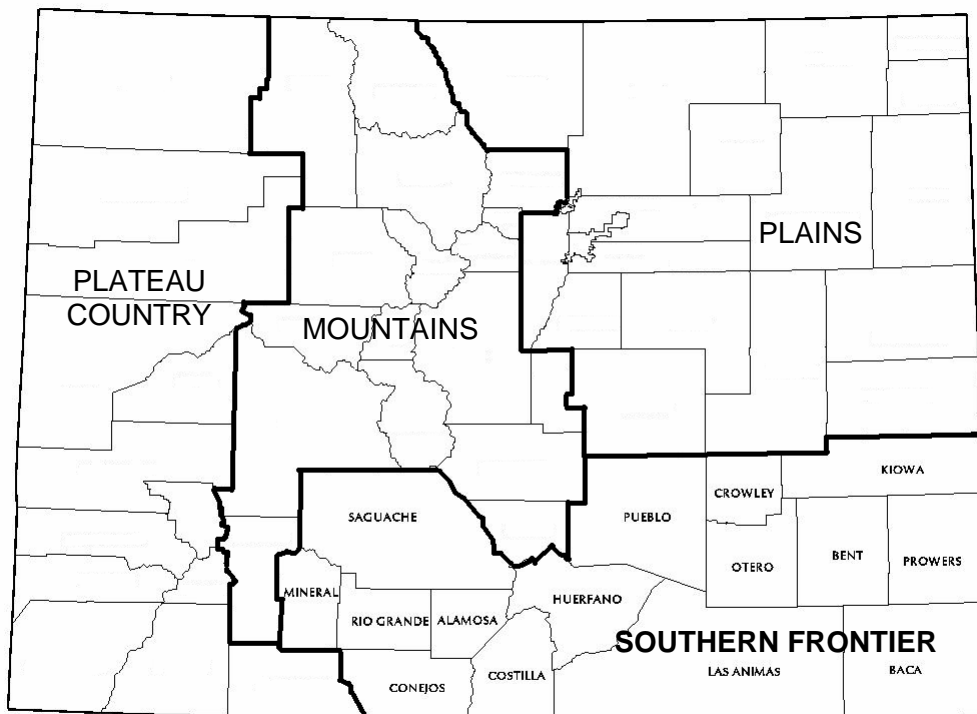


# **COLORADO SOUTHERN FRONTIER HISTORIC CONTEXT**



**OFFICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
COLORADO HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



**COLORADO  
SOUTHERN FRONTIER  
HISTORIC CONTEXT**

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AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
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This is a facsimile edition of the original 1984 publication. Text and graphics are those of the original edition.

## PREFACE

The Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, is proud to present this set of historic contexts for the State of Colorado. The set includes regional historic contexts and also topical contexts which summarize and evaluate the history of the state from the earliest historic events up through World War II.

The four regional historic contexts include the Plains, the Mountains, the Southern Frontier in southeast Colorado, and the Plateau Country along the western edge of the state. For each of these regions, themes are based on socio-economic units of development in the region. These are presented in rough chronological order, but they are not strictly chronological units. They reflect the historic themes of development in each region and the historic properties associated with them.

Four "topical" contexts were developed: Engineering, Urbanization and Planning, Historical Archaeology and Architecture. The Engineering context is oriented toward a history of engineering technology. This context is organized by topics including Water Resources, Power Resources, Transportation, Industry, Mining, Communications, and Waste Disposal. Within each topic are themes for the various specific resources types. For example, the themes within Power Resources include Petroleum and Shale Oil, Natural Gas, Uranium, Electric Power and Coal.

The Urbanization and Planning context was developed to focus attention on the significance of town planning, layout and transportation modes, the latter including the Stage/Wagon Era, Rail Era and Auto Era. The themes within this context address town form or town function and selected aspects of towns during the transportation eras. Additional themes are presented for the three major urban centers in the state including the Central Business Districts, Residential Development, and Rail/Industrial/Warehousing Districts during the transportation eras.

For all of the historic contexts, the presentation of data for each theme begins with a narrative of the history and description of the theme. A chronology, description of the location of historic properties, and a list of cultural resource types are presented. Then the quality and quantity of existing data about the theme are evaluated. This includes an assessment of the historical documentation, number and location of sites, data gaps, future needs and important resources. Research questions and a guide to evaluation standards for physical condition are presented. References and a map are included for each theme.

The Historical Archaeology context is based on ten temporal units identified as socio-politically significant periods spanning the history of the state. For each unit the quality and quantity of past historical archaeology work is presented and research recommendations and identification and dating problems are considered. In addition, the context presents a research framework for future historical archaeology work in the state.

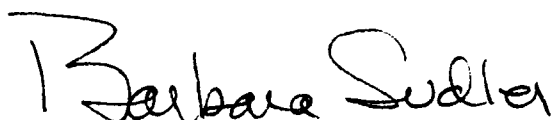
The architectural context for the project is presented as "A Guide to Colorado Architecture." The guide standardizes the terminology used for architecture styles in Colorado and presents pictures and descriptions of these styles.

The overall purpose of these reports is to provide a framework to identify and record the historical resources in the state and to provide research direction to analyze the significance and preservation of these resources. The contexts can provide guidance for state and federally mandated cultural resource management, as well as direction for pure research. We anticipate that the recording and evaluation of historic sites will benefit by using the combined contexts.

The reports were produced by the Colorado Historical Society with the assistance of a grant from the Colorado Commission on Higher Education. The development of these reports is a direct outcome of the RP-3 (Resource Protection Planning Process) effort led by Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation Archaeologist Judith Halasi who provided research, coordination and editing for the project.

The editorial content of this publication was supported by a grant-in-aid through the funding provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, which is administered by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The content and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior nor does mention of trade names or referenced publications constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

We hope that these volumes will stimulate an awareness of and appreciation for the historical resources of Colorado.



Barbara Sudler  
President  
State Historic Preservation Officer

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1. SPANISH DOMINANCE (1664-1822)NARRATIVE

Spain was the dominant European power in the Southern Frontier region during the period from 1664 to 1822, but the Spaniards never established permanent settlements as they did further south in New Mexico. They explored, established outposts, attempted a few settlements, and launched military expeditions directed against hostile Indians, and French or American intruders.

What prompted the earliest European entry into the western plains were reports of the legendary seven cities of gold. The attempt to locate Cibola, led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1540 and 1541, was the largest Spanish effort to that date to explore the interior of the continent. Although the expedition never actually entered Colorado, it brought the first contacts with the Indians, recorded information about these cultures and the region, and was the basis of Spain's claim to land in present-day Colorado.

During the period of 1580-1594, there were several Spanish expeditions to the north (Hammond and Rey 1966). However, the Spanish did not have a firm foothold in New Mexico until after Juan de Onate's colonization of the Rio Grande Pueblos in New Mexico in 1598. In 1664, a group of Picuris Pueblo Indians, chafing under the abusive Spanish rule, fled to El Quartejejo, an undefined area in the Arkansas Valley near present-day La Junta. The Spanish governor of New Mexico sent an expedition led by Juan de Archuleta, which crossed through southeastern Colorado, that may have been the first Spanish expedition to enter Colorado.

The Pueblo Indians revolted in 1680 and drove the Spaniards from the Pueblos in New Mexico. Exploration resumed after the reconquest by Diego de Vargas in 1692. In 1694, de Vargas brought an expedition into the southern part of the San Luis Valley as far north as Antonito, traveled up Culebra Creek and then south to Costilla Creek. His expedition was attacked by Utes, and he noted buffalo in the valley. In 1706, Juan de Ulibarri, sent to retrieve Pueblo Indians who had fled to El Quartejejo after the reconquest, went as far north as Jimmy Camp in the Arkansas Valley, and then traveled east to El Quartejejo.

By the early 1700s, rumors insisted that the French were trading guns with Plains Indians in violation of Spanish claims. The Spaniards saw these actions as a threat to their territorial claim. France had a right to the area because of a 1681 claim to the Mississippi River and all lands drained by it. To investigate the rumors of French traders, Spanish authorities sent Antonio de Valverde with a military detachment to patrol the Arkansas River in 1719. In 1720, Pedro de Villasur was sent to patrol the South Platte. Leaving Santa Fe, Villasaur crossed southeastern Colorado and traveled to the Loup Fork of the North Platte River where he was attacked and his party almost totally destroyed by a Pawnee war party, presumably with French instructions.

French trade with the Indians in guns and other European goods continued until 1763, when a treaty ending the Seven Year's War forced France to give Spain all the French claims west of the Mississippi River. Pierre and Paul Mallet reached Santa Fe in 1739 by traveling south through eastern Colorado and New Mexico. Although they were welcomed in Santa Fe on that trip, on a second expedition to Santa Fe in 1750, Pierre Mallet was arrested by the Spanish. Other French trading parties traveled to New Mexico in 1742, 1744, 1749, and 1751.

A few additional Spanish expeditions were conducted into the region in 1752 and in the early 1760s. Governor Francisco Marín del Valle led a group to the Arkansas River in 1760. Governor Manuel de Portillo led an expedition into the San Luis Valley in 1761. In 1765, Governor Cachupin sent Juan Maria de Rivera into southwestern Colorado.

During this period, Comanche Indians made raids on the plains of southeastern Colorado, northeast New Mexico, western Kansas and northern Texas. In 1768, Governor Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta authorized a small military outpost on Cerro San Antonio in the southern part of the San Luis Valley hoping to provide a defensive position for Ojo Caliente from the Comanches. In 1779, a punitive expedition was launched against the Comanches by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza. More than 600 soldiers and 200 Ute and Apache allies traveled north through the San Luis Valley, over Poncha Pass to the Salida area, into South Park, around Pikes Peak and then down Ute Pass to the Plains. After overtaking a Comanche camp, Anza's forces followed south along the front range to the Greenhorn River Valley near the present town of Rye, where they defeated the Comanche and killed their famous leader, Cuerno Verde.

Peace was negotiated in 1786 with the Comanches in which the Comanches agreed to settle in villages. A settlement was established in 1787 east of present-day Pueblo although the location is still undetermined. The settlement, called San Carlos de los Jupes, was abandoned after four months when a Comanche woman died of disease in the village. After 1786, following the successful peace with Comanches, many Spaniards made trips into and beyond the Arkansas River Valley. Some of these expeditions investigated reports of Americans in the region. Individual Spaniards also made trips into the San Luis Valley to trade with the Utes and to hunt deer. Several expeditions are known after 1800. In 1805, a group led by Pedro Vial had a fight with the Indians at the mouth of the Purgatory River. An expedition led by Juan Lucero traveled to Fountain Creek in 1806. Melgares led an expedition to the north in 1818.

After 1800, the Spaniards saw a new threat to their domain--United States traders and explorers. In 1800, Spain ceded the Louisiana Territory back to France, who sold it to the United States in 1803. Because the boundaries were uncertain, from 1806 to 1819 American and Spanish authorities laid charges of trespass at one another. To meet the American threat, Governor Joaquin de Real Alancaster ordered an outpost established to watch the eastern approach to Sangre de Cristo Pass. In the same year, 1806, an American expedition led by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was dispatched to examine the southern portion of Louisiana. Pike traveled up the Arkansas River to the Rocky Mountains. He was arrested in 1807 at a stockade camp in the San Luis Valley near present day Conejos by a Spanish patrol led by Lieutenant Melgares. Pike and his men were later released.

The report of this expedition showed the need of New Mexicans for manufactured goods and sent small parties of traders to Santa Fe. Most of these were imprisoned and their goods confiscated. During the same period, trappers who entered into New Mexico were detained or escorted out of the province, although some settled at Taos. In 1819, the Spanish built a fort on the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristo Pass to guard the Sangre de Cristo Pass, but it was attacked by Indians and abandoned by 1822.

The Louisiana boundary question was resolved in 1819 by the Adams-Onis Treaty which set the line at the Arkansas River. Spanish dominance in the region ended in 1821 with the Mexican revolution. In 1822, the Mexican government announced that the borders were open to traders. By the fall of 1822, American trade into Santa Fe began which was the business of supplying New Mexicans with goods.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- 1540 Coronado leads expedition into northern areas
- 1598 Onate colonizes Rio Grande Pueblos, sends Vicente Zaldivar into southern Colorado
- 1664 Juan de Archuleta leads party to recapture Pueblo Indians
- 1680 Pueblo Indians revolt against Spanish rule
- 1692 de Vargas leads reconquest of New Mexico
- 1694 de Vargas expedition into San Luis Valley
- 1706 Juan de Ulibarri expedition to recapture Pueblo Indians at El Quartejejo
- 1719 Antonio Valverde explores Arkansas River
- 1720 Pedro de Villasur crosses eastern Colorado
- 1739 Pierre and Paul Mallet, French traders, cross region trading with Indians
- 1742-1751 Additional French traders to Santa Fe
- 1750 Pierre Mallet arrested on expedition to Santa Fe
- 1760 Governor Francisco de Valle travels to Arkansas River
- 1761 Governor Manuel Portillo explores San Luis Valley
- 1763 Peace treaty ends Seven Years War, gives all of Colorado plains to Spain
- 1765 Juan Maria de Rivera explores southwestern Colorado
- 1768 Outpost on Cerro San Antonio established
- 1770s Comanche Indians dominate southeastern Colorado
- 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza defeats Comanches
- 1786 Spain concludes peace treaty with Indians
- 1787 San Carlos settlement attempted and fails
- 1793 Pedro Vial travels into eastern Colorado

- 1800 Spain returns Louisiana Territory to France
- 1803 United States purchases Louisiana Territory from France
- 1805-1819 Trappers and traders in region increase
  - Spanish patrols attempt to discourage American explorers
- 1805 Pedro Vial expedition has fight with Indians at Purgatory River
- 1806 Outpost established on Sangre de Cristo Pass
  - Zebulon Pike leads expedition into Colorado mountains
  - Juan Lucero expedition to Fountain Creek
- 1807 Spanish military finds Pike in San Luis Valley
- 1818 Melgares expedition
- 1819 Adams-Onis Treaty establishes southern boundary of Louisiana on Arkansas River
  - Small fort built on Sangre de Cristo Pass
- 1821 Mexico establishes independence from Spain
- 1822 Mexican borders open for trade to Santa Fe

#### LOCATION

Spanish exploration into southern Colorado followed two primary routes. The San Luis Valley route was followed either along the mountains on the west side of the valley by travelers coming north from Santa Fe or along the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east side of the valley. The Rio Grande River Gorge dictated this division of routes. The eastern route along the Sangre de Cristo Mountains was popular, and much traffic turned east at the base of Mount Blanca and crossed Sangre de Cristo Pass. Some traffic traveled around Mount Blanca and crossed the mountains via Mosca Pass. The western route followed just to the east of the San Juan Mountains and took a northeast arc toward Cochetopa Pass or, curving northeastward, followed a route over Poncha Pass through South Pass and down Ute Pass to the plains. The second route from Santa Fe was in a northeastwardly direction toward Taos and across the Raton Mountains and thence north along the Front Range.

Outposts and forts were located at the Sangre de Cristo Pass or in the San Luis Valley along the New Mexico border. The attempted settlement of San Carlos was in the Arkansas River Valley located east of present day Pueblo. Although the exact locations of these sites are not known, the attached map shows the general locations.

#### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Campsites, trails, battle sites, cache.

Structures include: Forts, outposts, houses (in the San Carlos settlement).

Materials include: Military equipment (lances, guns, helmets), trade-goods, horseshoes, Spanish tack of any kind that pre-dates 1820.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The intense historical interest in the Spanish and French explorers has prompted a number of publications. Original records of most official Spanish expeditions have been translated and annotated in English. The standard reference work on the Spanish explorers in Colorado is Alfred B. Thomas, After Coronado. His Plains Indians and Forgotten Frontiers are also useful, as is Herbert E. Bolton's Spanish Exploration. There are many books about the settlement of New Mexico and other facets of the Spanish experience, notably John Francis Bannon's Spanish Borderlands Frontier and Jose de Onis' The Hispanic Contribution to the State of Colorado. Many theses and doctoral dissertations have been completed on the same topics. LeRoy Hafen's works on Colorado history and Western exploration should be consulted for information on Spanish and French activities. To make full use of these sources and the Spanish archives, one should be familiar with Spanish and archaic place names. The best source that develops contextual evaluations is William H. Goetzmann's Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the West. Goetzmann's work is especially useful in explaining the imperial rivalry between Spain, France, and the United States. While the written documentation of plains exploration is extensive, very little on-the-ground evidence remains to mark the passing of these men because of the transitory nature of their activities.

### Number/Condition

Cultural resource sites of the Spanish era are exceedingly rare. The few campsites and trails left no permanent changes on the land. Explorers travelled light and left little. There are no buildings left, and few artifacts. There have been Spanish-related artifacts found in the Greenhorn Valley in the vicinity of the Comanche battle of 1779, and also, reportedly in South Park. But no traces of the posts or outposts, or of the San Carlos settlement, remain above ground, and it is uncertain whether there is any archaeological evidence.

### Data Gaps

Detailed surveys of the routes taken by explorers

Location/investigation of campsite of a Spanish or French exploration/trading party

Location of forts and outposts

Clearly discernible trail or marker along the path of a known (documented) exploration party

Representative cache of a trading or exploration party

## Future Needs

Surveys designed to find on-the-ground evidence of the early Europeans and Euro-Americans in the southern frontier region should be undertaken at some future date but should be given low priority due to the extensive documentary evidence available about the era and the limited possibility of finding clearly distinguishable sites within the region. Such a project would require the special skills of both historians and historical archaeologists. In addition, there is a need for further documentary research combined with on-the-ground investigations to resolve conflicting information regarding travel routes, such as that taken by the Mallet brothers.

## Important Resources

Because of the lack of known and probable sites, any site is significant. Activities of explorers and traders stimulated both Spanish and French interest, and this eventually led to American involvement in the region. The explorers, as representative of their governments during a period when the region's international ownership was in doubt, played a significant role in the diplomatic struggle. Any site that would substantiate these roles would serve to verify existing documentation and interpretations. Trails and routes of all explorers are important. Any campsites, river crossings, specific locations recorded in journals, as well as battle sites, would add to our understanding and interpretation of this theme. Fort and outpost locations along with any material would be valuable.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the Spanish exploration of Colorado?
2. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on French exploration of Colorado?
3. What resources, if any, can substantiate the diplomatic role these early explorers played in European relations?

## PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

Battle site: Enough spent material and/or evidence of fortification (permanent or temporary) and gravesites to verify a battle occurred there and what groups were involved.

Campsite: Any in situ site that shows no or minimal surface disturbance is considered important for research and interpretative purposes.

Cache: Any in situ site that shows no or minimal surface disturbance is considered important for research and interpretative purposes.

Fort or Fortification: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to establish dimensions, method, period, and material of construction.

Military Equipment: Metallic parts should be intact.

Trade Goods: Metallic parts should be intact and nation of origin or manufacture should be ascertainable.

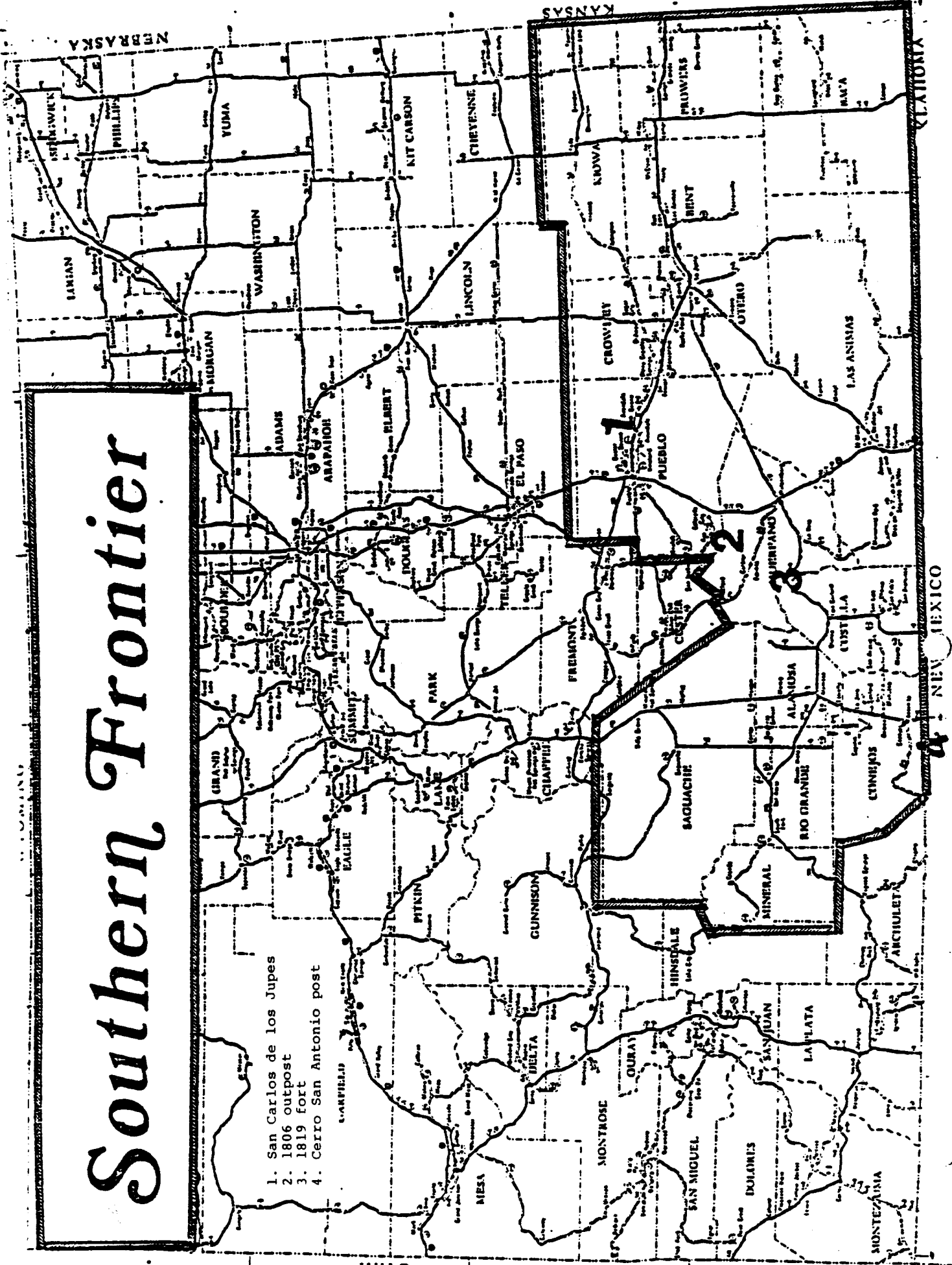
Trail: Ability to clearly recognize the trail from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

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# Southern Frontier

1. San Carlos de los Jupes
2. 1806 outpost
3. 1819 fort
4. Cerro San Antonio post





## 2. TRADING AND TRAPPING (1803-1880)

### Narrative

Trading and trapping were the dominant economic activities in the region from 1804 through 1856. This includes trade with the Indians, trade into Santa Fe to the Spanish and later to Mexico, the era of beaver fur trapping and the trade in buffalo robes on the plains. This era resulted in the establishment of the first American communities although they were transitory.

Almost as soon as the United States acquired Louisiana, trappers came into the region in search of beaver and other fur bearing animals. During this early period the Spaniards controlled the region. Although some individual trappers traded their furs at Taos, the center of Spanish trappers fairs since the late 1700s, it was illegal to trap in Spanish territory until after 1821.

Similarly, although trade to New Mexico was attempted as early as 1803, the spaniards considered it illegal. Spain did not allow her colonies to trade with any countries but herself. Many early traders were either imprisoned in Santa Fe, taken to Mexico, or sent home without their wares. The first victim was Baptiste LaLande in 1803. Later in 1812 Robert McKnight was arrested for trading and imprisoned in Santa Fe. In 1815, when Auguste Chouteau and Jules Demun (who traveled via the Arkansas and Huerfano rivers and crossed the Sangre de Cristo Pass) entered Taos with trade goods, they were arrested and had their goods confiscated. The Spanish military kept most traders out of the region.

When Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, however, it opened the region to trade. The next year American trade with Santa Fe began and boomed. William Becknell was the first to use what was later to become the Santa Fe Trail to Missouri. The Santa Fe Trail generally followed the Arkansas River, turned south along the Purgatory River, crossed Raton Pass, and then went to Santa Fe. Later, most traders used the "Cimarron Cutoff" that turned southwestward in the vicinity of present-day Dodge City, Kansas, and cut across the extreme southeastern corner of present-day Colorado. This route was shorter and easier because it avoided the mountains, but it was far more dangerous because of the lack of water and the threat of Comanche and Apache attacks. A second cutoff utilized by trappers and other travelers going to Taos was the Taos Trail that cut through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and then turned south through the San Luis Valley. By the 1830s the traders had established a major commercial network between Missouri and New Mexico.

Meanwhile, the fur business boomed. Beaver was in great demand. The first trapping activity became centered in western Colorado during the mid-1820s, but as these areas became depleted, beaver trappers shifted to the central Rockies and southwest Colorado and all over the west. These areas were worked into the late 1830s.

The trappers based from Taos worked the San Luis Valley, over the Sangre de Cristos, into the Front Range rivers including the Purgatory, Huerfano, and Arkansas, and into South Park and North Park in the Mountain region. Many trappers worked in the souther frontier region during the period 1820s through 1840.

Among the notable operations in the region were the Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler Company and the Robert Bean and Alexander Sinclair party. The most famous of the trappers in the region was Christopher "Kit" Carson, although other well-known trappers included John Gantt, Thomas James, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Antoine Roubidoux, Joseph Williams, Moses Carson, Aaron B. Lewis, Richen L. "Uncle Dick" Wootton, Ceran St. Vrain, Carlos H. Beaubien, Tom Tobin, Domingo Lamelas, and Mariano Medina. By the early 1830s fur values were dropping, fur supplies were becoming depleted and a change of fashion led to a decreased market for beaver furs.

As the beaver trade declined in the 1830s new business in buffalo hides and Indian trading developed in the Arkansas Valley and plains region. One of the pioneers was John Gantt who about 1832 built log houses and a stockade near the mouth of the Purgatory River. In 1834 Gantt built an adobe post (Fort Cass) six miles below the mouth of Fountain Creek which was abandoned in 1835. In competition with Gantt, William Bent built a stockade post, Fort William, nine miles below Fountain Creek in 1833. Then in 1834 or 1835 the Bent Brothers and Ceran St. Vrain built the adobe fort known as Bent's Fort or Fort William, twelve miles above the mouth of the Purgatory River near the future town of La Junta. This fort dominated trade in the plains region. It prospered in the buffalo robe business, in trade with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, and with its location along the Santa Fe Trail it was the major settlement between Santa Fe and St. Louis.

With Fort William's success, other trading posts appeared in the region. In 1839 Maurice Le Duc and William Le Blanc built a post near Hardscrabble Creek for trade with the Ute. Fort El Pueblo, located 30 miles east of Fountain Creek, began operations in 1842 but ended in the Christmas Day Massacre in 1854 by Ute Indians. This fort was also known as "Milk Fort" for, in addition to trade goods, it provided locally grown vegetables and goats milk. Additional trading posts and settlements include Hardscrabble (1844-1849) west of Pueblo; Greenhorn (1845-1856) on Greenhorn Creek; Huerfano (1853-1855) at the mouth of the Huerfano River; Charles Autabee's Ranch (1853-1880s) two miles up the Huerfano; Marcelino Baca's Ranch (1853-1855) at the mouth of Fountain Creek; and some seasonal posts. These posts were important for taming the Indians who camped nearby, provided successful agricultural experiments, and prepared for future settlements in the region. Other trading posts were built further north along the South Platte River, but the center for trade and commerce in the plains region was along the Arkansas.

The end of trade along the Santa Fe Trail came at the same time as a decline in the buffalo trade. The war with Mexico, beginning in 1846, cut the trade, although the route was used by the army and army suppliers. Bent's Fort was abandoned in 1849 after the army used it during the Mexican War. A new fort was built in 1853, Bent's New Fort, at a site west of present-day Lamar. This fort was sold to the U.S. Government in 1859 and converted to a military post known as Fort Wise.

After the Civil War buffalo robes came back into fashion, and the hide trade prospered. By 1870 groups of professional buffalo hunters began to cash in on the market. They were much better equipped and more efficient at killing the hairy creatures than earlier hunters. Armed with .50 caliber Sharps' repeating rifles, a good hunter could keep ten or more skinners busy

removing hides. After the buffalo had decayed to sun-bleached skeletons, others went to pick up the bones. They were pulverized and used by early farmers to fertilize their fields. By 1875 buffalo were becoming hard to find on Colorado plains, and by 1880 so few were left that hunting was no longer profitable. This marked the final closing of the fur and hide trade in southeastern Colorado.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1803      | U.S. purchases Louisiana from France.<br>Baptiste LaLande trades in region and is captured by Spanish.                                  |
| 1804-1821 | American fur trappers work the southern frontier.<br>Spanish capture traders in the region and imprison them or confiscate their goods. |
| 1819      | Adams-Onis Treaty establishes Arkansas River as southern boundary of Louisiana.   |
| 1821      | Mexico secures independence and opens region for trade.   |
| 1820s     | Fur trade flourishes with Santa Fe as major trading center for region.  |
| 1830s     | Era of the trading posts in southern Colorado.  |
| 1832      | John Gantt's fort built on Purgatory River.   |
| 1834      | John Gantt's fort built on the Arkansas River.  |
| 1834-1835 | Bent's Fort, or Fort William, built on Arkansas River.  |
| 1839      | Trading post on Hardscrabble Creek opened for trade with Utes.  |
| 1842      | Trading Post at Pueblo.   |
| 1844      | Trading Post at Hardscrabble started.   |
| 1845      | Settlement at Greenhorn established.  |
| 1846      | War with Mexico curtails travel on Santa Fe Trail, buffalo trade declines rapidly.  |
| 1849      | Bent's Old Fort abandoned.  |
| 1853      | Bent Builds "new" fort at Big Timbers.  |
| 1855-1856 | Posts in region close (except for Bent's new fort).   |
| 1859      | Bent sells "new" fort to the U.S. government.   |
| 1865-1880 | Buffalo robe trade and hunting popular on plains.   |
| 1880      | Buffalo herds exterminated on Colorado plains.  |

## LOCATION

The entire San Luis Valley as well as the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains were important fur trade areas. Numerous creeks provided good locations for the trappers and easy access to the plains for the buffalo trade. Access to Taos and Santa Fe was accomplished along the major routes including the Santa Fe Trail, Trappers Trail, and "Cimmaron Cutoff."

Trading posts (forts) were located at strategic places along the Arkansas River east of the mountains. In addition, there were posts on the Huerfano, Fountain, and Purgatory rivers. Posts were located along major natural corridors, and generally along or at the mouths of rivers.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Campsites, caches, trails, skinning places.

Structures include: Posts, forts, ranches.

Materials include: Trade goods, trapping equipment, firearms, saddlery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The era of trappers, traders, and mountain men has generated intense historical interest, and this has prompted a large number of publications. Studies of the fur trade, from the life of a trapper in the wilderness to economic studies of the business, are readily available. Because most of the trappers, traders, and entrepreneurs visited the Colorado front range, much information is readily available. LeRoy Hafen's ten-volume study of the mountain men is the most inclusive and serves as a good general reference. Hiram Martin Chittenden's American Fur Trade of the Far West is the standard work on the subject. Reference works dealing with the American trappers and traders based in Taos and Santa Fe is discussed in David J. Weber's Taos Trappers and Robert W. Cleland's This Reckless Breed of Men. Nearly every major mountain man has had at least one biography written about him. Further, numerous theses and dissertations have been written about the personalities of the fur trade. Because many of the trappers and traders were illiterate, they left little in the way of primary documents. However, Rueben G. Thwaites' Far Western Travels, 32 volumes, does have copies of journals of those who did write about their adventures in the West. Also, the Cragin manuscripts at Pioneer Museum, Colorado Springs, contain firsthand accounts about the business, forts, and people.

David Lavender's Bent's Fort presents a comprehensive history of the Bents and their empire, and Jackson Moore presents an archaeological study of Bent's Fort. Janet LeCompte has vividly presented the history of the trading communities on the upper Arkansas in Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn. Additional articles in the Colorado Magazine have histories of forts in the Arkansas Valley.

## Number/Location

The data are insufficient to determine the number, condition, and type of resources that once existed or may have existed. The exception to this is the number, condition, and location of trading posts; they are well documented. Bent's Fort has been reconstructed on the original site after professional excavation. The ruins of Bent's New Fort at Big Timbers can be clearly seen in the rubble left behind when the larger stones were taken away for use in other structures. None of the additional posts or settlements have survived although their exact locations have in some cases been identified. Other cultural resources are scarce due to the transitory nature of the fur trade. The traders did not build permanent structures when traveling or trapping, but moved on when available supplies of beaver were depleted. Resources associated with the fur trade era such as campsites and trails left no permanent changes on the land. Archaeological evidence, such as campfire rings, often provides little new information because most Americans adopted Indian methods of living, making it nearly impossible to ascertain which group used a given site. Further, many trappers lived with Indians and used their trails, and since many followed water courses and other natural travel routes that were later adopted by succeeding travelers, traces of earlier use have been obliterated.

## Data Gaps

- Representative campsite of a trapping party
- Representative non-fort trading or interracial contact site
- Representative cache of a trapper or trapping party
- Clearly discernible trail or marker along the path of a known (documented) trapping party
- Location of trading posts and investigations to reveal structural materials, architectural information, and social and cultural data

## Future Needs

Surveys specifically to find on-the-ground evidences of these early Americans in Colorado should be undertaken at some future date, but should be given low priority due to the extensive documentary evidence available about the era and the small possibility of finding clearly distinguishable sites. Such an undertaking would require the special skills of both the historian and historic archaeologist. There is a need to identify and record the approximate location of all trading posts and settlements of the era in order to guide the preservation and/or more accurate recording and identification of these sites in future surveys within the region.

## Important Resources

Because of the limited number of fur trade posts and the limited information about them, these sites, if historically documented, are important for their role in the history of the region as well as for the information

they can reveal about these structures and the cultural information about their inhabitants. Because of the lack of known and probable sites, other than the fur posts, all identifiable sites are significant by their association as well as their archaeological potential. The sites of the fur trade era are important because activities of the fur trappers, mountain men and fur traders stimulated American interest and the popular imagination of the West. This enhanced American claims to the region and eventually contributed to the gold rush, settlement, and statehood. Because some of the trappers and traders stayed in Colorado, their presence paved the way of a few later gold miners. Sites that substantiate these roles would serve to verify existing documentation and interpretation.

#### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the fur trade in Colorado?
2. What resources, if any, remain to document and explain interracial relationships of the period?
3. What resources, if any, substantiate the idea that a picket line of settlement existed on the plains before 1859?
4. Can cultural resources lead to reinterpretations of the business of fur trapping and trading, specifically day-to-day camp life and techniques of trapping, skinning, preparing and storing pelts?
5. Can resources or historical records provide information on annual harvests, division of the area by individual trappers and companies, if this occurred, and periods of intense fur trapping in the region? (e.g., Early business rivalry--American Fur Company vs. Bent, St. Vrain & Co.)?

#### PHYSICAL CONDITION

Battle Site: Should show minimal surface disturbance and contain spent weapons, possible fortifications and gravesites. Enough material should be extant to identify groups involved.

Cache/Campsite: Any in situ site that shows no or minimal surface disturbance is considered important for research and interpretative purposes.

Fort/Fortification: Enough of structure should be left to understand function, method, and material of construction and should have had only minimal surface disturbance so any possible archaeological data retains integrity.

