

**Family and Fate Push
W. A. Richards to
High Office**

**Appointed Surveyor General for
Wyoming Territory**

1888-89

Lucia McCreery

RB
Red Bank Press

WilliamARichards.com

RICHARDS MAY HAVE been satisfied with his homestead and “determined to ‘stick,’” as he wrote his brothers in 1888,¹ but his devotion to his family soon drove them back to town. His wife, Harriet, who had been reared in a prosperous Omaha family and had attended Tabor College in Iowa, must have come to realize that the isolated ranch was not the right place to bring up their daughters. There was no school, no church nor Sunday school. The family seldom saw their neighbors—who in any case had few children for the girls to interact with to develop social skills. They had daily contact only with their parents and a few ranch hands. The cowboys may have been gentlemen at heart, but Allie was picking up unladylike language and table manners from them. Ruth soon would be too, if she wasn’t already.²

Richards must have shared his wife’s concern. Having been reared in a rural environment, he was aware of its limitations and got out as soon as he could. He valued education: after graduating from high school he taught country school, and he tried to further his own education by studying law and reading good books in addition to tackling subjects related to surveying, such as civil engineering.

Harriet’s own feelings are unknown. She may have been happy just to have her family together at last, and she apparently enjoyed life on the ranch. The country is gloriously scenic, with red bluffs stretching for miles—and it was no small thing that she was largely untroubled by rheumatism. The two winters the family spent there were not severe, but she surely missed certain amenities of town life, such as church and choir. (Harriet went to church in October, 1888, for the first time in 13 months.)³ Alice wrote later, “My father perhaps would have been content to remain there, but my mother felt that the two daughters should be in school and in town, so he applied to the position of surveyor-general for the Territory of Wyoming.”⁴

How ironic that after working so hard to establish a homestead for his family, they could not continue to live there. He would also have to give up the dream of independence from politics and from the patronage web. If ambition for high office played any part in his decision to apply for the surveyor generalship, it was unexpressed.

Once again, Fate figured in his story. This time, instead of dealing him a blow, it opened the door of opportunity just when he needed it. The election of 1888 made it possible for the Richardses to move to a town while keeping the ranch. The surveyor generalship of Wyoming was among the slew of patronage positions that opened up when the Republicans regained the presidency. In contrast to 1881, when Richards sought the surveyor generalship of California and then Wyoming, no incumbents would have to be dislodged.

Fate opened the door wider: the Republicans inserted a “home rule” plank in their 1888 platform to address the resentment felt by western territories about being ruled by governors and other presidential appointees from the east or midwest. Among them was Joseph M. Carey, Wyoming Territory’s delegate to Congress. Carey had supported an amendment to an appropriation bill providing that territorial officers appointed by the president must already reside in the territories they were to serve.⁵ Under the existing system, these posts were rewards for service to the party or the President, with qualification for office a secondary consideration. An example was the current surveyor general of Wyoming, John Charles Thompson, a lawyer from Kentucky who was appointed in 1885 following the election of Democratic President Grover Cleveland.

No lawyer could adequately perform the duties of surveyor general because the job demanded experience with and skill in surveying; not only did surveyors general award contracts for surveys of government land, they had to inspect the work. This included field notes, plats, maps, and other paperwork turned in by the surveyors executing the contracts. Under the supervision of the surveyor general, the documents had to be worked over by the office’s clerks and draftsmen and then sent to the General Land Office, the precursor of today’s Bureau of Land Management. Accurate work by surveyors and clerks was essential

to prevent future turf disputes. This accuracy would not be possible without the oversight of an experienced surveyor general.

When Cleveland was defeated by Republican Benjamin Harrison, the new President began making good on the promise of home rule by asking state leaders to supply him with qualified nominees.¹ For surveyor general of Wyoming Territory, here was Richards, a bona fide resident with the quaint qualification of actually being a practicing surveyor and civil engineer. On top of his excellent professional résumé, he was active in Republican politics and—his ace in the hole—he lived in the northern part of the Territory, which had long been underrepresented because it was remote and sparsely populated.

The Big Horn Sentinel was among the papers in the north that endorsed Richards. On April 27, 1889, it carried a rather windy article about home rule, in the course of it confusing the Nowood country with the entire basin.

The No Wood, or Big Horn Basin country, is undoubtedly entitled to consideration in the distribution of offices... The locality is now rapidly settling up with a class of people who are making rapid strides toward wealth and permanency.

Mr. W. A. Richards, a prominent stockman and ranchman of that section, and formerly county commissioner of this county, is being urged by friends for the office of surveyor general. His appointment would give general satisfaction to the citizens of northern and western Wyoming without regard to political opinions. Wherever Mr. Richards has been, he has established a reputation for sterling integrity and capability for the work in which he was engaged.

He is a surveyor of great experience [gives a résumé]. He is well qualified to fill the position and will make a capable and efficient officer.

Yes, he was qualified, but appointment depended on the patronage system, which Richards was all too familiar with. Harrison had asked Delegate Carey to select qualified candidates for Wyoming offices. Alice later wrote, “Some of the influential men of the southern part of the state, notably J. M. Carey, were not in [Richards’s] favor and did not welcome him too heartily at first.”² (She gave no further explanation, but they may have wanted federal plums to go to men they knew or owed favors to.)

Available newspapers give only fleeting mention to a few possible candidates, only one of them plausible (Edward C. David, Wyoming surveyor general from 1875 until the election of Cleveland).³ Another was Frank Bond. Bond was already halfway there: he and his twin brother, Fred, began working as draftsmen in the Wyoming surveyor general’s office when they came to Cheyenne from Iowa in 1882. Frank had survived regime changes and budget cuts and was now chief clerk. He began actively seeking the support of Carey and others for the surveyor generalship itself. In his letters to Carey, Bond put his foot in his mouth a couple of times. For example:⁴

I am free to confess that your list of candidates for office in [this county] is actually appalling, but hope, nevertheless, to secure your assistance, leaving the question of your indorsement to your judgment based upon a consideration of my fitness and the value of the papers filed in my behalf.

Richards cultivated Carey in more substantial and more tactful detail. If anointed, Richards wanted to be his own man and also have a say in the appointment of his clerks. Clerkships were important patronage plums, and Richards did not want men who got their jobs through connections instead of competence. The risk of that may have been small, since Carey was said to be looking for the best candidates, but Richards still preferred to choose his own clerks. In his letter of May 28, the applicant audaciously but diplomatically offered to let Carey approve any appointments he would make.⁵

I fully understand that, if appointed, I will be indebted to you alone, primarily for the place, and common gratitude and political honesty would compel me to pay the debt

by conducting the office in your interests politically. While I would not like to be a mere figure head, with my official powers delegated to a subordinate, I am willing to stipulate that no appointments shall be made in the Sur. Genls. office under my control that does not meet your approval.

