

# Bent, St. Vrain & Co. among the Comanche and Kiowa

BY JANET LECOMPTE

Bent's Fort on the Arkansas was not built exclusively for the trade of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Its owners, Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain, intended to trade with many other tribes, especially the Comanche, the most numerous Indians of the southern plains.<sup>1</sup> Although in 1835 William Bent made the long journey to Texas to seek the Comanche's business and the Indians were friendly, it was another seven years before trade with them was achieved. In the fall of 1842 Bent, St. Vrain and Company built a log post in the Texas panhandle on the south fork of the Canadian River (Red River or Rio Colorado) for the Comanche and Kiowa. The post was popular with the Indians and profitable for the company, and by the summer of 1845 another Bent post of adobe had been built within a few miles of the log fort; but in the spring of 1846 the Comanche became hostile, and the Bents abandoned their Canadian River posts, probably permanently. In later years the ruins of the adobe post were known as Adobe Walls and became the site of two Indian fights, both celebrated in numerous "true-west" stories and Sunday-supplement thrillers as the "Battle of Adobe Walls." About the era of Bent traders on the Canadian little has been written, that little being a snarl of myth and contradiction.

When the Bents and St. Vrain built their picket post on the Arkansas in 1833 or 1834, they wanted to trade with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Snake (Shoshone), Sioux, and Arikara, as their trading license shows.<sup>2</sup> By the time that they

<sup>1</sup> In 1846 Charles Bent estimated the population of Cheyenne at 1,500, Arapaho at 1,600, Kiowa at 2,000, and Comanche at 12,000, counting only the Indians of New Mexico (which included present southern Colorado) and not the many thousands of Comanche in Texas. U.S., Congress House, Bent to William Medill, November 10, 1846, H. Exec. Doc. 17, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1849-50(?), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> U.S., Congress, House, License issued to Charles Bent, December 13, 1834, for two years, *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, H. Doc. 97, 23d Cong., 2d sess., 1834-35(?), p. 3; Janet Lecompte, "Gant's Fort and Bent's Picket Post," *The Colorado Magazine* 41 (Spring 1964):111-25.



*The Arkansas, below Bent's Fort.*

had completed their big adobe post down the Arkansas from the picket post, they were seeking more Indians with whom to trade. Word of the new trading post reached Indians far to the south. When early in 1835 some Comanche showed up at Bent's Fort with skins to trade for American goods, the Bents were delighted to see them; and in the summer of 1835 William Bent went south to trade with nearly 2,000 Comanche gathered on the Red River of Texas.<sup>3</sup> The Indians received him kindly, but it was another five years before the Bents managed to persuade these numerous and horse-wealthy Indians to visit Bent's Fort again.

There were several reasons why the Comanche would not trade after 1835 at Bent's Fort. One reason was that two posts had been built for the Kiowa and Comanche in their own country in present Oklahoma.<sup>4</sup> In 1835 Auguste P. Chouteau, a skillful

trader backed by the powerful American Fur Company, built a post at "Fort Holmes" for the Comanche on the Canadian near the mouth of Chouteau Creek at the northern edge of Cross Timbers; and in 1837 he built another for the Kiowa on Cache Creek near present Fort Sill in southwestern Oklahoma. Consequently, these Indians could buy goods more conveniently at Chouteau's posts than at Bent's Fort. They also could buy goods there more safely, for during the war between Texas and Mexico both sides had sent agents to the Indians to gain their loyalty, setting the tribes to fighting among themselves. Among those opposing tribes were the Kiowa and Comanche against the Cheyenne, making trade at Bent's Fort difficult and dangerous.<sup>5</sup>

When Chouteau died in December 1838, his trading posts had been closed, to the distress of the Comanche who came to trade at Fort Holmes in the spring of 1839.<sup>6</sup> But Chouteau's death did nothing to alleviate the hostility the Comanche felt for the Bents, who were allies of their Cheyenne enemies. In June 1839, while three thousand Comanche were camped on the south side of the Arkansas across from Bent's Fort, a party of them killed the Bents' horse-herder and made off with between forty and one hundred horses, accounts differing in the number.<sup>7</sup>

As Bent, St. Vrain and Company licenses for the years 1836 and 1838 indicate, the Bents probably did not trade with the Comanche, nor did they maintain posts or traders in Comanche country during that time. The license for 1836 was granted for two years on November 8 at St. Louis and showed that the company employed thirty-eight men for trade at "Fort William on the north side of the Arkansas River 40 miles north of the Spanish Peaks, 120 East of the Rocky Mountains and 5 below one of the Principal Forks of the Arkansas; at a place called the Big Timber about 90 miles above the Santa Fe road on the American side of the Arkansas River; at a point on the

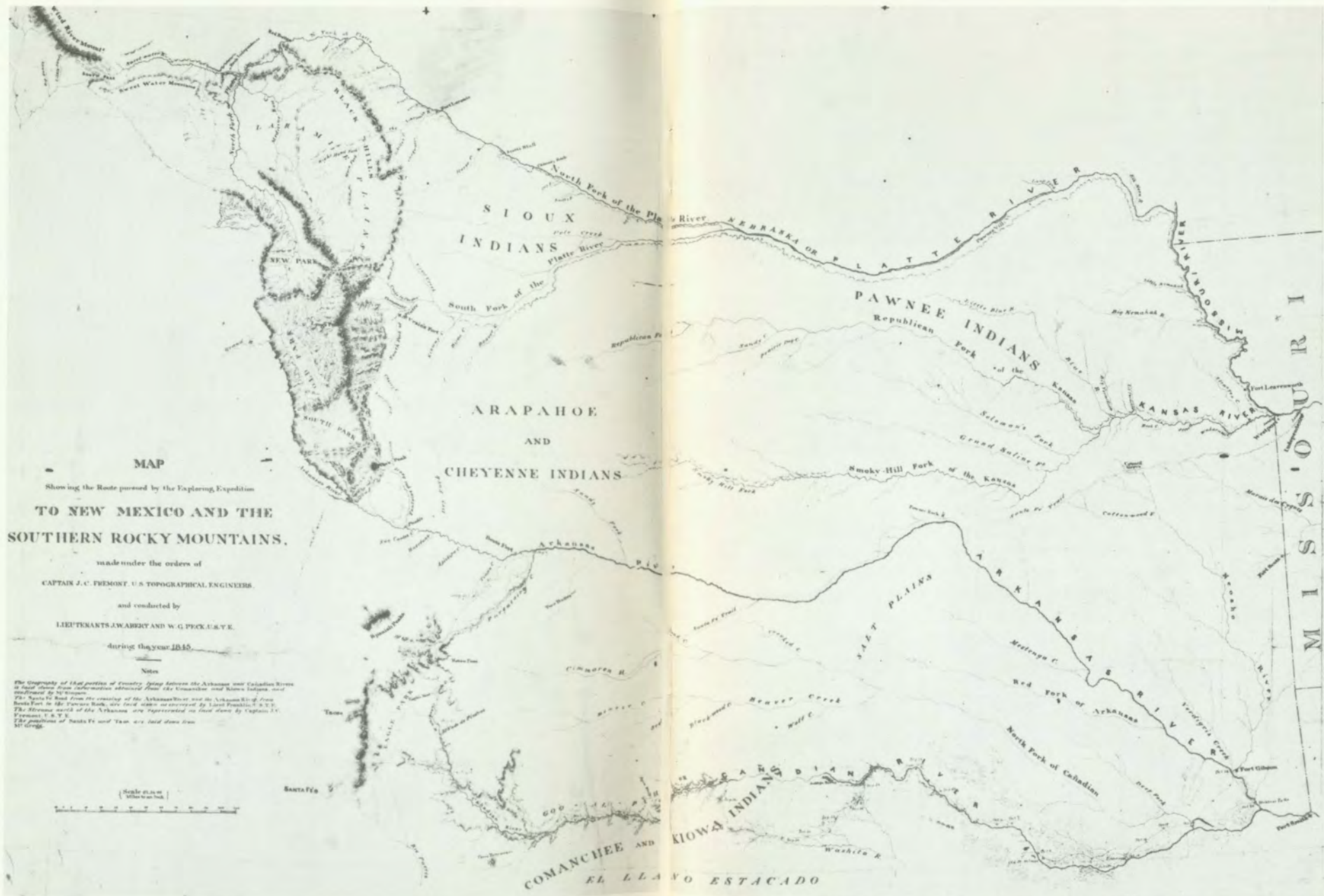
<sup>3</sup> U.S., Congress, House, Col. Dodge's Journal, H. Doc. 181, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 1835-36(?), p. 24; Louis Pelzer, ed., "Captain Ford's Journal of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12 (March 1926):566-67. See also Lecompte, "Gant's Fort and Bent's Picket Post," pp. 111-25.

<sup>4</sup> At this time the Comanche ranged from the Arkansas to the Texas Gulf Coast and into northern Mexico, living in winter upon the headwaters of the Trinity and Red rivers and in the Wichita Mountains and in the summer on the prairies beside the Canadian and Arkansas rivers. U.S., Congress, House, H. G. Catlett to Medill, May 12, 1849, H. Exec. Doc. 5, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1849, p. 967. The Kiowa lived south of the Arkansas and north of the Wichita Mountains, but they also ranged far to the south and west. James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 171-74.

<sup>5</sup> See Janet Lecompte, "Auguste Pierre Chouteau" in *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen, 9 volumes to date (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965-72), 9:63-90; George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 35-62; Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 171-74.

<sup>6</sup> Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904-07), 20:108.

<sup>7</sup> John E. Sunder, ed., *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 143; J. Neilson Barry, "Journal of E. Willard Smith while with the Fur Traders, Vásquez and Sublette, in the Rocky Mountain Region," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 14 (September 1938):258; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* (1843), ed. R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* 28:165; F. A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1912), p. 141.



A map of the area served by the traders' forts east of the central Rockies.

Fork of the river Platte, about 50 miles east of the Rocky Mountains, and 12 miles above the junction of the Cashe [sic] La Poudre with the Platte; on Boiling Fountain Creek about 20 miles above the mouth of the River St. Charles north side of the Arkansas, and about sixty miles east of Pike's Peak; and at Gant's old Fort, six miles below the mouth of the St. Charles River on the north side of the Arkansas; and about 7[5?] miles east of Pike's Peak, with the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaha & Kieway Indians." By July 26, 1838, when Bent, St. Vrain and Company next was issued a two-year license, its capital, number of traders, and trading locations had increased. The license showed thirty-one men employed at Fort William; at Big Timbers; at Fountain Creek; "at Fort Lookout, on the South Fork of the River Platte, about 15 miles east of the Rocky Mountains, and twelve miles above the junction of the Cache La Poudre with the Platte; and at Wolf's Den, about sixty miles north of the Spanish Peaks, on the north side of the Arkansas and about 5 miles below the river Warfeno; with the Cheyennes, Sioux, Arrapahoes, & Kiowa Indians."<sup>8</sup>

Although the Comanche were not mentioned in the above trading licenses, the Kiowa were. The Bents did not necessarily trade with these Indians, for licenses signified intent only. If there was such a trade, it probably was not carried on in Kiowa country, as none of the Bents' licenses for these years mention trading locations south of the Arkansas. The licenses show that the company was steadily expanding its trade along the north side of the Arkansas and to and beyond the South Platte between 1835 and 1840, and if the Kiowa were customers they probably came to Bent's Fort to trade.



