the Cheyenne Club. A few of the rules of the club will provide the reader with an idea of what was expected of the members and their guests:

The wine room and billiard hall will be closed at midnight.
No wines, liquors or mineral waters will be served in the reading room.
All games may be played in the rooms of the club house appropriate to the purpose, but no game shall be played for a money stake(For playing pool, a charge of 5 cents a cue; for billiards, 60 cents an hour.)
Smoking will not be permitted in the dining room between 7 A.M. and 7:30 P.M.
Smoking of pipes will not be permitted in any of the public rooms of the club house.”

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709 Spring. The Cheyenne Club, 5.
710 The cattle pictured were supposed to be Holstein. See Frink. p. 89.
712 Spring. The Cheyenne Club, 6.
713 Ibid., 8.
While betting was formally forbidden by the club, it is so widely mentioned in various accounts of the club's activities that betting on any number of card games, sports and almost anything seems to have been a common occurrence. In her history of the Cheyenne Club Agnes Spring notes:

> Legend has it that some of the young sportsmen would bet on anything at any time—the weather, the number of pages in a book or the speed of a pacer. That thousands of dollars exchanged hands in card games in individuals' rooms in a night is said to have occurred. 'I raise you ten. I call, I have three of a kind. I have queen full' These, it is said were familiar terms.\(^{714}\)

There were other rules regarding the conduct expected of the club’s members. The following rules when broken were causes for expulsion:

1. Drunkenness within the precincts of the club to a degree which shall be offensive to members or injurious to the standing of the club.
2. Profanity or obscenity.
3. A blow struck in a quarrel within the precincts of the club.
4. Cheating at cards or any game played in the club house.
5. Refusal to conform to the by-laws or house rules of the club.
6. The commission of a criminal act, or an act so dishonorable in for the society of gentlemen.\(^{715}\)

There are ample episodes listed in the club records that indicated these rules needed to be and were from time to time enforced. Club rules were especially susceptible to breakage around election time, when emotions ran high. A few examples will prove this point: “Mr. Teschemacher purposefully broke a pitcher which had been presented to the club by Mr. Rainsford. He was censured and suspended for four days.”\(^{716}\) On another occasion, around the time of local elections, the president of the club was reprimanded and disciplined. “Philip Dater, the president of the Club, called J. M. Carey a liar. He pleaded guilty and was suspended for

\(^{714}\) Ibid., 8
\(^{715}\) Ibid., 8-9.
\(^{716}\) Ibid., 9. Mr. Teschemacher was an officer of the Cheyenne club for most of its existence. Mr. Rainsford was a well known local architect who designed many of the “Cattle Kings’” homes in Cheyenne.
two weeks.”

Sometimes members were disciplined for their behavior toward the servants. On one occasion a “member was suspended for insisting upon the servants running personal errands.” On another occasion George Stevens was suspended for sixty days “because he insisted upon servants of the Club drinking with him in the Club building.” He was informed that “any repetition of the offense will be dealt with in the most stringent manner.” A letter is recorded in the club files “to John Harrington, reprimand[ing] him for not conforming to the rules about notifying the steward of guests for dinner.”

There were an important group of rules regarding residency requirements for entrance to the Cheyenne Club, and rules about how often an individual not a member could be a guest. Because of the importance of the nearby military fort, and the low pay for the officers, they were admitted without having to pay the original membership fee. According to the by-laws: “Persons not residing or doing business within 50 miles of Cheyenne were eligible to be guests of members for a period of not more than several days, not oftener than four times a year.” The by-laws also stated that the issuance of invitations to guests were subject to inspection and approval by the House Committee. The rules specified that the House Committee “could issue special invitations for one month upon payment of a $10 fee.” Many of the rules for the Fort Worth Club, Denver Club and the Cheyenne Club were similar, if not identical and were also quite similar to the spirit of the rules that governed the best clubs of London.

Because of the proximity of Fort Russell, and the importance of the fort for the protection of the citizens of Cheyenne, the Union Pacific Railroad, and the ranchers spread out over southern Wyoming in the 1880s, the officers of the fort were often accorded special

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717 Ibid.
718 Ibid.
719 Ibid.
720 Ibid.
721 Ibid.
722 Cheyenne Club Constitution and By Laws. 1885, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
723 Ibid.
724 Spring, The Cheyenne Club, 9.
attention by the membership of the Cheyenne Club. There were also band concerts and military balls put on at the fort. The social life of the club and the fort was reciprocal.\textsuperscript{725}

The atmosphere of the Cheyenne Club was often staid by design and by its rules. However, it was also cordial. “One club member declared, in looking back, that the club operated with the prodigality of a millionaire’s country home during week-end parties.”\textsuperscript{726} Agnes Spring, who was personally acquainted with many of the old-time members of the Cheyenne Club, relates that “[o]ne club dinner, given as a thank offering after an exceptionally good cattle sale, attended by only twenty guests, was said to have cost $5,000.”\textsuperscript{727}

The social position of the Cheyenne Club and its importance as a locus for conducting business in the region can hardly be exaggerated. The membership of the club understood this fact as well as anyone. They promoted civic improvements and cultural activities and institutions. It has already been reported above that British club members were participants in civic developments such as electrification and the gas company. Club members promoted the construction of tennis courts and race tracks in Cheyenne for their own and the community’s enjoyment. “Club members promoted and subscribed generously to the building of the Cheyenne Opera House, at a cost of about $50,000.”\textsuperscript{728}

As the Cheyenne Club grew as the center of social life for southern Wyoming, it also became the center for that region’s important business transactions. The Board of Trade met at the Cheyenne Club. In its office in the Club dispatches would arrive about the stock prices on the Chicago cattle market. The Cheyenne Clubhouse was described in the The Cheyenne Directory for 1883-1884 succinctly:

\begin{quote}
This building is a very imposing one, located on the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Dodge Street . . . . During the cattle season and in the winter
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{725} This situation between the local military installations and the gentlemen’s clubs is mirrored by all three of the Canadian clubs in the next three chapters. While in the London clubs ranking members of the military came primarily from the landed gentry which went to Oxford or Cambridge before joining the military, and thus were often members with their public school friends of a particular club.

\textsuperscript{726} Spring, \textit{The Cheyenne Club}, 10. See also John Clay. \textit{My Life on the Prairie}

\textsuperscript{727} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{728} Ibid.
the Club House affords a pleasant home for those who otherwise would reside in other Wyoming towns, realizing the Club house is the acknowledged center of the cattle trade, are induced to make Cheyenne their base of operations.\textsuperscript{729}

One of the things that stood out about the club, besides the fact that it was a facsimile of a London gentlemen's club in the middle of the Wyoming prairie, was the mix of personalities and backgrounds of its members. “Here in the incredible Cheyenne Club, within sight of a plains area over which still roamed the Indians and the buffalo, monocled Englishmen hobnobbed with hell-raising ranchers fresh off the range.”\textsuperscript{730} One could see cowboys riding up to the club on their cowponies, where they could chose from any of the 19 hitching racks surrounding the club. There would also be expensive carriages and even a Tally-Ho, imported from England tied to a hitching rail, waiting for the return of its English aristocrat owner. “There was a contract in the personalities of the Cheyenne Club, but a common interest drew them together: The need for a social gathering place where the rigors of the range could be forgotten for a while, and where mutual concerns could be discussed.”\textsuperscript{731} It was understood by the historians of the Cheyenne Club that “it was primarily intended for sociability, but soon became a center for transactions of much of the business done by cattlemen.”\textsuperscript{732} Marice Frink in his history of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, \textit{Cow Country Cavalcade} notes:

Many a big deal was cooked up over scotch and sodas in some quiet corner of the Cheyenne Club. Its dues were high, for those times, and its membership was restricted. The Cheyenne Club was for the wealthy and the influential. One of the major purposes served by the half dozen sleeping rooms it provided was to make it unnecessary for the British and other absentee ranch owners to stop at ordinary hotels on their occasional trips to and from their holdings.\textsuperscript{733}

While the members differed in their origins and personalities, they seemed to have several things in common. They had a taste for the good things in life:

The cowmen who congregated at the Cheyenne Club in the good old days were men of taste and judgment when it came to food and the quality of the appointments of the Cheyenne Club as well as its food, liquor and service were

\textsuperscript{729} \textit{The Cheyenne Directory for 1883-1884}. The American Heritage Center University of Wyoming.  
\textsuperscript{730} Frink, \textit{Cow Country Cavalcade}, 87.  
\textsuperscript{731} ibid., 88.  
\textsuperscript{732} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{733} ibid.
known far and wide. Articles appeared frequently in the Cheyenne, Laramie and even Denver papers about the grand parties and social events at the club.

A club in the final analysis is no better than its service. What separates a club from a public establishment is the care that the employees take in making the members feel “at home” and that their every need is not only taken care of, but anticipated. That was the case with the Cheyenne Club no less than with any of the best London clubs. Great care was taken in the selection of the club’s employees. “When William Sturgis received word from Phil Dater in Ottawa, Canada, that he had hired Francois De Prato as steward (and his wife), Sturgis wrote to enquire:

what sort of party he may be—that is, will he be a head servant eating in the kitchen, etc., or will he have something separate by himself? I shall give them the east front of the cottage. (The cottage, at the rear of the Club, was used by servants for years.)”

The quality of the servants employed can also be seen in the fact that “the Club janitor was a typical New England sea captain named Freeman.”

One of the servants, who eventually rose to become the manager of the club, was known to many members only as Thomas. According to John Clay, the famous Scotsman cattle dealer who became a member of the Cheyenne Club, the following story was told:

Thomas was the only name I knew him by. Starting as a waiter, he eventually ran the Club. He stayed on to the end, and when a declining income forced the closing of the restaurant his usefulness was gone. He left Cheyenne and went to Denver, and thence he found his way to Pueblo. A short item in the morning newspapers told of a man who had been found in a cheap hotel, stark and stiff, a bullet in his brain. It was Thomas, the steward, who could not be parted from his idol.

This anecdote is typical of the loyalty and dedication of good servants for the clubs where they

735 Ibid.
are employed.\textsuperscript{737}

For the ten year period between its opening and the demise of the Beef Bonanza, the Cheyenne Club was the principal location where the club members concluded their business deals with fellow members over a meal toast and a drink. “In 1883, John C. Kingman sold his ranch on Crow Creek, six miles east of Cheyenne for $25,000 to Alexander. H. Swan and his [British] associates, and the Wyoming Hereford Cattle & Land Association, Ltd was formed.\textsuperscript{738} Both Kingman and Swan were members of the Cheyenne Club and probably concluded their deal at their club which was neutral between their ranches.

Horace Plunkett met with Moreton Frewen on many occasions to discuss business at the Cheyenne Club. Few of their meetings resulted in business deals. Plunkett’s meeting with nine prominent men in Cheyenne, several who were members of the Cheyenne Club resulted in the creation of the Wyoming Development Company. Meetings about this venture undoubtedly took place at the club.\textsuperscript{739} At the end of the season in 1883 Plunkett was approached by Thomas Sturgis, President of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association and an officer in the Cheyenne Club, to “engage his services to dispose of $500,000 worth of Union Cattle Company stock in England during the winter. This arrangement was undoubtedly made at the Cheyenne Club, where Plunkett was doing business as he was preparing to leave Wyoming. Plunkett met Gilchrist, the genial Scot who was also a member of the club, when he returned in 1884 to Cheyenne. They met at the Cheyenne Club and hatched a deal that would eventually best Alexander Swan by $50,000.\textsuperscript{740}

John Clay, Jr. the renowned Scotsman with many important financial backers across the Atlantic, was “often a guest of the Cheyenne Club in its first, most extravagant days. Later

\textsuperscript{737} Interviews with the Secretaries of Boodle’s and Brooks’s confirm the longevity and dedication of employees of their clubs. Several employees of the London Clubs work into their 70s and 80s. See Also Le Jeune, \textit{The Gentlemen’s Clubs of London}.
\textsuperscript{738} Spring, \textit{The Cheyenne Club}, 17. The Wyoming Hereford Cattle & Land Association, Ltd. was a British company.
\textsuperscript{739} Diary. July, 1883.
\textsuperscript{740} Diary. May 7, 1884.
as a member John Clay, Jr. wrote:

It was a cosmopolitan place; under its roof reticent Britisher, cautious Scot, exuberant Irishman, careful Yankee, confident Bostonian, worldly New Yorker, chivalrous Southerner, and delightful Canadian all found a welcome home.741

John Clay was one of the most influential men in the American and Canadian cattle business. “He was President of the Stock Growers’ Bank of Cheyenne and founder of Clay, Robinson & Company, which later became John Clay and Company, and operated at most of the principle market centers” including Denver, Chicago, Calgary, London, New York and Glasgow.742 John Clay was one of the few permanent residents of the club in the 1890s. “In his immaculate ‘pink coat,’ John Clay, as he once put it, enjoyed nothing more than to lean over the corner of a grand piano and beat time to the strains of ‘John Peel,’ with a huntsman’s horn. And why not? He had once been the master of the hounds of North Northumberland!”743

John Converse, a banker and fellow club member, often met with Clay at the Cheyenne Club for business and pleasure. John Clay once said of Converse: He “was one of the few men I met in my life who could get hilarious (over a bottle of champagne) three times a day and still do business without a single mistake.”744 Englishmen and American ranchers found the Cheyenne Club a convenient and convivial place to do business. With its private meeting rooms business could begin over drinks in the reading room and be consummated in private later if necessary. “During the boom days of the cattle business, Cheyenne Club members formed partnerships or organized new cattle companies, and spread their holdings to the north and northwest.”745 One last example of such business transactions by Cheyenne Club members should cement this point. “In May 1884, Andrew Gilchrist, E. S. V. Boughton and Horace C. Plunkett formed the Iowa Land and Cattle Company, one of the largest companies ever

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741 Spring, The Cheyenne Club, 19. See also Clay, My Life on the Range.
742 Ibid. See also Clay, John. My Life on the Range.
743 Ibid.
744 Ibid.
745 Ibid., 23.
organized in the West.  

The Cheyenne Club was also the place where politicians entertained local dignitaries or their guests from Washington, or were themselves entertained. “On February Francis E. Warren, then Territorial Treasurer, ‘handsomely entertained the entire Council or Upper House of the Territorial Legislature at the Cheyenne Club.” Later that same year, the Legislature gave the Wyoming Stock Growers Association legal control of the state’s cattle roundups.  

Unlike the London gentlemen’s clubs where reporters were almost never allowed and where the club’s number one rule was that its members shall refrain from discussing anything that happened in the club, outside of the club; the clubs in the American West were sometimes more relaxed regarding publicity. Social functions at the Cheyenne Club were often described in detail in the local paper and sometimes even in the Denver papers.

On July 31, the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* carried an article titled “A Brilliant Social Affair”. The reporter was effusive in his praise and description of the event:

> The reception given last evening by the Cheyenne Club, was one of the finest successes in the social line that has ever happened in this city. Over one hundred couples were present, representing in the main, ‘the youth, beauty and chivalry,’ of Cheyenne: The Club House was handsomely decorated. Large flags encircled the portico, which was lighted by fifty incandescent electric lights. The interior of the house, especially the dining room, was most elegantly ornamented. As to the tables, it may safely be said that they excelled in beauty of design and wealth of viands. It is almost unnecessary to add that the greater portion of the guests remained until a late hour, enjoying the feast of good things and the dancing.

From these few instances it is obvious that the Cheyenne Club was not only the center of social life in Cheyenne but also an important locus of business activity in the territory. One final social event needs to be noted because it highlights the club members’ enjoyment of sport and the lengths to which the wealthy ranchers went for their entertainment. “On July 4, 1885, a party of fifty, made up of members and guests from the Cheyenne and Denver Clubs, reserved

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746 Ibid.
747 Ibid., 20.
748 All of the members of the Cheyenne Social Club were members of the Wyoming stock Growers association.
749 *Cheyenne Daily Leader*. (July 31, 1885).
the Manitou House in Manitou Springs, [Colorado] to attend a challenge baseball game between club teams:

On the morning of the Glorious Fourth, the entire group attended a lawn and tennis party, followed by luncheon at Plum Crags (Briarhurst), the elaborate estate of W.A. Bell of railway fame. One thousand spectators hurried from Colorado Springs on foot, by horseback or in carriages, to watch the afternoon baseball game. According to a Denver Republican reporter, Henry Wolcott’s home run was the feature of the five innings completed. Said the reporter, “Comparatively few of the participants knew anything about the game, and if the Cheyenne members had not wasted their strength on lawn tennis in the morning, they might have played better baseball.” Denver won 26-13.  

Oddly enough, the baseball game between the Cheyenne and Denver Clubs in 1885 marks the high point in the Beef Bonanza in the American West. The next five years saw mounting losses in the cattle industry for the British and American ranchers in Wyoming. The Cheyenne Club likewise began to fall on hard times. As the ranch owners from the east sold their land and cattle and moved back to the east, and the British ranchers did the same beginning in 1887 with the collapse and sale of the great Swan Land and Cattle Company, the Cheyenne Club found it difficult to pay its bills. “After the departure of many of the pioneer members the old home of the Cheyenne Club passed first to another organization named ‘The Club of Cheyenne’.” The Club of Cheyenne later became the Industrial Club. It took over the indebtedness of the Cheyenne Club and eventually became the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce occupied the old Cheyenne Club building and there in 1898 the first Cheyenne Frontier Days was planned. When Frontier Days began to make a profit, the Chamber was finally able to pay the old club’s debt.

6.13 Summary

The importance of the Cheyenne Club to the social and economic life of Wyoming is clear. The British-owned ranches, their resident gentlemen owners and their absentee landlords poured millions of pounds sterling into the Wyoming Territory and the state’s economy between 1870 and the turn of the century. Nineteen ranches, covering a significant portion of

750 Spring, The Cheyenne Club, 25.
751 Ibid., 28
the southern half of the territory were British-owned. All of the British gentlemen ranch owners were members of the Cheyenne Club and members of the Wyoming Cattle Raisers Association, which exerted powerful influences over the territorial and state legislatures for the life of the club.

It is clear that the models for the Cheyenne Club were the London gentlemen’s clubs that many members of the Cheyenne Club were members of or had visited in their travels. The American ranch owners from back east (men such as H. E. Teschemacher) who had graduated from Harvard and Yale, were thoroughly familiar with gentlemen’s clubs in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. These eastern gentlemen who came to Wyoming brought their love of club life with them. It is not surprising then when they decided to form a gentlemen’s club in Cheyenne, that they would call on the British gentlemen ranchers to be charter members. These eastern ranch owners understood that the models for the gentlemen’s clubs of these eastern American cities are the London clubs. This influence of the British on the American West was not permanent, but it was profound during the period, roughly, of the Beef Bonanza, between 1870 and 1890.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SASKATCHEWAN PRAIRIE AND REGINA’S ASSINIBOIA CLUB

From the membership in a club of musical interest comes some of the highest enjoyments of life; where there is a free interchange of sentiments the mind acquires new ideas, and by frequent exercise of its powers the understanding gains fresh vigor.

Joseph Addison, English essayist
Introduction, The Assiniboia Club

7.1 Introduction

The story of the British influence on ranching, mining and farming in the Canadian West is like the snow-capped tip of one of those majestic mountains in the Canadian Rockies. The British ranchers there were like the snow at the very top of those lofty peaks, dazzling and eye-catching. While the large mass of the mountain that makes the peak so grand contains the majority of the causes of the ways in which the Canadian West developed, what draws your eye is that snow-capped peak. In just such a way the British cattle rancher stands out in the history of the Canadian West. The attention of the viewer would not be drawn to the snow if it were lying flat and commonplace upon the ground. Thus the British immigrant rancher gained his unique position because of a particular set of circumstances, a number of actions of the Canadian government and the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which encouraged immigration between 1870 and 1910, as well as the unique set of circumstances in Britain that encouraged the migration of investments and second or third sons to Canada.

British influence in the Canadian West differed from province to province, in part because the numbers of British immigrants and their demographics differed in each province. The social and financial class of the British immigrants caused the differences in the influence. Those who came to Western Canada with a vision and with money or access to money had
singly more influence than those who came destitute in vision and resources. According to Patrick A. Dunae,

It was the gentleman emigrant who accounted for so much of the capital that was invested in Canada’s fledgling industries; it was the gentleman emigrant who provided the colonies of British North America and the provinces of the Dominion with a large pool of capable administrators and educators; it was the gentleman emigrant who established many of the country’s first artistic and athletic associations. The British gentlemen were able to bring not only their education and capabilities with them, but also their capital and access to capital. It was their capital that increased the impact of their influence. That is the obvious conclusion which can be drawn from an examination of the British influence on the three western provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. British capital combined with significant capital growth industries such as cattle ranching and mining resulted in much more of an infusion of British investment and British gentlemen in Alberta and British Columbia than in Saskatchewan.

British immigration was an important component in why the Canadian West had the culture, values and mythology that developed during and following the great era of cattle ranching on the prairies. The way in which British influence was present in a region affected the prominence of that influence. For example, the most British province in Canada is the one furthest from Britain: British Columbia. The British influence there was affected tremendously by the outpost of the Hudson’s Bay Company and, later, by the presence of the British navy.

British influence in the Canadian West was affected by the geography of the regions, the Hudson’s Bay Company policies, the construction and policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Ottawa’s changing national land policies. The impacts of these variables on British investment and British immigration are described in this and the following two chapters.

Most importantly, the American and Canadian West need to be understood in the larger context of the world’s economic situation. Britain and the United States by the mid 1800s were

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the two major economic engines in the world. “By the middle of the nineteenth century Britain’s
industrial plant had matured and was producing goods at a rate far in excess of domestic
needs.” The population of the British Isles had grown to such an extent that Britain could not
produce food sufficient to feed itself. Britain’s industrial capacity, like that of the United States a
decade later, was producing more products than her populace could absorb. Britain needed
new markets to absorb the excess output of its industrial machine. These two factors combined
to form the basis for the conclusion by the British politicians that colonization was the answer to
both situations. Added to the mix was the fact that investments could receive significantly more
return when placed overseas rather than in Britain. These three situations combined to create
the explosion of British immigration and investment between 1870 and 1900 not only to the
American and Canadian West but also to South America, Africa, Asia and especially Australia.

7.2 Early History Of Western Canada

The Canadian West was once part of Rupert’s Land, an area between the Rocky
Mountains and Hudson’s Bay that was claimed for over two hundred years exclusively by the
Hudson’s Bay Company. The story of cattle ranching in the development of the Canadian West
begins when the Company lost its monopoly on Rupert’s land on November 19, 1869. That
transaction had its causes in the secretive management practices of the Company and in the
politics of Confederation that began several years earlier. “Between 1856 and 1869 the image
of the West was transformed in Canadian writings from a semi-arctic wilderness to a fertile
garden well adapted to agricultural pursuits; subsidiary to this was a new interest in the
possibilities of mining, trade and transportation.” The transfer of Rupert’s Land to Canada
was the result of a campaign that reached to the very seat of government in London.

Expansionists in Canada, who wanted the North West settled and exploited for its land
and resources besides its furs, used the Hudson’s Bay Company’s institutionalized secrecy

753 John H. Archer, Saskatchewan, A History (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie
754 Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West
1856-1900 (University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1980), 3.
against the Company. George Brown, the publisher and prominent Canadian expansionist, employed his paper *The Globe* to rail against the Company for retarding the region’s development and keeping its native inhabitants in a state of degradation and dependency. It would take more than a few newspaper articles however, to change the long-held belief that the Canadian North West was nothing but a colder extension of the Great American Desert.

Henry Youle Hind and Simon Dawson were two scientists who set out to change public opinion about the North West through their own personal and scientific observations. They divided the region into sub-zones. One they called a “fertile belt and the other zone, which the fertile belt surrounded, was named “Palliser’s triangle.” Palliser’s triangle was named for Captain John Palliser, who was the leader of a buffalo hunt on the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers in 1847 and 48. He had written a “traveler’s account” of the expedition, which would not have received much attention except that he had in his group some very astute scientists who made some interesting observations while Palliser was shooting buffalo.

Later, in 1857-1859, Palliser conducted a second expedition from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. The expedition went well north of the Cypress Hills. The expedition’s reports and maps were published in 1859 and 1860 as the “Papers and Further Papers.” These papers identified three different elevations or “prairie levels” from Lake Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains. The findings of Palliser mirrored the common belief that this region was an extension of the Great American Desert. Thus, Palliser’s triangle with its base on the 49th parallel from 100 degrees longitude to 114 degrees, with the apex of the triangle at 52 degrees latitude, continued to be described as not fit for permanent habitation by settler or farmer. The fertile belt, they believed would sustain farming. According to Hind, who thought it so important that he used capital letters in his report:

IT IS A PHYSICAL REALITY OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THE INTERESTS OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA THAT THIS CONTINUOUS BELT CAN BE SETTLED AND CULTIVATED FROM A FEW MILES WEST OF THE LAKE OF THE WOODS TO THE PASSES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, AND ANY LINE OF COMMUNICATION, WHETHER BY WAGON ROAD OR RAILROAD, PASSING THROUGH IT, WILL
EVENTUALLY ENJOY THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF BEING FED BY AN AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM ONE EXTREMITY TO ANOTHER.  

Hind and Dawson added to the writings on the North West that were beginning to shift the public’s opinion about the utility of that region. In the early 1860’s George Brown and a few other influential Canadians began to talk with enthusiasm and ambition about the North West. Brown believed that it could be the key factor in the establishment of “a government that will seek to turn the tide of European emigration into this northern half of the continent.” The extension of the Canadian government to the Rockies and then to the Pacific was becoming more and more important to the leaders in Canada who viewed Americans’ talk of Manifest Destiny with some misgiving. Thus, “[b]y the later 1860s expansionism had become intertwined with nationalism.” The Toronto Globe and other newspapers aided in the growth of both nationalism and expansionism for the young country. According to the Globe in an editorial entitled “Patriotism,” “There are few countries, indeed, on the face of the earth of which the inhabitants have more reason to be proud” This pride was well founded, according to Canada’s most ubiquitous nationalist, Thomas D’Arcy McGee, because of the “mighty resources of the North West.”

Riel’s Rebellions, around Fort Garry (Winnipeg) and later in Saskatchewan on the South Saskatchewan River, between Saskatoon and Prince Albert called St. Laurent, were in large measure a minority reaction to the nationalism and expansionist designs of the English majority in Canada. The Métis had long been ignored as a political entity by the English-speaking Canadians. But when segments of the population around the Red River began to speak of unification with the United States, the Canadian government took notice of Riel and

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756 Confederation Debates, 86.
757 Owram, The Promise of Eden, 76.
758 Toronto Globe, (February 16, 1869).
759 Speech to the Montreal Mechanics Institute, cited in Nor’Wester, (April 15, 1868).
saw his rebellion as more of a threat than they did initially. Riel’s execution of Thomas Scott forced the Canadian government to do what the expansionists had been pushing for since the outset of the rebellion, namely, a military expedition to the North West.

The arrival of the Canadian forces ended the active resistance by the Métis. While Riel fled to the south, the reasons why the Métis had rebelled were not dealt with to the satisfaction of that population. “The entry of the expeditionary force into Fort Garry in August 1870 made Canada’s annexation of the North West a reality.”\textsuperscript{760} It set the stage for the next phase in the expansionist scheme for the North West. Members of the expeditionary force that routed the Riel Rebellion continued to play a role in the development of portions of the North West as the site of a successful Canadian cattle industry.

The Riel Rebellion drew the British Army into the North West. British and Canadian policy encouraged these men to stay in the west with an offer of retirement on half pay. A few Canadian officers and English officers remained in the west and began the fledgling cattle industry west of the Red River. As these hardy ex-army officers demonstrated that raising cattle on the open prairie of the Canadian North West was not only possible but lucrative, the news began to trickle back to England.

For a Confederated Canada as for the United States, the promotions of immigration and of building a trans-continental railroad were two sides of the same coin. In both cases the government of each country was to play an important role. The western regions of North America were so similar that Canada now had to compete with the United States for immigrants. Canadian pamphleteers --both within and outside the government-- praised the capacity of the soil, the healthy attributes of the northern drier climate, and the ease of farming in that region as compared, for example, to the marshlands of Minnesota.

These boosters found other reasons to extol the virtues of the Canadian West. According to Thomas Spence, wheat and beef were the staples of the Anglo-Saxon and the

\textsuperscript{760} Owram, \textit{The Promise of Eden}, 101.
European civilizations. According to Spence “scientific analysis confirms [that] food to be best which gives toughness to muscular fiber, and tone to the brain.” According to Spence wheat is the reason why northern Europeans were able to dominate the other societies of the world for such an extended period of time. Spence concluded:

That wheat fulfills all these conditions, is not only attested by the character and fate of nations, but it is susceptible of scientific demonstration. The nice adjustment of its vital properties, supports brain, and blood and muscle, in just the proportion requisite for the highest type of manhood, refinement, fortitude and enterprise, most distinguish those nations which most consume wheat. Beef eating and wheat-consuming races, at once dominate and elevate the rice and pork consumers with whom they come into contact.

Thus, in one deft stroke, Spence rolled up the racial, historical and mythic overtones of the typical Canadian Victorian expansionist. The Canadian North West was to be the salvation not only of Canada but also of the British Empire. All that was left was the peopling of the region. The means of transporting the immigrants to the Canadian West and the produce and products back to “civilization” from the West was the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Initially, the railroad followed the farmers as they pushed out from Winnipeg by wagon and cart onto the prairie. Settlement further west across Saskatchewan and Alberta required a better form transportation than wagons and carts. Only a few hearty pioneers preceded the rush of settlers who were forced to wait for the building of the transcontinental railroad.

Beginning in 1871, the government of Canada helped along immigration by making available, much as the United States government did with its Homestead Act of 1862, 160 acres to each head of a house-hold coming from the British Isles under the “Dominion Lands” Policy. Later the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) would promote immigration with the promise of cheap or free land and low transportation costs. The government gave its greatest aid to immigration in the form of cash subsidies of $25,000,000 and land subsidies of 25,000,000

762 Ibid.
acres to the CPR.\textsuperscript{763} The lure of free land, for many thousands of poor in England, Ireland and Wales, was sufficient to make them pull up stakes and travel the 5,000 miles to an uncertain future. Likewise, it was a sufficient lure to hundreds, if not thousands, of English gentlemen to try their luck at the western edge of British North America.

It should be noted that the majority of settlers who moved into the North-West Territories were not British immigrants, but rather Canadians from Manitoba and Ontario. They began arriving just after the Dominion Lands Act was passed in 1872. They were also predominantly farmers and townspeople with trades and professions who were looking to overcome the hardship of a harsh and barren environment and climate on the prairies in order to improve their economic condition. "Settlers arriving in Saskatchewan tended to locate as close as possible to the railway, which provided convenient access to transportation and could lead to quick profits from speculation."\textsuperscript{764} The land speculation fever died as fast as it had boomed. It had contributed significantly to the settlement of Regina, as did the coming of the CPR. The long-term settlement of southern Saskatchewan around Regina, though, was due to farming. "There were a number of ‘group settlements’ organized by various land settlement companies or individuals..."\textsuperscript{765}

Both the CPR and the Canadian government promoted the settlement of the North West. "To test the region’s suitability for agriculture, early in 1884 the CPR established ten experimental farms along its main line west from Swift Current."\textsuperscript{766} The government followed suit by relaxing its restrictions on homestead regulations, resulting in greater access to Dominion lands in Palliser’s Triangle. Neither effort brought the desired number of settlers to the


\textsuperscript{764} Riddell, Regina, 17.

\textsuperscript{765} ibid.

\textsuperscript{766} Don C. McGowan, Grassland Settlers: The Swift Current Region During the Era of The Ranching Frontier (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1975), 57.
region between Moose Jaw and Calgary. At this point a wealthy English nobleman entered the scene.

Sir John Pepys Lister-Kaye, a Yorkshire baronet, arrived in the Moose Jaw area, fresh from promoting land deals in California, to set about promoting Canadian agricultural settlement. “Lister-Kaye purchased from the CPR and the Dominion a total of almost seven thousand acres at Balgonie.” He also imported a large number of high-quality livestock and in the spring of 1884 he utilized enough labor to plant two sections of land in wheat, oats and barley. The land had sufficient rainfall that year to give an impressive yield. This success was publicized by the CPR and the government. Lister-Kaye then moved his operations further to the west, to the Swift Current area where he established ten huge ranch-farms “modeled, he told a newspaper reporter ‘...upon the principle of the English estate.” He provided 500 breeding cows for each ranch-farm from a herd of 5,800 American cattle that he purchased from the Powder River Ranch Company, which was owned by the Frewen brothers and later by a British consortium, and managed by Horace Plunkett. These cattle became the basis of the “76” Ranch that also grazed thousands of sheep and rams. Lister-Kaye also purchased hundreds of good quality mares for his workers to ride. The size and scope of Lister-Kaye’s operations were an amazement to the old-time residents of the region. “Commenting on the fine livestock then being imported, on August 31, 1888, the Medicine Hat Times proclaimed: ‘The number of pedigreed animals contained in the shipment is said to never have been equalled [sic] in the annals of the export trade.’” Lister-Kaye’s development of the region moved on to embrace the syndicate which was known as the Canadian Agricultural, Coal and Colonization Company. Since nothing succeeds like success, Lister-Kaye’s story was told time and again by the Dominion government pamphlets and those of the CPR.

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767 Ibid., 58.
768 Ibid.
769 Ibid., 61.
The task of persuading immigrants to come to the Canadian West was not left to the booster newspapers of the expansionist Canadian press alone or to the government. The CPR had a massive role to play in encouraging immigration.

The Canadian Pacific for many years has been the most active colonization agency in Canada. Settlers to the number of 54,000 (families) have been placed upon its lands alone, and the cost of the Company's activities in land selling, irrigation and colonization since its incorporation has been extremely large, amounting in the aggregate to approximately $68,000,000, an amount in excess of the total expenditure of the dominion Government for immigration during that period.  

The “Dominion Lands” Policy of 1881 created a “prairie fever” similar to the one caused by the free-homesteading system in the United States. In fact, according to Martin in “Dominion Lands” Policy, the homesteading policies in the United States added to the flood of immigrants to Canada. Many British immigrants to Canada admitted that they felt more comfortable immigrating to another part of the British Empire, rather than going to the “Wild West” of the United States. At every stage in its development Canadian land policy was influenced by the United States. William McDougall, Canada’s leading minister “conceded that he had ’adopted with modifications, the American Homestead law.’ ”

By the 1870s and 1880s, a steady stream of second sons began to travel to the American and Canadian West for sport and sometimes for business. Because they were well-educated and often had a high opinion of themselves, they were prolific writers of travel narratives and other works. These travel narratives did as much as the official documents and semi-official press to entice the immigrant to the Canadian West.

These adventuresome English travelers and sportsman were prolific and prone to exaggeration. Their effect on the reading public back in Britain could be seen in the steadily rising numbers of emigrants to Canada from Scotland, England and Wales. There were many tales told of the North West as a sportsman’s paradise. John Rowan was such a writer who often used the pseudonym “Cariboo.” He informed his readers in Field “that no other country in

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771 Martin, “Dominion Lands” Policy, 141.
the world offered such opportunities to sportsmen as did Canada.” According to one hunter/writer: “In a week’s trip north-west of Qu’Appelle, I recently brought to bag the following: 154 duck, 78 teal, 120 widgeon and snipe, 48 partridge, 247 prairie chicken, and various, 23.” Such reports became commonplace in sports journals. Travel books were also common, none more famous than Colonel William Butler’s The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America (1872). Butler made his journey “mostly in the dead of winter on horse, foot, and by dogsled over nearly four thousand miles of all but uninhabited wilderness.” Butler had seen a lifetime of adventure in British Army service in Burma, India and Canada. He had seen action against Riel, but wanted to see more of the country. So, he did not return with the rest of his detachment following the rebellion, but proceeded into the interior of the North West. Equally as popular with sportsmen and would-be adventurers was the Earl of Southesk’s Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains (1875). This type of travel book was responsible for luring hundreds of sportsmen from Britain.

Other emigrants wrote of their efforts to turn a profit in Canada in the 1850s. Their books were read by English gentlemen’s sons who were considering immigrating to Canada to make their fortunes. Not all these works painted a rosy portrait. The books by Mrs. Susanna Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush and Life in the Clearings were motivated “by the hope of deterring well-educated people, about to settle in this colony, from entering upon a life for which they were totally unfitted by their previous pursuits and habits.” Mrs. Moodie was the wife of John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie. He was the youngest son of a landed Orkney family, and thus without claim to the estate. He had served in the British army and was retired, as were thousands of others, like himself, on half-pay at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

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772 Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, 65.
773 Ibid.
774 William Francis Butler, The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1872), xi.
Such a pension in England would not allow these gentlemen to live in the style which they had been accustomed to under their parents’ roofs. So, John Moodie, like so many others before him and since tried his luck at the other limits of the empire. He had spent ten years in South Africa, living with his brother, but could not set down roots there. He returned to England to recover from being mauled by an elephant. While back in England he married Susanna Strickland. With a family now, John Moodie saw that his options were few. So he packed his young and somewhat quarrelsome wife and a child off to Canada. John Moodie saw life in Canada in a brighter light than did his wife. Since she was more gifted with the pen, it is her version that was sent back to England to influence, if not the gentlemen, at least a few of their wives.

Other authors gave a realistic but not as grim a picture of Canada. Twenty-seven Years in Canada West; or The Experience of an Early Settler. By Major Strickland, C.M., published in 1853, is a mature examination of life in the Canadian West. In two volumes Strickland gives an intimate portrait of the hard life there. Part of the lasting charm of his books is that he was realistic in his advice to the would-be immigrant. According to Strickland: “Clearing up too large a farm, when labour [sic] is so high, is not wise, for it will not answer to disburse much for hire, at the present prices.” Strickland gave his readers not only sound advice, but the proof of that advice. For example, he informed his readers, “If, therefore, you are not able to cultivate what you have cleared properly, it will grow up again with raspberries, blackberries, small trees, and brush, and be nearly as bad to clear as it was at first.” A book like Strickland’s offered a dose of reality amid the more florid pamphlets of the Canadian government and the CPR which boasted of the mild climate and rich soil of the interior.

By the late 1870s, the Canadian North West was succumbing to settlement by farmers and ranchers. Ranchers came first to the Saskatchewan region because it had been described

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776 C. M. Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West; or The Experience of an Early Settler. By Major Strickland, C.M. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), 167.
777 Ibid.
by Captain John Palliser in the summer of 1857 and by H. Y. Hind and S. J. Dawson. Both expeditions made general surveys of the area around what is now Swift Current, but did not go into the larger triangular region known as the Swift Current because it was held by the Black Feet Indians. Their reports stated that the area around the Swift Current was “too arid to be fit for agricultural settlement.” Just as above the Medicine Line, farmers and ranchers in Canada were not to get along. For many years the decision was left to the individual settler whether he would use his land for farming or ranching. Clearly there were great expanses of land not suited to farming, due to insufficient or unreliable rainfall --areas that would only sustain grazing. Many a settler made the mistake of trying to farm regions where only grazing could be profitable. Eventually the Canadian government came to the aid of the large ranchers and, in a way, to the small farmers as well, by designating certain areas as eligible for grazing rights only based on two-year leases. Many of the ranchers who took advantage of these large sections of grazing rights were English gentlemen immigrants.

During the period from 1872 on --after the First Dominion Lands Act-- there were large ranchers who did not attempt to purchase or lease the land on which they grazed their cattle. Like the ranchers below the Medicine Line, they maintained control of the grazing land by controlling the limited water resources. In the Swift Current region Lister-Kaye imported hundreds of laborers from England to work his ten ranch-farms. Several of these men who worked for the “76” left his ranches and formed their own. A period of increased precipitation resulted in the news of the region’s economic opportunities spreading throughout the British Isles and the United States. According to a NWMP report in 1899:

The district is in a most prosperous condition, and the livestock industry, in which almost the entire population may be said to be engaged, to a greater or lesser extent, is bringing large sums of money into the country. I doubt very much whether there is in the whole of Canada a district where all the residents are in such easy circumstances as they are here.\footnote{Keith Dryden, “The Historic Knoll.” The Western Producer (Saskatoon, December, 12, 1968).}

From 1899 through 1910, American cattlemen and British ranch companies found their way to the Swift Current region. For example, the American A.J. “Tony” Day from Pueblo, California drove a herd of cattle (25,000) and horses (600) from South Dakota to a lease in southwestern Saskatchewan. There were three men in this group: Tony Day, John Day and Joe Driscoll. They each ran a lease, the largest of which was 54,760 acres.

Another large rancher in the region was the Scotsman Murdo Mackenzie, manager of the Scottish-owned Matador Land and Cattle Company. The company had secured a 21-year lease for 130,000 acres along the South Saskatchewan River in 1904. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of Murdo Mackenzie in Canadian, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska or Texas ranching. Called by Theodore Roosevelt “the most influential of cattlemen” because his company’s brand was known from Texas to Canada, Mackenzie expanded the operations of the Matador into Saskatchewan River region because of the influx of ranchers and cattle below the Medicine Line. Mackenzie presented his argument for locating part of the Matador cattle operation in Canada to the Board: “My reason for this was that thousands of people are now looking for a suitable location for ranging purposes, and it is only a matter of a short time when all this country will be taken up.”

Mackenzie was looking at a large section of land (100,000 acres) bordered on three sides by the Saskatchewan River. Mackenzie used an Indian guide during his trip to the Saskatchewan. From this “half-breed” he learned that “the snow falls to a depth of six to ten inches, and sometimes a foot, but the snow never stays on the ground long on account of the Chinook winds.” Mackenzie concluded his report to the board that “I do not think I ever saw a

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780 W. M. Pearce, *The Matador Land and Cattle Company* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press., 1964), 90. When liquidation of this Scottish syndicate began in 1951 the property alone was valued at $19,000,000. It was the only foreign-owned business in the United States and Canada given over exclusively to the raising of cattle for profit which lasted well into the twentieth century.

781 Ibid., 91.
better grass country, and from all the information I could gather, the losses there are not any heavier than we have in the range country in the States.\textsuperscript{782}

But, Mackenzie’s appraisal of the land was just as easily achieved by others. By 1904, the politics of the Dominion expansionists were beginning to conflict with the ranchers at times. Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior, was at first willing to consider a favorable lease arrangement at two cents an acre for 17 years. But when settlers began to clamor into the region, and as Sifton was aggressive in his immigration efforts, the amount of land available to the Matador Company was reduced to 50,000 acres.\textsuperscript{783}

In 1905, a system of “closed leases were introduced for certain areas deemed clearly unfit for normal agriculture.”\textsuperscript{784} This marked the beginning of a serious effort on the part of the Canadian government to differentiate grazing land from agricultural land, in an effort to save both the farmer and rancher from wasting their efforts in marginal lands. It is during the period coinciding with the arrival of the CPR in Calgary in 1883 until approximately 1910 that the British rancher was to have his hey-day in the American and Canadian West.