Trail: Should demonstrate ability to be clearly recognized from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

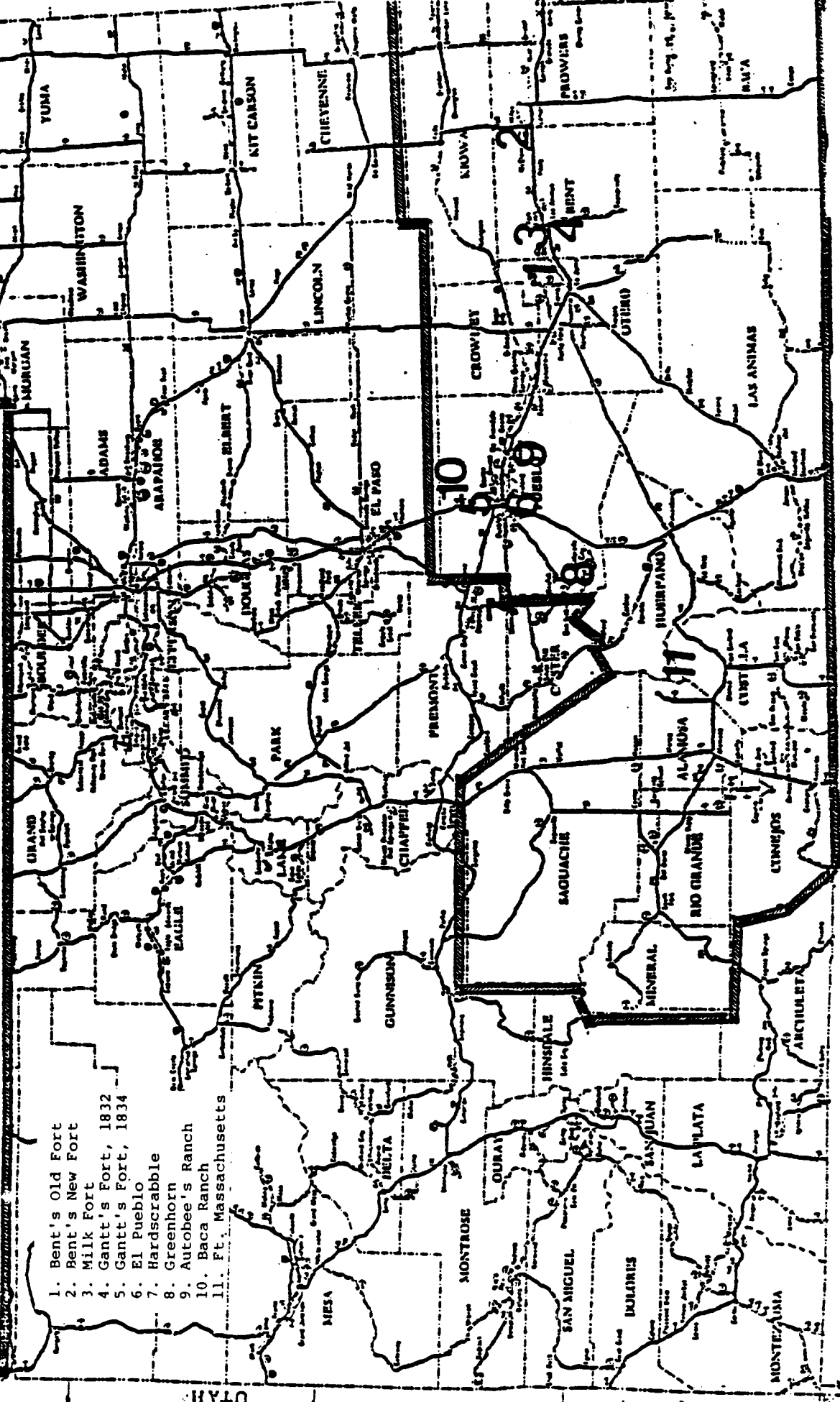
Trade Goods/Trapping Equipment: Should have metallic parts, be intact, and have enough material present to permit identification of dates, methods and materials of construction.

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# Southern Frontier

1. Bent's Old Fort
2. Bent's New Fort
3. Milk Fort
4. Gantt's Fort, 1832
5. Gantt's Fort, 1834
6. El Pueblo
7. Hardscrabble
8. Greenhorn
9. Autobe's Ranch
10. Baca Ranch
11. Ft. Massachusetts





### 3. MEXICAN LAND GRANTS AND HISPANIC SETTLEMENT (1830-1870)

#### NARRATIVE

At the same time that temporary settlements were being established in the region in connection with the fur trade, the Mexican government began making huge land grants in her northern frontier to promote settlement and provide a defense from American and Texan intruders. The first permanent settlements in southeastern Colorado, which were also the first in the state, resulted from the Hispanic settlements on the land grants. The majority of these early settlers were New Mexicans and the settlements developed a typically Hispanic pattern of life. Although the Hispanic culture did not remain the dominant social and political influence in the region, Hispanic influence and culture is present in enclaves in the region to the present day.

The first land grants in Colorado were the Tierra Amarilla Grant and the Conejos Grant in the 1830s. Additional grants were approved up to 1843. Although a few attempts were made to settle on the grants at Conejos and San Luis beginning as early as 1833, these settlers were driven off by the Utes. Following the Mexican War and the acquisition of the region by the United States (1848), a treaty signed with the Utes in 1849 allowed unmolested settlement. By 1853 the earliest plazas were established in the San Luis Valley. After battles with the Utes in 1854 and 1855, a treaty was made with the Utes in 1855 which allowed settlement.

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848 confirmed Mexican land titles. After research on the legal standing on the land grants, Congress passed a law in 1860 dealing specifically with each of the grants. Some were confirmed in full and others were limited in size.

The land grants in the San Luis Valley include the Tierra Amarilla, the Conejos, Sangre de Cristo and Luis Maria Baca Grant No. 4. Only a small northern portion of the Tierra Amarilla Grant lies within the boundaries of Colorado. This grant was made in 1832 for pastures and the portion in Colorado may have been used as pasture. This grant was confirmed by Congress in 1860.

The Conejos Grant, covering the present-day Conejos and Rio Grande counties, was partitioned in 1833 to forty families. Attempts to settle in 1833 and 1842 were unsuccessful because of Ute hostilities. In 1854 Jose Maria Jacques and a number of families from Abiquiu began the settlement of Guadalupe, the present town of Conejos. These settlers began construction of the first church in Colorado, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, and helped establish the first and oldest Catholic parish. One settler, Lafayette Head, was influential in the San Luis Valley settlements. Additional settlements of Servilleta and Mogote were founded in 1854 and two irrigation ditches, the Guadalupe Main Ditch and the Mills Head Ditch were built by 1855. The settlers divided the land in varas, "long lots" that extended ten to twelve miles from the river for irrigation to the foothills and mountains for pasture land.

The validity of the grant was denied in 1900, and many of the early settlers lost their land when it was opened for homesteading.

The Sangre de Cristo Grant, located in present-day Costilla County, was granted to Narciso Beaubien and Stephen Luis Lee in 1843. Almost one million acres was confirmed by Congress in 1860. The first permanent settlements in the San Luis Valley were San Luis (1851) and San Pedro (1852). Additional early settlements include San Pablo (1853), San Acacio (1856), and San Francisco (La Valle, 1855). The settlers constructed irrigation ditches, acequias, to distribute water from the Culebra River to their fields. The San Luis Peoples Ditch #1 (1852) is the first recorded water right in Colorado. Other ditches were constructed: the San Pedro Ditch and Acequia Madre Ditch in 1852, the Montez Ditch (1853), the Vallejos and Manzanares Ditch in 1854, and the Acequiacita Ditch in 1855.

The Luis Maria Baca Grant #4 had been awarded a grant that was already awarded and occupied by others. The replacement was 100,000 acres in Saguache County. This grant was approved by Congress. Three villages on the grant, Crestone, Cottonwood and Duncan were established in the 1890s during the gold rush.

Three grants were located in the Arkansas Valley: the Vigil and St. Vrain Grant (Las Animas Grant), the Nolan Grant, and the Maxwell Grant.

The Vigil and St. Vrain Grant, made to Ceran St. Vrain and Cornelio Vigil in 1843, included the valleys of the Huerfano, Apishapa and Cucharas rivers, approximately four million acres of land. Congress approved only 97,651 acres in 1860. The earliest use of the grant was by the Bent, St. Vrain and Company for grazing stock. A settlement attempt in 1846 by John Hatcher was ended by Ute hostilities. A permanent settlement was established by Charles Autobees in 1853 on the Huerfano River, and the settlement of Huerfano was also established that year. Additional sections of the grant were sold from 1858 to 1870. Some of the early plazas include Francisco (1862), Madrid (1864), Torres San Francisco (Barela), and Vigil Plazas (1866). Other early settlements include Apodoca, Tafoya, Duran, Suaso, Tijeras, Los Baros (Segundo), La Junta (Weston), San Antonio (Aquilar), San Lorenzo (Gray's Creek), and Plaza de Los Leones (Walsenburg).

The Nolan Grant made to Gervais Nolan in 1843 included most of the St. Charles River. Congress reduced the area to 48,695 acres. Settlements were made in 1845 on the Greenhorn and in 1846 and 1847 along the St. Charles River. Only a portion of the Maxwell Grant made to Charles Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda in 1841 lies in Colorado. Much of the Maxwell Grant area was approved by Congress in 1860. Dick Wootton purchased a portion of this land to build his toll road over Raton Pass in 1865.

The Hispanic villages developed a typically Hispanic pattern of life with the addition of some Anglo and Indian traits. The architectural styles followed the Spanish and Mexican types. Spanish adobe construction of European feudal port holes and battlements was used at Bents Fort. Mexican country estates or placitas were established at Pueblo and Hardscrabble. The plazas such as at San Luis were based on a group family or extended family settlement with low adobe houses grouped around a central plaza or square. Jacal structures were built (Greenhorn) and corilleras--a mixture of all kinds of dwellings--were also established such as at Huerfano. The hispanic settlers

were primarily engaged in subsistence farming along the bottom lands of the water courses. The agricultural methods utilized Mexican plows and irrigation methods. Stock were raised on common pasture and also on the 'mesta' system. Fenced gardens (ceraas) and roof farming were also practiced. Communal activities also followed the hispanic culture with celebration of Saints' days, fiestas and religious ceremonies as well as Mexican fandanzos, cockpulls, visits and parties. The hispanic goals of tranquility, order, continuity, accommodation to the wishes of others, and conservation of traditions and values helped to maintain the hispanic culture which still exists in enclaves in the region to the present day.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1830s-1840s | Mexican land grants petitioned and approved.  |
| 1834-1856   | Settlers driven off by Utes.<br>Period of fur trading posts in Arkansas Valley by Hispanic families, agriculture.   |
| 1846        | Mexican War begins.   |
| 1848        | Mexican War ends. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo confirms Mexican land grants.<br>San Luis, Costilla, and other settlements founded in San Luis Valley.<br>Soldiers assigned to San Luis Valley. |
| 1852        | Fort Massachusetts constructed.<br>San Pedro and other settlements started.<br>San Luis Peoples Ditch #1 recorded; other irrigation ditches constructed in San Luis Valley.                   |
| 1853        | Autobees settlement on Huerfano, Huerfano settlement, Baca Ranch-trading post in Arkansas Valley.   |
| 1854        | End of trading posts in Arkansas Valley, Ute attack on Pueblo.  |
| 1854-1855   | Conflicts with Utes in San Luis Valley, Treaty with Utes calms hostilities in valley.   |
| 1854-1870   | Additional plazas established in southeast Colorado.  |
| 1856        | Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church started.  |
| 1860        | Congress confirms area of land grants.  |
| 1862        | Homestead Act passed by Congress.   |
| 1865        | Wootton toll road constructed.  |
| 1870        | Land grants contested in courts.  |
| 1891        | Court of Private Land Claims established.   |

#### LOCATION

The first settlements in the San Luis Valley were on the Sangre de Cristo Grant in present-day Costilla County. Settlement in the Conejos River area began on the Conejos Grant, which was never approved by Congress. The general area of early Hispanic settlement in the southern part of the San Luis Valley was in Conejos and Costilla counties.

Land grants in the Arkansas Valley lie south of the Arkansas River and include and lie east of the Purgatory River. The Purgatory, Cucharas, Huerfano, and St. Charles River valleys in Las Animas, Huerfano, and Pueblo counties were the first areas of settlement.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Among the more important cultural resources of the early Hispanic settlement period are the plazas. Some were the domain of one family unit and contained the homes of several individual families. The plaza architecture is a major resource of southern Colorado. Besides the living quarters, the compound usually contained other farm-related structures like barns, sheds, granaries, walls, fences, corrals, storage facilities, and shelters. Adobe architecture was most commonplace, but other building materials were used. Religious structures include churches and moradas, a Penitente meeting house, and cemeteries. The individual settlements also show the vara or "long lot" patterns of fields and pasture lands with long narrow plots of land extending from the river to foothills or mountains. The areas were settled prior to the introduction of inexpensive barbed wire, which fences were too costly to build over great distances. Corrals were constructed to enclose animals when they were unattended. Irrigation ditches for watering small fields and bottomlands add to the wealth of cultural materials. The great variety of home crafted materials include the broad category of household items from furniture to toys, as well as various items of personal clothing, bedding, and household items. The crafted items also include a wide range of tools and devices for use on the farm as well as gadgets and traps for hunting and fishing. Additional resources include battle sites, toll roads and trails.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

Numerous articles on many aspects of the Mexican land grants in southern Colorado have been published over the years, including many useful articles in the Colorado Magazine. There is no work that satisfies the real need for a comprehensive treatment of this topic. Most of the material takes a defensive position in favor of the grantees and blames the United States government for real or imagined losses, or else puts the grantees in the position of "robber type land barons." The work edited by Van Ness, Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in New Mexico and Colorado, is by far the most useful. Also very useful for understanding the resources associated with Hispanic settlement is Robert Adams' Architecture and Art of Early Hispanic Colorado.

Besides the dearth of comprehensive studies on land grants, there are no works that present solid work on the Hispanic settlements in either the Arkansas Valley or the San Luis Valley. The general Colorado histories by Athearn and Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith provide information. The Bureau of Land Management overview on the Raton Basin by Robert Murray provides a good overview of the Arkansas Valley. Janet LeCompte's book on the Upper Arkansas is excellent work for a portion of the area. In addition, Morris Taylor's works document the Trinidad and Purgatorie areas. For the San Luis Valley, Virginia McConnell Simmons' The San Luis Valley and Frances L. Swadesh's Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans on the Ute Frontier are well

done. More work is needed with reliance on primary sources from government and local archives.

#### Number/Condition

Data are insufficient to determine the number and condition of resources that exist or once existed. Numerous examples of different cultural resources associated with the theme exist today in the region including adobe buildings of all kinds, corrals for breaking and threshing, fences, walls, churches, and chapels. However, many of the original plazas, settlements, and associated structures no longer exist, and no systematic survey has been done to identify those in good condition and the location of the ruins of former settlements. Although some cemeteries are still used, in other cases they are not well marked or the markers have totally disappeared from the surface. None of the town squares are in current use, but several are still recognizable. Several early settlements are well preserved and maintained. San Luis is the most visible because of its location and settlement size. The vega at San Luis is easily noted and is still in use with only slight modifications of its original plan.

#### Data Gaps

Studies on individual settlements to identify layout, cultural use, and plaza construction details

Surveys of early farm areas

Detailed maps of the vara land use system

Representative plaza, cordillera, and vara field system

Clearly identified (discernible) location of an army/Ute battle site

#### Future Needs

Because of the importance of the resources and the rate at which the resources are being affected by farming and other development, it is important to identify and record the location and remains of the early Hispanic settlements. Such a survey would require the combined skills of an historian specializing in the history of the region and an historic archaeologist. Historical documentation should be conducted prior to attempting field research. Archaeological investigations should be conducted on representative examples of sites no longer occupied.

#### Important Resources

Because of their status as the earliest settlements in the state, as well as their unique architectural form, the limited number of resources which still remain are very important. Additional sites are also important to reveal information about the location, use of the land and way of life of the Hispanic settlers.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who were the influential people/families in the early settlements in politics, religion and business?
2. What resources, if any, can reveal information about the day-to-day life of the Hispanic settlers in the region?
3. What resources, if any, can reveal information about factors that contributed to the maintenance of a settlement or its growth in community?

## PHYSICAL CONDITION

Buildings: Should be in in situ and in sufficient integrity to identify the structure.

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4. AMERICAN EXPLORATION AND U.S. EXPEDITIONS (1806-1920)NARRATIVE

The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 led to intense American interest in the West. President Thomas Jefferson sent many expeditions to the area to ascertain what the new lands contained. The first and most famous of these was the Lewis and Clark exploration of the Missouri River and Pacific Northwest. Their findings led to further efforts by the federal government. One of these was carried out by Lt. Zebulon M. Pike, who was charged with exploring the Red and Arkansas rivers. Pike's group left Fort Belle Fontaine near St. Louis in the summer of 1806 and headed west toward the Arkansas. The party made their way across the plains to the Front Range where they discovered "Grand Mountain" which today bears Pike's name. The party constructed a stockade at the mouth of Fountain Creek and attempted to climb Pike's Peak.

During their trip across the plains, the Americans were warned by Pawnee Indians about Spanish troops patrolling the area to keep the Americans out. Not heeding the warning, Pike searched for the headwaters of the South Platte River, continuing into the San Luis Valley and then into South Park along the Upper Arkansas River. Additional stockades were constructed near Canon City and at the mouth of the Conejos River. Pike's party was captured by Spanish troops in the San Luis Valley; after he returned home, he labeled the plains a great desert. Pike's journals present the earliest firsthand American description of Colorado.

Ten years later, Major Stephen H. Long made the next official exploration of Colorado's plains. Originally sent west in 1819 to visit the Yellowstone River, his orders were changed when he reached Council Bluffs along the Missouri River. The exploration party spent the winter of 1819-1820 at Fort Atkinson, and on June 6, 1820, headed west along the Platte. By June 30, they had reached a point on the South Platte where the Rockies became visible. Long proceeded up the river to the Front Range, where the party turned south, moving along the Front Range until they came to the base of Pike's Peak. Edwin James, naturalist with the group, became the first person ever recorded to scale the mountain, while others made observations and recorded data about the foothills. After James' descent from the peak, the party pushed south to the Arkansas River. There Long divided his group, one subdivision following the Arkansas back east, while the other went along the Canadian River. Upon his return from the plains, both Long and James published accounts of the trip. Each put heavy emphasis on the aridity, saying that the best use of the area would be for pasturage. These findings influenced American perceptions of the area well into the 1880s.

Also of note are the trappers who left reports of their exploration during the period from 1804-1817. These include Ezekial Williams, Jules DeMuir, and James Pursley (via Pike's report) whose explorations influenced army explorers and map makers.

From 1820 until the early 1840s, the only government activity in the region consisted of Army patrols sent to control the Indians. In 1835, Colonel Henry Dodge led the First U.S. Dragoons along the same route taken

by Major Long. While the expedition's purpose was to show the flag and impress the Indians with American power, its most useful result was Dodge's journal. In the book he wrote his observations of the plains and, influenced by the era's romantic thought, found the arid region to have great majesty and beauty.

The 1840s saw more Army exploration of the Colorado plains. By then the United States had established a view of the West as the land of future promise. This was a reflection of the sense of manifest destiny Americans felt during the decade, a sense of preordination that the United States should settle all land from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. This spirit led political leaders to authorize creation of a special group within the U.S. Army, the Corps of Topographical Engineers, whose duty was to explore and map paths for future development in the West.

A popular expression of manifest destiny was the Oregon migration of the 1840s. To help ease the emigrant's path, the Army sent John C. Fremont west to find new routes for the settlers. From 1842 to 1852, Fremont made five trips, spending some time in future Colorado trying to discover new trails. The cartographer with the expeditions, Charles Pruess, produced maps of the explorations that added much new and accurate information.

On Fremont's second (1843) and third (1845) trips, he traveled through the region, stopping at Bent's Fort and Pueblo. Fremont's fourth expedition, to determine the feasibility of a route over the San Juans, traveled up the Arkansas River and through the Wet Mountain Valley and into the San Luis Valley. The party attempted to cross the San Juan Mountains in the winter, but the expedition ended in disaster in deep snows, with many men dying. A fifth trip in 1852 also crossed through the region. Both the fourth and fifth trips were privately financed.

The next government expedition came in 1845 when Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny and a detachment of U.S. Dragoons patrolled the plains and Front Range looking for sites to establish military posts. Kearny suggested that a series of forts be built along the South Platte and Arkansas rivers, an idea not put into effect until twenty years later. However, from 1845 to 1860, the Army made regular patrols of the plains, usually traveling out of Ft. Laramie or Bent's Fort.

On May 13, 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico and the following month Colonel Kearny led the Army of the West from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, toward Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico. On August 1, 1846, the Army stopped at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River. Some historians claim that the army's use of the fort as a supply depot and hospital during the Mexican War ruined the fort's trade and led to its closure. Kearny's army moved on to Santa Fe and occupied the territory without bloodshed on August 18, 1846. The following year Colonel William Gilpin brought a contingent of soldiers onto the Santa Fe Trail to stop hostile Indian raids. During the winter of 1846-1847, a group of Mormons from the battalion under the command of Captain James Brown, spent the winter at Pueblo. The soldiers were too ill to travel. The group also included their wives and children. The Mormon battalion had been traveling to Santa Fe to assist in the war with Mexico. The following year, the group went to Salt Lake City.

During the 1850s, to facilitate troop movements and supply shipments from the east, an Army road was laid out along the Smokey Hill and Republican rivers and then overland to Bent's Fort. Parts of this trail were later used by settlers as the Smokey Hill and Republican river roads. Additional Army excursions included one by Ceran St. Vrain and a group of volunteers who pursued Ute Indians involved in a Pueblo massacre in New Mexico, and troop movements in 1857 and 1858 led by Major John Sedgewick and Captain R. B. Marcy.

During the 1840s and 1850s, private travelers crossed the region. Most notable were Dr. F. A. Wislizenus (1839) and Thomas Jefferson Farnham. Both men made note of the trading post at Pueblo. Francis Parkman and Quincy A. Shaw also traveled through the region on their return from a trip to Oregon in 1846. They stopped at Fort Pueblo and Bent's Fort.

Captain John W. Gunnison headed a scientific expedition in 1853 to survey a proposed central Rockies railroad route. From Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, he followed the Arkansas River, crossed the Sangre de Cristo Mountains at La Veta Pass, then went into the San Luis Valley to Fort Massachusetts. Gunnison took a northwestern route out of the San Luis Valley, across Cochetopa Pass, and then went on to western Colorado and Utah, where he was killed by hostile Indians. Although the survey ended in disaster, the expedition mapped the San Luis Valley and Cochetopa Pass, as well as the interior of western Colorado for the first time. The route Gunnison traced was later used by the Denver and Rio Grande line from Denver to Salt Lake City. However, the technology of the time and the rugged mountains kept the impressive barrier unbroken for many years.

A survey of the New Mexico-Colorado line and the New Mexico prime meridian was made in 1858 by A. P. Wilbur. Problems with inaccuracies in the line and corrections to these caused some towns to be "moved" from one state to another.

The expedition headed by J. B. Wheeler during the early 1870s proved to be the final Army survey of the region. The Wheeler expedition was interested in locating routes and post sites primarily in southwestern Colorado and in the Colorado mountains. When a party from the Wheeler expedition met parties of the Hayden expedition at the headwaters of the Arkansas, it sparked a congressional hearing on duplication of western surveys.

A major contribution to the scientific knowledge of the state was provided by the expeditions conducted by Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden. Hayden had traveled the Front Range in the summer of 1869 and then lobbied Congress for a detailed survey of western lands. In 1873, Congress appropriated the first funding for the western surveys. From 1873 through 1876, Hayden's people explored, mapped and cataloged the flora and fauna in Colorado, including the southeastern region. They assembled and published volumes about the region, including new discoveries used by many promoters and settlers. The most useful of the works was the Atlas of Colorado that appeared in 1877. William H. Jackson, the noted photographer with the Hayden Survey, worked in southern Colorado in 1875.

Hayden's cataloging marked the last great federal effort to survey southeastern Colorado until the twentieth century. From 1870 to 1900 private geologists were active in the region, usually employed by local coal

companies such as the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. After 1900 the U.S. Geological Survey undertook another large scale effort to delineate more accurately mineral lands and water resources for future development. These activities were in response to new federal land and reclamation laws passed to protect available resources for future generations.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1803      | Louisiana Territory purchased by the United States                    |
| 1806      | Zebulon Montgomery Pike explores plains and Front Range               |
| 1807      | Pike explores San Luis Valley   |
| 1820      | Long expedition explores Front Range and Arkansas River               |
| 1835      | Colonel Henry Dodge expedition  |
| 1842      | Captain John Charles Fremont surveys for railroad                     |
| 1843      | Second Fremont expedition   |
| 1845      | Third Fremont expedition  |
|           | Kearny expedition for reconnaissance for Mexican War                  |
| 1846      | Mexican War begins  |
|           | Kearny and Army of the West march through region                      |
|           | Captain James Brown and Mormon Battalion at Pueblo                    |
| 1847      | Colonel Gilpin controls Indians on Santa Fe Trail                     |
| 1848      | Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ends Mexican War                          |
|           | Fremont's fourth expedition   |
| 1850      | New Mexico Territory established                                      |
| 1851-1853 | Army road to Bent's Fort established                                  |
| 1852      | Fort Massachusetts established  |
| 1853      | Fremont makes privately financed trip                                 |
|           | Captain John W. Gunnison explores for rail routes                     |
| 1855      | Ceran St. Vrain leads volunteers on the plains to pursue hostile Utes |
| 1857      | Major John Sedgewick and troops travel through area                   |

- 1857 Captain R. B. Marcy crosses the San Luis Valley
- 1858 Fort Garland built  
A. P. Wilbur survey of Colorado-New Mexico border
- 1869 First Hayden trip to Colorado, exploration in southeastern Colorado
- 1873-1876 Hayden surveys for USGS in region
- 1873 Wheeler Survey
- 1900-1920 USGS resource cataloging for energy minerals and water resources

### LOCATION

Cultural resources and natural features associated with this theme can be found throughout southeastern Colorado, especially along the major water-courses, San Luis Valley and Front Range. However, most of these resources are associated with other themes as well, such as the fur trade forts visited by explorers and the travel routes later used by emigrants and railroads. Routes taken by the explorers are easily traceable on readily available maps.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Campsites, caches, trails and battle sites.

Structures include: Survey markers, forts, fortifications and stockades.

Materials include: Camp tools, surveying equipment, saddlery of the nineteenth century, auto accessories of pre-1920 era.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

Exploration of the west has stimulated a great quantity of studies of the era, many of which contain information about southeastern Colorado. These date from about 1810 to the present and cover not only a wide variety of topics but also differ greatly in accuracy and usability. The two best sources are William Goetzmann's Army Exploration in the West and Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the West. These works detail not only the explorations but also the political and economic motivations for the expeditions. Biographies of every major and some lesser explorers and military officers have also been published. Beyond these are the published journals, diaries and reports of the explorers. Pike, members of Long's party (Edwin James and Captain John Bell), Fremont and others all penned books about their experiences in Colorado. Later writers, such as Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, took these original journals, edited and annotated them and then published their studies. Beyond that, original

journals or reports of military activities were published by the Secretary of War or by the individuals involved. Foremost of the government-published reports are F. V. Hayden's ninth and tenth Annual Reports of the Survey of the Territories (1877 and 1878) and his Atlas of Colorado and The Great West. Articles, dissertations and theses have been completed on various explorers, routes, journeys and events of the exploration period. Locally available archival material on this era is rather scanty, but many primary manuscripts are available at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. For later USGS explorations the USGS library in Golden contains many useful documents and an extensive photograph collection.

### Number/Condition

The data are insufficient to determine the number of resources that once existed or may have existed associated with this theme. The exception to these are the number, condition and location of natural features, such as Long's Peak or the Arkansas River; trading posts or forts used by the explorers; and the number and approximate location of the structures built by the Pike expedition in 1806-1807. There are no known remains of any of the log structures or rock structures built by this expedition, although a reconstruction of Pike's stockade has been built on the Conejos, possibly in the wrong location.

Other resources associated with the era of American exploration such as campsites and trails left no permanent changes on the land. Archaeological evidence, such as campfire rings, often provides little new information because most Americans adopted wilderness living, making it nearly impossible to ascertain even which group (race) used a given site. Further, Indian trails often were followed by explorers or the Army and many of these became heavily used routes, obliterating evidences of earlier use. Although many attempts have been made to identify artifacts with Fremont and other expeditions, no diagnostic or historically verifiable artifacts have been found.

### Data Gaps

Representative campsite of an exploration party

Representative battle/skirmish/contact site between explorers/army and the local native Americans

Clearly discernible trail or marker along the path of a known (documented) exploration or military party

Representative cache of an army or exploration party

### Future Needs

Surveys specifically to find on-the-ground evidences of these Americans on the Colorado plains should be undertaken at some future date, but should be given low priority due to the extensive documentary evidence available about the era and the low possibility of finding clearly distinguishable sites within the region. Such an undertaking would require the special

skills of both the historian and historical archaeologist and any surveyors should be familiar with archaic place names of the region. The current need is to identify and record in the Colorado Cultural Resource Inventory the approximate locations of Pike's stockades and routes of explorers in the region. This would enable future cultural resource surveyors in a given area to be alert to the possibility of encountering evidence of resources associated with this theme.

### Important Resources

Because of the lack of known and probable sites, any substantiated site is important. Activities of the explorers and the army, similar to the later gold discoveries, stimulated interest in and suggested uses for southeastern Colorado, leading to development and statehood. Also, the explorers, as representatives of the American people in a diplomatic struggle over the region's ownership before 1820, played a definite role in international politics. Any site that would substantiate these roles should be considered important.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the exploration of Colorado?
2. What resources, if any, substantiate the thesis that explorers were programmed by their cultural heritage to locate certain types of things in the wilderness and how were their discoveries or interpretations of them affected by that background?
3. Can cultural resources lead to reinterpretations of the day-to-day activities of exploring parties, specifically camp life and the "hardships" the explorers faced?
4. What evidences remain to document the impact of the post-1900 explorers on the land use and mineral development of the region?

### PHYSICAL CONDITION

Archaeological Sites: Standards should be set by archaeologists.

Battle Sites: Should have no or minimal surface disturbance, contain spent military hardware, ammunition and be readily identifiable as to the groups involved.

Campsite or Cache: Should be any in situ site that shows no or minimal surface disturbance for research and interpretive purposes.

Fort, Fortification, or Stockade: Enough of the structure should be left to understand its function, method, material and dates of construction or should not have experienced surface disturbance so that any archaeological data retains integrity.



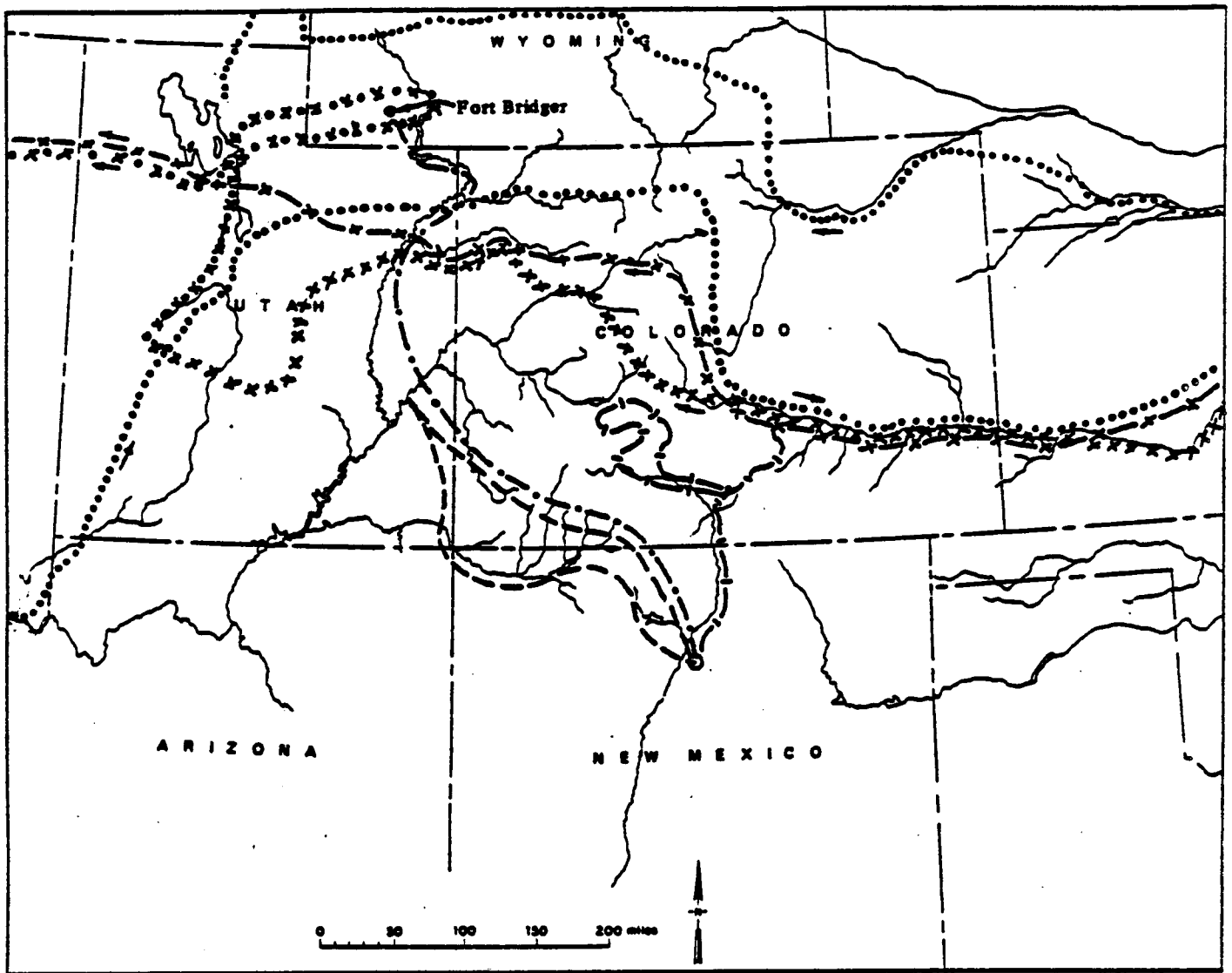
Military Equipment: Should have metallic parts intact and enough left to identify function, dates of construction and use.

Trail: Ability to clearly recognize the trail from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

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**UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EXPEDITIONS  
INTO COLORADO**

- ..... Fremont 1843-1844
- x-x- Fremont 1845
- |\_|- Fremont 1848
- x x x x x Gunnison 1853
- x x x x x Beckwith 1853
- . . . . Marcy 1857-1858
- - - - Macomb 1859

5. U.S. MILITARY POSTS AND INSTALLATIONS (1852-1945)NARRATIVE

There were two major eras when military installations were established in the region. The earliest was during the early settlement and lasted from 1852 until 1883. During this time military posts provided protection for settlers, but as the Indian threat ended, the military's role diminished. Only one facility, Fort Lyon, remained in continuous use, even after 1883. The second major period was the development of training and support facilities during the World War II era, 1939-1945.

The first military post in southern Colorado was Fort Massachusetts. It was authorized in 1852 to provide protection from Ute Indian raids and promote settlement in the San Luis Valley. The fort was located just off the trail to Sangre de Cristo Pass on the southern slope of Mount Blanca. Edwin V. Sumner's cavalry were based at Fort Massachusetts. The fort included barracks, a smithy, kitchen, and officers' quarters. Troops from the fort engaged in battles with the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches. A major campaign against the Utes was launched from Fort Massachusetts following the Christmas day massacre of 1854 at Pueblo on the Arkansas River. The successful campaign against the Utes led to a treaty in 1855.

The fort continued in operation for only six years. It had been poorly located in swampy land and could never obtain sufficient supplies and was isolated from other settlements.

In 1858, Fort Massachusetts was abandoned and a new post, Fort Garland, was established six miles further south. A town, also called Fort Garland, grew up around the fort as settlers grew vegetables to supply the post. Fort Garland had a more permanent construction with adobe bricks and was roofed with heavy beams more adequate for winter weather. These two military posts were important stopping places for people, especially surveyors, coming into the Rocky Mountains.

Army operations from Fort Garland covered much of Colorado, and its soldiers were involved in most of the military activities of note. Troops participated in rescue missions in the mountains and were sent on punitive expeditions against the Utes. The activities of Tom Tobin and the Espinosa affair are always repeated in material about Fort Garland. Kit Carson was commander in 1866. After the removal of Ute Indians in 1882, the post was abandoned in 1883 when the soldiers were ordered to relocated at Fort Lewis across the San Juan Mountains to the west.

The third location of a military base in southern Colorado was Camp Fillmore. This location near Boone (Booneville) opened in 1864 and was closed in 1865. Fort Reynolds was another short-lived military base on the Arkansas River east of Pueblo. The operations began in 1868 and the past was closed in 1872.

The fourth military installation in southern Colorado utilized the fort built by William Bent in 1853. "Bent's New Fort" was located on the Arkansas River just west of the present site of Lamar. When the army purchased the trading post from William Bent in 1860, it was renamed Fort Wise. This was an impressive structure as it was constructed of native sandstone found in the area. When the Civil War began, the post again underwent a name change--Fort Lyon--because the first namesake was a Southerner. The new one was a loyal Unionist.

In 1866 the post was abandoned and a new installation constructed about seven miles east of Las Animas. The new Fort Lyon has been operated by the United States government in some capacity since that time. It was utilized as a naval hospital after 1907 and specialized in tubercular cases. After World War I the Veterans Administration assumed control and administration of the facility. In 1934 the military hospital assumed its current responsibility of treating neuropsychiatric patients. During the Depression of the 1930s Fort Lyon was the only government installation providing services and employment in southern Colorado.

After the United States officially entered World War II in December 1941, southern Colorado felt a positive economic impact with many new jobs for civilian workers, large scale construction projects, new business from military purchases, and retail business from service personnel. Farmers and ranchers enjoyed steady markets for their production in the wartime economy.

Pueblo was selected as a site for a large United States Army Air Base. The site was located adjacent to Highway 96 about six miles east of the city. Construction began in March 1942, and was largely completed by August that year. The 302nd Bombardment Group occupied the facility on October 1, 1942. Training for bomber crews continued until the end of the war.