It would appear, then, that the Bents did not trade with the Comanche at all from 1836 to 1840 and built no post, or none of consequence, south of the Arkansas during that period. The posts on the Canadian did not exist at this time, according to Josiah Gregg's map of 1844 showing his routes to and from New Mexico in 1839 and 1840. Neither his outgoing route to Santa Fe along the north bank of the Canadian in the year 1839 nor his return route in 1840 on the south side of the river indicates any trading post.<sup>9</sup>

After Chouteau's death the Comanche suffered from lack of trade. In 1839 Josiah Gregg and an escort of U.S. dragoons marching up the Canadian River met Comanche who refused to smoke the peace pipe with these men who were thought to be Texans. When the Indians recognized Gregg's party as Americans, they were welcomed, "for we like to trade with the white man," said the chief.<sup>10</sup> Despite that sentiment the hostility of the horse thieves at Bent's Fort in the summer of 1839 probably ruined any chance of trade with the Bents until peace was restored formally. In the summer of 1840 peace was made between the Cheyenne and Arapaho on the one hand and the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache on the other, at a camp on the Arkansas near Bent's Fort.<sup>11</sup>

There is nothing to indicate that the Bents were included in this peace; nevertheless, on August 3, 1840, a partner of Bent, St. Vrain and Company, who had gone to St. Louis in May with the company wagons, took out a license for trading with the Comanche and Kiowa, perhaps in hopes that peace would be made in his absence. The locations for trade with the Comanche and Kiowa were described on the license as "a point on the Canadian forks of the Arkansas, near the junction of the north & south fork of the Canadian & west of Cross Timbers 200 miles."<sup>12</sup> These two locations are widely separated. The junction of the north and south forks of the Canadian is in eastern Oklahoma; Cross Timbers, a dense hardwood forest five to thirty miles wide, stretching north and south some four hundred miles between the Arkansas and the Brazos, was in the center

<sup>8</sup> U.S., Department of War, Office of Indian Affairs, *Abstract of Licenses Issued to Persons to Trade with the Indians, Letters Received*, St. Louis Superintendency, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>9</sup> Josiah Gregg, "A Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico," in Carl I. Wheat, *From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845*, vol. 2, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958), opp. p. 181.

<sup>10</sup> Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 20:126-27.

<sup>11</sup> Grinnell, *Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 63-69; Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 175-76. The Kiowa-Apache were Apache who had been attached firmly to the Kiowa tribe for many years.

<sup>12</sup> *Abstract of Licenses Issued*.

of Oklahoma.<sup>13</sup> Two hundred miles west of Cross Timbers could have referred to the site of Bent's Canadian River posts, but the designation is very vague. Perhaps trading houses or shacks sturdy enough to protect the trader and his goods were actually built at these two locations, only to disintegrate when the trader returned to Bent's Fort in the spring. It is more likely that no such temporary posts were erected, for in the summer of 1840 peace was yet to be achieved between the Bents and the Comanche.

In January 1841 Charles Bent wrote that he expected 1,500 lodges of Comanche near Bent's Fort in the spring, with an equal number of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux.<sup>14</sup> In March 1841 thirty-one Comanche and Kiowa chiefs arrived at Bent's Fort; and, wrote Charles Bent, "They have made peace with us."<sup>15</sup> The Comanche and Kiowa delegates accepted presents and asked that a white man be sent to their village nearby, as hostage to indicate Bent's good intentions. When an American trader set off for the village with his two Kiowa squaws, whom he meant to return to the Kiowa because he was tired of supporting them, on the second day out he was shot in the back. After the Indians made proper retribution for his death, peace was restored and the traders were sent into the Kiowa and Comanche country, more than doubling the number of Indians with whom the Bents traded.<sup>16</sup>

Although peace was made there is no evidence that traders sent to the Kiowa and Comanche in the fall and winter of 1841-42 built their posts on the Canadian River, and there is some evidence that they did not. The Bents' trading license for 1842 specifies trade with the Kiowa and Comanche at "Cross timbers & mouth of Beaver Creek on Red river,"<sup>17</sup> both of these locations being hundreds of miles from the later site of Adobe Walls.

By the fall of 1842, however, the first Bent post on the Canadian was erected. While his partners were in St. Louis in

<sup>13</sup> Randolph B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), pp. 84-85. See also accompanying "Map of the Country between the Frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico Embracing the Section Explored in 1849, 50, 51 & 52, by Capt. R. B. Marcy, 5th U.S. Infy."

<sup>14</sup> Charles Bent to Manuel Alvarez, Taos, N.M., January 16, 1841, Benjamin Read Collection, New Mexico State Archives and Records Service, Santa Fe.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, Taos, March 15, 1841, Read Collection.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Barclay to George Barclay, Fort William, March 12, 1841, Barclay Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.

<sup>17</sup> License issued to Bent, St. Vrain & Co., July 28, 1842. *Abstract of Licenses Issued*. Cross Timbers covered an enormous area and the location of a post therein would be impossible to pinpoint without better description. "Beaver Creek on Red river" refers to a site in the Comanche country on the Red River of Texas about fifty miles east of present Wichita Falls.

the summer of 1842, Charles Bent had been busy at Bent's Fort making another contact with the Comanche and Kiowa and sending traders to build the post on the Canadian, as was shown in June 1843 when Captain Philip St. George Cooke, camped at Walnut Fork with Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain, wrote in his journal:

With the Camanches and Kiowas Mr. Charles Bent made here last summer, a kind of peace or truce; they asked for traders amongst them, and in the fall he established a house about 200 miles to the South on the Canadian river.<sup>18</sup>

Contemporary Mexican records also testify that the Bents had established a fort on the Canadian before the summer of 1843. On June 5, 1843, the Juez de Paz of Las Vegas, New Mexico, reported that the Texan invaders of that spring had come "as far as Bent's Fort on the Rio Colorado [Canadian]."<sup>19</sup>

The 1842 post on the South Canadian River was of horizontally laid logs. It was located on the north side of the Canadian about a mile above the mouth of Mustang (Big Blue or Big Clear) Creek, between the Canadian and the high, sloping bluff to the north called *Gúadal Dóha* (Red Bluff) by the Kiowa when they held their annual sun dance there in the summer of 1840.<sup>20</sup> John Hatcher was its builder. Hatcher probably began trading with the Kiowa during the 1830s if they came to Bent's Fort; by 1845 he spoke their difficult language and had been adopted as a son by a Kiowa squaw.<sup>21</sup> The post dealt largely in mules and horses stolen from the Mexicans and in buffalo

<sup>18</sup> William E. Connelley, ed., "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 10 (1925): 239.

<sup>19</sup> Mexican Archives of New Mexico Doc. 7256, New Mexico State Archives and Records Center, Santa Fe.

<sup>20</sup> Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 175, 181, 183. Mooney's chief source is Kiowa tradition as recorded by Set-t'an (Little Bear) in a calendar history with pictographs representing the most important events of each year. Mooney says his interpretation of the pictographs is from Set-t'an as well as from old men of the tribe, white pioneers, and published sources; but he does not document his statements which are frequently inaccurate. Errors, for instance, in the following statement of Mooney on page 281 regarding the building of the log post on the Canadian are the date of the winter of 1843-44 and the site of the adobe post as above the log post: "In the following winter K'ódal-aká-i, 'Wrinkled-neck,' a clerk of the Bents, built a log trading house about a mile below *Gúadal Dóha*, 'Red Bluff,' on the South Canadian, near the mouth of Mustang creek and a few miles above Adobe Walls, in the Texas panhandle. . . . It is also stated that the same man, at a later period, built another trading post at a fine spring a few miles above this one at *Gúadal Dóha* on the same (north) side of the river." Rafael Chacon, a distinguished and well-educated man who traded in that region from 1856 to 1858 is the source for the "horizontally-laid logs." This description he must have obtained from the Indians, for by the time he was at the site, "the log fort of Bent & St. Vrain had entirely disappeared." Interview with Rafael Chacon by F. W. Cragin, Trinidad, Colo., December 20, 1907, Cragin Collection, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs.

<sup>21</sup> Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 181, 183; George Bent to F. W. Cragin, Colony, Okla., October 5, 1905, Cragin Collection; John Galvin, ed., *Through the Country of the Comanche Indians in the Fall of the Year 1845: The Journal of a U.S. Army Expedition Led by Lieutenant James W. Abert* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1970), p. 40.

robes, which were the chief trade products of the Kiowa and Comanche.<sup>22</sup> Business was good. A trader on the Platte reported in March 1843 that the Comanche trade had salvaged an otherwise poor year for Bent, St. Vrain and Company.<sup>23</sup>

The log post was not abandoned when the more famous adobe post was built down the river, as contemporary references to both posts indicate. In September 1845 Lieutenant James W. Abert wrote of "Bent's trading houses on the Canadian," in the spring of 1846 Charles Bent referred to "our forts on Red River," and in the fall of 1846 Ceran St. Vrain spoke of his "trading houses on 'El Rio Canadiano.'" <sup>24</sup> The references also suggest that neither post was given a name. Half a century after they were abandoned, George B. Grinnell called the later one "Fort Adobe," probably from information of George Bent. It would be most convenient to call it "Fort Adobe," as Grinnell's followers have done, but there is no contemporary reference to that or any other name. If either post had had so simple a name as "Fort Adobe," would not Bent, St. Vrain, and Abert have used it?<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Writes P. St. George Cooke of the Kiowa and Comanche in 1843: "Last year, near Chihuahua they took 150 women and children prisoners, having slain the men; they robbed them of horses and mules: these besides buffalo robes, they offer to Mr. Bent in trade; he declined the mules for fear of their stealing them." Connelley, "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12 (September 1925):240.

<sup>23</sup> "The news from the Arkansas is that Bent & St. Vrain have done nothing but look to their Comanche trade to bring them out which if report is true will do so." W. D. Hodgkiss to A. Drips, Platte River, March 25, 1843, Drips Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, Taos, March 4, 1846, Read Collection, U.S., President, *Message from the President of the United States, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Communicating a Report of an Expedition Led by Lieutenant Abert, on the Upper Arkansas and through the Country of the Comanche Indians, in the Fall of the Year 1845*, S. Doc. 438, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1846, pp. 6-7, 44, 48; U.S., Department of War, *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, a Report and Map of the Examination of New Mexico, Made by Lieutenant J. W. Abert, of the Topographical Corps.* S. Exec. Doc. 23, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1847, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> In a letter to George E. Hyde, George Bent referred to "Adobe Fort," perhaps meaning the adobe fort, for the half-Cheyenne Bent habitually left off definite or indefinite articles. Bent to Hyde, Colony, Okla., December 13, 1905, George Bent Papers, 1904-18, Denver Public Library Western Collection. Following this letter of Bent's, Hyde called the fort "Adobe Fort." See George E. Hyde, *A Life of George Bent, Written from his Letters*, ed. Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 67, and "Kit Carson's Fight at Adobe Fort," *Frontier Magazine* 4 (April 1906) 3-5. See also George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-22* 15 (1923):42. In one reference—but that one a much quoted source—Grinnell switched the name to "Fort Adobe"; see *The Fighting Cheyennes* (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 45, in which he was followed by Clarence A. Vandiver, *The Fur-Trade and Early Western Exploration* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1929), p. 281, and David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1954), p. 247. Neither the letters of Bent to Hyde in the Denver Public Library nor to F. W. Cragin in the Cragin Collection have "Fort Adobe" therein. Ruth M. Cristensen of the Southwest Museum (Los Angeles), depositor of many Bent letters to Grinnell, reports that a careful survey of these letters failed to turn up a single "Fort Adobe" (Christensen to Lecompte, September 29, 1971); nor does such appear in the detailed index to the two hundred Bent letters in the Coe Collection, Yale University (Archibald Hanna to Lecompte, February 18, 1972).