There were several factors positively affecting the bottom line of ranchers in the United States and Canada at this time. It was not just the changes in the climate which supported healthier grass on the prairies or Clifford Sifton’s efforts to promote emigration from the United Kingdom and the Continent that caused more individuals and companies to get into the cattle and farming business. “The population of Europe and the U.S.A. was growing rapidly in numbers and in affluence, which created both an expanding and profitable market for agricultural produce and a surplus population ready and able to emigrate.”\textsuperscript{785}

The settlers had a significant impact of the cattle operations in the North West of Canada. The growing tensions were conveyed in a report by the Dominion immigration agent at Swift Current in 1908:

\textsuperscript{782} Mackenzie to Mackay, August 14, 1903., Pearce, \textit{The Matador Land and Cattle Company}, 91. 
\textsuperscript{783} \textit{Cambridge History of the British Empire, VI} (Cambridge: University Press, 1930), .515-16. 
\textsuperscript{784} Martin, “Dominion Lands” Policy, 179. 
\textsuperscript{785} McGowen, \textit{Grassland Settlers}, 90-91.
The ranchers complained bitterly of the encroachments of the homesteaders, the resulting introduction of herd law, and the curtailment of range and water privileges. Many of them assert that a well-established and long-tryed industry is being destroyed for the sake of a pre-carious one --as they consider farming in the semi-arid southwestern portion of the province to be. They appear to consider their industry doomed, and statistics justify their contention.

There was a steady flow of immigrants into the Swift Current region during the early 1900s. Many of the immigrants were brought over by Lister-Kaye from England. Several of the ten ranch-farm managers bought their own spreads and employed their countrymen to work the land and tend the cattle. The English immigrants included a number of gentlemen immigrants, “second sons” who brought with them the Victorian virtues of the period, and their peculiarly British way of not only seeing the world but of seeing themselves in the world. Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan were all influenced by the British investor, British rancher/farmer, the gentleman immigrant, and the common English immigrant.

The economic depression in the United Kingdom in the mid 1880s affected agriculture there, which encouraged many second sons to immigrate as well as British investors to relocate their capital to Western Canada, as well as the Western United States. In Alberta the following British cattle ranching syndicates were prominent: “Lord Castletown’s Mont Head Ranche Company; the Earl of Lathom’s Oxley Ranche Company; the Walrond Cattle Ranche Ltd. Sir John Warrond-Walrond, Bart., director; Sir Francis de Winton’s Alberta Ranche Company; and Sir John Lister-Keye’s Canadian Agricultureal, Coal, and Colonization Company.”

The English, Scots and Irish who owned or ran these and many other ranches and farms in the three western provinces were more influential than their raw numbers would indicate, because, they were the holders of large amounts of wealth in the region. Very often they banded together to make their weight felt even more powerfully in Ottawa.

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786 Medicine Hat, The Daily Times, (July 18, 1901) Glenbow Museum Archives.
787 Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, 89.
The North West Cattle Company “comprised a small, but influential lobby which in recent years has been termed the ‘cattle compact.’”\textsuperscript{788} These men were able to wield power not only locally in Calgary but also in the halls of government in Ottawa. “Members of the cattle compact erected sumptuous ranch houses, which they decorated in the style of English country homes.”\textsuperscript{789} They established their own clubs and aristocratic societies as well as their more mundane artistic and sports societies. They had the best British journals delivered to their door as well as English condiments to accent their dinners. They entertained each other lavishly and made considerable effort to “dress for dinner.” “They imported the games and sports associated with the landed gentry” in the British Isles.\textsuperscript{790} The British men who ran these ranches and farms were eventually joined by wives and other female relatives who added even more of that Victorian domestic quality for which they were famous. “With the help of their well-bred wives and sisters, they instituted and nurtured a society that was as gracious and as “English” as the climate would allow.”\textsuperscript{791}

Even Englishmen of more modest economic circumstances could enjoy a higher quality of living, with considerably more freedom of association and movement than they had in the old country. For example, one wife of a low-born Englishman who had relocated to Canada explained:

\begin{quote}
In England, on a narrow income there is no such thing as freedom. You cannot go where you please, or live where you please, or have what you please; you cannot join in amusements that are really amusing, because every form of sport is expensive; you cannot accept pleasant invitations because you cannot return them. . . . But with the same income in a country like this, you can live on equal terms with your neighbours, and all your surroundings will be entirely in your favour; you have only to make the most of them. Shooting, fishing, and hunting, just the things which would bring you to the verge of bankruptcy at home, you can enjoy here practically for nothing. You can have all the horses you want to ride or drive. . . .
\end{quote}\textsuperscript{792}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{788} Ibid., 90.
\bibitem{789} Ibid.
\bibitem{790} Ibid.
\bibitem{791} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
For the Englishman, gentleman or humbly born, there was a certain amount of satisfaction that came with producing a good crop or raising a healthy, profitable herd of cattle. There was also a shared sense of adventure that these English immigrants felt as they pitted their efforts against the elements, the geography and the inhabitants of the Canadian North West. For example, Walter Claremont Skrine, the youngest son of a family of landed gentry in Somersetshire, had developed the Bar S Ranch close to High River in the early 1880s. Walter Skrine married Agnes Higginson, who became well-known for her poetry. Her poems celebrated the Skrines’ life in the foothills of Alberta. To Agnes life in Canada was comfortable yet challenging, and infinitely more satisfying than the life they had known in Britain.793

The Skrines’ neighbor, Charles Linzee Douglass, had also emigrated from Britain, after having served a tour of duty in the British navy, he came to Alberta in 1885 as the manager of the Quorn Ranch. He was joined in this task by his younger brother, J.L. Douglass. Charles Douglass saved his pay and bought his own spread located on the Red Deer River near Bassano, Alberta. He was joined by his cousins, Cecil and Leslie Douglass, fresh out of Uppingham Public School for gentlemen.

Not all sections of the Canadian North West were so densely populated with British immigrants, however, they did exhibit a pattern of settling in groups. Often relatives of a successful British immigrant rancher or farmer would join him for a time until they too could move out on their own and develop a farm or ranch in the vicinity. The region around Red Deer Lake and Fish Creek in Alberta is a good example of this kind of settlement by group. “In the vicinity of Fish Creek the earliest settlers grouped themselves around their English born pioneer, Charles Priddis. The ten English families settled along Fish Creek and organized the “hamlet of Priddis in Township 22 Range 3.”794 These settlers from the United Kingdom found comfort in their own company, as well as a friendly helping hand, when the need arose. “The

793 Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants*, 100.
lands along Fish Creek were fairly closely settled in the single year of 1886 and there were only a few additional permanent settlers in the remainder of the decade.\textsuperscript{795}

As these gentlemen immigrants became acculturated, their appearance changed to such a degree that they were often not recognized by their own visiting relatives. For example, J.L. Douglass was surprised to see his older brother “had been transformed into the complete cowboy: he walked with a swagger and sported leather chaps, a faded denim jacket, and a large slough hat.”\textsuperscript{796} These gentlemen immigrants became the model for the Canadians in the West because they were so interesting. They stood out even as they were trying to fit in. It was their air, their manner, the Public School way in which they approached life and work. These gentlemen immigrants retained their love of the trappings of the life they left behind, especially sports. They had been raised in an era and within a school system that was founded on classical education, supplemented with sports which were considered to be the primary character building activity for young men. The gentlemen immigrants congregated in various organizations for social interaction, business protection and development and for sport. For example, the Ranchers’ Hall at Millarville and the Priddis Ranchers' Society Hall were opened in 1897 and 1900 respectively. Both were community enterprises and both had an extraordinary diversity of function reflected in the accounts.\textsuperscript{797}

When the gentlemen ranchers were not supervising the work on their property, or organizing a hall or society to protect their business interests, they were playing games and enjoying sports. “Sports relating to horsemanship had a particular popularity. Racing and polo flourished especially at Millarville but everywhere the horse, whether ridden or driven, made it possible to overcome the considerable distances of a region where homes were farther apart and more widely scattered than in the grain-growing areas of the prairie west before 1914.”\textsuperscript{798}

The gentleman immigrant was by nature a gregarious and social creature. He loved an

\textsuperscript{795} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{796} Dunae, \textit{Gentlemen Emigrants}, 101.
\textsuperscript{797} MacEwan, \textit{Our Foothills}, 17.
\textsuperscript{798} Ibid.
audience, and so these gentlemen gathered to be their own audience as they celebrated their national pastimes. “Cricket, polo, horse-racing, tennis and hockey were all popular.”

Their love of English sports made these gentlemen prime subjects for the local, and even national newspapers. “As might be expected, the lifestyles of men like Robert Newbolt, Walter Skrine, Herbert Church, and Charles Douglass attracted a great deal of interest in the Old Country, and scarcely a week went by without some laudatory article being published on Canada’s ‘high class corps of cowboy.’”

These gentlemen immigrants were, like the cowboy, the Texas Ranger, and the Mountie, the stuff of novels. But the novels which were written about the gentlemen cowboys of the Canadian West were considerably different from the dime novels about the desperados and buckaroos of the American West. The Canadian novels “depicted a rugged yet cultured, frontier.” This is where the myth of the Canadian “Mild West” got its start. From the 1870s on, Canadian literature made a not-so-subtle distinction between the lawlessness of the American frontier and the law-abiding and more civilized, gentlemanly inhabitants of the Canadian West.

As the Canadian North West became more and more popular and populated with large ranches run by British syndicates or wealthy English gentlemen, conflicts arose between the large ranchers and the farmers and small ranchers. As they did below the Medicine Line, the large ranchers formed associations which became the de facto authority in the region. The associations determined when the round-ups would take place and what was to be done with the unbranded calves. Most of their rules were designed to benefit the large ranches and limit, inhibit or destroy the small outfits. The large ranchers, very often English-born, had considerable influence with the government, because they control large amounts of revenue.

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799 Ibid.
800 Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, 101.
801 Ibid.
An example of how the large ranchers were at odds with the smaller outfits can be seen in the exchange between their two representatives on the eve of the creation of a new stock association out of the old South-Western Stock Association. The new association was to be called the “Canadian Northwest Territories Stock Association.” During an evening meeting the large owners outvoted and out-argued the smaller ranchers. The argument grew over the issue of representation in the association.

The question of electing delegates aroused much discussion. Mr. Pinhorne proposed that the district vote on delegates according to the number of cattle owned, in the same ratio as the old sliding scale. Mr. Inderwick objected to this on the ground that this was the very thing that split up the old Association. Mr. Lyndon thought the big companies would be able to elect their own men as delegates. Mr. Cottingham could not see the use of the small men joining the Association if Mr. Pinhorn’s motion carried.

Mr. Pace [stated] They must all have the same voice whether they owned ten cattle or 10,000. There was no good in two or three getting together and thinking that they were going to run the world. Why get up a paltry meeting like this --you can’t do it—-(cries of order).

The Chairman explained that many of the old rules had been found beneficial to the stockmen of the country, and as far as possible the new constitution had been taken from the old one. Mr. Pinhorne’s motion was then put, and carried by a considerable majority.

Thus, once again the large, often British-native ranchers, out-maneuvered and overpowered the smaller, often Canadian ranchers.

Over time, since the smaller ranchers and farmers were more numerous, their will came to be represented in Ottawa. But the struggles were bitter and heated between the two groups: the large ranch operations, very often British owned, and the smaller, generally Canadian farmers and ranchers. One struggle was particularly bitter, over the issue of Mavericks. In a letter to F. Oliver, a Member of Parliament from Arthur Edgar Cox he stated:

I notice that at the last Annual Meeting of the Western Stock Growers Association that it was resolved to petition the Dominion Govt. asking that “the ownership of mavericks be vested in the Stock Growers Association” Undoubtedly the matter of mavericks needs some regulation but this proposal, if carried out, will cause endless trouble and gross injustice. Settlers with small

802 Macleod Gazette, (April 20, 1886), Glenbow Museum Archives
bunches of cattle and rangers who look after their cattle closely, do not belong to this Ass’n [sic] and consequently, any calf missed by them or temporarily [sic] separated from its cow, accidentally or otherwise, will be scooped up by the Association, many members of which are noted for a keen eye for mavericks. In the spring and fall roundups they drive their herd of range cattle thro’ a bunch of gentle stock, picking up everything as they go along and if one does not look out sharply his calves are likely to become mavericks, and if he does not belong to this Association and this proposal becomes law, are hopelessly lost to him.803

It was hard for the M.P.s to weigh that complaint against petitions submitted to the government by the large ranch associations, which began with the following:

Sir:
The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Stock Growers’ Association of Medicine Hat, The Ranche Companies and Individual Ranchers the owners of cattle and Horses in this district of Western Assinaboia Representing in plant and stock a Capital of $9,000,000 Dollars Humbly Submitted.804

Eventually the weight of numbers of the smaller farmers and ranchers outweighed the political influence of the large ranchers. But the repercussions and bad feelings lasted for years after.

It was often a double insult because the large ranchers were very often British and held little regard for the Canadians, whom they called “colonials”, and who held the smaller ranches and farms. This problem was aptly described in a letter from the hand of Mrs. C. Inderwick of the North Fork Ranch in 1889:

. . . There are so many English men here and a few English women--the latter of very different types but the men are almost all nice, though they nearly all have no tact in the way they speak of Canadians and Canada and the last straw to me is the way in which they say “but we do not look on you as a Canadian!” They mistake this for a compliment. It makes my Canadian blood boil. I answer that though I have married an Englishman I have not lost my identity --and that I am purely Canadian and am proud of it.805

The influence of the British-owned, and British immigrant-owned ranches can be seen based on the ubiquity of the criticisms that the Canadians had of the large British ranchers.

In the 1890’s, expansion into the North West followed the construction of the railroads. The railroad companies, CPR and Grand Trunk line as well as the Dominion, all promoted

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804 Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, 101.
settlement in Saskatchewan and Alberta. While the settlers from the Ukraine and Germany get more attention in the early literature, the English gentlemen emigrants were a powerful force in the settlement of the North West. These English-speaking gentlemen could command the attention of the ministers back in Ottawa, while the foreign immigrants were often left to their own devices. Settlement in Saskatchewan, however, was not the same as the ranching empire created in Southern Alberta. There was some ranching in Saskatchewan, especially in the Swift Current region, but the remainder of Southern Saskatchewan was given over predominantly to farming. Furthermore, "the Saskatchewan ranching experience in the 1886-1896 era was also distinct from the Alberta experience in that most ranch holdings were on a small scale."  

The government as well as the railroad officials made efforts to encourage settlement in Saskatchewan, or what was then the North-West Territories. The results were not very successful. "From 1885 until 1891 the annual immigration was between 69,000 and 92,000 for all of Canada. Thirty percent of the immigrants came to the Northwest, with Manitoba claiming the lion's share." While the Canadian Pacific Railway was being constructed, most of the settlers were British. Once the rail line was open to the Pacific, the immigrants' demographics began to change. In 1885 the population of the Northwest Territories was only 1 percent non-British immigrants. By 1891 that figure had changed to 6 percent, and by 1901 it had increased to 22 percent. During this period almost as many British immigrants left the Territories as the non-British immigrants who were moving in.  

One of the principal reasons why the government and railroad officials efforts to encourage settlement of the West were slow was the harshness of the environment and climate. The treeless rolling prairie was a dramatic departure from the English and European countryside. The land was also in stark contrast to the eastern portions of Canada. Thus, it was a huge cultural shock to be overcome, if the immigrant to the North-West Territories was to

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806 Archer, Saskatchewan, A History, 103.
807 Ibid., 103-104.
808 Ibid., 104.
hope for success, or even survival. While many of the European immigrants came with their entire families, the British settler was often a lonely bachelor who had to struggle as much against depression as he did against the elements. Felix Troughton, for instance, was one of those British immigrant bachelor farmers in the 1880s. He recorded his life on the Canadian prairies fifty years later. The title he gave his book was steeped in irony: *A Bachelor’s Paradise*.

The picture Troughton paints in words is pitiable: Alone in his “unswept and dusty house,” the bachelor rises for a bed “that has perhaps not been made for weeks” Fretful and anxious, he “prepares a hasty and ill-cooked breakfast,” eating from “unwashed dishes” at a table where “a million flies gather to feed in undisturbed peacefulness.” It is no wonder that the “unrefreshed bachelor goes to his work lonely, miserable and dyspeptic.”

Troughton had been convinced to emigrate from England to the North-West Territories, like hundreds of thousands of others, by pamphlets and articles that sang the praises of the healthy life and financial opportunities that existed in Canada’s prairie West. The writings of “John Macoun, Canada’s consummate publicist, declared in 1883 that the agricultural prospects in the North-West were ‘unsurpassed in any other parts of the world.’” Descriptions such as these lured many English emigrants to a life of loneliness and hardship in the North-West Territories.

It is therefore no wonder that the settlement of Regina was such a difficult enterprise. Even with the assistance of the CPR and the government’s establishment of Regina as the territorial capital, the growth of Regina was considerably retarded when compared to Calgary, 470 miles further west. Before 1900, the difference between Regina’s and Calgary’s growth potential can be summed up in one word: Beef. Regina flourished as much as it did because of the CPR and its position as the seat of territorial government. Calgary became a boom town

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811 Today the population of Alberta is almost three times that of Saskatchewan, while Calgary at 988,290, is almost five times larger than Regina at 179,000, the largest city in the province. In 1900 Regina had a population of 3,000, while Calgary’s population was 4,000, just before its oil boom caused its dramatic growth in the twentieth century, according to the Canadian census. The impact of the environment, both physical and financial, on the difference in population growth between Alberta and Saskatchewan is particularly dramatic.
because of the Canadian Beef Bonanza, and in the early twentieth century because of the oil boom. In the final analysis there was more money to be made quickly in cattle than in wheat. The next section will examine the founding and growth of Regina, the capital of the North-West Territories.

7.3 The Rise Of Regina, Saskatchewan

Medicine Hat and Swift Current became ranching and later farming communities in Southern Saskatchewan because of the geography, climate and the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The land and climate around Regina was far better suited to farming than cattle ranching. These communities would never have been settled and developed to the extent that they were had it not been for the change in the path of the CPR from its original route which followed the trail from Winnipeg to the Fort Ellice Hudson's Bay Company post, "through the touchwood Hills to Fort Carlton and then westward to Battleford, Fort Pitt and Edmonton." That route was abandoned in favor of the route due west from Winnipeg through Kicking Horse Pass, which was chosen in part “to forestall competition by rival American lines.” It was also determined that the prevailing view of the southern portion of Saskatchewan as part of the “Great American Desert” established by Palliser was in error. As pioneers were migrating, along with or just in front of the CPR, it became obvious that farming was possible in southern Saskatchewan.

The exact location of Regina, the future capital of the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, was the culmination of several decisions based on geographical and political considerations. The original route of the CPR was much further to the north and the second route laid out by the CPR engineers still had a rail route that had an “unnecessary arc to the north.” It was learned by shrewd land speculators, including the surveyor Thomas S. Gore, that the final route would be straightened when it was built. Therefore, Gore purchased land further

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813 Ibid., 11.
south than the route laid out on published CPR maps. The Pile o’ Bones River was still the location for the Capital, but not at the location first envisioned by CPR engineers.

The seat of the territorial government for several years had been Battleford. However, it became obvious that Battleford was too distant from what would become the center of the territory. Further, it was realized that development would continue along the CPR track, and thus Battleford would be isolated and not a good choice for the capital. Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney, who had purchased land on the Pile O’ Bones River, wrote to Prime Minister Sir John A Macdonald on May 10, 1882: “From what I can gather the crossing of the Pile of Bones Creek appears to be the most favorable point and the country around it is magnificent.” At the same time that the location for the final laying of track was taking place, much to Dewdney and Gore’s satisfaction, the future of Regina as the territorial capital was being further secured by Dewdney, who with the approval of Macdonald, selected a new location for the headquarters of the North West Mounted Police, which was at that time at Fort Walsh in the Cypress Hills. Fort Walsh was too far removed from the center of the territory. So Dewdney moved the NWMP headquarters to the Pile O’ Bones River where the CPR track would cross the river. On June 30, 1882, Dewdney stated publicly: “I believe Regina will make a very creditable and respectable capital of Assiniboia.” The lieutenant governor’s proclamation was reproduced and copies were publicized. During this time it was decided that “Pile O’ Bones” was not an appropriate name for a territorial capital. It was, therefore, “christened Regina, in honour of Queen Victoria, when the first train arrived on August 23,” 1882.

A little less than a year later, the change became official. “On March 27, 1883, an order-in-council at Ottawa declared Regina to be the seat of government for the North West Territories, and on May 13 of the same year Lieutenant Governor Dewdney took up his duties

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815 Ibid.
It was Dewdney’s decision to locate the new headquarters of the NWMP just west of the Pile O’ Bones creek, adjacent to his land. The CPR located their yards two and a half miles east of the river crossing, which is where the city of Regina grew up, according to the wishes of W.C. Van Horne, general manager of the line. This gave the CPR more control over its profits from the sale of lots around its yards and station. As this struggle was going on between Dewdney and Van Horne about the location of the town of Regina, the first settlers and small land speculators were arriving in the area in an effort to capitalize on the opportunity for large profits on their land investments.

One of the first pioneers of the Regina area was Captain William White. White had a number of occupations during his life. He was “an adventurer, investor, land speculator, and lawyer” as well as an officer in the NWMP and in the army during World War I. Born in Hamilton, Ontario in 1856, White received his early education in Hamilton and his law degree at the University of Toronto. Like his uncles James and John, William White was interested in horse racing. Like his father, who was an Inland Revenue collector for Hamilton, White had modest means. He moved to Winnipeg, at that time was on the edge of the frontier, and the edge of the prairie. His modest means did not stop him from becoming interested in land speculation, which White saw as a way to make a large amount of money in a short amount of time. “He began to frequent two of the leading real estate auction rooms, in Winnipeg, where the most important speculators gathered.”

White’s first venture at land speculation took the form of his purchase of some lots in Minnedosa not far from the Little Saskatchewan River and the Minnedosa Post Office. He formed a syndicate with a few other men, who each put up $2,000 on the lots, sight unseen. A little while after the purchase, the bottom fell out of the land market and the syndicate that White

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818 “Pioneer! O Pioneer!”: Trail of “83 (Regina and District Old Timers’ Association, 2003), 106.

819 Ibid.
formed lost all of its money. White continued to practice law in Winnipeg for a while, but he was still interested in making a killing in real estate. It was with his first hard lesson in land speculation in mind that White decided to relocate to Saskatchewan. A friend had told him about the plan of the government to locate the capital of the North-West Territories where the CPR would cross the Pile o’ Bones River. White knew enough about the prairie to know that going it alone would be almost foolhardy. Therefore he organized a small party of like-minded men to make the trek to the Pile o’ Bones River region to stake his claim on land that was sure to appreciate in value when the CPR arrived and when the provincial capital was established.

White’s small party of adventurers included a farmer from Ontario and two English youth, as well as a long-time friend, J. L. Ross. White assumed the role of leader of the party. Each man purchased supplies for the trip as well as a yoke of oxen, and a wagon for each man, as well as bobsleighs, since they were making the trek in the winter, as movement over the rough roads in the rainy spring was almost impossible, and in the summer, the lack of water was a problem. The trip was arduous with several fits and starts. At one point White was saved from drowning in the Qu’Appelle River by one of the new members of the party. A friend of White’s, a man named Peterson, joined the party a few days earlier at Fort Ellice. The hardships that they faced getting to the area where White had been told that the CPR would pass over the Pile o’ Bones River took a toll on the entire party. In fact, two of the men, Peterson and another, had decided to go on to Prince Albert. That left White and a man he met at Fort Qu’Appelle T.S. Gore, the Dominion land surveyor, who would help them settle at Pile o’ Bones.820

The weary travelers were caught in a blizzard on May 17, 1882. On May 21 they finally arrived in the future location of Regina. White set up his camp on a piece of land that Gore located for him. It was a quarter section of land that he would purchase adjacent to another quarter section that he would claim by preemption. It was a total of 320 acres, which is approximately the size of the present core area of downtown Fort Worth. “After spending a

820 Ibid., 109.
night on this land, the apparent would-be homesteader took a good look around, surveying the landscape:

“Not a single tree in sight, just flat prairie.” I said to myself “This doesn’t look to me like the site of the future capital…and at once decided to pull up stakes and join the other members of my party, a couple miles away.” Captain White wrote.\(^{821}\)

With that, White moved away from his first claim, which was to become the center of downtown Regina. “Thus it was that (White) lost his greatest opportunity of becoming a Western land king.”\(^{822}\)

There is little further information available about William White, one of the founders of Regina. He settled on a farm site about two miles from the village of Regina, which grew up a little later. “He was elected as the District of Regina’s first representative on the Council of the Northwest Territories” and he was one of the charter members of the Assiniboia Club.\(^{823}\) And yet White was typical in a way of the membership of the club and of the town of Regina. Both were made up predominantly of Canadians from Ontario and other eastern provinces, and a few English-born men of the middling sort. The town’s folk came to southern Saskatchewan for the cheap land and the opportunity that it provided. But it was not going to be a region where men got rich quick, unlike the ranch land around Calgary. William White did not remain in Regina. He was involved in putting down the Riel uprising in 1885, which took him further west. He later sought opportunities even further west. “At one time, he is reported to have practiced law in the Yukon, then lived in Vancouver.”\(^{824}\) He lived in Ottawa in 1921 and 1922, when he was the secretary, later the chairman, of the Board of Commerce of Canada. From 1922 until his death he lived in Toronto.

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\(^{822}\) “Pioneer!”, 110.

\(^{823}\) Ibid. See also: Dorothy Sherick, The Assiniboia Club – 1882-1982: 100 Years of Service (Regina: The Assiniboia Club, 1982), 8.

\(^{824}\) “Pioneer!”, 110.
Another important founder of Regina, as well as a founding member of the Assiniboia Club was William Cayley Hamilton. Like most of the early Regina settlers, he was from Ontario. Hamilton’s early life is not well documented. It is known that he was born in Goderich, Ontario and he received his early schooling there. He studied for the bar in Toronto and “articled with M.C. Cameron—a man who would later become lieutenant governor of the North-West Territories.” Hamilton graduated first in his class at law school in 1881 and by 1882 was practicing law in Winnipeg in the law office of Mr. Howell. Like many others, he felt the call of the sparsely settled land and promise of opportunity of the North-West Territories. He therefore joined a group of men who were planning to settle on cheap land on the prairie. The group was led by M.C. Cameron.

The party of men was similar, in that none of them were wealthy, and all were from Ontario or Manitoba:

Other members of the party were Sir Richard Cartright; Frank Jordon, a druggist from Goderich; John and Nate Cowdry, who would eventually become bankers in Fort Macleod, Alberta, and Fred Myers, another lawyer from Goderich.

All of these men traveled by trail to the end of the track at Broadview, approximately 40 miles from the small settlement that was to become Regina. They then hired a guide to take them to an area west of Last Mountain Lake, which was where they planned to homestead. However, when they arrived there after an arduous journey by open wagons they became quickly disenchanted with the barren treeless land and pushed on to the few shacks that made up Regina at the time. Once in Regina, all but the guide: W.H. Duncan returned to Ontario. Hamilton must have reconsidered or had plans to return to Regina, because that is what he did. In August 1880 Duncan made the return trip to Regina, and set up his law practice in partnership with David L. Scott, who was later to become Judge Scott and the first mayor of

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826 *Pioneers!*", 69.
Regina. Scott was also one of the founding members of the Assiniboia Club.\textsuperscript{827} The law firm of Scott and Hamilton quickly became the “most prominent one in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan,” according to M.C. Cameron.\textsuperscript{828}

Hamilton’s law firm evolved over the next few years with Scott leaving to become a judge, and Hugh Amos Robson joining. In 1884 Robson left the firm and Hamilton formed a partnership with Ford Jones. All the while Hamilton’s reputation was growing in Regina. “On July 16, 1883 he was elected to a citizens’ committee, meant to take charge of the business of the town until its incorporation.”\textsuperscript{829} Hamilton became active in the Anglican church in Regina. His reputation as a skilled orator grew due to his law practice. He “was often called upon to prepare and deliver addresses for civic occasions, or for special events in St. Paul’s Anglican Church, where he was an important figure.”\textsuperscript{830} In 1888 Hamilton ran against a Mr. Smith for mayor of Regina. Their race divided on the issue of Temperance. Otherwise the common view was that both men were pretty evenly matched. “The January 3 \textit{Leader} reported:

It was a difficult thing to choose between Mr. Smith and Mr. Hamilton and it is quite clear the town was pretty evenly divided on their merits, the temperance question turning the balance in favor of the latter. Regina has the largest temperance vote of any town on the line of the [Canadian] Pacific [Railroad], and this election shows that the towns would vote against prohibition, while in the country districts prohibition would carry.\textsuperscript{831}

Hamilton served for one year as Regina’s third mayor, which had become the tradition since the first two mayors: David Lynch Scott (1884-1885) and Daniel Mowat (1886-1887).

William Cayley Hamilton’s reputation continued to grow in Regina. He was defeated by the incumbent when he ran for ML in 1891.\textsuperscript{832} His reputation and good works earned him the title of Queen’s Councilor before his death. Hamilton was also president of the Assiniboia Club

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\item \textsuperscript{827} Sherick, Dorothy. \textit{The Assiniboia Club-1882-1982, 100 Years of Service} (Regina: The Assiniboia Club, 1982), 8. It was Judge Scott who prosecuted Louis Riel in 1885 in Regina.
\item \textsuperscript{828} M.C. Cameron Fonds. Saskatchewan Archives, Regina.
\item \textsuperscript{829} \textit{“Pioneers!”}, 71. See also: J. W. Powers, \textit{The History of Regina (Illustrated), Its Foundation and Growth} (Regina: The Leader Company, 1887), 79.
\item \textsuperscript{830} Ibid., 71.
\item \textsuperscript{831} Argan, \textit{Regina – The First 100 Years}, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{832} Ibid., 33. MLA: Member of the Legislative Assembly.
\end{itemize}
from 1892 to 1894, further demonstrating his stature in the community among his peers.\footnote{Sherick, \textit{The Assiniboia Club}, 10.} He died in 1901 and his funeral was attended by a large number of citizens, both “rich and poor”, at St. Paul’s Church where he had been active during his years in Regina.\footnote{Argan, \textit{Regina –The First 100 Years}, 33. Queen’s Councilor is an honorary title designating a lawyer who has performed admirably in his practice before the bar. The holder of this title wears silk robes while at court in recognition of his position.}

A third founder of Regina and the Assiniboia Club is James Brown. Brown became the Secretary of the Board of Education in Regina. He was born in Renfrewshire, Scotland and came to Montreal in 1872, where he became engaged in business.\footnote{J. W. Powers, \textit{History of Regina, (Illustrated) Its Foundation and Growth} (Regina: Printed by the Leader Company, 1887), 50.} It was business that brought him to Regina in 1882, where he became a member of the J.J. Campbell & Co. dry goods business. It was Brown’s avocation that got him involved with the Assiniboia Club. He was the organist for St. Paul’s Church since its organization. Brown was one of the founders of the Music Club that became the Assiniboia Club.\footnote{Sherick, \textit{The Assiniboia Club}, 8.} His position as Secretary of the Board of Education was one of sufficient prestige in the community that his position in the Assiniboia Club was assured.

A fourth important founder of Regina and the Assiniboia Club is Henry LeJeune. Unfortunately, little information is available on his life. It is known that he was born in London, England and that he immigrated to Ontario where he worked for the Merchants Bank. He migrated to Regina during its early years and became partners with Fred G. Smith in a private banking enterprise. LeJeune was a member of the Anglican Church and became the church organist until he left Regina in 1901. Henry LeJeune was one of the founding members of the Musical Club in 1882, no doubt because of his interest in the organ.\footnote{Ibid.} LeJeune left Regina to
manage the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City. The Chateau Frontenac is one of the premier hotels in that city.\textsuperscript{838}

The fifth important founder of the North-West Territories, and an early member of the Assiniboia Club, was Sir Frederick Haultain. He became the first Premier of the North-West Territories and eventually Chief Justice of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal after many years in politics in the North-West. Frederick Haultain was born in 1857 in Woolwich England into an illustrious family of several generations of British military and naval officers. His father, Col. F.W. Haultain, came to Canada because of his military career. It was there that he met his wife, “Helen Gordon, daughter of General Gordon who was also stationed in Montreal in the British Garrison,” with whom he had nine children, “of which seven grew to maturity.”\textsuperscript{839} The Haultain family moved back for a short time, to England where Frederick was born. Col. Haultain retired from the army in 1881 and decided to move to Canada permanently, where his pension would go further than it would in England. He settled his family, along with young Frederick, in Peterborough.

Young Frederick Haultain wanted to be a soldier like his father, but the family finances would not support such a career, so he took up the law. “He attended school in Montreal and Peterborough and graduated in 1879 from the University of Toronto with first class honors in the classics.”\textsuperscript{840} Haultain was 25 years old when he began working in a law office in Toronto for two years. Since young Haultain could not have a career in the military fighting for the Empire like generations of Haultains before him, he determined that he would emulate his illustrious

\textsuperscript{839} “Sir Frederick Haultain, at 80, Recalls Stirring Pioneer Days”. \textit{Regina Daily Star} (Nov. 27, 1937), 7.
\textsuperscript{840} “Sir Frederick Haultain...” \textit{Regina Daily Star} (Nov. 27, 1937), 7.
forebears by at least traveling to the Canadian frontier. “So in August 1884, the young lawyer set out for the Canadian frontier, the Northwest Territories” and settled at Fort Macleod.841

Haultain began to practice law in Fort Macleod and it was not long before the citizens of that small community (between two and three hundred) recognized his leadership abilities. Haultain led a fight to insure that the local Conservative party could have its own representation in the Territorial Assembly. Haultain was elected by a large majority. For the next 16 years the citizens of Macleod “returned him to office. Only one vote had been cast against him in Macleod.”842 It was because Haultain’s political career which brought him to Regina, the seat of government, that he became a member of the Assiniboia Club. It was not until October 5, 1893 that the first records of club meetings were preserved. F.W.G. Haultain, the premier of the North-West Territories, at the time, was present at that meeting. Between 1887 and 1905 “Haultain was Premier, Treasurer and Commissioner of Education during those formative years when immigration on an unprecedented scale brought new problems to the territorial government.”843 While Haultain was a life-long conservative, he was also quite well known for his dedication to Saskatchewan’s best interests and was thus often found working with the opposition when he felt that it was appropriate. Haultain retired from politics in 1912 and “was appointed the Chief Justice of Saskatchewan. He held that position until his retirement in 1937.”844 Frederick Haultain lived much of his active political life in Regina, while he served in the Territorial Legislature. Haultain was not one of the founders of Regina or the Assiniboia Club, but he was one of its most important members, since he had such an illustrious political

843 Taylor. “Political Pioneer:…” Christian Science Monitor. p. 3. “Haultain, as Premier of the North-West Territories, unsuccessfully urged the establishment of one province, not two, which he considered an unnecessary duplication of political machinery which would bear too heavily on the young country.” 3.
career as Premier and Chief Justice of Saskatchewan. From the club’s inception in 1882 until it closed its doors, the political luminaries of Saskatchewan have been members of this gentlemen’s club.

As the five men discussed above developed their business or political careers Regina grew from a few shacks to a small village at the end of the CPR track, and then into a town and the territorial capital. As it grew, many of Canada’s major banks opened offices in Regina. Several of the presidents and managers of those banks became members of the Assiniboia Club as well as civic leaders in the community, helping it to grow. “In 1882, R. H. Williams entered the lumber and construction business with his ox cart soon after his arrival at the Pile O’ Bones.” Within a few years R. H. Williams was a prominent business man in Regina and a member of the Assiniboia Club often sitting next to F. W. G. Haultain, the premier, and W. G. Pettingell, the town’s first druggist, at lunch or dinner at the club. During this period from settlement to incorporation as a city, Pile O’ Bones became Regina and then its boosters began calling the small community of clap board shacks and storefronts with a few brick buildings interspersed the “Queen City of the Plains.” The growth of the village and town, then city of Regina was mirrored by the growth of the Assiniboia Club. There is no indication in the documents available that the Assiniboia Club was the locus of political power for the city, as the Fort Worth Club and Denver Club were from the late 1880s to the 1950s. The members of the club were the most prominent men in the community, and the community grew because of their efforts, but there is no evidence that the Assiniboia Club directed the fate of Regina, as the Ranchmen’s Club played a central role in Southern Alberta and Calgary.

Regina was incorporated in 1883. By that time the land-use patterns had been established, with the NWMP barracks on the eastern shore of Wascana Creek or Pile O’ Bones

845 Riddell, Regina from Pile O’ Bones, 44.
846 Ibid., 115. Many boom towns in the Canadian and American West had been called at one time or another “Queen City.” William A Riddell’s history of Regina incorporated Queen City in its title: Regina From Pile O’ Bones to Queen City of the Plains: An Illustrated History. While it is debatable whether Regina ever qualified due to its beauty or prosperity, the appellation “Queen City” was deserved on account of the allusion to its namesake Queen Victoria,
Creek, and adjacent to and just north of the CPR Main Line. The CPR station and Freight Yards was two and a half miles east of the RNWMP headquarters. That is where the early village of Regina grew. “Businessmen erected their establishments south of the tracks along South Railway and Broad streets so as to be near the station. This became the town’s central business district, though for several years the Leader office and the Bank of Montreal were located in splendid isolation on Victoria Avenue.” Most of the buildings were wooden in the boom towns in the American and Canadian West. Just as most western boom towns, Regina experienced a fire that burned an entire block of businesses on South Railway Street in 1890. The next year, the town council established the limits of the downtown in which all the buildings were required to be constructed of brick.

The development of the town was impacted by the CPR in ways besides encouraging immigration. “The CPR had early persuaded the owners of the lumberyards to move them north of the tracks, and the area adjacent to the main line proved attractive to other firms that depended on access to the railway” such as the town’s flower mills, grain elevators and warehouses. After 1902 several large farm implement warehouses were constructed adjacent to the CPR and the Qu’ Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway, which entered Regina from the north and just west of the CPR station. Much of the area north of the tracks was vacant or had industrial uses, except for Germantown which was a modest residential area made up primarily of lots with twenty-five foot frontage.

Regina developed as a walkable city because many of its business owners built their homes close to their businesses. Thus, “in the centre of the city, commercial and residential buildings were intermingled.” The area to the southwest of Victoria Square with its large lots became the silk-stockings neighborhood. Their homes, however, were typically made of wood. The homes of the wealthy were distinguished from their poorer cousins by the larger lots and

848 Ibid., 38.
the wide verandas across the front of the residences. Also the wealthy owned a horse or two and often had a carriage house as well as a stable behind the home.

The town was also influenced by the proximity of the NWMP headquarters in a number of ways. Because of the proximity of the Mountie headquarters there was little crime. In fact, “for many years there was no constable, the town finding it simpler and cheaper to leave local law enforcement in the hands of the NWMP.” 850 The presence of the NWMP had another impact on the community. “Many recruits came from prominent English families and some may have looked down on the ‘common rabble.’” 851 The young recruits were known as “Cubs of the lion” because they were young, full of themselves and from Mother England. The officers tended to consort with the town’s business people, in fact many were given reduced rates in the Assiniboia Club. In order to improve relations between the Mounties and the townsfolk, the Mounties held concerts where their band performed as well as dances and sporting events. 852 These young Englishmen brought their love of sport with them from England. Therefore, horse racing, cricket, polo and rugby matches were common.

The Mounties also became members of the volunteer fire department which stood them well with the townspeople. “From time to time severely ill citizens were admitted to the hospital unit at the barracks.” 853 Since the NWMP was a cavalry unit, a riding school was developed at the Regina Mountie camp. The equestrian exercises and precision riding attracted many townspeople as spectators. Over time these equestrian exercises took on more of an entertainment flair. “The Musical Ride developed into a well-known extravaganza” in conjunction with other equestrian events. 854 The community was small and isolated, therefore the residents generally had to make their own entertainment. The townspeople of Regina were inventive and resourceful and developed many clubs around cultural and sporting interests. They formed the

850 Ibid., 43.
851 Riddell, Regina from Pile O’ Bones, 34.
852 Ibid.
853 Ibid.
854 Ibid.
7.2 Regina and the Canadian Pacific Railway, Saskatchewan (1883).
Victoria hockey team, curling team, and a city baseball league. A very popular winter sport was curling, a Scottish import which was more of a gentleman’s sport than hockey. Soccer, bicycling, tennis and golf were so popular in the summer that each had its own club.\footnote{Brennan., \textit{The History of Canadian Cities}, 49. See also Riddell, \textit{Regina From Pile O’Bones}, 65-67.}

Besides the Musical Club, which was the origin of the Assiniboia Club, there were many other clubs and lodges. The Local Council of Women (1895), the Federation of the Daughters of the Empire (1901) were social and civil outlets for the ladies of Regina. Men also formed the Regina Lodge of the Royal Templars of Temperance in 1890. “It was one of many social, fraternal and religious organizations...including the Orange Lodge, Odd Fellows and Young Men’s Christian Association.”\footnote{Ibid., 48.} Dances and musical recitals were held in City Hall. Some social functions were hindered because of the lack of females in the early years of the community.