Richards also wanted the support of Wyoming's other kingfish, Francis E. Warren, the territorial governor from 1885-86 who had just been restored to that office by Harrison. Cheyenne had gone all-out on Inauguration Day, April 9, 1889, declaring a public holiday and mounting "a monster parade witnessed by thousands" from Colorado as well as Wyoming, according to a big splash in *The Cheyenne Daily Sun* the next day. Warren addressed the jubilant crowds from the steps of the new capitol building, a harbinger of impending statehood. "The celebration was as much from affection for the man as well as approbation of the principle" of home rule, noted the *Sun*. Fireworks and an inaugural ball climaxed the big day. Another such inauguration would not be seen in Wyoming until Richards himself was elected governor.

In keeping with home rule and broad representation, the event's committees listed names from all over Wyoming, including Richards. Two men from each county were on the Inauguration Committee; he must have represented the basin side of Johnson County and H. R. Mann the Buffalo side. Given the distance from Cheyenne and the unspecific duties of the "Inauguration Committee," however, these may have been honorary positions for locally prominent Republicans. On the committees with specific, essential duties such as invitations and arrangements, the members from Cheyenne must have done all the work.

Richards most likely was present in name and spirit only. He surely sent Governor Warren a letter of congratulations and brought up the little matter of the appointment he was after. The next month Warren invited him down for a visit. Richards could not come, but his reply reiterated some of the points that he had made to Carey, with more emphasis on his being from the northern part of the state.¹

If it was not for neglecting the interests of others who are depending upon me I would come at once to Cheyenne. I am in charge of the cow outfit of Messrs Crawford Booth & Crocker of Evanston who have a large herd here, and it is unnecessary to state to you that this is our busy time.

Regarding the office which I seek I have little more to present. I have made what seems to me a good showing. I desire to stand as a representative of Northern Wyoming, and especially the counties of Johnson and Sheridan, and am certain that my appointment is desired by the people of those counties.

The letters written in my behalf by Republicans outside of Wyoming include those from Messrs Kimball and Thurston and Senators Allison, Farwell, Teller, Manderson and Paddock,* also from several congressmen. The influence of these gentlemen would be of value in obtaining favorable considerations by Congress of measures beneficial to Wyoming.

Your assistance would be powerful with Mr. Carey in whose hands the case rests, and if you can see your way clear to recommending my appointment it will be my aim to see that you never regret the step.

I have no one in view for any clerkship, and would expect the patronage of the office to be dispensed according to political principles. My first object would be to have competent clerks, my next to see that the interests of the party were properly considered in their selection. To do this I would necessarily be guided largely by the

*John M. Thurston, Nebraska state representative, later a U.S. Senator; Senators William B. Allison (Iowa), Charles B. Farwell (Illinois), Henry M. Teller (Colorado, former Secretary of the Interior), Charles F. Manderson (Nebraska), and Algernon S. Paddock (Nebraska). The identity of Kimball is uncertain.

leaders of the party. In short I do not desire, if appointed, to pocket the whole office or consider that I own it.

As always, Will had his elder brother solidly behind him. Alonzo (Lon) secured and forwarded an endorsement from Illinois Senator Charles Farwell to Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble. Lon even put his own political capital on the table: his four and a half years of service in the Army and, later, to the party. He stated:

If I am entitled to any consideration for either or both, I desire to transfer it to my Brother's account. He has been a practical surveyor for nearly 20 years, and is a thorough and thoroughbred republican. Gen. Grant offered to send him to West Point in 1870 but advised him to take his chances in the Far West, which he did, and the only written testimonial he took with him was a personal letter from Gen. Grant vouching for his competency and integrity, & upon which recommendation he has never brought discredit. He is endorsed by Judge Carey, delegate in Congress from Wyoming & by Senator Allison & Col. D. B. Henderson of [Illinois].*

As Will noted in his letter to Warren, he was "in charge of the cow outfit" of Crawford, Thompson & Co.** Away on the roundup when the appointment was announced on July 19, 1889, he didn't hear about it until two weeks later.¹

The *Sun* had thought the state capital might monopolize the appointments. But the paper was able to announce on July 20 that Cheyenne was given "even less than it is fairly entitled to":

HOME RULE ENFORCED.

...appointments were not made at dictation of a few men but upon the strength of the local endorsements.... Delegate Carey has taken great pains to ascertain the wishes of the people...and the delay which has been complained of arose from this cause. He has felt that the principle of "home rule" for which he has long contended, was now on trial and that mistakes would be fatal to its success.

Delegate Carey desires that a proper regard for the efficiency of the public service and respect for the rights of each section of the territory prevail in the establishment of a principle so important to the territories as that of having officers selected from among our bona fide residents....

[Harrison] has very promptly responded to the applications of our delegate who is in all respects worthy of the confidence that has been shown in him.

As for Richards, the *Sun* noted his strong endorsements and the personal recommendations from senators from three states. It also referred to an unnamed Cheyenne citizen²

who would have made an excellent surveyor general and but for his being a resident of this county he would probably have received the appointment. The selection, however, of Mr. W. A. Richards, of Johnson County, serves to distribute the federal patronage and we believe that when he is better known in southern Wyoming the appointment will prove to be a very satisfactory one.

The unnamed citizen might have been David or possibly Bond. After he heard the disappointing news, Bond wrote Noble,³

Having run this office so many years, I had hoped for a successful termination of my own application. Mr. Richards seems to be unknown here. I hope, however, that he

*May, 4, 1889. The letter contains some inaccuracies. Carey had not yet made the endorsement, and Will actually obtained the letter from Grant in 1870, after he had arrived in Omaha. (And Will himself does not say that Grant advised him to go West. Not mentioned in Lon's letter was Will's work on the

Wyoming boundary surveys, important experience for a potential surveyor general.⁴

**Among those on the payroll was Harvey Ray,⁵ future associate of the Wild Bunch. Ray was wanted for participation in the Belle Fourche stage holdup in 1897—when Richards was governor.

will make you a good officer, and that he may know more about the duties he is expected to perform than his predecessors whom I have served in the past.

Bond concluded tartly, “He can’t know less.”