The success of the log post was sufficient to warrant the more permanent adobe fort, which was probably constructed in the spring or summer of 1845, to judge by lack of reference to it before the fall of 1845. Its builders were John Hatcher and, according to Cheyenne tradition, one Fisher, who could be only the well-known Bent trader Robert Fisher. They selected a site at a fine spring ten or twelve miles downstream from the log post, just above the mouth of what was later known as Bent Creek (or West Adobe Walls Creek, Kit Carson Creek, or Bosque Grande Creek), and two miles above and opposite the mouth of White Deer Creek.<sup>26</sup> Billy Dixon, who lived at the

<sup>26</sup> Both the Kiowa tradition as transmitted by James Mooney and the Cheyenne tradition as transmitted by George Bent must be used with great care. Mooney's interpretation of Set-t'an's Kiowa calendar history says the following: "In this winter (1845-46) K'odal-aká-i, 'Wrinkled-neck,' built a trading post on the South Canadian. . . . This post was in the panhandle of Texas, on the north bank of the South Canadian (*Gúadal P'a*, 'Red River') just above Bosque Grande creek and about 2 miles above the entrance of Red-deer creek (*Ko' gá-i P'a*, 'Elk Creek'). It was in a swampy and well-timbered location, just west of one of the main trails from Arkansas river southward. It was owned by William Bent, called by the Kiowa *Máñtahák'ia* ('Hook-nose-man,' 'Roman-nose') who, in the spring of 1844, had built a trading post, as already noted, at *Gúadal Dóha*, higher up on the same river. Both were in charge of a clerk known to the Kiowa as *K'odal-aká-i*, 'Wrinkled-neck.'" Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 283. There are some errors here. Bosque Grande Creek was Bent Creek, Red-deer Creek was White Deer Creek, and the post at *Gúadal Dóha* was built well before the spring of 1844 and not, if we believe Mooney's own statement elsewhere in the same book, by William Bent but by "Wrinkled-neck." George Bent writes: "Bent and St. Vrain built trading post on South Canadian River in 1844. Wrinkled Neck he was called by Indians Frackle Hands also. English name Hatcher and Fischer were the ones that built Adobe Walls on Canadian River this was built to trade with Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches as these tribes did not come to Bents Fort much to trade. Just before this these 3 Tribes were at war with Cheyennes and Arapahoes. This trading post did not do much these 3 Tribes were to hostile those days." George Bent to F. W. Cragin, Colony, Okla., October 5, 1905, Cragin Collection. Between 1905 and his death in 1918, George Bent, half-breed son of William Bent, wrote hundreds of letters about the Bents and Cheyennes to George B. Grinnell, George E. Hyde, and Francis W. Cragin. About the date of the founding of the adobe post on the Canadian, Bent's information is typically contradictory. To Cragin he wrote the date as 1844 (Colony, Okla., October 5, 1905, Cragin Collection); yet, only two months later he wrote Hyde that it was built in 1848 (Colony, Okla., December 13, 1905, Denver Public Library). Grinnell says Bent wrote him that "in 1912 an old Kiowa told him that Adobe Walls was built sixty-seven years before, i.e., 1845." Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders," p. 15n. Yet, a statement of Bent's reproduced in Olive K. Dixon's *Life of "Billy" Dixon, Plainsman, Scout and Pioneer* (Dallas: P. L. Turner Co., 1927), p. 133, says: "I cannot find out when it was built." Neither Grinnell nor Hyde were above tailoring Bent's material to fit their assumptions. Grinnell discards Bent's "old Kiowa" informant and his date of 1845 and concludes that the fort was built "before 1840, probably before 1837," basing the date upon an Indian tradition that in 1837 a party of Arapaho met the Kiowa and Comanche when they went somewhere to trade. "Probably to Fort Adobe, and not to Bent's Fort, for, as the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were constantly at Bent's in those days, the Kiowas and Comanches would not have gone to trade at a point where they would have been almost certain to meet enemies." Grinnell *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 48. Grinnell was apparently ignorant of A. P. Chouteau's posts where the Arapaho could have met the Kiowa and Comanche safely. Hyde similarly misused his source. In 1906 Hyde accented George Bent's date of 1848 for the founding of the fort. Hyde, "Kit Carson's Fight at Adobe Fort," p. 5, but later he appropriated Grinnell's erroneous date and actually put it into George Bent's mouth: "This post had been built many years before, probably before 1840, by my father and Ceran St. Vrain." Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, p. 356. Lavender set the founding of the fort as not before 1845 and did 1845, because Lt. James W. Abert passed the site in September 1845 and did not mention the fort in his report (see *Bent's Fort*, p. 405), but Lavender is in error. Abert not only mentioned "Bent's Houses" three times in the report but located both forts on his map (see pages 276-77).



The "battle site" at Adobe Walls.

site of the post for twenty years, described it as being on the east side of Bent's Creek close to the low sandhills of the Canadian and more than a mile from the river itself. The clear stream beside the fort was fringed with willows, cottonwood, hackberry, and chinaberry. In the trees "wild turkeys roosted by the thousands, while deer and antelopes in great herds grazed in the grassy bottoms."<sup>27</sup>

Descriptions of the adobe post are confusing. Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, passing the fort in 1853, described it as "a large building finely situated in a grove of trees, and containing a spring of water within the court. An acequia from the river insured the garden in front from the ill effects of a dry season. The place is now desolate, its only use being to designate a ford."<sup>28</sup> The trader Rafael Chacon found the adobe walls in good preservation in 1856-58 and indicated that the fort had been a large and strong one with yard-thick walls eighteen or twenty feet high and loop-holed or port-holed all around, enclosing a space perhaps three hundred paces square. There were four towers, one on each corner, and log buildings around the inside of the walls. The entrance was in the middle of the south wall. Chacon noted also that the post was located half a mile from the Canadian on a "nice little creek" where there were many large cottonwoods.<sup>29</sup> Captain George A. Pettis, with the Kit

Carson campaign against the Plains Indians in 1864, took part in the "Battle of Adobe Walls" and described the wall as nine feet high, enclosing a space eighty feet on a side, with a gate on the east side, which disagrees in almost every particular with Rafael Chacon's description.<sup>30</sup> In 1877 Tom Autobees visited what was left of the post and drew a little diagram of it.<sup>31</sup> Autobees said that the creek running near the old fort was called Adobe Walls or Kit Carson Creek. Set-t'an, James Mooney's Kiowa source in "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," used a drawing of the fort or of a building within the fort as the symbol for the outstanding event in Kiowa history of the winter of 1845-46.<sup>32</sup>

The adobe post appears to have been in operation only two years, 1845 and 1846, and Ceran St. Vrain was its chief trader. In February 1845 St. Vrain wrote from Bent's Fort to his partner Charles Bent at Taos that he had not gone to trade with the Kiowa in the early part of the winter of 1844-45 because of lack of men and animals and because both William Bent and he thought they could trade all their goods on the Arkansas; but now it appeared that if St. Vrain did not trade with the Kiowa, the company would have half its goods left on hand. St. Vrain also reported that William Bent, trading with Yellow Wolf's Cheyenne on the Cimarron, thought the Kiowa would come to trade on the Arkansas. St. Vrain does not say in this letter, dated February 11, 1845, that his Kiowa trade otherwise would have been conducted in the adobe fort on the Canadian; in fact, there is nothing in St. Vrain's letter to indicate that either post existed or did not exist at this time.<sup>33</sup>

By the fall of 1845, however, there is no doubt that both posts existed and that St. Vrain was the partner in charge. Lieutenant James W. Abert, who left Bent's Fort for the Canadian with John Hatcher as guide in August 1845, expected to find the Comanche and Kiowa assembled at "Bent's trading houses on the Canadian," waiting for Bent's wagons.<sup>34</sup> Presumably the wagons arrived shortly, for St. Vrain spent the fall and winter of 1845-46 trading at the "forts on Red River," as Charles Bent called them. St. Vrain wrote Bent at the end of December that he had so far traded 750 robes and that prospects for a good trade were fair.<sup>35</sup> By early 1846 war was ex-

<sup>27</sup> Olive K. Dixon, *Life of "Billy" Dixon*, p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> "Extracts from the Preliminary Report of Explorations for a Railway Route . . . from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 13 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Beverley Tucker Printer, 1859-60) 3:33-34.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Chacon by Cragin.

<sup>30</sup> Capt. George A. Pettis, quoted in Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1868* (N.Y.: Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935) 2:736.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Tom Autobees by F. W. Cragin, Avondale, July 29, 1908, Cragin Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 183.

<sup>33</sup> St. Vrain to Bent, Fort William, February 11, 1845, Read Collection.

<sup>34</sup> Abert, *Through the Country of the Comanche Indians*, pp. 5, 38-39, 40, 43, 44.

<sup>35</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, n.p., n.d. (February 1846?), Read Collection.

pected between the United States and Mexico, and Charles Bent wrote on March 4 that runners from Comanche traders had reported that the Comanche were afraid to go to "our forts on Red River" because of a rumor of troops there. On March 6 Bent announced that one of the traders had deserted from the fort on Red River and had come to Taos, bringing a Spanish woman who had been prisoner among the Kiowa. St. Vrain, he wrote, was trading very well, and the Indian villages were beginning to approach the fort for trade.<sup>36</sup> It was not long after this optimistic report that St. Vrain abandoned his Canadian River forts, for he was back at Taos at the end of April 1846.<sup>37</sup>

After the abandonment of the fort contemporary letters and reports and eyewitness descriptions are not available. However, there are stories told at second or third hand, tribal legends, and rumors. Certain similarities exist in these stories: Indian hostility, for instance, is a theme common to all of them. Each one, perhaps, contains some truth; but sources are generally unidentified or unreliable, and differences from one account to another are so marked that none can be fully credited.

The story of Ceran St. Vrain's departure—and the only story that mentions him—was told by scout Billy Peacock many years later:

The Kiowas and Comanches had run off [St. Vrain's] stock. He ran up a white flag and invited their chiefs in for a council. As soon as these chiefs entered the stockade he closed the doors and promised them death unless the stock was returned speedily and he was given safe conduct to Bent's Fort.<sup>38</sup>

Billy Peacock's story is plausible, but it is undated and its source unknown.

George Bent's story is also plausible, if undated, and he gives his source:

In 1868 Maxwell told me and also Black Beaver Delaware Indian there were six of them that left this post in the night. The Comanches had taken all the ponies from there. They buried every thing and left afoot in the night they all wore Moccasins. They told me they had awful time in walking on prickly pears at night they were making back for Bents Fort. They took nothing except plenty of amunition, as there was all kinds of game in the Country then. Black Beaver told me they killed fat wild horses on Cimmaron River and roasted ribs.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, Taos, March 4, 5, and 19, 1846, Read Collection.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, Taos, May 1, 1846, Read Collection.

<sup>38</sup> Paul I. Wellman, "Some Famous Kansas Frontier Scouts," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (August 1932):347.

<sup>39</sup> George Bent to F. W. Cragin, Colony, Okla., October 5, 1905, Cragin Collection.

To George Grinnell, Bent expanded his story, which could have referred to an earlier departure, perhaps from the log fort in 1842 or 1843 when Carson and Maxwell were known to have been working for the Bents. William Bent, said his son, sent his best men—(Kit) Carson, (John) Smith, (Lucas) Murray, (Lucien B.) Maxwell, (Robert) Fisher, and two Mexicans—a cook and a herder—to the Canadian to start a trade chiefly for horses and mules. They remained for some time and traded quite a herd of animals. One day the Indians killed their Mexican herder and drove off all their animals but two or three. The traders buried most of their goods and started at dark on foot for Bent's Fort. Cactus pierced their moccasined feet causing inflammation and fever. At daylight hostile Indians appeared. Murray told his men to bunch up the mules and scatter out. They shot three Indians and three or four horses, the Indians withdrew, and the Bent men made it safely to the Arkansas.<sup>40</sup> It is curious that no one but George Bent tells of this singular adventure; available biographies of Carson, Smith, Maxwell, and Fisher do not mention it except with George Bent as the source.<sup>41</sup>

A third story of the abandonment of the post, told by Dick Wootton as his own experience, sets the date as the winter and spring of 1849-50, which is impossible, since Bent's Old Fort was abandoned in 1849. Wootton relates that two or three Comanche came to Bent's Fort demanding a trader to buy their robes and buckskins on the Canadian. Wootton took twelve or fifteen men and two wagon loads of goods and went down to the adobe fort on the Canadian. The traders remained "pretty much all winter" shut up in the fort, for the Comanche were not friendly. Two or three Indians were all that the traders allowed inside the fort at one time, and they passed goods out through a hole in the wall the size and shape of a ticket window, at which the Indians would shoot. The traders started home in the spring with twelve big Pennsylvania wagons loaded with furs and reached Bent's Fort without having to do any fighting, after what Wootton called "the most hazardous trading expedition I ever had anything to do with."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 308-10, 319-31.