Because Regina was the seat of territorial government, there were also formal dinner parties and “elaborate state balls” held at Government House, built in 1883. The Assiniboia Club put on balls and official dinners at which notable federal officials were guests of honor. Also, “large firms, such as R. H. Williams’ Glasgow House, held summer picnics for their staff.”\footnote{Ibid., 97.} Commercial enterprises catered to the recreational and social needs of Regina’s citizens. By the turn of the century the town had several bars, pool halls, and dance halls that provided outlets for its poorer townsfolk. There were also over a dozen hotels by that time, most of which had restaurants that served liquor or bars.\footnote{Ibid.}

Regina grew in starts and spurts, and it also had its economic downturns. “As a result of several years of drought followed by the removal of the Indian Office from Regina to Winnipeg in 1897, coupled with a reduction in the size of the mounted police force during a government economy drive, the future growth of Regina appeared uncertain.” The economy began to rebound, though:

\footnote{Brennan., \textit{The History of Canadian Cities}, 49. See also Riddell, \textit{Regina From Pile O’Bones}, 65-67.}
\footnote{Ibid., 48.}
\footnote{Ibid., 97.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
By 1905, the city was on its way to prosperity: there were two daily papers, the Leader and the Standard; the first incorporated steam laundry in Saskatchewan was operating; the Bell Telephone Company established the first long-distance link with Winnipeg and thus to eastern Canada; the CPR had completed the line to Arcola and there were 10 trains per day running on the main line and two per day to both Arcola and Prince Albert.\footnote{Riddell, \textit{Regina from Pile O’ Bones}, 27. Arcola is 200 miles southeast of Regina and 40 miles from both Manitoba and Montana; while Prince Albert is 230 miles north of the capital of Saskatchewan.}

Regina continued to face problems with its provision of basic services, such as clean potable water, electric street lights, professional fire protection and adequate paved streets. As a method of gaining the necessary funding to provide these services James B. Hawkes introduced a bill in the territorial legislature to designate Regina by charter to be a city. “His presentation concluded with the comment: ‘Regina has the brightest future before it of any place in the North West Territories.’”\footnote{Ibid., 88.} The bill passed unanimously and the city of Regina was created on June 19, 1903, with a population of 1,000 citizens fewer than Calgary. By the turn of the century Regina had built its prosperity on the CPR, wheat farming, and government. Because it was the center of government for the North-West Territories, it also became the center of education for the region. Regina built several residential high schools where farm families, if they could afford it, could send their children for an education. Regina developed one of the first colleges in the province. Regina Normal School was established in 1893 and began teacher training immediately. The North West Agricultural College opened in 1903. “It provided training in training in agricultural methods and procedures, [and] it included dairy and livestock barns, a lecture hall, and an experimental farm.”\footnote{Ibid.} In 1907 the Church of England founded a theological college: St. Chad’s Hostel. The Methodists established Regina College in 1910.

By the turn of the century, Victoria Square was ringed by churches. Regina’s population reflected the diversity that also characterized its churches. There was of course the Anglican church, but also the first Rumanian Orthodox church on the continent, a Ukrainian Catholic church, a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, a Presbyterian church, Methodist church, German

\begin{thebibliography}{9}

\bibitem{Riddell} Riddell, \textit{Regina from Pile O’ Bones}, 27. Arcola is 200 miles south east of Regina and 40 miles from both Manitoba and Montana; while Prince Albert is 230 miles north of the capital of Saskatchewan.

\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid., 88.

\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid.

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Lutheran church, a German Baptist church and a synagogue. Regina was more typical of western Canada than Calgary, which was predominantly Canadian and British. By the turn of the century, Saskatchewan was developing a diverse population of several Eastern European immigrant groups, who were primarily farmers.

Most of these farmers were poor to lower middle class throughout their lives because farming principally a single crop, wheat, presented many obstacles to economic reward. The CPR controlled the grain elevators which cut into the profits of the farmers. The high cost of transportation was a constant complaint of the farmers to the federal government. Because of the market economy, the prairie wheat farmers were in competition with Russian, European and Australian farmers. The cost of credit was a burden as well as the high cost of farm machinery. To attack these problems the farmers organized, just as they did in the plains states south of the Medicine Line. In the United States there were the Grangers, then Farmers Alliances, and finally the Populist Party. In Canada there was the Territorial Grain Growers’ Association, which became the Saskatchewan Grain Growers’ Association in 1906, after the Saskatchewan Act made the North-West Territory a province. While the Association’s organizer E.A Partridge, “sought unsuccessfully to persuade his organization to undertake co-operative handling and marketing of grain…members of the grain exchange were generally opposed to a co-operative farmer company.”

The issue of co-operatives and public ownership of grain elevators continued into the early twentieth century unresolved. The Saskatchewan Grain Growers’ Association had more success in convincing the federal government to assist the farmers with the issue of agricultural credit. The Agricultural Credit Commission was established in 1913 and the Agricultural Co-operative Associations Act of the same year allowed cooperatives to incorporate. None of these actions had come in the nineteenth century when the stock growers’ associations had much

862 Ibid., 92-93 and Brennan, The History of Canadian Cities, 116.119. “Regina’s Jewish community dates back to 1904 when the Chevra Kadisha, (burial society) was formed. Some Jews lived in Regina prior to 1904.” From a speech given by Rebecca Landau at Florida Atlantic University, January, 1996.

863 Archer, Saskatchewan, A History, 149.
more political power than the grain growers’ associations because the federal governments of the late nineteenth century were predominantly conservative and had the Alberta ranchers financial power over the Saskatchewan and Manitoba farmers. In the late nineteenth century there was money to be made in farming but it was made principally by the bankers, the railroads, the processors and the manufacturers of farm equipment. Saskatchewan had few farmers who became wealthy and none of the economic stature of the Alberta cattle kings.

There were wealthy men in Regina and poor men who came to Regina who became wealthy from land speculation and in business. But the great fortunes of the cattle barons of the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary were not reflected in holdings of the members of the Assiniboia Club. Important and wealthy men belonged to this most important and prestigious club in Regina. But it is obvious that they were not of the financial stature of the founders of the Ranchmen’s Club.

7.4 The Assiniboia Club

The Assiniboia Club of Regina, North West Territories had its beginnings in a humble music club in the village of Regina in May 1882. “Love of music was the inspiration and common bond that sparked the formation of a club in Regina in 1882.” The Musical Club originally had eight members. It met in a barely furnished room above a store on Broad Street close to the Palmer House and Windsor Hotel. Dorothy Sherick has proposed that the concept of forming a club for individuals who liked to sing and play instruments was discussed at one or both of these establishments “where the men of the town gathered in the evenings for a drink and the exchange of ideas with the luminaries of the day.” Nicholas Flood Davin, the owner of Regina’s first newspaper was known to frequent the Palmer House almost daily. Because of his

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864 Ibid., 150-157. See also: C.F. Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books. 1978); L. H. Thomas, “History of Agriculture on the Prairies,” Proceedings of Seminar: Development of Agriculture on the Prairies (Regina: University of Regina, 1975); also Grant MacEwan’s books on the region are helpful: Between the Red and the Rockies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), and Agriculture on Parade (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Canada, 1950).
865 Sherick, The Assiniboia Club, 8.
866 Ibid.
7.3 The Assiniboia Club, Regina, Saskatchewan (1912).
stature in the community it is almost a certainty that he was a member of the Assiniboia Club; however, it is not known if he was ever a member of the Musical Club.

In 1882 Regina was barely a village. The first CPR train made its noisy entrance into that village on August 23, 1882. The new capital was also dedicated on that occasion. The first twelve-by-twelve foot wooden shack was constructed from tar paper nailed over milled sheets of thin plywood in the tent village that same year. One of the first permanent buildings was the two-story CPR station which was also built in 1882. In that tent village in the middle of a table like treeless prairie, the citizens struggled simply to stay alive during the brutal winters. They came to Regina because they believed that opportunities for wealth and independence could be found on the frontier. They worked hard every day to make a living. But, they also needed to have a break from their toil and from the stark and harsh environment. So these town pioneers formed clubs around their leisure interests. The citizens played cricket and soccer and enjoyed bicycling so they formed clubs that promoted those pastimes. They were also interested in literature and poetry and music, so they formed clubs to share their interests with like-minded folks. According to a letter from early member, C. A. W. Lethbridge, to the Secretary of the Club in 1944: “The town, as it appeared to his tender years was ‘appalling in appearance’ [so] to relieve its starkness ‘clubs of every kind were being formed – boating, swimming, shooting, fishing, music and some attempts at literature.” It was in that environment that the Musical Club was founded by “Henry LeJeune, Alex J. Fraser, James Brown, W. Prescott Sharpe, Fred G. Smith, Judge D.L. Scott, W.C. Hamilton, and William White, a Member of the Legislative Assembly(MLA) of the Territories.” Most of these men would also become charter members of the Assiniboia Club in 1884. Many of them became quite prominent in Regina as can be attested by certain names: Smith Street, Hamilton Street, Williams Department Store,

867 Riddell, Regina, From Pile O’Bones, 21.
869 Ibid., 8.
Pettingell’s Drug Store, the Scarth Street Mall and Scarth Street, all named for these pioneer business men of Regina.\textsuperscript{870}

The first quarters for the Musical Club were spartan. The second-story room above the store on Broad Street was cold in the winter and hot in the summers. “The club room was only slightly warmer than the outside staircase entrance way which took the full brunt of the wind chill of those prairie winters.”\textsuperscript{871} The meetings of the Musical Club were informal gatherings which allowed the men to sing and talk at their leisure. The little club’s membership began to grow by word of mouth. In an effort to increase its membership and develop from a musical club into a gentlemen’s club a meeting was publicized in the community. On the day of the meeting the small room was crowded with interested individuals. At that meeting in May 1883 a new name was decided upon: the Assiniboia Club.\textsuperscript{872} For the next year the meetings of the Assiniboia Club continued to be quite informal with no records kept. The little club “became the centre of nearly all social activities of the town.”\textsuperscript{873} It was not until May 1884 when the club became more organized that its place as the social headquarters of Regina became established.

At the same time that the Assiniboia Club was experiencing growing pains and its members were considering a move to a more comfortable and hospitable clubhouse, the new Bishop of the Church of England for the North-West Territories arrived in Regina. The bishop, who learned of the club from some of its members who were also members of St. Paul’s Anglican Church, was invited to come to a meeting. Later, “The Right Reverend Bishop the Honourable Adelburt J.R. Anson became the first president, in 1884” of the Assiniboia Club.\textsuperscript{874} Mr. Lethbridge, an early member of the club, recalled that Bishop Anson was “elected not

\textsuperscript{870} Riddell, \textit{Regina, From Pile O’ Bones}, 154-163.
\textsuperscript{871} Sherick, \textit{The Assiniboia Club}, 8.
\textsuperscript{872} Assiniboia was the name of a prominent tribe of indigenous peoples in that region. It was a popular name and was briefly considered as the name for Regina, when Pile O’ Bones was discarded as not being a fit name for the territorial capital.
\textsuperscript{873} Sherick, \textit{The Assiniboia Club}, 9.
\textsuperscript{874} Brian W. Greer, \textit{”The Assiniboia Club: Its First Thirty Years: 1882-1912” The Regina Papers} (Regina: Duplicating Services Press, University of Regina, 1978), Saskatchewan Archives. Accession No. R78-324.
because he was a bishop, but rather because of his prominence as a man of culture, and his freedom from a political or business connection – perhaps to give the club a certain tone.\textsuperscript{875}

Anson was born on the 20th of December, 1840, in London, “where his father, the Earl of Lichfield, had a city residence.”\textsuperscript{876} Anson decided on the clergy as his career early in his life. After he received his Arts degree at Christ's College, Oxford, he traveled to the Holy Land. Upon his return he studied theology at Lichfield Theological College. In 1868 he was made Vicar of St. Michael's. “In 1875 he was appointed to the large and very important parish of Woolwich in the Diocese of Southwark,” where he remained for eight years.\textsuperscript{877} He visited the Diocese of Qu’Appelle in 1883 as an emissary of the of the Archbishop of Canterbury, England. He reported his findings back to the Primate and was charged with taking on the task of ministering to the diocese in the North-West Territory.

In 1883 Reverend Canon Adelbert Anson arrived in the North West Territory in the new diocese. Reverend Anson worked so diligently to grow the Anglican church in the Diocese of Assiniboia that he “was appointed Bishop of the Diocese on June 24, 1884.”\textsuperscript{878} It was not until a month later, on July 25, 1884, that the Bishop arrived in Regina by train at 4:30 a.m. “Despite the early hour, they were greeted at the railway station by the four clergy and laymen on staff, the church wardens and others connected with St. Paul’s Church.”\textsuperscript{879} He held services that morning and began his official duties at that time.

Bishop Anson was an imposing personality with a full beard, a high brow, and strong almost Roman nose and deep-set piercing eyes. He carried himself in a manner that demonstrated his own awareness of his family’s rank and importance. He had particular views about how the worship services should be conducted, which included various trappings that

\textsuperscript{875} Sherick, \textit{The Assiniboia Club}, 9.
\textsuperscript{877} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{879} Ibid., 6.
appeared to the congregations in Regina and Assiniboia to be too close to Roman practices. It was because of the conflicts between his view of the liturgy and the parishioners of St. Paul’s Cathedral that Bishop Anson remained in Regina for less than a year.

yet during that time he became President of the Assiniboia Club and helped it to grow in stature and membership. Anson became President of the club when it moved to its second home in the old Court House building on the corner of Victoria Avenue and Scarth Street.

The club continued to grow and in 1885 its membership and slate of activities forced the leaders of the club to consider moving once again to “a small building on the east side of Cornwall Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth Avenues.” In 1886 the club moved again to its first club house in which it was the sole occupant. It was a modest house at the northeast corner of twelfth Avenue and Hamilton Street. The house had two stories with a large bay window, reminiscent of the bay windows of Brookes’s and Boodle’s of London, but not nearly as grand. A billiard table was installed in the new clubhouse in 1886, and an order given for the delivery of draft beer to J. Labatt of London, Ontario. “A small pitcher could be bought for 25 cents, while a larger one cost 50 cents.” The profits from beer sales paid the debts of renovation of the home into a clubhouse.

Following Bishop Anson’s term as president, G.T. March was elected president. He was followed by Dixie Watson, clerk of the court. “Both men were citizens of considerable influence in those early days.” They were followed by L. O. Bourget, “a federal government civil servant, [who] held the president’s office for two consecutive years, followed by W.C. Hamilton, who was president from 1892 to 1894.” It was during the Hamilton term as president that a meeting in June 1893 was held at which thirty-two members were present. The topic discussion

881 Ibid. See Also: Greer, The Assiniboia Club: Its First Thirty Years: 1882-1912, 13. Note also that Hamilton Street is named for one of the charter members of the club.
882 Ibid., 10.
883 Ibid.
884 Ibid.
was the erection of a new club building. \(^{885}\) During Hamilton’s presidency, also, better records of club meetings were instituted. At the October 5, 1893 meeting the club’s first constitution was drafted in long hand. A copy of the original is preserved in the Saskatchewan Archives. It is eleven pages of faded ink, but it is still legible.

The Constitution provided for “The entrance fee to the club shall be $25.00 and shall be handed to the Secretary at the time of the proposal…” \(^{886}\) An individual could qualify as a resident if he lived within five miles of Regina, and a non-resident if he lived beyond that limit. Resident members paid $12 on a quarterly basis and non-resident members paid $4.00. \(^{887}\) These prices were half those of the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary, demonstrating the disparity of wealth between the two clubs, towns, and provinces. Section Eight of the Constitution states that “Officers of the North West Mounted Police while stationed at Headquarters may be admitted…” without payment of the entrance fee, but they were not permitted to vote. \(^{888}\) This section demonstrated the unique relationship that the NWMP had with the Assiniboia Club. It is similar in ways to the relationship between the Union Club of Victoria, which is discussed in Chapter Eight, between that club and the officers of the naval base on Vancouver Island. In both cases the officers were predominantly British. The clubs were modeled after London gentlemen’s clubs, so it is no wonder that the military were welcomed at reduced rates into both clubs.

The Constitution provided in Section Twelve for ways to deal with members who behaved in an ungentlemanly manner. \(^{889}\) “Conduct unbecoming a gentleman could result in forfeiture of membership rights, but the miscreant had the right to appeal the decision.” \(^{890}\) Section (26) provided that “politics and religion shall be absolutely excluded from the objectives.

\(^{887}\) *Constitution*, 2.
\(^{888}\) *Constitution*, 4.
\(^{889}\) *Constitution*, 6.
of the club." This provision seemed to mean that these subjects could not be discussed in the clubhouse, however, if that was the case, that rule was broken hourly since many of the members of the club were elected politicians and appointed government officials. Another rule of the club which must have been broken daily was rule number twenty-seven. It prohibited “card games played for money nor shall dice be used in the club, except for backgammon. No higher stakes than quarter dollar points shall be played for nor shall any bet exceed one dollar." This rule was mirrored in several other clubs in Canada and the United States, and was often ignored. It is interesting to note that few clubs in London had such a rule, since the impetus to create particular London gentlemen’s clubs was to have a congenial place to gamble with one’s peers.

Section Twenty-Eight of the Constitution declared that “Secretaries, auditors, treasurers and stewards were the only ones entitled to payment, and members were forbidden to make any individual tip or payment to them. Section twenty-nine provided that “no member shall remove from the Club premises any newspaper, book, pamphlet, map or any other article the property of the Club.” With the exception of the rule against discussion of politics and religion, and the rule restricting gambling, most of the rules of the Assiniboia Club mirrored not only those of other gentlemen’s clubs in Canada and the American West, but also those clubs on St. James Square in London.

At the large meeting of members in June 1893, beside the creation of a constitution and bylaws, it was decided that a new clubhouse would be constructed. It was to be built on land at the corner of Scarth Street and Twelfth Avenue. The building had been described in an article in the Leader in 1892:

It will be a handsome building, with a basement and two stories. In the basement will be a kitchen and a large dining room, with all necessary pantries and closets. On the ground floor, entering a fine logia and vestibule, you will find yourself in a large hall, of which on the left, up three stairs, you find reading

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891 Constitution, 8.
892 Constitution, 8.
893 Constitution, 10.
rooms, parlors, etc., and on the right billiard and other rooms. There is also a "governor’s" or reception room. On the second flat are several smoking rooms, ladies toilet rooms and two bed rooms besides a large Assembly room and stage.

The opening of the new club house had to wait until 1904 because of problems with the contractor. The opening was a formal occasion with a ball hosted by the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, C.W. McIntosh, who was also a member of the club.

Memberships were granted to the Lieutenant Governors of the Territories. “Members of the Territories' Legislative Assembly were granted club privileges during session, a practice that has carried over to present times.”\(^{895}\) It is quite likely that this practice was helpful for club members to increase their influence with the territorial government. During the annual meeting on October 18, 1894, presided over by the new president, W.G. Pettingell, Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police headquarterd in Regina, was granted honorary membership.\(^{896}\) Other dignitaries were often granted honorary membership in the club when they visited Regina. “Visiting curlers (curling, because each participant had to supply his own rocks, not being for the commoners) and members of the American Press Association were also allowed to use club facilities.”\(^{897}\) Besides officers of the NWMP, employees of banks below the manager level were allowed to become non-voting members of the club. At times these decisions were made to increase the opportunities for political and financial contacts for club members.

As the new club was being built it was decided that a stranger’s room would be included as in the London clubs. The Bylaws were amended so that members could bring in male guests, but their names had always to be entered in a visitors’ book – a practice still in effect in the club” until its closing.\(^{898}\)

\(^{896}\) Ibid.
\(^{897}\) Greer, *The Assiniboia Club*, 16.
\(^{898}\) Sherick, *The Assiniboia Club*, 13. Strangers were non-members who had come to the club at the invitation of one of its members. Strangers had to be accompanied by the member who invited him or by staff while in the clubhouse.
It was obvious that the Assiniboia Club was growing in sophistication during this time. A permanent Secretary was hired to keep track of the records of the club. With the coming of the telephone, the Assiniboia Club was one of the first buildings in Regina to have a phone installed. “The club began to carry a good supply of cigars and liquor.”\(^899\) It is interesting that many stories from the histories of the London, American, and Canadian clubs deal with heated opinions and difficulties about the cost of food, quality of the cigars and cost of drinks. The Assiniboia Club is no exception. One such story involved one of the club’s most distinguished members, Sir Frederick Haultain, Chief Justice. Haultain was a denizen of the Assiniboia Club because he was a bachelor and the club was in proximity to the Legislative Assembly where he was a member for 14 years. Haultain had a reputation for judging a lawyer as much for his behavior in the club’s bar as he did the lawyer’s performance at the bar of the court. The story became legend in the club that:

One evening a well-known King’s Counsel, also a member of the club, offered to stand the Chief Justice a drink. Turning to him he asked “How much whiskey would you like?” “Make it half full” replied the judge. Whereupon the lawyer placed several chunks of ice in the glass and poured the whiskey half way up the glass. He handed it to Sir Frederick. The Chief Justice took it grimly without so much as an acknowledgement. He then turned to a companion and said, sotto voice, “I always suspected that fellow to be a son-of-a-bitch!” From that night on the rule was firmly established in the club—pour the whiskey first and then add the ice, if any.\(^900\)

Because of the growing use of the Club, its hours were also expanded from opening at noon to 9:00 am opening and mid-night closing on weekdays and 9:00 am to 11:00 pm on Saturdays. As the club grew new problems or issues occurred. “In 1898 the Ranchman(sic) Club of Calgary was sent a letter requesting a reciprocity of membership because the two clubs were the only incorporated clubs in the North west Territories.”\(^901\) A few years later a request came to the club from the Commercial Travellers’ Club of Winnipeg for reciprocity, which was

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\(^{899}\) Ibid., 16. It has already been noted and will be seen again that cigars and liquor were two of the most important commodities that aroused comments and suggestions by the membership of American and Canadian clubs. The Secretaries and managers of the clubs studied made special efforts to secure the best of both.

\(^{900}\) Ibid., 17.

\(^{901}\) Greer, The Assiniboia Club, 16.
turned down. The Moose Jaw Club then made a request for reciprocity. This led to the constitution being amended to provide that: “no gentleman residing in Saskatoon or Moose Jaw could be introduced into the club unless they were already members of the Saskatoon and Moose Jaw clubs respectively.”

Maintaining decorum in a gentlemen’s club is always a ticklish matter for the staff and executive committee of the club. The Assiniboia Club was no exception. Billiards was a very popular game at the club. Billiard tournaments were often hotly contested, and members were known to become too exuberant during those matches. A sign had to be posted in the billiard room that players should refrain from getting on top of the billiard tables. The prohibition on gambling for higher stakes than a dollar was often tested by the members, with the result that some had to be reprimanded for the practice.

The growth of the Assiniboia Club continued into the new century. By 1911 the club was again becoming crowded and the membership decided to move to a new block and build a larger clubhouse. The new premises were finally occupied following the large cyclone (tornado) that struck the town in the summer of 1912. The old club house on Scarth Street received severe damage, but the new clubhouse on Victoria Avenue was barely touched. Following the informal opening of the new clubhouse, which was approximately four times the size of the former, a private dining room for the wives of members was established in the new building, complete with a private side entrance. “For the first time elaborate club dinners, with entertainment or special speakers, were laid on, at a cost of $1.50 per person.” The new clubhouse even had four rooms for permanent boarders.

The official opening ball of the new clubhouse was held on Friday, October 4, 1912. It was a well-planned gala event. The Leader provided the description of the event in the next day’s edition:

903 This is similar to the adjustments that the Union Club of Victoria made to provide a meeting place for the ladies of Victoria in the early twentieth century.
When going home time came and everyone was enthusiastic in praise of the perfect appointments of the club, the perfect arrangements for the ball, and the delightful hospitality of the hosts, another evidence of thoughtfulness was given in a “night-cap” --in the shape of a steaming cup of consommé. By everyone present, the opening ball of the Assiniboia Club was voted an unqualified success.  

The Assiniboia Club was by 1912 a stable and mature club with a large well furnished club house that included a spacious billiard room with four billiard tables and an elegant, by Regina standards dining room, with a fireplace and steam heat. The 1912 clubhouse served its members for the rest of the life of the club. It was renovated and improved on several occasions until its closure in 2007 due to financial difficulties.

7.5 Summary

The Assiniboia Club’s humble beginnings as the Musical Club in a succession of second-story rooms and small quarters were not overcome until its 1904 clubhouse was built. Even then the club’s membership did not include the caliber of men of wealth of the Cheyenne Club or the Ranchmen’s Club because the North-West Territories were principally a farming region. The only cattle ranches were small operations in the area around Swift Current in the southwest portion of the province. The other two gentlemen’s clubs in the Territories in Saskatoon and Moose Jaw were like the Assiniboia Club, in that they were primarily businessmen’s clubs. They had much shorter life spans than the Assiniboia Club, but all have vanished from the province. In the final analysis the CPR, farming and the provincial seat of government could not provide sufficient financial opportunity to sustain the Assiniboia Club.

The history of the Assiniboia Club is summarized by Dorothy Sherick at the end of her book on the club:

Through the hardships and sacrifices of pioneer times in the North West Territories, Two World Wars, dust storms and the deep depression days of the 30’s on the prairies, the Assiniboia Club has remained a bulwark and a refuge for its members.

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905 Greer, The Assiniboia Club, 17.
906 “Brilliant Ball Opens New Assiniboia Club”. The Leader, (October 4, 1912), 9.
Mr. Greer ended his short piece on the Assiniboia Club with the following summary and opinion:

So ended the first thirty years of the Assiniboia Club, a club where gentlemen were able to discuss and develop their business in the friendly confines of a preserve for the important ones among Regina’s citizens. And it was these gentlemen that decided who should be important with them and who should not; certainly a neat scheme to maintain and enhance social status.907

His summary captures the two salient aspects of the phenomena of gentlemen’s clubs: which they are an organized effort to provide an environment where individuals of like mind and background can relax in camaraderie, a laudable undertaking when explained from that perspective. The other side of that equation, however, is the fact that the gentlemen’s club is also organized in an undemocratic manner to keep others out, and by doing so to impact negatively on their opportunity for financial and social advancement.

The Assiniboia Club succumbed to the changing times that also spelled the doom for the Denver Club.908 The next two clubs to be studied, The Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary and the Union Club of Victoria, British Columbia., are still in operation today.

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907 Greer, The Assiniboia Club, 17.
908 Both of these clubs closed their doors because of several developments that had reduced their revenues to unsustainable levels: the multiple demands on younger professionals’ leisure time, the competition from other organizations such as country clubs and athletic clubs that also catered to the elites, the movement of the wealthy class away from the downtown where the Denver Club and Assiniboia Club were located.
8.1 Introduction

Calgary and the province of Alberta were both established because of the Canadian government’s land policy toward Western Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR), and the economic situation in England which encouraged overseas investment. The Ranchmen’s Club was organized by the large ranchers, many of them English, who came to Alberta because the geography and climate of the region was ideal for raising cattle, the Indian problem was under control, and the Canadian Pacific Railroad provided the means of transporting their cattle to markets back east and across the Atlantic. The “Beef Bonanza” in Alberta began with the arrival of the CPR in Calgary and lasted until the turn of the century. This is the story of how beef and the British molded the financial and cultural environment of Southern Alberta.

8.2 Early History Of Alberta

Ranching on a large scale could not begin in Alberta until after the native nomadic tribes of the prairies were subdued and placed on reservations. That could not happen until the foundation of their society was destroyed: the buffalo. The Métis were the instrument used in the destruction of the buffalo. They and the Indians were the reasons why the Mounties came to the confluence of the Bow and Elbow rivers, the future site of Calgary. A people who were the product of the union of a Frenchman and native woman, the Métis were a relatively new Creole culture in Canada. They began almost as soon as the French arrived with Champlain. “By
1899 fur traders, although still intermarrying with full-blood women, were more frequently marrying the mixed-blood daughters of the fur trade marriages.\footnote{\textcopyright Joseph Kinsey Howard, \textit{Strange Empire} (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1952), xvi.}

At first the Métis were grudgingly respected by the men of the Hudson’s Bay Company as the \textit{Voyageurs du Nord}. They and their cousins, the French Canadians, were the manpower behind the North West Company that paddled the large freight canoes with over a thousand pounds of beaver furs from the lake country beyond the Great Lakes, through the Great Lakes all the way to Montréal. After the Little Company, as the North West Company was called, was absorbed by the Bay Company, the fortunes of the Métis became depressed. Their services were not as much in demand. As the Métis were pushed or moved further and further to the west in their noisy ox carts by English settlement and prejudice against their Creole origin, they developed a new industry: the production of pemmican.

Pemmican is made from dried buffalo mixed with tallow or buffalo fat. Pemmican was the primary diet of the \textit{Voyageurs} and Bay men who paddled the large freight canoes full of beaver hides on the Canadian rivers and lakes to Montreal for shipment to England. Pemmican was also the food of choice of the Métis ox cart handlers who transported goods up the Whoop Up trail and throughout Western Canada. Pemmican and buffalo hides became the Métis’ industry on the prairies of Western Canada. The Métis developed an intricate system of mass hunts for buffalo to be turned into pemmican. “The system of mass hunts started in 1820 and continued as long as the buffalo lasted, but was at its peak in the decade of 1840 to 1850.”\footnote{Ibid., 300.} They continued until the buffalo were gone in the early 1870s. At first, the hunts launched out from the region around Fort Garry on the Red River, until the Métis were pushed further west into Assiniboia. The Métis’ community settled along the shore of the South Saskatchewan in the early 1870s. By the 1880s, the English settlements were beginning to encroach on the Métis on the Saskatchewan and Louis Riel, their leader, was encouraging revolt. Ottawa sent out a force of Royal North West Mounted Police to confront the rebellion. The Northwest Field
Force was under command of Major General Frederick D. Middleton. Louis Riel was captured and brought up on charges of treason and tried in Regina, North-West Territories, on July 28, 1885.

After Riel's trial, conviction and execution, the small army that was the Northwest Field Force was ordered back east. However, many of the men decided to resign and stay, or come back to the North-West-Territories or Alberta. The first settlement on the Elbow and Bow Rivers, at the site of present-day Calgary, was a North West Mounted Police fort which was built to help eliminate the American Whiskey Traders' sale of whiskey and repeating rifles to the Blackfeet, Sarcees, and other tribes. The establishment of Fort Calgary was the direct result of "an order-in-Council passed in Ottawa on April 10, 1875." Fort Calgary was built by F Troop, which was led by Colonel Macleod. The troops left Fort Macleod and arrived at the site of Fort Calgary in late August 1875 and by early October the construction of the fort was well underway. According to the Sun River Sun of Montana, "The police fort is being constructed on that river [Elbow], almost 100 miles west of this point [Fort Macleod]. If built according to plan it will be the finest point in the Northwest." The fort was built in time for a Christmas dinner, hosted by the non-commissioned officers of F Troop. The men of F Troop and the few civilians in the area enjoyed a meal that included such luxuries as oyster soup, nuts, candy and raisins purchased from Ed McPherson's trading post on Sheep Creek. Besides these delicacies the meal also included trout, venison, prairie chicken, and buffalo.

Several of the members of the North West Mounted Police were natives of England. Many who served in the North West Mounted Police resigned from or retired and remained in western Canada and became ranchers or businessmen. One example is George Clift King who was born in Chelmsford, England in 1848. He migrated to Canada and joined the North West

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912 Ibid., 26.
913 Sun River Sun, Sun River, Montana (October 2, 1875).
914 McLennan, Where the Elbow Meets the Bow, 31.
Mounted Police in Toronto in 1874. He came out west as a member of F Troop which built Fort Calgary. After helping to build the Fort and serving there for two years, he became a manager of the I. G. Baker trading store, which had provided many of the materials to build the Fort. Before coming to Canada, G. C. King had worked in a store in England, which undoubtedly stood in his favor in being hired by the I. G. Baker Company. He worked for a year for I. G. Baker, then joined the “Hudson’s Bay Co, where he remained for one year.”

He became a partner with J. Ellis in a saloon and restaurant known as the “Far West Billiard Hall and Restaurant”

King had several business ventures as one of the founders of Calgary. In 1883 he opened a trading post, then moved to larger quarters twice by 1885. He also became postmaster, running the post office as well as his store. “From 1886-87 Mr. King served as the second mayor of the incorporated city of Calgary.”

King’s career mirrored the growth of Calgary from a small frontier hamlet to a thriving city with the coming of the cattle industry and the CPR


G. C. King was also a member of the Alberta

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916 Calgary Herald October 15, 1883. Glenbow Museum Archives.
917 Kelly, “Biography of G.C. King,” 5. See also: Calgary Alberta, Her Industries and Resources. Compiled and Edited by Burns & Elliott, Calgary, Alberta N.W.T., March 1885. Reprinted by the Glenbow Museum 1974, 51. “This extensive firm dates back to July, 1883 . . . They have carried at one time as much as $50,000 in stock, consisting of general merchandize. Their chief trade is with the ranches, though they have a large local trade. The business here is managed by Mr. G. C. King who has eleven years in the district. Mr. King is an attentive business man and his firm is recognized as the leading house in town. Their large and excellent stock of goods fully attests the first-class character of their trade.”
918 Ibid.
Pioneers.\textsuperscript{919} There is no record of whether G. C. King became a member of the Ranchmen's Club. His time as mayor was prior to the establishment of the club. But G. C. King is indicative of the English immigrants who came to Alberta and chose commerce in Calgary rather than ranching.

In addition to the few settlers and traders in the Bow and Elbow River area before the construction on Fort Calgary, there was Father Doucet’s Our Lady of Peace Mission. In 1873 the Methodist missionaries, the McDougalls, began a mission and ranch close to the site of Fort Calgary, which would be built two years later. The I. G. Baker Company had begun a cattle ranch operation south of Calgary, around Fort Macleod. The presence of Mounted Police at Fort Calgary provided an additional market for the I. G. Baker cattle. Not only did the I. G. Baker Company build Fort Calgary, some of the company’s employees also constructed a store to sell to the soldiers, the few settlers and the Indians in the area. Such was the slow beginning of Calgary.

John McDougall built a log chapel a short distance west of the fort and the Hudson’s Bay Company located just east of the Elbow River. In order to stock its new store, the company used Red River carts to transport the goods from Edmonton to Fort Calgary. “In doing so it inaugurated the Calgary-Edmonton cart trail.”\textsuperscript{920} By 1876 Fort Calgary was surrounded by a small but active village. However, the little community was slow to grow until the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1883. A few more ranchers moved into the area. “By 1881 when Crowfoot [Blackfoot Chief] returned to his reserve fifty miles downstream, Calgary’s population was only seventy-five.”\textsuperscript{921}

\textsuperscript{919} The G. C. King Family, Manuscript. G. C. King Fonds. D120.K52. Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, Alberta. 3. It should be noted regarding the Sons of England Lodges that the White Rose and Red Rose branches were well attended by residents of Calgary, which reflected both the pride of the English members in their homeland, and also the large numbers of Englishmen who helped to found the community.

\textsuperscript{920} James G. MacGregor, \textit{A History of Alberta} (Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers, 1972), 121

\textsuperscript{921} Ibid. 122.
8.3 Arrival Of The CPR And The Large Cattle Ranches

According to the 1881 census, all of Alberta included only fifteen hundred white men, including Métis. There were thousands of Indians of various tribes in the region. There were 263 whites in Edmonton, and the Lac Ste Anne and Fort Saskatchewan area included 766 more. “At or adjacent to Fort Calgary lived another hundred or so, while those in and around Fort Macleod probably added up to five hundred.”922 Calgary, the small hamlet of approximately 100, was about to see significant growth. The “center of gravity of the prairies’ population was slipping” from Edmonton toward Calgary because of the coming of the CPR.923 The coming of the railroad meant that the ranchers who were slowly moving into the area around Calgary would have a larger market for their beef in the towns and cities to the east.

The CPR brought townspeople and settlers to Calgary. The arrival of the CPR to Calgary in 1881 ushered in the era of the big ranch industry in Alberta. “The railway was Calgary’s opportunity. It opened to the rancher the prospect of a more than local market.”924 Four large ranches were established that had a powerful political and cultural sway in the development of Calgary and southern Alberta. The Cochrane Ranche, North-West Cattle Company (Bar U), Walrond Ranche Company, and Oxley Ranche were only a few of the large ranches that were owned by British interests, often managed by Englishmen which had an impact on the culture of Calgary much greater than their numbers, due to their financial and thus political power.

The Canadian government also provided a healthy medium for the large ranches to grow. “In 1881 the Government of Canada passed an Order-In-Council which allowed one individual, or ranch company, to lease up to 100,000 acres for the rent of one cent, per acre, per

922 Ibid., 127.
923 Ibid., 129.
year." Also in 1881 the Governor General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne, toured Alberta. His trip gave considerable publicity to the economic potential of Alberta to his fellow Canadians, and also to investors, immigrants, and second sons in Britain. The Marquis was quoted as saying: "If I were not Governor General of Canada, I would be a cattle rancher in Alberta." Lorne’s promotion of southern Alberta for the cattle business was echoed throughout England by others. “A number of correspondents from Canadian and British newspapers accompanied the tour, and sent back glowing reports to their readers of the manifold resources and opportunities to be found on the Canadian range.” News of Alberta’s potential for exploitation reached Scotland as well. Dr. James McGregor, a correspondent for the Scotsman’s wrote:

A glance at the map will show that this is a well watered country, numerous creeks and streams – some of them, like the Little Bow and Old Man’s River being of very considerable size -- flowing clear and ice cold eastward from the Rocky Mountains . . . the best land seems to be along what are known as the Foot Hills at the base of the mountains, and along the banks of the principal streams, there is no portion of it that is not more or less good for stock raising.

So favourable are the conditions, climatic and otherwise, of the country we have now traversed that men hereabout speak of it as “God’s country.” Reports like these caused a flood of pounds sterling and enterprising immigrants to descend on Calgary and the foothills of southern Alberta. Once the railroad arrived in Calgary the territory began to boom. “In 1881 there were some nine thousand head of cattle in the North-West Territories, comprising a few herds around Fort Macleod, Pincher Creek, High River and Calgary.” Because of the coming of the railroad and the Order-In-Council allowing leasing of the land for a penny an acre, “the next year there were 154 applications for leases, 75 of which

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928 Brado, Cattle Kingdom, 48.
929 Ibid.
were authorized by Dominion government and which covered four million acres.\footnote{Ibid., 49. See also: Alan B. McCullough, \textit{Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business: Cross-border Perspectives on Ranching History}, Dimon M. Evans, Carah Carter and Bill Yeo ed. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 33. which stated: “In 1880-81 Cochrane persuaded the Canadian government to establish a system of grazing leases in western Canada which were designed to lure large scale investment in ranching.” See also: National Archives, RG15, Vol. 1209, File 142709, Part I, Cochrane to Macdonald, 17 December 1880; ibid., Cochrane to Minister of the Interior, 10 February 1881. See also: Sheilagh S. Jameson, “The Social Elite of the Ranch Community and Calgary” in \textit{Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region, 1875-1914}. (Calgary: University of Calgary. 1976), 57.}

8.4 The Cochrane Ranche: The First Of The Large Corporate Ranches

Matthew Henry Cochrane was not the first rancher in southern Alberta, but he was the first to establish a really large ranch. He had done his research and had traveled extensively in the North-West Territories before deciding on the land he wanted for his ranch. Cochrane’s father, born in Northern Ireland, had immigrated to Compton County, Quebec, where Matthew was born in 1854. Matthew worked in several fields before he became a rancher. In 1849 he married Cynthia Maria Whitney. Over the years they raised nine children. There were three boys and six girls. All of his boys - James, Williams and Ernest – followed in their father’s footsteps and entered the ranching business. In 1868 Matthew entered business with Charles Cassils and they formed a company that grew to employ three hundred workers and generate annual profits of $500,000. Along the way he made the acquaintance of the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, and members of his conservative government. Though Cochrane was not politically active, that did not stop Macdonald from appointing him Senator in 1872.

Before he was appointed Senator Matthew Cochrane entered the cattle business. He began to import pure-bred shorthorn cattle from Britain as the value of those cattle began to rise. He bred his shorthorns and sold them back on the British market just before the market began to fade. Cochrane began to consider developing a large ranch in western Canada at that time. He joined forces with Dr. Duncan McEachran on Montreal and James Walker of Ontario. McEachran helped to organize the Cochrane Ranche, while Walker became the ranch
Cochrane and his ranch managers had considerable bad luck the first two years in the life of the ranch. This bad luck was exacerbated by poor decisions by both the managers in Alberta and the directors back in Montreal. For example, when a large herd arrived late in the season, James Walker, resident manager, made the decision to hair brand the cattle, which means simply cutting the hair to form the brand. By the time spring came, the hair brands had grown out and all the Cochrane cattle and their calves were unbranded. In the spring one of the directors, “McEachran[,] sent Walker explicit orders to round up every unbranded animal he could find on the range and mark it with the Cochrane brand.” In order to carry out his orders, Walker was forced to hire extra help. “The extra help were other ranchers and settlers in the area who took offense at the Cochrane high handed action. Many of the small ranchers quit working for Cochrane in order to go back to their spreads to protect their cattle and to look for Cochrane cattle in the territory that they were more familiar with than Cochrane’s cowboys, many of whom had come up from Montana.” In this way Cochrane not only lost many cattle but also sowed ill-will among his neighbors.

The Cochrane Ranche Company continued to purchase large herds of cattle just before the disastrous winter of 1883. Senator Cochrane was not willing to give up his plans to create a profitable cattle business in Alberta, but poor decisions and bad luck continued to plague his efforts. One of his more successful ventures was his development of a horse ranch which operated under the name of the British American Horse Ranch Company. Senator Cochrane sent A. E. Cross to be his bookkeeper and veterinarian. Later A. E. Cross would become a business leader in Calgary and one of the founders of the Ranchmen’s Club.

Matthew Cochrane and his sons developed some innovations with their ranches. They introduced fencing on their range because of the negative impacts of the scrub bulls that small
ranchers and farmers introduced on the range. These poor-grade bulls would breed with the Cochrane pure-bred cows which would produce a poorer grade calf. Cochrane sought to eliminate that problem with a 25-mile-long fence. However, Cochrane’s fence did not last very long on the “free range”. When cowboys working for other outfits, or even for the Cochrane Ranche, saw the fence they would make a hole in it until it became useless; the fence posts, however, were put to good use for cook fires.

Senator Cochrane then tried to develop a sheep operation. Cochrane imported several thousand head from Montana, many of which were lost along the trail to predators, but even more to river crossings. Cochrane then imported from England 200 pure-bred lambs, which arrived in Calgary by train. This was the beginning of the British American [sheep] Ranche. The sheep stood up well to the winter of 1884. But in April 1885 bad luck hit Cochrane again. A snow storm that spring, which was followed by a prairie fire, resulted in considerable losses. These setbacks coupled with a drop in wool prices because of the success of the Australian wool market, retarded the prospect for a successful long-term sheep operation in Alberta.

The problems with the Cochrane Ranche continued into the 1890s. Tensions rose between the ranch managers and the directors. James Walker was finally replaced as manager by William G. Cochrane, the Senator’s son. Then William Kerfoot, who was named manager of the British American Ranche in 1884, was dismissed. Mormons “became involved with the Cochrane Ranche in the 1890s when William Cochrane contracted with them to put up his hay.”