IN AUGUST 1889 the Richards family moved yet again, but would always consider Red Bank their home. This time the piano and other furniture stayed at the ranch.* Management was entrusted to Owen T. (Tom) Gebhart, who had come with Richards in 1885 to work on the Big Horn Ditch, and then to George B. (Bear George) McClellan, a trusted hand since 1886.² Allie, age 13, did not want to leave the life she loved and its freedom, she later remembered. Ruth was six, and the Richardses were expecting another child; Edna would be born in Cheyenne on March 19, 1890.³

The new surveyor general took over from Thompson in a formal transfer of office that was conducted by the luckless Bond. The chief clerk “retains the position, which he has held for so many years that he goes with the assets of the office,” noted the *Sun* in its story of the transfer.⁴ Bond found other outlets for his multiple talents, to be noted in subsequent chapters. Years later, when Richards was commissioner of the General Land Office, he made this “asset” chief of the drafting division. Bond was promoted to chief clerk of the Land Office in 1907 and held that position until 1926. He was an ardent ornithologist and conservationist as well, and during Richards’s tenure in the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, Bond and Richards helped create the first wildlife refuges.⁵

While surveyor general, Richards would form political friendships with Warren and with Warren’s lieutenant, Willis Van Devanter, a Cheyenne attorney who had served briefly as chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court and who would become the chief strategist for the Wyoming Republican party. Both would be prime movers in William’s future career.

After life in Oakland, Colorado Springs, and then the ranch, the Richardses had to adjust to the “Magic City of the Plains.” The nickname came from its rapid transformation from a railroad camp to a small but wealthy city whose prosperity was based on the railroad, mining, and the cattle boom. By 1880 Cheyenne was said to have more millionaires per capita than any other town in the United States.** The tents and shanties of a decade earlier had given way to imposing Victorian edifices of brick and stone. This was what Mark Twain had skewered as the Gilded Age,⁶ and those with the funds and inclination could live in this western outpost as ostentatiously as anyone in San Francisco or New York. Thanks to the railroad, oysters and other luxuries were available to those who could afford them.

Cattle barons and other upper-crusters built the exclusive Cheyenne Club in 1880 on the model of gentlemen’s clubs in the East and in Europe. This splendid two-story resort, a symbol of the city’s new status, was described by a bedazzled editor from Council Bluffs a year after it opened.⁷ The club

comprises between seventy and eighty members, all of whom eat and spend their leisure hours in the elegant apartment, and some live there altogether, the house being supplied with nine elegantly furnished sleeping rooms, bath rooms, etc. The club employs a full corps of No. 1 cooks, waiters, housekeepers and other servants, who set out the finest imaginable meal, as I can testify, and keep everything in perfect order, and in fact render “the club rooms” as comfortable, elegant and pleasant as the most luxurious home in the “states” can be.

Rooms were set up for reading, billiards, smoking, or conversation. Some cattle barons spent the winter there.¹ Members and guests partook of the finest and most expensive wines, liquor, and cigars.

*The piano’s last known home was a pool hall in Worland. In a letter to the *Northern Wyoming Daily News* dated October 22, 1952,⁸ Alice asked, “Would it be possible to place it in some less objectionable place and perhaps keep

it as a memento of past history of the Basin?” Many years later, no further word about the piano, or the instrument itself, could be found.

**At least 8 millionaires in a population of 3,000 or 1:375.⁸

As the eighties progressed, Cheyenne came to be graced with electric lights and an opera house (both thanks to Warren) along with running tap water, telephones, and emporia such as the Warren Mercantile Company that offered all sorts of furniture, household goods, and luxury items.²

BY THE TIME the Richardses arrived, however, the gilt had worn thin. After 1887 nobody was making much money in cattle, and some mismanaged companies found themselves mired in debt instead of rolling in dough. Eighteen Wyoming outfits owned by British investors had quit the business in the previous fifteen months, according to a letter written in late November 1889 by an English cattleman who was trying to hang on.³ Horace Plunkett, an Irish aristocrat who still had a ranch on Powder River, visited Cheyenne about the time the Richardses arrived, and he found it “dull and doleful.”⁴ That may have been true of his world, the world of the Cheyenne Club, but not the world of ordinary folk like the Richardses. It was still the state capital, still a railroad center, still the hub of the region. Mining was an important industry, and the cattle business plodded along. Newspapers advertised a goodly number of jewelers, purveyors of fine wines, liquor, cigars, fancy groceries—and oysters. With statehood just around the corner, Wyoming and its capital turned optimistic eyes to the future.

Socially, the Brahmins maintained their superiority even if their pocketbooks no longer overflowed, and they apparently could still afford servants. Alice recalled later, sounding more charitable than resentful,⁵

Most of the group of really “old settlers,” those who came out before and with the Union Pacific Railroad, had grown wealthy very rapidly with the almost magic development of the cattle industry.... Many besides the cattlemen had made fortunes in other ways. It was natural that there should be a cattleman’s aristocracy which would prefer to keep to itself and not mingle with newcomers.

My mother...was not overly sensitive, but I remember her saying that very few called on her from among the town ladies, that she seemed an outsider. Once she said, “It seems one has to have more than one servant to be noticed in Cheyenne.”

Never mind the Brahmins. Mrs. Richards’s diary records frequent calls from others, such as the wives of Territorial Engineer Elwood Mead, Frank Bond and his twin brother, Fred, Van Devanter, and even Governor Warren.⁶ The Baptists welcomed Harriet, and William, always drawn to lodges, joined the local lodge of the International Order of Odd Fellows, of which he had been a member in Colorado Springs.* The names of the Richardses did not show up very often in the lengthy social columns of the newspapers, but Mrs. Richards was mentioned once in a great while as hostess of a church “sociable” or a luncheon. She must have sung in the church choir, perhaps as soloist, and in 1893 was one of the soloists in a program of “cradle songs of many nations” given to benefit the kindergarten school. When the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was trying to get young people to swear off tobacco and liquor, they sent speakers out to organize “Loyal Temperance Legions” of young people. Mrs. Richards was appointed superintendent of the Cheyenne effort.⁷

Both Richardses were teetotalers, but Harriet probably had long since given up trying to get her husband to swear off cigars. She had written him on March 4, 1885, when he was in Denver:

*Perusers of Wyoming papers of the time may be thrown off by the frequent mention of another William A. Richards in Cheyenne. He was real estate and fire insurance agent who was promi-

nent in the Knights of Pythias. Some newspapers spoke of his weight (365-400 lbs), and described him as jolly. He died in 1897 from fatty deposits around the heart.⁸

Missing out on the bad old days

BY THE TIME the Richardses moved to Cheyenne, its days as a lawless “hell on wheels” town were long gone. Originally an aggregation of tents that sprang up to serve the transcontinental railroad, the town did not disappear as the tracks moved west. The Union Pacific Rail Road had taken that route to make use of nature’s gifts to railroads: generous coal deposits and “the gangplank,” a narrow, gentle slope through rugged mountains toward what would become Laramie.