<sup>41</sup> The latest biography of Kit Carson is Harvey Lewis Carter's "Dear Old Kit": *The Historical Christopher Carson* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968) which follows Lavender's *Bent's Fort* in allowing Kit a winter at Bent's Canadian post, but the editor has a difficult time in finding a period when Kit was not otherwise occupied between 1842 and 1849 and does not quite succeed. Kit's memoirs say nothing about it. See also the following writings in Hafén, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*: Ann W. Hafén, "John Simpson Smith," 5:325-45; Harvey L. Carter, "Lucien Maxwell," 6:299-306; and Harvey L. Carter, "Robert Fisher," 4:97-102.

<sup>42</sup> H. L. Conard, "Uncle Dick" Wootton (1890; Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1957).



Rumor or confusion with others forts may have caused the conceptions held by later visitors to the adobe fort. Lieutenant W. C. Whiting, exploring the Texas frontier in the winter of 1849-50, referred vaguely in his report to the Comanche as the "destroyers of Bent's fort."<sup>43</sup> Lieutenant Whipple passed the ruins in 1853 and wrote: "There, many years ago, whiskey was sold to the Indians, who, in a fit of intoxication, murdered the occupants and set fire to the establishment"—indeed, the tragic end of many a post, but not this one.<sup>44</sup> Edward F. Beale, who visited the ruins in 1858, wrote that William Bent had built Adobe Walls as a branch of Bent's Fort and "becoming disgusted one day at the Indians who had killed some of his oxen, he fired and destroyed it and left for Bent's Fort," a probable confusion with the big post on the Arkansas.<sup>45</sup>

Neither primary sources nor the many dubious versions of the abandonment of the forts on the Canadian leave a clear idea of how that event occurred. Primary sources at least reveal that it was Ceran St. Vrain (and not Murray or Wootton) who was in charge in the spring of 1846 and that the posts were abandoned between March and May of that year because of Comanche hostility, which was to continue unabated for three more years.

Comanche hostility was becoming manifest by the spring of 1846. In May a Bent, St. Vrain and Company train was attacked and one man killed near Pawnee Fork on the Santa Fe Trail by Indians who were thought to be Comanche.<sup>46</sup> In June Comanche were reported hostile to the whites, and the Cheyenne refused to visit them.<sup>47</sup> In the fall when Lieutenant Abert asked Ceran St. Vrain his opinion of the Canadian River as a

227-30. Wootton himself spent that winter at Taos, serving as juror, acting as guardian for children of Simeon Turley, posting bond as sheriff, and greeting the survivors of Frémont's fourth expedition.

<sup>43</sup> U.S., Senate, Lt. W. H. C. Whiting, *Reconnaissance of the Western Frontier of Texas*, S. Exec. Doc. 64, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1850, p. 249.

<sup>44</sup> See Lt. A. W. Whipple's report in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys* 3:33-34. The murder of all the occupants of the post would hardly have passed unnoticed, but there is no contemporary corroboration of this alleged event.

<sup>45</sup> U.S., House, E. F. Beale, *Wagon Road—Fort Smith to Colorado River*, H. Exec. Doc. 42, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, p. 25. If Beale is not confusing Bent's abandonment of this post with Bent's Fort, his statement tends to support Lavender's contention that William Bent built the post himself, traded there, and destroyed it. Lavender bases his assumption on his own statement that "William Bent was the partner in direct charge of Indian relations and field operations" and that George Bent, in a letter to Hyde, December 13, 1905, says, according to Lavender, that "his father was the builder of Fort Adobe." See Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, p. 405. George Bent actually said: "Adobe fort was built by William Bent & St. Vrain," probably referring to the firm, for, as we have seen, George Bent described Hatcher and Fisher as its builders.

<sup>46</sup> Louise Barry, "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (Autumn 1964):358.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Bent to Alvarez, June 11, 1846, Read Collection.

route for returning to the United States, St. Vrain, said Abert, "cautioned me not to attempt it, as he had been warned by the Kioways of a settled determination of the Camanches to kill all the whites who would attempt to go through their country, and therefore he had not sent any persons to his trading houses on 'El Rio Canadiano.'"<sup>48</sup> By mid-May 1847 the Comanche had begun their most intense season of attacks against trains and troops on the Santa Fe Trail. By August they returned to their own country for their fall hunt, but their white scalp-count for the summer was sixty, along with about 330 wagons and 6,500 head of stock stolen or destroyed.<sup>49</sup>



A Comanche attack on a wagon train.

Despite the relentless hostility of the Comanche, Bent, St. Vrain and Company took out a license on September 10, 1847, to trade with the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Pawnee, "and others," their trade locations including "Wolf tail creek, Canadian fork, and False Wachita south of the Arkansas river,"

<sup>48</sup> U.S., Senate, *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating . . . a Report and Map of the Examination of New Mexico, Made by Lieutenant J. W. Abert*, S. Exec. Doc. 23, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1847, p. 96. The Comanche were angry at the great mortality from measles among their children, which they attributed to the "evil breath" of the white man, but their continuing hostility had deeper causes.

<sup>49</sup> Barry, "Kansas before 1854" 30 (Winter 1964):500-36 passim. Thomas Fitzpatrick counted only twenty-seven white men killed that summer.

in the heart of the Comanche range.<sup>50</sup> If the Bents hoped that Comanche fury would cease before the winter was out, they were to be disappointed, and they surely sent no men to these dangerous locations.

Early in 1848 Lieutenant Colonel William Gilpin marched into Comanche country with about three hundred Missouri volunteers and was reported to have "made considerable slaughter" among the Indians.<sup>51</sup> In February 1848 the Kiowa told Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick that they meant to terminate their alliance with the hostile Comanche and to join the peaceful Cheyenne on the Arkansas, as they did.<sup>52</sup> The Comanche continued their attacks on travelers on the Santa Fe Trail in May and June 1848, and in July soldiers were again sent against them but ineffectively. By the middle of July their attacks ceased, and they apparently returned to their country to hunt. In October 1848 Fitzpatrick had a council with six hundred lodges of Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, and Arapaho at Big Timbers on the Arkansas, but only a small part of the Comanche nation was represented.<sup>53</sup> It was not until the middle of February 1849 that four delegates from different bands of Comanche arrived at Bent's Fort to make peace, which Fitzpatrick accepted;<sup>54</sup> but again a peace made with a few bands did not mean peace with the entire tribe, as plainsmen all knew.

Hostility of the Indians hastened the demise of Bent, St. Vrain and Company. In the summer of 1848 Ceran St. Vrain returned to St. Louis, settled up the company's debts, dissolved the firm, and went to live out his life as a contractor, merchant, and miller in New Mexico, leaving William Bent as the only remaining member of the original firm on the Arkansas. In July 1848 Bent took a license in his own name to trade with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Sioux, Apache, and Kiowa, listing his traders as John Smith, Charles Vashen, Alexis Mason, John Hatcher, William Peterson, Andrew (black), E. Longlade, Alexis Duran, Blas Garcia, and M. Derosia. The next year at the same time he took out another license identical in every respect except that the employees were listed as John Smith, Charles Vashen, P. Carboni, Marsin, Charles McCue, J. Denison, R. Fisher, B. Riter, and J. Sanders.<sup>55</sup> He did not expect to trade

with the Comanche, nor were his old employees Kit Carson, Lucien Maxwell, Dick Wootton, Luke Murray, and Black Beaver among his traders.

It is highly unlikely that William Bent ever tried to trade at his Canadian River posts again. His licenses of 1848 and 1849 indicate no such intention, and Indian hostility would have made trade not only dangerous but also unprofitable. Nevertheless, David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* sets an arbitrary date of the winter of 1848-49 to reopen the fort, first, with Carson, Maxwell, Smith, Fisher, and Murray who limp back to Bent's Fort in their tattered moccasins; second, with Dick Wootton and his Pennsylvania wagons; and third, with William Bent himself, who blows up the fort after his oxen are stolen.<sup>56</sup>

In reality, it was no time to be opening, reopening, or even maintaining a Plains Indian trading post. Posts which had existed as late as the fall of 1848—Fort Laramie, Pueblo, Hard-scrabble, and Bent's Fort—were all out of business by the fall of 1849. In August 1849 William Bent removed his property from Bent's Fort, blew up its magazine, and abandoned it, "it being considered by him impossible to hold possession of it against the united tribes of Indians hovering around it."<sup>57</sup> Afterwards Bent settled down quietly in Big Timbers, thirty-five miles east of his old fort, and spent the rest of his days trading with his wife's people, the Cheyenne.

In the meantime the trading posts on the Canadian decayed. General John P. Hatch remembered in later years that he had examined Adobe Walls in 1848, when "only the broken walls were to be seen and that there was much to indicate that the place long since had been abandoned."<sup>58</sup> A gold seeker of 1849 wrote that his party had gone up the Canadian until it came to "Bent's old semi-dilapidated fort."<sup>59</sup>

The old buildings disappeared into campfires and the old adobe walls melted down in the wind and rain, but for another quarter-century the ruins had their uses. In 1864 Kit Carson kept his horses and wounded men within the weathered walls during battle.<sup>60</sup> By this time the ruins had acquired the name

<sup>50</sup> D. D. Mitchell to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, September 13, 1847, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, St. Louis Superintendency.

<sup>51</sup> Barry, "Kansas before 1854," 31 (Summer 1965):140.

<sup>52</sup> U.S. House, Thomas Fitzpatrick to Thomas H. Harvey, St. Louis, October 6, 1848, H. Exec. Doc. 1, 30th Cong., 2d sess., 1848, pp. 470-73.

<sup>53</sup> Barry, "Kansas before 1854," 31 (Summer 1965):140-73, 188.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Thomas Fitzpatrick, St. Louis, May 22, 1849, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, St. Louis Superintendency.

<sup>55</sup> *Register of Licensed Traders, 1847-1873*, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, courtesy of Jane F. Smith.

<sup>56</sup> Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, pp. 309-10.

<sup>57</sup> *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), October 2, 1849, quoted in Arthur Woodward, "Sidelights on Bent's Old Fort," *The Colorado Magazine* 33 (October 1956), p. 278.

<sup>58</sup> Olive K. Dixon, *Life of "Billy" Dixon*, p. 132.

<sup>59</sup> *The Southern Shield* (Helena, Ark.) December 22, 1849, p. 2, quoted in Grant Foreman, *Marcy & the Gold Seekers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 263.

<sup>60</sup> The best-documented account is C. B. McClure, ed., "The Battle of Adobe Walls, 1864," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 21 (1948):18-65.



Artists' views of the "Battle of Adobe Walls" reflect historical confusion and artistic license.



"Adobe Walls," which later was adopted by a nearby town established in the spring of 1874 by buffalo hunters from Dodge City. They too had a fight with the Kiowa and Comanche, and thus the "Battle of Adobe Walls" came to refer to either of the two famous fights.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Billy Dixon's account is still the most exciting (Olive K. Dixon, *Life of "Billy" Dixon*, pp. 131-83), but a good scholarly account is G. Derek West's

One of the buffalo hunters, Billy Dixon, returned to Adobe Walls in 1883 and filed claim on three sections of land on Bent Creek. There he married, raised a family, and lived for nearly twenty years in a house whose front yard encompassed the former site of the ruins. When the south wind swept the sand from the yard, the foundations of the old fort could be seen. Wrote Billy: "Whoever built those walls certainly built them well," a belated and anonymous tribute to the first white occupants of the Texas panhandle.<sup>62</sup>

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"The Battle of Adobe Walls (1874)," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 36 (1963):1-36.

<sup>62</sup> Olive K. Dixon, *Life of "Billy" Dixon*, p. 241.