A second flight training facility was located just north of the Arkansas River at La Junta. The original plan for this installation was to train Royal Air Force personnel. The mission was changed to a training facility for United States Army Air Force crews before construction was completed. Crews received training on the 521,000-acre bombing reserve in southwestern Colorado. Residents were restricted in their use of the land and grazed cattle at their own risk. Some of these people were not very happy with the inconvenience caused by the war. This base closed at the end of the war.

Pueblo County received the benefits of a second major military installation about fifteen miles east of the city near the town of North Avondale. Construction of the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, on 21,983 acres of leased rangeland, began on February 14, 1942. The depot began operation on June 26, 1942, as a regular United States Army base. The facilities included storage space for all types of military equipment, a complete water and sewage system and railroad sidings and switches, along with all the related buildings that were needed for a town of over 3,000 residents. The depot served as a major supply center during the war years and continued in operation with a change in its role and mission after the war ended.

These three military installations brought thousands of servicemen into southern Colorado, and the impact of these soldiers was felt throughout the

society. The closure of the facilities at the end of the war also brought a reverse shock with the loss of jobs and the related benefits to the economy.

Climate helped decide these locations. The Ordnance Depot could store materials and equipment in the dry climate and prepare them for shipment without the problems of rust and corrosion encountered in more humid areas. The Army Air Force crews were able to train on the relative flat terrain of the great plains with a little more safety and confidence than in more populated areas.

Trinidad and Monte Vista were chosen as locations for prisoner-of-war camps. German soldiers were moved to these areas where they were allowed to work in agricultural jobs. Few incidents of escape were recorded, and some prisoners returned after the war to visit friends they remembered.

One government installation in southern Colorado had yet a different role. The War Relocation Authority and the United States Army built a town just west of Granada to house native and alien Japanese from the West Coast. The Granada Relocation Center was named "Amache," after the wife of the prominent nineteenth century rancher John Prowers, and daughter of the Southern Cheyenne Chief One-Eye, killed at the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864. This facility, designed to house up to ten thousand people, had 200 barracks, a hospital, storage facilities, dining halls, and related structures. At its peak, Amache was the tenth largest city in Colorado behind Denver, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Greeley, Trinidad, Boulder, Grand Junction, Fort Collins and Englewood. The first group of Japanese arrived August 27, 1942, and the last person was released and the camp closed October 15, 1945. Among the highly publicized activities at the camp were the enlistment of Japanese men recruited for service in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team for duty in Europe. The group became the most highly decorated unit during World War II. The presence of almost 10,000 Japanese in southern Colorado did not please everyone. Newspapers from Lamar to Denver picked up on the "Jap" issue at one time or another. Individuals who were directly involved with the war in the Pacific felt very strongly about the "enemy among us."

#### CHRONOLOGY

1848	Mexican War ends, and first attempts to settle area increase
1850	New Mexico established as a territory
1852	Fort Massachusetts constructed in southern Colorado
1858	Fort Garland constructed and Fort Massachusetts closed
1860	Bent's New Fort purchased by U.S. Army
	Fort Wise established close to the old training post
1864-1865	Camp Fillmore established
1866	Fort Lyon established

1868-1872	Fort Reynolds established
1883	Fort Garland abandoned
1907	Fort Lyon utilized as naval hospital
1941	United States enters World War II
1942	Pueblo Army Air Base built
	La Junta Army Air Base built
	Pueblo Ordnance Depot opened
	Granada Relocation Center opened
	Prisoner-of-War camps opened
1945	World War II ends and military operations closed quickly or phased out

#### LOCATION

The early military posts in southern Colorado were located along the major routes of travel which in most cases followed major rivers. The fortifications in the San Luis Valley were located on trails leading over the Sangre de Cristo Pass to the plains.

Major military installations were constructed in the area of Pueblo close to the city on lands that had been previously utilized for the grazing of cattle. The improvements made by the United States Army continue to be of benefit to the area. The La Junta Army Air Base followed the pattern of the Pueblo installations. POW camps were housed in existing buildings which were turned back to civilian usage after the war. The facility at Granada remained intact for a time. It had several uses before many of the buildings were moved to other places for different uses.

#### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Cultural resources associated with the early military posts in the region include the posts themselves and related buildings such as barracks, officers' quarters, kitchens, blacksmith shop, and other related outbuildings. Sites associated include trails, campsites, battle sites. Additional materials might include firearms and saddlery of the late nineteenth century.

Resources associated with the twentieth century military facilities include hospitals, air bases, ordnance depots and detention camps, and their individual subunits.

The military presence during World War II is seen most readily in the municipal airports at Pueblo and La Junta. Both were built during the war years. Numerous related facilities are connected with the runways including markers, lights, signal towers, warning devices, wind markers, and taxiways.

Buildings associated with the air bases or ordnance depots include hangars, storage facilities, repair buildings, equipment and supply quarters, warehouses, training buildings, administrative buildings, towers, wind socks, and barracks. Important to the air operations were the facilities for transporting and storing fuel. Structures associated with the detention camps include barracks, hospital, storage facilities and dining halls. Other resources included water and sanitation facilities, roadways for service equipment, and the necessary facilities to receive supplies by railroad. In addition are the different planes used for training as well as the instrumentation.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Another facet of southern Colorado history that has not generated as much historical scrutiny as it might have is the presence of the military. The best general sources are Carl Abbott's Colorado, Robert G. Athearn's The Coloradans and Ubbelohde, Benson and Smith, A Colorado History. The best source for information on the military posts in southern Colorado are articles published in the Colorado Magazine. These include sketches of the posts and usually include the more well-known and exciting stories. These include articles by Tobin, Cummins, Nankivell, Taylor and Vandenbusche on Fort Massachusetts, Fort Garland and Fort Reynolds.

There is little material available about Colorado during World War II. The best material deals with the Japanese and the relocation camps; see the M.S. thesis by Peter M. Mitchell "Japanese Relocation in Colorado 1942-1945" (University of Colorado), the article in the Colorado Magazine by M. Paul Holsinger "Amache," and Bill Hosakawa's book, "NISEI: The Quiet Americans." Allen W. Paschal's article on the German prisoners-of-war in the Colorado Magazine is of value on that topic. Beyond these secondary sources that deal with the plains region, the researcher is faced with the task of wading through dozens of volumes of U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force histories or consulting other government documents. Two other sources should be considered: the Public Information or Affairs Offices of the individual bases and local newspapers. The local scribes always tried to boost and give optimistic pictures of their towns and followed closely the construction, opening and operation of the facilities.

### Number/Condition

While the exact number of resources that existed or may have existed may never be accurately ascertained, the number, location, function and condition of the major facilities is readily documentable. Some of the bases and installations remain active today, while others have closed or their function has changed. The condition of resources associated with this theme is generally better than those of almost any other theme in the study area.

Fort Massachusetts was excavated by Galen Baker of Trinidad Junior College and provided a good number of artifacts connected with the mid-nineteenth century army activities. Fort Garland has been reconstructed

and maintained in admirable fashion. No serious excavations have been conducted there, however. Much of the original site is untouched, but specific locations of buildings and facilities are known.

Fort Wise (Lyon) (or Bent's New Fort) is largely in ruins situated on top of a rocky bluff. Not much evidence would be uncovered here as the surface has been scoured for many years. The site of the original Fort Wise, immediately adjacent to Bent's New Fort site, has not been excavated.

Fort Lyon has undergone several changes during its history. Many of the buildings retain their original character as does the adjacent settlement outside the reservation.

Military buildings of World War II were constructed for a short period of use. The structures at Pueblo and La Junta are unique only to the area. The chapels have been moved and most are hard to identify due to changes in the materials and styles. Some of the original structures at the Amache Camp are currently being used for migrant worker housing. These structures should be recognized and preserved for their importance.

#### Data Gaps

- Representative training grounds for infantry of the 1940s
- Representative Army medical facilities of the World War I era
- Representative training grounds for airmen of the 1940s
- Representative barracks and other facilities (unaltered) from the 1940s
- Medical history of Fort Lyon hospital
- Operations at the La Junta and Pueblo Air Bases
- Serious study of the Japanese relocation

#### Future Needs

The identification and general location of all military forts and military/Indian battle sites should be documented in the Colorado Inventory Records. An additional important project is to conduct oral histories on the Japanese who lived at the Granada Relocation Center. Surveys specifically to find on the ground evidence of posts, battles and marches of Indian and U.S. Army detachments should be undertaken at some future date. But these should be given low priority due to the extensive documentary evidence and low possibility of finding and recording previously unrecorded and distinguishable sites.

At some future date, cultural resource inventories should be conducted to ascertain the number, condition and types of cultural resources associated with post-1900 military activity on the Colorado plains. These surveys should be conducted, and probably will have to be conducted, with close cooperation between the United States Armed Forces and the Colorado



Preservation Office because most of the historic bases are still owned and operated by branches of the armed forces today. These surveys should inventory not only present but past (nonextant) resources.

### Important Resources

Resources associated with the early military posts in the region are important because of their limited number and because of their role in the early history of the state to encourage settlement, their association with Indian conflict and their association with important people and events. Archaeological remains of these resources are also important to document the location and information about construction and activities of the forts.

Because of the large role the military establishment played during the 1940s for the economic recovery of southeastern Colorado from the Great Depression, many of the resources associated with this theme have an intrinsic importance. Further, those that can document changes in military methods, tactics, weapons or strategies should be considered important from a military history standpoint. Those resources that document day-to-day military life or attempts of the army to care for its soldiers should also be considered important. Also, if certain resources could serve to document or reinterpret present theses and conceptions about the military establishment from 1900 to 1945, they should be considered important. The resources associated with the prisoner-of-war camps and Japanese Relocation Center are also important for their role in national history, the history of the region and the history of these cultural groups in the state.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can help document the day-to-day army life at forts and on the march?
2. What resources, if any, can explain or document the role of local boosters in attracting military bases to southern Colorado?
3. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impact of a military presence in southern Colorado, 1940-1945?
4. What resources, if any, can explain or document changes in military training methods after 1940?
5. What resources, if any, can explain or document changes in military tactics after 1940?
6. What resources, if any, can explain or document changes in military weaponry after 1940?
7. Can cultural resources lead to a reinterpretation of present or past views of the military's role in American society?

## PHYSICAL CONDITION

Forts, Fortifications, Barracks, Associated Fort Structures: Should be in original location and should retain enough physical integrity to make function, methods, materials and dates of construction or modification readily apparent. Archaeological integrity should follow guidelines established by anthropological research standards.

Battle Sites and Campsites: Should have experienced minimal or no surface disturbance so that archaeological resource integrity is assured.

World War II Military Buildings and Landing Strips: Should be in original location and should retain enough physical integrity to make dimensions, functions, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Detention Camp Facilities: Should retain physical appearance of structure at time of construction and historic use in the camp.

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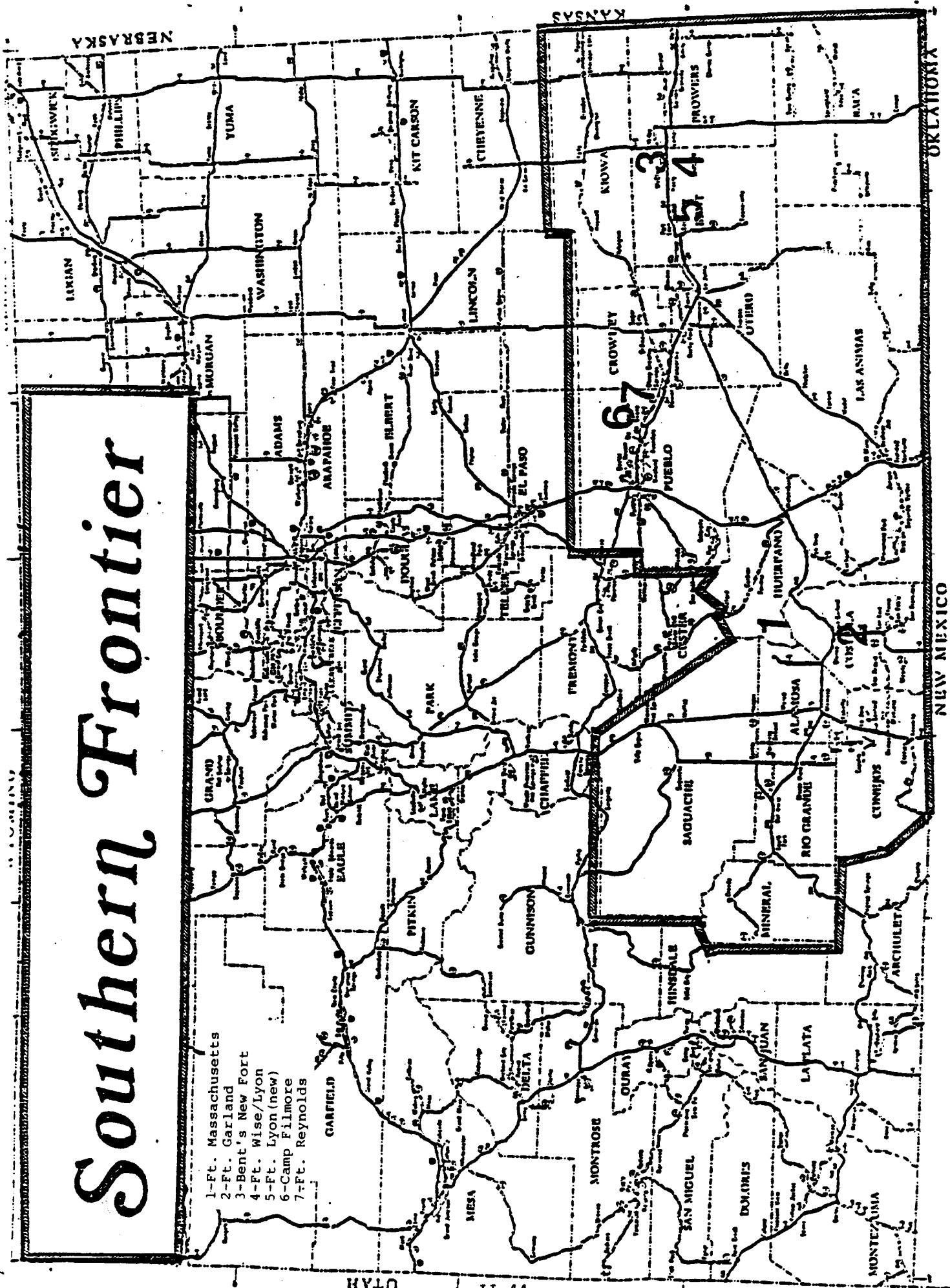
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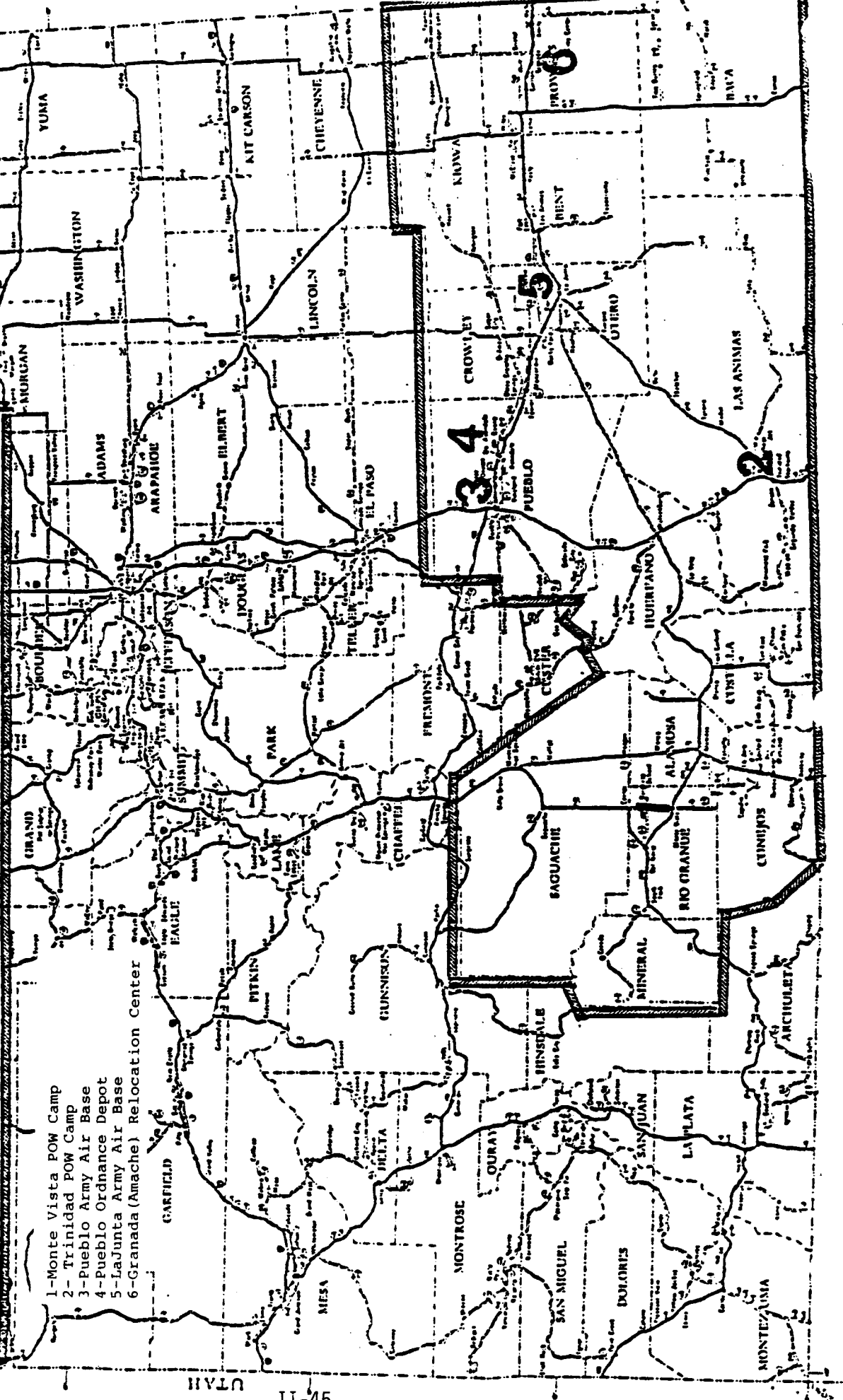
# Southern Frontier

- 1-Ft. Massachusetts
- 2-Ft. Garland
- 3-Bent's New Fort
- 4-Ft. Wise/Lyon
- 5-Ft. Lyon (new)
- 6-Camp Filmore
- 7-Ft. Reynolds



# Southern Frontier

- 1-Monte Vista POW Camp
- 2- Trinidad POW Camp
- 3-Pueblo Army Air Base
- 4-Pueblo Ordnance Depot
- 5-LaJunta Army Air Base
- 6-Granada (Amache) Relocation Center



NEBRASKA

6. EARLY FARMING AND RANCHING IN SOUTHEASTERN COLORADO  
(1840-1890)

NARRATIVE

Agriculture as an industry began in southeastern Colorado with the establishment of the first trading posts in the region and owed much to farmers from New Mexico because of their previous experience in similar environments. Also, many of Colorado's earliest farmers and ranchers were New Mexicans that migrated further north. These activities were concentrated in the San Luis Valley and along the Arkansas, Purgatory and Apishapa rivers until after the Civil War. The two decades before 1860 were a time of experiment and development for agriculture in southeastern Colorado. Operators of fur trading posts hired herders and farmers to maintain livestock, both sheep and cattle, as well as grow crops. These efforts were undertaken to supply food for the inhabitants of the forts as well as for sale to travelers passing through the region. Records indicate that some very limited irrigation was done by these farmers. After 1865, an ever-increasing area of the lands was utilized by ranchers and farmers; irrigation, long used to a limited degree, also became more popular, and larger reclamation systems developed.

During the 1850s, Hispanic settlers moved north out of New Mexico into the San Luis Valley and began the first reclamation projects in what would become Colorado. They had experience with irrigation in New Mexico and duplicated the water systems upon their arrival in Colorado. These early settlers practiced subsistence agriculture until the 1860s, and because of the harsh environment, they experienced many hardships. In addition to their crops, the valley's early residents also raised cattle, goats and sheep for milk, meat, hides, and wool. They practiced a mixed subsistence agriculture until the Civil War. (See also #3 Mexican Land Grants and Mexican Settlements.)

The first farming and ranching in the Arkansas Valley occurred in the 1840s. These settlements included Pueblo (1842), Kinkead's ranch (1841), Hardscrabble (1844), Greenhorn (1845), and Wooton's ranch in the Huerfano (1847). But they also encountered problems with hostile Indians. Fort Pueblo and other settlements at Fountain Creek were abandoned following an Indian massacre in 1854. Farming and stockraising were the primary activities at these settlements from 1846-1856. The settlers experimented with crops and methods, and a wheat and grist mill was operated at Greenhorn. Some of the settlements were established as forts and trading posts with the Indians.

The discovery of gold at Cherry Creek and the 1859 rush to Colorado led to a transformation of southeastern Colorado ranching and agriculture. The miners demand for food led to a shift from subsistence to commercial activity. Flour raised and milled in the area was sold in Denver, herds of cattle and sheep were trailed to the mining areas and a new prosperity resulted for the southeastern region. The decade that followed the gold rush of 1859 marked a rapid transition as tens of thousands of Americans relocated to Colorado, many to take up farms.

The period from 1870 to 1890 in the San Luis Valley was marked by numerous changes. Some of the old ways such as the tending of livestock continued, but on much larger ranches, often with absentee owners. Cattle and sheep raising continued to be the most important industries, but horse raising grew in significance until the early twentieth century.

Crop raising in the San Luis Valley also changed during the late nineteenth century. As more people moved into the area, more land was put under the plow, often because more extensive reclamation projects were developed to supply water. The high costs of water diversion meant that farmers had to find new cash crops that would be profitable enough to cover water costs. After a period of experimentation, valley farmers found truck farming to be the most suitable type of land use. By 1900 the San Luis Valley had become well-known for abundant potato, onion, carrot and other crops. While they dominated the area's agricultural production, traditional valley products continued to be grown and processed, particularly wheat and other cereal grains.

Across the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the southeastern plains of southeastern Colorado, farmers also shared in the boom that followed the Civil War. The years from 1870 witnessed a rapid growth of farming, especially after the Santa Fe and Missouri Pacific railroads crossed the southern Colorado plains. Irrigation continued to be popular, but limited capital for large projects, and a period of abnormally wet years during the 1880s and early 1890s, acted to limit the number of large reclamation projects. Instead, high plains farmers opted to take advantage of the vast areas of land open for settlement and farm lands without irrigation during the wet years. The primary crop was wheat, particularly the hard red varieties, popularly known as Russian Red or Turkey Red, brought to the United States by Russian emigrants. These strains grew well in the plains climate. The farming boom in the region was furthered during the period by the construction of a number of ditches for irrigation, primarily along the Arkansas River. Some were large cooperative ventures, others were financed by companies, but as previously stated, irrigation in the region developed primarily after the Panic of 1893. Those same years of the early 1890s also witnessed the end of the wet years on the plains, and by 1893 and 1894 wholesale abandonment of farms throughout much of the region was taking place. The drought and Panic marked the end of the early history of agriculture in the region. Stock raising on the plains of southeastern Colorado during the late nineteenth century is discussed as a separate theme, "Open Range Ranching."

After 1865, the population boom in southeastern Colorado supplied a large number of farmers and stock raisers for the area. Federal land laws, especially the Homestead Act of 1862, attracted many people to lands. Other influences included railroad promotion, local boosterism and land company promotion. The people enticed came primarily from the Midwest and East, although large numbers of western Europeans also came to take advantage of the opportunities to own land. Together, these people pioneered much of Colorado's southern frontier.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1840s | Small farms maintained by fur trading posts                    |
|       | Cattle Ranching at Pueblo and Hardscrabble                     |
|       | Attempts at farming/ranching in San Luis Valley                |
| 1850s | Subsistence farming and stock raising grows in San Luis Valley |
|       | First irrigation systems built in the region                   |

1860s	Commercial farming begins to supply the needs of miners and settlers in northern and western Colorado
1862	Homestead Act passed
1869	First cattle drive over Sangre de Cristo Mountains
1870s	Railroads prompt boom in farming
1880s	Irrigation spurs farming on the plains
1890s	Dry years lead to wholesale abandonment of plains farms and towns

### LOCATION

Resources associated with this theme are scattered throughout the foothills, valleys and plains of the region. Irrigation was primarily limited to areas near rivers. Nonirrigated farms were located on the plains, usually within fifteen to twenty miles on either side of the railroads, most notably Kiowa, Bent, Crowley and Prowers counties. Ranching in the San Luis Valley took place in the uplands along the edges of the valley and in mountain parks as well as across the plains.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Timber and desert land claims.

Structures include: Farmsteads, grain elevators, grange halls and Hispanic rancheros.

Districts include: Agricultural towns, farmsteads (house, barn, sheds, and outbuildings) and irrigation systems.

Materials include: Tools and farm implements of the nineteenth century of American, European and Hispanic origin.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

A number of studies on the early agricultural activities of the southern frontier have already been written, particularly on farmers of the San Luis Valley in the San Luis Valley Historian. Information for farming on the plains must be gleaned primarily from generalized works such as Steinel's History of Agriculture in Colorado. Primary documents are available at the Colorado Historical Society, Pueblo Regional Library and Adams State College Library.

#### Data Gaps

Complete and unmodernized rancharo

Complete and unmodernized representative 1890 dryland farm



Complete and unmodernized 1880 irrigated farm

Complete and unmodernized 1880 irrigation system

### Future Needs

Farming development in southeastern Colorado presents many problems for historians, especially the cross-cultural adaptations of methods, technology and irrigating techniques between Hispanics and Americans. There are relatively few studies on the success rates and special techniques used by the pre-1890 drylanders. Also, changes in land use and claiming patterns should be examined. To avoid extensive survey costs to cover the millions of acres, aerial photographic interpretation combined with the specialized skills of a professional historian should be utilized.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Did certain ethnic groups succeed while others failed at dryland farming?
2. What resources, if any, document or clarify the evolution of Colorado water law?
3. What resources, if any, can help explain the ongoing Hispanic contributions to Colorado agriculture and irrigation?
4. What resources, if any, can help explain the rapid spread and contraction of dryland farming in the region between 1870 and 1890?
5. What resources, if any, can help clarify present understandings of the uses of federal lands by settlers in the region?
6. What resources, if any, can help document and clarify the role of women in the agricultural development of the southern frontier?

Those resources that offer information for answering the forgoing questions should be considered important for their information and possible interpretive value.

### PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

Agricultural Towns: Should have enough of the historic use buildings intact to recognize community function, fabric and size.

Farmstead/Ranchero: Should be on original or historic use site and enough of the dwellings and outbuildings should remain to readily identify function, spatial relationships, methods and materials of construction.

Grain Elevators: Should be in historic use location and have enough physical integrity to readily recognize function, method of operation, dimensions, material and method of construction.

Grange Halls: Should have same standards as grain elevators.

Irrigation Systems: See engineering context report for evaluation standards.

Timber Claims: Should have enough of the required timber stand and also fences and property lines for positive identification.

Tools and Equipment: Should have enough metallic parts and associated parts to distinguish function and operation.

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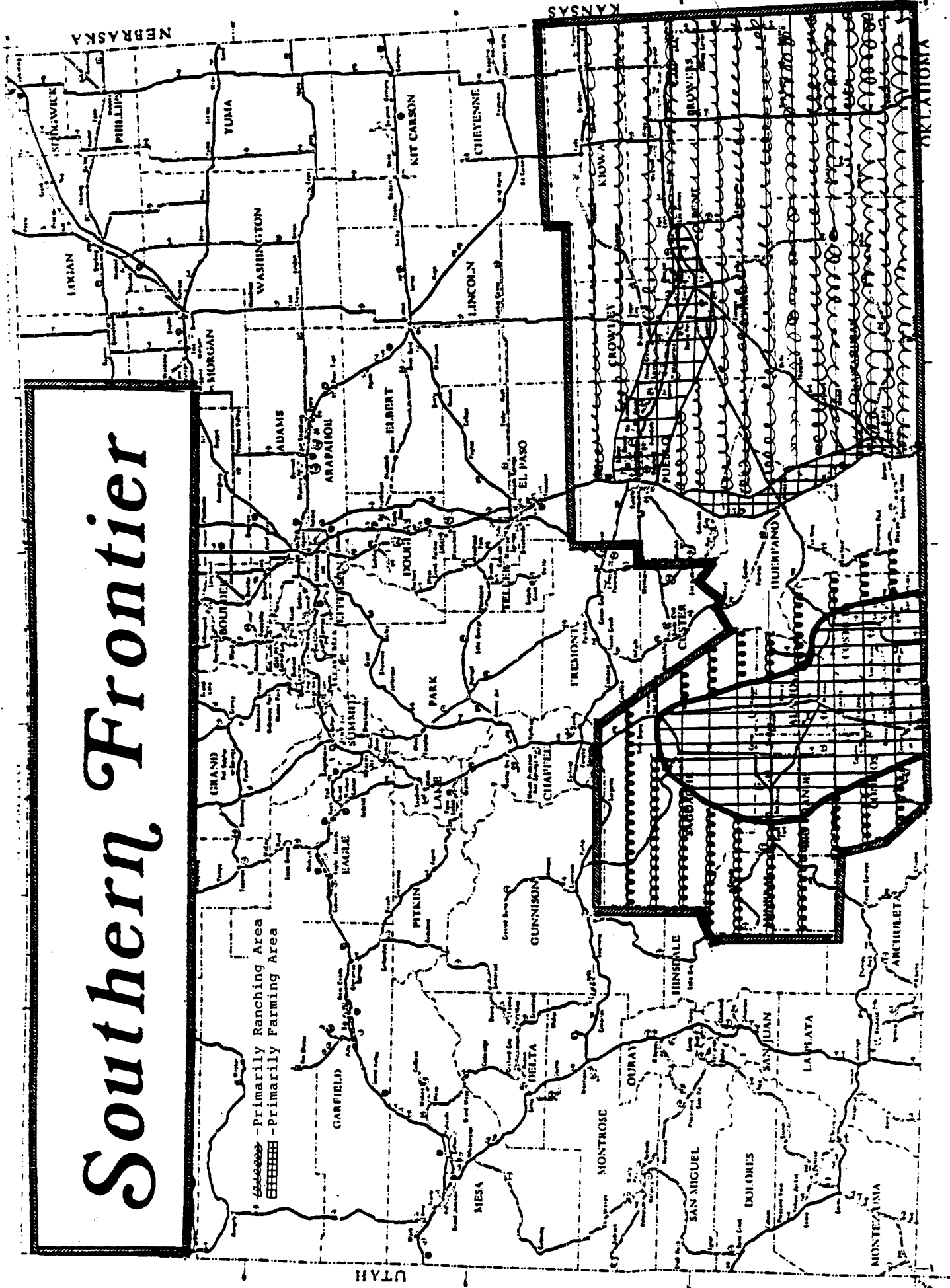
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# Southern Frontier

--- Primarily Ranching Area  
▨ Primarily Farming Area





7. THE YEARS OF CONFLICT, 1850-1870NARRATIVE

After 1848 and the cession of the land to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War, the federal government had to make an effort to deal with the Indian inhabitants of the Southern Frontier region, primarily the Ute, Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Kiowa. Because of the distances between the tribal lands and the western edges of American settlement at the time, roughly the Missouri River, federal negotiators offered very vague treaties that set aside huge tracts for the Ute in the Treaty of Fort Massachusetts, and the plains Indians in the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

From the earliest period of attempted settlement in the Southern Frontier region, Indian hostilities occurred sporadically. At times they effectively curtailed settlement in the region. The earliest attempts at Hispanic settlement in the San Luis Valley in the 1930s was prevented by Ute hostility. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahoes conducted raids on the Santa Fe Trail in 1846 and 1847. In 1856, the Utes went on the warpath in the region and culminating in the massacre at Fort Pueblo and effectively ended the attempted settlements at the mouth of Fountain Creek.

Although during most of the period the Utes were peaceful, a series of events culminated in the attack on Fort Pueblo. A treaty was negotiated between the U.S. Government and the Utes in 1849. The Utes abided with the peace for four years. During that time, the U.S. Government did not provide the promised aid to the Indians. The Ute people were attacked by the hostile plains Indians who had horses and guns provided by the U.S. Government under treaty terms. The Utes became poorer as a result of these raids and traders were specifically forbidden to sell them guns and ammunition which they might have used for their defense.

In 1852, the U.S. Agent for the Indians gathered Utes at Abiquiu and distributed food and trinkets. The Ute Chief Coniache made a speech requesting guns and ammunition in order to hunt and to protect themselves from the Plains Indians and for protection from the Plains Indians by the Government. No help was offered to the Utes. In 1853, forty Indian families were found in starving condition on the Costilla and Culebra Rivers. They had been attacked by the Arapahoes and Cheyenne. In the same year, the Jicarilla Apaches began raiding after the U.S. Government cut off food supplies to their tribe, which similarly to the Utes had been promised by treaty. In March 1854, there were skirmishes between U.S. soldiers and the Jicarillas. These events may have influenced the Utes' actions. Beginning in late 1854, the Utes made some attacks on settlers in the Arkansas and San Luis Valleys. A final incident sparked the uprising when Governor Merriweather tried to appease the Utes with the trial of a Mexican who had killed a Ute. The Governor met with two Ute chiefs including Chico Velasquez who had sworn eternal enmity for the white man and had led his people in peace with the settlers. This meeting ended in catastrophe. The Governor gave jackets to the two chiefs which caused them to contract smallpox and they subsequently died. In addition, the Mexican escaped

from jail. After their leader's death, the Utes went on the warpath. On December 24 (or 25), 1854, they massacred the inhabitants at Fort Pueblo and later raided and attacked other settlements in the area. This event ended the settlements at the mouth of Fountain Creek.

Further intrusions into Ute territory began to occur with the gold rush. Miners went up the Arkansas into the San Luis Valley and up the Rio Grande River into the San Juan Mountains in search of gold. The Civil War and harsh winters inhibited exploration in the San Juan until the late 1860s. With increased demand from mineral development, a treaty was executed in 1868 which limited Ute territory to the western half of Colorado with a boundary line running approximately through Pagosa Springs. Although this treaty removed the Utes from the San Luis Valley, some trade ties continued with the towns of Saguache and Conejos. Chief Ouray emerged as the main spokesman for the Utes at this time and he urged peaceful relations. With increased demand because of the San Juan mining strikes an additional treaty with the Utes in 1873, the Brunot Treaty, removed the Utes from the San Juans and out of the Southern Frontier region.

The gold rush of 1859 led the federal government to reevaluate its treaty needs, particularly with the plains Indians. Fears of depredations against miners and people on the trails to Colorado prompted negotiations with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe late in 1860, and that led to the signing of the Treaty of Fort Wise on February 18, 1861. Albert G. Boone represented the federal government and dealt primarily with Chief Black Kettle of the Cheyenne. The treaty set aside a large reservation for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe in eastern Colorado (see map). Despite the large numbers of Americans moving across these lands during the early 1860s, the plains Indians did little more than beg from the travelers until 1863 and 1864.

Coloradans, particularly those in Denver, remained fearful of attack by the Indians. Fears were further increased by Rocky Mountain News articles and by the concern of Governor Evans. With the agitation of the Civil War, there was the possible threat that the Indians might begin hostilities with confederate agitators or take advantage of the United Troop protection resulting from the Colorado volunteer involvement with Civil War. Prior to the spring of 1864, Indian conflicts were confined to isolated incidents of harassment and occasional stock raiding or horse stealing from ranches. In the spring of 1864, these hostilities increased with raiding closer to towns and more frequent attacks on wagons and stages on the Santa Fe Trail. The Army banned travel on western trails to Colorado during the spring, and summer of 1864. Once the roads reopened, Coloradans feared that any further problems caused by Indian activity might lead to massacres and further economic setbacks by closure of one or more trails. In June 1864 the Hungate family was murdered by a band of marauding Indians, their bodies were exhibited in Denver, and the panic in the territorial government led to a call for volunteers to protect the settlements and deal the Indians a severe blow.

The result was creation of the Third Colorado Volunteers under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington. Although Indian raids decreased, Chivington decided to take the war to them. On November 29, 1864, his troops fell upon Black Kettle's encampment of Cheyenne and Arapahoe on Sand Creek near Fort Wise massacring the peaceful Indian camp. Chivington returned to a hero's

welcome, but he soon fell into disgrace when the truth of the day's events came out during a congressional investigation.

The survivors of the Sand Creek massacre took stories of the Coloradan's treachery and slaughter to other plains Indians, and early 1865 became the bloodiest period of plains fighting. To halt the bloodshed, new treaties were negotiated in 1865 and 1867. However, the blood-letting was not halted until 1869 when the final Indian engagement took place at the Battle of Summit Springs, near present-day Sterling.

The 1860s presented another problem that led to bloodshed in the southern frontier--the Civil War. Many of the territory's early residents hailed from southern states and carried their sympathies west to the gold region. During the war a number of these southerners became guerrilla fighters. Their activities were centered in the mountains west of Pueblo and in the gold camps of South Park. Colonel John Heffner's band operated out of Beulah (Mace's Hole) to raid settlements, including Pueblo. Another group under Alexander "Zan" Hicklin attacked settlers and travelers in the Greenhorn area. But the most notorious of the Confederate operatives in Colorado was Colonel James Reynolds and his band that terrorized people from the San Luis Valley to the South Platte Valley and South Park. He and his gang were captured and while being transferred as prisoners of war to the stockade at Fort Lyon he died during an "escape" attempt along the trail.