Senator Cochrane died in 1903, and with him died the driving force that had sustained the Cochrane ranching enterprise. William Cochrane moved back to Quebec and within a couple of years the Mormons had purchased the entire Cochrane Ranche without the cattle, which were purchased by other local ranchers. The Cochrane family retained the mineral rights

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934 Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 78. See also: *Calgary, Alberta, Her Industries & Resources*, (Compiled and Edited by Burns & Elliott, March 1885, reprinted 1974 Glenbow Museum), 72-73. W.G. Cochrane “Thoroughly identified with the rise and progress, and especially the manufacturing industry, of Calgary. . . [he] was the first Chairman of the Civic Committee.” Brado, *Cattle Kingdom*, 78.
to the land, and in 1908 became even wealthier because of the oil discovered on the Cochrane range.

8.5 The Oxley Ranch

Alexander Staveley Hill, a member of the British House of Commons and an attorney, was approached by Canadian rancher John R. Craig, also with several other potential investors, to enter into an agreement to finance a ranching enterprise in southern Alberta. That was the beginning of the Oxley Ranch, but the genesis of Craig’s idea developed slowly over several years of preparation. “John Craig was one of the first Canadians to exhibit at leading livestock shows in the United States, beginning in St. Louis in 1871. He was also secretary of the Arts and Agricultural Association of Ontario, and one of the group which founded the Toronto Exhibition, forerunner of the Canadian National Exhibition.”935 His farming and breeding experience in Eastern Canada prepared him for the development of his dream ranch in Western Alberta. With the backing of Alexander Staveley Hill and several other subscribers such as the Earl of Lathom, Craig put up $500,000 in 1881 and secured a lease for 100,000 acres in Southern Alberta.936

Craig made the hard journey to the leased land before the railroad reached Calgary. When he arrived, he was disappointed to discover that the lease was far up in the foothills of the Rockies, too far up to be a successful cattle ranch. When Hill joined Craig, he became determined to ranch further down in the valley. Hill and Craig took their chances and took “possession of the valley bottom around the Leavings on Willow Creek, about one thousand acres, and trust to the chance of obtaining a lease from the government of the surrounding land, or if it was already granted, of buying out the leaseholders.”937 The leases on all 80,000 acres were eventually purchased by Hill from two holders.938 The first 3,500 head of cattle were

935 Brado, Cattle Kingdom, 82.
936 Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 26.
937 Brado, Cattle Kingdom, 85.
938 Ibid., 87.
purchased by Hill and Craig in Montana near Dupuyer Creek for $115,000.\textsuperscript{939} The cattle were then driven to the Oxley Ranch on Willow Creek, arriving on August 1, 1883. The OX brand was used to identify the Oxley cattle. Before leaving for England, Hill directed Craig where he wanted buildings for the ranch to be placed.

After Hill arrived in England, the troubles between himself and Craig began. Hill reorganized the syndicate and secured new backers. The syndicate was incorporated into a limited company with additional capital. However, when Craig requested funds to pay for additional cattle that he had purchased, no money was forthcoming. Craig therefore had to take out loans to pay for the cattle himself. This was the beginning of Craig’s problems because Staveley Hill did everything within his power not to abide by his responsibility to keep his word to Craig and provide the money for the cattle. Craig had great difficulty managing the ranch and pleasing its owners at the same time. “The spring of 1884 brought fine weather and a letter from Staveley Hill in London directing Craig to increase the herd by an immediate purchase of breeding stock.”\textsuperscript{940} Hill wanted Craig to purchase the cattle on credit. This request for other ranchers to sell cattle on credit to the Oxley Ranch was against all custom on the range. Craig did the best he could and purchased the cattle with 8 percent interest. Hill refused to pay the interest, so the cattle were impounded by a Montana sheriff acting for the original owners. Craig got the cattle freed and moved to the Oxley Ranch. However, when Hill arrived at the ranch he refused to pay the cowboys who had herded the cattle up from Montana until he was able to secure a loan from their bookkeeper, Mr. Black, to pay the cowboys. “However, claims by other creditors remained outstanding, but Hill repeatedly assured Craig that he would arrange for funds on his way home.”\textsuperscript{941}

\textsuperscript{940} Brado, \textit{Cattle Kingdom}, 93. See also: John R. Craig, \textit{Ranching with Lords and Commons} (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912).
\textsuperscript{941} Ibid., 94. Even though Hill’s professional behavior was reprehensible, Craig’s reputation with “the business and ranching community around Fort Macleod continued to express confidence in John Craig personally. Indeed, a petition was circulated asking Craig to accept the nomination as representative of
Both Hill and Lathom were never at a loss of accusations and criticism against their ranch manager for any number of reasons. However, the root of the problem was Staveley Hill and his duplicitous behavior regarding the finances of the Oxley Ranche. “After his stormy relations with the company were severed John Craig published a book, *Ranching with Lords and Commons*, which in effect is a plaintive description of the tribulations of managing a ranch for the British aristocracy.”

In 1886 the Oxley Ranche was reorganized and given the name: the New Oxley Ranche Company, with a new manager, Hill’s nephew, Stanley Pinborne. Pinborne’s lot was even worse than Craig’s, because he ended his relationship with Hill and the New Oxley Ranche Company in 1892 by committing suicide. The ranch was then managed between 1892 and 1903 by Arthur Springett. Springett was an early member of the Ranchmen’s Club. Springett’s name was on the rolls of the Ranchmen’s Club in 1896 for payment of bonds which retired the Club’s debt to the Bank of Montreal. Springett’s name appears on the same list as the Cochrane Ranche’s William Edward Cochrane, who was on the list as contributing $100 for a bond. In 1903 the ranch was eventually sold to William Roper Hull, a major figure in Calgary’s ranching history and member for many years of the Ranchmen’s Club. So, the Oxley Ranche, like the Cochrane Ranche, was associated with the Ranchmen’s Club.

8.6 The North West Cattle Company Or Bar U

The name Fred Stimson will always be associated with the North West Cattle Company and the brand that he developed for that ranch, the Bar U. “While the Cochrane and Oxley Ranches staggered from crisis to crisis, another large ranching venture got underway—one which developed far more smoothly, managing always to land on its feet, no matter what the

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the Macleod district in the territorial council in Regina.” p. 96. See also: Craig, John R. *Ranching with Lords and Commons*. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912).


Ibid., 26.
situation, and which gained great fame in Canada and abroad. Fred Stimson was originally from eastern Canada. He became a successful farmer and breeder in Compton, Quebec in the 1870s. He was drawn to the Canadian West by the opportunities to lease land cheaply and by his family’s connections with Matthew Cochrane in Compton County, Quebec.

By the early 1880s, “the transatlantic trade in live cattle between Quebec, Ontario and Great Britain had grown into a multi-million dollar business over the space of a few years.” Fred’s older brother Charles was making a good living as a merchant and manufacturer in Montreal, home of the St. James’s Club. “Rumors of returns of 20 to 30 percent from some newly formed cattle companies found their way into the St. James’s Club . . . and were repeated on the farms and estates of the Eastern Townships.” Fred Stimson must have heard those rumors because in June 1881 an article in the *Canada Gazette* cited the members of the Rocky Mountain Stock Company, including Frederick Smith Stimson. Shortly thereafter Stimson was bound for the North-West Territories. When he returned with glowing reports of the opportunities in Southern Alberta for profits from cattle ranching on inexpensive leases, he found that some of his partners had developed other plans. He therefore formed a new partnership called the High River Stock Company with $200,000 in capital. This partnership morphed into the North West Cattle Company as small members dropped out and their shares were purchased by the original larger share holders.

The North West Cattle Company or Bar U grew successful under Stimson’s management with the acquisition of additional ranch land and cattle. In 1882, Stimson decided to establish the ranch headquarters on the middle fork of the Highwood River in the approximate center of one of the North West Cattle Company’s leases. Over the next 17 years

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945 Ibid., 17.
946 Ibid., 17.
947 *Canadian Gazette* (June 11, 1881).
the buildings increased on the ranch headquarters. “The process of building and improving existing structures went on more or less continuously...[w]hen men were not totally involved in stock-rearing activities they were kept busy with construction.”949 The headquarters was improved significantly when a two-story log house was built for the ranch manager and his family. In 1885, George Lane became the ranch foreman and married Elizabeth Sexsmith on Christmas Eve. In October, 1886, the ranch received a visit by the NWMP accompanied by a young British tourist, J. L. Douglas, who recorded his observations of the ranch:

We breakfasted again on bacon (sourbelly as they politely termed it) and started soon afterwards for Stinson’s [sic] ranch about 25 miles away up the forks of High River and close to the foothills of the Rockies. It was a very pretty drive as the country around is more varied and hilly, and we got there about 12 o’clock and had dinner with Mr. Stinson. A girl called Bowen lives with Mr. and Mrs. Stinson, and the ranch really looks like a “home” which is more than can be said of any of the others I have seen at present; there are nice comfortable chairs, picture, curtains, etc. so it looks very well.”950

George Lane was an American, born in Boonville, Indiana, in 1856. He served in the U.S. Army as dispatch rider for General Miles during the Indian Wars against Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. Some time after that campaign Lane left the army and “served a seven-year apprenticeship on some of the best –run ranches in Montana.”951 Lane moved to Canada because he could see that the Wyoming and Montana ranges were becoming overstocked. In 1882 Lane drove a herd of cattle from Sun River, Montana, up to the Belly River in Canada. While Lane was in Canada he scouted the area and liked what he saw. “In the spring of 1884, Senator Cochrane and Sir Andrew Allan wrote to the Sun River Stock Association of Montana asking for help in finding experienced stockmen to serve as foremen on their newly established ranches.”Ibid.952 The president of the association told lane about the jobs. Lane went north and took the foreman’s position for Stimson at the Bar U.

949 Ibid., 69.
950 Ibid.
951 Ibid.,114.
952 Ibid.
It was while Lane was foreman for Stimson that he met Henry Longabaugh, better known as the Sundance Kid. Longabaugh was hiding out in Canada from an arrest warrant in Wyoming. Longabaugh joined the Bar U where a friend, Ebb Johnson was working. Longabaugh left the Bar U in the winter of 1891 for Calgary where he became partners in the Grand Central Hotel operation. Longabaugh left Canada the following year and began his career of bank and train robberies with the Hole in the Wall Gang. By then, Lane had also left the Bar U. He began buying and selling cattle and slowly built up a sizeable bank roll. He entered into a partnership with three wealthier men and together they purchased the Bar U from the English investors, Sir Richard Allan and his brother in 1902. Lane continued to build the Bar U by expanding the hay operation to provide winter feed for the cattle and horses on the ranch which consisted of two large leases and several thousand acres where the cattle grazed. “The company proceeded to buy out the small ranchers who had squatted or homesteaded along the [Bow] river, and absorbed their small lots of cattle.”

Lane entered the disastrous winter of 1906-07 with a very successful open range cattle operation. Lane, like several other ranchers were forced by the cattle losses of that winter to scale back to smaller more manageable operations. Wallace Stegner summarized the impacts of the terrible winter in his book Wolf Willow:

The net effect of the winter of 1906-07 was to make stock farmers out of ranchers. Almost as suddenly as the disappearance of the buffalo, it changed the way of life of a region.

George Lane survived the winter of 1906-07 and adjusted his cattle operations to match the changing times, as settlers moved into the range land and secured land from the federal government. Lane continued to run a successful cattle operation. In 1912 he was approached by Guy Weadick, a vaudeville performer and rodeo impresario, with the idea to create a huge rodeo and wild west show in Calgary. Lane, being a cowboy himself, liked the idea and

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953 Ibid.
approached his friends A. E. Cross, Pat Burns and A. J. McLean, the manager of the Calgary Exhibition grounds, to back the idea with their resources and the exhibition facility. They struck a deal and the Calgary Stampede was born. The balance of this story is told at the end of the chapter.

George Lane’s career rising from a cowboy to become the owner of one of the four largest ranches in Alberta is the stuff of legend. He mixed with the British gentlemen ranchers as easily as he did with the cowboys who worked on his ranch, treating both groups with respect and expecting the same in return. He purchased the Bar U from its British owners and continued to grow the ranch as a cow-calf operation after the winter of 1906. His story is the reverse of the majority of stories about the British influence in the American and Canadian West in which it was British, Scottish and Irish investors who were purchasing the ranches from Americans and Canadians. By the end of the 1880s below the Medicine Line and the second decade on the 1900s above the line many British investors were getting out of the American and Canadian cattle business. Lane was able to purchase the Bar U at the beginning of that cycle in Canada. British investors had begun selling their holdings in American ranches over a decade earlier following the Blizzard of 1887.

8.7 The Walrond Cattle Ranch Ltd.

The Walrond Cattle Ranch was founded in 1883 by Duncan MacNab McEachran of Montreal. This is “the fourth of the big four ranches of the western cattle barons era . . . which locally came to be called the Waldron [Ranch].”\footnote{Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 27.} McEachran came to the North-West Territories in the employ of William Cochrane as his veterinary surgeon. He was one of the original shareholders of the Cochrane Ranche. The Walrond Cattle Ranch Ltd., backed principally by Sir John Walrond of England, grew to over 300,000 acres.\footnote{New Walrond Ranche Company Ltd. Fonds 1883-1957. M. 8688, M 246. Vol. 1 Glenbow Museum Library and Archives. Calgary.} McEachran managed the ranch with “marked success.” He imported purebreds from England, bred
them in Alberta with quality stock and shipped the resulting steers back to the English markets. McEachran’s first local cattle were purchased in Montana and a herd of over 3,000 head was driven to the Oldman River ranch location in 1883. McEachran adopted the “Running W R” brand. “The Walrond operated with a marked success. . . . [T]he death of Sir John Walrond in 1889 and a reorganization of the company in 1897 were changes which did not seem to affect adversely the overall operation of the ranch.” But the ranch did have significant problems with squatters or settlers in the 1890’s, and the terrible winter of 1906-1907 forced the ranch to be leased to W.R. Hull and later sold to Pat Burns in 1908.

The Walrond is the last of the “Big Four” ranches which were so influential in Alberta in the twenty years before the turn of the century. There were several other ranches whose owners and managers who were influential in the growth of Calgary and the Ranchmen’s Club. The Power River Cattle Company, owned by Moreton Frewen, purchased a lease in the North West Territories, to the original displeasure of several of his neighbors, as already noted. D. H. Andrews became the manager of the Powder River Cattle Company and one of the founding members of the Western Stock Growers Association and the Ranchmen’s Club.

8.8 The Canadian Agricultural Coal And Colonization Company

The Canadian Agricultural Coal and Colonization Company began as a part of the Canadian Pacific Railroad’s plan to populate the western territory with farmers. A dry spell which inhibited farming convinced the backers of the original plan that it was a failure. At the same time Sir John Lister-Kaye in England was already “operating a large farm at Balgonie in the Qu’ Appelle Valley area but he envisaged a much more grandiose venture and persuaded the government and the CPR to provide, at very reasonable rates, a series of blocks of land 10,000 acres in size located at intervals along the CPR line west of Swift Current.” This was

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957 Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 27.
958 Ibid.,27.
959 New Walrond Ranche Company Ltd. Fonds. M8688. Glenbow Museum Library and Archives, Calgary. Note both Pat Burns and W.R. Hull were important members of the Ranchmen’s Club.
960 Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 32.
the beginning of the Canadian Agricultural Coal and Colonization Company which stretched from the CPR line west of Swift Current to Langdon, just twenty miles from Calgary. Lister-Kaye purchased almost 6,000 head of cattle from the Powder River Cattle Company, with its 76 brand. Not only was Sir Lister-Kaye the manager of the Canadian Agricultural Coal and Colonization Company, he was also the president of the Calgary Board of Trade and an active member of the Ranchmen’s Club.

Sir Lister-Kaye was a visionary, but not all of his schemes were successful. For instance, he tried to save his wheat crop during the drought of 1889 by shipping water onto his farm in barrels. The amount of water shipped was extremely costly, but it was insufficient to overcome the impact of the drought and the wheat crop was lost at terrible additional cost. On another occasion, he tried to establish a dairy business which was supposed to supply milk and cheese, based on milking the wild cows on the 76 range that he had purchased. However, the wild cattle could not be milked, even if the cowboys in Sir Lister-Kaye’s employ were willing to do so, which they were not. Because of drought, followed by a severe hail storm which killed the wheat crop, depressed cattle prices, a massive prairie fire, the influx of settlers and several money losing schemes by Sir Lister-Kaye in 1890, the stock holders of the Canadian Agricultural Coal and Colonization Company forced him to resign. The board of directors then adopted policies which resulted in a consolidation of the various far-ranging economic ranching and farming ventures that Sir Lister-Kaye had established. Sir Lister-Kaye was replaced by D. H. Andrews, from the Powder River Company, as manager of the new “Canada Land and Ranche Company,” or the 76 Ranch as the operation was still called.\textsuperscript{961}

\textsuperscript{961} Jameson, p. 33. See also: \textit{A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club}, 1. which states that D. H. Andrews was one of the founding members of the Club. See also: \textit{Officers, Members Constitution and Rules of the Ranchmen’s Club of the City of Calgary}, 1913 (Calgary: McAra Presses, 1913), 10, which lists D. H. Andrews as vice-president of the Club between 1900 and 1903.
8.9 The Canadian North-West Territories Stock Association

“To men like Cochrane, Stimpson [sic] and McEachran, the ranches were both a business and the extension of their eastern farms and estates.” The resident owners and managers of the “Big Four” ranches –The Cochrane Ranch, The Oxley, The North-West Cattle Company (Bar U) and the Walrond Ranch Company– had a profound effect on not only the cattle business in Alberta, but also Ottawa’s governmental politics through their individual efforts and the combined efforts of their stock associations. As long as they were the undisputed power on the cattle range they had no need of organization. But as their leases began to be infringed upon by settlers (who squatted on the large leases either as speculators, hoping to be bought out, or as small farmers hoping to become cattle ranchers by stealing unbranded calves from the large lease holders) the large owners were forced by circumstances to organize. The large stock growers did not band together because of their isolation. They organized because of the intrusion into their realm by settlers. This logic is captured by David H. Breen, a renowned expert on this region and era in Canadian history:

Unlike the western farmer, the [Canadian] stock grower did not seek co-operative effort to remedy the wants growing out of isolation such as roads, schools, social amenities, and increased land values. His motivation towards organization came not because of isolation, but because that isolation was threatened. In this sense his organization is unique in the western experience. His problems tended to increase as the number of ranchers and later of farmers increased. Settlement was a potential threat to his range and his rewards were potentially greatest when his isolation was most complete.

The ranchers of Southwestern Alberta developed stock growers organizations that were similar to the stock growers organizations below the Medicine Line. Specifically, they patterned their associations on the Montana model and the Wyoming Stock-Growers Association. The precursor of the North-West Stock Association was the Pincher Creek Stock Association formed in 1882. However, it represented too small an area to provide the needed security for the larger

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Rasporich, Frontier Calgary, 36.
cattle ranchers. Therefore a group of cattlemen gathered in the spring of 1883 with Joseph McFarland as the first president and Frederick S. Stimson of the Bar U as one of the vice-presidents. This group became the South-Western Stock Association. It was organized so that it was divided into five main districts to protect much of the territory of southern Alberta, “with representation from local stock associations to be established in each of the main ranching districts – Pincher Creek, Kootenai, Kipp, Willow Creek, and High River.”

Its slate of officers in 1885 reveals that the South-Western Stock Association represented more of the larger ranches than did the Pincher Creek Stock Association. The Oxley Ranche’s John R. Craig was elected president, with the two vice-presidents representing the North-West Cattle Company and the Winder Ranch Company. William R. Cochrane and J. Dunlap, also of the Cochrane Ranche Company, were prominent members. This was a larger association than the Pincher Creek Association. Even though it more clearly represented the interests of the larger ranchers, it still was not large enough to cover all of the ranching territory in Alberta. The headquarters, based in Fort Macleod, was too far removed from the northern ranches to adequately represent their interests. This geographic separation between the southern and northern ranchers led to the formation of yet another association, the North-West Stock Association. The members of both associations soon realized that they nevertheless had similar interests, but because their organizations were split neither was as powerful in Ottawa as they could have been as a united association. After the end of the Riel Rebellion in 1885, the Ottawa government became committed to extending settlement into the west. The South-Western Stock Association sent a petition to the government declaring that the foothills area was not suitable for farming. The petition laid out the history of the relationship between the western ranchers and the government, pointing out that the government had encouraged them to take up leases and assume the risk of investing in the cattle business. The petitioners argued that now the government was obligated to protect the ranchers’ large investments in

964 Ibid., 34.
965 Ibid., 35.
land and cattle.

The threat to their investment was felt by ranchers in both northern and southern ranges of Alberta. That was the reason for a meeting of a large number of the ranchers from all over Alberta on March 4, 1886 in Fort Macleod.\textsuperscript{966} There was considerable acrimony between the large ranchers and the small ranchers at this meeting, enough to threaten to derail the effort to consolidate the two associations. The problems were averted when “the manager of the Oxley Ranch, speaking for the large ranchers, proposed that ‘the districts vote on delegates according to the number of cattle owned’”\textsuperscript{967} This resulted, after heated debate, in the formation of the Canadian North-West Territories Stock Association.

One of the first issues that the association faced was the influx of large numbers of American cattle into Southern Alberta. Moreton Frewen’s Powder River Cattle Company of Cheyenne had moved 8,000 head of cattle across the border. Frewen had exerted his influence with the Ottawa government to get his cattle into Canada duty-free. Even though he was a fellow British subject, the large ranchers in the Canadian North-West Territories Stock Association complained to Ottawa that “the Americans had ruined their range and now wanted to crowd into Canada, where they would eventually bring the same unfortunate overgrazing.”\textsuperscript{968}

The powerful efforts of the Canadian North-West Territories Stock Association resulted in a set of strong quarantine regulations against American cattle, in order to prevent a quarantine against Canadian beef coming into England. However, the power of the large cattle interests in the Calgary area was not to last long because settlers were migrating into the North-West Territories and squatting on the large ranchers’ leases. The trespassers petitioned the government to allow their claims to the land to be validated. However, the government was not of a mood yet to side with the squatters, farmers and settlers. The general disposition of the Department of the Interior was that there was plenty of un-leased land in the west for settlers to

\textsuperscript{966} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{967} Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{968} Ibid., 39.
claim, besides land which had already been legitimately leased. The larger ranchers were able
to force many settlers, squatters and obvious small speculators off the ranchers’ leases. In the
1880s this action was a temporary solution. But the problem was only forestalled for a while.
Soon the political winds in Ottawa would change in favor of the settler. Even after the Liberal
government, which was more inclined toward the settlement of the west, the Department of the
Interior was manned by friends of the large cattle rancher. Thus the interests of both the large
ranchers and the settlers and farmers during the 1890s were supported by different segments of
the federal government, which added to the conflicts between these two groups in Alberta.

8.10 Calgary And The Ranchers

The growing community of Calgary found itself in the middle between the large ranching
corporations and the small farmers, but it did not begin that way. Before the 1890s the larger
ranches and their operators held sway over the community, since they were the primary
economic engine for Calgary. Many of the city’s most successful businessmen were also
ranchers, such as A. E. Cross and William Roper Hull, the English rancher and meat packer.
Hull’s meat packing business began in 1883 with a contract to supply beef to the CPR
construction workers; he added his ranching and slaughtering business in Calgary in 1886. Hull
also became an influential member of the Ranchmen’s Club.

Ranchers, both their owners and managers in the “hinterland”, had a unique
relationship with the community of Calgary. “Because of the city’s close association with, and
dependence upon, this hinterland, the flavor of its distinctiveness had become part of Calgary’s
character.” Rasporich, Frontier Calgary, 57.

The foothills west of Calgary, as well as the area to the south, formed prime
ranch land that soon attracted several other large, as well as small, ranch operations.
“Following the lead of the Cochrane Ranche came the Oxley, the North-West Cattle Company
or Bar U, and the Walrond, in quick succession, all financed by wealthy British or eastern
Canadian shareholders.” The resident managers of these large ranches, and sometimes even the owners who lived for a time on their ranches, were often former members of the North West Mounted Police, men who had emigrated from Britain or had migrated from their farms and estates in Montreal or Quebec. They set the standards for the culture that developed in the Calgary region. Their values “developed from an attitude of respect for law and an interest in things cultural; it was far removed from that which is generally associated with settlement of an agricultural frontier and it bore little resemblance to the popular picture of the Wild West.” The society founded by these British and wealthy migrant entrepreneurs from Montreal and Quebec was the “ranch elite.” Whether British immigrants or wealthy Canadian migrants, they had much in common:

They were largely homogeneous in character, their members being mainly of similar educational and cultural backgrounds. It is reasonable to suggest that in general it was the larger companies, greater in monetary power as well as in lease holdings, with their strategic bases in London or Montreal and their reliable Conservative connections with Ottawa, which exerted the stronger political influence. Their economic dominance was without question.

It was these ranchers and ranch managers who became the founding members of the Ranchmen’s Club in Calgary, and who were just as comfortable there as at the St. James Club in Montreal or White’s of London.

Besides the ranchers who became the core of the founding members of the Ranchmen’s Club, there were also townspeople who numbered among the founders. William Cochrane became one of the founding members of the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary. The Cochrane family made up the largest number of members from a single family of the club’s founders with its four members: E. Cochrane, T.B.H. Cochrane, W.E. Cochrane and W.F. Cochrane. The Cochrane Ranche served as an example of the relationship of the ranch

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970 Ibid., 58.
971 Ibid., 59.
972 Ibid., 58.
owners and/or their managers as influential citizens in the community and in the Ranchmen’s Club. “Colonel James Walker, Ontario-born, resigned from the [North West Mounted Police] force to become first manager of the Cochrane Ranche Company and was for many years one of Calgary’s leading citizens.”

Even the Calgary Herald, the first newspaper in that growing community, recognized the unique nature of its citizens:

[It was] a western town, but it is not a western town in the ancient use of the word. It is peopled by native Canadians and English-men . . . citizens who own religion and respect law. The rough and festive cowboy of Texas and Oregon has no counterpart here. [There may be] two or three beardless lads who wear jingling spurs and walk with a slouch . . . [but] the genuine Alberta cowboy is a gentleman.

The several large and the smaller ranches around Calgary all contributed to the cultural environment that was captured by the reporter in the Calgary Herald.

8.11 The Ranchmen’s Club Beginnings

In 1891 Calgary was a growing community because of two factors: the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the ranching industry surrounding Calgary. It was a natural progression that the influential ranchers, many of them with ties to Britain, would eventually organize a social organization, just as they had organized their professional associations — the South-Western Stock Association, the North-West Territories Stock Association and the Canadian North-West Territories Stock Association. Talks begin in 1890 among a group of ranchers to establish a gentlemen’s club. Some say that it “had its beginnings in an empty boxcar in 1890, when local ranchers gathered to partake of a game of cards and soothing nip.” The group that met for

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975 Calgary Herald. 2, 11 (63), Nov. 12, 1884. See also: Calgary Herald. 1,3,5, (April 30, 1884). “. . . we can easily foresee a population of Britain’s best blood following the life of a ranchman.” Calgary Herald, (April 30, 1884).
cards, drinks and conversation named their boxcar and/or their group “The Wolves’ Den.”

The exact relationship between the “Wolves’ Den” or “Wolf Club” and the Ranchmen’s Club is unclear to this day. “It is possible that the Ranchmen’s Club simply absorbed the Wolf organization.”

The name of the club was generally, but not exclusively, reflective of its membership. There were important townspeople who helped form the club and who became members of the club in later years. However the preponderance of the original members were ranchers or their professions were intricately involved in ranching.

Of the original founders, Messrs., Andrews, MacPherson, Lee, Alexander, Samson, Harford and Cross described themselves as ranchers. D. H. Andrews was the manager of the 76 Ranch near Dunmore. He had come to Alberta with the Powder River Cattle Co. of Wyoming, and became the second president of the Western Stock Growers Association. D. H. MacPherson was identified with the High River Horse Ranch although at the time of the formation of the Club he was Inspector D. H. MacPherson, NWMP in charge of southern detachments . . . T. S. C. Lee of Lee and Metcalfe was the first president of the Ranchmen’s Club . . . . He was also a land developer and real estate agent and in his early days an ardent polo player. H. B. Alexander was also a rancher . . . Messrs. Samson and Harford, both of whom partnered their ranching responsibilities under ranch names Samson & McNaughton and Samson & Harford. . . . Sir Frances McNaughton, an original member of the Club and partner with Mr. Samson, credits both Mr. Samson and Mr. Harford – along with Inspector MacPherson – as being prime movers in the Club’s organization.

8.12 A. E. Cross: Rancher, Entrepreneur, Founder Of The Ranchmen’s Club

One of the most famous of the founding members of the Ranchmen’s Club was Alfred Ernest Cross. He was born in Montreal in 1861, the son of Alexander Selkirk Cross, a judge and a person of some wealth. A. E. (as he was called) was sent to England to attend college, where he acquired a love for polo and English culture. His love of horses led him toward a career in ranching after he attained a veterinary degree in Montreal. Because of his interest in ranching, his father encouraged him to go west. Cross came from Montreal to Calgary in 1884,

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977 Ibid. See also: Jameson., Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 35. “Some of the original members in the early 1890s also belonged to a body called the Wolf Club, or Pack of Western Wolves.”

978 Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 35.

979 A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club: A Light-Hearted Account.
just after the CPR. had reached that small village of 400 souls. He worked on the Cochrane Ranche for a year, then took up a homestead of his own with a small herd purchased with borrowed money. He picked the wrong year to begin his ranch, because it was during the “legendary winter of 1886 that wiped out fully 60 percent of his inventory before he even got started.”\textsuperscript{980} Cross, nevertheless, survived that terrible winter and continued his ranching efforts. He was able to convince “his older brother William and his younger brother Edmund to leave Montreal and join him in a family owned livestock-raising business.”\textsuperscript{981}

The Cross brothers formed a company of the same name with a herd of over 400 shorthorn cattle. After the winter of 1886 he borrowed more money from his father and moved his base of operations westward into the foothills of the Rockies on 11,000 acres which afforded more shelter for the cattle. His ranching enterprise grew in size and success. In 1888 “Cross helped create the Alberta Stock Growers Association. . . . Eight years later, in 1896, he joined forces with other leading ranchers in the southwestern prairies to establish the Western Stock Growers’ Association.”\textsuperscript{982} His brothers went back to Montreal in the mid-1890s. His father died in 1895, leaving his son a significant estate which he used along with the profits from the A7 Ranch to build several business interests in Calgary.

Cross moved to Calgary so that he could concentrate on his business interests in that growing community. “A. E. Cross was the owner of the A7 ranch, but of all the founders, his interests were the most widespread.”\textsuperscript{983} Cross was one of the first in western Canada to see the economic opportunity in the brewing industry. In part, his decision to spend more time in Calgary and on his business interests there, was the result of an injury he sustained on his

\textsuperscript{980} A. E. Cross. Clippings File. Calgary Public Library. Local History.
\textsuperscript{983} A Short History on the Ranchmen’s Club, 1. (No author)
ranch during the 1891 summer round up.\textsuperscript{984} With British backers, William E. Cochrane and W. R. Hull, his neighbors and fellow club members, he formed the Calgary Brewing & Malting Company which later grew to be the largest brewery in Western Canada. After 1900, Cross also made money in municipal utilities: electricity and gas, and in oil exploration business.

After the Ranchmen’s Club was built, one of the first and very important responsibilities of one of its founding members was to insure that the members did not die of thirst. Because of his extensive brewing experience and connections with the territorial government, Mr. A. E. Cross was appointed the individual in charge of securing a liquor license. Cross secured the license from the legislative assembly in Regina at a cost of $200 to the legislature and $200 to the town.\textsuperscript{985}

While Cross concentrated on his business interests in Calgary, he did not neglect his ranch and continued to find ways to increase its profitability. One strategy was to shift his sale of cattle from England to Chicago, when he saw that the Chicago market was going to become more profitable.\textsuperscript{986} Cross continued to be an active manager of his cattle ranch and the brewery until his death in 1932. His name is remembered not only by the members of the Ranchmen’s Club as one of its founders, but also by the citizens of Calgary for his efforts as one of the “Big Four” to organize the Calgary Stampede.

8.13 Senator Patrick Burns: Businessman And Ranchmen’s Club Member

Patrick Burns was born in Oshawa, Ontario in 1856. His father, Michael O’Byrne, of Irish nationality, was born in County Mayo. Mr. O’Byrne and his bride came to Canada in the year 1847.\textsuperscript{987} Patrick lived in Ontario until he moved to Manitoba in 1878, where “he took up a homestead near Middedosa. He began shipping his hogs east and was one of the first farmers

\textsuperscript{984} “Reminiscences of C. W. McMillan”. Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, 2.
\textsuperscript{985} A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club, 5. (No author)
\textsuperscript{986} Klassen, Entrepreneurship, 23.
\textsuperscript{987} “Senator Burns” File 2 D920 J. J. Tighe Fonds. Glenbow Museum and Archives, 1.
In 1885 he came out west to “supply beef to the railway construction camp of MacKenzie & Mann when that then infant organization built the Regina and Long Lake line and long stretches of the Canadian Pacific Railway main line.”

In 1890 Burns located his slaughter plant in Calgary. Mr. D. R. Kerr answered a letter of inquiry about Senator Burns from J. J. Tighe with a letter in which he related the Burns method of building his businesses:

Prior to 1890 we know about P. Burns as a cattle dealer with headquarters at Calgary. Joe Wilson and Billy Perdee had a pack train in the Slocan[,] opened a Butcher shop in the Nelson P. Burns & Co. bought the business from Wilson & Perdee; retaining Blacke Willson as Manager. In 1892 I took a small drive of cattle from Grand Forks Valley into Boundary Creek to supply the prospectors who were opening up the mines around Greenwood, Phoenix and Rock Creek. Midway, Greenwood, Grand Forks, Phoenix and Cascade, became centers were Kerr and Flood opened Butcher shops. West of Cascade we took a contact to supply the Railway contractors. Shortly after that P. Burns & Co. bought us out.

By the turn of the century Pat Burns had retail meat, butter and cheese stores in thirty Western towns. By 1900 he was well settled in Calgary where “he built his beautiful Calgary residence at a cost of fifty thousand dollars. Most of its furnishings he imported from Britain and Europe at a fabulous cost.”

A year later Burns married Eileen Ellis, the daughter of a wealthy cattle rancher in British Columbia. Miss Ellis was a lady of some refinement from the province of Canada the furthest removed from Mother England, but the one with the most English customs of all of Canada. It was no wonder that “the marriage ceremony took place in London, England.”

Mrs. Burns entertained many important visitors from all over the world in their elegant home in Calgary. Burns travelled all over North and South America pursuing his business ventures and throughout Europe for pleasure. It was in these far flung locations that he met many interesting

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989 Ibid., 5.
991 “Senator Burns” J. J. Tighe Fonds. 5.
992 Ibid.
993 Ibid.
and important people, many of whom eventually made their way to Calgary where they were
made to feel at home, English style. Burns traveled considerably but he was able to make time
to be President of the Ranchmen’s Club, once from 1906-1908 and again from 1911-1912. He
served as Vice-President from 1894-1900, 1903-1908, and 1908-1910. Burns was on the
committee which had to deal with the financial difficulties of 1896. He was one of the several
founders who subscribed to bonds in order to pay the Bank of Montreal for a large outstanding
debt. He was President in 1907 when the decision was made to build a new club house. He
was still in office when construction began on the new club house. It was a controversial issue
to consider the expensive undertaking of building a new club house. In fact the motion to
enlarge the previous club house had failed the year before. It was due in large measure to his
leadership that the new club house was undertaken. Patrick Burns importance as a
businessman, ranch owner and founder of the Ranchmen’s Club was highlighted when he
became one of the “Big Four” who funded the first Calgary Stampede in 1912.

8.14 Bob Newbolt: British-Born Rancher, Member Of The Ranchmen’s Club

Bob Newbolt was typical of the founding members. He was born in England in 1866 in
Woolwich Barracks to a family whose patriarch was in the Royal Horse Artillery. After failing the
medical exam for the army, Newbolt took the advice which was prevalent in the British papers at
the time and came to Canada to work for the Military Colonization Ranch which was organized
by the colorful General Strange. His first job was “to trail three thousand head of cattle from
Lemhi Valley in Idaho, U.S.A. to Canada.” When the drive was concluded, Newbolt took up a
homestead on land that was pre-empted close to the Bow River. He started with “a small log
cabin and also a horse stable . . . [and] ten head of cattle [purchased] from the General.”
Newbolt’s beginnings were modest but by 1891 when he became one of the founding members
of the Ranchmen’s Club, he was a successful, if somewhat eccentric, rancher with several

994 A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club p. 11.
995 Bob Newbolt, Pioneers and Ranchers, M-P Files. Bert Sheppard Stockmen’s Foundation Library and
996 Ibid.
thousand head. According to an article dictated to Angus McKinnon, Newbolt stated “I was a Charter Member of the Ranchmen’s Club and at one time when the club was in financial difficulties, I, along with a few others, rescued it from the hands of the Sheriff.”

Newbolt’s wife Mabel’s love for horses persuaded her husband into purchasing an “imported Hackney stallion, Romance. . . . This stallion’s offspring won many valuable prizes in both riding and driving classes at the Calgary Exhibition.” The Newbolts spent considerable time breaking and training horses for the Exhibition. Newbolt’s love of horses and racing was shared by many of his fellow members of the Ranchmen’s Club. The walls of the club are covered with paintings of champion race horses.

Besides his ranching and love of horses, Newbolt shared another common view with his fellow members of the Ranchmen’s Club. He disliked settlers. Newbolt was quoted by Angus McKinnon regarding settlers: “Things were going along pretty well but there seemed to be signs of new settlers settling on the prairie, building fences, plowing up the sod and in many instances interfering with my horses and cattle running on the range.” In several other places in his narrative Newbolt describes problems that he and the settlers had with each other. The attitude of Bob Newbolt regarding the ranching life and his feelings about what the farmers had done to his beautiful range are shared by many of his fellow ranchers and early members of the Ranchmen’s Club:

As I look back over the 66 years which I have spent at Bowchase, they have been full interesting experiences, and I have made my mistakes like every one else. One of my happiest memories is to think back into the past of the great, beautiful, open spaces as they were before being marred and scarred by the forward march of civilization. I suppose if I had broken up the sod on my beloved sections of prairie as the present owners of them have done, I would, perhaps, be a wealthy farmer today. Nevertheless, after I have been called to the “Last Great Roundup” and this land becomes worn out and useless, it will not be recorded that “Bob Newbolt was the one who turned it upside down.”

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998 Ibid., 18.
999 Ibid.
1000 Ibid., 22.
Bob Newbolt was an eccentric according to some. But as a British rancher with a mid-sized spread, a deep love of ranching, horses and the land, his traits and values were similar to his fellow members of the Ranchmen’s Club.

8.15 Other Early Members Of The Ranchmen’s Club

Not all of the Club’s founders were ranchers. There were a few others like Cross who were business men. A. D. Braithwait was a banker. “He was active in the Club’s affairs, making the original motion to move from rental quarters to a club house and to incorporate.”

J. P. J. Jephson was one of the more colorful members of the early club. He was also a devoted clubman, having held the position of Secretary for many years as well as President. “He was a Cambridge University graduate and a noted scholar in Greek and Latin which he displayed to astute advantage before the local bench by quoting the English judgments from the original Latin.”

Braithwait and J. P. J. Jephson stand out as unique early members of the Ranchman’s Club because they were not ranchers. Most of the founders and early members were ranch owners and managers representing the largest ranches in the region: the Cochrane Ranche, the Oxley Ranche, the Bar U, the Walrond Ranche Company, and the Canadian Agricultural Coal & Colonization Company. Half of the ranches mentioned above were owned and run by English-born men. The imprint of English culture was felt in the Ranchmen’s Club from its inception.

8.16 Calgary’s Ranchmen’s Club

On Wednesday July 13, 1891 a short announcement appeared in the Calgary Herald:

The New Club
The Alberta Club have taken possession of the rooms they rented from Mr. Mariaggi and the rooms are now open for the use of members, day or night. The five rooms in the Loughed block, recently occupied by the Canadian Agricultural Co., have had several partitions removed and are being fitted up for a dining room and a bill’ard [sic] room. The club will have very good quarters here for the year for which they have taken the premises.

1001 A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club, 2.
1002 Ibid., Jephson was a barrister, of the well known firm Muir and Jephson.
8.2 The Ranchmen's Club, Calgary, Alberta (1914).
That was the public announcement of the organization of one of the more famous private gentlemen’s club in Canada. The original name of the club was quickly changed to The Ranchmen’s Club. The rooms over Mariaggi’s Restaurant which was on Stephen (now Eighth) Avenue provided enough room for the small organization to meet socially and grow in size and scope. Present at that first meeting “were Messrs. McPherson, Lee, Ricardo, Andrews, Alexander, Stine, E. Cave, B. Cave, Bevan, Jephson, Christie, Stimson and Rawlinson. It was reported that 27 gentlemen had paid the entrance fee -- $50.00 in those days – and had committed themselves to paying annual dues of $25.00.”

The clubhouse was moved again in 1892 to property purchased on 7th Avenue and 2nd Street. It was moved again when A. E. Cross was president in 1908. The first president was T. S. C. Lee, a local rancher who held that position for ten years. Lee was a partner with Metcalfe. They raised horses and cattle on their ranch. “He was also a land developer and real estate agent and in his early days an ardent polo player.”

The early organization of the Ranchmen’s Club was similar to the early clubs in London, where rooms were rented from a tavern or coffee house before a permanent building was purchased or built. In the case of the Ranchmen’s Club, rooms were leased by the membership over Mariaggi’s Restaurant because the members wished to have easy access to food and beverages. The meals were taken up to club in a dumbwaiter. With the necessities of food and drink taken care of, the next order of business for the club membership to consider was the constitution and rules. The St. James’s Club of Montreal served as the model for the constitution, since some of the Ranchmen’s Club members were familiar with that club. For the most part, the rules of the club were the same as the other English gentlemen’s clubs. But there were a few deviations that gave the Ranchmen’s Club its own special tone and atmosphere.

The one rule that set the Ranchmen’s Club apart from its predecessors in London was the Second Article which stated: “Politics and religious questions of every description shall be

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1004 A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club, 1.
absolutely excluded from the object of the Club.”