## Philip Washburn: "A Thorough Colorado Man"

BY GEORGE V. FAGAN

The literature of Colorado abounds with examples of dying health seekers who recovered and then lived on to die in their eighties and nineties. Little, however, is written of the men and women whose health was not restored and who succumbed to the ravages of the dread disease of the past century, tuberculosis. Philip Washburn was one of the unlucky ones. He died at age thirty-seven after having lived in Colorado for just a little over five years. Yet, in these pain-wracked five years he accomplished more than most people do in a full lifetime. He organized a vibrant congregation; erected a church building which is a distinctive landmark in Colorado Springs today; helped bring organized collegiate athletics to the state; served as a trustee of Colorado College; organized the Mahogany Club, which evolved into the Winter Night Club and which still brings famous speakers from all over the world to address civic, business, and educational leaders; strengthened the Colorado Springs Ministerial Association by his precept and example; and, among other things, was a pioneer Colorado user of the typewriter and the bicycle. This paper will attempt to unfold the story of this dynamic young clergyman as reflected through his letters written to his mother back in New England. After her son's death in 1898 the elder Mrs. Washburn carefully organized Philip's letters into bound books. At her death, at age ninety-three, the letters along with scrapbooks of clippings, photographs, and related materials, passed to her daughter and more recently were deposited in Tutt Library of The Colorado College. Preserved in these letters is an important chapter of Colorado history during the exciting years of the 1890s, when the impact of the wealth flowing from the mines at Cripple Creek was being felt on Colorado Springs and the whole of Colorado.<sup>1</sup>

Philip Moen Washburn was born August 2, 1861, at Wor-

cester, Massachusetts. He was the third son in a family of eight children born to Charles Francis and Mary Whiton Washburn. On the Washburn side he was a direct descendant of William Bradford who came to America in 1620 on the *Mayflower* and who was elected governor of Plymouth Colony in 1621 following the death of John Carver. On the Whiton side Philip was a descendant of another famous *Mayflower* Pilgrim, John Alden. Philip attended grade school and high school in his native city.

In 1878 he entered Harvard as a member of the Class of 1882. During the four years, it is recorded that Philip Washburn "was a widely known and popular member of the Class, prominent in his studies and in social life."<sup>2</sup> He was a member of the Harvard Union, the Historical Society, the Natural History Society, the Hasty Pudding Club (dramatics), and served as the editor of a student publication called the *Echo*. He was also an avid sportsman, especially in baseball where he played as first baseman on the varsity team. Philip Washburn graduated with honors in history. According to the Sixth Report of the Harvard Class of 1882, "he was one of the very few men of the Class who, as an undergraduate, was an effective speaker at class meetings or on other public occasions." Considering that among Philip's classmates was George Lyman Kittredge, this observation takes on more significant meaning. Another classmate, Francis Whittemore Cragin, who graduated magna cum laude, served as professor of geology at Colorado College from 1891 to 1903.<sup>3</sup>

After graduating from Harvard, young Washburn spent one year at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Here he met Miss Miriam Phillips Storrs, the youngest daughter of the Reverend and Mrs. Richard Salter Storrs of Brooklyn, where Dr. Storrs served as the pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, where Henry Ward Beecher, the renowned abolitionist preacher, served for many years. Philip and Miriam were married on June 5, 1883, in the Church of the Pilgrims. Shortly after the ceremony, the young couple sailed for a two-year stay in Europe. Philip enrolled as a student at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin for two semesters and then spent one year at Cambridge University in England.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to his mother on July 25, 1898, Philip Washburn wrote that "I have become a thorough Colorado man." Philip Washburn Papers, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs. The papers consist of photographs, clippings, and bound volumes of letters written to his mother between 1872 and 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Sixth Report of the Harvard Class of 1882, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The massive Francis W. Cragin Collection of notes and correspondence on western history has been used by Janet Lecompte in "Bent, St. Vrain and Company among the Comanche and Kiowa" in this issue of *The Colorado Magazine*.—Ed.

Shortly after returning to the U.S. in November 1885, Philip Washburn was ordained a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The following year, he was ordained to the priesthood in All Saints Church, Worcester, Massachusetts, where he served as an assistant rector from 1884 to 1887. In 1887 he was named rector of St. John's Church in Northampton, Massachusetts. Here he built a parish house and a fine church.

While serving as the rector of St. John's, Mr. Washburn was stricken with tuberculosis. In late 1892 the Washburns took a leave of absence from St. John's and went to Saranac Lake, New York, hoping that the invigorating climate and beautiful, restful scenery of the Adirondacks would enable Philip to recuperate. Encouraged by a definite improvement in his physical condition, the Washburns returned to Massachusetts and visited briefly with his parents at Princeton. But by mid-1893 Philip felt that he could not withstand another harsh New England winter and felt compelled to resign his pastorate.

In a letter to his mother dated May 7, 1893, Philip first mentioned the possibility of his going to Colorado in order to regain his health in a more favorable climate. On July 10, 1893, he wrote: "I had a letter from Dr. Fisk in Denver this morning. He is a nephew of Mrs. Fisk of Northampton."<sup>4</sup> A week later, he told his mother: "I had a letter from Colorado Springs today which I will send tomorrow." He added a postscript reading: "I enclose the Colorado Springs letter. It is from Bishop Porter's son-in-law."<sup>5</sup> In August Philip wrote: "I cannot help thinking a great deal about Colorado Springs but I shall wait for a call before serious consideration. I shall be most happy if some place opens where we can settle in the fall." Before a month passed Philip received the formal call and in late September headed westward with his wife and three daughters. The train ride was exciting for all, especially when they had an opportunity to see Niagara Falls. Then they went on to Chicago for a four-day stopover to rest and were "delighted" with their two visits to the Columbian Exposition. As the train crossed the Missouri River, Philip anxiously wrote his mother: "Tomorrow about eight we shall know what the promised land is like." On September 27, 1893, Philip sent a Western Union Telegram from

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Samuel Fisk, a graduate of Harvard, was a great believer in climate as a cure for tuberculosis and was a staunch advocate of sending his patients to Colorado Springs for treatment.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the Colorado Springs letter is missing from the collection, but without a doubt it must have contained the first unofficial call from the newly established congregation of St. Stephen. The letter was written by Mason Davidge who was elected a vestryman of St. Stephen's Church on March 27, 1894.



*Philip Washburn,  
soon after his  
arrival in  
Colorado Springs.*

Colorado Springs to his brother, Henry, which read: "We are safely here. Place most attractive and picturesque."

Later in the day, writing from their temporary quarters, a boardinghouse on North Cascade Avenue, Philip described "the promised land" in more vivid details. He wrote:

Here we are, safe and sound, with the long journey safely behind us. And this is a wonderful, a grand place. It is on a broad plateau from which the grand mountains rise in their majesty. There is no snow on them now; the tops seems to be of rock. There is a good deal of deep yellow coloring to them which adds much to the effect.

He went on to say: "After the long ride over the plains the first view of the heights is electrifying." Philip then explained to his mother that when the train arrived in Colorado Springs at 8:30 A.M., Dr. Samuel Edwin Solly,<sup>6</sup> the senior warden of St. Stephen's Church, was on hand to welcome the Washburns. After the preliminary greetings Philip told Dr. Solly of how surprised he was to look out the car windows and see fog. The

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Solly came from London, England, to the Colorado Springs area in 1875. During the next thirty years, he became recognized throughout the medical profession as an authority on the treatment of tuberculosis by climatology. His book on the subject, *The Health Resorts of Colorado Springs and Manitou* (Colorado Springs: Gazette Publishing Co., 1883), became a standard work, and he wrote voluminously in professional journals. Through his writings, Dr. Solly promoted Colorado Springs and its salubrious climate as an ideal health resort. He influenced his fellow physicians in the United States and abroad to send their consumptive patients to Colorado Springs for its health-giving qualities, its beautiful surroundings, and its excellent cultured society. Billy M. Jones, in his book *Health-Seekers in the South West, 1817-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 161, remarks: "So convincing were his [Dr. Solly's] professional articles that many of his eastern colleagues sent their patients to Colorado Springs without ever having visited the City." With the financial assistance of General Palmer, Dr. Solly founded Cragmor Sanitarium, which in 1965 became the home of the Colorado Springs Campus of the University of Colorado.

eminent physician and climatologist hastened to assure Philip that it was "an exceptional condition" for Colorado Springs. That morning Philip Washburn and Dr. Solly entered into a warm personal friendship as well as a close professional relationship.

Philip and his family adjusted well to the climate of their new city. On September 29 Philip exuberantly wrote:

This is a marvellous day. Clear sunlight, a pleasant breeze, and the mountains covered with shadows and changing colors. It is just what we looked for. Yesterday was raining just like a New England day. The mountain tops are all covered with snow as a result.



*Pikes Peak with a dusting of snow.*

He commented that all people he had met so far seemed "very pleasant." Philip was particularly impressed by the members of the vestry and was looking forward to getting to know them better. On October 1, 1893, Philip Washburn conducted his first service for the congregation of St. Stephen's Parish. The service was held in the old building formerly occupied by

the Second Congregational Church located on Bijou Street between Tejon and Nevada. In his letter that day, Philip gave his mother all the details:

The first service passed off very smoothly this morning. I was agreeably surprised with the interior of the church. It is small and evidently a makeshift but the chancel is very satisfactorily furnished. It was a blustering morning but there were about a hundred present, 36 at Communion. From the calls we have had we can see that we are going to be thrown with the very pleasantest people. The present arrangement of services includes only one sermon on Sunday and I shall make no change in this until I have become more familiar with the needs of the parish. I am not going to force the work at all for the present.

Growing dissatisfaction with the Reverend A. R. Keiffer, rector of Grace Church for ten years, had led some members to create a second Episcopal Church in Colorado Springs.<sup>7</sup> The matter came to a head at the annual meeting of Grace Church held on April 4, 1893, when a majority of the 153 people present voted to retain Mr. Keiffer; the defeated faction headed by Dr. Solly decided to start their own church.<sup>8</sup> Plans for organizing St. Stephen's parish were under way in early summer; but, because of the adverse economic effects of the Panic of 1893, plans to build a new church building were delayed. Instead arrangements were made to rent the old Congregational Church on Bijou Street and modify it so that it would be suitable for the Episcopal liturgy. Then a committee set about the task of selecting a clergyman to become their spiritual leader. For a few months, on a temporary basis, the Reverend A. B. Nichols conducted the services. A vestryman, Mason Davidge, then wrote to Philip Washburn. The formal call asked Philip to serve as interim rector for three to six months with a view toward becoming the permanent rector.

By October 9, 1893, the Washburns were settled in their newly rented home on North Tejon Street. Little Miriam and Ruth Washburn started to attend a kindergarten operated by Dr. Solly's daughter. Philip was especially pleased when he was able to engage a cook for \$20 a month. Since Philip had a large store of sermons prepared for his Massachusetts parishes, he was under no great pressure to compose new ones for the St. Stephen's congregation. This significant factor enabled him to relax and to become better acquainted with his new environ-

<sup>7</sup> Grace Church archives contain several typewritten histories which cite neither author nor date. Similar items on St. Stephen's are included in the Washburn Papers.

<sup>8</sup> *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, April 5, 1893, p. 4.

ment. It also afforded him ample time to enjoy the fresh air and bright sunshine and to catch up on his reading of the books and periodicals sent by his mother. Meanwhile, both Philip and Miriam were kept busy receiving callers from the parish and the town. In a letter Miriam confided to the senior Mrs. Washburn that she had heard that St. Stephen's is sometimes called "The Church of the Holy Aristocrats." Philip felt even more relaxed and secure when Mr. Keiffer announced in mid-October that he had resigned as rector of Grace Church and was leaving for Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup> Miriam shed some new light on the controversial subject when she wrote to her mother-in-law on November 1:

The more I see, the more I am convinced that St. Stephen's holds the very *cream* of the Episcopalians and in fact, of the whole town. The Episcopal Church ought to be the leading church here and I think it will be, when Philip has had a few years here; the other church has been grossly neglected by its rector; it is really pathetic to see how he has almost stamped the life out of it.