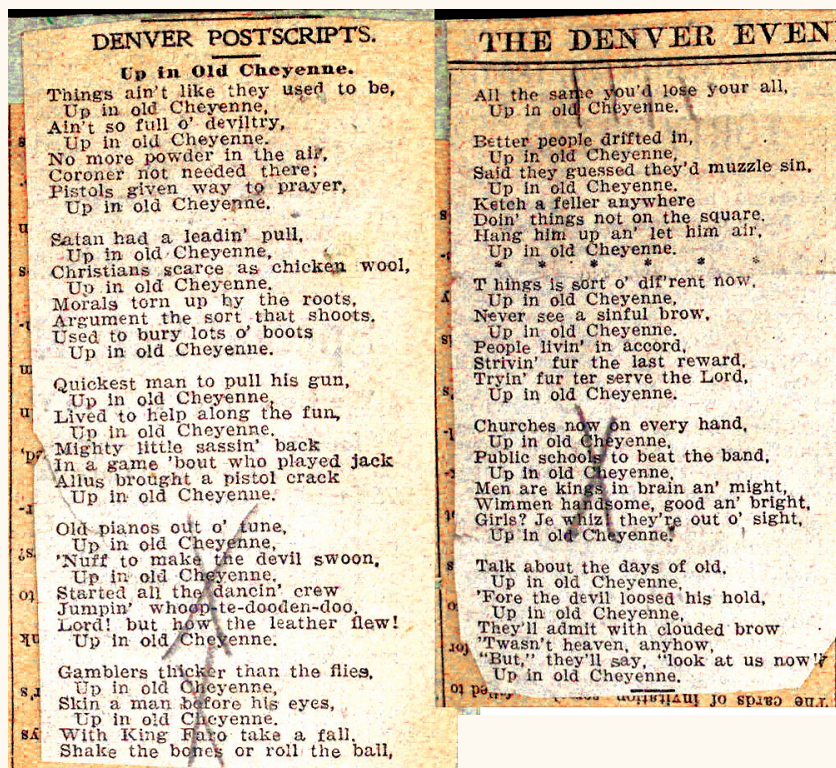
Cheyenne was named after the Shey-an-nah, who were now fighting the white invasion. Fort Russell had been built and then stocked with soldiers, and Cheyenne’s freight depot became the largest such depot west of the Mississippi. The first cattle herd was trailed in to feed them. The town grew up quickly to serve the military and the railroad. By the end of 1867, Cheyenne had 4,000 residents, many businesses, and two newspapers. The Union Pacific made it a railroad center, which guaranteed the town’s prosperity. It was a good place to hook up extra locomotives to haul trains over the nearby Evans/Sherman’s Pass, the highest point on the transcontinental railroad, and a connecting line to Denver was built in 1868.

“By January 1, 1868, 300 businesses were operating, supported by trappers, hunters, laborers, trainmen, engineers, lawyers, artists, railway clerks, gamblers, soldiers, promoters, prostitutes, professional gunmen and members of, among others, the Sioux, Cheyenne and Pawnee tribes. Liquor was cheap, pay was good and stakes were high for gamblers and robbers.

“Opportunities also abounded for more upstanding businesses. Merchants, banks, stables, hotels and theaters served [local residents] and people traveling through. In the 1870s, miners outfitting themselves on their way to the Black Hills gold rush brought still more business to the town.”¹

When Wyoming Territory was created on January 1, 1868, Cheyenne was the obvious choice for its capital. The cattle boom soon made it a hub for shipment of stock to market.

And of course development brought law enforcement, ladies, churches, and schools. Only the dregs of society rued the passing of the old days. But there’s a certain nostalgia in this poem about the bygone era, which Richards saved in his scrapbook.²



Gen. Grant will die in a few weeks, an item says from the effects of tobacco. Will, indeed, I think you would be so much better in health, if you could only stop using tobacco. I think it hurts any one to use it or inhale the smoke, but Gen. Grant couldn't give it up. I suppose you never will or can either. I do not see for my part what good it does in any way, shape, or manner. I know you spend five times for tobacco & things necessary for its use, what I do, for the church. How would it look for me to spend 60 or 80 dollars for gum, a yr. But I did not mean to lecture so will close the subject.

Grant died an agonizing death from throat cancer a few months later. His iron will had held off the Grim Reaper long enough for the national hero to finish the Memoirs that would save his family from destitution, expiring a few days after their completion. But Grant's tragic fate would not scare William, nor most of the other men he knew, away from cigars. At lodges and other male bastions, they could puff away in peace.

As for Allie, her spotty schooling meant she would have to be placed in a grade that matched her abilities. One teacher told her in later years that "I didn't seem from the country because my mother had been so careful in my training. At mid-year," she recalled, "I was advanced a grade, but I never quite caught up, and was always a year or so older than my classmates." She attended Mills Seminary in Oakland, California, for a year, but did not graduate from high school until she was 24 years old and living in Washington, D.C.¹

RICHARDS, with the help of Frank Bond, set about learning and performing the duties of surveyor general. He soon found himself caught up in the issues important to the future of Wyoming. Many citizens—but far from all—wanted statehood, and that required presenting a strong case to Washington. To draw a picture of the territory's development to date and its great potential, Richards's office, working with Territorial Engineer Elwood Mead, prepared a multicolored map for Congressional Delegate Carey. Bond must have been the main if not the sole draftsman. The map showed Wyoming's mineral wealth (principally coal) and the water courses that had been, and could be, tapped to turn the prairie into farmland. (For Richards, there was no escaping irrigation.)

Newspaper articles about the map, in November 1889, gave highlights of an accompanying report that trumpeted the Territory's agricultural potential.² Thanks to four major rivers (the Platte, the Bighorn, the Snake and the Green) and numerous streams, Wyoming is blessed with more water than any other arid state, and little of its land is desert. But as time would tell, the report was wildly optimistic about the number of acres that irrigation could turn into cropland.

The map project may have inaugurated Richards's long association with Mead, who went on to become the foremost reclamation authority nationally and perhaps internationally. Mead had been appointed Territorial Engineer just the year before, in March 1888. The legislature had created the position to supervise the use of the territory's waters³ and to help develop farms—despite the opposition of some powerful cattlemen who still wanted to keep settlers out.