In the first constitution, apparently there was no admonition against the discussion of business in the club. In fact meetings of the Stock Associations were sometimes held in the Ranchmen’s Club during its early years. “The original rule 29 prohibited smoking in the dining room and several members were admonished for an infraction of that rule.” Gambling with cards took place in the private rooms. However, the use of dice to gamble was not allowed.

The next important business that the club took up after it approved the Constitution and the rules, was getting the club legally recognized by the Territorial Legislative Assembly in Regina. The articles of incorporation were approved on July 25, 1892. The preamble of the articles read as follows:

Whereas the persons hereinafter named, with a number in the Provisional District of Alberta, in the North-West Territories, have associated themselves for the establishment of a club for social purposes; . . .

Therefore, the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Territories, enacts as follows:

1. Alfred Ernest Cross, Duncan Haldane MacPherson, Frederick S. Stimson, Esquires, and such other persons now are, or hereafter shall become, members of the said association shall be and are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name of “The Ranchmen’s Club,” . . .

Membership in the club required sponsorship by two members to the membership committee. The membership committee can accept or reject the nomination by a vote. One “No” vote out of five is an automatic rejection of the proposal. If the proposal is accepted by the membership committee then:

…the name of such candidate shall be inserted in the book of candidates. . .

8. No ballot shall be valid unless ten members actually vote and one black ball in seven shall exclude. . .

1006 The Ranchmen’s Club a Short History, 2.
1007 The discussion of business, when accompanied by the use of papers, etc, was prohibited in 1958. In 2005 in an interview with a member in the main dining room that rule was still in effect. There are private rooms for the purpose of business meetings.
1008 The Ranchmen’s Club a Short History, 3.
9. The ballot shall take place between the hours of twelve o’clock noon and two o’clock in the afternoon on the first Wednesday in each month.\textsuperscript{1010}

This method of choosing members is similar to, but sufficiently different from, the model used in many of the London clubs to demonstrate the difference between the more egalitarian Canadian West and even the more class-conscious eastern regions of Canada.

Once the articles of incorporation were approved, the membership set about to form a committee to purchase property for a permanent home for the club. The first club house owned by the members was completed in July 1892. “The minutes of a meeting on July 30, 1982 [were] proudly headed ‘in the Club’\textsuperscript{1011} There were only two known changes to the rules when the members moved into their new club house. “It was agreed that while no cards could be played on Sunday – the original rule – billiards could now be played.”\textsuperscript{1012}

Now that the Ranchmen’s Club had a club house with plenty of room, and rooms, the members could literally “spread out”. The club house had a reading room. The subscriptions to newspapers and magazine grew rapidly until in 1893 it was recorded that the club subscribed to the following English and American publications:

- \textit{Illustrated London News}
- \textit{Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic}
- \textit{Weekly edition of the Times}
- \textit{Pall Mall Budget}
- \textit{Review of Reviews}
- \textit{Scientific American}
- \textit{Saturday Review}
- \textit{Black & White}
- \textit{World}
- \textit{Scribner’s\textsuperscript{1013}}
- \textit{Graphic}
- \textit{Harpers}
- \textit{Century}
- \textit{Punch}
- \textit{Life}
- \textit{The Field}
- \textit{Puck}
- \textit{Sketch}
- \textit{Truth}

The Ranchmen’s Club still has adjacent to the dining room a formal reading room, where its members can repair after lunch or dinner for reading or quiet reflection.

The present Ranchmen’s Club, built in 1915, still has much of the charm of its predecessor, with stained glass windows, statues of horses racing, standing and grazing, as

\textsuperscript{1010} Ibid., 26.
\textsuperscript{1011} \textit{A Short History of the Ranchmen’s Club}, 5.
\textsuperscript{1012} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1013} Ibid., 6.
well as paintings of ranch scenes. But it also has sufficient parking and an adjacent condominium complex which provides additional revenue for the Club.  

8.17 Social Life In Nineteenth Century Calgary

The Ranchmen’s Club prior to the turn of the century was the scene of many balls, which continued a tradition initiated by the North West Mounted Police decades earlier before the village of Calgary was little more than a few tents and shacks. Decorum and manners, the trappings of civilization, were of critical importance to the men and women who attended those first balls at Fort Calgary. Those traditions of white gloves for the gentlemen and gowns for the ladies continued on the large ranches surrounding Calgary in the 1880s and 1890s. They were reflected in the balls held at the Cross, Burns, and Lougheed mansions in town. The Newbolts had a medium-sized ranch but they were guests at many social events in Calgary. A small portion of the Newbolt Family Papers at the Glenbow Museum and Archives includes several invitations. The most important affair that the Newbolts were invited to was a reception given by “Mrs. P. Burns, At Home Wednesday, April 13th at 8:30” followed by “Dancing,” at the “Opera House. R.S.V.P.”

The Turf Club was not just a sporting association for the racing of horses but also an organization that served another social function. The Turf Club held balls at different times of the year. Two invitations to the “Annual Turf Ball” have been saved in the Newbolt papers. The committee for the 1898 “Turf Ball at Hull’s Opera House” included “O. A. Critchley, A. E. Cross, P. Bartos, J. J. Young, W. P. Helliwell, W. R. Newbolt and D. T. Forels.” Bob Newbolt was thus a member of the Turf Club. But that does not explain the invitation from the Calgary Polo Club, the “Programme” [sic] for the “St. Patrick’s Ball” at the “Opera House, Calgary”; or the program for the “Trinity College School Dramatic Entertainment, Monday, March 4th, ‘89” with

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1014 Interview with Mr. Lister, British-born Ranchmen’s Club member, in the dining room and reading room of the Ranchmen’s Club, Calgary, Alberta, June 2, 2006.
1016 Newbolt Family Papers.
“Dancing” following “Part II ‘The Little Sentinel.” At the bottom of the program are the words: “God Save the Queen.”1017 The Newbolts were also incited to the “Calgary Cricket Tournament, 1899. Second Annual Ball held by The Calgary Cricket Club, Hull’s Opera House, July 13, 1899.” The Newbolts were quite busy in 1899 because they were also invited to the “Annual Ball in Aid of the Calgary General Hospital, Hull’s Opera House, Friday November 10th, A. D. 1899.”1018 Their busy social schedule demonstrates the importance they placed on their leisure activities, and the responsibility they felt toward being part of the social elite.

Many formal dinners given in the Ranchmen’s Club honored distinguished visitors, up to and including Prince Phillip. The dinners consisted of several gourmet courses, each with its own wine. Dinners for dignitaries and for special holidays included several toasts, naturally including the obligatory toast to the Queen. From the number and variety of dinners, balls and socials, it is obvious that the citizens of Calgary and their ranching neighbors took their leisure activities as seriously as their work. Unobligated time, money, cultural history and ethnicity combined to influence their choice of leisure pursuits. “The dominant culture in Alberta was defined by linguistic and ethnic criteria.”1019 Most of the ranchers and settlers who immigrated or migrated to Alberta in the twenty years before the turn of the century “were of British extraction and had come to Alberta from Ontario, although some came directly from Britain.”1020

Leisure, as pursued by the Victorian English stock of Alberta, was not an isolated activity but as “integral to daily life and responsive to social, economic and technological factors.”1021 It was part and parcel of their Victorian morality. “Accordingly, the idealization of work entailed not rejection of leisure, but an emphasis on its usefulness in reinforcing the work ethic and virtues of sincerity and purposefulness in daily life.”1022 Leisure activities were

1017 Newbolt Family Papers.
1018 Newbolt Family Papers.
1020 Ibid.
1021 Ibid.
1022 Ibid., 9.
supposed to accentuate the importance of culture, class and manners, in short, all of the
nineteenth-century cultural baggage of the British Victorians. It should be remembered that
much of the population of Alberta till well after the turn of the century lived in rural areas. “The
rural character of life greatly influenced the nature of leisure in Alberta and determined the
extent to which most people participated in the leisure activities available in the province.”
This makes the record of the Newbolts, who lived on their horse ranch, quite revealing.
Because of their English background and Victorian standards the Newbolts not only wished but
seemed compelled to play a role in the social life of their community.

8.18  Sport: A Manifestation Of Britishness In Calgary & Southern Alberta

Participation as spectators or team members in sporting events was an important
aspect of life in pre-war Alberta. “The early western ranchers and their wives did not devote all
their time to work; sports and social events were important aspects of their lives.”
The record of the large British ranchers’ activities as well as the wealthy towns people overflow with
accounts of their participation in sports. “Polo, cricket, hockey, and tennis were foremost
among their team sports, and above all they loved horseracing, both spontaneous matches and
formal race meets.” A brief glance at the Calgary Herald of the period will provide the reader
with several articles about sporting events in the area. In the July 13, 1892 edition there are the
following:

The Pigeon Shooting Sweepstakes

The members of the Calgary Rod and Gun Club held their first live pigeon shoot Wednesday evening, at the Agricultural Grounds. There were two sweeps, shot off at 25 yards rise, 30 yards boundary, 3 birds each. . . . The following [ten] members competed.

A few pages on there was the following article:

Baseball Match Tonight

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1023  Ibid., 10.
1024  Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 34.
1025  Ibid.
1026  Calgary Herald, Vol 38, (Wednesday, July 13, 1892), Glenbow Museum & Archives.
The baseball match between the local clubs comes off this evening on the Athletic grounds at 7 o’clock, sharp, and all players are urgently desired to attend prompt on time.¹⁰²⁷

On the same page was news about a Cricket Match

Last Saturday the return match was played between the Calgary Cricket Club and the Maple Leaf Cricket Club, ending in a victory for the Maple Leaf by 9 runs. It will be remembered that a few weeks ago the Calgary CC beat the Maple Leaf CC by 14 runs. This time the Maple Leaf were much more strongly represented while the Calgary were without the services of their captain, J. P. J. Jephson and other good men.¹⁰²⁸

It should be noted that J. P. J. Jephson was the Secretary for many years of the Ranchmen's Club, which demonstrates that member’s interest in promoting British sport in Calgary.

According to a memoir left by R. Nigel Lawrence, his father arrived from England by way of Winnipeg to Calgary by horse in 1882. He traveled with Sir Donald A. Smith, later to become Lord Strathcona, with interest in the C.P.R. and other ventures. The monotony of work for the “Northwest Cattle Company”, later known as the Bar U was sometimes interrupted by recreational events, as Mr. Lawrence explained:

A dance, picnic, or race meet, would enable people to visit; Otherwise many settlers’ wives might go for weeks or months without talking to another woman. Cricket matches were more sedate, and the annual “Cricket Ball” was an event attended by people from both Red Deer and Innisfail – evening clothes were brought forth from trunks and the aroma of moth balls mingled with that of Scotch Whisky and cigars. Years later . . . I attended a polo tournament at High River.¹⁰²⁹

From another memoir – one left by Kenneth Cappock, who came to Canada from England on one of his father’s ships, a bark named the “Clansmen” – more is learned of the British’s love of sport. He arrived in Alberta in the summer of 1883 and promptly started his ranch which he named the Rio Alto with the OH brand. The Rio Alto was within a short ride of the Bar U and later the Quorn ranch. According to Mr. Cappock:

Wherever Britishers gather, there is competitive sport. Tennis courts are marked out, cricket teams are formed, soccer is played by the Scotch, rugby by

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid.
¹⁰²⁸ Ibid.
¹⁰²⁹ Nigel R. Lawrence, “From Buffalo Trails to Blacktop,” M633. Glenbow Museum and Archives, 64.
the English. So it was here. Horses being, as I might say, on the job, races were our first diversion.

George Murdock came to the tiny settlement, clustered about Fort Calgary, in the spring of '83 and his diary... furnishes undisputable record of the events of that period.

Mr. Murdock records the first sports he witnessed in Calgary. In his entry of May 26, 1883, we read: "Attended races. One five mile race between the Police, one Blackfoot, one Sarcee, one Stoney. Blackfoot won. I bet on Blackfoot."

Mr. Cappock later in his narrative relates:

At the Chapman Ranche on the Elbow River, not far from Calgary there was amusement of some kind every Sunday. The people from town liked to drive out ther[e]. Often rodeos would be held that were the forerunners of our world renowned Stampedes. These gatherings were as fashionable as the race meetings at Millarville and Cochrane became; for as the years went on the races were popular society events.

Gymkanas were held at different ranches and were well attended. Though the horses for our cow work were trained for roping and such, we still like to have them able to jump and perform according to more civilized standards, and we took great pride in putting them through their paces.

Mr. Cappock relates several short descriptions about other sports which were heavily influenced by the presence of English gentlemen in Alberta.

When E. W. Wilmot of the Alberta Ranche brought with him from England in 1883 polo sticks and balls, he started something. A polo team was formed in Pincher Creek. Soon they were practicing in High River, and before long in Calgary, Cochrane and Cowley.

Mr. Cappock continued his discussion of British-influenced sports. "Soccer came to Calgary when the N. W. M. P. started to play among themselves." George Murdock’s diary is quoted in Cappock’s memoirs tracing the development of soccer in Calgary from Murdock’s entries of November 8, 1883:

First that the weather was “clear, fine, warm”, second, “big football match”, third, “Thanksgiving Day”. In 1899 a real club was formed by the Police. Later the Calgary Caledonians, or “Callies”, as they were called won Dominion-wide fame.

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1031 Kenneth Cappock Collection, 79. Gymkanas were social events centered around horse back rides and jumping events.
1032 Kenneth Cappock Collection, 79-80.
1033 Ibid.
1034 Ibid., A Caledonian is a Scotsman.
Another British import was curling, a winter sport of gentlemen which originated in Scottish antiquity. It became, next to hockey, one of the most popular sports in Canada. According to Cappock’s memoirs:

Curling matches were held on the rivers and frozen sloughs long before rinks were thought of. Blocks of wood, frozen to make them slippery, with iron rings for handles, were used before polished granite stones were obtained.

Curling, cricket, riding to the hounds, golf and polo were all British games imported to Canada by second sons and prosperous gentlemen from the British Isles in the late 1800s. Several of the founding members of the Ranchmen’s Club were devout polo players.

Henry Bruen Alexander, a founding member of the Ranchmen’s Club, was the first president of the Calgary Polo Club. He “led a life that seems the perfect subject for romantic fiction.” Born in Fircroft, Ireland, Alexander came to Alberta in 1888. He established the Two-Dot Ranch some distance south of High River. It was rumored that he had played polo in Ireland under the tutelage of one of Ireland’s star players, John Watson. Alexander spent the better part of his time not on his ranch but pursuing business opportunities in Calgary. He was responsible for building several sandstone buildings in the downtown. “He was often in partnership with his cousin George (builder of the city’s first waterworks) and had extensive landholdings in Calgary (including, possibly, the Polo Club field just north of the Bow River in present day Hillhurst).” Alexander travelled between Calgary and British Columbia where he had mining interests, and his estate in England. This made his participation in Calgary’s polo tournaments somewhat irregular. After he sold the Two-Dot Ranch in 1902, he left Calgary, but came back periodically in the first decade of the twentieth century. Though he did not spend most of his life in Calgary, he was very influential in the community, the Ranchmen’s Club, and especially the popularization of polo in Alberta.

Another member of the Ranchmen’s Club who was a promoter of polo in Calgary was

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1035 Ibid., 80.
1037 Ibid., 29.
1038 Ibid.
Francis Alexander MacNaughten. MacNaughten was born in 1863 in County Antrim, Ireland, the second son of the 4th Baronet MacNaughten. Educated at Eton, he came to Alberta and worked first on the Oxley Ranche in the 1880s. Sir Francis was one of the founding members of the Ranchmen's Club and a partner with Samson in the ranching business.  

MacNaughten established a polo team with eight members that made up “various foursomes contesting the major tournaments of 1892-94.” MacNaughten’s teams played High River’s teams during that period. Polo grew in popularity and the number of players and teams spread out from Calgary, High River Pincher Creek and Regina. “In early August 1895 Calgary and a new team from Pine Creek returned to Regina to play in a tournament held in conjunction with the annual territorial exhibition. Calgary defeated a team from Regina. . .”

T. S. C. Lee, MacNaughten, and his sometime partner Samson were often on the same team during the years just before the turn of the century. The era of the growing popularity of polo in western Canada was beginning as another era was coming to a conclusion, the era of the large, often British-owned, corporate ranches.

8.19 Gradual Decline Of The Ranching Industry In Southern Alberta

As discussed earlier, the foundation of the Canadian ranching industry in Alberta was the lease system. Approximately a dozen ranches became the principal land holders in Southern Alberta around Calgary in the early 1880s. Of these there were four major ranch companies. There was the Cochrane Ranche Company that acquired “the Rocky Mountain Cattle Company, the Anglo-Canadian Ranch Company, and the Eastern Townships Ranch Company, giving Senator Cochrane control of 334,500 acres.”

Along with the Cochrane Ranche Company, by 1884, two-thirds of the ranchland in Southwestern Alberta was controlled by other three large companies: The Oxley Ranch, the North-West Cattle Company (Bar U), and the Walrond Ranche Company. However, the same

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A Short History of the Ranchmen's Club, 1.
Rees, Polo, 30.
Ibid.
David H. Breen, The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier: 1874-1924, 43.
facility that called into being the large cattle ranches on the western Canadian prairie and made them profitable was also the cause of the downfall of the large ranches because the Canadian Pacific Railroad facilitated the immigration of thousands of farmers and settlers into Alberta. “Through the middle and late 1890s, the character of Southern Alberta was beginning to undergo profound changes. The era of the huge, corporate ranches was drawing to a close; no new ones were being created.” Some of the large ranch operations, besides the “Big Four”, generally began as moderate-sized ranches which grew into many thousands of acres held in lease from the Canadian government. By the end of the century, several of the large corporate-owned ranches began to sell off their holdings, often by the quarter or half sections, creating smaller ranches or more often farms. “The railway line from Calgary southward down the foothills to Fort Macleod had opened the country to farmers and small ranchers, cutting the big corporate operations off from their summer grass to the east.”

The sport of polo reflected this shift in economic geography of Southern Alberta. The smaller ranches and farms developing south of Calgary resulted in small settlements and villages springing up to support the farmers’ commercial needs. Pine Creek, Millarville Fish Creek and Priddis are examples of these settlements. Each settlement very often developed its own polo team. “Together with the older towns of Calgary and High River, these new communities gave new momentum to the game of polo as it moved toward a new century.”

The effect of the changes sweeping the foothills was on full view at Calgary in August, 1896. Seventeen riders came to the matches to play for two trophies and, through a long series of games, they divided and subdivided themselves into at least seven different configurations. The old guard [many of which were members of the Ranchmen’s Club] was there in force, but there was an ample representation of the newcomers who would dominate the game in the next decade.

As the smaller communities developed, they often generated their own social institutions similar to the Ranchmen’s Club in Calgary. They did not compete with Calgary or the Ranchmen’s

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1043 Rees, Polo, 32.
1044 Ibid.
1045 Ibid., 135.
1046 Ibid.
Club but filled a need in their local communities.

8.20 The “Big Four” And The Calgary Stampede

Shortly after the turn of the century, four leaders in the Ranchmen’s Club and Calgary came together and developed a plan to promote Calgary to the rest of Canada. The “Big Four”, as they were called, created the Calgary Stampede which has grown from its humble origins in 1912 to become one of the largest and most prestigious rodeos in North America, certainly rivaling the Cheyenne Rodeo and the Fort Worth Livestock Show and Rodeo.

The “Big Four” were made up of Pat Burns, A. E. Cross, A. J. McLean and George Lane, of the Bar U and many other successful business ventures. It was Lane who had the idea for the Calgary Stampede. He saw it as a great method for promoting Calgary so he approached Pat Burns and A. E. Cross with his idea. Donna Livingston, author of Cowboy Spirit: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede, describes meeting with Guy Weadick:

The three ranchers delivered their instructions to Guy over a handshake: “Make it the best thing of its kind in the world—but everything must be on the square. We don’t want to lose money if we can help it, but we’d rather lose money and have it right than make money and have it wrong.” The celebration must recreate the atmosphere of the frontier west in an authentic manner, “devoid of circus tinsel and far fetched fiction.”

Each of the “Big Four” contributed $25,000, so Weadick had a ‘war chest’ of $100,000 to help him turn his dream into a reality. Burns, Cross, and Lane were all members of the Ranchmen’s Club and major contributors to the economic success of Calgary. Each of these rancher/entrepreneurs was tied to British investors and embodied the standards of British Victorian culture that played such an important role in the development of the ranching industry in Alberta.

The Ranchmen’s Club, Calgary and the Calgary Stampede overshadowed the

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1047 Donna, Livingston, Cowboy Spirit: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede. (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 38-39. According to Donna Livingston, Archie McLean became the fourth member of the “Big Four” at a later date.
economic and social landscape of Southern Alberta. However, as the outlying communities (alluded to above) evolved toward the end of the 1800s, they developed their own social institutions which reflected their English tastes. “High River from its inception was a ranch town and as the foothill ranchers of the area were predominate British it is not surprising that the High River Club came into being. It was incorporated in 1906 with fifteen charter members, the majority of whom were ranchers.”¹⁰⁴⁹

The Cypress Hills, southeast of Calgary, was the site of significant ranching by English immigrants. They also developed a private club in the town of Medicine Hat called the Cypress Club. “It was designed to provide a centre were ranchers could socialize when in town and where they could associate more closely with some of the prominent townsmen.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Tony Day of the Turkey Track Ranch was a prominent member of the Cypress Club. His ranch “extended west from Swift Current around the Cypress Hills and south of Medicine Hat.”¹⁰⁵¹ Day became president of the Cypress Club and was instrumental in setting the tone of the club with its ranch-centered focus, similar to the Ranchmen’s Club. This club, like several other small town social clubs, soon vanished as the British investors and ranchers pulled out in the first decades of the 1900s.

There were three additional clubs that developed in the Southern Alberta region just before or just after the turn of the century. Lethbridge also had a gentlemen’s club, the Chinook Club, which was established in 1901. While there were some ranchers who were its earliest members, the Chinook Club was essentially a men’s business club. In 1906 the South Alberta Club was established in Fort MacLeod; however, it was essentially a businessmen’s club with little influence by ranchers in the region. The Pincher Creek Club, also formed in 1906, had “three ranchers, two bank managers, two advocates, four merchants, and one horse dealer” as

¹⁰⁴⁹ Jameson, Ranches Cowboys and Characters, 35.
¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., 35-36.
¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid., 36.
its charter members. None of these smaller clubs existed for very long after their creation. While they existed they reflected a desire on the part of the lesser ranchers and businessmen, in the hinterlands surrounding Calgary and the Ranchmen’s Club, to emulate the English influence and traditions that were such an ingrained aspect of Southern Alberta’s economic and social order.

After the turn of the century the era of the large corporate ranch in Alberta went into decline. However, as farming and small ranching operations slowly took the place of the large corporation ranching operations, oil and gas was discovered. In some cases this extended the life of a few of the large ranches. The oil and gas industry had a similar impact on the fortunes of Calgary as it did on Fort Worth, where oil and gas were discovered under the many large, often British-owned ranches in North Central Texas and the Panhandle.

8.21 Summary

The many newspaper accounts, as well as excerpts from memoirs and secondary sources, demonstrate that the Canadian Pacific Railroad’s intersection with the confluence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers, and the North West Mounted Police fort created the town of Calgary. The federal government’s Order-in-Council (which made possible huge land leases at minuscule prices) combined with the geographically and climatically congenial area of the foothills of the Rockies in the Alberta district to create an economic and environmental condition ripe for large scale ranching by British and Eastern Canadian entrepreneurs. The presence of large numbers of wealthy and influential British gentlemen ranchers and English remittance men created a social system which was modeled on the British Victorian class system. While Canadians were more egalitarian than their British cousins, they were none the less influenced by the value system, society and love of sport of the British minority that had spread out in the foothills of Alberta. The founding ranches in Alberta owned and often managed by English gentlemen set the social standard for the city which grew and prospered because of the cattle

1052 Ibid.
1053 Ibid.
industry. British entrepreneurs saw financial opportunities not only in large-scale ranching but also in the development of businesses in Calgary.

All of these forces came together and were focused in the creation, organization and membership of the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary. It was the locus of power in Southern Alberta because its members were the large ranchers that we have been describing. As a final example of the power and prestige of the Ranchmen’s Club, it was four members of the club that produced the Calgary Stampede, which has promoted Calgary all over the world.

The economic and physical development of Calgary has much in common with the cattle-oriented cities of Fort Worth and Cheyenne. In fact, Calgary and Fort Worth are very similar geographically because both were established at the confluence of two rivers where a fort was already in existence. Both Calgary and Fort Worth owe their early financial success to large-scale ranching in the hinterlands surrounding those two communities. They owe their continued success as ranching centers to the coming of the railroad. Also, as ranching began to fade as an economic engine, oil and gas discoveries continued to stimulate the success of Calgary and Fort Worth. Cheyenne, Denver, and Calgary share a proximity to the Rocky Mountains and an environment favorable to large-scale ranching.

The influence of the British owned or managed ranches (or mining and business interests in the case of Denver) on the social environments in Fort Worth, Denver, Cheyenne and Calgary has been described in the preceding pages and chapters. The role of sport as it was promoted and engaged in by British immigrants also provides graphic proof of the influence on the British on the social system in Calgary, as well as Cheyenne, Denver and to a lesser degree North Texas and the Panhandle. In all of the western cities studied thus far the influence of British membership in the gentlemen’s clubs in those communities mirrors the influence of British pounds sterling and British Victorian values in those communities and the ranching (or mining) hinterlands around them. Our last community in the Canadian West is in fact the “most British” of all Canadian cities – Victoria, British Columbia.
CHAPTER NINE
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA, HBC, CPR, AND THE UNION CLUB

The Union Club exhibits a model of economy and good management. Its president is Sir Mathew Baillie-Bibb, the Chief Justice of the Province, who for a salary of $6,000 per annum keeps, with his associates, the peace of the district with exemplary severity.

New York World, anonymous

9.1 Introduction

British Columbia, the western most province of Canada has a rich history spanning four centuries. There are many stories and maps representing these early “discoveries.” From its unlikely discovery by the Spanish, and the possible but not authenticated discovery by Sir Francis Drake in 1579, to the possible discovery by Thomas Cavendish in 1587 on his circumnavigation, through the authenticated discoveries by Spain, Russia and England in the eighteenth century, the early history of the Pacific Northwest is shrouded in mystery and controversy. However, for the purposes of this paper Captain Cook’s second voyage on which he sailed into Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island on March 29, 1788, is the one which logically begins this chapter on the British influence on the American and Canadian West as viewed through the activities of British gentlemen’s clubs.\(^{1054}\)

George Vancouver was on the two voyages of Captain Cook. He sailed back to Vancouver Island as the captain of the Discovery, along with Lieutenant Zachariah Mudge, who commanded the Chatham. They arrived at the Strait of Juan de Fuca some time after April, 1792. For the next two months Vancouver’s ships explored Puget Sound, Whidbey Island and

the San Juan Islands. While in the Puget Sound area, Vancouver came upon two Spanish ships: “the Sutil and Mexicana, engaged in exploring the area for Spain.”¹⁰⁵⁵ The four captains spent the entire summer sailing the region together. However, they could not agree which area was rightfully claimed by Spain and which area had been claimed by the Englishman John Meares, who in 1788 reported that he had bought land from the Indians of the Nootka Sound area. So they parted company unable to come to terms of the “Nootka Convention,” which they had discussed while in each others’ company.¹⁰⁵⁶ Vancouver’s voyage, however, did give England a solid claim to the area that he had explored. The Spanish, meanwhile, maintained a fort at Nootka Sound, which they occupied between 1789 and 1795. Nootka became an important focal point for English, Spanish and American traders.¹⁰⁵⁷

9.2 The Hudson’s Bay Company And The Founding Of Victoria

The orientation of Vancouver Island, until well after the expeditions of Simon Fraser, David Thompson and Alexander Mackenzie, was toward the Pacific. “Between 1785 and 1825 records indicate that at least 330 merchant vessels visited the Northwest coast.”¹⁰⁵⁸ Many of these ships continued on to China, loaded with otter pelts. When the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) became a rival to the North West Company, the HBC factors could no longer be content to remain in York Factory on Hudson’s Bay waiting for the Indians to come to them with their furs. The Bay Company men had to push westward to keep pace with the North West Company (“The Little Company” as it was also known). The Bay Company was ably led by the Scotsman George Simpson. His title, between 1821 and 1860, was Governor-in-Chief of Rupert’s Land and Administrator over the Northwestern Territory and Columbia Department in British North America. The westward push of the HBC, under Simpson’s leadership, led to the establishment of Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island. Simpson was young and energetic when

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., 21.
¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid., 22.
¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., 15-17.
he began his career in the Canadian West. In his lifetime he took three tours of Canada from the east to the Pacific. He became convinced during his first trip overland to the Pacific that the Hudson’s Bay Company could not leave the Pacific Northwest fur trade to the Russians and the Americans.\textsuperscript{1059}

In the 1830's American immigrants began to flood into the Oregon Territory. Simpson realized that much of the Pacific Northwest was going to become American Territory. But he believed that some of the Pacific Northwest could be saved for Britain and the Hudson’s Bay Company. It was for that reason that he ordered a fort built on the southern coast of Vancouver Island. The fort would have been little more than a small trading station for the Hudson’s Bay Company for many years, except for the discovery of gold on the Fraser River in 1858. “Simpson foresaw the future correctly: Fort Victoria was founded in 1843, and the boundary on the mainland was fixed at 49\textdegree North Latitude in 1846.”\textsuperscript{1060} What he could not have foreseen was the discovery of gold on the Fraser in 1858, or in the Cariboo, 300 miles inland in British Victoria, or the strike in the Klondike in 1897. Victoria became the gateway to the gold fields of British Columbia and Alaska. “In 1849 Victoria became the headquarters of the Company on the Pacific coast, and in the same year Vancouver Island became a British colony.”\textsuperscript{1061} What Simpson and the Hudson’s Bay Company began, was brought to full bloom by the gold strikes and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The development that cemented Victoria’s fate as the westernmost British outpost in North America, was the establishment of the naval base at Esquimalt Bay. The decision to do so was not made by the Admiralty in London, but on the basis of necessity in the field of war. In 1854 The Crimean War broke out. The British admiral whose base of operations was far to the

\textsuperscript{1059} Pethick. \textit{Men of British Columbia}, 42. Simpson was “always...interested in steam propulsion, and when railway charters became popular in Canada, he took an active interest in and became the President of the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway” which existed only on paper during his life. However “it eventually provided a link between the original main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway with the ports of Montreal and Quebec.” John Murry Gibbon, \textit{The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific} (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1937), 98.

\textsuperscript{1060} Ibid., 44. See also: Newman’s \textit{Empire of the Bay}, 462.

\textsuperscript{1061} Ibid., 46.
south, at Valparaiso, Chile, had attacked Petropavlovsk, a Russian base in far east Asia. His wounded had to be taken to San Francisco for treatment, which (being an American port) was not a satisfactory arrangement. It was this admiral who wrote the Governor of Victoria “suggesting not only that he supply coal and fresh meat and vegetables to the fleet, but that he erect a naval hospital in the colony.” 1062 James Douglas, governor of this new British Colony, saw an opportunity for economic gain in the Admiral’s request. This was the beginning of Victoria’s long history as the “most British” city in North America. But at the time, Douglas was merely trying in any way he could to help his small village survive.

James Douglas came to Victoria by way of many years service with the Hudson’s Bay Company. He was the founder of the village, created the naval port at Esquimalt Bay and saw the colony through the upheavals of the first gold strikes. His leadership kept the colony going when others saw little hope or even reason for its survival. He was born somewhere near Demerara, British Guiana. His father was a Scotsman who was successful in business. Little is known of his mother, other than she was not British. From his birth in 1803, this issue cast a shadow over Douglas’ life, especially during the height of Victorianism. He was educated through the elementary grades in Scotland, then before he reached adulthood he joined the North West Company. “In 1821 the North West Company was merged with the Hudson’s Bay Company, and in the service of the latter Douglas was transferred to Fort McLeod and later Fort St. James, in what is now called northern British Columbia, but was then called New Caledonia.” 1063 It was at Fort St. James that he met and married Amelia Connolly. She was of mixed blood, white and Indian. They were to have thirteen children together. Amelia’s ancestry was also a cause for gossip by the English inhabitants of Victoria throughout Douglas’s tenure there.

In 1830, Douglas was transferred to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in what is now Oregon. By 1842, it became obvious to the governing board of the Hudson’s Bay Company

1062 Ibid., 48.
1063 Ibid. See also: Gibbon’s The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific, 103.
that Oregon was going to come within American control. Through Simpson’s influence Victoria was chosen as the central base for the Company’s activities on the Pacific Coast. The impact of Simpson’s choice to claim Vancouver Island according to Canadian historian Barry M. Gough was “[a]n imperial tide [now] lapped the shores of the Northwest Coast, and in doing so changed the character of human occupation, and it brought with it at the flood new political, legal and social institutions whose legacies are still apparent.”\textsuperscript{1064} However, it was McLoughlin who was in charge of all of the Company’s activities west of the Rockies. McLoughlin in 1842, “sent Douglas north with six men to find the most advantageous spot for a post.”\textsuperscript{1065} It was Douglas who chose the site where Victoria sits today. He returned to Victoria on the steam powered ship \textit{Beaver} and located the fort exactly where Bastion Square sits today. It must have been a peculiar sight for the indigenous people on the island:

Through the bush on what is now Dallas Road semi-naked, fishblood-smeared Songhees Indians peered excitedly at a ‘smoking tree’ which had appeared off shore. The smoking tree was the lanky funnel of the \textit{Beaver}, first steamship on this coast.\textsuperscript{1066}

Douglas had the help of those natives in building the fort for protection from those same natives. It is recorded that Fort Victoria “was built by 53 Company men, mostly French Canadians who had served in other parts of the Pacific Northwest. They were helped by Songhees Indians who cut the 22-foot-long pickets for the palisade of the enclosure which measured 330 feet by 400 feet….”\textsuperscript{1067}

Douglas demanded respect from his men, he understood the need for strict discipline,
and he held himself to a high standard of conduct, and expected it of all who served with him.

“As Governor he insisted on salutes being fired when he paid official visits to Craigflower, the first [farm and] local school outside the Fort; to H.M. ships or to the Company’s farm on San Juan Island.” Douglas’s strict discipline and firm resolve were sorely needed those first several years of Victoria’s history. It is hard to understand for the visitor today to beautiful, lush Victoria how harsh and bleak was life on Vancouver Island in the early 1840s. It was a wilderness on the Northwest Pacific coast with tangles of fallen timber, marshes, taciturn natives, periodic storms and growing seasons that had to be adjusted to by the English immigrants. All of the occupants of Fort Victoria had to adjust to Douglas’s fiery temper, which Simpson recorded as being terrible and uncontrolled. Douglas’s penchant for decorum and the trappings of authority led his men to refer to him, when his back was turned, as “Old Square-Toes.” Canadian historian Peter C. Newman “said Douglas was so obsessed with frugality that he “turned parsimony into an art form.”

The HBC had established the fort and colony to trade. Trade with the natives in pelts, trade with the Royal Navy ships for provisions, and trade with the Russian schooners and Yankee Whalers helped the small colony sustain itself. Farms were established because the inhabitants needed to eat. The farms, however, were slow to grow and few in number. The nub of the problem regarding the slow development of farming on Vancouver Island was that the land was owned by the Bay Company. “Douglas brought in cattle, horses and seed, and the Company’s cows browsed where now the Law Courts stand. The Indians thought the cattle a conveniently docile species of deer until public whippings restrained their hunting ardour,” at least for slow deer. The immigrant farmers worked either for the Bay Company or for The

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1068 Ibid., 4.
1069 Stephen Hume, Simon Fraser, In Search of Modern British Columbia (Medeira Park, B.C., Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd., 2008), 57. “One otter pelt sold for as much as the combined annual wages of three footmen” in London. This gives an idea what the value of Canadian furs commanded in the trade. Hume, Simon Fraser, 57.
1070 Gregson, A History of Victoria, 4.
Puget’s Sound Agricultural Company, “an associate of the Hudson’s Bay Company.”

The work was exhausting, which is partly why the building of stores, farm houses and buildings outside of the fort proceeded slowly. Another reason was the lack of motivation for the immigrants to do work for their landlord and for others. But that reason had a cause. Douglas had urged the Colonial Officer to send men not with capital and education, “but sturdy men with sturdy sons to break the land. The Colonial Office, on the other hand, wanted the system which had proved itself in Britain even during the stirrings caused by the French Revolution, namely landed aristocrats offering security to their servants in return for loyal service.”

Because of the kind of men that the Colonial Office encouraged to immigrate to Victoria, Douglas was hampered with some interesting misfits.

One of those misfits was one the Company’s first settlers, Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant. Grant was appointed surveyor by someone in the Company’s headquarters in London. He was supposed to establish a farm in Victoria as well as survey the land into farms. Grant arrived in Victoria without his surveying instruments, a portent of troubles to come. When a new set of instruments arrived, Governor Douglas was even less pleased because of the poor job Grant made of it. Grant did not stay long enough to make a farm; however, he did start a sawmill operation. The next settler to arrive in 1851 was Edward Edwards Langford who developed a 900-acre farm close to Victoria. He named his farm Colwood, which was also the name of his estate in Sussex, England. He had made a good arrangement with the Puget’s Sound Agricultural Company. The company supplied the buildings, the labor, and paid for the farms’ overhead. Langford did his part by raising the crops and building almost a dozen more structures for his laborers. His grocery bills were enormous because his house was often the scene of entertainment. Langford had five teenage daughters which insured that the naval officers from Esquimalt were often guests at balls, hunts and picnics held at Colwood Farm.

These events were not the beginning of society in Victoria, for there had been a history

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1071 Ibid.
1072 Ibid., 7.
of dances in the “Batchelor’s Hall” in the fort. According to Dr. Helmcken, an early colonial and long-time resident of Victoria, Saturday evenings at the fort were boisterous and gay:

In the evenings there was singing...much to the annoyance of the parson and his wife, but not to the girl boarders in the Staines School. Batchelor’s Hall was the rendezvous of all visitors —if they were socially acceptable, so sometimes there was a goodly number, including Captain Grant and the captains and mates of Her Majesty’s ships when in Harbour.  

However, when Governor Douglas joined the men and guests at Batchelor’s Hall, decorum was the order of the day. He dressed for dinner and expected all others to do likewise. The dinners were ceremonies in the meaning of British custom:

After well-practiced greetings, Douglas “took the head of the table, Mr. Finlayson the foot. Capt. Dodd, Capt. Wishart, Capt Grant, and myself [Rev. Stains] were guests...Grace having been said by Mr. Douglas, on comes the soup, then the salmon, then the meats –venison on this occasion and ducks—then pies and so forth. Having done justice to the dinner and taken a glass ‘to the Queen,’ many of the junior members left. ...Mr. Douglas took his pipe...everyone appeared to smoke calmly and deliberately.’ The doctor had been “informed that no frivolous conversation was ever allowed at table...Mr. Douglas as a rule came primed with some intellectual or scientific subject, and thus he educated his clerks.”

Thus, Governor Douglas set the tone and the agenda of that new British colony, the furthest removed in North America from Britain. “An exaggerated Britishness came to characterize the colony—almost as if Douglas had taken HBC Secretary Archibald Barclay’s ‘Land Policy of the Colony of Vancouver Island’ to the letter.  

The governor moved out of the fort, built a fine house on James Bay that included a croquet lawn for his family’s and guest’s civilized amusement. His friend Dr Helmcken remarked

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1075 Ibid., 97. “In 1849 Barclay wrote that “the object of every sound system of colonization should be, not to re-organize Society on a new basis...but to transfer to the new country whatever is most valuable and most approved in the institutions of the old, so that society may, as far as possible, consist of the same classes, united together by the same ties and having the same relative duties to perform in one country as the other.” 97.
that the small colony had become “as civilized as any respectable village in England.”

This civilized example of British culture was enhanced by the crew of *HMS Thetis* who played the first cricket match on Vancouver Island in Beacon Hill Park, which Governor Douglas had ordered built as part of his effort to bring civilization to this far-away colony of the British empire.

The Langford’s added to the standard for cultural enjoyment with their five marriageable daughters. Mrs. Langford’s piano provided hours and days of cultured bliss for the officers of Her Majesty’s ships that hove to in Esquimalt Bay. Guests generally stayed for more than one day, with dances followed by hunts and picnics on the days following. “The effect of the navy’s presence on the little settlement which was slowly growing on southern Vancouver island was enormous. Not only did it provide a market for colonial goods, but it also had a marked impact on society.”

With the coming of the gold rushes the demographics of the colony changed dramatically as Americans, Chinese and many other nationalities flooded into Victoria. However, it was the British “navy and particularly its officers [who] all but guaranteed that British values would predominate and that one’s position in British ‘society’ would remain the yardstick of social success.”

Langford, like Grant before him, left the island, after just a few years, in 1861. But the influence of both men remained because their English charm and character helped stamp the colony as a little piece of Britain. Langford’s English influence lived on in Victoria after he returned to England. Two of his daughters married British naval officers. Other colonial maidens married English immigrants and naval men who settled in Victoria, adding to the British character of the colony.

Victoria had four main company farms: “Craigflower Manor, built by Kenneth Mackenzie, the manager of Craigflower Farm. The other Company farms were operated by E.E.

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1076 Ibid., 97.
1078 Ibid., 31-32.
Most of the company men, for the first few years of the colony, lived in the structures inside the fort, which had few buildings that could accommodate the Governor, the officers of the company and the men. As the colony grew, more buildings were built outside the fort, and a small village emerged as the farms proliferated north and east of the fort. Settlers began to arrive who were not part of the Bay Company or the Puget’s Sound Agricultural Company. These independent farmers began to chaff at the strict rule of Governor Douglas who was also chief factor for the Bay Company.

9.3 Democratic Government Comes To Victoria

Governor Douglas not only insisted on high standards of behavior, he also understood the need for a bureaucracy that could assist him in maintaining order in the colony. He had become dissatisfied with the decisions of the justices of the peace and saw the need to instill more level-headed courtroom decisions. His appointment of his brother-in-law, David Cameron as the judge of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice for Vancouver was an effort to bring about fairer decisions than were rendered by the justices of the peace, men like Edward Langford, Thomas Skinner, Kenneth McKenzie and Thomas Blinkhorn who were all successful farmers. But Douglas did not realize the impact of his strict discipline on the settlers. Several of the independent settlers communicated their grievances to authorities in London, as did Langford and Skinner. 