The editor of the *Gazette*, however, viewed Mr. Keiffer's resignation in another way. Alarmed by the resignations of Mr. Keiffer, Dr. Richard Montague of the Baptist Church, and Mr. Priest of the Christian Church all within the space of a month, the *Gazette* on October 18 ran an editorial entitled "An Ecclesiastical Stampede."<sup>10</sup>

Early in November Philip was invited to address the weekly meeting of the ministers of Colorado Springs. He wrote his mother: "I always wanted such a meeting at Northampton, but could not accomplish it. I shall enjoy it very much here. There are a number of pleasant men here." Over the years he played an ever-increasing role in the Ministerial Association. The Reverend James B. Gregg of the First Congregational Church, the dean of Colorado Springs clergymen, later remarked of Philip Washburn:

His presence always made the atmosphere electric and kindling. His wide culture, his sparkling wit, his excellent judgment on all practical questions, his gift of fluent and lucid and forceful speech, his intensely social nature, made him there and everywhere a strong and salutary influence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In a letter dated November 1, 1895, Philip told of how in his first Sunday in Colorado Springs, Mr. Keiffer refused to allow him to officiate in Grace Church. Philip sat with Miriam and the children in a pew with the rest of the congregation while the wardens read the service.

<sup>10</sup> *Colorado Springs Gazette*, October 18, 1893, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, October 10, 1898, p. 3.

Another of his colleagues, Dr. Boyle of the First Presbyterian Church, recalled:

It was quite impossible to have a "blue Monday" when, even in the midst of earnest discussion, the rector of St. Stephen's was there with his remarkable sallies of genuine wit, which were oftentimes more forcible than ridicule. Only once in a while in a lifetime does one meet with such a man.<sup>12</sup>

By the end of November 1893 Philip and his vestry began in earnest to plan strategy to finance the building of their new church. A check for fifty dollars launched the building fund. The goal was set at \$4,000. Philip, remembering his fund-raising experiences in Worcester and in Northampton, knew fully the importance of motivation and the need to demonstrate progress. The committee looked favorably upon the suggestion to mark off squares on a blackboard, each one representing ten dollars, and then to try to get each square covered as the fund drive progressed.

Philip was glad that Colorado College was located in Colorado Springs. His keen interest in sports led him to watch football games played between the college boys and the town boys. Soon he became acquainted with some of the students; and, because of the informality of college sports, Philip even participated in some baseball and football games. He knew how to handle college students because at St. John's a good portion of his congregation had been composed of Smith College girls. Soon he became acquainted with faculty members at Colorado College. On December 7, 1893, the Washburns were invited to dine with President and Mrs. William F. Slocum. This was the beginning of a warm relationship between the men. Both men had similar qualities and ambitions and both were fond of sports. President Slocum invited Philip to speak at the college chapel services and to participate in other college functions. Philip derived a great sense of self-esteem from being invited to participate in college functions. After speaking at the dedication of a new college hall, Philip wrote his mother: "I can hold a crowd in the hollow of my hand. It is sport for me to stand there without a scrap of paper and talk to them." On April 20, 1894, Philip was formally elected a trustee of the college and served until his death.<sup>13</sup> In this capacity Philip Washburn was

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of Colorado College*, Book 2, July 9, 1888, to June 9, 1908, pp. 109-10. See also the *Tiger*, Colorado College, October 19, 1917, for the chapel talk by Rev. Mr. Manly D. Ormes on Washburn and faculty baseball. Philip composed the twelve rules under which the game was to be played and served as captain of the faculty team.

able to work closely with two fellow trustees who were the most influential men in Colorado Springs—General William J. Palmer and James J. Hagerman.

Mr. and Mrs. Hagerman were members of St. Stephen's Church. In a letter, Philip told of a dinner party which the Hagermans gave in honor of the new rector and his wife. He wrote:

Mr. H. is the richest man in town. When silver was up he had a tremendous income from the famous Mollie Gibson mine. His house is fully the equal of Jonas Clark's [of Worcester, Massachusetts] in books and pictures and statuary and far ahead of it in homeliness while both Mr. and Mrs. H. are very intelligent and pleasant. I feasted on the books.<sup>14</sup>

The friendship with the Hagermans soon paid high dividends. In his March 24, 1894, letter, Philip wrote excitedly:

This morning Mrs. Hagerman came in and said Mr. Hagerman had decided to give us one of those lots. It is a corner lot 100 x 190 and the actual ownership makes the new church a reality in the near future. This will go on the plate at the service tomorrow morning. The lot is from 8 to 10 thousand dollars. I am delirious with joy.

Philip then went on to write:

It has come spontaneously. I never dared to ask for it. Mrs. Hagerman seems to be delighted with the new parish and seems to find what she has been wanting in the spirit of my preaching.

The next day was Easter Sunday and a large congregation attended the services. The Easter contributions amounted to almost three hundred dollars. Included in the collection was a blue envelope containing a letter from Mr. Hagerman.

Easter Monday evening marked the first annual meeting of St. Stephen's parish. After the vestrymen were elected and the routine reports were read, the rector arose and proudly read Mr. Hagerman's letter to the astounded assembly.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of Hagerman's assets, see John J. Lipsey, *The Lives of James John Hagerman* (Denver: Golden Bell Press, 1968), pp. 151-52, 155.

<sup>15</sup> Dated March 25, 1894, the letter, now in Grace Church Archives, read as follows:

Rev. Philip Washburn  
Colorado Springs

My Dear Sir,

For the proposed new St. Stephen's Church I respectfully offer to give the one hundred feet of land on the South East Corner of Tejon and Monument Streets—being one hundred and ninety feet on Monument.

I sincerely hope the work in which you are engaged will do great good in this community. Whilst I name no conditions, I trust your church will not be too High.

Very Respectfully  
J. J. Hagerman

Mr. Hagerman's handsome donation placed the congregation in an excellent financial position. Now they had a valuable piece of land and \$2,700 in the building fund. The vestry agreed that a parish house should be built as soon as possible and that plans to build a church should be postponed until some time in the indefinite future. All those in attendance at the annual meeting were encouraged by the treasurer's report. In the eleven months of the existence of St. Stephen's parish, \$4,000 had been received in subscriptions and offerings. Considering the hard financial times the country was experiencing, this was a remarkable accomplishment.

Philip Washburn and his vestrymen set to work to raise at least \$5,000 more for the building fund. They also started to work out the general details of the parish house. They were soon confronted with a major problem in logistics. Considering the size of their 100x190-foot lot, if they built a chapel large enough to serve as a church, the chapel would be too large when the main church was finally constructed. After much debate and deliberation, the only possible solution seemed to be to build a two-story parish house on the rear of the lot with the temporary church on the top floor. Philip and two of his vestrymen sat and whittled down the preliminary plans submitted by an architect, with the result that the parish could build a stone building and that the plan also allowed for expansion when money was available. After more than six months of fund-raising and planning, the contract was let and the work was ready to begin.

The great day arrived at last. At noon on Tuesday, Novem-

*Bearded Bishop Spalding, laying the cornerstone.*





ber 13, 1894, the "corner stone" of St. Stephen's Chapel and Parish House was laid in place. Philip wanted to take advantage of the presence of Bishop John F. Spalding of Denver and other clergymen who were meeting in Colorado Springs. The *Colorado Springs Gazette* on November 14, 1894, reported that about one hundred laity were present with "13 of the Clergy in full robes and canonicals, making a picturesque and pleasing spectacle." The hymns were sung by a special choir of ladies and gentlemen. Rector Washburn introduced Bishop Spalding who congratulated the members of the parish and "exhorted them to unity of spirit and purpose." The Reverend J. W. Colwell, rector of Grace Church, pledged himself and his parish heartily to cooperate with the rector and the people of St. Stephen's and "hoped that they may grow strong by mutual support and encouragement." Philip then introduced a very special clerical visitor to Colorado Springs. He was Mr. Arbuthnot, rector of Stratford-on-Avon "beneath whose feet as he ministered to his people every Sunday repose the ashes of William Shakespeare."

The laying of the foundation had a psychological effect on the parishioners. They all became anxious to swell the building fund. On November 23 and 24, 1894, the ladies of the parish, under the supervision of Miriam Washburn, put on a novel church fair called "The Festival of Days." The festival was held in the "big Coliseum," located on the site of the present City Hall of Colorado Springs.

In late November Philip was invited to speak at a political dinner attended by over one hundred men. He spoke on "The Minister in Politics." When he finished the men rose up and cheered him. There must have been several other speakers as well since Philip wrote: "We sat down at 9:30 P.M. and I got home at 4 A.M." For days afterward many of the men present expressed words of appreciation and sent forth contributions to the St. Stephen's building fund. "I always love to speak to a lot of men," he wrote to his mother. "When I got started, I felt that I had control, . . . and I had that indescribable feeling of power which sometimes comes to a speaker and which lifts one up into the seventh heaven." In her November 30 letter to the senior Mrs. Washburn, Miriam wrote:

I have been so proud of Philip! His speech at the banquet ten days ago made a sensation in the whole town and taken together with everything else—(especially with his own dear personality!)—he has taken a leading position here, which I am sure he will hold even more securely.

Philip's great success as a banquet speaker was further evi-

dence of his maturation as an outstanding preacher. As was the custom with most nineteenth-century Anglican preachers, Philip Washburn meticulously wrote out his sermons and read them to his congregation. After coming to Colorado Springs, he began more and more to depart from his prepared text and to speak directly to his parishioners. In doing so, he found the people more attentive and more interested in his discourse. Philip strove to practise concise speaking and limited his sermons to twenty to thirty minutes. He wrote his mother:

My mind seems to be in a fertile condition and there is no end of topics ahead. . . . The new life has called up new subjects, and the whole stress of mind I have been through has made preaching seem a very living thing for me.

Again in a letter he wrote:

I went to church and preached until the rafters shook. It is exciting work and one never knows when he is going to become inflamed.

At times, he even became involved emotionally in discussing some lively issue. His non-Episcopalian type of preaching aroused Miriam's attention. She remarked to her mother-in-law on December 3, 1893:

I think that Philip is developing into quite a Luther out here under the influence of Pikes Peak—but you would rejoice in the vigor and force of his preaching.

Despite his deep involvement with the affairs of St. Stephen's parish and with the affairs of Colorado College, Philip found time for other pursuits. One of his parishioners bought him a bicycle, and the rector of St. Stephen's soon became a familiar figure riding it on the streets of Colorado Springs. He wrote on March 1, 1895:

I can go about more swiftly this way without any more exertion than walking. The same amount of effort that is put into two steps on a bicycle will carry one 18 feet.

Another of his parishioners gave him money as an Easter gift to buy a new gadget called a Smith Premier Typewriter. Philip took great delight in learning to use the machine. He mastered the typewriter so well that he found it restful to write this new way. By September 11, 1894, he mustered up enough courage to type his first letter to his mother. The elder Mrs. Washburn expressed her displeasure with receiving a letter produced on the new machine, but on occasion Philip continued to send her typed letters.

Buying a lot on North Nevada Avenue across the street



*The growing city of Colorado Springs, viewed from the east, in 1895.*

from the Colorado College campus was a stimulating experience for Philip and Miriam. The fashionable "Northend" was the environment sought by the elite of Colorado Springs. Many of the new homes were architectural masterpieces. For the Washburns planning and designing their house was a formidable challenge. Their letters to the elder Mrs. Washburn were full of diagrams and descriptions of the various parts of the house. Philip visited the site daily and discussed the progress with the workmen who were building the house. He was so proud of his new home that he headed his September 19, 1894, letter with words in capital letters: "IN OUR OWN HOUSE AFTER TWO YEARS OF WANDERING."

In the late 1880s a small select group of men had established a social group called the Mahogany Club. By 1893, when the Washburns arrived in Colorado Springs, the Mahogany Club was existing in name only. Philip took the lead in reviving the organization and giving it a new sense of direction. To promote informality and to introduce maximum flexibility into its programs, the members in 1894 agreed to have no constitution and no by-laws. It now became called the Red Mahogany Club. The presiding officer was called "the autocrat," and Philip Washburn was promptly elected to this post. With thirteen charter members eight other members were elected, making a total of twenty-one. These were among the most able and influential members of the community. The club met once a month at one of the members' homes for supper, a discussion, and good fellowship. Philip was very active in the club until failing health compelled him to resign in November 1897.