In a land with so little rainfall, agriculture required irrigation, and Mead was an expert. Only 30 years of age when he came to Wyoming, he had been a professor of irrigated agriculture and also assistant state engineer of Colorado. His career began when individuals or small companies were diverting streams to water farmland; half a century later, as commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, Mead was overseeing the construction of Boulder Dam. Built to impound the Colorado River for thirsty Nevada, Arizona, and California, the massive structure would be renamed Hoover Dam, and the lake it created—the largest reservoir in the United States—would be named Lake Mead.

Mead is well known as the father of water-rights laws that stood with few changes in Wyoming and were adopted by most arid states in the nation—plus Canada, Australia,

South Africa and New Zealand.¹ Certainly he deserves credit for identifying the defects of Wyoming's system and proposing remedies, but he wasn't working alone. Two delegates to the Wyoming Constitutional Convention, held in September 1889, worked Mead's ideas into Section VIII of the new state's constitution. James A. Johnston of Laramie county (Wheatland), an irrigation engineer, was chairman of the committee on irrigation and water rights.² He had known Mead in Colorado and had recommended him to Wyoming as Territorial Engineer. Also on that committee was Buffalo attorney Charles H. Burritt, who advocated strenuously for priority of appropriation.³ The balance was swung in their favor when the prestigious law firm of Lacey and Van Devanter lent support, according to historian James L. Kluger.⁴

"Priority of appropriation" developed when it became obvious that the West needed something different from the "riparian" water-rights system used in the East, where water was plentiful. Riparian rights allow land owners whose property fronts a stream or lake, or who have a stream crossing it, to use a reasonable amount of water from those sources. But in the West, there isn't enough water to go around. The concept of prior appropriation was developed in California in 1850 and was picked up and modified by other states and territories faced with limited water—17 in all, nearly half the country. John Wesley Powell, the geologist in charge of the United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, had in his 1879 report on the arid lands urged adoption of two key concepts, "prior utilization" and the attachment of the water right to the land, both of which would be central to the system Wyoming adopted.⁵

In Wyoming, prior appropriation had been loosely codified by the earliest legislatures and more firmly focused in a law of 1886.⁶ First dibs on drawing water from a stream went to the first person who filed a ditch claim on that stream, entitling him or her to a certain amount of water for a certain number of acres. It no longer mattered if your land was right on a particular stream. In periods of low water, the law protected those with priority from having their water taken by a later arrival who filed a claim farther upstream. Water could only be employed for a "beneficial use" such as irrigation or mining.

To Wyoming Mead brought his knowledge of Colorado laws, many of which were sound, many of which deficient. In Wyoming he would be able to influence the creation of a better system. For one thing, Colorado law favored the ditch builder, who could then charge farmers high prices for water. This did not sit well with Mead: he had grown up on a farm in Indiana and wanted to help people have their own farms. In Wyoming, the water would be considered the property of the state and it would be controlled by a central agency. The property owner would own the right to a certain amount of water for beneficial use. Mead also inaugurated the permit system and a board of control to review applications to use water. These measures would help prevent waste and keep people from taking more than they were legally entitled to. Before long, the comprehensive water code developed by Wyoming on the basis of Colorado law would be further improved, and it would spread to other arid states and countries.

Mead would influence the arid-land views of state leaders such as Warren, soon to be Senator, and Surveyor General Richards, who had long been interested in law and irrigation. Once elected governor, Richards would work with State Engineer Mead to try to change state and national arid-lands policy. Their paths diverged in 1899, but in 1912 Richards went to Melbourne, Australia, with a party of land-seekers. They had been invited by Mead, who as director of irrigation development for the province of Victoria was trying to encourage solid-citizen types to immigrate there. Richards and Mead were leaving a luncheon in Mead's honor when Richards suffered chest pains. He died the next day, and Mead accompanied his old friend's remains on the long trip back home—across the world's largest body of water. Richards was laid to rest in Cheyenne in his family plot, which was

adjacent to the Mead plot. When Richards was governor, they had shared the cost of a stone enclosure for both plots. Mead himself is interred in Arlington National Cemetery.¹

WATER WAS ALMOST the death of Richards while he was surveyor general. On an inspection tour of completed surveys on July 6, 1891, a flash flood burst upon his party when they were near Fort Washakie, on the Shoshone reservation. Later, when he was governor, he described the close call to Col. John W. Clark of the Shoshone Indian Agency.²

I am in receipt of your letter of a recent date relating to the finding of a surveyor's chain by an Indian near the scene of my experience with a cloud burst, some years since. As a souvenir of a very interesting occasion, not devoid of hardship and danger, I would like to again possess this chain. It is the only thing that has been found of more than two hundred dollars worth of property carried away by the water rushing down a gulch thirty feet wide that was dry fifteen minutes before the accident and contained not a drop of water fifteen minutes after it occurred. During the half hour, however, while the torrent raged, one horse was drowned, another saved by being roped from the bank and its head thus held above water, a buck board demolished and its contents carried away while the driver barely escaped with his life. I will be greatly obliged if you will leave it for me with the Express Agent at the depot in Cheyenne and will repay whatever expense attended its recovery.

Richards must have been reminded of what this "interesting occasion" cost him. Right after the cloudburst he had reimbursed others for their losses. The proprietor of the Lander Hotel, H. G. Nickerson, received \$225 for his horse, wagon, and harness, and the two surveyors in Richards's crew received smaller amounts for their personal effects. His own lost personal effects, along with the gear and supplies, brought the total to \$318³—about \$10,600 in 2022 dollars.⁴

Though the losses had been sustained in the line of duty, the General Land Office could not cover them: The funds would have to come from a congressional appropriation.⁵ Legislation was drafted in 1892 by Wyoming Senator Francis E. Warren and approved by the commissioner of the Land Office. Its passage was urged in a report submitted by Wyoming Senator Joseph M. Carey.⁶ The report's detailed receipts and affidavits did not inspire Congress to pass the bill.⁷

In 1900, Senator Warren presented the same information in a new bill, which passed.⁸ Did it help that Richards was in Washington, serving as assistant commissioner of the General Land Office?

It's unknown if Clark sent him the chain, but it seems likely he did.

Richards went out on tour again on September 15, 1891, and did not return until December 1, according to the *Cheyenne Sun*.⁹ "The General has seen much rough weather. On the 20th of November, the thermometer showed 20 degrees below on Wind River."