The Indian problems, many of which were rooted in events that took place outside the region and the number of Confederate sympathizers in the southern frontier, made the 1860s a trying period that disrupted growth and development of the region until the later years of the decade.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1600s	Plains Indians obtain horses
1700s	Spanish and French ally with Indians
1820s	Trappers have some contacts with Indians
1830s	Indian-American contacts mostly friendly
	Ute attacks prevent settlement in San Luis Valley
1846, 1847	Comanche, Kiowa and Arapahoe attacks on Santa Fe Trail
1854	Pueblo massacre by Utes, ending settlement in Arkansas Valley
1859	Gold Rush
1861	Colorado Territory formed
	Fort Wise Treaty negotiated
1864	Hungate family murdered
	Sand Creek Massacre
1865	Treaty of Little Arkansas
1867	Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek
1868	Battle of Beecher Island in eastern Colorado
1870	Plains Indians problems subside



## LOCATION

Cultural resources associated with this theme are scattered throughout the region. The interracial battle sites are located primarily on the eastern plains. Confederate guerrilla activity was centered in the mountains west of Pueblo. The two military posts are well-known as to their location (see map and military theme).

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Battle sites, campsites, cemeteries and rifle pits.

Structures include: Barracks, forts, fortifications, palisades, stables, stockades and ranches.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Many historians have studied various phases of Colorado Indian warfare. Because of the large number of works available, it is relatively easy to trace the historiography and popular view of the Indian. Writers of the late nineteenth century, such as Cyrus Brady (Indian Fights and Fighters) portray the Indians as ruthless savages and those heroic soldiers who fought them as morally right in attempting to "exterminate the vermin." Such attitudes prevailed into the twentieth century. After World War II, however, attitudes changed to the point that Dee Brown (Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee) would completely reverse the roles of the two sides. Many other works have been completed including studies of the battles of Sand Creek, Beecher's Island and Summit Springs. Further, diaries and journals of Americans in the battles have either been published or are available at local manuscript depositories. Official army reports of the battles and fort activities are available from National Archives in Washington, D.C. Another good source of information about the 1860s Indian problem is the Rocky Mountain News. The editor, William Byers, always had an opinion, usually anti-Indian, that he shared willingly with his audience, but the wealth of information available about Indian warfare makes it easy for the researcher to find material on almost any question.

### Number/Condition

The number and condition of resources associated with this theme that once existed or may have existed should be estimated at well over 1,000. A large number of these resources were destroyed before they could be recorded. Also, because of the nomadic and transitory nature of plains Indians and Indian warfare, many battles left no permanent changes on the land. However, many sites have been located by using documentary evidence such as battle logs.

### Data Gaps

Representative forts or military encampments associated with the period 1860-1870

Representative stage station or ranch associated with trail travel and Indian fighting

Clearly identified (discernible) route of march of an army scouting party or detachment

Clearly discernible site of an Indian pow-wow or interracial conference

## Future Needs

Surveys specifically to find on the ground evidences of the battles and marches of Indian and U.S. Army detachments on the plains should be undertaken at some future date. However, these should be given low priority due to the extensive documentary evidence available about the era and the low possibility of finding and recording previously unrecorded, clearly distinguishable sites within the region. Such an undertaking would require both military and western historians and historic archaeologists.

## Important Resources

Because of the small number of forts and other associated resources that once existed associated with this theme, each should be considered significant, especially Sand Creek. However, the same does not apply for campsites, skirmish sites, lines of march and the like. Because large numbers of these once existed, great discretion should be applied when dealing with these. Sites that substantiate, refute or interpret present views of Indian warfare and the cruelty it entailed should be considered important as should those that explain the role of settlers' self-defense in the region. Also, those sites that can help explain or clarify actions during battles should be considered important.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, document the hideouts and ranches and war-making of the Confederate guerrillas in the region?
2. What resources, if any, can document or explain the cruelty of plains Indian warfare?
3. What resources, if any, can explain the role of women or minorities in plains Indian warfare?
4. What resources, if any, can help document or explain day-to-day army life at forts and on the march?
5. What resources, if any, can document or explain the Indian war-making techniques and superstitions?

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Barracks: Should be in original location and retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions, method and materials of construction readily apparent.

Battle Sites: Should have experienced minimal or no surface disturbance and should present enough spent ammunition and material to make size of engagement and groups involved readily apparent.

Campsites: Should be in situ and have experienced minimal or no surface disturbance so that archaeological resource integrity is assured.

Cemeteries: Should be in original location and graves should not have experienced previous disturbance. Graves should be clearly marked in some manner.

Forts and Fortifications: Should be in original location and should retain enough physical integrity to make function, methods, materials and dates of construction or modification readily apparent.

Palisades: Should be in original location and retain enough physical integrity to clearly indicate function, dimension, material and method of construction.

Rifle Pits: Should have experienced no or minimal surface disturbance and function should be readily apparent from observation.

Stables: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to ascertain function, dimensions, methods and materials of construction.

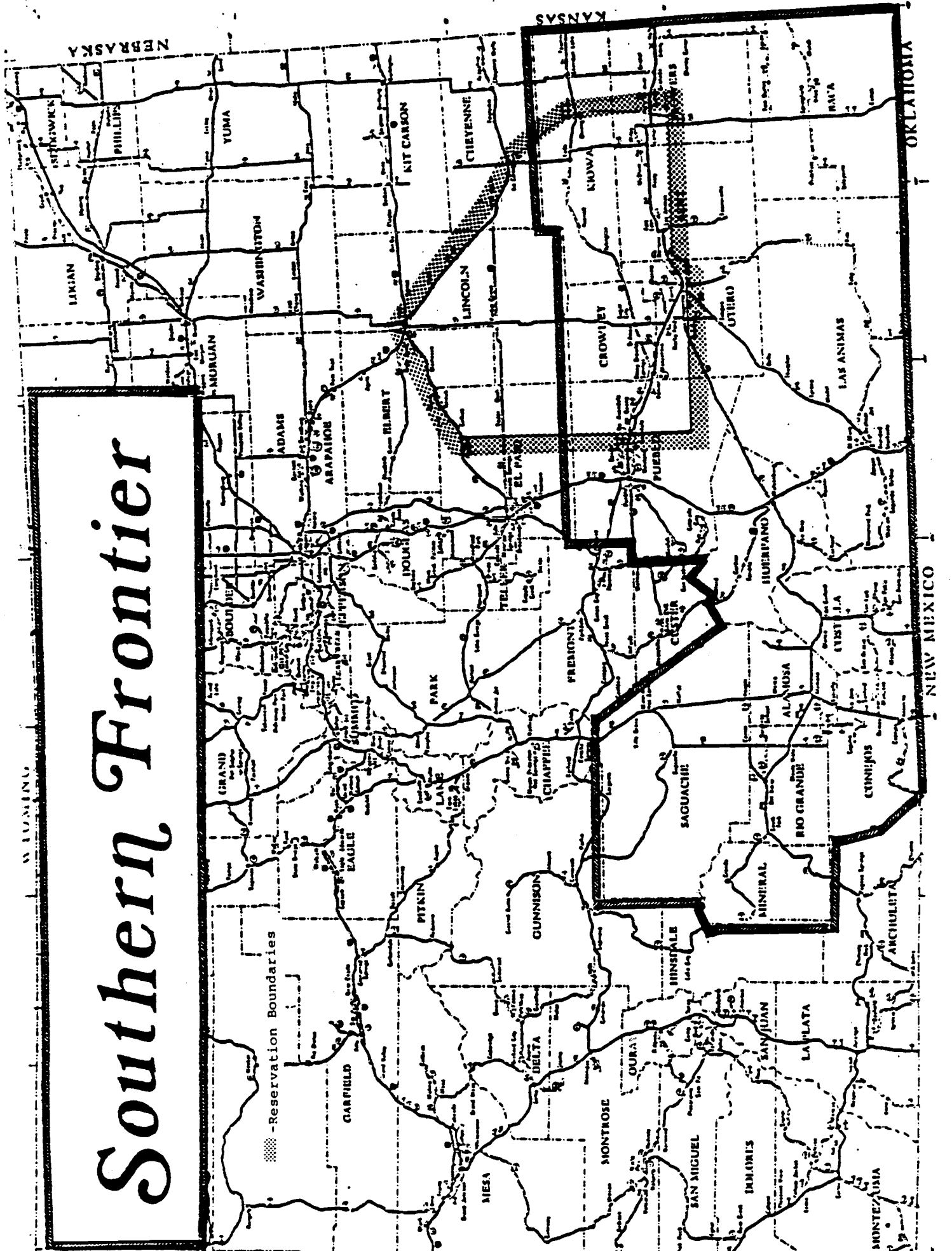
Stockades: See palisades for standards.

Trails: Should demonstrate the route from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

#### REFERENCES

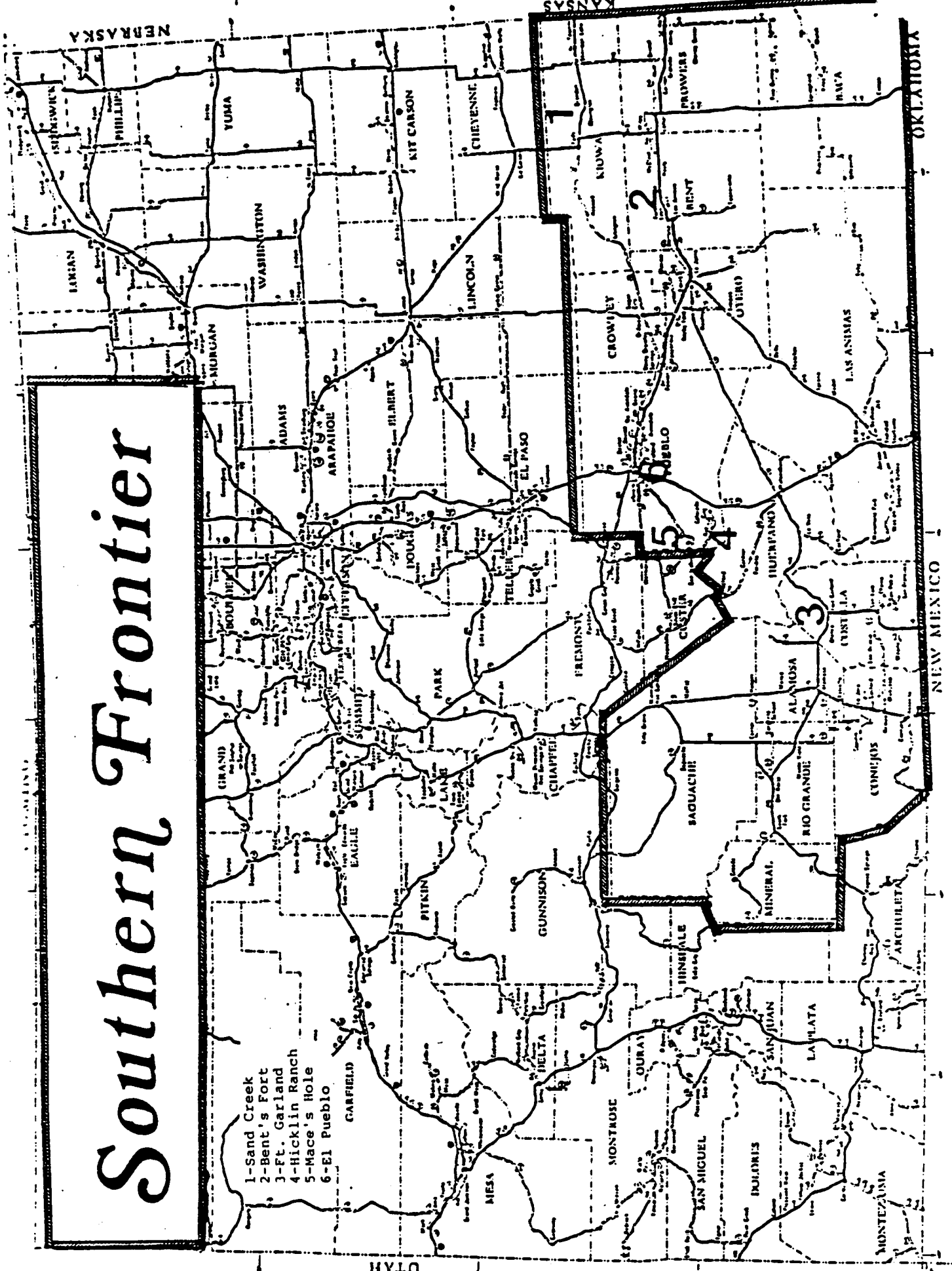
Due to the large and ever-increasing number of available books and other studies of Colorado Indians a list of references done today would be outdated within a few months. Researchers in this theme should consult libraries for both historical and ethnohistorical studies of the tribe they need information on to get the most current information.

# Southern Frontier



# Southern Frontier

- 1-Sand Creek
- 2-Bent's Fort
- 3-Ft. Garland
- 4-Hicklin Ranch
- 5-Mace's Hole
- 6-El Pueblo



8. OPEN RANGE RANCHING (1859-1900)NARRATIVE

The earliest ranching in the state occurred in the 1840s in the Arkansas Valley. Cattle raised at Fort Pueblo were traded to immigrants at Fort Laramie and corn was traded to Indians and immigrants for fodder. Settlements at Greenhorn and Hardscrabble also had commercial cattle herds. In 1847 Dick Wootton grazed cattle at Huerfano for the Army in Santa Fe.

The gold rush of 1859 and the spread of the mining industry led to the growth and development of open range ranching on Colorado's plains in southeast Colorado. The cattlemen were further encouraged after the Civil War by the rapid expansion of the beef market and the availability of transportation by 1870 when railroads reached the region. The final element, abundant supplies of forage, was supplied by the land itself. In 1865 much of Colorado's plains were nothing more than millions of acres of pasture owned by the federal government and open for use. All these factors contributed to the rapid growth and flowering of a range livestock industry during the 1870s. The region's cowboy of the late nineteenth century became America's first unique folk hero, attired in his peculiar garb, living a highly romanticized "free" existence. The cattlemen's frontier on Colorado's high plains had the elements of hardship and adventure typically associated with the "Wild West" that made cowboys the envy of many people from the rest of the country.

The plains industry began in the 1860s when cowboys brought herds of cattle through Colorado on a number of different trails. One of the earliest was pioneered by John C. Dawson, who brought a cattle herd from Texas, along the Arkansas River to Fountain Creek, and north to Denver. He drove cattle along the trail in 1859 to sell in mining camps.

Perhaps the most famous cattle drive was that pioneered by Charles Goodnight in 1864. The Goodnight-Loving Trail followed the Pecos to its headwaters and then entered Colorado by Trinchera or Raton Pass. From there, the animals were driven to Pueblo or on to northern mining camps.

Another significant route was the Ogallala Trail to Ogallala, Nebraska. It ran north from Texas, just west of the Colorado-Kansas state line to Nebraska. Later it was extended as far north as Montana and has been referred to as the National Trail. During the late 1880s cattlemen's associations requested Congress to formalize the trail and make it a permanent passageway, but the proposal was never accepted in Washington. Two towns, Bovina and Trail City, were established near the Arkansas River routes to provide places for buyers and sellers to meet as well as provide for the cowboy's supply and recreational needs.

Cattle were not only driven to market in Colorado's mining camps, but were also brought in to start a range industry. In 1861 John Wesley Prowers, an employee of the Bents, brought 600 head of cattle from Missouri. He added to his stock in 1862 and grazed his cattle from the Purgatory River to the

Kansas line on the south side of the Arkansas River. His operation was the first resident range cattle in the region. But, by the mid-1860s, there were over one hundred thousand head of cattle in southeastern Colorado largely concentrated along the Arkansas River.

The methods used by open range ranching operations were simple. All depended on federal rangelands for grazing. Home ranches were established on waterways or at waterholes, and these sites were owned by the stockmen. The homesteads would include a house of log or adobe, bunkhouses, corrals, and hayfields. They took advantage of all the land laws to obtain ranches: the Preemption Act, Homestead Act, Timber Culture Act, and Desert Land Act. With bases of operation under their ownership, the stockmen allowed their herds to roam over the plains at will. Control of water supplies meant control of the range, for without water the stock perished. Spring and fall roundups were held to count animals, brand calves and sort out those ready for sale.

During the period 1864 to 1870 the cattle industry in southeastern Colorado was stimulated by proximity to substantial markets, access to rail on the Kansas Pacific Railroad and generally good wintering conditions. Through this period there was unrestricted competition between cattlemen for range. By the early 1870s southeastern Colorado was widely but thinly settled by a ranching and subsistence farming population. The livestock could be driven to distant markets but other produce was largely for home consumption. Also by this time cattlemen had consolidated hold on much of the grazing land.

The beginning of cattlemen organizations for mutual benefit did not begin until after 1870. On the local basis these associations dealt with access to water, regulation of rustling, competition with sheepmen and to secure more effective communication with government.

The mid-1870s brought rapid change and growth to the open range industry. The advent of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad into Pueblo in 1872 and into other parts of the region brought a construction boom and more rapid access to wider markets. The steady expansion of the coal mining towns also sparked by the railroads created a local market for beef and agriculture.

The open range industry was booming and providing great profits. The business was based on limited investment in land since the cattle were grazed on public domain lands and rounded up seasonally. The cowboys provided low cost labor with publicity and the attraction of good profits the industry began to attract investors and expand into large ranches. By the 1880s the large ranches were established. I. W. Prowers and James J. Jones each had large cattle empires in the region with over 10,000 head of cattle.

In 1872 the legislature enacted a "roundup law" with the county commissioners supervising the enforcement. In 1879 state "roundup districts" were established with inspectors.

In 1867 the Colorado Stockgrowers Association (later the Colorado Cattlemen's Association) was organized and immediately began to record the

"brands" of individual ranchers. In 1872 the Colorado Territorial legislature enacted a brand law, and in 1855, the State of Colorado assumed responsibility for registering brands. After 1899, an annual fee was required for registration of brands, and a book with brands was published.

The decline of the open range on the Plains has been attributed to a number of factors including over expansion, careless management, settlement cutting off water sources and winter grazing lands, regional draughts and hard winters. The Raton Basin area of Southeastern Colorado experienced some local differences then seen in the rest of Colorado and from other states.

First, the choice sites for bases of ranching operations were taken early. This area had early settlement by the New Mexico immigrants who had experience at sheep and cattle raising in arid lands. They took up lands that controlled access to water. These settlers combined solid stock raising traditions with managerial control. By the mid 1870s these ranches controlled mainly by Spanish speaking ranchers such as Casimiro Barela were well established. The ranchers prospered in the cattle industry and also became involved in state and local politics.

Secondly, the fencing of water sources and blocks of public land occurred faster in the region. By 1882 the region was cut up into well defined ranches in contrast to Wyoming where this did not occur until the 1890s. This occurrence was aided by several factors. One reason for the early definition of ranches was the existence of Mexican land grants. The owners leased grazing rights to ranchers; for example, the Maxwell Grant leased land to the Prairie Cattle Company of Trinidad, the Nolan Grant to the San Carlos Ranch, and the Vigil and St. Vrain Grant to the Hermosilla and Butler ranches.

Another factor was the availability of rail transportation which brought barbed wire (first available in 1875-1876) to this region sooner than other less accessible open range regions. The companies on the big land grants fenced their ranches first. But following suit, other large ranches fenced large tracts of public domain lands which set up many local conflicts. By 1882 complaints of illegal fencing in the region by homesteaders, travelers, and migrant stockmen were cited by the general land office. Illegal fencing on public domain caused a congressional investigation. In 1885 Secretary of the Interior Henry Moore Teller forced ranches to remove fences enclosing public land. The ranchers Hall and Barela had to remove fences from 38,000 acres of land and the Prairie Cattle Company from 36,000 acres.

A third difference in the open range ranching in the Raton Basin was due to the early private control of water sources. By the 1880s much of the land along streams and around springs was taken which provided effective control of the intervening range. The cattlemen could therefore invest in high grade stock earlier in this region.

An additional factor was the milder winters of the foothills and plains within the Raton Basin plus the better control of herds that made winter a less risky business than in other areas. The Colorado High Plains had a hard winter in 1881-1882 which was only moderate in southeastern Colorado.



The disastrous winter of 1886-1887 missed this region.

The effects of the industry-wide reaction to the hard winter was felt by the region in revised management practices and by a shortage in working capital from the discouragement of investors.

During the period of 1875 to 1900 the open range ranching consolidated operations and was an important factor in the economy of southeastern Colorado, although it remained behind the coal mining industry in importance.

Sheep ranching developed in the region along with the cattle ranching although it did not go through the big booms and busts of the cattle industry. The early New Mexican settlers brought a strong sheep raising tradition with them. This system was integrated into the family and community settlements in the region unlike the earliest cattlemen who utilized Texas frontiersmen range techniques. The earlier control of grazing land in the region helped to promote mixed cattle and sheep ranching sooner and without the violence seen elsewhere. Sheep ranching was prevalent in the San Luis Valley and the Raton Basin although the cattle industry was "king" on the eastern plains within the region.

After 1900 the open range ranching in southeastern Colorado was over. Cowboys spent more time tending windmills, maintaining irrigation ditches, and producing hay for winter feed.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1840s | First commercial cattle herds at Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn, and Huerfano             |
| 1859  | Cattle trailing begins with gold rush<br>John C. Dawson brings first herd to Colorado area |
| 1861  | Colorado Territory formed<br>Cattle laws enacted   |
| 1862  | Homestead Act passed by Congress   |
| 1864  | Goodnight Trail into Colorado from New Mexico  |
| 1865  | Civil War ends and markets improve   |
| 1867  | Colorado Stockgrowers Association formed<br>Texas cattle prohibited from importation       |
| 1870s | Markets expand for meat<br>Ranching flourishes with railroads for transportation           |

- 1872 Roundup and brand laws passed by state legislature
- 1873 Timber Culture Act passed
- 1874 Cheap machine-made barbed wire available (Glidden process)
- 1876 Cattle industry becomes big business on plains
- 1877 Desert Land Act passed
- 1879 Roundup districts established by law
- 1880s Improved breeding required confining animals
- 1881 Severe winter weather and decline of cattle industry on northern plains
- 1885 Brand registration required  
President Cleveland and Secretary Teller order fences cut on public lands
- 1886 Trail City formed
- 1886-1888 Severe winters decimate plains herds  
Storm milder in Raton Basin
- 1890 Open range almost gone
- 1899 Colorado Brand Book published
- 1911 Railroad right-of-way fenced  
Cattle guards required by law

#### LOCATION

The natural grass offered one great pasture for cattle stretching from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the west to the Kansas boundary on the east. The most dependable source of water was the Arkansas River and its major tributaries. Control of the water gave the grazing rights to the controlling person. With the introduction of inexpensive barbed wire the prairies were fenced and open range was doomed. Only small areas of open range are available today.

#### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

A multitude of resources connected with the Open Range days exist in southern Colorado. Several categories are necessary to properly present the specific examples. The categories used here include support services, ranch facilities and transportation.

Support Services: In the "cow towns" various support services were provided. Banks were prominent as were the agents for the purchasers better known as the "cattle buyers." When the cowboys had time off, they often patronized the saloons and bordellos. Numerous businesses provided goods for the retail trade including tack for horses, clothing for the cowboy and equipment that might be needed. Hotels had customers from local sources as well as travelers from the railroads. In some towns, a theatre operated separately from the saloons.

Ranch Facilities: The ranch headquarters usually consisted of a main house, bunk house for cowboys, barns, sheds, line shacks, outbuildings, and related structures. Other structures of importance were the breaking corrals, fence lines, holding pens, branding pens, stock pens, and other areas for confinement. Permanent water holes and springs were often improved somewhat with the construction of holding ponds or dams.

Transportation: The main attraction of a particular town were the facilities to ship cattle to markets in the midwest and east. Resources connected with this facility included the main line of the railroad, sidings, switch tracks, and all the special equipment. Also the facilities specifically devoted to holding the cattle for purchasers, loading chutes, sorting pens, as well as the necessary facilities for food and water prior to shipment were included. Some areas had special facilities for resting and feeding the cattle.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The open range cattle industry of the Great Plains has generated and continues to generate large quantities of literature as well as highly romanticized views of "cowboys and Indians." The Colorado plains have shared in the experiences and studies, and many multistate studies of the cattle industry contain information applicable to the Centennial State. Lewis Atherton's The Cattle Kings, or Ernest S. Osgood's The Day of the Cattleman, are good examples of this type of book. More specifically, Ora Peake's study of the range cattle industry, or Goff and McCaffree's Century in the Saddle offer much information for the Colorado plains. Biographical studies of cattle barons, such as John Wesley Iliff, are on library shelves and should be consulted. Murray's A History of the Raton Basin provides a local history of this portion of the Southern Frontier Region. Also, theses and dissertations about various aspects such as the economics of the industry have been completed. Beyond a doubt, the most readable and informative volume on cowboy life is Andy Adam's Log of a Cowboy. Articles in scholarly journals such as the Mississippi Valley Historical Review or The Colorado Magazine have much information about this theme. Manuscript collections and interviews at the Colorado Historical Society, Denver Public Library, Colorado College and the University of Colorado all have information pertinent to this theme. The western cattle industry collection at the Colorado Historical Society is an invaluable resource for this theme. Local newspapers, as well as trade journals from the late nineteenth century, can give researchers further insights into the cattle business.

## Data Gaps

Detailed histories of major ranches in the different counties

Information on transitional problems from the "open range" to modern industry

Specific information about the early ranching leaders

Land ownership changes and relationships with economy

Representative roundup camp used by the cattle ranches of the late nineteenth century

Representative sites of technological innovations that had an impact on the cattle industry

Representative site of a battle between a sheepman and a cattleman

Representative site of a battle between a cattleman and a farmer

Representative range branding site

Representative campsite of a trail/herd

## Important Resources

Because of the role cattle ranching played and the boost it gave to the state's economy and development during the late nineteenth century, resources clearly and uniquely associated with this theme should be considered important. Those resources that document or refute current undertakings of the range cattle industry, especially day-to-day operations and major recurring events such as roundups or trail drives should be considered important. Resources that might document or explain the role of women and minorities in the range cattle industry are important, as are those that could further understanding of tensions or cooperation between stockmen and their neighbors, especially the major ranches. Additional important resources include those that are associated with important individuals as well as the major ranches in the region.

## PHYSICAL CONDITION

Bank: Should be in original location and retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Barroom: Same evaluation standards as bank.

Bordella: Same evaluation standards as bank.

Corral: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to make dimensions, function and material of construction readily apparent.

Commercial District: Should be in original location and have enough original or historic use structures remaining to make functions and fabric readily apparent.

Fences: Same evaluation standards as corral.

Hotel: Same evaluation standards as bank.

Line Shack: Same evaluation standards as bank.

Railroad Depot: Same evaluation standards as bank and should be on railroad or roadbed to help make function apparent.

Railroad Shipping Pens: Same evaluation standards as corral.

Ranches: Should be in original or historic use location and enough of the dwellings and associated structures (outbuildings) should be present or locatable to make function and spatial relationships readily apparent.

Sheep Tending Facilities: Same evaluation standards as ranches.

Stockyards: Same evaluation standards as corrals.

Theatre: Same evaluation standards as bank.

Trails: Should be recognizable from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

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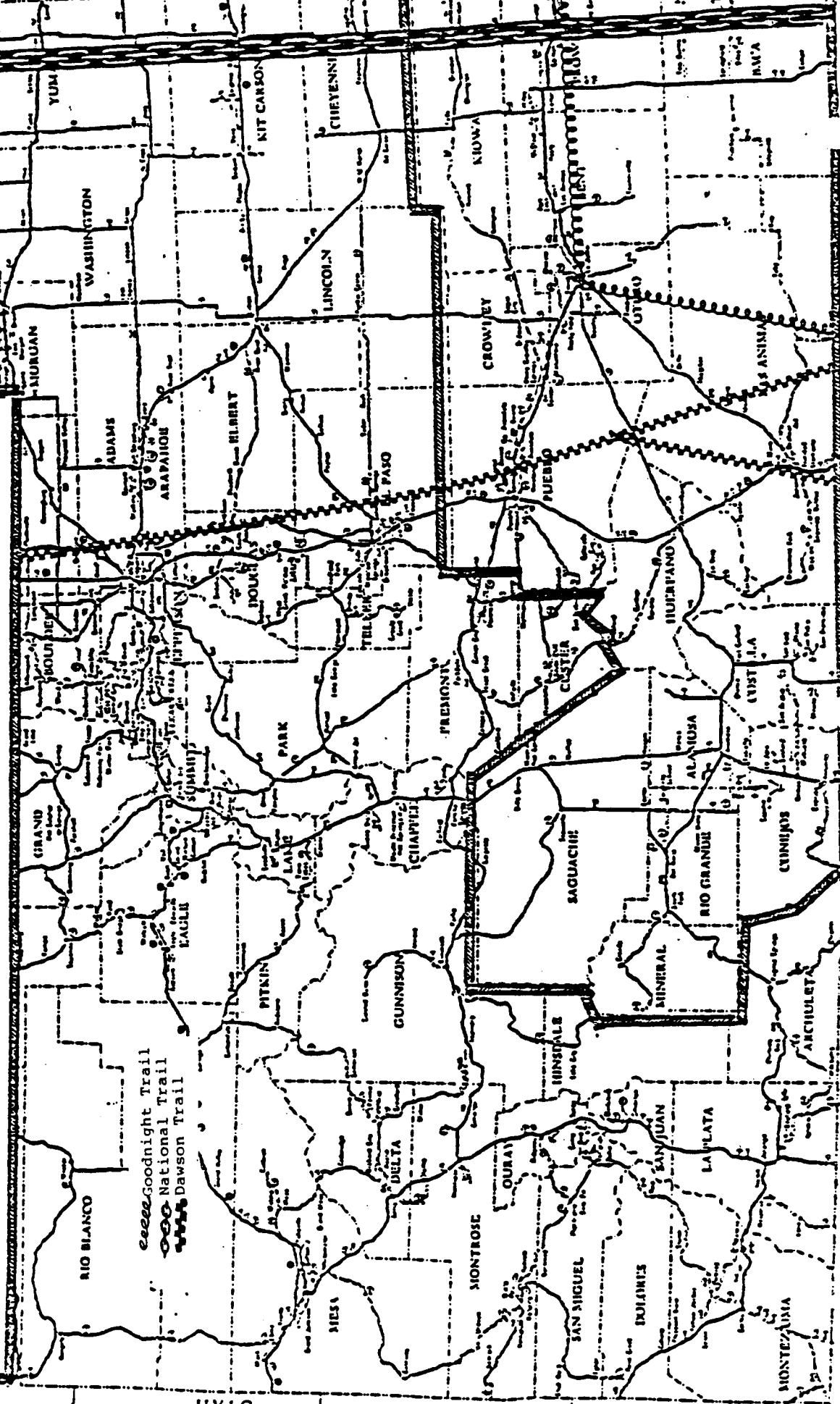
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# Southern Frontier



9. TRAILS AND TRANSPORTATION (1820-1900)NARRATIVE

Beginning with Coronado during the 1540s the Spanish controlled southeastern Colorado for almost 300 years as an extension of their New World empire. During this period there emerged a development pattern that has remained as part of the southern frontier's history--the use of the lands as a transportation corridor to and from the southwest. Near the northernmost reaches of their empire, especially the military, the Spaniards found Raton Pass, the lands along the Purgatory River and the San Luis Valley, to be convenient routes into Colorado. By the early years of the eighteenth century the routes were well established. These lines of travel were used frequently by military and exploration parties until Spain's control ended in 1821 with the Mexican Revolution and subsequent Mexican independence.

In 1821, William Becknell, a trader from Missouri, pioneered a route along the Arkansas and Purgatory rivers into northern New Mexico and Santa Fe. Finding that the Raton Pass route was rocky, steep, and with dense vegetation, Becknell returned along the Cimarron River. The next year, Becknell traveled along the Cimarron Route to Santa Fe. He quickly established the use of the Santa Fe Trail as well as beginning the Santa Fe trade. Becknell found the new government of Mexico to be much more friendly to traders than the previous Spanish government. News of his commercial success spread quickly through Missouri and the next year, 1822, dozens of wagons loaded with trade goods moved west across the Great Plains along what became known as the Santa Fe Trail. Eventually, thousands of Americans traveled through Colorado's southern frontier over the Santa Fe Trail and its various short cuts, particularly the Cimarron Cut-Off.

The Taos Trail over the Sangre de Cristo Pass was the first of many paths that crossed the region during the early nineteenth century. However, the Santa Fe Trail became the most used and most well known. The second most popular, in terms of usage, was the army road that followed the Arkansas River to the foothills and then turned north along the Front Range. This route officially came into being during the early 1850s, but the route had been used by travelers for many years before then. Part of this trail was nicknamed the "Old Cherokee Trail," also called the "Trappers Trail" and the "Divide Trail," and was used by many coming out of the south on their way to the Colorado gold region.

The gold rush and spread of prospectors through the region led to the creation of more trails, often by adapting traditional Indian routes for wagon use. Also, the increased population and travel activity caused entrepreneurs to consider the possibilities of building toll roads for profit. Two individuals in particular were instrumental in this process. The first was Dick Wootton who built a toll road over Raton Pass into New Mexico from south of present-day Trinidad. The second and most famous was Otto Mears who built roads from the San Luis Valley west into the San Juan Mountains. Mears is better known on the Colorado Plateau, but his efforts encouraged travel through the southern frontier especially over La Veta Pass and then across the San Luis Valley into southwestern Colorado.



After railroads reached the area during the 1870s, the trails and toll roads found themselves relegated to a secondary role. No longer were they used for long distance travel or transportation; instead, the people used them as feeders to the rail terminals and towns along the various lines. In some cases, such as the Wootton Road over Raton Pass, the toll roads were purchased by the railroad companies and used for roadbeds. In other parts of the region new roads were built to accommodate the revised travel patterns created by the railroads. Many of these routes remained in use as county, state and federal highways after 1900.

Travel on the trails and roads was a trying experience for voyagers throughout the nineteenth century. The heavy trade wagons that traveled along the Santa Fe and other trails frequently broke down or experienced problems such as lame animals. Mules were the most commonly used animal power, and those who drove the wagons came to be known as bullwackers and muleharnessers. Their legendary prowess with whips, liquor and hard language gained these teamsters a place in American folklore. Travel by stagecoach, the most common passenger conveyance, was equally filled with hardships and problems. Numerous travel logs and diaries bemoan the bone-jarring trip full of tasteless meals of beans and salt pork at stage stations, Indian scares and the never-ending dust.

With the appearance of stage service, stations were built along the routes to provide fresh teams and meals. Often these were little more than ranch houses and frequently failed to provide adequate service to travelers. Despite such problems the southern frontier was part of one of the primary transportation corridors in the American southwest as well as a connecting link with the rest of Colorado.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1540-1820	Spanish army/explorers travel through the area and establish patterns of travel to and from New Mexico
1821	William Becknell opens Santa Fe Trail
1821-1880	Period of heavy travel on the Santa Fe Trail
1860-1870	Building and use of many new routes through the region
1870-1900	Railroads enter the region; overland trails become feeders for railroads

#### LOCATION

The trails of southeastern Colorado are well marked, often by current highways and railroads. Also, the National Park Service Historic Trails Study has prepared an excellent study of the Santa Fe Trail indicating that it followed the Arkansas River to La Junta and then southwest along the Purgatory River.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Battle sites, campsites, springs, trails, wells and waterholes.

Structures include: Relay stations, roadhouses, stage stations, stables and way stations.

Materials include: Harnesses and saddlery equipment, stage coaches, wagons and carts.

Some of these resources may be found in adjacent study regions as well.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The trails and methods of transportation have been extensively studied although recent scholarship has been rather limited, possibly because many of the earlier works were compendiums of every bit of information available. The best of the standard works are Josiah Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, R. L. Duffus' The Santa Fe Trail, and Carla Neuhaus' "Transportation to Colorado, 1858-1869," a Masters thesis at the University of Colorado. Beyond these are the general studies of Colorado history, such as Robert G. Athearn's Coloradans, or on western transport such as Henry P. Walker's, Wagonmasters, or Oscar O. Winther's Transportation Frontier. Many articles about trail travel and journals of people involved have been published or made readily available through microfilm. Further guidebooks to the gold region and the like are also available on microfilm, many of which are presently held by the University of Colorado's Norlin Library. Early Denver newspapers are valuable sources because they reported arrivals on the trails as well as peculiar events during individual trips. A limited amount of manuscript material is available at Norlin Library, the Denver Public Library and at the Colorado Historical Society. Further information can be gleaned from reports from the National Park Service.

### Number/Condition

The present data base is insufficient to determine accurately the number, condition and types of resources that exist or may have existed associated with this theme. While the routes of the major trails have been traced from documentary evidence, many of the associated resources have deteriorated to the point of nonexistence. Also, because trail activity, by its nature, was transitory, and because the routes were many miles wide, resources are scattered over a large area.