The dedication services of St. Stephen's Church took place on Sunday, August 28, 1895. Because a debt still remained outstanding, according to Episcopalian tradition, the building could not be consecrated formally as a house of worship. The church was filled to its capacity of 250, and some people had to be turned away. The sanctuary was beautifully decorated with palms and flowers. A volunteer choir was under the direction of organist G. D. Jones, Miss Lucille DuPre played a violin offertory, and Bishop Spalding read the dedicatory prayers. Dr. Solly, in his capacity as chairman of the building committee, gave a report in which he pointed out that, while the building had cost \$15,000, his committee had succeeded in obtaining all but \$600. Brief addresses were given by Rector Washburn, the Reverend Hartley of Manitou, the Reverend Dr. R. H. McKim of Washington, and finally Bishop Spalding. Bishop Spalding then celebrated Holy Communion assisted by the other clergymen.

If history had to depend solely upon those eyewitnesses present and newspaper reports, everyone would have been impressed with the precise, carefully planned and executed, dignified service. Fortunately, we have Philip Washburn's own description of the hectic, behind-the-scenes activity over the weekend which threatened to turn the solemn occasion into a Greek tragedy. As one reads Philip Washburn's words, his character takes on new dimensions, and one begins to understand what an extraordinary man he really was even under the greatest stress. In his August 28, 1895, letter he told his mother:

We had a pretty anxious time Saturday evening and Sunday morning as to whether we should have our service as announced. On Saturday the builder<sup>16</sup> demanded a settlement. There was a great deal to attend to and we wanted time to look over his bill, and at the end of the day he locked up the building and said he would not open it for Sunday. He was ugly and as he had not delivered up the keys he had us in his power. We spent Saturday evening in consultation over the matter. The builder would not give way, and finally the men decided to take his terms, pay him and have done with him. This was done on Sunday morning but we did not get the keys until twenty minutes of eleven and the service was announced to commence at eleven. It was a pretty narrow squeak and I had about given up all hope of getting in at all. It came out all right in the end and it was a great mercy that it did. It would have been a great blow to the church to have been obliged to turn people away that morning with the announcement that we could not get into the Church.

<sup>16</sup> *Colorado Springs Gazette*, August 25, 1895, p. 5, identifies the builder as G. W. Atkinson.



*St. Stephen's Chapel and Parish House, prior to the addition of Grace Church on the left side.*

With the dedication of the new church behind him, Philip felt that the time had come for him to take a month's vacation. He decided that after a two-year absence, it would be appropriate for him to return to Massachusetts for a holiday visiting his relatives and friends. Dr. Solly agreed with Philip that it was the best thing he could do. Philip wrote his mother who was in Europe at the time: "What I desired was mental change, a change from the sight of invalids, a change from all the people of my church, a let down from the high pressure under which we live in Colorado." Because Miriam was planning to return East in October to attend her parents' golden wedding celebration, she and the children did not accompany Philip. While he spent most of the time resting at the Washburn home, "Hilltop," in Princeton, Massachusetts, he visited Northampton, Worcester, and other places associated with his past. He preached one Sunday from his old pulpit in St. John's in Northampton. "It was a most delightful experience," he wrote his mother on September 25, 1895, but hastened to add, "I do not want to go back. I have tasted a broader life. I thank God for the past which is secure." By October 8, 1895, he was back in Colorado Springs and writing to his mother. He told her that when his train arrived in Colorado Springs it was pouring rain, and it rained all day long. "This was rather amusing," he said, "after all the blowing I had done in the east about Colorado sunshine." Within a few days Philip was so involved again in the activities of St. Stephen's and Colorado Springs that he soon felt as if he had never been gone.

In mid-July 1896 tragedy struck the Washburn household in a cruel and sudden way. The day after Philip and Miriam had taken their beautiful thirteen-month-old Margaret to the



*St. Stephen's Chapel was used from 1895 to 1925 when Grace Church and St. Stephen's congregations joined.*

photographer for her first photograph, she was stricken with meningitis and died in a matter of hours. He wrote: "Our precious little cherub, beautiful and brilliant was torn from us in an instant. . . . We are still stunned and can hardly believe that it can be true." The severe blow was more than poor Philip's fragile body could endure. Earlier in the summer he had contracted a heavy cold which settled in his chest and developed into bronchitis. His old lung trouble reappeared. The vestry granted Philip a leave of absence until October 1. He and his family went to Manitou Park north of Woodland Park to recover from their bereavement and to recuperate.

In 1872 Dr. William Abraham Bell, one of General Palmer's closest associates, had begun to develop more than 10,000 acres of green parkland watered by Trout Creek north of present-day Woodland Park. Dr. Bell and his London bride, Cara, entertained many distinguished visitors in Manitou Park, as he called the area. Efforts were made to bring tourists to enjoy the scenic beauty of Manitou Park, a hotel and a number of cabins were built, and brochures were sent throughout the country. One of these brochures is included in the Washburn Papers, and Philip marked off the rooms in Cottage A which he and his family occupied in 1896.

Philip did not return to his pulpit until November 1, 1896. He still felt weak but was pleased that he was able to finish his sermon without experiencing a coughing spell. In order to conserve his energy as much as possible, Philip typed most of his letters during the period. In the beginning of 1897, Philip began to experience slight fever and temperature rises each day. Although Dr. Solly assured him that his temperature readings soon would return to normal, Philip was disturbed. He felt that

he needed an assistant at St. Stephen's and made efforts to obtain one. He succeeded in obtaining an assistant during Lent and Holy Week of 1897. Since it was an effort for Philip to pedal his bicycle, he now rented a horse. On April 8, 1897, he explained to his mother why he had not written in more than a week: "I am very comfortable though with fever every day. I seem to be getting used to it as part of my regular life." Philip was anxious for May to arrive so that he could turn the responsibilities of the parish over to his new temporary assistant, Mr. Helfenstein, and return to Massachusetts with his family for his four-month vacation. His big concern was trying to locate some summer visitor to rent his home on North Nevada Avenue.

The Washburns returned to Colorado Springs on schedule, but on October 5, 1897, he wrote his mother: "I have felt rather 'done-up' since coming back." He did not even attempt to go to St. Stephen's on the first Sunday in October and utilized the services of two visiting clergymen. Philip was pleased that his new full-time assistant, Reverend Frederick E. Johnson, had arrived in the city. "It is a great comfort to have him at hand," Philip wrote. "I feel perfectly easy about the Church." After anxiously awaiting the return of Dr. Solly from a visit to the East, Philip had a "frank talk" and examination on October 28. Dr. Solly told him that some trouble had flared up in the right lung and that he would have to take things easy until the condition cleared up. Philip's spirits were improved. On November 14 he proudly informed his mother: "I preached this morning on the joy of living." On December 9 he wrote: "I am sorry you were so overwhelmed by my poor time. We must have more equanimity by really trusting that God's way is best." By December 25 he was able to write: "This has been a very happy Christmas. I have felt so well my heart was overwhelmed with gratitude."

In January 1898 the Washburns received word that Miriam's mother had died suddenly as the result of an appendicitis operation. The severe snow storms of January added more gloom to their lives. Then a bad cold in February kept Philip from conducting services on two successive Sundays. On February 17, 1898, he wrote his mother: "You must try to cultivate patience as to these ups and downs of mine. The improvements and setbacks seem to move in great circles, and when the bad times come there is nothing to do but be patient until the circle is run and I pick up again." On February 24 he told the senior Mrs. Washburn: "I only wish I had the physical strength to meet the demands of my brain. But perhaps in the end I shall

be glad to have triumphed over obstacles." On March 20 he wrote: "Oh, Mother dear, I am glad to write to you tonight because I have good news to tell, news that will give rest to your scarred and battered heart. I am really better." He then told of his examination by Dr. Solly. Dr. Solly, however, had no doubts about the seriousness of Philip's deteriorating condition. In a letter to Philip's eldest brother, Charles G. Washburn, Dr. Solly, when writing of Philip's health, said:

I must not conceal from you the fact that I have grave apprehensions concerning the ultimate outcome of it all, for while some persons who have had as much or more disease ultimately have had it permanently arrested, he shows very imperfect resistance to the disease and his nervous temperament while a help to him for occasional efforts causes him to be generally depressed and weighted down by his troubles in spite of his mental and moral force. . . . While it is not wise to talk nonsense to him and pretend he is not sick, yet he is very much helped by being cheered and inspired by hope.

Ill as he was, nothing could have kept Philip from participating in the ceremonies opening Colorado College's new athletic park on April 29, 1898. Professor A. E. Ahlers, the president of the athletic association, gave a brief history leading up to the opening of the new athletic field, "the handsomest place of the kind in the West." Mayor Irvine then spoke a few words on behalf of the people of Colorado Springs. The *Gazette* reported: "Rev. Philip Washburn on behalf of the trustees made a short talk welcoming the people. Mr. Washburn found him-

*A 1905 view of the Colorado College athletic field, named Washburn Field in 1899.*



self in his element on such an occasion and made a very bright address."<sup>17</sup> After President Slocum tossed the first ball, the Colorado College team then took the field under Captain Sperry Packard and beat their arch rivals, the Colorado School of Mines, by a score of 12 to 10.<sup>18</sup>

By May 15, 1898, Philip had reached the decision to resign as rector of St. Stephen's Church. He wrote: "The matter has been constantly in my mind all the winter, and my present physical condition has made me feel my way clear that the only thing for me to do is to break off." He went on to write: "Dr. Solly has always maintained that work and rest was the thing. I have always doubted it and now I think it has been proved a failure." On June 18, 1898, he wrote: "I have handed in my resignation and I am glad it is all over." By June 20 Philip and his family had arrived in Manitou Park to spend the summer.

The public received word of Philip's resignation on June 22, 1898, when the newspapers related the story. The editorial in the *Gazette* stated:

We undoubtedly voice the public sentiment of Colorado Springs in expressing a profound regret at the resignation of Rev. Philip Washburn of St. Stephen's church. Very few men have so wide a circle of intimate personal friends and in more ways than one he has contributed, outside of his professional work, to the advancement of Colorado Springs. We trust that the reasons which have made his resignation necessary are not such as will lead to a change of residence.<sup>19</sup>

After much debate and soul-searching the vestrymen reluctantly accepted Rector Washburn's resignation in mid-August. When the season closed, the Washburns had to leave Manitou Park. After spending a few days at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, they moved into their new Denver home in mid-September. On October 2, 1898, Philip closed his letter by writing: "Five years ago today, I commenced at St. Stephen's." On October 6, 1898, Philip suddenly was stricken by a hemorrhage of the lung and passed away. On October 11 his funeral service was held in his beloved St. Stephen's Church, and he was laid to rest in Evergreen Cemetery.

The influence of Philip Washburn still is felt more than

seventy years after his death. It is felt especially on the combined Episcopal parish of Grace Church and St. Stephen's and on Colorado College. The parish house of Grace Church, St. Stephen's Chapel, and the athletic facility of Colorado College along Monument Creek, known since 1899 as Washburn Field, all serve as living memorials to this courageous, dynamic young clergyman. Although he failed in his efforts to restore his own health, he succeeded admirably in his many endeavors to improve the spiritual, educational, civic, and athletic environment of his adopted community. He was indeed the epitome of the thorough Colorado man.

*GEORGE V. FAGAN is professor of library science and head librarian of Colorado College. From 1955 to 1969 he was professor of history and director of the library at the U.S. Air Force Academy. He also has taught history at Temple University, the U.S. Naval Academy, Regis College, the University of Denver, and the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs. His Ph.D. was granted by the University of Pennsylvania.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, April 30, 1898, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> At a mass meeting held in the gymnasium of Colorado College on April 29, 1899, a resolution was adopted by the students and faculty to name the athletic park Washburn Field "in memory of a true friend of clean college sports." *Colorado Springs Gazette*, April 30, 1899, p. 5. Also see James Juan Reid, "Historical Study of Colorado College Athletics and Athletic Policies" (M.A. thesis, Colorado College, 1957), p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> *Colorado Springs Gazette*, June 22, 1898, p. 4.