You'd think such experiences would make William A. Richards, now age 43, favor civilization over the Wyoming's great outdoors. But no: by August he was eager to go out in the field again. Certain surveys were nearing completion, and he wanted to be the one to examine them. He wrote his boss, Lewis A. Groff, commissioner of the General Land Office,¹⁰

If you desire it, I am willing to make these examinations in person. I would like to do it because having passed more than twenty years of my life in surveying in the field I take a great interest in it, and much prefer it to office work. I also desire personal knowledge of the character of the work done.... In making these examinations, I also gain much valuable information respecting the localities in which surveys are needed.

Economy is always a good argument. There was a lot of survey work to be examined in Wyoming that season, Richards told the commissioner, and if he did the work himself

instead of sending out a special examiner, the savings might amount to about \$5 per day. His request should be authorized as soon as possible, though: some of the tracts being surveyed lay so high in the mountains that if they were not examined by November 1 they could not be reached again until the following June. He pointed out that the previous year he had been out in the mountains in November, when the weather was “severely cold.” That didn’t stop him from asking approval for another potentially icy excursion; it would get him out of the office.

Part of his job was inducing Washington to allocate enough money for his office to do *its* job. There had to be enough in the bank for survey contracts and enough clerks to do all the paper work. In the western states and territories, good agricultural land could not be claimed and settled until it was surveyed and the required papers submitted to the Land Office by the surveyors general. Copies of maps and other papers relating to surveyed land could be obtained for a fee by interested parties such as railroads. The clerks in the office would copy the papers—by hand in those days—but there had to be enough staff to do that and all the other work, such as typing the letters that Richards dispatched to Wyoming’s senators and the commissioner of the Land Office as appropriations were proposed, cut, and sometimes restored.

In 1891 Richards found himself on the “horns of a dilemma,” he wrote in his report to the commissioner of the General Land Office. His office had been allotted only \$4,000 for clerks when \$10,000 to \$12,000* would have been “little enough to carry on the work of the office” and ensure that the surveyors who had taken contracts could have their paper-work processed promptly and get paid within a reasonable time instead of waiting one or two years. Contrary to usual practice, Richards was considering hiring extra clerks and draftsmen to process the field notes of current survey contracts as soon as they were filed, and work vigorously until the money ran out. Not only would this keep faith with the surveyors, but

the land embraced in some of these contracts has been designated by the proper State authorities as land which they desire to select for the State under the act of admission, which donated large tracts of land to the State. These selections can not be made until the surveys are finally accepted, and a long delay in completing the office work will seriously injure the interests of the State.¹

Appeals for more money for clerk hire were a staple of surveyor-general reports to the Land Office. Facing the same problem again in 1892, Richards sought help from Senators Warren and Carey, both of whom were elected to the U.S. Senate when Wyoming became a state, in 1890. Richards wrote Carey in March and May, reminding him that newly surveyed lands could not be opened for settlement until Richards’s office could finish the transcripts and plats.² (His letters to Warren are not preserved but Warren’s replies show his attempts to help.) Without enough money to pay clerks, the work could not be completed until the next fiscal year. In the meantime, field notes from surveys that *had* been funded would soon be coming in, and had to be processed. If the House were “Republican and decent,” Warren told Richards, the needed clerks could safely be hired. But with a Democratic House “aspiring to the reputation of ‘nickle Congress’ with a Presidential election near at hand, I do not know as it would be safe.”³ Funds were appropriated after Carey tacked on an item to a general deficiency bill.⁴

Commissioner Groff, who had been supportive all along, asked Richards on June 10 if he would like an additional apportionment from the reserve fund. “I gratefully acknowledge your able and vigorous efforts to secure an appropriation for that purpose commensurate

*\$4,000 was equivalent to \$133,000 in 2022, per [measuringworth.com](https://www.measuringworth.com) purchasing power calculator.
\$10,000 was equivalent to \$332,000.

to the necessities of the office,” replied the surveyor general, but he did not yet know how much he would need. He then opened up with a vivid account of the ways his office was trying to keep up with the demand for land claims by settlers, miners, and by the state itself.¹

I have made contracts to the full amount of of \$30,000 apportioned to this district for the present fiscal year and could have contracted \$20,000 more during the year to good advantage. In selecting lands for survey I have been governed by the petitions of settlers, but in every instance the contracts have failed to include all of the settlers and it will be necessary to extend the surveys at once. In addition to this fact I have petitions asking for immediate surveys in several different localities far beyond the limits of those recently made.... In one place there is a great activity in mining for gold and silver, in another nearly a hundred coal claims have been located, in a third there are forty families living upon unsurveyed land, and in each case the people are anxious to secure a title to the land which they occupy. A sum also will be required with which to make corrective surveys closing the old surveys upon the new or resurvey in the Douglas Land District, this being the large tract recently suspended. In all the surveys made under contracts signed by me the filing of the triplicate plats in the local Land Office has been immediately followed by numerous filings of various kinds and final proofs upon desert entries, sufficient to largely repay the Government for the amount expended upon the surveys.

The State Land Board wanted to select parcels for the State from federal land recently donated by an act of Congress, but settlers were getting to the better tracts first because of the way the system was set up. Richards continued,

While the Land Board are not opposing the occupancy of land by settlers they are naturally anxious to select land that will be of value to the state.

I hope that in the foregoing I have satisfied you that the money heretofore apportioned to Wyoming has been intelligently and profitably expended and that a large sum can be used in this district during the coming fiscal year to the mutual benefit and advantage of both the public and the Government, and I trust that you will give these facts due consideration in making the apportionment of the appropriation for surveys.

Six mineral surveys became headaches in November. The office could not comply with regulations because of “meagre appropriations for clerk hire for this office.” Not enough money had been appropriated to keep up with the regular and necessary work “in the manner I would like to have the work done, upon the public land and mineral field notes, as fast as the same were filed.”²

As Richards’s tenure was coming to a close, he sent the commissioner a request for funds to finish a resurvey contracted for in June 1890, so settlers could make entries in the land. “I desire to enter into the contracts at once in order to secure the services of experienced and trustworthy deputies who desire to go into the field early in the Spring. ...”³

While he was still surveyor general, the Panic of 1893 set off the worst depression in American history to date. People were in dire straits everywhere, among them surveyors who had not been paid for contracts completed in Wyoming. Richards could do little about it except write letters. Even after he left office on November 30 of that year, following the return of Democrat Grover Cleveland to the presidency, he wrote Carey about money owed to three of his surveyors who still had not been paid:⁴

...there seems to be a studied effort to avoid the payment of any money on any account. With the daily expenses of the Government exceeding its income, I presume that this is a necessity, and I have no doubt that the order has been given to the head of every department to pay nothing that can be put off upon any pretext whatever.