### Data Gaps

Representative campsite of a traveling party along the established trails

Representative stage station/ranch along each major trail

Representative facilities of major companies that conducted stage or freight wagon operations

### Future Needs

Surveys along the major trails should be conducted to identify any resources that might still exist. Such an effort should be given low priority because of the slim possibility of finding significant resources and because of the extensive documentary evidence readily available on this theme. Any attempts to conduct these surveys should be made using comparative and aerial photography and the special skills of a historian and historic archaeologist.

### Important Resources

Because of the large number of resources that have been or may be recorded in the future, not all can be considered important. Those that substantiate the role of transportation in the development of Colorado's early industries are important, as are those that became cores of later cities and towns. Sites that would substantiate or clarify the hardships and methods of travel on the plains would be important. The significance of the Colorado gold rush and overland travel to the Pacific Coast are beyond doubt and resources associated with this part of the theme share in this importance.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the methods of travel over the plains?
2. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the hardships of plains travel?
3. What resources, if any, remain to demonstrate the problems Indians caused to plains travelers?
4. What resources, if any, remain to clarify or modify the role of women or minorities in Colorado trail travel?
5. What resources, if any, remain to help demographic studies of trail travel?
6. What resources, if any, remain to clarify present interpretations of day-to-day life on plains trails?

### EVALUATION STANDARDS

#### Physical Condition

Battle Sites: Should not have experienced extensive surface disturbance and should have enough material, such as spent ammunition, present to clearly identify the groups involved. They may or may not include gravesites.

Campsites: Any in situ site that shows no or minimal surface disturbance is considered important for research and interpretative purposes.

Carts: Should have enough parts intact to make mode of operation, power and dimensions readily apparent.

Relay Stations: Should be in original location and have enough structures and materials left to make function, method and materials of construction, and dimensions readily apparent.

Roadhouse: Same standards as relay stations apply.

Springs: Should have enough built remains to indicate historic use.

Stage Stations: Same standards as relay stations apply.

Stables: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to make function, method, material of construction and dimensions readily apparent.

Trails: Should demonstrate ability to clearly recognize the trail from physical evidence and from existing historical documentation.

Way Stations: Same standards as relay stations apply.

Wells/Waterholes: Same standards as springs apply.

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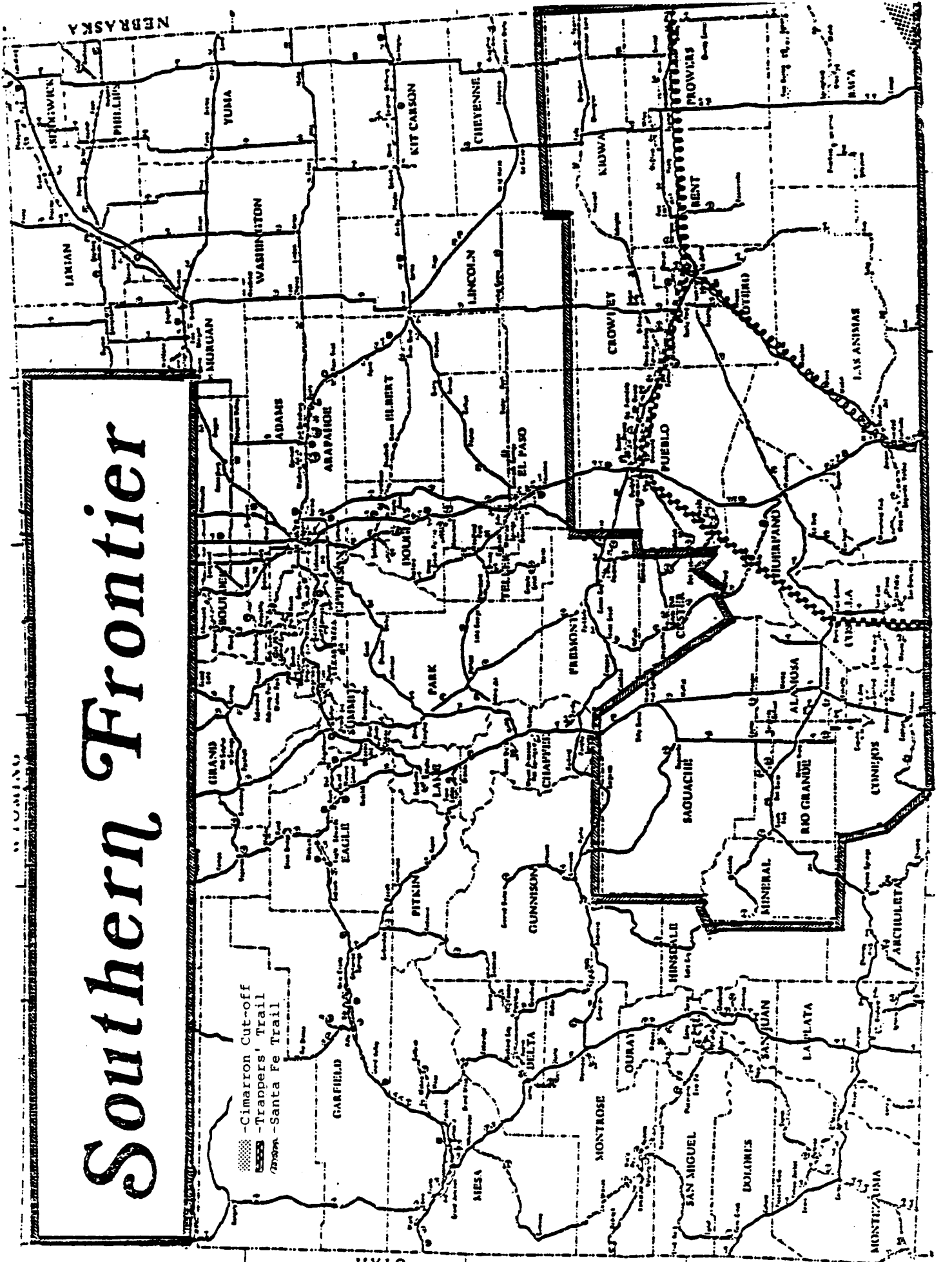
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# Southern Frontier

-Cimarron Cut-off  
 -Trappers' Trail  
 -Santa Fe Trail



10. THE RAILROAD ERA (1870-1945)NARRATIVE

By 1870, railroads were beginning the first building boom that would soon penetrate the southern frontier. By 1900, the area was crossed by four trunk line railroads and numerous branch lines. This availability of transportation led to the rapid development of coal mining, agriculture and industry in the region, as well as the founding of dozens of towns. For many years residents were less than forty-eight hours from either the Pacific Coast of California, the markets of St. Louis and Chicago, or the Gulf Coast of Texas, on the crack passenger trains that served southeastern Colorado. Indeed, the iron horse more than any single development opened the southern frontier to economic growth.

The urbanization of the southern frontier was drastically affected by the railroads. The founding of El Moro by the Denver and Rio Grande (D&RG) because Trinidad residents refused to cooperate, the growth of La Junta and many other stories can be told about the impact of railroads on town growth and development. Possibly the most striking example is Kiowa County. All towns that exist in the county today were founded by the Missouri Pacific Railroad. In fact, their original names were chosen by a daughter of Jay Gould, the man who extended the line to Pueblo. Pueblo, more than any Southern Frontier city, benefited from the iron horse.

The first railroad to reach the southern frontier was the D&RG. General William J. Palmer, who came to Colorado as a construction engineer with the Kansas Pacific, thought that a line south from Denver to New Mexico and El Paso, Texas presented great opportunities for profit. In 1872 his plans were put into action as the first D&RG trains steamed into Colorado Springs and later Pueblo, apparently heading south without interruption. The company's progress, however, was temporarily halted by the Panic of 1873, and when Palmer's crews moved on toward Raton Pass, they found a new competitor in the field, the Santa Fe (AT&SF), equally interested in Raton Pass. Santa Fe builders had crossed into Colorado from Kansas in 1873 and continued west to La Junta while one line went to Pueblo. The Santa Fe crews also followed the Purgatory southwest to Trinidad. AT&SF officials hoped to capture Raton Pass and did so by buying Wootton's toll road. This left the D&RG without an easy route south from El Moro, and as a result Palmer turned his attentions to the Colorado mountains, building lines up the Royal Gorge from Pueblo and over La Veta Pass to the San Luis Valley and the San Juan mines.

The 1880s witnessed the construction of two more main line railroads in the region--the Missouri Pacific built from Horace, Kansas, to Pueblo, and the Denver and New Orleans (later the Colorado and Southern) built south from Denver to Amarillo, Texas, and a connection there with the Fort Worth and Denver City (TX) to the Gulf Coast. These new lines gave the region better service as well as opening new areas such as Kiowa County for settlement.

The Panic of 1893 and depression that followed led to a cessation of railroad building until after 1900. The second railroad boom came during the 1910s. In the San Luis Valley two short lines were built as agricultural roads to feed traffic to the D&RG--the San Luis Valley Southern and the San Luis Central. During a period of rapid expansion in the Santa Fe system, that company decided to build a cut-off from La Junta south and southeast to Amarillo, Texas, through the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles. These developments marked the end of rail building in the southern frontier.

Throughout the railroad period until the 1920s, the various companies, particularly the Missouri Pacific and the Santa Fe, worked hard to advertise the region throughout the rest of the United States and Europe. Their efforts were directed at farmers who would relocate to southeastern Colorado and become customers of the railroads. They also gave special rates to homeseekers and assisted in the relocation process in a number of other ways as well. The railroads continued to prosper until the late 1920s as a general recession hit the region, followed by the Great Depression, the nationwide economic debacle of the 1930s. During the 1920s and 1930s the railroads found their business decreased by competition from autos and trucks, often on federally financed highways that paralleled the rail routes.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1820s	Transportation by pack animals
1830s	Wagons introduced to the western routes
1840s	Survey work begins for railroad routes
1850s	Surveys completed and railroads planned
1860s	Railroad construction begins
1862	Land grant system legislated by Congress
1870	Railroads reach Denver and Kit Carson County
	Denver & Rio Grande Railroad organized and construction begins south from Denver
1871-1872	Arkansas Valley Railroad built from Kit Carson to Las Animas
1872	D&RG tracks to Pueblo
1873	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad reach Granada
1875	Santa Fe Railroad reach Las Animas and La Junta
1876	Colorado Statehood
	D&RG tracks reach El Moro



- 1876 Santa Fe tracks reach Pueblo
- 1877 D&RG tracks reach San Luis Valley; Santa Fe to Trinidad and over Raton Pass  
Arkansas Valley Railroad abandoned
- 1878 D&RG tracks reach Alamosa
- 1880 D&RG constructed line from Alamosa to Espanola, New Mexico
- 1881 D&RG arrives in Del Norte; line built from Salida south into the San Luis Valley
- 1890 D&RG arrives in Creede
- 1893 Recession and panic cause financial problems
- 1910 San Luis Valley Southern constructed from Blanca to Jaroso
- 1912-1920 Santa Fe line through Baca County to La Junta built
- 1913 San Luis Valley Central goes from Monte Vista to Center
- 1920 Decline of railroad services due to competition from motor vehicles
- 1940-1945 World War II traffic adds to period of prosperity

LOCATION

The railroads in southern Colorado follow routes usually dictated by geography. On the plains the routes follow major watercourses and skirt the mountains. In the San Luis Valley, the railroads extend to major areas of business into the mountains following the watercourses.

CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Structures include: Ash pits, bridges, car shops, coal chutes, culverts, depots, engine houses, freight houses, interlocking towers/plants, loading docks, oil fueling facilities, railroad bed/tracks, section houses, sidings/side tracks, signals/signal towers, switches and switch lamps, tunnels, water towers/standpipes, sidings for individual ranches or farms (large).

Districts include: Railroad yards.

Materials include: Locomotives (diesel, electric, steam) and railroad cars.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Railroads and their development in Colorado are second only to mining in the amount of historical writing done on them. Nearly every facet of rail history is covered from the story of day labor during construction to the titanic struggles of Edward H. Harriman, Jay Gould and others to control the northeastern Colorado/Denver markets. Every major company and most minor ones have had studies done on them, notably Athearn's Rebel of the Rockies (D&RG), K. L. Bryant's The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, or Overton's Burlington Route and his Gulf to Rockies. The story of capitalists is followed by Grodinsky's Transcontinental Railroad Strategy. The best single source of information is R. E. Riegel's The Story of Western Railroads. Another useful reference is Tivis Wilkins' Colorado Railroads, a chronological summary of rail building and abandonment. Beyond the published books are numerous theses and dissertations about railroads, builders, the railroad's impact and the like. Articles in scholarly and popular journals are abundant and often provide hard-to-find information. Newspapers of the region offer paths for researchers to follow when looking for information about the need for railroads, debates over rates, catastrophes and the like. Manuscript and photograph collections at the Denver Public Library, Colorado College, University of Colorado, Colorado Historical Society, Nebraska Historical Society and the Union Pacific Headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska both have immense value to researchers of rail history and lore. Another excellent source of primary material is the Santa Fe archives at Texas Tech University's Southwest Collections. The staff, especially Robert Richardson, of the Colorado Railroad Museum (Golden) is another important source of information about the state's railroads.

### Number/Condition

While the data base is insufficiently refined at present to make an exact calculation of the number of resources that existed or once may have existed, a reliable estimate would be well over 1,000. These vary from deserted and decaying roadbeds to structures still in use. The steel drives of World War II and the attempts of bankrupt companies to salvage any asset of value meant that many resources were assured of destruction once their usefulness was gone. Beyond that, livestock grazing and farming on abandoned roadbeds, vandalism, weather and souvenir hunters have further reduced the number of resources still extant.

### Data Gaps

Representative terminal and service facilities for steam locomotives

Complete inventories of remains of and along abandoned railroads of the region

Representative studies of "standard" architecture for rail structures

## Future Needs

At some future date a comprehensive survey of existing and abandoned railroads of the region should be undertaken to ascertain the quantity, type and condition of pre-1945 railroad facilities left in the study area. However, this should be given low priority because of the vast quantities of historic documentation available on the state's rail history. Any survey should utilize the special skills of the historian and historic archaeologist.

## Important Resources

Because of the large number of resources associated with this theme and the relative importance of railroads to the region's development, the number of resources that substantiate this role is very large. However, since many are in deteriorated condition, only those in good condition or of undisputable significance should be given special consideration. Also, those sites that are representative of outstanding or unique engineering features that represent Colorado's leadership role in rail design evolution should be considered important.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information about the role of railroads in the socio-economic development of southeastern Colorado?
2. What resources, if any, remain that provide information about engineering and technological developments of Colorado railroads?
3. What resources, if any, remain to clarify the relationship of railroads and the development of a regional transportation network?
4. What resources, if any, remain to clarify the role of entrepreneurial talent and competition in the growth and operation of Colorado's railroads?
5. What resources, if any, remain to clarify or verify the role of ethnic groups, minorities and women in the building and operation of southern frontier railroads?

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Ash pits: Should not be fully reclaimed and be associated with other extant sites/resources such as railyards.

Car shops: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to make function and dimensions readily apparent.

Coal chutes: Should be in original location and have enough physical integrity to make function and method of operation readily apparent.

Depots: Same evaluation standards as car shops.

Engine Houses: Same evaluation standards as car shops.

Freight Houses: Same evaluation standards as car shops.

Interlocking Towers: Same evaluation standards as coal chutes.

Loading Docks: Same evaluation standards as car shops.

Locomotives: Should be operable or have enough of the original mechanical parts and running gear intact to make method of operation readily apparent.

Oil Fueling Facilities: Same evaluation standards as coal chutes.

Railroad Beds: Should have enough physical integrity left to make historic function, dimensions and use readily apparent.

Railroad Cars: Same evaluation standards as locomotives.

Section Houses: Same evaluation standards as car shops.

Siding: Same evaluation standards as railroad beds.

Signals: Same evaluation standards as coal chutes.

Switches: Same evaluation standards as railroad beds.

Tunnels: Should have enough physical integrity to make dimensions and method of construction readily apparent.

Water Towers: Same evaluation standards as coal chutes.

Yards: Same evaluation standards as railroad beds.

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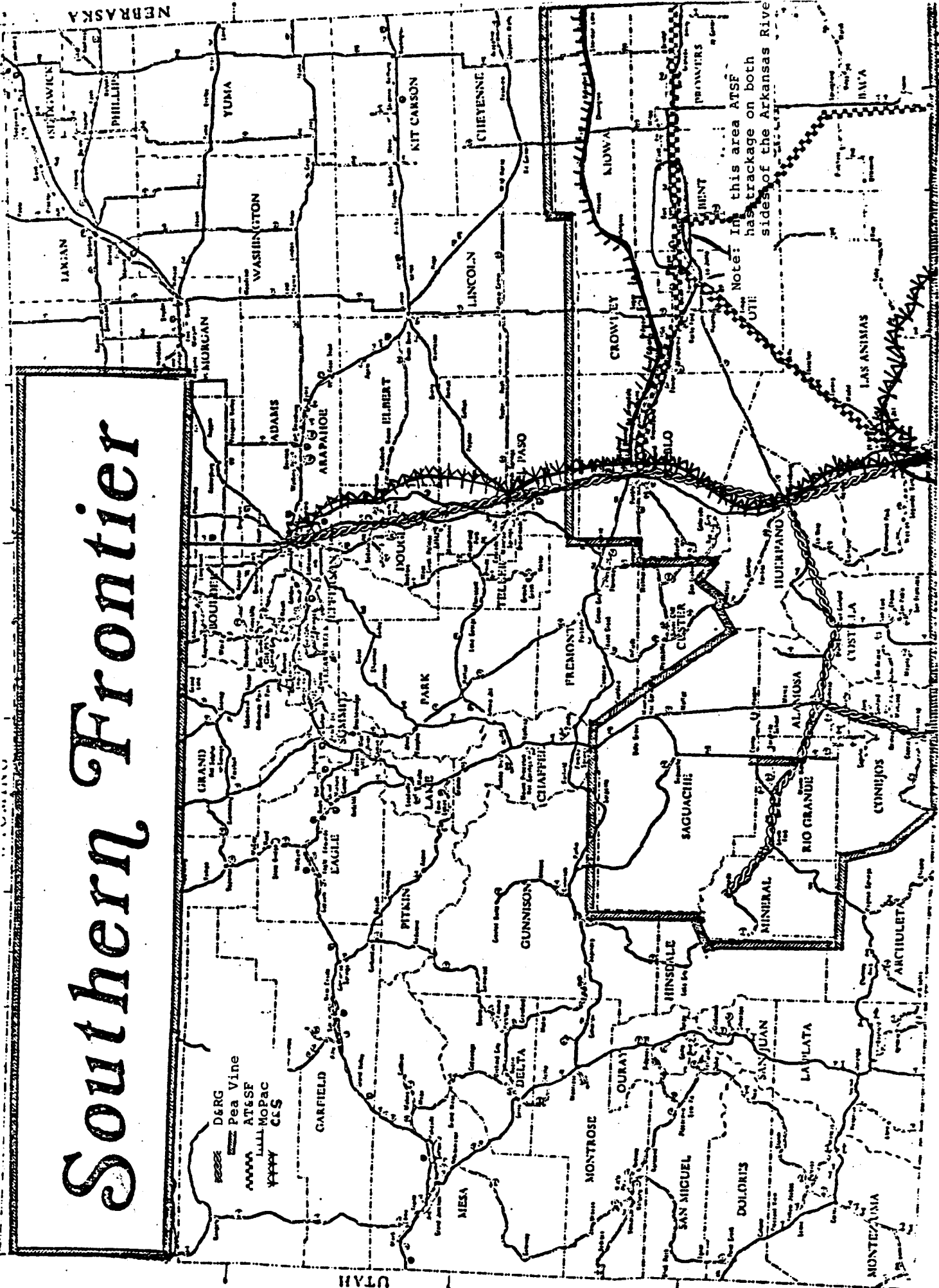
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# Southern Frontier

D&RG  
 Pea Vine  
 AT&SF  
 MOPAC  
 CCS

Note: In this area AT&SF  
 has trackage on both  
 sides of the Arkansas River  
 UTI



NEBRASKA

UTAH

11. COAL MINING AND STEEL INDUSTRY (1880-1945)NARRATIVE

Early settlers and explorers in southern Colorado observed the coal deposits in the Raton Basin and undoubtedly made use of the fuel. By 1861, the United States Army installation at Fort Union, New Mexico, obtained coal from the fields in southern Colorado.

During the 1870s, railroads reached the Colorado Territory and the demand for coal increased. Steam engines needed coal for efficient production of steam and at the same time provided a less expensive way to transport coal to coking ovens and mills. New markets opened for coal as the fuel grew in popularity as a source of heat. The big expansion for the coal industry came with the opening of steel mills and smelters in Pueblo in the 1880s, as well as the smelters of Denver.

In 1881, the Colorado Coal and Iron Company opened an iron furnace, converter, and rolling mill complex in Pueblo. The company was not very successful during the 1880s, due to competition from eastern plants. In 1892, Colorado Coal and Iron merged with another company, the Colorado Fuel Company, to become Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) under the direction of John Osgood. At this time, other coal users in Pueblo included several smelters, including the Philadelphia, Pueblo and Colorado smelters. Other businesses using coal were suppliers and fabricators of mining machinery. It was during this period that Pueblo became known as the "Pittsburgh of the West."

The steel industry in southern Colorado was greatly affected by the national economy and by labor disputes in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Following the Panic of 1893 and the ensuing depression, the industry experienced labor and production problems. In 1903, John Osgood sold controlling interest of CF&I to John D. Rockefeller and George Gould. The Rockefellers retained control of the firm until 1941 when the Charles Allen Syndicate of New York acquired the company. The Pueblo plant was expanded at that time and is still in operation as the CF&I Steel Corporation.

Development of the steel industry in southern Colorado was closely tied to the development and expansion of the coal industry. Frank Bloom of Trinidad was prominent in the evolution of the coal industry. Bloom worked for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and saw great potential for coal production in the area. Mines were developed in the Trinidad area in the late 1870s to feed coke ovens near the company town of El Moro, just north of Trinidad. The number of mines grew during the 1880s and demanded a great influx of labor to operate. The local economy benefited from the increased number of steadily employed miners and the increased business throughout the region. A number of company towns were built in the vicinity of Trinidad. Major towns included Starkville, Engleville, Cokedale, Hastings,

Delagua, Bowen and Gray Creek, all in the vicinity of Trinidad. The first commercial mine in the Walsenburg area, the Walsen mine, opened in 1881.

Demands for increased numbers of laborers could not be met locally; so immigrants from all over the world were recruited for work. Agents hired potential miners at eastern ports and assisted them in arranging travel by train. The men were often hired in groups to work in one mine and were taken from the trains and moved immediately to the mining towns. In Walsenburg, at the end of the nineteenth century, immigrants working in the mines came from Italy, Japan, Eastern Europe, Mexico, England, Wales, Ireland, Germany, France and Sweden.

Language was not a barrier to working in the mines; dozens of dialects were spoken. In 1913, in the tent city of Ludlow, for example, it is estimated that nineteen different languages were in common usage.

The miners brought not only a different language into the southern Colorado coal fields but also new and different religions, customs, traditions and ideas. They often grouped themselves in ethnic enclaves to practice their religion and also to enjoy the companionship of their countrymen. They maintained many aspects of their old world social structure. These workers often felt they could rely on their fellow workers of a similar ethnic group for social activities and for help in the mines where a person's life depended on the man next to him.

At times, company officers felt that it was better to keep a mixture of languages in the mines so that men would only have their work in common and would be less likely to organize. However, the common work bond among the miners soon provided a unity that led to unionization. This unity transcended the social groups and organizations of the language groups and worked for the common improvement of the miners. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Western Federation of Miners was in serious trouble due to the activities of its leaders and the violence of the Cripple Creek gold field strikes. The United Mine Workers of America moved to the leadership of the miners and spent much time, energy and effort organizing in the southern Colorado coal fields.

The U.M.W.A. articulated the concerns of the miners. There were many issues the miners felt needed attention. Among the more serious items on the union's list were company housing, doctors of their own choice, company store policies, company money or "scrip," as well as safety conditions, work hours, pay and weightmen. Many of the union's concerns were written into law but ignored. Other issues were minor compared with safety regulations and union rights. These issues were the cause of a major strike in 1913.

After the demands of the U.M.W.A. were not met, more than 10,000 miners went out on strike in September, 1913. Under the leadership of John Lawson and Mary "Mother Jones" Harris, tent colonies were established at several points along the Front Range. Strikebreakers, hired as mine guards, patrolled the mine property to keep strikers out and prevent violence and destruction of property. Colorado National Guardsmen were ordered into the fields and violence and destruction intensified.



The strike attracted national attention when the Ludlow tent colony was attacked by National Guardsmen on April 20, 1914, and the tents were torched. Two women and eleven children died in the "black hole of Ludlow." President Woodrow Wilson replaced the National Guardsmen with regular army troops and restored peace to the coal fields. John D. Rockefeller, controlling owner of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation and a major force in the coal fields, offered a plan for a "company union." This compromise and others made by the U.M.W.A. proved to be of no help to the miners and many of the ideas and issues had to be pushed again in the 1920s. Some progress was accomplished when the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, one of the large mine owners in the southern fields, came under the control of Josephine Roche. She believed that the miners had reasonable and legitimate concerns and distinguished herself in the arena of miner and mine-owner relations.

During the 1920s, the demand for coal decreased as competition from natural gas and fuel oil entered the market on a large scale. Some mines were closed, and there were renewed strikes and violence. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, many miners were laid off as production in mines was cut back, and others were fired as work forces were reduced. The railroads and other industries using coal had to cut back their activities, and curtailment in one area of industry soon affected the production in the mines. The miners received some relief from New Deal legislation, but the improvement that was really needed did not come until the beginning of World War II and increased demand.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1840s	Discovery of coal deposits in southern Colorado
1861	Coal shipped in wagons to Ft. Union, New Mexico, for military use
1877	Engleville mine opened near Trinidad; Colorado Coal and Iron Company organized
1880s	Union membership growing among coal miners
1881	Pueblo steel mill operating. Coke production increased at El Moro
1890	United Mine Workers of America increasing in importance
1899	Some rights gained for organized labor
1901	Important pay raises gained by miners
1902	Eight hour work day approved
1903	Miners face additional problems in unionization. Strikes in the southern fields. National Guardsmen used to break strikes
1913	U.M.W.A. strike in the southern coal fields

1914	Ludlow massacre. Rockefeller plan of company unions
1920	Natural gas recognized as competitor with coal. Many mines closed down or production curtailed
1927	Trinidad strike and violence
1933	National Recovery Act
1935	Wagner Act
1937-1938	Fair Labor Standards Act
1941-1945	Wartime economy aids mining industry

### LOCATION

The coal fields in southern Colorado are located in the western portions of Huerfano and Las Animas counties. The major deposits are located in the area along the Front Range of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in a line beginning just north of Walsenburg and extending south, past Trinidad, into northern New Mexico. The steel industry was concentrated in the Pueblo area.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Airshaft: Surface opening to ventilate underground workings, may or may not have fans, blowers, or other air insuring devices.

Boarding House: Dormitory, often provided by a mining company to house and feed single workers.

Boiler/Boiler House: Facilities at or near a mine to provide power for mining equipment, especially hoists and pumps, also referred to as a power house.

Coke Ovens: Structures usually made of brick and fire brick with internally domed construction and two openings used to convert coal to coke.

Company Towns: Communities whose build environment, spatial layout and economic livelihood were based on one activity, usually coal mining, with most, if not all, of the structures built and historically owned by the company.

Head Frames: Open or closed structure, usually equipped with a large pulley hoist and cable to raise and lower people, supplies, or minerals into and out of mines.

Houses/Public Buildings: Domestic and other structures that are associated with the coal or steel industry and/or labor problems.

Mill: Facility designed to process steel ore.

Mine: Portalled opening and/or underground tunnels associated with the removal of coal from the earth.

Scales: Any type of device to weigh coal or coke.

Shaft House: See head frames.

Strike/Labor Resistance Site: Sites/structures associated with labor organization.

Tipples: Loading facilities for transfer of coal from mine to rail cars or other vehicles.

Tram: Rail path in/into a mine and associated vehicles to bring coal out to working areas.

Washing Plants: Facilities/buildings used to clean, sort and grade coal before coking or for shipment to market.

Wash House: Building with showers/baths used by miners to clean themselves after underground work.

Also included in this theme would be tools associated with coal mining such as hand tools, miners' lamps, pumps, siphons and other implements.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Historical documentation and scholarship relating to the steel and coal industry is limited. A large body of information is available about the Ludlow massacre and related problems. Barron B. Beshoar's Out of the Depths (1942) and George S. McGovern and Leonard F. Guttridge's The Great Coalfield War (1972) provide summaries of the labor problem, but are controversial. Primary material on this subject includes the records of the official hearings on the incident and newspaper clippings that are usually pro-industry.

The foremost work on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is Lee Scamehorn's Pioneer Steelmaker in the West. Other generalized studies of the area, such as the Bureau of Land Management's Class I overview A History of the Raton Basin by Robert A. Murray, contain useful information about the southern coal fields. Charles Henderson's History of Colorado Mining is also useful, but its early publication date (1926) makes it incomplete for twentieth century activities. County and local histories vary greatly, not only in their level of detail, but also in their accuracy and if consulted, attempts to verify their information should be made. Special and annual reports by the state mine inspectors and others can provide lists of active mines and totals of production, but to assemble data over a long period of time, great amounts of effort will be required. The U.S. Bureau of Mines and the U.S. Geological Survey both published numerous reports about coal mining and resources in the state. These are indexed by county and year in indices issued by the Government Printing Office and most are readily available in the Norlin Library at the University of

Colorado in Boulder and at the Denver Public Library. Another valuable source of information on coal mines is a survey done by the Colorado Inactive Mine Reclamation Program of the State Mined Land Reclamation Division of Natural Resources. This survey contains detailed information on the physical condition of mines in the region. Copies of the report and site forms completed as part of the program are available at the Colorado Preservation Office. The manuscript collections available on coal mining are more limited than for other mining activities. The records of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, probably the most valuable of any primary source for this topic, have not been made available, except to Lee Scamehorn.

#### Number/Condition

The data are insufficient to determine the number and types of resources that once existed although the Inactive Mine Program is proceeding with a detailed survey of the area to identify hazardous mines. The mine sites vary in condition, from relatively intact to completely demolished and reclaimed. Often, the coal companies removed their structures and those that were not removed have been subjected to weather, scrap dealers, souvenir hunters and vandals. Communities, neighborhoods, buildings, and structures associated with this theme are numerous. Some exist as foundation remnants (e.g., Berwind Canyon), while others remain in use (Cokedale, Pueblo CF&I plant and associated neighborhoods, Bloom House in Trinidad).

#### Data Gaps

Specific information is lacking on the recruitment of miners

Ethnic group numbers and locations are unknown

Maps of coal mining areas including housing and facilities

Identification of the various ethnic enclaves in coal mining towns and those associated with CF&I in Pueblo

#### Future Needs

While further study of the region may or may not discover and record more coal mining sites, such an effort should not be a high priority. Rather, efforts should be expended to correlate, clarify, and if needed, resurvey parts of the existing data base to insure proper identification and recording of sites associated with this theme. Such an undertaking would require the special skills of a historian experienced in field work and photo interpretation.

#### Important Resources

Resources important to the coal and steel industries in southern Colorado are numerous. Historic homes and public buildings in the cities of Walsenburg and Trinidad, including the Bloom House in Trinidad and Saint Mary's Roman Catholic Church and the Huerfano County Courthouse in Walsenburg, are associated with the coal industry and labor strife. The site of the Ludlow massacre has been memorialized by the U.M.W.A. Resources in mining

communities and areas such as Berwind Canyon, Cokedale, Aguilar, and Delagua can contribute much to our understanding of the theme. Many of the structures are in ruins, but some communities, such as Cokedale, have changed little since the coal mining era.

The most important feature of the steel industry in Colorado is, of course, the CF&I plant in Pueblo. The neighborhoods associated with the steel industry should be considered important for understanding patterns of local economic growth and social organization.

#### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What remains of the ethnic enclaves associated with the industries?
2. Did multi-lingual grouping hinder the union movement?
3. Is a reinterpretation of the Ludlow massacre needed?
4. Can cultural resources help verify present historical understandings of coal mining and the steel industry in southern Colorado?
5. Can cultural resources verify or refute the findings of Scamehorn's Pioneer Steelmaker since only Scamehorn has been allowed access to CF&I company records?

#### EVALUATION STANDARDS

##### Physical Condition

Airshafts: Should not be filled in and if mechanized, have enough equipment left to readily recognize function and method of operation.

Boarding Houses: Should have locational and external integrity and their use and/or any historic changes should be well documented.

Boiler/Boiler Houses: Should have locational and exterior integrity and enough machinery intact to make function readily apparent.

Coke Ovens: Should have enough external integrity left to readily identify their function, mode of operation and capacity.

Company Towns: Should have enough structures built by or for the company and/or its period of ownership to impart feeling of fabric and identify spatial relationships.

Head Frames: Should have locational integrity and enough of the structure and machinery intact to readily identify function and mode of operation.

Houses/Public Buildings: Should have locational and external integrity and historically documented association with events or people important to the theme.

Mills: Should have structural and functional integrity and enough equipment left to readily recognize function and method of operation.

Mines: Should not be filled in, openings should be intact and enough internal components should remain to make function, engineering, and mode of operation readily apparent.

Scales: Should have locational integrity and enough machinery left to identify function and if enclosed should have enough of the structure left to provide physical integrity.

Shaft House: See head frames.

Strike/Labor Resistance Sites: Should have historically documented association with events important to the theme and should retain a sense of time and place.

Tipples: Should have locational integrity and enough of the structures should remain intact to readily identify function and capacity.

Trams: Should have locational integrity and enough of the physical plant intact to determine mode of operation and length.

Washing Plants: Should have locational integrity and enough structure and internal appliances to readily determine function.

Wash Houses: Should have physical and locational integrity and enough of the interior intact to readily understand function.

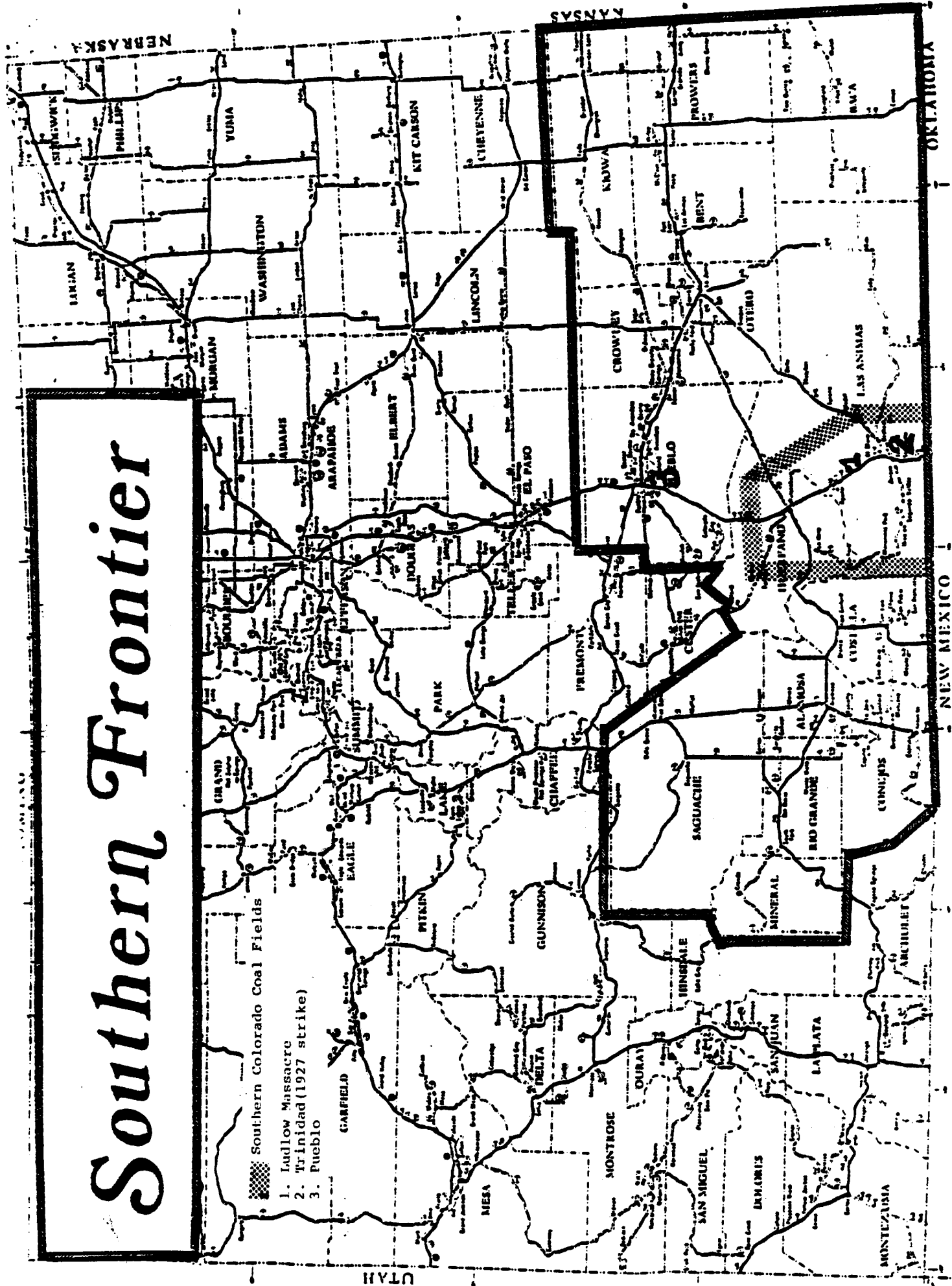
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# Southern Frontier

Southern Colorado Coal Fields

1. Ludlow Massacre
2. Trinidad (1927 strike)
3. Pueblo



12. THE ETHNIC DIVERSITY OF SOUTHEASTERN COLORADO  
(1880-1945)

NARRATIVE

Colorado's southern frontier may have greater ethnic diversity than any other part of the state. This is due to the region's history of occupation and the industrial nature of part of the area. Among the groups from different cultures that can be found in Colorado's southern frontier are Hispanics, German-Russians, Italians, Czechs, Slavs, Armenians, Germans, Cornishmen, and Asians, primarily Japanese-Americans. In nearly every case these people moved there to better their lot in life by taking advantage of the opportunities the industries, including agriculture, had to offer.