“By this time [1855] the British government had received numerous complaints from independent settlers, asking for some voice in their own affairs. Douglas was accordingly ordered to hold elections for a House of Assembly.” He was reluctant but grudgingly followed his orders. “In February 1856 the Colonial Office instructed Governor Douglas to call for elections without Delay.” The first elected assembly on Vancouver Island consisted of only seven men. Dr. J. S. Helmcken was elected speaker. Douglas’s haughty

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1079 Ibid
1082 Adams, *Old Square-Toes*, 112. See also: Pethick & Baumgarten’s *British Columbia Recalled*, p. 51.
behavior did not decrease after the assembly was elected. He did not approve of an elected assembly and had a difficult time working with it. But the problems that he had with the first elected Assembly were nothing compared to the impact on Victoria of the gold rush of 1858. The first census of Vancouver had been taken in 1854. It counted 774 whites in Vancouver, of whom 232 lived in Victoria and 151 in Nanaimo. In 1858 “20,000 men passed through Victoria, and the population of the settlement jumped from 300 to 5,000.” The Age of the Fur Trade became the Age of the Gold Rush.

9.4 Victoria And The Fraser And Cariboo Gold Rushes

The complexions of many of the inhabitants of Victoria and Vancouver Island, prior to the gold rush were darker than the typical English immigrant because many of the Scots of the Old North West Company who had joined with the Bay Company had previously taken native wives, and their children were Creole. Governor Douglas’ wife was an Indian, and Douglas himself had native blood on his mother’s side. The influx of American gold miners to Victoria included many bigots. “The indigenous people and mixed-blood families connected to the HBC found themselves visible minorities in heir own community.” Douglas witnessed the bigotry of the Americans who swarmed into Victoria on their way to the Fraser. “Many of those who flooded into the colony were racists, and a number of the arrivals from England regarded the colonials with disdain.” Crime exploded along with the population of Victoria. Most of the men who came to Victoria, proceeded on to the gold fields. However, enough stayed to grow the town’s population. “In six weeks over 200 wooden buildings were erected, while the latter months of the year saw the appearance of two brick hotels; one of them was opened in October – with a ball!”

The invasion of gold seekers to Victoria shocked the town’s 300 or so residents. After

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1083 Pethick & Baumgarten, British Columbia Recalled, 54. See also: Gibbon’s History of the Canadian Pacific, 103.
1084 Adams, Old Square-Toes, 120.
1085 Ibid.
1086 Pethick and Baumbarten, Britsh Columbia Recalled, 55.
they recovered from the shock of the wave of rough male gold-seekers, they “became caught up in speculation fever.”¹⁰⁸⁷ Those who owned homes in town rented them out for as much as $100 a month. Often these same shrewd investors would then buy lots further away from Victoria at inflated prices, only to see their investments shrink in value after the rush was over. The town grew into a tent city overnight. A few residents were shrewd enough to capitalize on the appetites of the gold seekers to make their own fortunes. One example of this was “James Yates, born in Scotland in 1819,” who had “signed on with the HBC as a ship’s carpenter in 1849.”¹⁰⁸⁸ He arrived in Fort Victoria with his wife that same year. But he quickly abandoned his wife and the HBC to try his luck in the California gold fields. He returned to Victoria a little while later, without much to show for his gold fever. His fortune changed, however, when he became a wine and spirit merchant during the 1850s. Yates’ successful liquor business allowed him to invest in land and buildings. As a result he became one of the richest men in Victoria.¹⁰⁸⁹

During the summer of 1858, almost 230 buildings had been built --of which only 25 were residences, the balance being shops and stores. Annie Deans who had come to the colony in 1853 set down on paper her amazement at the scene: “In the morning there will be bonny green grass, at night there be a house on it.”¹⁰⁹⁰

Prices rose as fast as the housing and shops were being built. The population began to put a strain on the colony’s infrastructure. The wells in the fort and near the head of James Bay were of poor quality. So water was brought into Victoria for three dollars a barrel. The price was considered outlandish at the time, but the miners had to have water. The Songhees village which was located close to Esquimalt and the harbor there became embroiled in the entrepreneurial spirit of the times. The Indian men now had easy access to alcohol, which they could not drink in moderation. They became addicted to being drunk and turned their women into prostitutes to make enough money to keep them drunk. The Songhees also captured

¹⁰⁸⁷ Reksten, More English Than the English, 41.
¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid., 43.
¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., 42.
¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid.
women from other tribes that became their slaves in prostitution. Matthew Macfie, who came to Victoria in the fall of 1859 recorded his observations of this degraded scene:

One cannot walk up the Esquimalt road by day or night without encountering the sight of these Indian slaves squatting in considerable numbers in the bush. Particularly discerning were the men of the Royal Navy. The extent to which the nefarious practices are encouraged by the crews of Her Majesty’s ships is a disgrace to the service they represent...So unblushingly is this traffic carried on that I have seen the husband and wife of a native family canvassing from one miner’s shanty to another, with the view of making assignations for the squaws in their possession. 1091

Victoria was polluted physically as well as morally. Privies and cesspools were constructed wherever the owner thought most convenient, rather than with a care for one’s neighbor or civic responsibility. The soapy water from the bath houses flowed into the streets and the smells from the effluent and rotting refuge was noxious during the summer months. While the streets were now lined with stores and board walks, it was still a rough, thrown-together town. In the 1860s water was still brought to town in barrels hauled by carts. “The Victoria Gas company had been incorporated in November, 1860 making it almost two years older than the town.” 1092 By 1863 the town had gas lamps lighting the streets and board sidewalks. Just as the town appeared to be cleaning itself up and becoming more orderly, the gold rush which had moved from the Fraser to the Cariboo was over. By 1864 the population of Victoria was down to 700. “Victoria was accustomed to a revival of business during the fall and winter months but the fall of 1865 had brought nothing but general despondency and depression.” 1093 The general depression led to cost-cutting governmental reforms.

Vancouver Island had a colonial governor and an Assembly. British Columbia had the same. However, “on August 6, 1866 Queen Victoria put her signature to An Act for the Union of the Colony of Vancouver Island with the Colony of British Columbia.” 1094 To the dismay of the residents of Victoria, when they read the fine print it became clear that the act actually allowed

1091 Ibid., 45.
1092 Ibid., 58.
1093 Ibid., 69.
1094 Ibid., 71.
British Columbia to absorb Vancouver Island. For the next two years the two entities lobbied for
the seat of government. British Columbia’s colonial Governor Frederick Seymour stalled the
vote on the issue of the seat of government. This provided time for the Victorians to marshal
sufficient support for the capital of British Columbia to be Victoria. Governor Seymour died
shortly after this crisis of acute alcoholism. The location of the seat of government, for all of
British Columbia, in Victoria helped the town to grow. Immigration of British families and second
sons during the 1860s and 1870s resulted in the town developing a growing number of stately
homes, and even a few “castles.”

Castle Cary is an example of the eccentricity of its first owner, George Hunter
Cary, the Attorney General of Vancouver Island. Now that the capital of British Columbia was
settled, the new Governor of British Columbia arrived in 1864 to take Douglas’ place. Governor
Arthur Edward Kennedy, newly arrived from England, quickly came to the realization that the
governor’s mansion was his own property. So Kennedy was forced to find a suitable residence.
Castle Cary seemed to fill the bill for the new governor. Castle Cary was built atop a hill on
twenty-five acres overlooking the Straits of Juan de Fuca. George Hunter Cary had come to
British Columbia to strike it rich in the gold fields. He purchased a gold mine in the Cariboo
region and assumed that it would make him rich. Before finding out whether the mine would
pay, Cary commissioned a local engineer, Fred Walter Green, to build him a castle. In 1868
the castle had a three story “drum-tower, with a porte-cashere at one end and an enormous bay
window at the other; the roof was festooned with battlements, supported by corbels.” It was
once described as looking like a “semi-ruined Scottish border castle.” Shortly after the
building of Castle Cary the townspeople began to suspect that their Attorney General was more
than a little mad. Governor Douglas eventually dismissed Cary who went back to England and
then did go completely insane.

1095 Paul G. Chamberlain, Victoria’s Castles: A Brief History of Lovers, Madmen, Millionaires and Ghosts
on Canada’s Imperial Margins (Victoria: Dingle House Press, 2005), 5.
1096 Ibid., 6.
1097 Ibid.
Kennedy only spent one year in Castle Cary as the governor of British Columbia. He was followed by Frederick Seymour, who did not have Kennedy's same taste in castles. The important thing, however, was that Victoria was securely the capital of the colony and the governor had a respectable castle as his residence. The many Americans who were residents of Victoria at the end of the 1860s thought that Vancouver would eventually fall under the stars and stripes. Manifest Destiny was an article of faith with many Americans both north and south of the Medicine Line. The Americans in Victoria talked up annexation of Vancouver to the United States. This idea horrified the English elite of the colony. A petition with forty names of Americans living in Victoria was sent to President Grant, who acknowledged its receipt but did nothing further. The petition and almost constant concern by the government in Ottawa about American designs on the British colony in the Pacific Northwest eventually led to British Columbia entering the Canadian Confederation in 1871.

During the 1870s Victoria had only a little over 3,000 souls. Things seemed quiet on the surface, as many of the quiet English elite went about amassing their fortunes. For the next thirty years Victorians witnessed six more castles or elaborate mansions constructed by British men who wished to display their status and enjoy the fruits of their labor. This leads one to question why castles were constructed. According to Paul G. Chamberlain in the introduction of his book on Victoria's castles:

Why were so many castles built in Victoria? Part of the reason is money. Investments first began to trickle into the city when the Hudson’s Bay Company established a fur trading post at Fort Victoria in 1843.....Fur brought men to this fine city; however, it was gold, lumber, coal, agriculture, fishing, real estate and retailing that inflated the pockets of the city’s richest businessmen, and this made it inevitable that conspicuous consumption would be reflected in their grand residences—but why castles? An important clue lies in the ethnic composition of the city. Victoria’s financial elite in those days were almost all British; many were of Scottish extraction, a good number having come to British Columbia to work for the Hudson’s Bay Company. [Another reason is ]An architectural movement known as Romantic Gothic Revivalism was sweeping across Canada during the 19th century...For almost fifty years nearly all Anglican churches in Canada were built according to its precepts...[as an ]
attempt to replicate the noble spirit of medieval architecture throughout the British Empire.\footnote{1098}

Castles in Canada were not solely to be found in Victoria. One existed in Toronto, Ontario and there were others scattered throughout Canada. However, they were concentrated in Victoria as in no other town or province in Canada. The castles of Victoria made a dramatic statement about the allegiance of the British born wealthy elite to the empire.\footnote{1099}

9.5 The Canadian Pacific Railroad And Victoria

At the same time that Victorians were becoming members of the Canadian Confederation, the British Parliament was taking a new interest in Canada. “Disraeli, the Prime Minister, who in 1853 had written ‘those wretched colonies are a millstone round our necks,’ was now positively genial.”\footnote{1100} The Government became convinced that if British Columbia could be encouraged to join the Confederation and if Rupert’s Land could be secured from the Hudson’s Bay Company as one or more Canadian provinces, a railway system could join all of Canada together. “One of the conditions of Confederation under the British North America Act was that the Intercolonial Railway connecting the Maritime Provinces with Canada, which had been hanging fire for twenty years, should be forthwith constructed.”\footnote{1101} The history of the Canadian Pacific Railroad begins with John A. Macdonald’s action, as the first premier of the New Dominion encouraged the first Parliament at Ottawa to build the Intercolonial railroad.

In 1869 loans were authorized by the governor in council in the amount of C(Canadian)$1,460,000 “for the purpose of opening up a communication with, and of the settlement and administration of the government of the Northwest Territories.”\footnote{1102} This is understood by many Canadian historians as the “first step having a direct financial bearing on

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\footnote{1098} Ibid., 1-2.  
\footnote{1099} Chamberlain, Victoria’s Castles, 3.  
\footnote{1101} Ibid.  
\footnote{1102} Ibid.
the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.” The project which some say had its beginnings with the actions of the governor in 1869 would not come to fruition until 1885.

A transcontinental railroad linking British Columbia to the rest of the Canadian confederation was the basis upon which British Columbia joined the other provinces of Canada. The sixteen years between 1871 and the pounding of the final spike linking Montreal and Vancouver for the CPR was not only the most technically difficult but also the most financially challenging for any railroad built in North America. There were other important reasons for building a transcontinental railroad linking the east and west coasts of Canada: concern about aggrandizement by the United States. “The threat of territorial take-over by the United States was a driving force in mid-nineteenth-century Canadian political thinking.” These concerns had a legitimate basis in fact. In 1847 the United States had absorbed California, New Mexico, Arizona and Nevada as spoils of the Mexican-American War. In 1867 the United States had paid Russia $7200,000 and had absorbed Alaska. There was now American territory north and south of the Canadian provinces. The Canadians would have been foolish to ignore all of these warning signs. Yet, in 1871, it was considered by many to be “an act of insane recklessness” that the Macdonald government should agree to building a transcontinental railroad.

Besides the obstacle presented by the Rocky Mountains which are actually four ranges between the Pacific and the prairies, there was the Canadian Shield.

The Canadian Shield was a vast horseshoe-shaped area of millions of square miles which surrounded Hudson’s Bay on the east, west and south. Its southernmost region extended into what is now Northern Minnesota. It is the largest physiographic region in Canada. “It was formed as part of the earth’s crust some 3 billion years ago, and the hard, crystalline rocks of

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1103 Ibid., 145.
the shield are among the oldest in the world.”

It presented one of the two major hurdles for the CPR’s construction of the transcontinental railroad. It was generally believed by railroad experts that the muskeg and rock area north of Lake Superior posed an impenetrable barrier to railway construction. “James J. Hill thought that it would be impossible for the CPR to traverse the muskeg and rock north of Lake Superior.” He was so convinced of that impossibility that he entered into an arrangement with the syndicate that was interested in building the CPR to purchase a bankrupt American railroad to extend across the border to Winnipeg in 1878. However, the engineers working for the CPR found a way to lay track on the muskeg along the edge of Lake Superior after losing considerable equipment, not to mention a locomotive in the process.

The CPR experienced financial problems from the inception of the project. In an effort to attract businessmen to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, “the Conservative Party government of Canadian Prime minister Sir John Alexander Macdonald offered a C(Canadian)$30 million cash subsidy and a land grant of 20 million hectares (50 million acres) along the route of the railway.” In 1872 the first CPR contract was awarded to Sir Hugh Allan, a wealthy businessman from Montreal. However, in the following year Macdonald lost to the Liberal Party because they learned that Allan had contributed heavily to Macdonald’s campaign. The scandal became known as the Pacific Scandal, which forced Macdonald to resign his office. When the Liberal Party won, Allan was forced to give up the contract. “The

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1108 Hayes, Derek. *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada’s History Illustrated with Original Maps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002), 219. The solution to the problem of the muskeg was the construction of trestles that reached down to bedrock and the use of a corduroy base made of long logs laid over the muskeg and covered with clay then the ties and tracks.
1109 Ibid. Of course Hill was also interested in diverting the lucrative trade from Canada on a rail line that he owned into the United States.
The Liberal's were not enthusiastic about a transcontinental railroad; however, they did advertise for proposals just as the country was going into a depression. The depression prevented any entrepreneurs from generating sufficient capital to seek the contract. The depression lasted until 1879. This forced the government to take up construction of the railroad itself, because of the promise made to British Columbia. A new Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was established to build the railroad because the government was having great difficulty making any progress.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was established in February, 1881 and began to build the transcontinental railway that year. The C$25,000,000 given to the CPR was not sufficient to build the railroad, so the syndicate looked to New York and London for additional backing. The new business consortium was headed by George Stephen and Donald Smith, both well-known Montreal financiers. Smith, like many of the Bay Company, was a Scottish immigrant, who had been a long-time employee of the Bay Company. He rose from obscurity to become a chief factor for the Company. As his prestige grew, so did his responsibilities. Smith became one of the three Commissioners to negotiate with Riel during the first rebellion in 1873. He then became the Land Commissioner for the Company. While in the employ of the Bay Company, Smith also partnered with George Stephen and Hugh Allan in several ventures including “the Canada Cotton Manufacturing Company in Cornwall, Ontario in July 1872.” He invested in the Bank of Montreal, railroads and land, textile manufacturing, bricks and pottery. “The very fact that he could be making such purchases, however, indicates the extent to which he was not dependent on the Hudson’s Bay Company for his income. It also suggests

1112 Ibid. See Also: Careless. 266.
1113 Donna McDonald, Lord Strathcona: A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2002), 197. Hugh Allan was a wealthy Scot whose family owned a large steamship line. George Stephen was also a Scot who came to Canada a wealthy man from his shrewd investments during the Crimean War. From Gibbon’s History of the Canadian Pacific. 16-120.
that his shares in the Bank of Montreal alone were making him a wealthy man." An under-developed country like Canada, with its huge frontier presented a wealth of possibilities for a canny businessman like Smith. It was a natural progression for Smith to invest in the Canadian Pacific Railroad. He had in 1881, a history of railroad investment going back to his investment in the Pullman Company.1115

The fate of Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary and Victoria, as well as a dozen other towns in-between, were the result of the decision by the CPR consortium to take a southern route instead of the route surveyed through Edmonton. Smith and Steven hired an American, William Cornelius Van Horne. "Ultimately it was only the personal determination of Stephen and Van Horne that ensured an all-Canadian route was used, but the compromise was made of using a more southerly route, closer to the US border to guard against competition from American railways."1116 Because of this decision Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary grew almost overnight as the surveyors entered those villages. The new route crossed the Rockies at the Kicking Horse Pass (near present-day Banff, Alberta) then followed a tortuous route along the Fraser River on ledges and through tunnels carved out of solid rock along the sheer cliffs of the Fraser River canyon. The last section of the CPR was cut through Rogers Pass, then through the Selkirk mountains, and finally on to the coast.

When the consortium came into financial difficulties, it sought additional funds both from the Canadian government and from investors in New York and England. Securing investors from England and New York proved difficult and contingent on Ottawa granting additional funds

1114 Ibid.
1115 Ibid. Smith “lent $25,000 to Pullman’s Palace Car Company, taking as security $35,000 in seven percent bonds.” 197. He invested in steamship lines as well as railroads before becoming a partner in the CPR.
1116 Canadian Pacific Railway. Encarta.msn.com/encnet/ref. [accessed October 25, 2009]; See also: William A. Riddell, Regina from Pile O’Bones to Queen City of the Plains, An Illustrated History (Burlington, Ontario: Windsor Publications, 1981), 17. “The railway was built across the southern plains rather than the original, more northerly route through Battleford because of easier and more rapid construction and because it would be commercially in a better position to compete with the United States railways just south of the border. As a consequence, Regina, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current were born.”, 17.
to the CPR. This solution by the MacDonald government drew stringent protests from the opposition. As a result, the London and New York investors agreed to provide Stephen with the needed infusion of capital.

The board of directors [of the CPR] at this time reflected the international character of the shareholders and investors, consisting of four Canadians, namely, George Stephen, R. B. Angus, Donald A. Smith and John Turnbull, all of Montreal; three Englishmen, namely, Pascoe du P. Grenfell, Henry Stafford Northcote and C. D. Rose, of Morton, Rose & Company; one Frenchman, Baron J. de Reinach; R. V. Martinsen, of Amsterdam and New York, and W. L. Scott, of Erie, Pennsylvania. 1117

Construction occurred at a feverish pace, with the surveyors moving so fast that they had no time to consider the economics of the grades, but rather pushed their teams just ahead of the construction crews. On the Pacific side, Henry Onderdonk, construction contractor for the CPR, became infamous for his use of Chinese laborers. There was a tremendous prejudice against the Chinese. An effort was even launched to keep their transports from landing them at Victoria. Those efforts failed in large part because it was realized that in order for the railroad to be built, Chinese labor was required. So, Onderdonk built the railroad from Port Moody, at the mouth of the Fraser River to Eagle Pass. His work on the western side of the Rockies was visited by Sir William Van Horn, sent by the syndicate to examine firsthand the quality of Onderdonk’s work. Onderdonk himself wired to George Stephen his progress:

Van Horne started though Eagle Pass this morning. I examined the line with him nearly one hundred miles east of Kamloops. You will be glad to hear that the engineers have found a most remarkably easy line that will reduce cost on above distance over two millions from what we supposed last winter. The grades and alignment are easy, and the character of the work the cheapest mountain work I have ever seen.1118

The construction crews worked feverishly to meet each other east of Eagle Summit on November 7, 1885. Sir Donald Smith recalled the event years later:

It was a dismal, dreary day in the first week of November, but we soon got out into the open country, and presently it was one of those bright, pleasant, bracing days of the autumn summer.”1119

1117 Gibbon, History of the Canadian Pacific, 263.
1118 Ibid., 273.
1119 McDonald, Lord Strathcona, 325.
When the train coming from the east stopped and William Van Horne, Sandford Fleming and Donald Smith stepped down, the construction workers moved in closer to see the famous members of the syndicate that made the CPR possible. It has been often reported that the pounding of the last spike was a ceremony much different from that culminating the meeting of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads. There was no golden spike. The general manager of the CPR had declared: “The last spike will be just as good an iron one as there is between Montreal and Vancouver, and anyone who wants to see it driven will have to pay full fare.”

But on that eventful day the general manager was not present. “A maul was handed to Donald, who, in the absence of both the governor general and the railway’s president, was to drive the last spike.” Over 100 men watched Sir Douglas Smith drive in the last spike, completing the first transcontinental railroad across Canada: The Canadian Pacific Railroad.

The CPR ended at Port Moody. Within the year the nine miles of track was laid between Port Moody and the village of Vancouver, which was a better deep water port. Vancouver grew from a quiet village to a city almost overnight. The politicians and newspaper editors on Vancouver Island understood that unless and until the CPR ended in Victoria, the final location of the capital of British Columbia would be at risk. Amor De Cosmos, editor of the Colonist and a former British Columbia premier, tried to persuade the CPR to extend its line to Victoria. He submitted his argument for their consideration. His argument was that the port of Victoria would be more convenient and less expensive for ocean vessels than Port Moody. He submitted a map that “showed a proposed extension of the CPR line from Port Moody to English bay and a connection by ‘Steam Railway Ferry’ to Nanaimo.” The argument failed to convince the CPR directors. The editors and politicians in Victoria watched and worried as Vancouver grew and

1121 McDonald, Lord Strathcona, 325.
1122 Gibbon, History of the Canadian Pacific, 304.
Victoria did not.\footnote{Hayes, Derek. *Historical Atlas of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*. “In 1871, Seattle had a population of 1,107 and Vancouver did not exist, but Victoria’s population was 3,270. By 1911, the population of Seattle was 237,000, Vancouver had 100,000 persons, but Victoria had 31,000.” 179; See also: Terry Reksten’s *Rattenbury* “By 1891...Vancouver’s population had equaled Victoria’s.” 21.} Several efforts to join Victoria to the CPR tracks on the mainland failed. Finally, a Vancouver – Victoria service started in 1897 and in 1901 the ships and coastal services of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Co. were acquired.\footnote{Gibbon *History of the Canadian Pacific*, 191, 303 “To Stephen the Canadian Pacific meant a service stretching [sic]from Liverpool to Hong Kong...”. 303.} From almost the beginning Stephen and members of the government had the vision of the CPR as being an important link in an imperial chain running from Liverpool, England through Canada to Hong Kong.\footnote{Terry Reksten, *Rattenbury* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press. 1978, 1998), 38.}

In 1905, Francis Mawson Rattenbury, renowned architect and Union Club member, built the first CPR steamship terminal in Victoria. It was made of wood. In 1924, the CPR built a more ostentatious steamship terminal of stone, again designed by Rattenbury and modeled after a Greek Temple. The terminal designed by Rattenbury was the first steamship terminal built by the CPR. Victoria finally was connected to the CPR. Its position as the capital of British Columbia, however, had been secured when the original wooden government buildings, known as the “Bird Cages” because of their pagoda like architecture, were replaced by the grand design of Francis Rattenbury’s stone Parliament buildings which opened in 1898.\footnote{\textit{Victoria B.C. From Past to Present} (Victoria B.C., Hallmark Society, 2009), 1 (No author).} 9.6 The Vancouver Club, A False Start

Fifteen years before the Union Club was established, in 1864, while Victoria was in the throws of its first gold rush and the small town had little more than mud roads in the winter and dusty streets in the summer the Vancouver Club was established. The Club By-laws, which are located in the British Columbia Archives, have the date 1864 on the cover page. The original founders included Arthur E. Kennedy, Douglas’s successor as Governor, and six officers of the Royal Marine Light Infantry and Royal Navy from the port at Esquimalt. A few past and present Hudson’s Bay officers and appointed members of the colonial government were also members. According to the copy of the By-laws there were fewer than 90 members. The founders set
down in the By-laws their purpose:

The Vancouver Club being constituted on the basis of the best regulated Clubs elsewhere, is intended to promote a social intercourse and to combine all the comforts of a home, being provided with a Restaurant, Card Rooms, Library, Reading and Billiard Rooms, and supplied with such papers, periodicals and magazines as shall appear to the Committee to be requisite. ¹¹²⁷

The entrance fee and monthly membership dues were modest at C$10 and C$5 respectively. To become a member a candidate’s name had to be proposed by an existing member and seconded by another member. The candidate was not admitted if less than 80 percent of the members voted for him. The importance of the military was highlighted because active duty naval or army officers as well as clergymen were admitted at half the cost and without the formality of a ballot process.

Most of the workings of the Vancouver Club, even its location, are a mystery. The By-laws state that “the management of the Club is vested in the proprietor, who will conduct its affairs under the supervision of the Governing Committee.”¹¹²⁸ While the monthly dues were paid to the proprietor, important matters such as wine selection were made by the Governing Committee. The Colonist does record a notice of a meeting of the club at the Colonial Hotel. It is not known where the Vancouver Club had its first meetings. However, it is known, from the 1867 edition of the Pacific Coast Directory that the Colonial, which was on Government street had a restaurant and “attached to it are the conversation, dining and billiard rooms of the Vancouver Club.”¹¹²⁹

The Columbia hotel was managed by Sosthenes Driad, who “died in 1873, two years after he started to operate his new hotel.”¹¹³⁰ Two years after Driad’s death the hotel was ruined by fire; however, the Vancouver Club had already ceased to exist sometime between the death of Driad and the fire in 1875. Between Driad’s death and the fire, his nephew had

¹¹²⁸ By-Laws of the Vancouver Club.
¹¹²⁹ Pacific Coast Directory of 1867. British Columbia Archives.
¹¹³⁰ Dr. Reg Roy, Union Club unpublished manuscript and interviews. Union Club Archives. Victoria, 10.
purchased the hotel. Amor de Cosmos, the publisher of the *Colonist* and one of the Vancouver Club’s more infamous members. He is probably the source of information about the club that made its way into the *Colonist* newspaper. By 1875, the Vancouver Club ceased to exist. It may have been because the new owner of the Colonial Hotel did not wish to continue the relationship. The reasons for the closing of the club remain a mystery.

Between the origin of the Vancouver Club in Victoria in 1864 and its demise in 1875, the town’s and the mainland’s population had tripled because of the Cariboo gold strike. “There was no lack of places in Victoria where men could go to relax. In the town centre there were twenty-one saloons, public houses and hotels where one could find bars, restaurants, billiard rooms and card rooms to while away the time.”\textsuperscript{1131} The problem for the men who were financially successful and/or politically active, was that many of the public watering holes were a little too public. Several gentlemen began to frequent a large room above Morrison’s Drug Store at the corner of Government and Fort Streets, in the center of Victoria for billiards and conversation.

Often the conversation would come around to the subject of a gentlemen’s club. “We know, from comments written in the diary of Mr. Edgar C. Baker, an original or founding member of the Union Club, that he and others had discussions about starting a men’s club in late 1878 and early 1879.”\textsuperscript{1132} These conversations resulted in a meeting in which several the Union Club was formed. There is a linkage between the first gentlemen’s club in Victoria and the Union Club. “Seven members of the Vancouver Club were founding members of what comes to be called the Union Club.”\textsuperscript{1133} However, the relationship between the Vancouver Club and the Union Club is not the same as the one between the Commercial Club and the Fort Worth Club, or the Cactus Club and the Cheyenne Club. In both of those cases the earlier club gave rise to the next and more renowned club. In both cases the earlier club was closely linked

\textsuperscript{1131} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1132} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1133} Ibid.
to the more prestigious club by several members who decided to rename and upgrade their club. Such was not the case with the Vancouver Club which was closed four years before the Union Club was organized.

9.7 Formation Of The Union Club Of Victoria

Paul L. Bissley, the long time Secretary of the Union Club of Victoria succumbed to exaggeration when he stated in his book “[c]ulture came to Victoria on an early spring day in April, 1879, when a group of gentlemen met over Van Volkenburg’s butcher shop on the south-east corner of Yates and Government Streets, and founded the Union Club of British Columbia.” It is evident from much of this chapter on the beginnings of Victoria, during Sir Douglas’ tenure as chief factor of the Bay Company and Governor of the Colony, that English Victorian standards and customs were very much a part of the foundation of the community. Therefore, the Union Club of Victoria stands out from the previous English gentlemen’s club discussed in previous chapters as being much more reflective of a distinctly English community, rather than reflective of a small group of powerful ranchers or businessmen with links to Britain. A significant number of the residents of Victoria were intent to make it, as much as they could, a replica of what they had left behind in England. However, while the town of Victoria became quite British in tone because of the many English, Scottish and Irish residents, the Union Club, as with the other American and Canadian gentlemen’s clubs was made up of a small group of self-selected individuals who saw themselves as elite. “They were simply the ones with the right connections, leadership skill a little above the rest, and a definite belief in their own superiority.” Writing of eight elite families in early Victoria, historian Valerie Green concluded that

Their place in high society came about initially as a result of close association with the Hudson’s bay Company, sometimes in the form of a “letter of introduction.” As the years went by, it was also important to be connected

socially to the Royal Navy. Later still, political connections were of paramount importance.\textsuperscript{1136}

At least half of the eight elite families were members of the Union Club: Sir Frank Barnard K.C.M.G., Peter O’Reilly, J. D. Pemberton, and Joseph Trutch. The other elite families may have become members of the Club, but since the minutes of the original club have been lost, this is difficult to determine.

The founding members of the Union Club, unlike those of the Vancouver Club 15 years earlier, were not interested in rooms in a hotel or above a saloon. These gentlemen wanted a Club in which they could be as comfortable as they were in their own homes. The first home of the Union Club, therefore, was a large space. “It had been partitioned off into a main hall 35 by 50 feet and two other rooms each 14 by 20 feet in area.”\textsuperscript{1137} The Union Club quickly grew to 78 charter members. The building had a comfortable location, but it did not have the feel of an English gentlemen’s club because it was in a bare commercial building. The membership nevertheless grew and within five years had reached 149.\textsuperscript{1138} The original club rooms could no longer meet the growing demands of its membership. The natural conclusion drawn at the general meeting called to discuss the matter was to build a suitable clubhouse. It fell to the Honorable Mr. Justice M. Tyrwhitt-Drake as President of the Union Club to oversee the building of the new club. “On March 27th, City lots 230 and 231 were purchased from Mr. F.S. Barnard for $3,000, and on April 7th, lot 232 was purchased from Mr. H.H. Turner for the sum of $4,000.”\textsuperscript{1139} These lots were located at the corner of Courtenay and Douglas Streets.

It is well documented that the first president of the Union Club was one of the more important gentlemen in British Columbia at the time, Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie-Bigbie. Begbie is second only to James Douglas in importance in preserving the colony of British Columbia through its most challenging days. Bigbie, like Douglas, was born in the tropics.

\textsuperscript{1136} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1137} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{1138} Paul L. Bissley, \textit{The Union Club of British Columbia, 100 Years, 1879-1979} (Vancouver: Evergreen Press Ltd., 1979), 35.
\textsuperscript{1139} Ibid.
“Begbie’s father was Colonel Thomas Stirling Bigbie, a veteran of the Peninsular War, while his mother was the daughter of a General Baillie, who had also served with distinction in the Napoleonic conflict.” Matthew Baillie-Bigbie’s father sent him to Cambridge for his education. He studied both mathematics and the classics, and he received a degree in 1841. He performed in amateur dramatics and rowed on the college team. He also learned to play tennis there.

Bigbie found himself in the colony of Victoria by sheer luck. At the end of Bigbie’s time at Cambridge, the father of Victoria, James Douglas had asked his superiors in London for a magistrate to travel the gold fields and dispense justice. Bigbie had an interest in the law and considerable stamina, so he applied for and was chosen for the post of the first judge of the colony.

Bigbie was thirty-nine when he arrived on Vancouver Island on November 15, 1858. Douglas took an immediate liking to the man and they sailed together for Fort Langley where Bigbie took the oath of office for his position, “and then administered a similar oath to Douglas as first governor of the new colony.”

Bigbie then set off for the gold fields where he was supposed to dispense justice among the miners. Most of the gold miners had come from California where the gold fields were ruled by anarchy and rough vigilante justice in miners’ courts. “The view that las [sic] was something which descended from precedent, was amplified or altered by legislation, and was administered by judges appointed for life by the Queen and her ministers – that was a concept quite alien to the miners’ background.

Bigbie stayed on the circuit in the interior of British Columbia long after Douglas had retired. He developed a reputation as a hard judge of character and fearless in the face of danger. His rulings were sometimes unique, his knowledge of the law sometimes questionable, but his command of his courtroom, whether in a tent or a courtroom in the colonial capital, was undisputed. Several of his judgments have been saved for posterity. One example is his oration

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1141 Ibid.
1142 Ibid.
1143 Ibid.
when he sentenced a man for stealing from a church box:

> When you come out, never shake an honest man by the hand –never look an honest man in the face! Go to the other side of the world where you are not known. Should you be so unwise as to stay in this country, and should your form again throw its shadow in this courthouse, charged with crime, and you are found guilty, and I am sitting this bench, I will send you to a place where you will speak to your fellow man no more, at least while there incarcerated. Go down! Warder, take him out of my sight!\(^\text{1144}\)

Bigbie had no patience with violent men. He came from an English tradition where the law for centuries was seen as a complete remedy for violence. The tradition of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had already been thoroughly established in Canada. Therefore, Bigbie dealt harshly with violent offenders, especially those from the United States which he, like many Englishmen, considered a lawless land. When he sentenced one violent offender he gave this speech:

> Prisoner, I am glad to see that your case has drawn together, in this temporary court of justice, so many of your compatriots. I am given to understand that the mining class of the western states look upon liberty as a condition of life which gives them the right to defy the laws of their country, and to govern it according to their wishes by the might of the Bowie knife and Colt’s revolver. You, prisoner, are a good representative of that class, and I am told that there are many more of your kidney within the sound of my voice using offensive weapons, and let me tell those who are in court that in the course of my duty I will punish most severely all those. We have a law which prohibits the use of bowie knives, pistols and other offensive weapons, and in those countries over which the British flag flies there is no necessity for carrying or using offensive weapons, and let me tell those who are in court that in the course of my duty I will punish most severely all those who, coming into this British colony, make use of such deadly weapons. Prisoner, the jury have very properly found you guilty of this wanton and cowardly attack. You will spend three years in a place of confinement to be determined on, and in giving you this sentence I feel that I have been very lenient with you.\(^\text{1145}\)

Bigbie’s firm belief in the British system on justice shines through his speeches as lessons to those who have done wrong, and as warnings to those who might consider such actions. Because of his hard work, character and his position as first judge in British Columbia, “he was appointed Chief Justice of he united colonies in 1870, the year he moved to Victoria.”\(^\text{1146}\)

\(^{1144}\) Ibid., 87.
\(^{1146}\) Roy, *The Union Club*, 15.
Bigbie was not beyond justifiable criticism for some of his rulings and procedures. He had a profound distrust of American-trained lawyers, and kept them out of his court rooms until over-ruled by Governor Douglas on that point. His rulings were sometimes original. But through his will and strength of character justice came to what otherwise would have been a lawless gold-mining region of British Columbia.

Bigbie’s personal life is as interesting as his life on the bench. He lived to be seventy-five and never married. He was a man of singular habits. He wore his judicial robes quite often outside the courtroom, along with his “satin knee-breeches…. followed by his numerous spaniels.” He never lost his love of singing and music. “For example Victoria’s first official theatre, seating 500 people, was converted by him from a warehouse formerly within the palisades of the old Hudson’s Bay Co. fort.” He was the first president of the Victoria Philharmonic Society. He would sometimes take the stage as a soloist with a fine bass voice. He also played tennis into his seventies. A confirmed bachelor, he often entertained at his home. “An invitation to his Tuesday Tennis parties or to his Saturday night dinners... was the hallmark of acceptance into the upper echelons of society,” wrote Harry Gregson in his History of Victoria 1842-1970. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1875. He died of cancer while still sitting on the bench in 1894. The throng of mourners was so large that directions for procession had to be printed and distributed in advance of the funeral. Peter Reilly was one of Bigbie’s two friends in the chief mourner’s carriage, since he had no relatives in Victoria, was a fellow member of the Union Club. Matthew Baillie-Bigbie was a fitting choice to be the first president of the Union Club.

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1147 Pethick, Men of British Columbia, 88.
1148 Roy, The Union Club. 15.
1150 Ibid. “The Union Club under the presidency of the ubiquitous Sir Matthew Begbie was ‘a model of economy and good management.”’ See also: Pethick, Summer of Promise: Victoria: 1864-1914 (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1980), 97.
9.8 Five Upper Class Founders Of The Union Club

From the early years of Sir James Douglas, factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company and then Governor of the Crown Colony of Victoria, there was a distinction between the social classes. Douglas helped to establish that distinction by his habits, manners and personal expectations. “In the first 75 years of Victoria’s social activity among the ‘aristocracy’ times changed considerably.”\textsuperscript{1151} It was a period of the height of the era of Victorian morality, “when morals and standards were paramount, and customs and traditions all important. The one thing that remained a constant through it all was the strong division of the classes.”\textsuperscript{1152} The upper class held the view, which was generally accepted, “that every human being had his station in life. The social activities of Victoria’s upper class reflected this belief. Since there was only a small minority of truly wealthy and well-born British immigrants, they were not only seen regularly at parties and balls but they tended to marry into each other’s families. Thus it was not a coincidence that Joseph Trutch, the O'Reilly’s, Matthew Baillie-Bigbie, Registrar of Court Charles E. Pooley, Judge Gray, the Creases, and the Pembertons were often on the guest lists of balls and special events. They were all members of the social elite and the Union Club. “More evidence of the ‘togetherness’ of the official classes is seen in honoured guests at a concert given in St. John’s Church in 1873. They included Joseph Trutch, Admiral Hillyard, the ubiquitous Bigbie, Jude Gray and Sir James Douglas.”\textsuperscript{1153} How the upper class behaved at their high teas, balls and banquets identified them as members of that class. They understood the rules for their behavior at each of those functions. “The way they dressed, how they travelled, their conversations, and their customs were all important means of recognizing and establishing their rightful place in society.”\textsuperscript{1154} It was a rigid system that had rules for “where they lived, who they married, and even how they were buried.”\textsuperscript{1155} All of these behaviors were

\textsuperscript{1151} Ibid., 115.  
\textsuperscript{1152} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1153} Gregson. History of Victoria, 100.  
\textsuperscript{1154} Green, Above Stairs, 115.  
\textsuperscript{1155} Ibid.
powerful indices of a family’s station in the establishment.

9.8.1 The Peter O'Reilly Family

Peter O'Reilly was born in 1828 in County Meath, Ireland. His father was Patrick O'Reilly of Ballybeg House; his mother, Mary Blundell of Lancashire. Peter O'Reilly was educated in Ireland and became a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, known at the time as the Irish Revenue Police. It was not until the age of thirty that he determined to immigrate to Canada. He was able to meet with James Douglas, factor of the Bay Company, because of a letter of introduction. Douglas offered him a position as Justice of the Peace for the District of Langley. His career quickly accelerated and he became Magistrate and Gold Commissioner in Cariboo.\footnote{Gregson. History of Victoria, 1842-1970, 74.}

In 1863 he was appointed to serve in the Legislative Council of British Columbia. He spent most of his time on the mainland. However when he came to Victoria, he was often a dinner guest at “Fairfield,” the Trutch family home. It was there that Peter O'Reilly met Joseph Trutch’s sister, Caroline, with whom he quickly fell in love and subsequently married. Caroline eventually followed Peter back to the mainland, but they built a second home in Victoria at Point Ellice. Point Ellice House was the scene of many parties in the 1880s:

Winter skating parties, summer picnics, riding, boating, lawn tennis and cricket abounded. The O'Reilly’s lawn, which curved lazily down to the banks of the Arm, was the scene of the first lawn tennis tournament in Victoria. The yearly Gorge regattas on Queen Victoria’s birthday in May were times of Open House at Point Ellice. Naval personnel were frequently entertained there as were the influential and important members of Victoria society. Not only had one of Caroline O'Reilly’s Brothers (Joseph) held the position of British Columbia’s first Lieutenant-Governor from 1871-1876, but her other brother (John) had married the sister of Anthony Musgrave, one time Governor of the Colony. The families were therefore well ensconced in the high society elite of the day. Most probably the highlight of their social life was when they entertained Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and his wife to dinner in 1886.\footnote{Ibid., 74-75.}

As can be seen from the marriage relationships, the social and political elite in Victoria were often related. O'Reilly became an important member of the judicial and political system in
Victoria and British Columbia because of the friendships that he and his wife’s family made.

9.8.2 The Joseph Trutch Family

The Trutch family was part of the social elite and politically powerful establishment of nineteenth-century Victoria. Joseph Trutch was undoubtedly a member of the Union Club. The history of the Trutch’s and O’Reilly’s are so intertwined that they cannot be completely separated. Joseph Trutch was born in the West Indies of English landed gentry. He was educated at Mount Radford School in Exeter, after which he became an engineer and worked for five years apprenticeship with John Rennie’s engineering firm. News of the California gold rush drew him to America. But his profound and vocal distaste for Americans pushed him toward Canada. Before Joseph Trutch migrated to Vancouver he settled for a while in Oregon where he met Julia Hyde, a cultivated and intelligent American lady. Joseph’s brother John then moved to Vancouver Island, and his brother and sister-in-law soon followed. Joseph’s reason was two-fold: to once again be living under British law and customs, and to have the opportunities that a frontier environment afforded.