In this State the course pursued by the Department of the Interior is working a great hardship to the deputies [surveyors], who have worked hard and gone deeply into debt to pay the expenses of their surveys, and now cannot get them finally acted upon.

One of the men apparently got his money, but Augustus C. Coleman (who had come with Richards in 1885 to work on the Big Horn Ditch) and his partner, William M. Gilcrest, were still waiting. At their request Richards wrote Carey again in December. And then in January. And then again in April. On April 16, 1894, he wrote two letters to Carey, on Red Bank Horse Ranch stationery. (Warren, out of office from March 1893–March 1895, was not in a position to help, but Carey had been Richards's main correspondent in survey matters all along.) One was an official request, asking Carey to call on the commissioner of the Land Office "in the interests of justice." Richards said that the surveys had been well executed, but minor errors had crept into the paperwork because clerks had been laid off due to insufficient funding.¹

Messrs. Coleman and Gilcrest borrowed every dollar of the money expended upon these surveys, upon which they are paying one per cent per month interest. The interest has now almost consumed the small margin of profit upon the contract, which profit only amounted to very ordinary pay for their own personal labor. I have no interest in this matter further than a desire to see the Government take a reasonable view of the matter and not longer delay the acceptance of this work upon objections of no great importance.

Political machinations may have been behind the delay, Richards told Carey in the second, "Confidential," letter. The chairman of the Democratic State Committee, Albert L. New, who had influence with the Cleveland administration, "may be causing the holding up and possible rejection of this work, for the purpose of reflecting upon my administration of the Sur. Genl's office." Richards also pointed out that as a member of the legislature Coleman had voted for Carey's election. Coleman was likely to be renominated. Therefore—

While I do not know that it would be necessary to do any thing to secure his support for you again, I do know that such a favor as this matter would be to him would virtually insure it. Gilcrest is well and favorably known in Cheyenne and it would be no difficult matter to get him nominated for the legislature. As for myself I believe that you do not require any protestations of my good will.

He added that he was glad the newspapers were giving Carey credit for some of the good things that he had accomplished for Wyoming. Richards also pointed out that he, Richards, could influence the policies, if not the editorial content, of influential basin newspapers: the *Big Horn County Rustler* (which he owned) and Tom Gebhart's *Paint Rock Record*. He reminded Carey that they were read by the thousand voters in the basin. It is unknown when the surveyors finally got paid. (Coleman did not return to the legislature until 1896; Gilcrest went on to be assistant state engineer and then state water commissioner.)

The loss of Alonzo

AS WILL'S FORTUNES improved, those of his elder brother declined. Lon's jewelry business folded, and he and his family moved to Chicago in 1890, where he found employment with a long-distance telephone company. Evidently dissatisfied, he asked Will in January 1891 for help in getting a government position. Lon's expertise might have been welcomed by his brother the surveyor general, but no openings were apparently available even if Lon and his family had been willing to move to Wyoming.

Will turned to the ever-obliging Senator Warren. But the senator replied that thousands of clerks recently released from the work on the census were looking for new positions, and

he had been trying without success to find a position for a Wyoming man. The patronage system, which would have worked in that man's favor, had been replaced by the "infernal Civil Service."¹

Warren thought that there should be job opportunities in the preparations for the Columbian Exposition & World's Fair due to open in Chicago in 1893. He told Will that he had sent a "very strong letter in favor of your brother" to its director-general, George R. Davis, and added that he would try to get an interview with him. Davis's reply was unfavorable, but Warren wrote Lon and William on February 2 that he would see what could be done in the future. There was no need: soon afterward Lon died unexpectedly, on March 10, just two months shy of his fiftieth birthday. Most obituaries said he died of "la grippe" (flu). In any case, he was spared the fate he dreaded—becoming old and poor.

Lon had gone to the home of his father-in-law in Warren, Illinois, in hopes that the quiet of the country would help him recover. After a funeral there he was interred at Dubuque under the auspices of the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Union veterans.¹ Will could not even draw a measure of solace by gathering with the family. Down with the flu himself, he had been prohibited by his doctor from traveling, according to newspaper articles. "General Richards is reported too ill from la grippe to leave his house, and is unable to pay his last tribute of love to his dead brother."²

In the cold and cheerless days of March Will could only try to get well himself, all the while reflecting on the loss of the brother—virtually a second father—to whom he owed so much. Lon was indeed the embodiment of both words.

Will and Aut could not serve as pallbearers or stand together at the graveside since Aut apparently did not make the trip either. They would have each other for another 20 years, though separated by mountain and prairie. Aut remained in Oakland, going into real estate in 1906.³ He died in 1930.⁴



A. V. Richards.

Alonzo Van Ness Richards. The engraving and signature are on the same handsomely printed piece.

American Heritage Center²

Sources and notes for pages 1-14

Page 1

1. Sept. 18, 1888 to Lon; Oct. 18, 1888 to Aut. William A. Richards Collection, H-215/MSS 83, Wyoming State Archives (WSA).

2. "Various Happenings in the Life of Alice Richards McCreery," Alice Richards McCreery collection, H63-86, (ARMcC WSA), and the Frison Collection, WSA.

3. Letter to A. C. Richards, Oct. 14, William A. Richards Collection, WSA H82-61.

4. "Old Settlers Versus New, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1889-1893, 1894-1898," ARMcC WSA.

5. *Bozeman (Montana) Weekly Chronicle*, Sept. 5, 1888, under headline "Home Rule in the Territories." Library of Congress online newspapers.

Page 2

1. Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 105. *The Cheyenne Daily Sun*, p. 1, March 12, 1889, and July 20, 1889, p. 2

2. "Old Settlers versus New," ARMcC WSA.

3. *The Cheyenne Daily Sun (Sun)*, March 12, 1889, p. 1, said that former Wyoming surveyor general Edward C. David was supposed to be a candidate. (David held the office from 1875-84 and was succeeded by John Meldrum. David apparently was still a resident of Cheyenne, judging from newspaper items.) Less creditable suggestions appeared in the April 5, 1889, *Sundance Gazette*, which was in the northern part of the state. Perhaps the Democratic paper was kidding when it named E. S. Slack, head of Wyoming's premier Republican daily, as a candidate. It also named an E. B. Bond.