Hispanics pioneered the region and have continued to play a significant role in the area's economic development. One segment of the Hispanic population that has had a notable impact on religious practice in southeastern Colorado are the Penitentes, a special group of Roman Catholics.

Another ethnic group long influential in the region are the Italians. Many emigrants from Italy came to southeastern Colorado as contract laborers, either to work for the railroads or more typically to labor in the dozens of coal mines. Often they did not leave as large a mark on the region's built environment because they were forced to take whatever housing and facilities were available, usually either those provided by the companies or that could be secured at the lowest cost. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were many festivals and events which were celebrated by the Italian population.

The Italian experience was shared by many other ethnic groups, such as the Armenians or Slovaks, who moved to Colorado to take jobs in the coal mines, rail shops, smelters and steel mills. In some of southeastern Colorado's larger towns and cities, there were so many people with similar heritages that they created ethnic enclaves or neighborhoods.

Pueblo, the major city in the region had large numbers of foreign born residents. This was in large part due to the industrial development in the town which relied heavily on immigrant labor. This included large numbers of eastern Europeans (various Slav groups), Italians, Mexicans and many other ethnic groups. Payroll records of CF&I in 1903 at Pueblo identify over 28 different ethnic groups. These groups congregated in neighborhoods which became identified with particular cultures such as the Blacks in "Harlem," Sicilians in "Goat Hill," and Italians in "Mexico."

In other parts of the region the mining industry attracted foreign born workers. Several mining companies gave liquor licenses in company towns to men who served as recruiting agents. Miners were recruited from Italy, from Austria and from other places. Employment figures for the miners at Walsenburg at the turn of the century identify thirteen nationalities. In Trinidad the Italian community was large enough to support two Italian newspapers at the turn of the century.



The German-Russians were the one ethnic group from Europe that before 1945 did not involve themselves primarily with heavy industry or mining. Rather they came to the Arkansas Valley during the early twentieth century as part of the agricultural boom in sugar beets that took place from 1900 until 1930. Many were from other areas of the United States, primarily Kansas and were frequently second generation immigrants whose parents had farms elsewhere in the United States. The German-Russians as a group experienced the fewest problems and enjoyed the best upward mobility of any of the ethnics. They left their marks on the built environment, particularly in their peculiar church and farm building architecture.

Another ethnic group that has played a large role in the growth of the southern frontier is the Japanese-Americans. In many ways their experience parallels that of the German-Russians. They came to the San Luis and Arkansas Valleys to work in the beet and truck fields and eventually accumulated enough capital to buy land of their own and continue farming. During World War II a Japanese detention camp was established at Amache. Some of the Japanese from the camp were allowed to work on farms in the region during the war.

To varying degrees each of these groups experienced prejudice and mistreatment, not always at the hands of the dominant population, but oftentimes from other ethnic groups. Historic reminiscent accounts reveal volatile social climate between the various groups. Some accounts suggest that the coal mining companies encouraged these tensions to prevent effective labor organization. More overt anti-racist activities occurred through the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the 1920s. Pueblo, the major industrial town in the region, was a major contributor of KKK members. Coal towns in southeast Colorado such as Trinidad, Walsenburg and Aguilar also had Klan activities. Canon City also had Klan activities although it had lower minority population. The Klan did not do well in the San Luis Valley because of the large Spanish-American population. The influence of the Klan diminished in 1926 with the removal from office of the Klan-backed governor, Clarence J. Morley.

Despite these factors ethnic diversity and identity remained important social factors in the region through the end of World War II. These emigrants overcame the prejudice and the hardships of making a new life for themselves in a new land and have contributed much to the historic development of Colorado's southern frontier.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1700-1848	Hispanic control of the region
1848-1945	Hispanic population increases
1880-1920	Influx of Italians and other southern and eastern Europeans
1890-1920	Japanese come to the region to farm

1900-1920	German-Russians move in to work in sugar beet industry
1914-1920	World War I and U.S. immigration laws cut off the flow of immigrants
1920s	Ku Klux Klan activity

### LOCATION

The areas impacted by ethnic groups include the San Luis Valley, Arkansas Valley, Pueblo, and other towns of the region, as well as the coal fields, primarily Huerfano and Las Animas counties.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Generally, only the Hispanics left great changes in the built environment; the other groups were generally forced to adopt their needs to existing structures. Therefore, it is counterproductive to establish an entire duplicate list of resource types from all other post-1860 themes and the Hispanic themes.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

The amount of information available on the various ethnic groups in southeastern Colorado is limited. Some groups, particularly the Hispanics and German-Russians have been studied and restudied, while others have yet to be adequately examined. Further, many of the studies have been done on a statewide basis, such as Jose de Onis' volume The Hispanic Contributions to Colorado. One source of information that is particularly useful is the German-Russian Study Center at Colorado State University and their numerous publications. One recent trend in scholarship--toward ethnic and social history--has produced some useful theses and dissertations. A researcher should contact the major libraries in the area for copies. Census records at the Denver Federal Archives and Records Center are very useful for studying ethnic populations. An excellent methodology model for examining ethnic social mobility patterns can be found in Stephen Thernstrom's The Other Bostonians. His model might prove useful in areas of the southern frontier such as Pueblo.

#### Number/Condition

The number and condition of resources associated with this theme are impossible to determine because of inadequate surveys and the fact that many of the resources, such as company towns, are associated with a variety of groups and because they involved standard architectural styles cannot be attributed to any one ethnic group.

### Data Gaps

Specific information about contract labor recruiting and practices in the region

Ethnic group numbers and exact locations

Identification of ethnic neighborhoods in specific towns and cities

Location of penitente sites in the region

### Future Needs

Before any ethnic-specific survey is undertaken, much more documentary research must be done. Once this research is completed further areas needing intensive survey should be readily apparent. Often, the traditional architectural resources used by various ethnic groups will not be readily apparent. Also, the secretive nature of the more extreme penitente activities mitigates against these resources being readily found or information being available on them.

### Important Resources

Resources associated with this theme are important not only to the region's history, such as the Heart of Trinidad Historic District, but are for the region's ethnic heritage. Because of their importance many cultural resources should be carefully researched for any links they might have to the southern frontier's numerous ethnic groups when they are evaluated for potential National Register eligibility. Of special concern should be the ethnic neighborhoods of the various cities and towns for their information as to social and economic development.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What can cultural resources reveal about the early Penitente movement in the region?
2. What, if anything, can cultural resources reveal about the ethnic enclaves and forced or voluntary residential segregation in the region?
3. What, if anything, can cultural resources reveal about the impact of German-Russian migration and settlement in the region?
4. Can cultural resources reveal anything about job preferences among the various ethnic groups recruited?

Also, see the research questions of the Hispanic settlement theme.

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Because no unique resource types have been listed for this theme, there are no unique evaluation standards. However, the possibility of an ethnic association should not be forgotten when evaluating resources such as farm houses, coal mining towns or urban structures.

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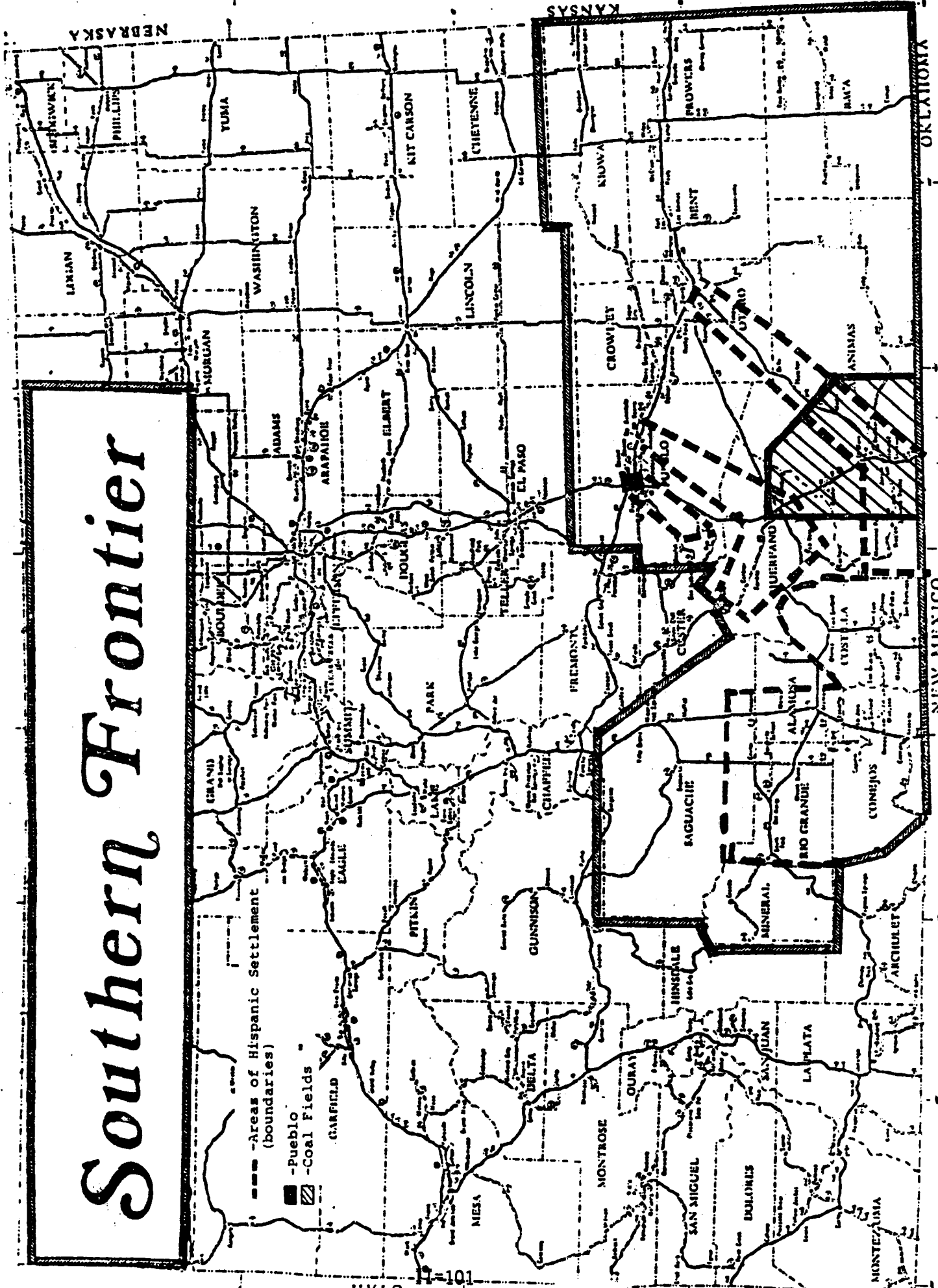
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# Southern Frontier

--- Areas of Hispanic Settlement (boundaries)

■ Pueblo

▨ Coal Fields



13. URBANIZATION (1870-1945)NARRATIVE

Colorado's Southern Frontier has long had an urban heritage. Beginning with the trading posts and small towns that developed before the Civil War, such as Pueblo, the trend for at least part of the area's population has been to live in the cities and towns throughout the area. From the early 1870s through the first decades of the twentieth century, town promotion and speculation was a profession well practiced in the area. Individuals, companies and railroads all platted cities. All these new "centers of civilization" proclaimed themselves to be the "Athens of the West," "Gateway to the Southwest" or a wide variety of other slogans. Some failed, others grew, but only slowly, and some did mature into cities. One element that sets some of the towns of the Southern Frontier apart from those elsewhere in Colorado is the large number that were company towns, primarily those of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Whatever their success rate, or reason for founding, the towns were an important element of pioneer settlement. Almost as soon as pioneers arrived in a given locale, a town was founded to meet their commercial and entertainment needs.

Pueblo, the leading city of Colorado's Southern Frontier, has a history that predates the Colorado gold rush. The birth of modern Pueblo, however, dates to the early 1870s with the arrival of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway and the early attempts by the company's builders, primarily W. J. Palmer, to create a center of heavy industry along his railroad. With such a drive behind it, Pueblo became the leader of industry in Colorado with its steel mills, fabrication plants, and during the late nineteenth century, its smelters. As an industrial city, Pueblo resembled a town of the industrial east with worker neighborhoods and a community life geared to blue collar tastes. Because of its size and economic importance Pueblo has long dominated the political life of the region.

Colorado Fuel and Iron's steel furnaces and Pueblo's smelters had a voracious appetite for coal, and to meet this need CF&I, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company and other coal mining concerns opened mines throughout Las Animas and Huerfano counties. The mines needed workers who, in turn, needed quarters, stores and other services. To meet these needs the coal companies built company towns complete with company stores, housing, theatres, newspapers, and other community services. These towns not only served the workers' needs but also controlled and regulated their lives (also see Coal Mining theme).

Aside from Pueblo and the company towns other communities also developed throughout the Southern Frontier. Generally, the economic base for these towns was agricultural trade. Frequently, these "cities" were located on rail lines until after 1910 when improved roads allowed trade to be carried on profitably without close rail connections.

Rivalry for population and trade pitted town against town, and there were no rules to what one community might do to outdistance its neighbor. Accusations and countercharges flew, night raids to steal county records and thereby capture the county seat and much mudslinging all took place as towns tried to outdistance their competition. Especially helpful in such campaigns were frontier newspaper editors. Newspapers editors, who also had business interests in the communities, were spokesmen for their communities. They used editorials to encourage promotional efforts, attract new businesses or citizens and criticize neighboring towns. One thing that these scribes often pointed out was the lack of law and order either at home or elsewhere.

Frontier lawlessness was one of the biggest problems the early town-builders faced, especially in the earliest years of settlement. To cure the problem vigilante committees were often formed. These groups, usually made up of a town's leaders, did away with many of the usual legal trappings. Frequently a guilty party would be either banished or hanged. The vigilante period disappeared as effective government took over although some towns never experienced such lawless days. However, occasionally criminals were taken by mobs and lynched; others then reverted to more typical law-abiding patterns. Such outbreaks of violence were rationalized by the local populations as the drive to be civilized which spurred the local citizenry on.

While the population of a town changed constantly, goals were set and accomplished to varying degrees. After a town government was established, service and social facilities were initiated such as establishing schools, erection of public buildings and cleaning up vice. These were points of civic pride and helped give towns an air of permanence that was much desired. Local boosters funded opera houses, libraries and other cultural facilities to give an air of civilization to their communities.

While the basic locations of these towns were influenced by a number of factors including economics and access to transportation facilities, they varied greatly. Many towns started as mining camps, but as the minerals were exhausted, became supply and business centers. Some even developed commercial hinterlands on the plains and in the mountains if transportation was available. Travel systems provided a major factor in town location. Natural springs, river crossings and other things that made roadhouses profitable in a certain location also formed cores for cities to grow around. The location of towns in farming areas was influenced by providing centers for trade and grain shipments along the railroads.

In nearly all these towns settlers tried to recreate what they had left behind in the Midwest or East. Schools, churches, hotels, barrooms and other things all appeared in the communities. Many of the structures, as well as the town plans, were replicas of what they left behind, probably to ease the psychological shock of relocation.

The phenomena of rapid establishment of towns on Colorado's southern frontier within a thirty-year period, rather than a settlement pattern of isolated ranches or subsistence farming, caused the region to grow much more rapidly than would have otherwise happened because it attracted more settlers and gave a sense of stability.

## CHRONOLOGY

1870-1880	Founding of modern Pueblo, Trinidad, La Junta and other cities
	Beginnings of towns along railroads
1880s-1920s	Founding and flourishing of company towns
1880s-1890s	Earliest agricultural towns founded on the plains and San Luis Valley
1890s	Dry cycle leads to abandonment of many farming communities
1900-1920	Final effort at founding and promoting new towns as a result of beet sugar and dryland farming boom

## LOCATION

Cultural resources associated with this theme are located throughout the region. Size and complexity vary from abandoned town sites and individual buildings to currently in use towns, commercial districts and buildings. The only discernible pattern to the location of these resources is along present and historic transportation routes. Towns not fitting these patterns were speculative ventures randomly located by their founders often without any particular rationale.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Parks.

Structures include: Banks, barrooms, bordellos, churches, commercial buildings, dwellings (single or multiple family), fraternal halls, gambling halls, government buildings (state, county, city), grain elevators, hotels, railroad depots, schools, theatres, opera houses, livery stables, post offices and stage depots.

Districts include: Residential, commercial and university or college areas within towns, and entire towns.

Some of these resources may be found in adjacent study regions as well.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The history of cities and towns on the Colorado plains has been studied by numerous writers. Denver, as the state capital and commercial center, has been the most extensively examined, but other communities have also fallen under the historian's watchful eye. Urban studies include general views such as Duane Smith's Rocky Mountain Mining Camps, or Schaeffer's Ghost Towns of the Colorado Plains. Many reminiscences are available, either through manuscript collections or in magazines such as The Trail. The



archives of the Colorado Historical Society and its extensive newspaper collection, the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library, Norlin Library at the University of Colorado and the Colorado College Library are all useful. City, county and municipal records which are readily available should be consulted for work on subdivisions, political activity and other things. Local newspapers, as spokesmen of their communities, offer good accounts, although slanted, of their locales.

### Number/Condition

While the present data base and surveys are not complete enough to ascertain the exact number of resources associated with this theme that exist or once may have existed, a reasonable estimate would be in the thousands. The number left associated with early urbanization has been drastically reduced in the period since World War II as many of the region's towns entered a redevelopment phase. Further, vandals, souvenir hunters and weather have caused resources once available to disappear. Some resources have been preserved or restored such as the "Heart of Trinidad."

### Surveys

Over one hundred surveys have been conducted in the counties herein referred to as the southern frontier. Most have been conducted in the towns and cities of the region. These focus on various things such as main streets, neighborhoods and the like. These surveys date from the mid-1960s to the present. Also, many have been undertaken for federal urban renewal projects in the cities. Another useful source of survey type information is the Works Progress Administration town files completed during the 1930s.

### Data Gaps

Accurately recorded locations of all towns and cities that once existed in the region

### Future Needs

A main street survey program and other inventories of cities and towns in the region is necessary. Also, a survey to locate the sites of all ghost towns in the region should be undertaken. To accomplish these tasks the special skills of the historian and aerial photo interpreter are necessary because many of the ghost towns have been plowed under or returned to range lands and could best be found by aerial photography.

### Important Resources

Because a large number of sites associated with this theme still exist, only the most representative examples should be considered important except for locational and spatial distribution studies. Communities that substantiate the roles of railroads, agriculture (farming and ranching), mining, and other economic activities in the spread of the urban frontier on the Colorado plains are important. Also important are those towns that represent various types of city plans or fabrics that developed on the plains and explain the role of the town promoter. Those that could further present

explanations of the urban frontier and town building in the region are also important as informational resources.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the spatial distribution of towns on the southern frontier?
2. What resources, if any, remain that provide information on the relationships between economic activities and town growth in the region?
3. What resources, if any, remain to explain to the investigator the role of town promoters on the Colorado southern frontier?
4. What resources, if any, remain to explain the reasons why some towns prospered and others failed?
5. What resources, if any, remain that explain typical and atypical town planning features?
6. What resources, if any, remain that might help form interpretations about day-to-day town life?
7. What resources, if any, explain the spread of public utilities in urban areas of the region?

### EVALUATION STANDARDS

#### Physical Condition

Banks: Should be in original or historic use location and maintain enough external physical integrity to make function, dimensions, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Barrooms: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Bordellos: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Churches: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Commercial Buildings/Districts: Should be in original location, have enough original or historic use structures to convey sense of fabric and purpose.

Government Buildings: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Grain Elevators: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Parks: Should demonstrate original boundaries and landscaping, and any man-made features should be readily apparent.

Railroad Depots: Same standards for evaluation as banks, and if possible still be associated with railroad tracks or roadbed.

Residential Block/Districts: Same standards for evaluation as commercial blocks.

Schools: Same standards of evaluation as banks.

Theatres/Opera Houses: Same standards for evaluation as banks.

Universities/Colleges: Same standards for evaluation as commercial blocks.

### Representation

Because resources with this theme are probably closely associated with the National Register criteria of local significance, town or county preservation constituencies should determine adequate sample sizes. However, after further surveys, especially to determine location and/or remains of all towns that ever existed in the study area, are conducted, a sufficient regionwide sample size should be determined by the Colorado Preservation Office.

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14. COLONY AND GROUP SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN COLORADO  
(1862-1945)

NARRATIVE

The promotion and sale of land in southern Colorado has been a major part of the region's history since the days of the Mexican land grants in the first half of the nineteenth century. Late in the nineteenth century developers began to promote southern frontier "land bargains" in other parts of the United States and in Western Europe. The advertising was effective as thousands were attracted by the idea of inexpensive farm land and migrated to the area of Colorado south of the Arkansas River. Many came as part of group efforts at settlement and farming.

Shortly after the Civil War several groups of people came to the San Luis Valley. One contingent of German people settled just west of Del Norte in Rio Grande County. A second group occupied much of the better land in the Rock Creek area southwest of Monte Vista. Other Germans later moved to the Mount Pleasant area west of Alamosa. A colony of Swedish immigrants moved north and west of Monte Vista after 1866 when the settlement became known as Swedes Lane. One of the early leaders of this group was Charles Yrden.

These colonists were characterized by a similar language and often a similar religion. They did not have the typical group financing that other groups used. When possible some of these early people moved to other areas of the region.

In 1877-78 a wave of migration hit the San Luis Valley. This group had a common religious affiliation as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). The group spent the winter in crude shelters at Pueblo in 1877-78 and arrived in the San Luis Valley in the spring. They were for the most part farmers and had to adapt to a new type agriculture from what they had known in the southern states. Their first town, Manassa, was planned as a little Salt Lake City, with wide streets and a business district. In 1879, it was one of the few towns in the state that had a plan for its development and growth. Other Mormon towns followed at Sanford, Richfield, Ephraim, Morgan, and Uracca. The Mormon men often had multiple wives, which created concern among their neighbors and led to serious confrontations. Their tight knit social-religious organization held the colony together, their numbers grew, and their members prospered.

In 1892 The Holland-American Land and Irrigation Company brought a number of farmers to the San Luis Valley. These people were misled about the quality of the land, the growing season, and the general aspects of their new homeland. They were prepared for neither the harsh winter climate nor the short summer growing season. They were aided by the combined efforts of the D&RG, the State of Colorado and the individual efforts of T. C. Henry. After a short

time many of these people relocated in other areas of Colorado. Some of these Dutch people remained in southeastern Colorado to build a strong culture.

A model colony in the Arkansas Valley was established east of Lamar in April 1898. A group of 30 families with about 120 people came from Iowa and Chicago. The Amity community (friendship) was organized, financed and operated by the Salvation Army on the basis of Christian capitalism. The church purchased the land and sold it to the individuals. This colony operated an orphanage (Cherry Tree Home) and a hospital and practiced the Christian charity of which they were also recipients. They were able to become working landowners in a few years, and stone homes replaced the original tents. A problem developed with the intensive irrigation and the land became alkaline, unable to support crops. In 1908 after a decade of effort the colonists abandoned Amity. Local businessmen bought the land and buildings, many of which have been destroyed or moved to other locations.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century there were many attempts to found colonies in southern Colorado. People organized themselves into town companies and purchased land for farming and establishing communities. The Mosca Land and Farm Company was established in 1881 to provide land for tenant farmers. By 1900 the town of Mosca was prospering. In the early 1900s the Oklahoma Land Company sponsored a lottery for lands near La Garita. Mineral Hot Springs was developed for tourists. In 1909 the Costilla Estate Development Company built a reservoir and set up the towns of San Acacio, Mesita and Jarosa. The Seventh Day Adventist Church established a colony at Jarosa with a cooperative farm. Some maintained themselves and their towns named for the places where they had previously lived, like Springfield. Many of the communities failed, like Minneapolis and Memphis.

One of the last colonies to be established in the Arkansas Valley resulted from the group of Black farmers who relocated from Nicodemus, Kansas, about 1915. They purchased land south of Manzanola and filed on homesteads. Their society flourished for several decades, but by 1933 the school was closed, and many of the original families had moved to other areas.

Between 1900 and 1920 Japanese farmers from California purchased land in the San Luis Valley. They attempted to get away from restrictive laws on land ownership by their people and found the San Luis Valley acceptable for their type of agriculture. The Japanese from California did not organize a formal colony, but because of their common culture they did settle as groups where land was available. Many of these people began a migration to the north and east portions of the valley to more protected areas for raising their fancy vegetables. Their numbers soon were located primarily in the Blanca-Fort Garland area. Another important Japanese settlement was located at Eastdale.

The colonists were similar in their search for inexpensive farm land and an improved life style. Their cooperativeness varied with the group, but some degree of cooperation was evidence in each of the groups. They brought with them an interest in specialized agriculture and a willingness to risk their lives and labor. Throughout the early twentieth century many more group settlements appeared in southeastern Colorado, especially with the sugar beet and dryland farming boom from 1900 until 1920. Frequently these groups had little in common except a need for cooperation to be successful or survive on Colorado's southern frontier.

## CHRONOLOGY

1700s	Indian occupation and Spanish explorers
1806	Pike expedition into southern Colorado
1848	Mexican cession after Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo
1851	Hispanic settlements begin in southern Colorado
1859	Gold Rush
1861	Colorado Territory formed
1862	Homestead Act
1870	Colony idea spreads
1876	Colorado statehood
	German, Swedish and other colonies
1877	Mormons into southern Colorado
1880	Waves of settlers arrive
1892	Dutch settlers arrive
1898	Amity colony began
1915	Black colony near Manzanola
1920	Japanese farmers arrive
1930s	Dust bowl and depression

## LOCATION

Most of the colonies were based on an agricultural economy and therefore the locations selected were close by good sources of water on the Arkansas and Rio Grande rivers. The notable exception is in the dryland farming areas of the eastern plains where land availability dictated settlement patterns. See the map for the location of major colonies.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Colony settlements were primarily agricultural in nature; therefore, all resource types from the various agricultural themes apply. Unique to colonies are districts (the colony lands) and meeting houses and churches for those religiously based settlements.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

All the usual books devote a few lines or a chapter to the groups who attempted colonization in southern Colorado. There is no good study of the colonization movement in southeastern Colorado. However, local histories and histories such as that of the Mormons are readily available and contain information on the settlements of the region. The LDS library at Salt Lake City, Utah, contains an overwhelming amount of information on all church-sponsored activities.

### Number/Condition

Most of the original colony or group structures built in the Arkansas and San Luis Valleys have been destroyed. New structures have replaced the old, and in the case of Amity the land is now under cultivation. None of these groups utilized any special architectural styles of different designs.

### Data Gaps

Studies of the impacts of colonization on the local economy and local political history are needed

### Future Needs

Surveys on the areas and locations of settlements and migration surveys of incoming and outgoing groups are needed to clarify the impacts of these colonies and group settlements on the region. Before any field work is done, completely documentary research and an aerial survey of the localities involved should be completed.

### Important Resources

Very little evidence exists from the early colonization efforts. Buildings and built devices are often removed as the colony disbanded or moved. These people used local materials and constructed buildings in the same manner as other buildings in the area. They did not construct unique structures or devices. Because of the lack of resources readily identified with this theme each should be considered important.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Can a comprehensive understanding of the different colonization attempts in Colorado be made from the information available?
2. To what degree did the attempts at colonization succeed for the people involved?
3. How much of the colonization attempts were nothing more than land deals and swindles?



## EVALUATION STANDARDS

The evaluation standards used in the agricultural themes should be used in connection with this theme because the majority of the resources are the same.

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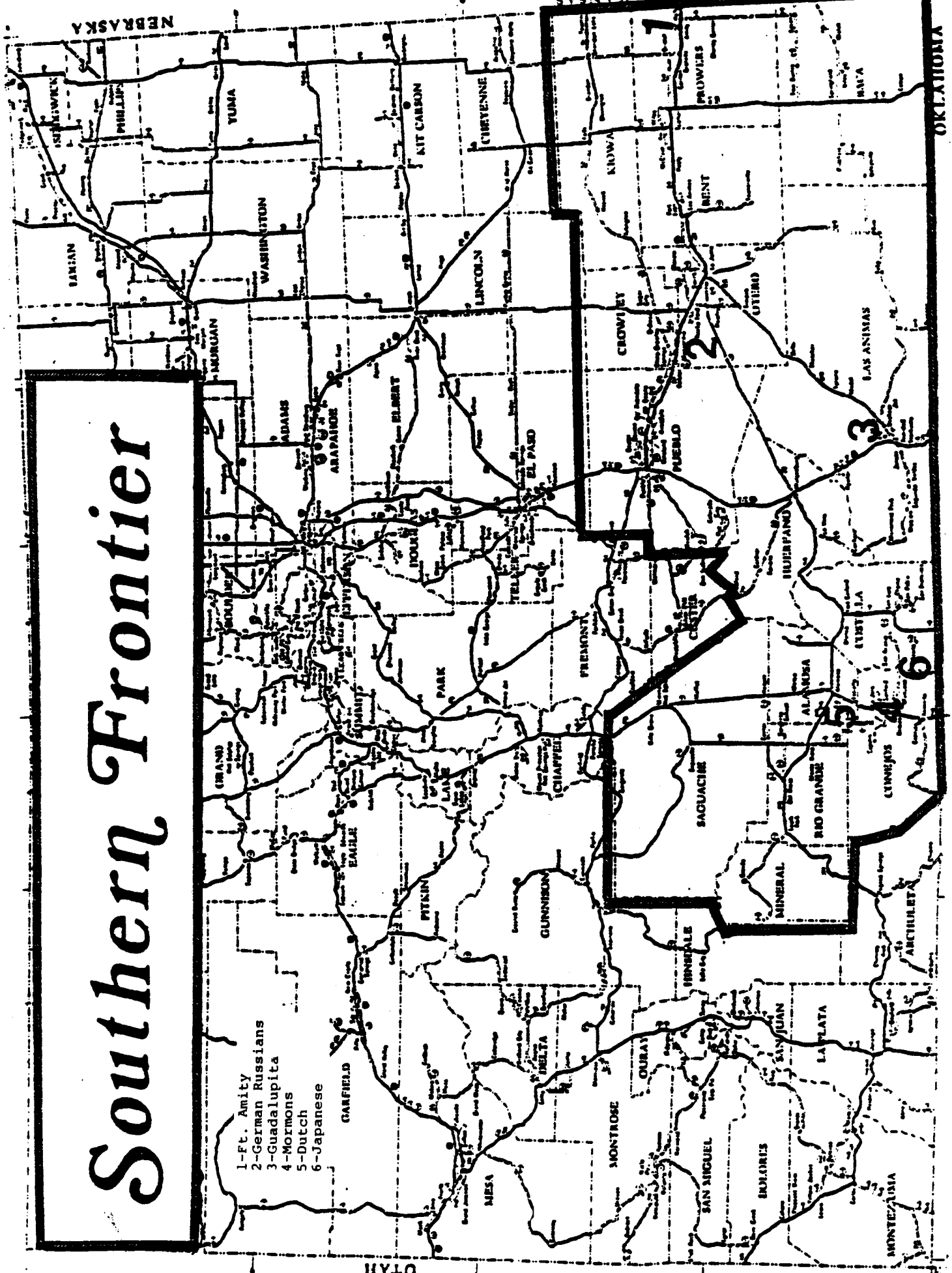
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# Southern Frontier

- 1-Ft. Amity
- 2-German Russians
- 3-Guadalupita
- 4-Mormons
- 5-Dutch
- 6-Japanese



15. FEDERAL INFLUENCES (1890-1940)NARRATIVE

The role of the national government in Colorado's southern frontier was small until the 1890s. Prior to that federal laws regulated certain activities such as land disposal. These laws were fairly lax and had been oriented toward transferring public lands to private ownership as easily and as quickly as possible. In many ways the region's prosperity had been based on the unregulated and seemingly unlimited exploitation of the natural wealth such as timber, land, water, grass and minerals. However, by the nineteenth century's last decade, the apparently endless wealth was nearing exhaustion. Many residents either failed to see or ignored the resource depletion. Further, Colorado's people felt it was their God-given right to use the wealth.

Some individuals on the eastern slope of Colorado and the Congress could foresee a day when the land had no more to give. These tensions between exploiters and protectors began during the 1880s and have continued to the present. The federal government, once the General Revision Act was passed in 1891, found itself caught between those two groups as it tried to enforce protectionist laws while being vehemently opposed by residents of Colorado's southern frontier where the new rules had great impact.

In 1891 the first new law was passed, the General Revision Act. It was only a matter of months before this law began to alter life in Colorado. During March of 1891 agents of the General Land Office, working out of the Glenwood Springs office, surveyed timberlands. By October, their work finished, President Benjamin Harrison set aside 1.2 million acres known as the White River Timber Land Reserve. From then until 1917 additional lands throughout the state were withdrawn and boundaries adjusted, particularly Raton and Pike-San Isabel National Forests. Closing these millions of acres led to great public outcry in Colorado's southern frontier. After 1905 many blamed Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester of the United States, when the reserves were transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture. Pinchot was seen as a carpetbagger who did not appreciate or understand the region's needs.

Mountain stock raisers were the most vocal in opposing the reserves and later in opposing a fee and permit system for grazing on the forests, something cattlemen and sheepmen had done for years for free. Stockgrowers' associations protested to little avail and by 1905 most range users had decided to ignore federal forest rangers. In a test case of both the fee and reserve system, Fred Light, a rancher of Snowmass, Colorado, was arrested for trespassing on the Holy Cross National Forest in 1907. Light was found guilty but appealed his conviction, ultimately to the United States Supreme Court. On May 1, 1911, the high tribunal announced its verdict confirming Light's conviction and proclaimed the National Forests, timber and grazing

permit system to be constitutional. This took away area ranchers' last legal argument. From then on the U.S. Forest Service worked to improve range lands, timber stands on the forests, often showing ranchers how they could improve their own lands as well.

The 1890-1920 push for conservation and preservation of America's natural resources led to other new agencies becoming active in Colorado's southern frontier. Among these were the Bureau of Reclamation and National Park Service. The Bureau of Reclamation, created in 1902 by the Newlands Act, was designed to build irrigation projects for domestic and agricultural use since many of those left to be built were too large and expensive to be financed by private companies or state government. The bureau's major project in southeastern Colorado was the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project. It was conceived before 1945, but only the surveys and plans were completed prior to this date.

The National Park Service also had only a single facility in the southern frontier, the Great Sand Dunes National Monument (1926). This was heavily promoted by local interests to convince the federal government to grant park status to the property.

The third federal agency that became a land managing agency in the region was the U.S. Grazing Service, now known as the Bureau of Land Management. Created by the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, the purpose of the service was to control most unreserved federal land and to regulate grazing and other uses of the land. Many farms and ranches abandoned in the 1930s within the "Dust Bowl" areas were bought by the federal government under the Bankhead-Jones Act. Although some of these were sold to neighboring ranches to create more manageable units, the remaining lands were managed as grazing units. Following World War II these holdings were combined as part of the Comanche National Grasslands and put under U.S. Forest Service administration.

Other lesser federal agencies also were at work within the Colorado mountains before 1945. Among those which continue today were the Weather Bureau and the Soil Conservation Service. Additional agencies were outgrowths of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s (see the Dust Bowl and Great Depression theme). Federal presence since 1900 has been one of the major forces shaping that region's recent history, especially from the amount of land managed by the agencies mentioned. (Also, see Great Depression theme.)