The Trutch family docked in “Victoria in June, 1859 with a recommendation from Colonel Moody to Governor Douglas that Joseph Trutch be given a contract to survey the rural area of British Columbia.”\footnote{Valerie Green. \textit{Above Stairs: Social Life in Upper Class Victoria, 1843-1918} (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1995), 84.} Douglas hired Trutch and was quite satisfied with his work. From that point on, Trutch received lucrative contracts for the construction of roads and bridges in British Columbia. Along with his brother John, he became quite famous for the construction of a suspension bridge across the Faser River. His fame led to his election “to the legislative council of Vancouver Island in November 1861.”\footnote{Ibid., 85.} By this time Joseph Trutch had become quite wealthy. His appointment to that government position caused a conflict of interest because of his many government contracts. So he gave up that position only to become Chief
Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia. In addition to his friendship with Governor Douglas, he was also friends with Attorney-General Henry Crease, from Mount Radford school days, and with Governors Seymour and Musgrave.

Joseph Trutch, J.S. Helmcken and Dr. R. W. W. Carrall were chosen to go to Ottawa to negotiate the terms for union within a Canadian Confederation. “It was Trutch who suggested the railway situation should be of prime importance in the terms, but he wanted this ‘railway engagement’ to be included and carried out in a way that would ‘secure the prosperity of the whole Dominion of which she [B.C.] is a part.” During these delicate negotiations Joseph Trutch came to the attention of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister. Macdonald offered the position of British Columbia’s first Lieutenant-Governor to Trutch, who accepted the position. As British Columbia’s Lieutenant-governor, Trutch moved into Cary Castle where his lovely wife Julia became the perfect hostess. He served in that position until 1876, when he and Julia returned to England. In 1880 they returned to Victoria and Trutch became an advisor to John Macdonald, who was back in power with his conservative government. Julia died in Victoria in 1895. Joseph returned to England, where he died in 1904.

Joseph Trutch served British Columbia and Canada with honor and distinction. However, “Joseph was considered by many to be the typical ‘stuffy Englishman.’” He was known to many as a snob. “Being a product of ‘imperial England’s confidence in the superiority of her own civilization’ he always considered other races, notably the native Indians, to be inferior.” Because of Joseph Trutch’s political position and great wealth, he was a prime candidate for membership in the Union Club. Other than De Cosmos Amor, there were few members of the government who served at Trutch’s level who were not members of the Union Club.

1161 Green, Above Stairs, 85.
1163 Green, Above Stairs, 89.
1164 Ibid.
9.8.3 The Joseph Depard Pemberton Family

The Joseph Depard Pemberton family came from distinguished Irish roots. His father was Dublin’s Lord Mayor in 1806. He was educated at Trinity College in Dublin, which was fitting for a gentleman’s son. He studied engineering and entered the International Exhibition design competition of 1851 in which he “was awarded the Prince Albert Bronze Medal.” Pemberton was awarded a position as Professor of Surveying, Civil Engineering and Mathematics at the Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, but teaching was not a sufficient challenge. Pemberton therefore accepted a position as Colonial Surveyor and Engineer with the Hudson’s Bay Company on Vancouver Island for a three-year term. Pemberton was assigned the task of charting the coast line of Vancouver Island. Subsequently, James Douglas asked Pemberton to develop plans for a town next to Fort Victoria. “Between 1853 and 1855, Pemberton surveyed the Island from Sooke to Nanaimo.” The maps that he developed were quite accurate. His high quality work was recognized and he was given a new contract with a significant increase in his salary. He signed his new agreement in London where he had gone to have his first book published by the famous cartographer John Arrowsmith. The book was The South Eastern Districts of Vancouver Island, From a Trigonometrical Survey, made by the Order of the Honourable Hudson’s Bay Company, which won him some public recognition. After his return to Vancouver Island, he explored more of its interior. When he returned to Victoria he became busy designing and building bridges and several buildings.

In 1858 his second contract expired and Pemberton was considering not entering into a third. However, he was convinced by Governor Douglas to become Colonial Surveyor and Surveyor-General for British Columbia. While he held that position, until 1864, Pemberton designed lighthouses and laid out roads throughout southern Vancouver Island. He even found

\[^{1165} \text{Ibid., 48.} \]
\[^{1166} \text{Ibid., 50.} \]
time to become a member of the first Legislative Assembly, and later “in September, 1863 he became a Member of the Executive Council of Vancouver Island.”

By this time Pemberton decided that he was going to make Vancouver Island his home, so he bought property in an area known as Gonzales. He began small with “a log dwelling house 30x20 feet, a barn and some small outhouses…”

With the little house complete he sent for his sister, Susan to join him. Very quickly the Pembertons were entertaining with dances in the little cabin and picnics which included archery for ladies and gentlemen alike. They entertained with Irish charm and hospitality their growing circle of upper-class friends. Susan became Lady Principal of Angela College from 1856 until 1868, when ill health forced her to go back to England. She died in France in 1870. She was remembered by the friends she made and individuals she taught during her 12 years in Victoria. Her brother had traveled back to England several times before and after her death.

In 1860, Joseph Pemberton was in London arranging for his most famous book to be published, *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia*. In 1864, he went back to London to recover from injuries sustained while horseback riding. It was on this trip that he met and married Teresa Jane Depard Grautoff, granddaughter of Justinius Ritze of Germany who had served Princess Wilhelmina.

Teresa Grautoff was from a distinguished family. She was first attracted to him because of his latest book. It was considered to be an exceptionally well written work. It was “Vancouver Island’s first real tourist book and was intended to attract more people from the British Isles to settle on Vancouver Island on the far side of Canada.”

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1167 Pethick, *Men of British Columbia*, 48. Pemberton was of the opinion, along with Helmcken and De Cosmos, in 1870 that Vancouver Is. might have to join the united States because the boom of the gold rush was over and the area between Vancouver and the Dominion of Canada was mostly baron prairies.

66. See also: Green, *Above Stairs*, 50.

1168 Memo from W.F. Tolmie to Thomas Fraser, Secretary of the Hudson’s Bay Company. November 13, 1861. British Columbia Archives.

1169 Depard was a common name in Germany and Britain at that time. The two were not related by blood.

1170 Green, *Above Stairs*, 47.
Upon their return to Gonzales, Joseph Pemberton devoted more time to his family. He had already developed significant land holdings in Victoria, and had amassed a sizable estate. He built a mansion “in 1885 at the southeast corner of St. Charles and Rockland Avenue [which] had 20 rooms, five bathrooms, a billiard room, library, conservatory and, of course, a tower as was then the fashion.” Pemberton had chosen his home-site well, because it not only was on a hill that offered a grand view of the Olympia mountain range, but it also became a favorite building site for other upper class families of Victoria.

The Pembertons entertained lavishly at their grand home. As listed above the Pembertons were members of Victoria’s elite. They were members of the upper class for several important reasons. Pemberton had been an important member of the Hudson’s Bay Company who had impressed James Douglas and the Board of Directors in London. He had achieved high political and appointed offices in the colonial government. His family and his wife’s family backgrounds were of good quality, and finally his work building the important roads and buildings in Victoria had resulted in a significant level of wealth for his family. Any one or two of these reasons would have been enough to secure the Pemberton family a place in the social elite of Victoria; their combination insured his family a place of honor in that elite group.

Joseph Pemberton preceded his wife in death. It was said that he “died a true Victoria death, collapsing while riding in a paper chase.” A member of the Victoria aristocracy even beyond the grave, when “an operating room [was] added to the Jubilee Hospital [it was] as a result of a $2,000 bequest in the will of J. D. Pemberton.” Pemberton had achieved a long list of successes for himself and for the colony during his lifetime. He was also an active member of the Union Club. He was a classic example of the typical member of the Union Club.

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1171 Ibid.
1172 Pethick, Summer of Promise, 130. See also Green, Above Stairs, 53 which states: “Pemberton himself had died suddenly in November 1893 following a heart attack when riding home with his wife from a Hunt Club paper chase. It was a fitting end for a man who had always loved being ‘in the saddle.’” A paper chase is a game in which a person leaves pieces of paper for the rest of the group to follow his trail. It can be done on foot or on horseback. A Hunt Club paper chase would have been on horseback.
1173 Ibid., 135.
with his background in the Hudson’s Bay Company, his political service to the colony and the Dominion of British Columbia, and his position of wealth and social standing in the community.

9.8.4 The Henry Pering Pellew Crease Family

An atypical Union Club member during the early days of the Union Club was Henry Pering Pellew Crease. A native of Cornwall, England he was born in 1823 in Ince Castle, near Plymouth. A member of England’s aristocracy, he was educated at Mount Radford School in Exeter, graduated from Clare College, Cambridge, and “was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple in London.” After he was called to the Upper Bar in 1849, he relocated his family to Toronto in an effort to recoup his family fortune which had been slowly decreasing. This move did not generate the economic opportunities he desired so he moved back to England where his fiancée Sarah was patiently waiting. He decided to try Canada again in 1858, and this time moved to Victoria upon hearing the news of the gold strike in the Cariboo. He left his wife and three daughters in England with the plan that they would join him in two years.

Crease made his mark in Victoria, not as a gold seeker who struck it rich, but as the “Father of the Bar.” He was the first lawyer, or as they are called in England and Canada: barrister, in Victoria. His legal background made him a prime candidate for the Legislative Council and the Assembly. An advertisement in the Colonist shows him running for election:

…I claim your suffrages as a liberal and independent reformer. Every measure that will promote the rapid growth of this promising colony, and foster its real progress, will have my warm support.

Crease was elected to the Colonial Assembly and took his position seriously. But he also continued his private practice in the law. Crease made a significant reputation as a successful barrister and member of the Colonial Assembly. His skills as an attorney called him to the attention of the Lieutenant Governor who appointed him to the post of Attorney-General

By 1870, the great debate had begun to sweep through the Legislative Assembly about

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1174 Green, Above Stairs, 60.
1175 Ibid.
1176 Colonist. (December 12, 1859). British Columbia Archives.
Confederation. Crease as Attorney-General for the Colony led the debate in favor of Confederation. He began his speech by telling his fellow members of the Council:

I am deeply impressed with the momentous character of the discussion into which we are about to enter, the grave importance of a decision by which the fate of this our adopted country of British Columbia must be influenced for better, for worse, for all time to come.¹¹⁷⁷

Crease then stated that the debate about Confederation “had already been accepted by a majority in several previous debates of the Council, notably those of March 19, 1867 and April 28, 1868.”¹¹⁷⁸ To this both Dr. Helmcken and T.L. Woods shouted their descent. Crease insisted that he was correct in his recollection, then went on to justify his position:

Our only option is between remaining a petty isolated Community 15,000 miles from home, eking out a miserable existence on the crumbs of prosperity our powerful and active republican neighbours choose to allow us, or, by taking our place among the comity of nations, becoming the prosperous western outlet on the North Pacific of a young and vigorous people, the eastern boundary of whose possessions is washed by the Atlantic. This is the only option left to faithful subjects of the British crown.¹¹⁷⁹

Crease continued his argument for Confederation by listing the benefits that it would bring to British Columbia. Those benefits included: Canada’s assumption of B.C.’s public debt; the promise of a transcontinental railroad linking British Columbia physically and economically to the Dominion and to England by a far shorter route than existed at that time; the protection of the Royal Navy; and the promise of increased population that would be a by-product of the transcontinental railroad and immigration. He summed up his arguments, in good legal style with the declaration that Confederation: “Would enlarge, not contract, our political horizon, and it would infuse new hope and life blood into the whole system of the colony.”¹¹⁸⁰ His argument was sound but there were those who opposed Confederation for a variety of reasons. Crease made several political enemies because of his stand. For example:

¹¹⁷⁷ “Debate on the subject of Confederation of Canada,” Government Gazette Extraordinary, March & May 1870. Reprinted by the King’s Printer, Victoria,1912.
¹¹⁷⁹ “Debate on the subject of Confederation” See also Green, 61
¹¹⁸⁰ “Debate on the subject of Confederation of Canada,”Government Gazette Extraordinary, March & May 1870. Reprinted by the King’s Printer, Victoria, 1912.
At the time when Crease won his first election, De Cosmos was busy waging a
tireless campaign against the Hudson’s Bay Company, James Douglas, and
anyone else he suspected of being “Company-linked,” including Henry Crease.
His editorial in January 1860 had even intimated that “agents of the Company
[had] secured the return of Tolmie and Crease” to power. De Cosmos caustic
and often bitingly poisonous pen continued to attack Henry Crease and his
contemporaries in the newspapers of the day.\textsuperscript{1181}

While Crease served as Attorney-General, the Crease family lived in New Westminster
where they enjoyed an “active social life as ‘society leaders’.”\textsuperscript{1182} Susan Allison recalls in her
book, “...We met many friends, Judge Crease and his family, our old friend, Mr. O'Reilly and his
wife, formerly Miss Trutch (sister to Joe and John Trutch). ... Our society leaders were Mrs.
Trutch, Mrs. Reilly, Mrs. Crease. ...”\textsuperscript{1183} The Creases moved back to Victoria in 1868 when he
became a judge of the Supreme Court. Henry Crease built “Pentrelew,” a large mansion that
replaced the house that burned down just as he was about to settle his family. By this time his
place in the top strata of Victoria’s social hierarchy had been established. In his younger days
Henry has produced several sketches that caught the eye of his wife to be. Sarah Crease was
a painter, and she encouraged in her children a love of art. “The entire Crease family, through
their love and dedication to art, were later all very active in Victoria’s art circles.”\textsuperscript{1184} The family
was also civic-minded, which was also part of the Victorian value structure. “Anglican by
religion, Conservative in their politics, various family members were also involved with the
formation of the Alexandra Club, the Masonic Order, St. Andrew’s Lodge and the Men’s
Canadian Club,” and of course Henry Crease was one of the first lawyers who were members of
the Union Club.\textsuperscript{1185} He became a member, however, in spite of his profession —since lawyers
were not seen as fit company for Union Club members in the late 1800s-- but because of his
heritage and his political service to British Columbia.

Education was an important issue for those British immigrants to Victoria who wished to

\textsuperscript{1181} Green, Above Stairs, 61.
\textsuperscript{1182} Ibid., 63.
\textsuperscript{1183} Margaret A. Ormsby, ed., Recollections of Susan Allison, A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British
\textsuperscript{1184} Green, Above Stairs, 65.
\textsuperscript{1185} Ibid.
maintain in their family the tradition of an English public school education. Mr. Crease sent his sons Lindley and Arthur to England to be educated, because there was a lack of acceptable boy’s schools in Victoria. This practice was an example followed by many of the aristocratic families of Victoria. It was part of their effort to preserve their “Britishness.” The Crease girls were educated in Victoria at Angela College “where Henry Crease’s sister, Emily Howard Crease, was now Principal in the 1870s, following in the footsteps of Susan Pemberton.”1186 Later both daughters took art courses from the Ladies Department at King’s College, London. This was quite out of the ordinary for young women at the height of the Victorian era.

In the last decade of his life Henry Crease was given a great honor. On January 1, 1898, he received a memo from Lord Aberdeen in Ottawa which read:

It gives me much pleasure to inform you that the Queen approves of the bestowal of Knighthood upon you on the occasion of your retirement from an honorable judicial career, commencing so many years ago, that you are now the only remaining Judge in Canada appointed directly by the Imperial Government. Accept sincere congratulations and best wishes.1187

Judge Crease was for the balance of his life known as the Honorable Sir Henry Pering Pellow Crease. The Colonist was extremely laudatory in its announcement to the community of Judge Crease’s great honor. By this time Amor De Cosmos, a long time critic of the Judge was himself one year in the grave or the announcement would not have been as congratulatory:

… The people of British Columbia will be well satisfied the Queen has been pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon Mr. Justice Crease. They will, no doubt, look upon it as a fitting closing of a useful and honorable career at the bar and upon the bench. The new Knight’s ability as a Judge has gained for him the respect of British Columbians generally and his uniform courtesy, his geniality and his amiability secured for him hosts of friends, in every part of the province. Sir Henry carries with him into retirement the esteem and good wishes of all who have had the privilege of making his acquaintance in any capacity….1188

Sir Henry Crease lived for another nine years in retirement at his home, “Pentrelew.” Throughout his life in Victoria he was the epitome of what is known as “clubable.” He was a

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1186 Ibid.
1187 Aberdeen to Crease – Memorandum, Victoria City archives, Victoria Public Library.
soft-spoken gentleman of high moral standards, amiable with his fellow club members as well as his lessers, and particularly British in his habits. Like many of the other British members of the Union Club of Victoria, he was also a renowned civic leader, having held several appointed and elected positions. That was the standard of the Union Club of Victoria. It was a standard that would not remain un tarnished as wave after wave of English “second sons” descended on the club in the late 1800s, changing its demographics and affecting its atmosphere over time.

The biographical sketches of the five families (including Judge Baillie-Bigbie) who were founding members of the Union Club of Victoria demonstrate the significant impact of each of these British families on the development of their communities and the history of British Columbia. Variations on these stories are replicated by the many more English, Irish and Scottish families whose patriarchs were members of the Union Club and important men in the development of Victoria and British Columbia. For example, a few years after the Union Club was formed “six men, five of them members of the Union Club, each put up five hundred dollars to establish Victoria’s first telephone company.” Another member of the Union Club who had a major impact on British Columbia was William Charles, a Scotsman and one in a long line of family members who had worked for the Bay Company. He came to British Columbia in 1852 and was promoted to Chief Factor in Victoria in 1874. “After serving a variety of senior positions, in 1883 he oversaw the organization of the Hudson’ Bay Co. Coastal Steamships into a new company, the Canadian Pacific Navigation Co.” He was also a member of the British Columbia Board of Trade and a director of the Victoria Gas Co.  

9.9 Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, Victoria Club And Province Founder

One of the most notable men who was a long time member of the Union Club and who was a singular player on the political stage in Victoria and the whole of British Columbia was Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken. “He arrived at the fort in 1850 when the high palisade still

1190 Ibid., 28.
1191 Ibid.
surrounded it, and guns frowned menacingly from its bastions; by the time he died in 1920, the railroad and the motor car, and even the aeroplane were familiar sights to the citizens of Victoria.\footnote{Pethick, \textit{Men of British Columbia}, 64.} The impact Dr. Helmcken had on the growth and maturity of Victoria and British Columbia would be hard to exaggerate. His life was entwined in the history of the founding of Victoria and the maturation of that city and the creation of British Columbia as a Canadian province. He married Cecilia Douglas, daughter of Governor Sir James Douglas. Helmcken was elected to the first legislature of Vancouver Island and then was chosen its Speaker. In 1870 “Helmcken was one of three men sent to Ottawa by Governor Musgrave to negotiate the terms of entry [into Confederation], the others being J. W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Dr. R.W. Carrall, the member for the Cariboo.”\footnote{Ibid., 66.} After that arduous effort, Helmcken retired from politics but remained active in the Union Club and his profession. He was instrumental in creating Victoria’s first modern hospital. He “was medical officer of the prison and at one time city coroner, and became first president of the British Columbia Medical Society, formed in 1885.”\footnote{Ibid.} Dr. Helmcken “was fifty-five years old when he joined the club in 1879” as one of its founding members.\footnote{Roy, “The Union Club,” 28. “Helmcken, incidentally, along with his colleague Dr. John Ash, had been an original member of the Vancouver Club in Victoria and later both were founding members of the Union Club.” 28.}

These early club members played a major role in shaping and determining the development of the colonies and the province. “On the map of British Columbia today one will find such names as Barnard Creek, Mount Bigbie, Cornwall Creek, Dewdney, Helmcken Falls, Bemberton…and Mount Trutch, to name only a few.”\footnote{Ibid., 31.} These were the clubmen who built Victoria and British Columbia. “They were… [an] ambitious, hard-working group of men, willing to serve under frequently harsh conditions, confident of their own abilities and intent on creating...
a comfortable life for themselves and their families.”

9.10 Remittance Men And Victoria

Another group of Union Club members, who generally did not achieve the importance of the men described above were the “remittance men.” They had a poor reputation, partially well earned and partially exaggerated. However, the second sons of English aristocracy who immigrated to Canada, often to live idle lives of frivolity, drink and sport filled out the ranks of the Union Club. They provided revenue for its coffers as well as a strong British presence in the club and throughout the community. They manned the Cricket teams, polo teams, tennis tournaments, horse races, bicycle races and were invited to all the balls, as dancing partners for Victoria’s eligible young ladies. These remittance men added to the Britishness of Victorian society and often remained in Victoria following their extended hunting vacations in Canada because Victoria was so British, so familiar. “By the 1880s Victoria had developed a style of society that made visiting Englishmen and gentlemen emigrants feel at home there.”

The British sportsman Clive Phillipps-Wolley who came to Victoria after a lengthy hunting trip embarked: “I came across no place in America in which I would be so content to stay as in Victoria…here there is time to rest for a moment, and fancy…that there is something else in the world to live for besides the accursed dollar.” Another gentleman tourist, William Henry Barneby, voiced the same feelings upon his arrival in Victoria. “In fact, he was so taken with Victoria that he purchased a ‘ranche’ at Cordova Bay, a few miles from the city.”

Many English gentlemen were able to settle in Victoria and Vancouver Island with little discomfort because it was so much like the home that they had left behind. The climate was much like Devonshire, with its balmy seaside, and many of the townsfolk spoke a familiar form

1197 Ibid., See also Grayson’s A History of Victoria: The fact that “Every premier…has been a member” shows the importance of the Union Club” 159.
1198 Patrick A. Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre,1981), 106.
of English in an accent that made the newcomers feel like they were back home. The Englishman found in Victoria three very familiar institutions: the Anglican Church, Carey Castle, the royal home of the Lieutenant-Governor and representative of the Queen, and “The Royal Navy’s Pacific squadron, headquarterated at nearby Esquimalt, represented the third institution, the British Empire.”

Not just the rich and well born British found Victoria familiar and congenial, the second sons liked Victoria for the same reasons. However, by the 1880s if those second sons were not well supplied with remittances they often found themselves broke and jobless in that city. Therefore they often moved northward and “supported themselves by working as ranch hands, hunting guides, prospectors, or farm labourer.” They could even become shop keepers. In England those occupations would keep them out of the better clubs, but in Victoria, if they conducted themselves as English gentlemen, and they paid their dues, they were welcome at the Union Club.

Many remittance men and wealthy English gentlemen came to Victoria because it was a civilized place from which they could launch their sporting expeditions into mainland British Columbia, or rest after having hunted their way across Canada.

These sportsmen left their mark on Victoria’s Union Club, which for many years was decorated with mounted heads, animal skins, and spent cartridges, and also on the economic development of the province through mining companies, railroads, canals, and various other projects in which they became interested while stalking bears, bighorn sheep and other creatures in the mountains and forests of the Pacific slope.

These English gentlemen hunters were not a rarity in Victoria, as the number of heads in the Union Club gives mute testimony. One of these famous gentleman hunters was Edward Clive Oldnall Long Phillipps, of Dorsetshire. He immigrated to British Columbia in part because of his love of sport. He had been a member of the diplomatic corps and had hunted in many remote places in the world, but he liked British Columbia the best. He took up novel

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1201 Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, 107.
1202 Ibid., 115. See also: Mark Zuehlke, Scoundrels, Dreamers & Second Sons: British Remittance Men in the Canadian West (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1994), 30-41.
1203 Ibid., 115.
writing. “The title of one of his most popular words, A Sportsman’s Eden (1888), sums up his view of the province.” He purchased land in Oak Bay, an easy distance from Victoria’s town center. At “Oak Bay, the most anglophile of Victoria’s municipalities,” he built his half-timber, half-brick mansion.

It was not only the second sons, the retirees from the Hudson’s Bay Company, the retirees from the British Army and Navy, and wealthy English gentlemen that gave Victoria its British feel. These men also filled the ranks of several clubs in the city. In the city at large these English gentlemen were in the minority. But in their clubs they were the majority and they made their social institutions a power to be reckoned with. “Victoria’s reputation as a centre of culture and refinement also derived from the presence in the city of several clubs, lodges, and fraternal organizations. The most prestigious of these was the Union Club...patterned after the bastions of Pall Mall in London.” From the club ex-army officers could make contact with old acquaintances by reading the “Allahabad Pioneer Mail, the Lahore Civil and Military Gazette,” and other such periodicals to which the club subscribed. By the end of the century, remittance men made up a large segment of the Union Club’s membership as well as the other clubs. They were an important part in the settlement and culture of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

9.11 Inside The Union Club Of Victoria

The exterior design of the original clubhouse on Douglas Street was very reminiscent of Brooks’s or Boodles’ in London. It looked like a large Victorian home. This was no coincidence, since many of the members of the Union Club had either been members or guests of the best clubs in London. They knew what kind of club appearance and interior atmosphere they wanted for their own club. There were two bow windows that rose from the ground level to the roof with dormers at the top, one on either side of the entry, which had several steps. It was a

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1204 Ibid., 116.
1205 Ibid.
1206 Ibid., 108.
1207 Ibid.
9.2 The Union Club, Victoria, British Columbia (1880).
respectable looking structure with no indication that the building housed a club. This too was
typical of the London clubs and the better gentlemen’s club in North America, since the
members were jealous of their privacy.

The layout of the club’s interior was also based on the model of the London clubs. The
basement, which had windows beginning at the level of the street, covered the entire footprint of
the building. It contained the “kitchen, pantries, store rooms, closets, etc.” The ground floor
consisted of the entrance hallway, “dining room, bar, secretary’s office, stranger’s room,
closets, etc.” This lay-out was also quite typical of the London clubs. The stranger’s room
(as described in Chapter One), was the room at the front of the club buildings where non-
members were asked to wait for the member to come and greet them as a guest. They were to
be accompanied by the member for the duration of their visit to that club. It is appropriate to say
that the members of the Union Club desired and enjoyed their privacy from the outside world so
much that they included a stranger’s room in the design of their first club house. The second
floor from the ground level contained a reading room, writing room, and library. This design was
also typical of the London clubs, though in many of the London clubs these rooms were often on
the ground floor. The second story (“first floor” in Canada) also contained the steward’s room
and storage closets. The attic of the club house was unfinished when it was built.

The pastimes of the members in the club were quite similar to those of the finest
London clubs. They dined, read, relaxed, wrote letters, met with their friends for conversation,
enjoyed libations, and played cards and billiards. The club was considered a sanctuary from
the hustle and bustle of everyday life and the members guarded their privacy while in their club.
They did not expect to see in the Colonist reports of activities of their club or its members. This
unwanted publicity could not be avoided from time to time. But generally speaking, the actions
of its members were kept unreported behind the walls of the Union Club. An article in The Daily

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1208 Bissley, The Union Club, 36.
1209 Ibid., 36. See also: Susan Mayse, Our First 125 Years, 46.
1210 Ibid., See also: Susan Mayse, Our First 125 Years: The Union Club of British Columbia (Victoria: Union Club. 2004), 47.
Colonist however described some of the members' activities. Since several of the members were past retirement age, after they ate they retired to the Library where they often had a glass of port to top off their meal, and promptly fell to sleep. The article in The Daily Colonist described what happened next:

Once the old boys in their tweeds and brogues, or old school ties and blazers were comfortably adjusted in their chairs, they promptly went to sleep, which led to violent spasms of snoring. Ranging from the high pitched piccolo to the sonorous tuba. This enraged the other occupants of the room, who were reading Punch or the Times (London, that is).

It got so bad one day, that a belligerent reader walked to the fireplace and kicked over the brass fire tongs and poker. The immediate clatter roused the sleepers who demanded an explanation.

“By god, we’ll see to this,” one sputtered as he shook off the effects of his sudden awakening. He was startled to see the readers enjoying boisterous laughter, one of whom informed the old codger that it was a silent room and snoring could not be tolerated.

Such behavior was probably not a rare occurrence in a club that contained a large number of elderly and retired gentlemen as well as younger, more energetic remittance men.

The first clubhouse had been built across the street from not one but two houses of ill fame. There were rumors that members of the Union Club were frequent quests of the bawdy houses and well known by the madams who ran the establishments. “Historian Harry Gregson suggested in his book A History of Victoria that Jennie Morris and Alice Seymour located their brothels near the Union Club as a source of steady customers.” There has been a persistent rumor over the years associated with the bawdy houses across the street from the Union Club. It is believed, by those who enjoy such rumors, that a tunnel existed between the first clubhouse on Courtney Street and one, or even both, of the bawdy houses across the street. Bissley noted in his History of the Union Club of British Columbia (1956) that:

Old-time members related how in those days, members’ wives were so thoroughly convinced of the truth of a rumour that an underground passageway connected the Club with Jennie Morris’s house of joy, that the members wisely refrained from any attempt to dispel the illusion. When the 1885 Union Club

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1211 The Colonist was also published as The Daily Colonist at different times
1214 Susan Mayse, The First 125 Years,. 47. See Also Harry Gregson, A History of Victoria, 158.
building was razed in 1952, a small tunnel of sorts was observed leading from the old building across the street. Being only three or four feet high by two feet wide, it is extremely doubtful if this could have been used as rumour would have it.1215

The mystery of the existence of the tunnel was further complicated in 1957 when "Colonist, [reporter] G.E. Mortimore reported his chat with a demolition crew member. ‘The demolition man assured me that he found the entrance to a tunnel; and it was more than three feet high. It was closer to six feet, quite large enough for a person to walk through.’"1216 Mortimore continued his story by asserting that the “The entrance to the tunnel was later bricked up.”1217 Only time and further excavations will tell if there is any truth to this tale.

Information about the activities of the Union Club between its formation and its move in 1913 is sketchy. “All the Club’s records, accounts, minutes, suggestion books and other documents went missing…somewhere within two city blocks between the old club house and the new one at the corner of Humbolt and Gordon streets, across from the Empress Hotel.”1218 What little information that exists about the club’s early activities comes from infrequent newspaper accounts, old member’s recollections, and the occasional visitor’s comments in diaries and letters.

There are several stories and a few cartoons about the Union Club members’ love for their dogs. It seems that several members of the club enjoyed their dog’s company so much that they would take them on walks from their home to the club, where the dog would be tied to the railing at the entrance to the building. A club member might find his way blocked by several dogs and leashes at the entrance to the club, whereupon the complaints would grow in the Suggestion Book. The by-laws of the club prohibited dogs from entering the building but not from being chained somewhere close to the building. So the practice began and got steadily out of hand with rings installed on the side of the building where dogs could be chained and

1215 Paul L. Bissley, History of the Union Club of British Columbia (Victoria, Union Club, 1956),25.  
1216 Mayse, 125 Years, 49.  
1217 Ibid., 49.  
1218 Ibid., 46.
eventually kennels were placed behind the club for the dogs’ more permanent comfort.

The lot next to the club on Douglas Street soon went under construction. “In 1890 St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church – splendid brick edifice with the new electric lights, spectacular stained-glass windows…opened for business…” The church had a large pipe organ, the music of which encouraged the dogs chained around the Union Club to join in the singing. The situation came to a head in September 1904, as recorded in the Club’s minutes, under the heading “Church”:

> The Rev’d. W. Leslie Clay of St. Andrew’s Church wrote under date September 19th, complaining of the disturbance of the yelping [sic] of dogs. The secretary was instructed to have the dog kennels removed and to write Mr. Clay expressing regret for annoyance caused.

The dog noise problems however were not solved, rather just moved to the front of the building where the dogs were left chained by their owners on Sunday mornings. Entries in the Minute Books indicate that the dog problems continued over the next few years. “Still the gentlemen left their dogs tied or chained around the Union Club, and the harried secretary repeatedly wrote to members reminding them of the dog bylaw. The club attached chains to the wall of the racquet court in the back yard.” The dog problems continued in various forms, but there were other problems that the secretary and the membership had to contend which were more vexing than barking dogs.

The club members had built their club next door to the Victoria Transfer Company and its stables. The stables attracted all sort of vermin from rats to cockroaches. The rats were the most troubling, because they developed a taste for the home cooking in the kitchen of the Union Club. “The invasion [by the rats] proved so highly successful and the pickings so abundant that all efforts to evict them were met with open disdain.” There were hundreds of the large

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1219 Ibid., 49.
1221 Mayse, *125 Years*, 51.
rodents that not only infested the kitchen but also other rooms of the club. The club members often took matters into their own hands by organizing rat hunts. First they would plug all the rat holes in the kitchen save one. One hunt was described by Bissley in his 1969 history of the club:

The players would assemble outside the kitchen, armed with walking sticks. One of them would sneak into the room, and jam the biscuit tin into the hole. He would then turn on the lights, and the other hunters would charge into the room. For an hour the chase about the kitchen would be on, and it was a poor night when less than a dozen rats were killed. The rats won in the long run; the Club moved and left the building to them.”

By the turn of the century the club was financially strapped. Several of its members seemed to feel that the club was a philanthropic agency, and that they therefore did not have to pay their dues. “One of the major difficulties [for the secretary was] the apparently hopeless task of instilling into the members the necessity of paying their accounts.” There was rarely a Committee meeting in which the subject of past dues and non-payment was not on the agenda. The problem of non-payment was not restricted to the remittance men who were members, but often they were the ones at fault. “One or two of the black sheep ran up fair sized accounts at the Club, living well beyond their means and luck, which in due course they were totally unable to ‘square’.” One such member had run up a bill for almost $500, $300 of which was a bad check. The Committee determined to evict the member from his room and demanded that he sign a note for the amount due the club. This note was sent to his family back in England with the request for payment. No satisfaction of the debt was forthcoming. The Committee then turned the matter over to the club’s attorney. A new rule was then promulgated in an effort that the same situation not repeat itself: that no debt in excess of $50 could be extended to any member without permission of the Committee.

At one time or another, and sometimes more than once, all of the clubs in this study had financial problems. It is ironic in a way that private gentlemen’s clubs made up

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1223 Bissley, Paul. *The Union Club –100 Years*, 68.
1224 Ibid., 38.
1225 Ibid.
predominantly of wealthy ranchers, mine owners, and large businessmen would have significant financial difficulties on such a regular basis. In part, the problem stemmed from the fact that the Committee which determined the initiation and dues structure was made up of the individuals who would have to pay those dues. Therefore, the dues structure almost always seemed too low to cover the club’s overhead. Non-payment of dues sometimes was the result of economic hard times which left the member without the necessary resources. Some members felt that dealing with mundane issues of small bills was beneath their station. In those cases patience was often the best avenue for the Secretary to eventually receive payment.

By 1902, the club had become so crowded that it was decided to double the size of the existing clubhouse. The front of the addition had an additional two bow windows, roughly mirroring the original façade. The Colonist was allowed to write an article about the expansion by the Committee. It read in part:

A Handsome Structure: Work on the large new addition to the Union Club building on Douglas Street is progressing rapidly and has proceeded to an extent to demonstrate that when completed, the Club building will be a very handsome and imposing structure. It will be numbered among the largest private club buildings west of Toronto.  

Much of the space in the new addition on the second and third floors was given over to rooms for club members to stay in while they were in town. The expansion of the clubhouse successfully dealt with the problem of space, but it did not deal with the rat problem, which continued because of the club’s proximity to the Victoria Transfer Company. Fortune began to shine on Victoria and the Union Club in 1910. An “unprecedented boom in real estate” in British Columbia was having several related effects: The membership of the Union Club began to grow significantly. Between 1910 and 1913 the membership grew by approximately 500. News in England of the increased value of property on Vancouver Island resulted in a speculative boom that increased the wealth of many of the long-time members of the club. The combination of these factors allowed the members to plan their escape from the rat-infested neighborhood to a

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1226 Ibid., 42.  
1227 Ibid., 90.
new and even more regal and commodious clubhouse.

The Committee determined that the land and club house would cost approximately $300,000. Mr. James Dunsmuir, coal magnate and large businessman, pledged $100,000 in debentures if other members pledged an additional $75,000. The sale value of the old club house was figured at $45,000, and $50,000 for new initiation fees would get them very close to achieving the goal. The new club house was completed in 1913. When the building was complete, however, the bid for the furnishings came in beyond what was left in the building fund. This necessitated an additional call on the members for $60,000. The contractors were paid with $60,000 borrowed from three members who provided $20,000 each. The debentures were purchased and the three members were reimbursed. When one sits in the comfortable overstuffed chairs and looks out the windows at both the harbor and the Empress Hotel from the windows in the Reading Room or the Library, the feeling is profound that it was money well spent.1228

When the new Union Club was complete in August 1913, a grand ball was planned. This proposal was a shocking breach of club protocol, because women had not stepped foot publicly in the Union Club since it was established in 1879. Nevertheless, the Committee and membership supported the idea almost unanimously. The planning was intensive and extensive for this major event. The grand opening ball was given as well for the officers of the Royal Navy battle cruiser *HMS New Zealand*, which paid Victoria a courtesy call. Six hundred tickets were quickly sold. But many members were frustrated because they were not able to purchase tickets. As it was the club house was crowded beyond its normal limits. Police and a fireman were stationed in the club in case of an emergency. An electrician was also on duty to insure that the overloaded electrical system would not cause difficulties.

The ball was a grand success according to the extensive article that was printed in the *Colonist* the next day:

1228 Ibid., 92.
UNION BALL BRILLIANT SUCCESS
Function Held in the Honour of the
Officers of New Zealand Brought
Many distinguished Visitors to
Capital

The ball at the Union Club in honour of the Officers of the New Zealand was given last night, and proved to be one of the most brilliant successes of the season. The company was a large one and represented many different groups. The afternoon and evening boats from the Mainland brought over a large number of guests, as also did the trains from Island Resorts.

For the occasion the Club ballroom was very beautifully decorated and the handsome gowns of the ladies made a coruscating symphony of the general scheme of illumination. On the outside, too, elaborate preparations had been made to ensure a measure of privacy without shutting out the balmy air. The staircase was nicely covered in and railed off, and the utmost convenience offered the quests in the way of alighting from their cars and carriages.1229

In looking back, many of the members who were present at that ball also remember the world-changing event that happened a year to the day later, when the entire world was enveloped in The Great War. The list of members of the Union Club, who enlisted but never returned from France, or Gallipoli present a sobering experience for any who take a moment to read the plaque commemorating the fallen. Capt. J. Herrick McGregor was President of the club when the war broke out. He asked the Committee for a leave of absence, which was granted. His name, with his rank of Lieutenant Colonel when he died, appears in alphabetical order on that plaque in the McGregor Lounge.1230

9.12 Summary
From its beginning in 1879 the Union Club mirrored and accentuated the Britishness of Victoria. Its members were the Legislative Assembly members, Lieutenant Governors and Premiers of the colony and province following Confederation who guided the future success of the region. The membership of the Union Club contained retired factors and important officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company who had helped to carve the colony out of the wilderness. Many

1229 Ibid., 96.
1230 Tour of the Union Club, March 18, 2009, and interview with James Pearson, Club Secretary.
of its members were the officers of the ships of Her Majesty’s Navy stationed at Esquimalt. Wealthy English gentlemen sportsmen who settled in Victoria as well as almost destitute remittance men were members who shared drinks in the lounge or discussed the important issues of the time in the Library.

Victoria, Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia are what they are today in part because of the actions of members of the Union Club. Sir Matthew Baillie-Bigbie brought order to the chaos of the Fraser River and Cariboo Gold Rushes as a circuit-riding judge. Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken came to Victoria in the early Hudson’s Bay Days. He healed the sick, birthed the babies and was elected to the Legislative Assembly. He was chosen by his peers to help guide British Columbia toward Confederation. Joseph Trutch also represented British Columbia during negotiations for Confederation and was responsible for gaining the commitment by the Ottawa government to link the provinces with a transcontinental railroad. Also the names O’Reilly, Crease, Pemberton, Skinner and Barnard helped strengthen the backbone of Victoria. They continued the strong British traditions that James Douglas had established along with the fort and the colony of Victoria.

Even as they were creating a very British Colony in far western Canada, they also created almost an exact replica of a fine London gentlemen’s club where they could enjoy their conversation and port after dinner with men of similar English public school backgrounds. The Colonist was correct, The Union Club was the political center of government policy formulation for the colony, and then the province. All the premiers of British Columbia and most of the assembly members were clubmen.

Of all the clubs studied in the American and Canadian West, ironically the club farthest from England, the Union Club is, by far, the most reflective of nineteenth-century British Victorian values.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Every Club has its own character...
True clubmen find in their club an extended family, and one, moreover, in which one can choose one’s relations.

Sir Iain Moncreiffe

This dissertation has been a study of the British influence on the American and Canadian West as demonstrated through British investments in ranches, mines and railroads in both countries. The histories of gentlemen’s clubs, three in each country between 1870 and 1910, have described the influences of their English, Scottish and Irish members. The influences of geographical, governmental, climatological, and sociological factors on the British gentlemen, their capital and cultural exchange in the six regions were examined. That there was considerable British influence in the American and Canadian West is clear. What is also clear is the resistance by Americans and, to a lesser degree but still identifiable, by Canadians to recognize that influence. In some ways it is a testimony to the “American Spirit,” identified by Frederick Jackson Turner, that the British cultural influence is as difficult to identify today as the impacts of British investments in North America during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. During the period when the British ranchers and mine owners were most active in the American and Canadian West their influence was palatable and considerable. Only remnants of it remain today. Those two observations (that British influence was profound in the late 1800s and that it is barely identifiable today) provide the justification for the study of British financial and cultural influence from the perspective of gentlemen’s clubs in the two Wests.

The commonalities between the ways in which the British pounds sterling and culture molded the six regions and their gentlemen’s clubs are interesting. The differences in the level
of British influence in those six regions because of the impacts of the variables peculiar to those regions are also interesting. Those commonalities and differences deserve some final thought.

10.1 Commonalities

The commonalities of the six regions, their principal cities and their gentlemen’s clubs, are striking. The most obvious one is that all six cities—Fort Worth, Denver, Cheyenne, Regina (literally!), Calgary and Victoria (literally!)—at one time or another were labeled “Queen City” by their boosters. This explanation was a common effort by businessmen in many more towns than the six covered in these chapters to promote their communities to entrepreneurs back east or in the United Kingdom and Europe. It is also the case that the six cities studied had unique claims to that appellation that differentiated them from the other western boom towns that often fell by the wayside. It is interesting to note the degree to which the name of “Queen City” and the influence of British capital went hand in hand in these six communities.

Fort Worth had several names pinned to it since it was established in 1849 as a fort at the confluence of the Clear Fork and West Fork of the Trinity River: Hell’s Half Acre, Cow Town, Panther City and by the 1890s the Queen City of the Prairie, as Fort Worth liked to be known. Denver was better known as the “Queen City of the Rockies” than Fort Worth as the Queen City of the Prairie. Like Fort Worth, Denver had other appellations. For instance, Denver, the Queen City of the Rockies, was more often called the “Queen City of the Plains.”