A candidate from outside Cheyenne was identified by Frank Bond in a letter to Clarence D. Clark, an Evanston attorney whose endorsement Bond was seeking (Feb. 28, 1889, Frank Bond letterpress book, Frank Bond papers, WSA). "One of the two other candidates for this office [surveyor general] here, has already withdrawn and the strongest backer of the other came to me a few days ago and said he expected to throw his influence in my direction soon," Bond wrote.

“This leaves only Grant of Laramie City a possible candidate, aside from myself.” He must have meant Leroy Grant, who was elected mayor of Laramie in 1887, had served in the legislature, and was then construction superintendent of the Territorial Penitentiary. Also experienced in stock raising and store management, Grant was named Receiver of the Land Office (*Sun*, July 20, 1889), a position that entrusted him with funds received for land claims.

4. March 13, 1888. Frank Bond letterpress book, WSA.

5. May 28, 1888, H-215/MSS 83 WSA.

Page 3

1. May 27, 1888, H-215/MSS 83 WSA.

Page 4

1. Richards was on the C.T. & Co. roundup when he sent them an accounting from Red Bank on June 1, 1889. (H-215/MSS 83 WSA.) *The Big Horn Sentinel*, July 27, reported that he received the news in Buffalo.

2. *Sun*, July 20, 1889, p. 2.

3. May 4, 1889, letter from Alonzo V. Richards, among the appointment papers in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C., along with a letter from W.A. himself to J. W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior formally applying for the position. April 1, 1989. Family papers (FP)

4. Harvey Ray was among the cowhands listed in Richards's letter of June 1, 1889, to Crocker. Alice McCreery wrote that he was a college man, describes him in her article “Some Men of That Day, 1889-1898,” ARMcC WSA.

5. Frank Bond to John W. Noble, July 19, 1889, letterpress book, p. 82, MSS 220, WSA.

Page 5

2. Gebhart, then McClellan, per Alice McCreery. Date of McClellan's arrival at Red Bank was calculated from various sources by Margaret McClellan, wife of his grand-nephew George.

3. “Recollections of Cheyenne from 1889 to 1894” and other articles, ARMcC WSA. In other articles she describes the old settlers as a clique led by Mrs. Carey.

4. September 1, 1889

5. William Reffalt, “History of Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge.” U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 2006, eearth.org. Also Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2009). 12-13, 491. Also papers of William A. Richards, Commissioner of the General Land Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (NARA).

Frank and Fred Bond were born on a farm in Iowa on June 30, 1856. Fred became city engineer of Cheyenne in 1889 and then State Engineer in 1899, following Mead's departure for Washington, D. C. (Fred Bond entry in *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming*. Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1903. Frank is not mentioned.)

Mead would head the newly created irrigation investigations office at the Department of Agriculture. (*The Irrigation Age*, August 1902, and other sources.) Frank was working for Mead when Richards was appointed commissioner. (Frank Bond obituary in *The Auk*, published by the American Ornithological Society. Vol. 61, No. 4, October 1944. Frank died on July 22, 1940.)

6. Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, “The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-day,” 1873, widely available to-day.

7. Nov. 9, 1881, *Sun*. Other sources say 8 or 10 apartments.

8. FP

9. *Forbes* magazine website, accessed Oct. 8, 2000, and other sources.

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1. Marguerite Herman, “Laramie County, Wyoming,” WyoHistory.org.

2. Kerry Drake, “Francis E. Warren: A Massachusetts Farm Boy Who Changed Wyoming,” WyoHistory.org

3. Lawrence M. Woods, *Horace Plunkett in America: An Irish Aristocrat on the Wyoming Range*. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Co. and University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 115

4. *Ibid.*, 117

5. “Old Settlers vs. New”

6. Diary of Mrs. Harriett (*sic*) Alice Hunt Richards, sporadic entries from May 30, 1885, through mid-1895. History Nebraska Library, Lincoln), 921 R515d.

7. *Sun*, Jan. 13, 1893.

8. Various newspapers available on wyomingnewspapers.org, mostly the Cheyenne ones

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1. Lori Van Pelt, “Cheyenne, Magic City of the Plains,” WyoHistory.org; cheyennecity.org; wikipedia; Larson, T. A., *History of Wyoming*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); and other sources.

2. WAR scrapbook, ARMcC WSA.

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1. “A Different Account,” William A. Richards family papers 1870–1965, file 00118, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyo. (AHC). She graduated in 1901, two years after moving to Washington.

2. *Sun*, Nov. 23, 1889, and *The Cheyenne Daily Leader*

3. Craig O. Cooper, “A History of Water Law, Water Rights & Water Development in Wyoming, 1868–2002,” Wyoming Water Development Commission and State Engineer's Office, 2004. WY_water_law_hist.pdf

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1. P. Andrew Jones and Tom Cech, *Colorado Water Law for Non-Lawyers*. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009). Based on Elwood Mead, *Irrigation Institutions: A Discussion of the Economic and Legal Questions Created By the Growth of Irrigated Acreage In the West*. (New

York: Macmillan, 1903.)

2. Johnston was from Wheatland, per Craig Cooper and Evan Simpson, "A History of Water Law, Water Rights, & Water Development in Wyoming, 1868-2002," 2004, https://wwdc.state.wy.us/history/Wyoming_Water_Law_History-text.html, accessed Oct. 4, 2023; Larson, 254, says he was a farmer. Johnston represented Laramie Co. in the Territorial Assembly.

3. Larson, 255.

4. James R. Kluger, *Turning on Water with a Shovel: The Career of Elwood Mead*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 19.

2. John Wesley Powell, Report of the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1878. A discussion of the report is in Wallace Stegner's *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982). 219-40.

6. Session Laws of Wyoming Territory, passed by the Ninth Legislative Assembly, 1886. Chapter 61, Irrigation. An act to regulate the use of water for irrigation and for other purposes, and providing for settling the priority of rights thereto. WSA

More thorough discussions of Mead and his work can be found in Kluger, Larson, and *Irrigation Institutions*; also Daniel Davis, "Elwood Mead, Arid Land Cession, and the Creation of the Wyoming System of Water Rights," *Annals of Wyoming*, Summer 2005, Vol. 77, No. 3.

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2. March 15, 1892, Francis E. Warren letterbooks, AHC.

3. *Sun*, March 17, 1892.

4. June 28, NARA, Denver.

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1. Oct. 30, 1893, Joseph M. Carey papers, AHC.

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3. *Wyoming Tribune* (Cheyenne) via *Buffalo Bulletin* of March 11.

4. *Oakland Tribune*, Dec. 22, 1906. Nothing about him could be found after that. Death in 1930 per family papers.