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1891      | General Revision Act passed marking the end of unregulated exploitation of the public domain        |
|           | White River National Forest created, second such reserve in U.S.                                    |
| 1891-1917 | All present national forests established; some have been renamed and boundaries adjusted since then |
| 1898      | Grazing permit system on national forests announced   |

1900	Timber reserves allow sheep grazing, previously excluded
1902	Bureau of Reclamation created by Newlands Act
1905	Grazing fee system announced for national forests; starts 1906
	National forests transferred from Department of Interior to Department of Agriculture
1905-1909	Gunnison Tunnel under construction
1907-1911	Fred Light case about timber reserves in federal court system
1915	Rocky Mountain National Park established
1916	National Park Service created
1934	Taylor Grazing Act passed

#### LOCATION

Cultural resources attributable to federal activity are located throughout the region, but primarily in or near the federally managed lands in the area. These include National Forests, Public Domain and National Resource lands, National Parks and Monuments, Bureau of Reclamation tracts and others. Most of the present federally-controlled lands were those that for one reason or another did not attract people who would file claims on them.

#### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Range improvement projects.

Structures include: Forest headquarters (USFS), park superintendent's offices (NPS), district or resource area offices (BLM), project director's/manager's offices (USBR), fire caches, fire watch towers, ranger stations and visitor's center facilities.

Some of these resources may be found in other study regions as well.

#### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

##### Historical Documentation

Historians in Colorado have done limited research on the role of the federal government despite the fact that the vast majority of land is under government management. Three studies, however, are very useful. Elmo Richardson's The Politics of Conservation and McCarthy's Hour of Trial are very good in describing the political tug-of-war caused by the early forest reserves and federal attempts to protect natural resources. Shoemaker's Saga of a Forest Ranger is interesting and informative about the difficulties "tree agents" had in the early years of the Forest Service in Colorado.

Further information can be gained from the five Bureau of Land Management Class I histories of Colorado. Also useful are histories of national forests, especially those that date to the 1920s and 1930s; they are available at the Colorado Historical Society or from the regional office of the Forest Service. Two manuscript collections at the University of Colorado, the Taylor Papers and the Frank Delany Papers, are extremely useful because the two individuals were deeply involved in federal legislative efforts for conservation during the twentieth century. Taylor was the father of the Taylor Grazing Act. The Colorado Historical Society and Denver Public Library's conservation department also have useful documents. Other federal programs can be detailed from government documents and agency records available in the Denver area, such as the Geological Survey Library in Golden. Local newspapers also are useful because often they openly debated the pros and cons of land use and federal involvement.

#### Number/Condition

The present data base is inadequate to determine the number, type and condition of resources associated with this theme. However, some resources, such as the Horseshoe Ranger Station, have been recorded, and this process will no doubt continue as federal authorities become more aware of their place in regional history. But some will probably never be recorded because offices and facilities were leased in normal commercial buildings and the federal authorities did not build their own structures for administrative purposes. Thorough research of documentary evidence may reveal the location of all federally-used facilities in the study area at some future date.

#### Data Gaps

- Representative early examples of federal administrative centers
- Representative early examples of soil, water and other resource conservation efforts
- Representative early examples of vegetative manipulation efforts
- Representative examples of early efforts at range control or improvements

#### Future Needs

At some future date a survey to find resources associated with this theme should be undertaken, but to control costs it should be done in conjunction with further work on the main street program (for administrative facilities) or with general resource utilization surveys such as logging. These efforts should be conducted in close cooperation with the federal agencies involved and possibly should be given the lead to allow time to develop administrative and/or resource histories. The surveys would require the special skills of the historians and historic archaeologist.

## Important Resources

Resources that document or explain the importance and/or impacts of the federal government on the region's economy and lifeways during the twentieth century should be considered important. Those that explain or document the changes, technologies and methods of natural resource protection, enhancement or controlled utilization should be considered important also. Such evaluations and identifications should be done by both members of the agency involved and the resource users to account for all points of view.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can provide information on the impacts of the federal government on the economy and/or lifeways of Colorado mountain residents?
2. What resources, if any, can provide information to explain the role of the federal government in resource protection in the Colorado mountains?
3. What cultural resources, if any, provide information on the condition of natural resources before and after federal conservation efforts?
4. What cultural resources, if any, can document or explain early federal efforts at natural resource enhancement?
5. What cultural resources, if any, can document or explain the early federal efforts at controlled utilization of natural resources?

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Administrative Centers: Should be in original or historic use location and should retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Fire Caches: Should be in historic use location and retain enough physical integrity and equipment to make function and methods of use readily apparent.

Fire Watch Towers: Same evaluation standards as administrative centers.

Range Improvements: Should retain enough physical integrity to make methods and technologies involved, purposes and sizes readily apparent. If man-made features are included they should retain enough physical integrity to make functions, dimensions, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Ranger Stations: Same evaluation standards as administrative centers.

Visitors' Centers: Same evaluation standards as administrative centers.



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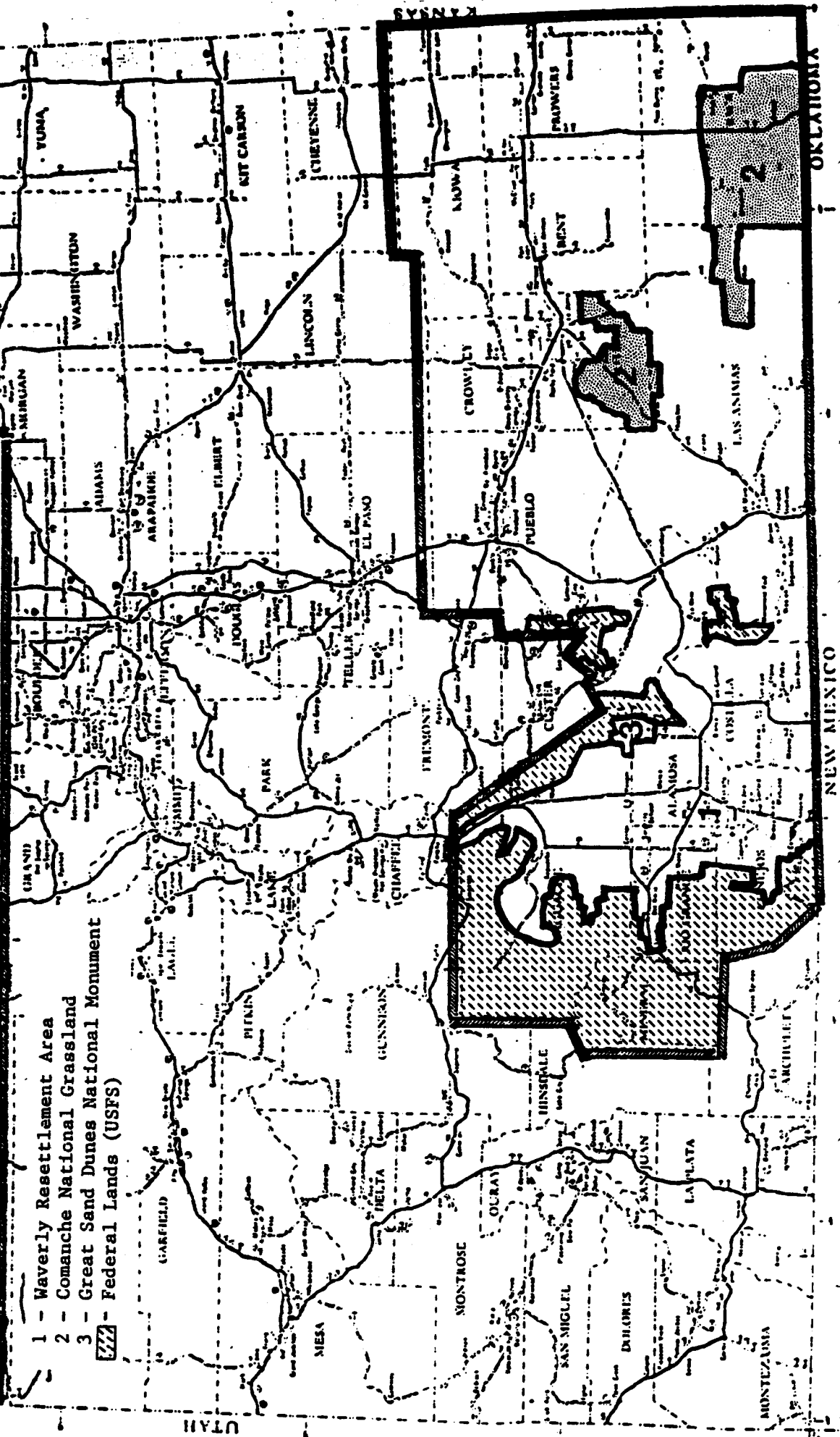
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# Southern Frontier

- 1 - Waverly Resettlement Area
- 2 - Comanche National Grassland
- 3 - Great Sand Dunes National Monument
- ▨ - Federal Lands (USFS)



16. POST-1900 AGRICULTURE--SUGAR BEETSNARRATIVE

The first proposal to grow sugar beets in the state of Colorado was made in 1841 by Guadalupe Miranda and Carlos Beaubien to the Mexican Governor of New Mexico. Over half a century later, this crop became an important agricultural industry in the Southern Frontier region.

The first thirty years of the twentieth century were a time of radical change for farmers in southeastern Colorado in both the irrigated and dry-lands areas. The most significant modifications to irrigated lands, especially along the Arkansas River, came with the rapid growth of the sugar beet industry. The depression of the 1890s had found agrarians heavily in debt and unable to meet their obligations. To meet their many needs, farmers began looking for new crops. After the turn of the century, sugar beet growing became very popular as a way to generate cash flow.

While sugar beet growing in the western world dated to the time of Napoleon, it was not until the 1870s that farmers in the South Platte Valley began to experiment with beets. The crop grew well in eastern Colorado's soil and climate if irrigation was used. From 1870 to 1900 the tests continued with help from the State Agricultural College at Fort Collins. The crop did not attract many farmers, however, because the only markets were out of state. During the 1880s factories to process beets into sugar began to appear in the West. By 1901 John F. Campion and Charles Boettcher, builders of the state's first beet plant in Grand Junction, had turned their attention to the South Platte Valley while others, particularly T. C. Henry, eyed the Arkansas River as a potential area for sugar cultivation. The entire area was alive with talk of the new crop and within a few years factories sprang up at towns along the Arkansas River. The first Colorado sugar beet factory was built in Grand Junction in 1897, Sugar City was the second, and Rocky Ford the third in 1900. Sugar beet factories were built at Monte Vista in the San Luis Valley, and at Sugar City, Rocky Ford, Swink, Las Animas, Lamar, and Holly along the Arkansas River. By 1905, "beet mania" gripped the state's plains. By 1910 approximately 100,000 acres were growing beets for the factories. Great Western, Holly, National, and other smaller companies were involved and the entire system was based on contracts with farmers setting prices and allowing the plants to plan ahead for production needs. New ditches and reservoirs were built to cash in on the bonanza and Great Western went so far as to build its own railroad to collect the crops.

Within a few years of their introduction the beets had captured everyone's attention, and problems began to appear. The most crucial factor was the lack of labor. Beet cultivation was labor-intensive, strenuous work. Crouching, stooping and crawling were all part of the hand labor involved. Americans found this type of work distasteful, underpaid and degrading. To rectify this problem, the sugar companies sent labor recruiters across the nation and outside the United States looking for people to labor in the beet fields.

One group that found the promise of beet work attractive was the Germans from Russia also called Volga Germans or German-Russians. These people had begun

immigrating from the Russian steppe farms during the late nineteenth century and settled on the Great Plains. Younger family members who could not afford land in Kansas and new arrivals from Russia were lured by the sugar companies with offers of jobs, land and opportunity. Large numbers moved to Colorado's plains, a region topographically and climatically much like what they had left in Russia. Many began as contract workers, but hard work and thrift quickly led them to land ownership. Their shared heritage, language and sense of community self-help aided them to make economic progress, but a determination to keep their language, habits and architectural styles led to occasional charges of clannishness by other Coloradans. Nevertheless, the Volga Germans became well accepted members of the area's population.

Even with the influx of these new people the beet growers found themselves short of labor and the recruiters went out again to hunt for workers. Two more ethnic groups responded: Japanese and Japanese-Americans, many from California, and Mexicans. The Japanese relocated to Colorado's plains in family groups as the German-Russians had, and many saved their earnings. With this money members of the two groups bought farms. Others, unhappy in Colorado, relocated to California after 1910. The Mexicans, by contrast, primarily came to the beet fields as single men, either unmarried or leaving the family behind until their savings were sufficient to move the family. Others spent the growing season in Colorado and returned to their homeland to winter. They were the least accepted new people in the region. In some towns they were forced to live in segregated areas and in other areas the sugar companies helped this separation by building housing for the Mexicans away from the other population. Despite such problems the sugar beet industry prospered and expanded throughout the period 1900 to 1920.

World War I demands for sugar helped the Colorado plains industry prosper, and farmers expanded their operations. By the end of the war the state led all others in beet production, and the plains region contributed more than any other area. After the war demand for sugar fell off and the growers had to slowly retrench. Throughout the early period and into the 1920s beet growers and processing plants continued to produce sugar and were also able to utilize the beet tops and processed pulp for cattle feed. This not only provided more income but also helped stimulate stock feeding as an industry in the region. Sugar beets and their cultivation remained as an important part of the southeastern plains agricultural economy until the 1930s when the Great Depression crippled much of the region. The sugar factory in Sugar City processed its last sugar in 1966. All other sugar factories in the Southern Frontier region were dismantled by 1979. In 1980 only four factories, all along the South Platte River continued in operation.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1870      | Experiments with sugar beets started in South Platte Valley   |
| 1899      | Grand Junction sugar factory opens and starts statewide excitement  |
| 1900      | Sugar beet factories at Sugar City and Rocky Ford   |
| 1900-1910 | Initial boom in sugar beet production and rapid expansion of sugar factories along Arkansas River<br>German-Russians hired as workers |
| 1905-1910 | Large numbers of Japanese brought in as workers.  |

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1905-1910 | Mexican workers recruited for field hands<br>New water projects and lands put into production<br>Beet by-products introduced as cattle feed |
| 1910-1920 | Beet production continues to rise, especially to meet World War I demands   |
| 1920-1930 | Production levels off as post-war demand softens<br>Feeding of beet by-products to cattle continues   |

### LOCATION

Cultural resources related to this theme have been and are likely to be recorded along the Arkansas River, and to a lesser extent in the San Luis Valley. Rural areas and farms have resources related to this theme as do most larger towns of the river valleys where the sugar plants were located. The line of the Santa Fe Railroad and other companies serving the area have facilities (cultural resources) related to this theme.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Structures include: Beet loading facilities, beet processing plant complex, company housing, farm houses, worker housing, barns, outbuildings, silos, German-Russian facilities (barns, churches, dwellings-cottages, community halls, centers), migrant housing and railroads.

Districts include: Beet processing plant complexes, company housing, farmsteads and irrigation systems.

Materials include: Early twentieth century farm implements and machinery.

Some of these resources may be found in adjacent study regions as well.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

The sugar beet industry and the almost synonymous German-Russians of Colorado's plains have only been recognized by historians during the past ten years. The definitive study of Great Western Sugar Company was completed in 1981 as a doctoral dissertation by William May at the University of Colorado. Other lesser works have been completed, but May is the chief source. Equally interesting but not as detailed is Dena Markoff's dissertation on the National Sugar Company. Holly, American Crystal and less important companies have been examined, too. The German-Russians, an integral part of the industry, have come under the historian's watchful eye. Kenneth Rock has led this effort with his statewide study of the ethnic group, and many others have assisted and followed his work. Sidney Heitman assembled a number of these works in  Germans from Russia in Colorado . Beyond these efforts are fictionalized and partially fictionalized accounts of German-

Russian life on the Colorado plains. The most useful archives for research on this ethnic group are located at Fort Collins in the German-Russian Study Center. Other materials are housed at the Colorado Historical Society, Denver Public Library, the Colorado State University Library, Norlin Library at the University of Colorado and at the State Archives. Sugar beet company papers are located at Norlin Library, Colorado Historical Society and the Denver Public Library. Promotional literature of the beet companies, chambers of commerce and other sources are housed at the aforementioned locations also. Newspapers of the region are further sources of information on the topic.

#### Number/Condition

While the present data base is insufficient to ascertain the number of resources that once existed or may have existed, a reasonable estimate would put the total above 2,000, aside from fields. Part of the lack of data in this theme comes from the fact that not all areas used for beet growing have been adequately surveyed; at the same time some sugar factories are still in operation and have not been included in surveys. The condition of resources associated with this theme varies from intact and operating to destroyed or badly deteriorated.

#### Data Gaps

Presently many of the urban resources have been recorded

Cumulative totals of rural resources associated with this theme

Representative 1910 beet farm

Cumulative totals of German-Russian associated resources

#### Future Needs

At some future date a survey of beet sugar industry resources and to a lesser extent the German-Russians should be undertaken. However, it would be advisable to delay such inventories, except in crisis situations, until more documentary historic research has been completed on the industry. Any such inventory should utilize the special skills of both the historian (agricultural and cultural) and historic archaeologist.

#### Important Resources

Resources that document the importance or growth of the beet sugar industry to Colorado between 1900 and 1945 should be considered important, as should those that document or provide further understanding of the technology of beet sugar processing and growing. Those resources that aid historical understanding of the German-Russians in the twentieth century on the Colorado Plains also are important.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can help understanding of the technology of beet sugar processing?
2. What resources, if any, can help understanding of beet growing?
3. What resources, if any, can explain or document the growth and importance of beet sugar cultivation to the southern frontier in the twentieth century?
4. What resources, if any, can explain or document the role of the German-Russians in southern frontier development during the twentieth century?

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Beet Loading Facilities: Should be in original or historic use location (unless portable) and retain enough physical integrity to make function, method of operation, capacity and construction materials readily apparent.

Beet Processing Plant Complexes: Should retain enough of the original or historic use structures and have enough physical integrity to make method of operations, dimensions, spatial relationships and materials of construction readily apparent.

Farmsteads: Should have dwellings and enough outbuildings present to ascertain spatial relationships and have enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions, materials and methods of construction readily apparent.

German-Russian Facilities: Same evaluation standards as farmstead.

Irrigation Systems: See engineering context report for evaluation standards.

Migrant Housing: Same evaluation standards as farmstead.

Railroads: Same evaluation standards as beet processing plants.

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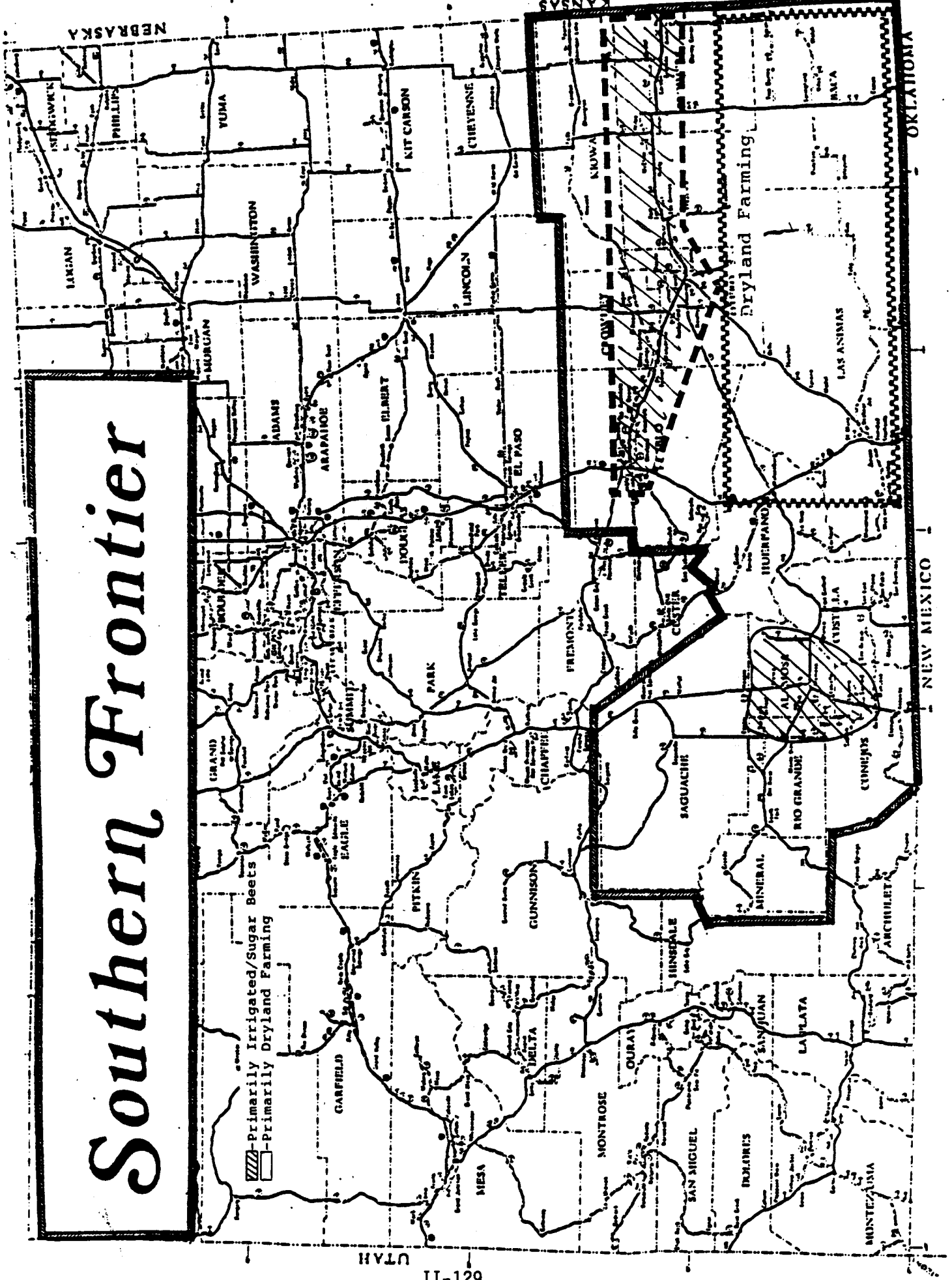
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Also see county and local histories for early farming in specific areas.



# Southern Frontier

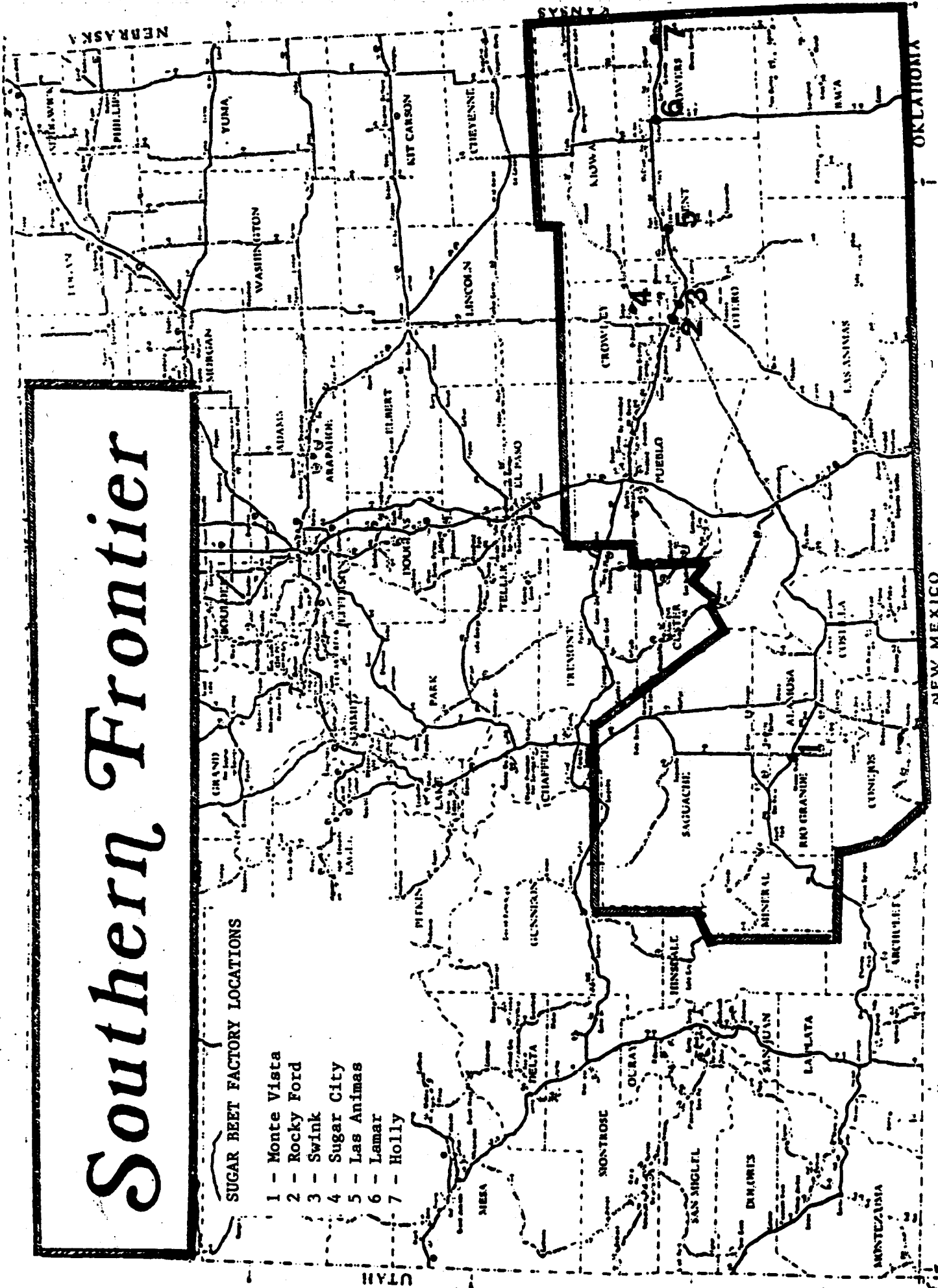
 - Primarily Irrigated/Sugar Beets  
 - Primarily Dryland Farming



# Southern Frontier

## SUGAR BEET FACTORY LOCATIONS

- 1 - Monte Vista
- 2 - Rocky Ford
- 3 - Swink
- 4 - Sugar City
- 5 - Las Animas
- 6 - Lamar
- 7 - Holly



17. POST-1900 AGRICULTURE--DRYLAND FARMING/RANCHINGNARRATIVE

The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a new wave of promotion and interest in farming on the drylands of southeast Colorado. The dry years of the 1890s were quickly put out of mind as promoters, scientists and others worked to conquer the arid lands. Changes in federal land policy, new crops and techniques, as well as rising prices, all encouraged a new group of settlers to try their luck where only ten years earlier failures had occurred.

The State Agriculture College and the U.S. Department of Agriculture worked together on experiments for new crops and techniques. Cheyenne Wells and Akron, as well as other locations, were sites of these tests. The results showed that new crops, such as certain hybrids of Russian wheat, could survive and grow well during dry summers. The wheats and further south, across the Arkansas River, broom corn, became the two primary dryland crops from 1905 until the 1930s. The experimental farms also perfected a system of fallow fields and rotation to allow the soil to absorb and accumulate moisture during the off years of crop production. These techniques were workable only if large acreages were controlled by individuals and farmed as a unit. Also, advances in plow and other implement designs as well as the introduction of gasoline and steam tractors made it possible for one person to till these larger tracts. Windmills were used to raise water for livestock and domestic uses.

The advances in dryland techniques led many to believe that federal land laws had to be changed if farming of that type was to be economically viable. In 1891 the General Revision Act took the Timber Culture and Desert Land acts off the books, leaving only the Homestead Act. This law provided for claiming of 160 acres, an area far too small to provide a living in the dryland areas if practices such as leaving fields fallow were to be used. From 1900 to 1909 lobbyists from the Great Plains appealed to Congress for changes. In 1909 the Enlarged Homestead Act was passed allowing 320-acre plots to be claimed. Boosters of dry farming felt that this did not go far enough, and they continued their campaign in Washington, D.C. In 1912 the Borah Act eased occupancy requirements but did not give away larger tracts. Finally, as World War I demands for produce grew, Congress passed the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 allowing an individual to claim up to 640 acres (one section) in the region. These legal changes and the early twentieth century dryland farming boom caused almost all public land in the region to pass to private ownership.

The decade 1910-1920 was the period of most rapid growth in dryland farming. Land law changes and wartime high prices made many feel that permanent prosperity had arrived. Promoters had a field day as the glowing statistics accumulated. Private land companies, railroads, and the State Board of Immigration all joined to popularize the ideas of dryland farming.

The period 1910-1920 was wet in the region, and this combined with high prices caused nearly all the drylanders to plow up marginal land and put it into production. To do so, they borrowed heavily to buy equipment and land. When the war ended, this vastly increased acreage meant that much more was being grown than could be absorbed by contracting markets. As prices fell, the farmers were either forced to give up their land or continue producing more to pay their debts. Farmers tried to maintain their businesses throughout the decade, but no relief came until 1927 and 1928 when prices began to rise and residents talked of new prosperity. This soon proved to be only a short respite as the Great Depression began in 1929.

Many of those who had been able to hold on earlier found themselves unable to keep the bill collectors at bay. By the early 1930s large numbers of farmers were unable to continue, and foreclosures or tax sales kept auctioneers busy throughout the dryland areas. Farmers watched as their neighbors were shorn of land, houses and possessions. In desperation, survivors resorted to legally dubious tactics. At auctions it became common for well-armed neighbors to dictate that no bid exceeded a dollar; that is, if the judge, deputy sheriff and auctioneer were not first run off at gunpoint. County courthouses were stormed by angry farmers; yet no relief for their plight was forthcoming. The situation continued to deteriorate until 1933 when Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal began to have effects in the region.

The amount of land available for and used by ranchers during the period 1900-1930 was dictated by the rapidity with which dryland farmers converted range land to plowed fields. Throughout the period the amount of ranch land decreased. However, two important changes took place that led to an overall increase in herd size. The first of those was the increased forage available from sugar beet pulp, milo, maize and sorghum. The second change was the rapid improvement of animal medicine during the period. These two factors worked together to decrease the amount of open range ranching done and stimulate the growth of controlled feeding and feedlot-type operations. As with the dryland farmers, the Dust Bowl and Great Depression hurt ranchers on the southern frontier (see Federal Influences and Great Depression themes).

#### CHRONOLOGY

1900-1905	Early experiments and search for usable crops for dryland farming
	Promotion of dryland farming starts
1905-1910	Boom for dryland farming and promotion active
1909	Enlarged Homestead Act passed
	Research at Akron and Cheyenne Wells continues
1912	Borah Act passed
1915-1920	World War I market leads to boom in dryland farming and overexpansion

1916	Stock Raising Homestead Act passed
1920-1927	Market collapses and prices fall
1927-1928	Market rises and talk of new boom coming
1929-1932	Great Depression leads to many tax sales and farm resistance/violence

### LOCATION

Cultural resources associated with this theme have been and are likely to be recorded in the central and eastern parts of the plains of southern Colorado, east of a line drawn north and south through La Junta. No resources associated with this theme would be found in areas irrigated before 1945, especially along the Arkansas River and in the San Luis Valley.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Roads.

Structures include: Farmsteads, grain elevators, railroads and windmills.

Districts include: Agricultural towns, farmsteads, fairgrounds and co-ops.

Some of these resources may be found in adjacent study regions as well.

### THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

#### Historical Documentation

The historiography of dryland farming is almost as barren as some of the wheat fields of the early 1930s. To date, only a few studies have ever been completed, and these are neither detailed nor inclusive. Alvin Steinel's history of Colorado agriculture is probably the most detailed volume available, but unfortunately ends its coverage with the early 1920s. Other useful books are Paul Bonnifeld's The Dust Bowl or Donald Worster's The Dust Bowl which explain the popular techniques and tools of the drylanders and how they impacted the environment. For the role of promoters in the spread of dryland farming, a good starting place is Dorsett's Queen City or the 1900-1910 issues of The Trail. For changes in federal land policy and federal involvement in the movement, one should consult Roy Robbins' Our Landed Heritage and other studies of land policy.

Compared to the secondary sources the vast amount of primary material currently available is staggering. Archives at Colorado State University are of utmost importance because of the active role that school played in testing and developing dryland crops and techniques. Especially important are annual reports of county extension agents. Beyond that, interviews and manuscript collections at the Colorado Historical Society, Denver Public Library and the University of Colorado (Norlin Library) have usable information. Publications of the U.S. Department of Agriculture from the early

twentieth century not only offer summaries of dryland activity but also contain "how to" information distributed to farmers at the time. Local newspapers, a form of booster literature, also provide insight into the trials and tribulations of the drylanders.

### Number/Condition

The data are insufficient to determine the number, type and condition of resources that once existed or may have existed. A reasonable estimate, however, would put the total at over 5,000 if all types are considered. Because these were widely dispersed throughout the region, not all have been adequately recorded. Further, many were destroyed or abandoned either by their owners or later residents as some of the marginal lands were taken out of production and returned to range land. This was especially true of the Comanche National Grasslands where federal authorities destroyed resources. All of these forces, as well as use, vandals, American hunters, weather and a certain lack of historical interest have served to degrade the resources associated with this theme.

### Data Gaps

Cumulative totals of all resources associated with this theme that once existed

Representative dryland farm of the 1910 era

Representative pluviculture technology of the early twentieth century

### Future Needs

At some future date cultural resource surveys of the Colorado southern frontier should be undertaken. To be cost effective, these efforts should be conducted in conjunction with other agricultural history surveys of the study area. The cost of such an effort could be controlled by using aerial photography and, if possible, comparative aerial photography to minimize field time and transportation expenses. Such an undertaking would require the special skills of the historian and someone able to interpret aerial photos.

### Important Resources

The large number of resources associated with this theme that once existed but may not have survived makes many of these extant important. The resources that document the rapid spread of dryland farming are important as are those that explain the new technology available to dryland farmers after 1900. Resources that document or explain promotional or colony dryland farms are also of importance to this theme. Further, those that document or explain the conditions such as dust bowls or overexpansion are also important.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can explain the rapid spread of dryland farming after 1900?
2. What resources, if any, can explain or document the technology available to dryland farmers after 1900?
3. What resources, if any, can explain or document the role of promotion in the spread of dryland farming after 1900?
4. What resources, if any, can explain, document or offer reinterpretations of dryland farming on the plains environment?
5. What resources, if any, can explain or document the role of minorities, ethnic groups or women in the post-1900 dryland farming frontier?

## PHYSICAL CONDITION

Agricultural Towns: See urban RP3 context for evaluation standards.

Farmsteads: Should have dwellings and outbuildings with enough physical integrity to make function, spatial relationships, materials, methods and dates of construction/modification readily apparent. They may or may not still be in use.

Grain Elevators: Should be in original or historic use location and should retain enough physical integrity to make function, materials of construction and capacity readily apparent. They may or may not still be in use.

Implements and Combines: Should have enough parts to make function, size, capacity and motive power readily apparent.

Railroads: Or roadbeds should retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions and appliances readily apparent. See railroads on the plains theme analysis for further information.

Roads: Should retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions and any paving materials used readily apparent. They may or may not still be in use.

Tractors: Same evaluation standards as implements.

Windmills: Same evaluation standards as grain elevators.