Cheyenne was also promoted as the Queen City. The editor of the town’s principal newspaper, the Cheyenne Leader, consistently promoted Cheyenne in articles and editorials, and gained some notoriety for his efforts by casting aspersions on anyone who did not agree with him. Thus, all three of the towns in the western United States were called, at one time or another, a Queen City. However, two of the three towns in Canada in this study were actually named after a queen.

Regina’s designation as “Queen City of the Prairie” has been covered in Chapter Six and seems to have been well known in Canada by that appellation. Calgary was also known as
a “Queen City” by its boosters, and a few authors have utilized that term in their books on Calgary. Finally, Victoria clearly has a solid claim to being a Queen City because, like Regina, it was named for Queen Victoria.

While all of the cities studied were called “Queen City” at one time or another, along with dozens of other towns in North America, there are of course other similarities that are more meaningful.

10.2 Railroads As Commonalities

A striking commonality among the six cities studied is the influence of railroads on the development of each city and region. The railroad in the two Wests, American and Canadian, spelled prosperity or doom, depending on whether or not the iron horse passed through or bypassed a frontier village. Each of the cities in this study came into being or had its financial success amplified dramatically by the coming of the railroad. Fort Worth and Denver existed before the railroad came, but they clearly flourished following its arrival. In both cities, town fathers worked hard to bring the railroad to their community. Fort Worth became “Cow Town” because of the arrival of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Fort Worth was a railhead destination for beef shipment east from the ranches of north central Texas and more importantly those of the Texas Panhandle, where three dozen British-owned ranches controlled much of that ranch land.

Denver’s gold rush started (1859) well before the railroad arrived (1870). With help from several of his British friends from the Denver Club, business leader David Moffat used British and local capital to organize the Denver and Cheyenne Railroad and Telegraph company. He and his partners built a railroad line from Cheyenne connecting the Union Pacific into Denver. Moffat and his Scottish friend James Duff were instrumental in getting several other railroads to come into Denver. As more and more rail lines converged on Denver in the 1890s, the town began to grow from a town into a city. By 1900, Denver’s population had reached 134,000. This growth could not have happened without the consistent boosterism of David
Moffat and the investments of the famous Scottish financier James Duff. That growth was indeed directed by several British-born entrepreneurs who had made their wealth in the mining boom and used their wealth and political power to develop the city.

Cheyenne's origin lay in the fact that the Union Pacific Railroad needed a rail-yard to service its trains. The first Union Pacific train pulled into Cheyenne on November 13, 1867. At the time, the spot was a village of little more than a few shacks and tents. However, once the railroad had arrived the town grew quickly to approximately 6,000 population. Most of these folks moved on with the massive rail building enterprise. But the town had been created and it was going to survive and even thrive on the Union Pacific rail yards and the cattle industry. The Beef Bonanza, which had already begun in Texas and Colorado, now pushed into Wyoming. British and American ranches began to fill the range and Cheyenne developed quickly into a city.

In Canada the Canadian Pacific Railroad had an impact similar to the Union Pacific, as the CPR crossed the prairies and put Regina, Moose Jaw, Swift Current and Calgary on the map. The CPR created towns where, before the rails arrived, there was only prairie, buffalo and scattered tribes of indigenous peoples. Water for the boilers of the CPR locomotives from Pile O' Bones River was the reason for Regina’s existence, as it was for Calgary’s creation. The reasons why Calgary grew twice the size of Regina are also interesting. Regina is in the middle of the Canadian Prairie. With hard work the land can be made to produce wheat, but it is not cattle country because of the harsh climate and environment. Calgary became the focus of the British cattle industry in Canada because its geography and climate are more conducive to cattle ranching. Therefore, that is where the great bulk of both British gentlemen and British investment traveled. Regina was able to prosper, to the degree that it did, because it was designated as the site of the territorial and then provincial government. But the big money and the bulk of the British gentlemen entrepreneurs would travel past Regina to Calgary where the opportunities for profits were easier to exploit.
Victoria is unique among the six cities studied: it lies west of the Rocky Mountains, on an island on the Pacific coast. Two of its three greatest influences were British: the Hudson’s Bay Company—of which more will be said later, the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the gold rush era. The CPR tracks ended at Port Moody on the coast, southeast of the town of Vancouver and only 20 miles across the Strait of Georgia from Vancouver Island, and then another 20 miles overland to Victoria at the southern tip of the island. The transcontinental rail connection between Port Moody and Montreal was complete at Eagle Summit on November 7, 1885. However, it took until 1891 for Victoria to be connected to the mainland. The CPR connected Victoria to the mainland and Montreal and thereby England by means of a steamship line. The CPR built its only ship terminal on the Canadian Pacific Railway at the edge of the harbor in Victoria.

Began as a Hudson’s Bay Company trading post and fort, Victoria experienced boom times because of the gold strikes in the Fraser valley and the Cariboo. Its future assured by its designation as the colonial, then provincial capital, the arrival of the CPR steamship line assured Victoria’s prosperity after the effects of the gold strikes wore off. The CPR built the Empress Hotel making Victoria a vacation destination for Canadians from back east and wealthy British who wanted to travel the world under the comfort and security of the British flag.

Each of the three western Canadian cities studied benefited tremendously from the CPR. The CPR was not only an important Canadian project—originated as a way to secure British Columbia as a province in the Confederation and a means of connecting London to Hong Kong—it was also a vehicle for British investment in the Canadian West. Even members of the royal family invested in the CPR.

A similar story is true of the Union Pacific that put Cheyenne on the map in the American West. While the lion’s share of profits made by the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific were through their construction companies (which were arms of the two railroad companies), foreign investment also brought in considerable revenue. Railroad investment was
not only a means of creating towns and cities on the plains and prairies, it was also a vehicle that enriched several British entrepreneurs in the United Kingdom as well as in the Mile High City and Cheyenne.

10.3 British Investments In Ranches And Mining In The American West

British investment in American ranches and mines was encouraged by the railroad. When a region was accessible by rail, the British investors could easily send agents to personally inspect the ranch or mine that was offered for sale in London. The accessibility to American ranch land and mining interests --made possible by the Union Pacific and other American railroads a decade to fifteen years prior than the CPR’s arrival in the Canadian West-- gave American ranchers and mine speculators a head-start on the Canadians that they could never overcome.

British investment in ranches in the American West stretched from the Mississippi River to California. However, the land which became the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana was the heart of the range cattle industry north of Texas. This study has concentrated on the Texas, Colorado and Wyoming cattle industries because of the relationship the cattle industry or mining industry of their gentlemen’s clubs. Texas with its 37 British-owned ranches had a capitalization of over $200,000,000.\textsuperscript{1231} Between 1880 and 1900 over 300 cattle companies were incorporated in Colorado, with capitalization exceeding $ 100 million. Much of this was British money.\textsuperscript{1232} In 1886, before the terrible winter of that year, Wyoming had a total of 900,000 assessed cattle.\textsuperscript{1233} Using the average value of northern range cattle provided by Frink in his work \textit{When Grass was King}, the total value of cattle in Wyoming was $22,500,000. As with Texas, many of those Wyoming cattle were British-owned. As can be seen from these numbers, cattle raising had not only become an important part of the country’s economic expansion, it had attracted a large amount of foreign investment. It had become international in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1231] Richardson, \textit{The Lone Star State}, 225.
\item[1232] Dorsett, \textit{The Queen City}, 61.
\item[1233] Frink, \textit{When Grass Was King}, 101.
\end{footnotes}
scope. “By 1885, millions of dollars of foreign capital had been poured into the business, giving overseas investors control of millions of acres of American grazing land in the West.”\textsuperscript{1234} The Colorado mining industry was also heavily leveraged by British investment.

The Denver, Cheyenne, and Ranchmen’s Clubs had much in common. Each club had a significant number of British members who helped to give their clubs the air of exclusiveness for which London clubs are famous. The air of exclusiveness was played down, to a degree, by the American members of the Fort Worth and Cheyenne Clubs. The desire for exclusivity in the Fort Worth and Cheyenne clubs ran into the strongly held egalitarian values of the American West. This tension resulted in the Fort Worth Club and the Cheyenne Club in a mixture of clubbish desire for privacy in its members’ activities and pride in public recognition of certain club activities by the members. One gets the impression from the stories about the Commercial Club, told by the wives of some of the members, that privacy and secrecy were important aspects of that club’s culture. The Cheyenne Club’s activities were often the subject of local newspaper articles; indeed a few of the stories have gained legendary status. It seems that the members of the Cheyenne Club were more prone to discuss the activities of their fellow members than were the members of the Fort Worth Club or the Denver Club. The influence of the egalitarian values of the American West was probably at work regarding the openness of the Cheyenne club’s members.

The British influences on the Denver Club and Cheyenne Club were stronger and more obvious than on the Fort Worth Club. The general membership of Commercial Club had much in common with Regina’s Musical Club, which eventually became the Assiniboia Club, both began as businessman’s clubs, with the distinction that the Musical Club had music as its focus. Both clubs were comprised of local businessmen. However, as the Commercial Club evolved there came to be enough wealthy ranchers who became members to allow a comparison with the Cheyenne and Ranchmen’s Clubs.

\textsuperscript{1234} Ibid., 27
The Denver, Ranchmen’s and the Union Clubs are much more in the style and manner of the best London gentlemen’s clubs. Each of those three clubs would fit in spirit, if not architecturally, on Pall Mall based on their standards of exclusivity, privacy and dedication to certain patterns of polite behavior. The decorum of the staff and members is noticeable when one visits the Ranchmen’s and Union Clubs. The furnishings, atmosphere of the clubhouse, and behavior of the staff and members immediately bring to mind Brooks’s and Boodles’ (visited by the author during research for the dissertation).

10.4 Influences Of British Investments In The Canadian West

The Union Pacific gave a huge head start to American ranchers and mining operators needing infusions of capital. The Canadian West received less than 10 percent of the total British investment provided to the American West between 1880 and 1900. Therefore, there was much less British investment capital to be shared in Canada. Risk-adjusted, the British capital was searching for the greatest return on the investment (ROI). Ranching presented the opportunity for the greatest return because of the low overhead required in a cattle operation. The American West was more economically advantageous and attractive for investment than the Canadian at the beginning of the Beef Bonanza, because the American ranches operated on the public lands which were free. The Canadian ranches in south-western Saskatchewan and Alberta operated on leased land. In the long run, the twenty-year leases offered for a very low lease fee for parcels of 100,000 acres proved more reliable than the free range in the American West. In fact, the free range of the American West resulted in over-grazing that helped to bring about the demise of the Beef Bonanza south of the Medicine Line.

Because the geography and climate of Saskatchewan were more conducive to farming than ranching, Regina did not get the kind of British investment that Calgary received just a few hundred miles to the west. The ranching that did prosper in the Swift Current region of southwestern Saskatchewan was predominantly comprised of small ranches that did not garner significant British capital investment. The differences between the opportunities for financial
reward in Saskatchewan and Alberta were so evident in the early 1880s that the governor of the North-West Territories argued against splitting the two regions apart, because he knew that Saskatchewan would not prosper to the extent possible for Alberta. His premonition was correct. Saskatchewan exists today, as it always has, in the shadow of Alberta in population and gross domestic product.

Victoria was in a similar position to Regina in the sense that it was in a region with few natural resources that could be exploited financially. To be sure Vancouver Island was blessed with a mild climate, fertile land and protected anchorages. But in the 1880s, in the middle of the Beef Bonanza and mining boom, that was precious little to offer the prospective British investor. There were no get-rich-quick opportunities in Victoria. The Hudson’s Bay Company and the Puget’s Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Bay Company, did not offer investment opportunities to outsiders. Thus, from the beginning Victoria as a colony did not present significant investment potential. Victoria’s economic future following the end of the gold strikes became tied to the tourist industry, which was heavily promoted by the CPR. The attractiveness of the island and its mild climate were finally identified as its most positive attributes. The CPR did the heavy lifting to enhance Victoria’s marketability as a tourist destination.

10.5 The Messages Of The Various Clubs’ Architectures

Of all six clubs studied, the Denver Club had the most impressive architecture. The entryway was purposefully designed to be imposing and forbidding. The entrance is set back within the building, within a rounded and well-shaded gallery. In all of the pictures of the Denver Club, the actual door is hidden in shadow. The building has a dark exterior. The interior tends toward the massive and dark as well. The furniture was specially made for the clubhouse by a firm in Chicago. The members who sat on the building committee paid scrupulous attention to every detail of the building’s exterior and interior appointments. The first clubhouse built by the Fort Worth Club was also a dark and imposing structure. The most memorable feature of the
first member-built clubhouse was a large corner piece (a 20 foot by 20 foot room) with a steeple at the top, high above the six-story building at the corner of Sixth and Main Streets. Club rules prohibited women on all floors except the sixth floor and the rooftop garden, unless that space was being utilized for a club function. All other floors were reserved for members and male guests only. In this way the Fort Worth and Denver Clubhouses are similar and mirror a similar desire for prestige, privilege and privacy. The Denver Club’s heavy style of architecture reflects, in a way, a feeling one gets from studying the heavy handed manner in which the various British members of the Denver Club secured their monopolies on the gas, electric and trolley franchises. The heavy weight of the volume of financing and the secretive nature of business activities of the British and American members of the Denver Club can almost be felt as one reads about their laudable efforts to improve their city as they enriched themselves. The walls of the Denver Club appear to be massive, metaphorically like an armory, able to withstand any siege from the poor or middle class. The windows appear small for the size of the building, indicating again that this is a building with something to hide or protect. The exclusiveness of the club and its members’ desire for respectability feels like the heavy, rich brocade of the curtains that cover the windows of the Denver Club, keeping out the light of day and the curious glances of the ordinary passers-by.

The architecture of the Cheyenne Club, by contrast, is singularly different from all of the other clubs. The low ranch-style building with its three-sided, wrap-around veranda is the most inviting and public of all of the clubs examined in this study. The prominence of the veranda disguises the fact that the building has three stories. The large, deep veranda provides ample room for members and their guests to sit and talk, read the papers, have a drink, play chess or watch the tennis matches on the courts adjacent to the clubhouse. No other clubhouses in this study had outdoor facilities so visually accessible to the public.

Regina’s Assiniboia Club is the most modest of all of the clubhouses in this study. The first clubhouse built by the membership looked more like a stone row-house in a middle-class
neighborhood than a gentlemen’s club. There was nothing in the architecture to distinguish this building from many other buildings of similar design. The current clubhouse looks more like a small town library than an exclusive gentlemen’s clubhouse. It is also the smallest of all of the clubhouses studied. There is an appeal to each of the unpretentious buildings that housed the Assiniboia Club. The English and Canadian stock that moved to Regina in its pioneer days reflected the farming and tradesmen classes of those two countries. Many of the members of the Assiniboia Club were elected officials from around the province and small businessmen from Regina who became successful. The big money skipped Regina and headed for the “Beef Bonanza” of Calgary and Alberta. The membership of the Assiniboia Club was made up from the middle-classes who themselves, with hard work, had achieved some measure of financial or political success. Their clubhouses seemed to reflect this aspect of their collective character. The photographs of the dining rooms in the historical study of the Assiniboia Club present small, narrow and unremarkable rooms with a modest number of tables. The billiard room in the 1920 building has a barrel ceiling, which makes the room appear to be a Quonset hut. The unpretentiousness of their clubhouse was reflected only somewhat in the execution of the rules of the clubhouse. Until well into the twentieth century, the membership allowed non-members into the small private dining rooms but not into the main dining room. The members liked their privacy. The membership on more than one occasion refused reciprocal memberships to other area clubs. But club members did finally, in 1960, permit family dinners. The architecture was not as small as the narrative of the clubs history was short, but both portrayed a small-town, solidly middle-class set of values and assumptions. It is easy to see that the Assiniboia Club was descended from a music club in a bleak and sparsely populated frontier community.

The architecture of the Calgary’s Ranchmen’s Club, both inside and out, demonstrates the British influence of the organizers of the club and its continued relationship with England. The building is large but not massive. The architecture shows grace and an eye for detail. The ivy-covered walls give it a warm, timeless, and comfortable look. The entryway demonstrates
that this is a prestigious address, without being ostentatious. The interior of the clubhouse is tastefully designed with rich wood paneling and stained glass windows in several of the rooms. The leather club chairs demonstrate its connection with London clubs as much as do the understated letterhead and the dark wood paneling. The artwork in all the rooms includes portraits or pictures of the queen or the royal family. However, it is easy to recognize that you are not in a London club because of the head of a large North American buffalo hanging in the middle of one of the stained glass window frames. The numerous portraits and pictures of the royal family are matched by the paintings and sculptures of cowboys on horseback and horses in various positions. Some of the private meeting rooms in the present clubhouse have the feeling of a parlor in an upper-middle-class townhouse in Kensington, rather than the more stately paneled private rooms of Brooks’s, Boodle’s, Travellers’, or The East India Club.

The author’s conversation with the club manager of the Ranchmen’s was quite similar in style and tone --gracious, helpful and restrained all at once-- to the conversations with the Secretaries of Brooks’s, Boodle’s and The East India Club in London. The architecture of the Ranchmen’s Club is equally gracious and restrained. A conversation over lunch with an English member of the Ranchmen’s Club was quite similar in affability, genuine interest expressed, and measured politeness to the pleasant and memorable conversation with two members of London’s Travellers’ Club over a glass of port, two years ago. It is easy, but of course misleading, to assume that such an outlook and disposition by the members and staffs of the clubs under study are similar to those of the members and staffs of those same clubs a century ago. Such is the sense of timelessness one apprehends within the walls of quality gentlemen’s clubs in London and Canada.

The Union Club, like the city that surrounds it, is the most English of all the gentlemen’s clubs in the most English of all cities in Canada. The architecture reflects the English character of the club and community. If the Union Club were transplanted to St. James’s Street tomorrow, passers-by would not be surprised by the architecture. Inside and out of the Union Club there is
understated elegance. There is no sign on the wall or door announcing the purpose of the building, just an address. It is that way in London with the better clubs. It is only natural to assume that the same would be the case in Victoria, British Columbia, with the Union Club. The visitor discovers that the entrance to the Union Club is up a large set of stairs to the second floor of the building (first floor in Canadian parlance), which is the main floor where the bar, dining room, reading room, library and billiard rooms are located. As with most of the London gentlemen’s clubs, the steward’s or secretary’s office is on this floor in the Union Club, adjacent to the interior entry doors. The cloakroom is on this floor, as it is with Brooks’s, Boodles’, Travellers’ and The East India Clubs. The arrangement of the rooms provides continuous scrutiny of the entrance by the staff of the club. To assure privacy, non-members are allowed no further than the entry hall until their purpose has been established and the member comes to collect them as a guest.

A timeless commonality of all the gentlemen’s clubs is the presence of various newspapers in the club’s reading room. The reading rooms in the Canadian Clubs reflect a more international reading taste than the three papers available in the Fort Worth Club: *The Fort Worth Star Telegram, Dallas Morning News* and *USA Today*. The large table in the reading room of Victoria’s Union Club, with the magazines and newspapers neatly folded and in the same place each day, is also similar to the display of newspapers and periodicals in the London reading rooms visited during the research for this study. The University Club in Washington, D.C. has a wider variety of newspapers and magazines in its reading room than the Fort Worth Club, but not as many international papers as the reading room in the Union Club of Victoria or the London clubs visited. The reading room of the Union Club is the most reminiscent of the reading rooms and libraries of the finer London gentlemen’s clubs. The leather covered or richly upholstered club chairs and couches look very similar. However, the Union Club has a reading room that is twice the size of the reading rooms in both Brooks’s and Boodles’. The dining rooms of Brooks’s, Boodles’ and the East India Clubs are at least twice as large as the
one in the Union Club. The London clubs’ dining rooms get more patronization because the London clubs have larger active memberships than the Victoria Club.

10.6 Differences Between The Clubs In The American West

Some of the differences have already been mentioned. One way clubs in the American West differ is the degree to which they embrace the structure and exclusiveness of the London clubs. The Fort Worth Club is the most business-oriented of the three. The club began as a businessmen’s organization with some trappings of a gentlemen’s club, but advertised itself as being open to anyone who was interested in promoting Fort Worth. The Commercial Club, as it was first named then grew in membership and its members began to desire more of the atmosphere of an exclusive club. By the time that the first clubhouse built by the membership opened, it was obvious that it had come to embrace exclusivity. By the time of the name change, the Fort Worth Club was the center of financial and civic leadership in the community. Lately, within the last ten years (prior to 2009) the club has had a concerted membership campaign. The club has marketed itself to the residents of new downtown high-rise towers and condominiums. It is becoming more of a business meeting and social event facility than it was at the turn of the century.

One of the most significant differences between the American clubs studied is their longevity. Only the Fort Worth Club, of the three American clubs studied, is in operation today. The Cheyenne Club succumbed (c1890) with the end of the Beef Bonanza in Wyoming. Its British and Irish ranch owners sold their ranches and moved back to the British Isles. The economy of the region could no longer support the kind of high living that was enjoyed by the large ranchers flush with profits before the 1890s. The Denver Club became a victim of its own success. In 1952 the Denver Club moved from its stately mansion into the high-rise office building that the club built and occupied the top three floors. Other taller more modern office towers were built around the Denver Club in the 1980s and 1990s. The Denver Club address no longer had the cache that it once enjoyed. The end was foreseeable. “If only we had kept that
old mansion, ‘lamented former club president Richard H. Shaw in 1992.” It only added insult to injury when the Hunts of Dallas purchased the mid-rise office building and tore it down in 1997. The Denver Club had become a dinosaur, a victim of financial evolution in the modern age which insists on the brand new and shiniest version of man-made reality.

There are other gentlemen’s clubs in the American West that are in operation today, many of them established after the scope of this study. They continue today as predominantly business clubs. The Petroleum Clubs of Fort Worth and Dallas, and the Lubbock Club are examples of such clubs. The Denver Club and Cheyenne Club were the most famous of the gentlemen’s clubs of the American West during the Beef Bonanza and mining boom of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. It is somewhat ironic that the Denver Club and the Cheyenne Club, whose stars rose so quickly during the Beef Bonanza and mining boom, have been passed over or at least outlasted by the Commercial Club that began by opening its doors to any citizen of Fort Worth 18 years of age and interested in the city’s development.

The influence of the British culture that came with the English, Scottish and Irish gentlemen who poured so much capital into the American West is only marginally identifiable today. The gentlemen’s clubs are the single largest remnant of British cultural influence in the American West. The only sports that were brought to the American West from the British Isles that are popular today are golf and tennis. Polo, the sport of English gentlemen, once played by American cowboys in the Texas Panhandle, has a number die-hard aficionados today below the Medicine Line.

A more profound residue of British influence in the American West is the effect of selective breeding by British ranchers of horses, sheep and cattle. The quality of American livestock was significantly improved by the importation of British livestock by British ranchers. The story of those efforts is told by Alvin Howard Sanders, author of At the Sign of The Stock

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1235 http://www.denvergov.org/About Denver/history_narrative_5.asp [accessed October 18, 2009].
1236 The Coloradoans are well known for their disdain of Texans and their Texas money.
1237 At least two dozen private clubs exist in cities west of the Mississippi River today.
Yard Inn (1915). His book examines stock-breeding improvements carried on between North America and Britain over a 100-year period, beginning long before the Beef Bonanza (accelerated during that twenty year period in the American West) and continuing long after its demise. For example, Sanders is eloquent in his praise of the most common English imported breed and how it was improved:

> I do not hesitate to advance the claim, realizing fully its sweeping nature, that the evolution and fixing of the modern American Hereford type, through adroit manipulation of the imported material, has been one of the most notable achievements in all the annals of cattle-breeding, ancient or modern.  

The influence of the Scottish Hereford cattle on the livestock industry in the American West is the stuff of legend. Movies have been made using the persona of Murdo Mackenzie as the hero of the effort to introduce Herford cattle on the Staked Plains of the Panhandle of Texas. Other Authors, who have written about the British influence in one arena or another in America, discuss the improvements in cattle and horse breeding initiated by British ranchers during the Beef Bonanza. Enough authors have written about British cattle breeding efforts to establish their work as a significant British influence on both the American and Canadian West.

### 10.7 Differences Between British Influences In The Two Wests

The British influence in Canada during the last decades of the nineteenth century was generally greater in the Canadian West than in the American West. This is in spite of the fact that British investment in the American West was geometrically larger than in the Canadian West. The answer to the quandary which that poses is obvious. The Canadian West was settled principally by British Canadians only a couple of generations removed from England, Ireland or Scotland. The predominant nationality and social class of immigrants to Western Canada between 1880 and 1910 were gentlemen and second sons from the British Isles. The

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1238 Alvin Howard Sanders, *At the Sign of The Stock Yard Inn* (Chicago: Breeder’s Gazette Print, 1915), 241.
influence of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), both largely made up of British immigrants, was felt throughout the Canadian West. The HBC had its greatest impact on Victoria, British Columbia. Neither Regina nor Calgary was a Hudson’s Bay post. Victoria began as a Bay Company post and fort, so its roots were British. Governor Douglas insisted that British formalities be adhered to at all times. The immigrant farmers during the early years of the colony were often British gentlemen. The mild climate of Victoria lured many Bay Company men to retire there. Thus the Bay Company had a significant impact on the “Britishness” of Victoria. As the colony grew during the gold rush era, the gentlemen who settled there often sent their sons to school back in England, a custom which helped to insure a continuance of British culture when the sons returned.

The Royal Navy’s impact on the culture of Victoria was at least as great if not greater than the cultural impact of the NWMP on either Regina or Calgary. The Royal Navy’s impact on Victoria was probably greater than the NWMP because the navy’s officer corps was made up of English gentlemen who landed with regularity at the naval base at Esquimalt on Vancouver Island. These young English gentlemen were prime candidates for marriage to the young ladies of Victoria. When the young officers married Victoria girls, they often retired to that community, thus enhancing the British culture there.

The Union Club of Victoria was a welcome home for these English gentlemen who were familiar with the better gentlemen’s clubs of London. It was evident that the city fathers from Governor Douglas through the Trutchs, Creases, O’Reillys, Pembertons, and Chief Justice Baillie-Bigbie, the first president of the Union Club, had the same goal: the preservation of British culture in their community. Their Victorian value system mixed with their love of all things English, to the degree that these two phenomena were indistinguishable as they were expressed in everyday life. Their daily habits were both Victorian and English, just as their taste in clothing, housing and pastimes. Considerable effort was expended in maintaining both Victorian standards and English culture by the best families in Victoria.
Visits to the Ranchmen’s Club of Calgary and the Union Club of Victoria over the past four years have impressed upon me the important place that British culture and heritage plays in those two clubs. Both clubs have considerable art work and photographs of the queen and the royal family. On the walls of the Ranchmen’s Club the art work and photographs of the queen and royal family are shared almost equally with paintings of horses and cowboys at work. There is a decidedly western flavor to the Ranchmen’s Club which makes the royal photographs stick out in an anachronistic manner. The linkage between Calgary and England is, no doubt, enhanced by the long-time commonwealth status of Canada. However, one gets the sense that the conservative nature of the ranchers, whether of British or Canadian background, plays a role in their respect for the crown. One gets the impression when visiting the Ranchmen’s Club that it was and is Tory country. Ranchers and wealthy businessmen north or south of the Medicine Line tend toward the conservative side of the aisle. In Fort Worth there is only one television news channel—Fox News—on the multiple screens in the bar, the grill, and the billiard room. The conversations overheard around the tables in the grill and the fitness facility have a distinctly conservative orientation. The interests of the propertied class are almost always espoused over those of the masses or the laboring poor. It is little different north of the Medicine Line. The conversations and outlook of the members overheard during the two visits to the Ranchmen’s club demonstrated a politically conservative orientation. The conservative frame of reference of the ranchers and businessmen in Calgary is likely to be at least part of the reason for the homage paid to the royals in the Ranchmen’s Club.

In the Union Club of Victoria there is little distraction from the fact that it is an English gentlemen’s club in every way possible. The staff at the front desk is solicitous and shows a desire to assist every visitor coming through the front door. But their true purpose is to find out the reason for the stranger’s presence in a private, membership-only club. In most gentlemen’s clubs privacy is a valued commodity that the members pay for as part of their dues. Conversations overheard during the several days spent researching the club’s history and
taking my meals there were of a decidedly conservative nature, genteel, polite but conservative.

During the thirty-year scope of this study, the Union Club probably had more in common with the Assiniboia Club than first meets the eye. Historically, both of those clubs were comprised of predominantly moderately wealthy individuals. There were almost no members who were significantly wealthy, such as the owners of the four largest ranches in Southwestern Alberta. Both the Union Club and Assiniboia Club had a significant number of second sons or middle-class Englishmen who became small entrepreneurs in Regina or remittance men who were rarely employed in Victoria. The Ranchmen’s Club was made up of a much larger group of wealthy British and Canadians than either the Assiniboia or Union Clubs.

10.8 Negative Impacts Of The Gentlemen’s Clubs On The Two Wests

This dissertation has examined the positive impacts of the British, Scottish, and Irish gentlemen who created their clubs on the communities in which they lived. There were many benefits conferred by the British entrepreneurs on their cities, from infrastructure improvements to civic facilities such as libraries, museums, opera houses and hospitals. Were there any possible negative aspects of these exclusive clubs on the communities and the citizens who were not members of these clubs?

The largest negative impact of exclusive gentlemen’s clubs is their reinforcement of a segregated stratified society, one which excludes individuals in the community from the full benefits of citizenship because of access denied. Private gentlemen’s clubs transmit certain ideologies to their members, or at least support those ideologies already held by the members. In addition to the value of privacy they tend to convey “the belief in the primacy of men over women, of white people over people of color, and of the upper classes over the lower classes; and “an attitude of self-righteousness and snobbishness.”

Throughout this study --in club after club, and in interview after interview-- the

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importance placed on privacy and secrecy was communicated by club members and club management. The many books written on these clubs in London, the United States and Canada stress the importance placed on these two features, privacy and secrecy. “It is assumed that members share many things in common that they do not wish to reveal to outsiders, and the ultimate form of disloyalty is to violate other members’ privacy by revealing information about them to outsiders.” Privacy is promoted in many ways by exclusive clubs. Generally the press is not allowed inside exclusive clubs, especially during organizational meetings. No information is given out by gentlemen’s clubs about its members. Membership directories are provided to members with the expectation that the members will guard that the directory does not fall into a non-member’s hands.

Gentlemen’s clubs leave almost no trace of their existence. Often the clubhouse does not have a sign identifying that it is a private club. Members of English gentlemen’s clubs to this day carry cards with only their name and on them, and no address, no phone number. It was considered “bad form” in the early 1900s when a member of a London club had a card produced with his name and the name of his club. At one time the London clubs were very secretive about their existence. According to one British journalist who extensively studied London’s gentlemen’s clubs in the 1980s,

For an institution which is well known to be central to the whole British Establishment, the men’s clubs are striking for their absence from any of the normal sources of information; books by independent observers, analyses of their influence and how they work. Some have their own, highly favorable official histories publishing the glories of a bygone age when Victorian novelists wrote their books in the club, hardly the basis for understanding the real role of the club today. It is interesting to note that of the six clubs this author has studied, the most secretive was the club in his home city. He was able to obtain almost no information from the Fort Worth Club. By contrast, clubs visited in London, Calgary and Victoria were quite open with their archives and

\[1241\] Ibid.
information about past history and how members were and are selected. The impression of openness of the London Clubs and the clubs visited in the United States and Canada, is that they have relaxed their insistence on secrecy, at least to a degree. Today, the issue of secrecy appears to be in flux or possibly one that is selectively enforced by various clubs.

Secrecy seems to be an end-in-itself for members of some gentlemen’s clubs. It also contributes to the mystic of the importance of the club and thus of its individual members. Secrecy provides security. It allows members to say and do things that might be frowned on by the community at large. Drinking to excess (or drinking when prohibition was the law) and gambling are activities generally prevalent in gentlemen’s clubs past and present. Gentlemen’s clubs were born in taverns. The reason for the existence of the first London clubs was as a source of good food, spirits and the exclusion of the public.

Elite gentlemen’s clubs in America, as in London, provide an atmosphere of security through homogeneity. In the London clubs the members knew each other from “Public School” (which are actually private exclusive boarding schools) and the university they attended together. They carry those friendships forward into their private clubs. Being “clubable” means more than just having a congenial personality and being a good story teller. Being clubable means that the views of the prospective member are the same as the views of the vast majority of the existing members. An individual gets those same views by going to the same boarding schools and universities as the other members of the club. In any club in any city in America a significant segment of the members of that club went to the popular high school together, went to private schools together, and went to upscale universities together. For example, in my home city, a significant number of Fort Worth Club members are Texas Christian University alumni. Many went to the most popular high school with each other, because they lived in the same exclusive neighborhoods. Many have fathers who were members of the Fort Worth Club, just as their fathers before them. Being able to trace your family membership in a particular club for generations gives a sense of stability, of belonging and of superiority.
The English gentlemen who were members of London clubs and started their gentlemen’s clubs in the United States or Canada had something in common with each other. Gentlemen believe that they are better than those who are not gentlemen. Thus, it should be no surprise that “[a] prevailing attitude among elite club members is self-importance, and this often translates into what some people might view as snobbish behavior.”

Americans, who had visited the London clubs or were members of gentlemen’s clubs in eastern cities, wished to emulate the English gentlemen who they perceived as members of a better class than themselves. Therefore, the English gentlemen were asked to join or form the gentlemen’s club in the cities studied for two reasons, they were wealthy and powerful and because they presented a model of how the American members’ wanted to behave in a proper respectable social setting.

Each of the clubs studied were often the host for important visitors to their community. Those important visitors gave speeches at the clubs where attendance was limited to club members only. Political and financial power are based to a significant degree on access, access to power and access to capital. Private gentlemen’s clubs provide that access to certain individuals in the community even as they prohibit it to others. Private gentlemen’s clubs are exclusionary in order to protect not only the social status of the members, but also to promote the wealth of the members. Private clubs, like golf courses, are where the deals are made. The details may be worked out back in the office but very often the deal itself is made over lunch in the club grill or a drink in the club bar. Thus, for those citizens of a community who are not members of a gentlemen’s club, (which means all women in business until the 1970s and 1980s when most American gentlemen’s clubs first began to allow women to join), they are prohibited from making certain lucrative business deals.

Ibid., 38. However, after years of observation of the members of the Fort Worth Club, not one incident of snobbish behavior can be recalled. To the contrary, club members are cordial with each other as a general rule, even when they are not personally acquainted with the member on the receiving end of the cordiality. Friendly behavior towards one fellow members is part of what it means to be clubable.
When gentlemen’s clubs were also the unofficial meeting place for the city’s elected officials, sometimes fairness and equity were the casualties. In Fort Worth, legend has it that “the Seventh Street Gang” met in the Fort Worth Club where they ran city hall. According to Irvin Farman, the biographer of the Fort Worth Club,

The Fort Worth Club was where the city’s power elite went to eat, get a haircut, a massage, play a game of pool, read the Wall Street Journal and the Oil and Gas Journal in the library.

The word was that Amon Carter and his cronies ran the town from the Fort Worth Club. In a smoke-filled room at the Fort Worth Club, it was said, the “Seventh Street Gang,” presided over by Mr. Carter decided who would be mayor,….who would be supported financially and through the pages of the Star-Telegram for other positions like congressman, county judge, sheriff, state legislature…

At the Fort Worth Club, it would be decided if a business interested in moving to Fort Worth was right for the city. If not, that was the end of that.1244

If such a politically powerful group of men as the “Seventh Street Gang” did exist and exerted such power, it is obvious that representative democracy suffered as a result. Mr. Farman does not state whether or not such a group of men wielded such power, however it is widely known that a group of rich influential men did meet regularly in the grill for lunch and probably in the private meeting rooms for more important discussions. The wealthy oilman and bachelor Sid Richardson had a room in the Fort Worth Club as did Amon Carter, publisher of the Star-Telegram. Carter was a friend of presidents who played a role in getting the Works Progress Administration to build the Will Rogers Memorial Coliseum. Carter was also instrumental in creating the famous open-air theater, Casa Mañana. He started the Fort Worth Livestock Show and Rodeo and played a role in bringing General Dynamics (now Lockheed Martin) the largest employer in the city, to Fort Worth. The city builders who were also members of the Fort Worth Club contributed much to their community. But there was a down-side to some of their activities. The people of the community sometimes had little say in matters that should have been issues of public policy or that could affect them financially.

It does not take much imagination to see in the activities of the community builders of

Denver who originated the Denver Club and cut their deals to build the city’s electric company, gas company, and traction company should have had some public scrutiny. That kind of power was no doubt wielded within the walls of the other clubs in this dissertation. According to the biographers of those clubs, the power was used for the betterment of the community. However, it does seem to be a rather one-sided story. According to Irvin Farman, the Fort Worth Club biographer, “One overriding message came to me as I engaged the fascinating research that was so vital to the writing of this story….The men who built the Fort Worth Club were also the builders of the city. This is as true today as it was a century ago.”

The six gentlemen’s clubs examined in this dissertation were the locus of British influence in the regions where they existed. Some of the clubs had memberships that were more wealthy and powerful than others. All of them provided a comfortable and congenial environment for their members. Many of the British members of these clubs built not only their own fortunes but also greatly improved their communities as well. Of the six clubs that these British gentlemen had important roles creating in the American and Canadian West, only three remain. The autopsies on the clubs that expired are incomplete. However, it is probably safe to say that they generally expired due to multiple causes. In the case of The Denver Club death was due in part to economic obsolescence. The downtown tower that the Denver Club built was forty-three years old in 1997 and no longer attractive to the best tenants. The club was probably also suffering from social redundancy. Other exclusive social venues provided the elite with facilities that better promoted their sense of self-worth and catered to their evolving needs for association and recreation. Finally, the Denver Club also died from complications brought on by an extinction of purpose masquerading as cost benefit analysis. The members did not need their club as much as it would cost them to build one that they would be proud to call theirs. The Cheyenne Club died from a single cataclysmic event: the end of the Beef Bonanza which was exacerbated by the cold chills of the blizzard of 1887. The Assiniboia Club closed its doors.

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\(^{1245}\) Ibid., 14.
following a lengthy illness which was probably a combination of social redundancy and extinction of purpose.

The three clubs that have survived are flourishing. The Fort Worth Club, Calgary’s Ranchmen’s Club and Victoria’s Union Club continue to meet the personal and professional needs of their members. Each of these clubs has become an important historic institution in its community. Each is an iconic representation of a by-gone era of gentility and civilization in the midst of profound social and economic change. Each of these three clubs in the American and Canadian West continue to provide a focus for social and political power in their communities. Important visitors to the three cities continue to come to the private clubs in those communities to give speeches and meet with the important civic leaders.

For the Fort Worth Club and the two dozen other surviving gentlemen’s clubs in the American West, they are the embodiment of the last vestiges of British influence. The Ranchmen’s Club and Union Club in the Canadian West remain bastions of continuing British cultural orientation, though little in the way of British financial influence remains.

10.9 Epilogue

British capital, culture and values were transplanted to the American (1870-1900) and the Canadian West (1880-1910) as a result of economic opportunities in those regions. Far more British investment went into the American West than the Canadian West. Texas came out of an economic depression after the Civil War because of British investment in the cattle industry from San Angelo to Dalhart. British ranch owners or their managers walked the halls of the Commerce Club in Fort Worth. British investment provided the capital that dug the mines and built the smelting plants throughout western Colorado. British entrepreneurs financed much of the infrastructure and cultural facilities in Denver. British investment in the Wyoming cattle industry and the Union Pacific put Cheyenne on the map. Yet the lasting influence of British culture and mores were experienced in the Canadian West much more than the American West, probably because of the continuing immigration of the English into Western
As there are well over two dozen gentlemen’s clubs operating in the American West today, it is safe to say that that English institution, the gentlemen’s club, is alive and well. The signature characteristics of a gentlemen’s club are its set of standardized rules and its methods of excluding individuals who are not perceived by present club members as being “clubable.” Those rules are commonplace and thus constitute adequate proof that the first order of the London gentlemen’s clubs to be exclusionary continues to this day in the American West. In many of the cities throughout the American West, the locus of financial and political power for those communities continues to reside within the seclusion of a prestigious gentlemen’s club. A more positive way of perceiving the same phenomenon is to recognize that gentlemen’s clubs in the American West exist today to allow individuals of similar values and economic status to congregate in a comfortable and congenial space and have agreeable dialog and interaction with each other. That, too, has been and continues to be the chief purpose of the English gentlemen’s clubs of London.

Every afternoon, and in like fashion, gentlemen go their club in London as they do in the cities in the American and Canadian West to enjoy convivial conversation and libations with their fellow gentlemen friends. A testament to transatlantic history, this tradition of over three-hundred-years standing, born in England, continues to this day in clubs throughout the North American West. Anthony LeJeune, club biographer, provides the closing sentiment regarding English gentlemen’s clubs wherever they are found.

A good club is much more than a mere catering establishment. It should be a refuge from the vulgarity of the outside world, a reassuringly fixed point, the echo of a more civilized way of living, a place where (as was once said of an Oxford college) people still prefer a silver salt-cellar which doesn’t pour to a plastic one which does.

Anthony LeJeune
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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Todd David Holzaepfel was born in Sandusky, Ohio in 1945 and has traveled extensively in the United States, Canada and twenty-five countries on four continents. He has lived the majority of his life in Texas, graduating from Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas with a Bachelor’s Degree in history, political science in 1970. He received his first Master’s degree in philosophy from Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio in 1972. While working in city government in Dunedin, Florida, Todd received his second Master’s degree in urban management from the School of Business Administration at the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida in 1978.

Todd then moved back to Texas where he served as the City Administrator for Pinehurst Texas, and the Downtown Planner for the City of Fort Worth, until 1985. Since that time he has served as the Vice President of Planning and Operations for Downtown Fort Worth, Inc., a private non-profit development corporation that manages the public spaces in the downtown. He received his third Master’s degree in American history from the University of Texas at Arlington in 2002. In the summer of 2003 he was awarded a State African Studies Fellowship to study in Ghana, Africa. Todd was then awarded a scholarship from the University of Texas at Arlington where he completed his Ph.D. in Transatlantic History in 2009.

Todd has taught philosophy at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio; recreation and leisure services at Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, Florida; United States history 1900 to present at Texas Wesleyan University, Fort Worth, Texas, and philosophy, United States history, Texas history, and management at Tarrant County College since 1983. Todd has split his professional career between public service and college teaching. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta honorary history fraternity, has published two award winning articles on the American Civil War and delivered papers at several regional history conferences.