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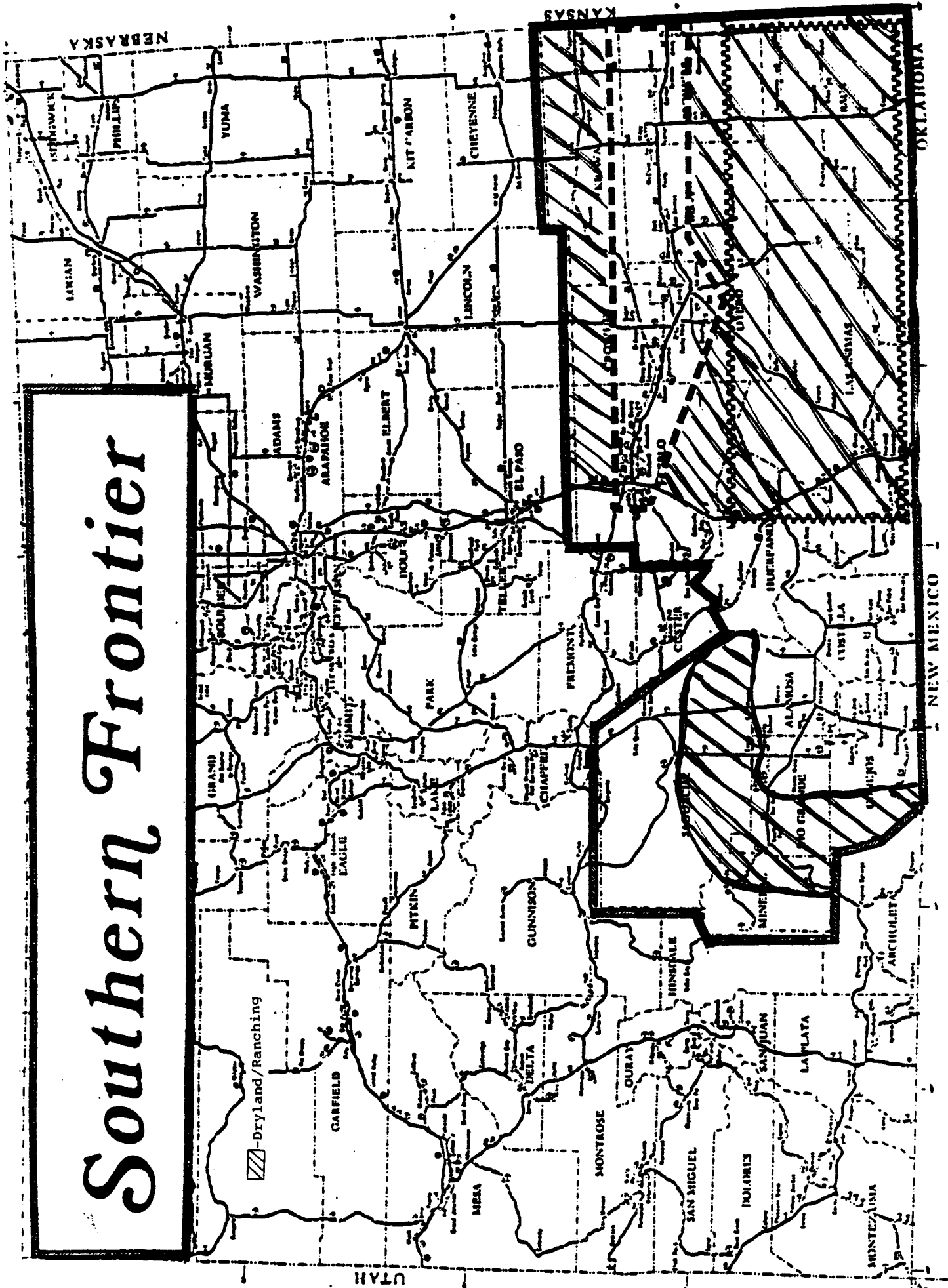
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# Southern Frontier

▨ Dryland/Ranching



18. TOURIST TRAVEL AND THE AUTO AGE  
(1870-1945)

NARRATIVE

The plains and mountains of Colorado became a tourist attraction even before the region was heavily settled in 1859. Travelers such as Francis Parkman and William Gilpin visited the area and later wrote of their experiences. During the early 1860s, others such as Horace Greeley and Vice-President of the United States Schuyler Colfax toured eastern Colorado. After the first railroads arrived in Denver during 1870, the number of visitors grew quickly. Not only Americans from the Far West, East and Midwest, but also many Europeans came west to behold the majestic plains and stand in awe of the rugged and spectacular mountains, especially such landmarks as Raton Pass and Pike's Peak. Early Colorado boosters were quick to realize the fascination the region held and began to promote Colorado vacations. They attempted to attract those seeking to visit the "Wild West," romanticized through popular literature of the late nineteenth century, and those suffering from ill health. For most, the natural environment, scenery and Hispanic villages were the primary attractions.

The railroads were the major factor in the growth of tourism before 1910. The existence of rail transportation made the plains and Front Range easily accessible to people from all parts of the nation. The railroads independently and in conjunction with local boosters, set about to advertise Colorado vacations. Between 1870 and 1920 hundreds of flyers and pamphlets were published and distributed free of charge to prospective vacationers. Tour packages, family rates and fare competition all worked to entice visitors. Some communities developed a reputation for fine hotels and other accommodations. The railroads promoted tourism in the region by advertising the scenic beauty along their lines. The Rio Grande advertised the Royal Gorge and its "Hanging Bridge" along the Arkansas River and also encouraged tourism into the San Luis Valley through the spectacular La Veta or Poncha Passes.

One of the greatest changes to affect Colorado after 1900 was the rapid way in which Americans embraced the automobile. The internal combustion engine led not only to the building of new roads and highways, but also to changes in mining, development of an oil industry and great social changes rooted in the new mobility. These changes came rapidly between 1900 and 1930 and continued well after World War II.

Between 1900 and 1910, as motorcar ownership spread, the region became caught up in a national fever to build new highways. This actually started in the 1890s when bicyclists lobbied state governments for support of the Good Roads Movement. Once autos appeared in numbers, their owners also joined the effort. City dwellers and boosters, especially in Pueblo and Colorado Springs, saw the opportunity to increase tourism and quickly pointed this fact out to legislators. Between 1910 and 1920 smaller communities began to see the benefits of new highways and called for further construction. In addition, there was a

demand for access roads into the National Forests as well as constructing camping spots and allowance for cabin and lodge sites. Royal Gorge Park was established in 1906 and this scenic wonder became a major tourist attraction with camping facilities. Tourism increased even further with the opening of the suspension bridge over the Gorge in 1932. The Great Sand Dunes National Monument was established in 1926.

Towns in the region sponsored festivals and popular events to celebrate and honor agriculture and industry which also encouraged tourist travel. Various towns celebrated "Fruit Days" on a regular basis, such as Rocky Ford which held a Melon Day in September. Pueblo businessmen built a "Mineral Palace" to display Colorado's wealth of minerals and mining technology. The Palace opened in 1890 and thousands of people came to see the exhibits. Many towns in the southern frontier participated in the Festival of Mountain and Plain held in Denver from 1895 to 1912. Each town could send parade floats or displays to show their agriculture or mining products.

Pueblo held annual festivals to display good harvests. This event expanded into representation by the entire Arkansas Valley. The Pueblo Fair eventually became the Colorado State Fair and permanent buildings were erected to house the event.

Colorado's climate and its attraction to health seekers was also a drawing factor for tourists. A sanitarium was built at Canon City to serve lung disease victims. Many mineral waters and hot springs in the San Luis Valley also were developed for tourism. Mineral Hot Springs and Valley View Hot Springs were the most popular but others operated in the region such as O'Neil Hot Springs, Hunt Springs, the Mishak and Russell lakes and Shaw's Magnetic Springs.

This same period saw the first federal involvement in road building. One of the earliest efforts, a coast-to-coast motorway, U.S. Highway 50, crossed the plains to Pueblo and went to Grand Junction/Salt Lake City. By 1930 many federal roads had been built and numerous plains communities began to realize the benefits. Many of these roads closely paralleled routes of earlier railroads. Towns along the routes that formerly oriented their commercial activities toward the depot rearranged themselves to serve the auto travelers. This became most obvious as main street strips on the highways appeared as did new businesses such as gasoline stations, auto garages, motor courts, auto sales locations and drive-ins.

The impact of automobiles on tourism in the region led to vast growth and changes for the industry. Publicity efforts, such as the first auto trip to the top of Pike's Peak in 1913, had the desired results. Soon, many repeated the feat, and the mountain found a new role in the tourist industry. Pueblo, with its highway connections, began advertising itself as the gateway to the Rockies via the Royal Gorge and facilitated camping by auto visitors. Other towns looked for equal attractions and built campgrounds, roadside picnic areas and rest stops for tourists. While the new boom started between 1910 and 1920, it was only after 1920 that the size of the boom was realized. The roaring twenties witnessed annual increases in the volume of tourist trade and spread of facilities for vacationers.

The advent of automobiles caused shifts in the configuration of cities and towns, increased economic advantage for some towns and changes in services for others. The shifts caused by the new mobility, while manifesting themselves before World War II, were greatly accelerated by the conflict. One change that automobiles brought to the region was the spread of suburbs and subdivisions, especially around Pueblo. No longer were commuters dependent on the trolley lines to get to and from work and shopping. Factories and businesses could also locate away from the central business district without fear of not having workers as long as a road provided access to their business. Also, the rapid, low-cost transportation which cars and motorbuses offered tended to strengthen commercial ties between cities and their hinterlands as well as stimulating development of region centers for retail businesses. The distance potential customers would travel increased with the speed of transportation provided by the car. Construction of the Pueblo Ordnance depot in the open countryside outside of town during 1942 is a good example of the spatial dispersal that the auto allowed.

Location on the major highways provided an economic advantage as well. Communities on the major highways often continued to grow while those on secondary roads languished. This same trend toward centralization was also manifested in education as consolidated schools were formed and students bused to and from the institutions miles away in the same time it had taken to walk or ride a horse to the nearest rural school.

Two industries nonexistent before the turn of the century became commonly accepted parts of everyday life in the region by the 1930s. These were freight trucking and bus companies. Both were dependent upon the availability of good highways and both competed directly with the area's railroads. By the 1920s railroads still carried most of the region's passenger and freight traffic, but no longer was the dominance of the rail companies unchallenged.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1840-1850	Sporadic visitors to the region
1860-1870	Plains visited by many celebrities
1870-1920	Era of railroad vacations
1890	Mineral Palace opened in Pueblo
1890-1900	Bicyclists support Good Roads Movement
1895-1912	Festival of Mountain and Plains held in Denver
1900-1910	Motorists join Good Roads Movement to lobby state legislature for highways
1901-1902	First oil boom--Wattenburg Field
1906	Royal Gorge Park established

- 1910-1915 Federal highway program starts and one of the first coast-to-coast roads cross Colorado plains to Denver and Pueblo
- 1910 State Highway Commission established
- 1913 First auto reaches the top of Pike's Peak
- 1915-1920 Boosterism of motor tourists
- Beginnings of special facilities for motorists such as picnic grounds, motor courts
- 1916 Federal Highway Act passed
- 1920-1930 Peak period of auto tourists until after World War II
- Rapid growth of oil use, decline of coal mining
- 1926 Great Sand Dunes National Monument established
- 1930s-1945 Decreased auto travel because of Great Depression and World War II

### LOCATION

Cultural resources clearly attributable to this theme are randomly located along the federal, state and county highways and railroads of the region, except the interstates, which did not exist prior to 1945. The highway system itself constitutes a resource for this theme. Also, in some areas, especially urbanized ones, buildings either built specifically for or modified for auto use and servicing can be found. Further resources are exemplified by the realignment of some business districts to the highways and the auto specific buildings integrated into these areas.

### CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Picnic areas and roadside rest areas.

Structures include: Bus depots, hotels, dude ranches, garages, gasoline/oil storage facilities, highways, oil racks, oil refineries, motor hotels, motor courts, service stations and truck loading facilities, consolidated hospitals and schools, and state trooper headquarters.

Districts include: Resorts, dude ranches.

Materials include: Automobiles, trucks, and other internal combustion vehicles and tools for their service, camping and recreation equipment.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Two useful general studies are M. Berger's The Devil Wagon in God's Country and W. J. Belasco's Americans on the Road. Otherwise little work has been done on the spread of the automobile culture on Colorado. However, some works are in progress that will help explain the phenomenon. Once available these should greatly increase current historical understanding of the era. The general textbooks, Athearn, The Coloradans and Ubbelohde, Benson and Smith, A Colorado History, offer some insights and interpretations of the auto age in the state. Other sources include LeRoy Hafen's article on the automobile in The Colorado Magazine, 1931, or his multivolume study, Colorado and Its People. Useful research on the early cement industry is Bean's study of Charles Boettcher. Despite this lack of secondary information many primary sources are available to aid researchers. The Colorado Historical Society, Denver Public Library and the University of Colorado's library all contain documents that are helpful. Also records of county, city and the state highway department would prove useful in research on this theme. Further, historic highway maps, guidebooks and travel directories all might help the investigator as would county tax records. Local histories and newspapers often contain information about the first autos, dealerships or highways of the study region. While not extensive, the historiography of the auto in Colorado will no doubt grow in the future.

### Number/Condition

The present data base is insufficiently refined to adequately determine the number, type and condition of the resources associated with this theme. This is due partially to the constant improvement and rebuilding of major highways in the region and the facilities along these roadways. Also, as roads have been rerouted many of the predecessors were torn up and returned to farm land. Despite these variables an estimate would put the number at over 10,000. The condition differs from destroyed or abandoned to modified for adaptive use to still in use.

### Data Gaps

Cumulative totals of the peculiarly automobile cultural resources that still exist dating before 1945

Representative examples of the spatial relationships/arrangements of pre- and post-auto age suburbs

Representative examples of early national "chain" marketing facilities

Representative examples of the different impacts of the automobile on business orientations of rural communities on and bypassed by major highways

## Future Needs

Surveys to specifically identify cultural resources associated with tourism and the auto age need not be undertaken at some future date. Rather, funds would better be spent continuing and expanding the main street program and upgrading or reevaluating the present data base to ascertain associations of cultural resources with the auto age. Such an undertaking would require the skills of a historian familiar with rural history and twentieth century urban/suburban and transportation history.

## Important Resources

Because of the lack of sophistication of historical understanding of the impacts of the auto on Colorado residents during the twentieth century each major resource should be considered possibly important. Of definite importance are those resources that document the impacts of motor vehicles on urban and rural lifeways, urban planning and business orientations or chain operations. Also, those that explain shifts in transportation from rail to auto are important. Also, resources that can help explain or substantiate the role of the auto in shifting social values are important for this theme, such as changed courting practices.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impact of the auto on social values of southeastern Colorado people?
2. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impacts of national "chain" marketing on Colorado's Southern Frontier?
3. What resources, if any, can explain or document changed business orientations of the auto age?
4. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impact of the auto on urban and rural lifeways in the region?
5. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impact of the auto on urban spatial relationships and/or urban/suburban planning and growth?

## EVALUATION STANDARDS

### Physical Condition

Garages: Should be in original or historic use location and retain enough physical integrity to make function, dimensions, mode of operation and methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Gasoline Storage Facilities: Same evaluation standards as garages.

Highways: Should have enough physical integrity to make function, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Oil Racks: Same evaluation standards as garages.

Oil Refineries: Should be in historic use location and should retain enough buildings with physical integrity to make spatial relationships, function, materials and methods of operations and construction clear.

Motor Hotels: Same evaluation standards as garages.

Picnic Areas: Should retain enough physical integrity to make function, borders, and any man-made features readily apparent.

Service Stations: Same evaluation standards as garages.

Truck Loading Facilities: Same evaluation standards as oil refineries.

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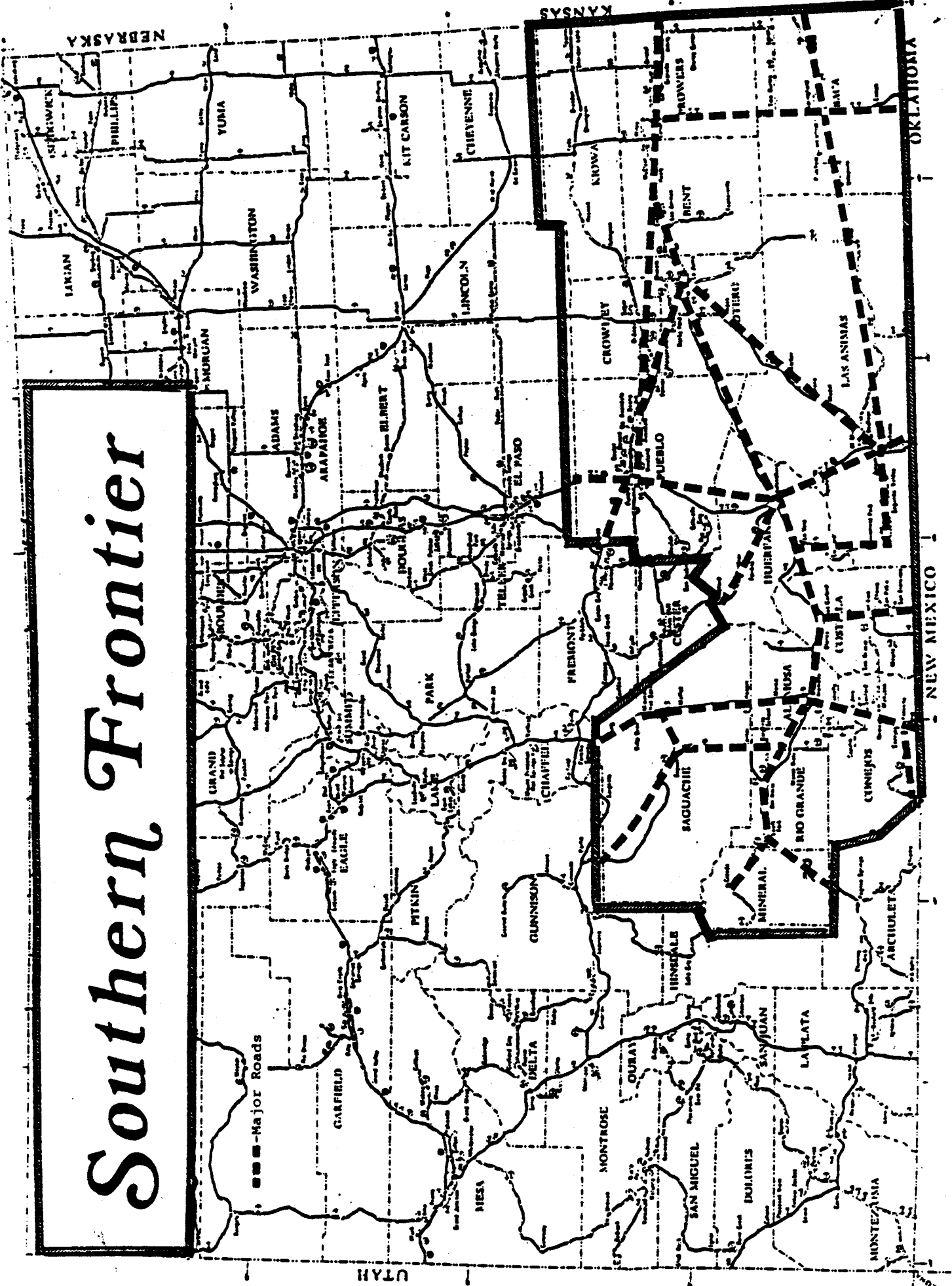
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# Southern Frontier



19. AIR TRAVEL AND MASS COMMUNICATION  
(1920-1945)

NARRATIVE

Marconi's wireless telegraph and the Wright Brothers' first flight were seen by people in southeastern Colorado as interesting toys, but few ever felt that those two inventions would ever have much of an impact on their lives. However, by 1945 nearly every household in the area owned a radio and many had at least seen if not ridden in an airplane. These two new machines all but eliminated the time gap in travel and communication between Colorado and the rest of the nation.

The first commercial broadcasting tower built in the state went on the air in Colorado Springs in 1919. Soon Denver, Pueblo, Trinidad and other towns had their own radio stations. Throughout the 1920s more and more households bought crystal sets with which they tuned in to broadcasts from towns within the region and from outside as well. The same decade also witnessed the growth of national radio networks so people in southeastern Colorado were able to hear live broadcasts from the White House, New York City and around the nation. Radio sets were given a prominent place in parlors and living rooms throughout the region and they became a popular form of entertainment and information dissemination, especially after REA cooperatives supplied electricity to outlying regions (see Great Depression theme.)

During the 1930s rural Coloradans embraced the radio and all of its benefits. Radio waves ended the isolation of high plains rural life. The farmers and ranchers found themselves becoming more and more like their urban brothers. Social values, consumer tastes and buying habits all shifted as the gap between urban and rural lifestyles began to close. Many bemoaned this, but complaints started only after World War II. The telephone, a device available in places such as Denver by the 1890s, was also quickly adopted by Coloradans as service spread across southeastern Colorado during the early twentieth century.

Many in the region were less ready and willing to accept the other time-smashing invention, the airplane, yet by 1930 part of the area had regular air service. The first commercial flights took place in 1920 as the United States Postal Service inaugurated air mail service. The first routes connected Pueblo with Colorado Springs, Denver and the transcontinental route through Cheyenne, Wyoming. This pattern of service continued until after World War II when there was widespread use of pressurized aircraft that could safely and comfortably transport people over the mountains.

Before the end of the 1920s Colorado had its first airline, Colorado Airways, that flew between Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Denver, Cheyenne with passengers and mail. Many were curious but very few made use of these

pioneer air travel possibilities. Instead, most southeastern Colorado residents had their first flights with barnstormers that crossed and recrossed the region putting on one-man airshows at cities, towns and villages. For a small fee the pilot would take one passenger on a short flight around the area. Often these flyers used pastures, fields or any other flat surface available for a landing strip. The barnstorming era was over by 1930 and most residents felt incorrectly that the flying fad had passed.

During the Great Depression air travel grew in popularity. In 1937 United Airlines, the first major national air company, chose Denver as one of its Rocky Mountain stops, although it was on a branch route from Cheyenne until after 1945. Other events during the decade helped to further increase air travel in the region. Federal public works programs helped build and improve airports in towns throughout the region. Also, during World War II La Junta was given facilities to train pilots as were other regional towns (see Military Theme.) By the end of the war, air travel and the flying machine were well established with Coloradans.

#### CHRONOLOGY

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 1919      | First commercial radio broadcast in the region from Colorado Springs   |
| 1920      | First commercial flight in area for U.S. Postal Service  |
| 1920s     | Expansion of national radio network<br>Rapid growth of commercial radio broadcasting in the region, many people buy radio sets<br>Barnstorming era of aviation in the region<br>Commercial airlines, Colorado Airways first, grow slowly in the region |
| 1930s     | More radios in use and changes in rural life take place because of the new faster communications<br>WPA projects build and improve airports around the region  |
| 1937      | United Airlines opens service to Denver  |
| 1940-1945 | Military airfields in La Junta and elsewhere   |

#### LOCATION

Cultural resources attributable to this theme can be found scattered throughout the region, usually associated with the larger towns and cities. Presently, many of these resources are still in use for their original function. Because of the nature of radio broadcasting, the tower facilities often are located on the highest ground available within a reasonable distance from a city or town while the studios are in the city proper.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Structures include: Fueling facilities, landing strips, taxi ways, hangars, airplane parking areas, terminal buildings, tower (control), windsock, broadcasting studios, radio antennas, radio towers, telephone buildings, offices, relay stations, transmission lines.

Districts include: Airport.

Materials include: Airplanes, radio sets, telephones.

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

Because of its relative newness and rather limited areas of commercial use in the study area before 1945 the air age has yet to come under intense professional scrutiny by historians. The best sources to date for both air travel and radio are the general histories of the state by Athearn, The Coloradans, Ubbelohde, Benson and Smith, A Colorado History and Hafen's Colorado and Its People. These contain general information about the growth of air service in Colorado. Also, Scamehorn's article on air travel in Ubbelohde's A Colorado Reader provides useful information. The best source of primary materials available in the region is at Denver Public Library in a special collection devoted to air travel. Also, the Colorado Historical Society and Norlin Library at the University of Colorado have limited amounts of information for this theme. The airlines and radio stations themselves, especially United and Frontier with long traditions of service to the region, might prove valuable information sources for research on this theme as would copies of airline guides from the period. Beyond that records of the federal government and histories of the Army Air Corps should be consulted for data on certain topics associated with this theme. The final sources, local newspapers, should be consulted for reports of major events, such as barnstorming or air shows; historic photos are another type of documentation that may be very useful for this theme.

### Number/Condition

The present data are insufficient to determine the number, types and condition of resources associated with this theme that once existed or may have existed. This is due to many factors. Because they are still in use, many of the aerodromes have not or are not considered historic and have not been recorded. Also, many such as Pueblo's have been and continue to be modified and rebuilt destroying evidences of earlier aircraft use. Barnstorming and air shows by their nature were transitory and left no permanent changes on the land. Condition varies from destroyed or derelict to still in use on a day-to-day basis.

### Data Gaps

Representative 1920s aerodrome

Representative site of an early air show

Representative examples of 1920s era mail and passenger facilities for air travel

Representative examples of early air traffic control facilities

### Future Needs

Surveys specifically to locate facilities associated with early air travel and radio use in Colorado should be undertaken at some future date. These efforts should be given low priority due to relatively low possibility of finding sites that have not been extensively modified or expanded over the years. Such a survey should be undertaken by a historian familiar with air travel and field survey techniques.

### Important Resources

Because of the lack of thorough historical understanding about this theme it is difficult to determine exactly what is important. However, these general guidelines may prove useful. Those resources that are representative of the early air age such as aerodromes and unpaved runways are important as are those that document the growth of air service in the area. Also, those that explain the early uses of aircraft for transport, crop dusting and the like are important.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can explain the growth of air service in region?
2. What resources, if any, can explain the changing patterns and uses of aircraft in the region before 1945?
3. What resources, if any, can document the spread of mass communications via the radio before 1945?
4. What resources, if any, can explain the early passenger uses of aircraft in the region?
5. What resources, if any, can explain the federal government's involvement in the early air age?
6. What resources, if any, can explain the role of barnstormers and air shows in the popularization of aircraft and air travel before 1945?

### PHYSICAL CONDITION

Airport: Should have enough physical integrity of terminal, hangars, and other structures to make function, dimensions, methods and materials of construction and spatial relationships readily apparent. Should be able to ascertain if runways were paved or not. May or may not be in use.

Broadcasting Studio: Should be in original or historic use location and retain enough internal and external integrity to make function, technology and methods of operation readily apparent.

Radio Antennas: Should be in original or historic use location and should retain enough physical integrity for use, function, methods and materials of construction readily apparent.

Radio Towers: Same evaluation standards as radio antennas.

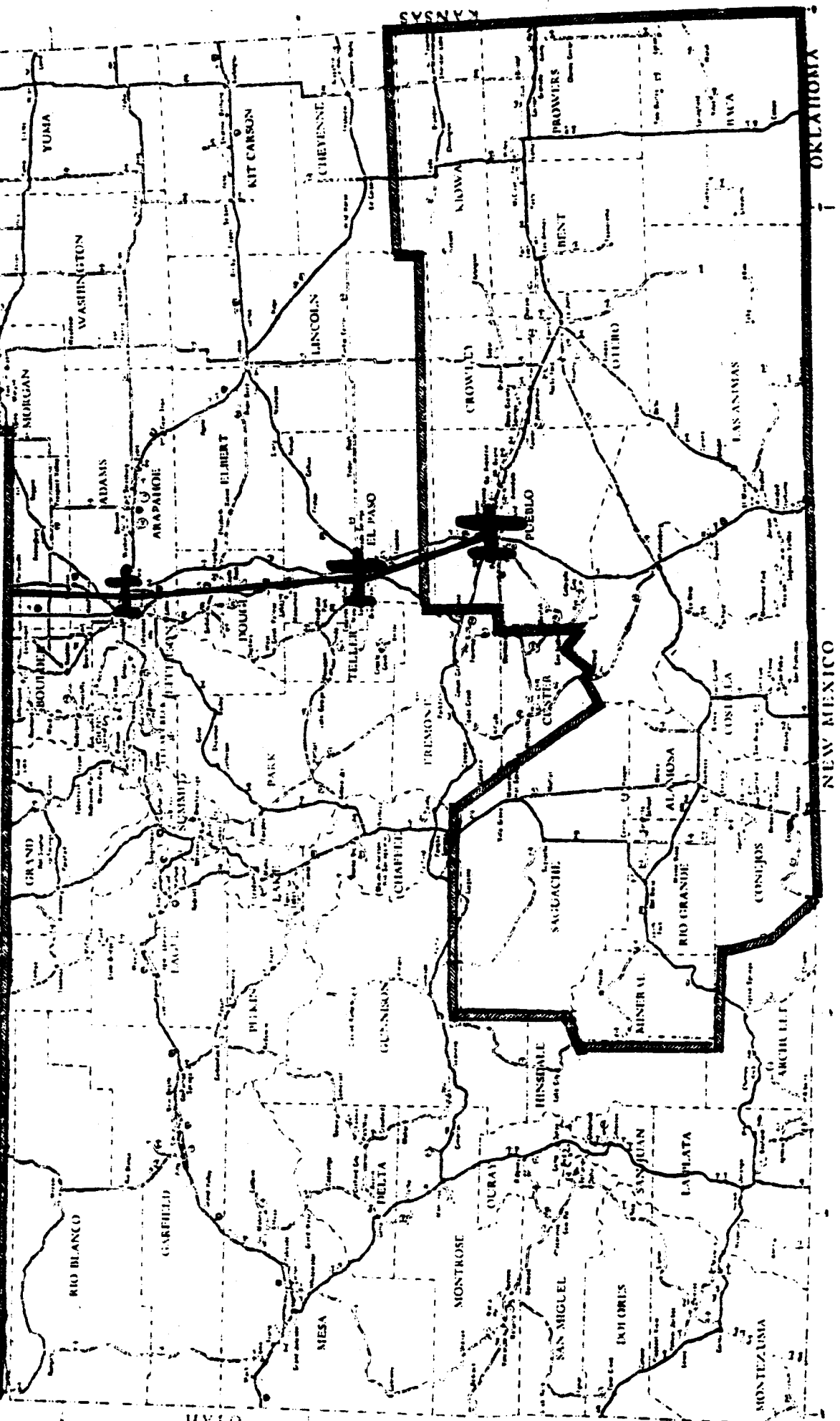
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# Southern Frontier



20. THE DUST BOWL AND GREAT DEPRESSION  
(1929-1941)

NARRATIVE

Few in southeastern Colorado during October, 1929 realized that when the stock market collapsed, its shock waves would reach the area. Some industries, particularly farming and coal mining, had been depressed through most of the twenties. Others--commerce, tourism and industry--had enjoyed the national prosperity of the decade and been part of the "Roaring Twenties." By 1931 and 1932 the entire regional economy had fallen apart and the Great Depression was a reality there as it was throughout the nation. No longer was southeastern Colorado separate from the nation, and the people quickly turned to Washington, D.C., for help, despite their talk of individualism. In accepting the federal aid much of the region lost some of its independence, real and perceived. The area benefited from the national recovery programs initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal.

When Roosevelt took over as President in 1933 Colorado suffered from not only economic but also climatic problems and the New Deal did what it could to help. The early 1930s were a period of below average rainfall, much as the 1890s had been and crop failures were commonplace. Combined with this, the fragile soil structure had collapsed under the constant tillage by the new heavy machinery. The once rich fields became parched masses of blowing dust. In 1932 and 1933, as the rains did not fall the hot winds picked up the fine particles and turned them into brown blizzards that occasionally paralyzed the area. People, unable to move in cars, trains or airplanes had little to do but cough and choke as they watched the fine dust sift into their houses around door frames and window sills. The dust storms, known as dusters, became so frequent that weather forecasters began to predict them as they would rain showers or snow. While only the extreme southeastern Colorado plains were actually part of the federally designated Dust Bowl, the entire area suffered. Many farmers and ranchers simply gave up trying and abandoned their land as they watched it blow into Kansas (see Dryland Theme also).

To aid the depressed agricultural economy Roosevelt's administration set up numerous programs. The largest was the Agricultural Adjustment Administration that insured minimum incomes for farmers by setting production quotas and paying growers not to plant more than their share. Wheat, corn, cattle, sheep and sugar beets were covered by these ceilings and the income from the AAA made it possible for many to stay on the land. Federal farm mortgage guarantees and other things also helped agrarians keep their farms. After evaluating the situation, federal officials realized that not all farms should be allowed to stay in production. Marginal lands, especially in Baca County, were bought by the government from the farmers and taken out of production permanently. The Soil Conservation Service, Farm Resettlement Administration and AAA worked together on this program and found



alternative land for farmers who were interested, usually on U.S. Bureau of Reclamation irrigation projects. The program was completed under the Bankhead-Jones Land Utilization Act of 1937. The repurchase program took marginal farms out of farm production and returned them to rangeland. Some tracts were resold to ranchers but others were organized as the Comanche National Grasslands. Another New Deal program that was aimed at rural residents was the Rural Electrification Administration that built power systems to farm houses and made all the benefits of the electrical age available to the formerly isolated people.

Business and industry were not forgotten by Franklin Roosevelt. Two major programs that impacted the region were the National Industrial Recovery Act that set up the National Recovery Administration and Public Works Administration and secondly the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that made low-interest loans available to businesses for expansion or improvements. The Public Works Administration (PWA), replaced later by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and aided by the Civil Works Administration (CWA), put people to work to help end unemployment and get money in circulation to stimulate the economy. Further, these programs, by building and financing public works, provided many towns and counties with facilities such as city halls, county courthouses, roads, libraries, airports and other civic undertakings. An additional agency that helped end unemployment through public works was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC work force was made up of teenage boys from around the nation whose work was concentrated on public lands such as National Forests and Grasslands. However, the CCC activities occurred in limited areas of the region. Other New Deal agencies, primarily social and administrative, were active in the region throughout the period 1933-1941. Even with these massive federal expenditures the region failed to recover from the Great Depression; the needs of World War II were able to end unemployment and the depression.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1920-1933	Farming, ranching, coal mining generally depressed
1929	Stock market crash
1930-1932	Great Depression deepens and Hoover Administration does little to aid the people
	Dust Bowl begins
1933	Franklin Roosevelt becomes President and initiates recovery programs, especially Agricultural Adjustment Administration, National Recovery Administration and large public works programs
1934-1937	Marginal farmlands bought by government to take them out of production, leads to creation of National Grasslands
1937	Bankhead-Jones Land Utilization Act passed
1940-41	World War II rearmament programs end Great Depression

## LOCATION

Cultural resources attributable to this theme can be found throughout the region. To date many have not been recorded because they are not yet fifty years old. Public works projects are easily identifiable because regulations required brass plaques to be put on the structures listing the major construction information and federal agencies involved.

## CULTURAL RESOURCE TYPES

Sites include: Rangelands, soil conservation projects

Structures include: Abandoned farmsteads, civic works, public works buildings, soil conservation projects, reclamation projects, Rural Electrification Association.

Districts include: Civic Works, National Grasslands, REA projects

## THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF EXISTING DATA

### Historical Documentation

The Great Depression is one of the most studied topics of the modern historical profession. Of special interest has been the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Two of the most reliable authors on Roosevelt are William Leuchtenburg and Frank Fridel. They have penned numerous works on FDR and the New Deal. Further, nearly every major leader and member of the "brain trust" have been biographified or evaluated. Also, Roosevelt's major programs, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, have been examined by historians. The span of historiography on the New Deal grows every year and the present conservative trend in America is leading to reinterpretations of the Roosevelt leadership. On a local basis the best source available is James Wickens' University of Denver dissertation, "Colorado in the Great Depression."

Other sources are the Governor Edwin Johnson interviews and manuscripts at the Colorado Historical Society and state archives. Some manuscript collections at the historical society, Denver Public Library and Norlin Library in Boulder contain information pertinent to this theme. Also, the government documents section of Norlin Library has thousands of reports, regulations and books put out by various New Deal agencies. The archives of Colorado State University also have information useful for this theme. The New Deal itself generated documentary resources useful for historians such as the Civil Works Administration interviews and the Works Progress Administration files and newspaper indexes. Paul Bonnifield's The Dust Bowl is the most usable and valuable source on that phenomenon and should be consulted if a researcher is interested in dryland farming during the 1930s.

### Number/Condition

The present data base is insufficient to adequately ascertain the number, type and condition of resources associated with this theme that

existed or once may have existed. This is due in a large part to the fact that New Deal resources are now just reaching fifty years old and therefore many have not been recorded since they have yet to become eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The probable number of resources associated with this theme would be over 1,000. The condition varies from destroyed to still in use, either as originally built or with later modifications.

#### Data Gaps

Representative examples of all the various types of public works projects undertaken by New Deal agencies

Representative examples of early attempts at soil conservation

Representative examples of Civilian Conservation Corps projects in the region

#### Future Needs

At some future date a survey should be undertaken to identify and record all cultural resources directly associated with the Great Depression and New Deal. Such an undertaking should combine intensive documentary research as well as field work and should be carried out by a team of historians versed in Western and Twentieth Century American history. These surveys, while low priority currently, should be given higher and higher importance in the CPO planning process as time passes and more of the resources become fifty or more years old.

#### Important Resources

Those resources that document the role of federal aid to Colorado during the 1930s should be considered important as should those that offer confirmation or reinterpretations of present historical understanding of the New Deal and Great Depression. Representative public works projects should also be considered important for their associations with this theme. Some, such as reclamation projects are important not only when associated with this theme but also with other themes and such "cross-referencing" should be done when resources are assigned importance values.

#### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impacts of the Great Depression on Coloradans and their lifeways, including minorities and women?
2. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impacts of the New Deal on Coloradans and their lifeways?
3. What resources, if any, can explain or document the impacts of 1930s public works projects on the southern frontier built environment?

4. What resources, if any, can explain or document New Deal impacts on Southern Frontier agriculture?
5. What resources, if any, can explain or document New Deal impacts on Southern Frontier towns and cities?
6. What resources, if any, can explain or document New Deal impacts on Southern Frontier industry?
7. What resources, if any, can explain or document changes in land tenure on the Southern Frontier as a result of the Great Depression and Dust Bowl?

#### PHYSICAL CONDITION

Abandoned Farmsteads: Enough of the dwelling(s) and outbuildings should remain to show spatial relationships and to make function, method and materials of construction readily apparent. Also, abandonment should be conclusively dated to the 1930s.

Civic Works: Should be in original location and retain enough physical integrity to make function, methods and materials of construction readily apparent. Also, should be conclusively dated to the 1930s.

National Grasslands: Enough man-made features and/or historic vegetative manipulations should be readily evident to clearly establish man's presence and impacts on the land.

Public Works Buildings: Same evaluation standards as Civic Works.

Rangelands: Same evaluation standards as National Grasslands.

Rural Electrification Projects: See power context report for evaluation standards.

Soil Conservation Projects: Same evaluation standards as National Grasslands.

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# Southern Frontier

-  - Federal Dust Bowl
- 1 - Waverly Resettlement Area
- 2 - Comanche National Grassland