# "My Trip West in 1881"

BY GEORGE C. STOREY

*Not every prospector struck it rich, and not every journal kept by a prospector was a historical gold mine; but this refreshingly unselfconscious account provides a glimpse of a fairly typical, independent miner's experience. George Storey and his brother, Myles, may have set a record in the pace of locating their "discoveries"; yet, like the majority of seekers, they "nofindee" the lode.<sup>1</sup>*

Left Mon Feb 14th  
 " Viola [Lovilia, Iowa?] Feb 15th  
 " Albia [Iowa] Feb 23rd  
 " Las Vegas [New Mexico] Mar 1st  
 " Santa Fe [New Mexico] Mar 9th  
 " Camp on L C [Little Kerber Creek, Colorado] sept 8th

Arrived at  
 " Alestow Feb 16th  
 " Albia " 18th  
 " Las Vegas " 26th  
 " Santa Fe Mar 4th  
 " Little Kerber creek on March 28th  
 " What Cheer [Iowa] Sept 13th

June 17, 1881. Dis [discovered] the Lucky Boy lode Sur-  
 vayed July 13.

March 9th 1881. Left Santi Fe. With C. H. More .&. Col.  
 Smith .&. Sons heavy Rain .&. Snow. Arived at Pojueque  
 [Pojoaque, New Mexico] an Indian town .&. camped for the  
 night

Thur. 10th Left Pojuque arived at Santa Cruse [Santa  
 Cruz, New Mexico] 12° Espanolia [Española, New Mexico] then  
 the Terminance of the D.&.R.G.R.R. Camped at A Mexican  
 town Chamma [Chama] Went to a mexican Dance

Fri March 11th Left Chamma had a hard time crosing  
 the River Charmer [Chama River, New Mexico] nearly  
 Drowned our Burro's & all got Wet BlanKits & Grub also  
 camped at a stage Stand Shot at some geese

Sat 12th Left Camp Traveled up Colienta [Caliente]  
 River Waded it twice Camped at Ojo.-Colienta [Ojo Caliente,  
 New Mexico] Wood mighty Scarce

Sun Mar 13th got up cold did not Sleep Well to Much  
 Lice traveled fast Arived at an old stag Stand Melted Snow  
 for Water

Mon 14th Lice geting Worse camped for dinner at the  
 foot of a Mountain Traveled in Snow all after noon arived  
 at Trace Peadries [Tres Piedras, New Mexico] Good camp  
 house

Tue 15th Blustery Concluded to not travil heard of  
 some Plasier [placer] mines 20.M. West Concluded to investi-  
 gate Went to a dance Loused .&. Retired

Wed 16th fine morning looked for Rabits found non  
 Time passed Very Slow looked for lice .&. Retired

Thur Mar 17th Snowing Very hard Plassier mines no-  
 wano concluded to go on to Gunnison Loused .&. Retired

Fri 18th Clear .&. cold Traveled in snow up to our Knees  
 poor Trail Jinny [burro] Petered out Charlie got a Rabit

Sat 19th got up Very Cold passed Sanantone Mountain  
 [San Antonio Mountain, New Mexico] got off the Divide  
 Camped at Sanantonio [San Antonio, Colorado] Loused as  
 useual

Sun Mar 20th left Sanantonio got off the Trail arived  
 at Conejos [Colorado] filled up With Good Grub Loused Rus-  
 sled some wood

Mon 21st Fine Morning left Conejos good Road up the  
 San Luis Valley Myles foot give out he took the train to Ali-  
 moosa [Alamosa, Colorado] Charlie Shot a Jack Rabit camped  
 on Alimose Creek

Tues 22nd Slept Very cold Started early arived at  
 Alimosy Very tired toK in the dance House .&. Variety

Wed 23rd Left Alimosy crossed the Reo Grand [Rio  
 Grande River] on ice camped Wood scarce

Thur 24th fine day Charlie shot 3. Rabits camped on  
 logareta [La Garita] Boss camp House

<sup>1</sup>F. A. Storey, who made this journal available to *The Colorado Magazine*,  
 is past-president of the Renton (Washington) Historical Society. He is the  
 son of Myles and the nephew of George Storey.

Fri 25th left Lagareta arived at Saguache very tired  
 Sat Mar 26th Clowdy concluded to loaf Charlie left  
 Chanced to see a draw game  
 Sun 27th fine Morning left saguache Good Road Good  
 camping place  
 Mon 28th fine morning arived at Clatonia [Claytonia]  
 on Kerber Crek Concluded to to [sic] stop for a While  
 Tues 29th fine day Went Prospecting Staked the Aledo  
 & Viola diel&achiles Vamoosed  
 Wed 30th fine morning Myles Went to Bananza [Bo-  
 nanza] for Grub Col .& I. dis the King Bolt



*In recent years Bonanza, a boom town  
 of the 1880s, has dwindled but still has a  
 few residents and nearby mining operations.*

Thur 31st fine morning Located the Iron Mountain  
 Fri Apr 1st White frost 6 M to work dis the Cable &  
 Ready Truck  
 Sat 2nd fine day dis the Tender foot

Sun 3rd fine day Wrote to Father & J.M.  
 Mon Apr 4th fine day Went different Ways dis the You  
 Bett & Great Western I shot a Rabbit  
 Tue 5th Cloudy dis the highland[,] Happy Thought[,]  
 Silver Slipper & Jocky Club  
 Wed 6th Snow & Rain did not do Much  
 Thur 7th Cold night Snow Worked the King Bolt  
 Fri Apr 8th Cloudy dis the commerse .& White Cloud  
 Sat 9th Went to Bananza for Grub & Mail got grub but  
 no Mail  
 Sun 10th fine day Wrote two letters  
 Mon 11th house took fire dis the Mammoth[,] Pride  
 of the West & St Louis  
 Tue 12th Snow Worked but little Wrote for a book  
 Wed 13th  
 Wed 13th [sic] Snow & Cold dis the Clatonia[,] BuckHorn  
 & McEntire  
 Thur 14th Windy day dis the Monagram  
 Fri 15th fine day dis the Colordo King .& X  
 Sat 16th Rain dis the Little Giant[,] C H More &  
 Golden Eagle  
 Sun Apr 17th fine day Wrote to John  
 Mon 18th Rain dis the Wild Bill Lode  
 Tue 19th dis the little Giant [sic] fine day dis the Little  
 percent  
 Wed 20th Rain Moved 4 Miles up the cree and built a  
 cabin  
 Thur 21st fine day dis the Mt. Vernin Lode  
 Fri Apr 22nd fine day cut our Names on some Trees  
 Dis the Black Diamond & Golden Slug  
 Sat 23rd Went to Bonanza Rec Letters from Jane[,]  
 W.B.C. & J.C.H.  
 Sun 24th fine day Wrote to Bert Barr  
 Mon 25th Cold day Worked on The Golden Slug  
 Tue 26th fine day found Lede of the Mountain Boy lode  
 Wed 27th fine day Myles Went to saguache for Grub  
 dis the mountain Grisly  
 Thur 28th fine day Went to Bonanza no mail  
 Fri 29th Cloudy day Worked on the Black diamond  
 Saw a Bear  
 Apr 30th Sat fine day found Lede of little Giant Went  
 to Miners meeting  
 Sun May 1st fine day had a Squabble With Perry .&  
 Billy about the Mt Vernin lines



Cabin life at Bonanza had few amenities.

Mon 2nd Rain Worked on the Mountain Boy & little Giant  
 Tue 3rd Rain & snow Myle's Went to Saguache prior to a shot in Iron mountain  
 Wed 4th Rain & Snow Col Went to Sedgwick I Killed A Grouse dis the Big Chief  
 Thur 5th White frost dimolished the Big Chief  
 Fri 6th fine day WorKed on the B D [Black Diamond] & Little Percent  
 Sat 7th fine day WorKed the Iron Mountain Col went to Clatonia Rec Letter[s] from John & W.B.C.  
 Sun May 8th fine day Wrote to W.B.C. & J.M. Col dis the Gen Washington  
 Mon 9th Cold day M went to Saguache Bought Cols Int. in the claim  
 Tue 10th Windy day Worked on the Saguache  
 Wed 11th fine day got the Little Percen to assesment  
 Thur 12th Rain M went to see Mc I WorKed on the Mountain Boy  
 Fri 13th M Went to saguache I dis the C.B.&Q.  
 Sat 14th fine day Went to Sedgwick got no Mail saw 6 deer  
 Sun 15th fine day Went to Clatonia M Rec letter from Jane I wrote to a c Hill  
 Mon May 16th fine day Worked the M.B. [Mountain Boy], & C.B.&Q. Col Moved to his claim  
 Tue 7th [sic] fine day I Worked for Mc Survayed the M.B., L. G. [Little Giant], & L.P. [Little Percent],  
 Wed 18 Stormy did not Work

Thur 19th Cold did not Work Had an offer to put the M.B. 40 ft for 1/2 int  
 Fri 20th Cloudy Worked on the B.H. [BuckHorn] No findee Him  
 Sat 21st fine day Went to Clatonia Rec Litter from W.B.C. M No findee B.H. Lede  
 Sun 22nd fine day Wrote to Lewis Park Wrote a Monument  
 Mon 23rd fine day Worked on the B.D. Creek dried up  
 Tue 24th fine day Worked the B.D.  
 Wed 25th Snow Worked on the B.D.  
 Thur 26th White frost Work on the L.P. Rain Cabbin leeKed  
 Fri 27th fine day WorKed the L.G.  
 Sat 28th got assays No. Wano Rec Letter from J.M. M from John & W<sup>m</sup>  
 Sun 29th fine day bummed in the Hills dis the Com-mese [Commerce] M Wrote to W<sup>m</sup>  
 Mon 30th fine day Myles Went to Saguache I worked on the Comerse  
 Tue 31st fine day Worked on the comerse got it to assesment  
 Wed June 1st fine day Worked on the B D  
 Thur June 2nd fine day Worked on the B D looked for Extention no findee him  
 Fri 3rd fine day Worked on the B D  
 Sat 4th Rain Worked on the B D  
 Sun 5th Rain Rec Letters from John & W.B.C. Wrote to W.B.C.  
 Mon 6th Cloudy Worked the B.D.  
 Tue 7th fine day Worked on the New Wild Bill M dis the Colo King  
 Wed 8th fine day WorKed on the New Colo King no-findee  
 Thur 9th Snow Worked on the BD found P. Copper.  
 Fri 10th Rain Jo & I went fishing to Saguache Creek.  
 Sat 11th fine day good luck fishing Walked home 12 M  
 Sun 12th fine day Moved 4M to the BD put up a Brush house SKeters Bitee  
 Mon 13th Worked the BD a little Discoraged  
 Tue 14th M got assay on the B.D. 1.32 I went to M's & Fallies  
 Wed 15th Rain Moved Back to old cabin at the forks a little Beadled.



Thur 16th fine day Bummed to M's camp Dead  
 Fri 17th fine day Dis the L.B. [Lucky Boy] looks Well.  
 Sat 18th fine day Went for Mail got none  
 Sun 19th fine day bummed in the Hills wrote to John.  
 Mon 20th fine day M went to Saguache I Worked the  
 L.B.  
 Tue 21st fine day Worked the LB got leed  
 Wed 22nd Worked the L.B. Lcated A slickeer [slick-ear,  
 range animal without earmark?]  
 Thur 23rd fine day Worked the LB looks Well  
 Fri 24th Worked the LB Rec Letter from W.B.C.  
 Sat 25th fine day Worked the LB the Boys got leed of  
 Baltic  
 Sun 26th loafed Rec letter from John Wrote to Jame  
 Mon 27th Worked the LB Get water  
 Tue 28th M went to saguache I Bummed  
 Wed 29th Worked the LB looks Well Some Water  
 Thur 30th Worked the L.B.  
 Fri July 1st Rain Worked the LB John give us Sone of  
 his Slick eer  
 Sat 2nd M went fishing Staying alone  
 Sun 3rd Wrote to WBC & J.M. nofindee Good leed  
 Mon 4th Rain slow 4th loafed Wrote to Andy Barr  
 Tue 5th Rain M no getee home yet  
 Wed 6th Worked the LB let the BucKet Drop  
 Thur 7th M not Well Worked the L.B.  
 Fri 8th Worked the L.B.  
 Sat 9th Worked the L.B.  
 Sun 10th Not Well Rec letter from John & Jane M got  
 one from Joe  
 Mon 11th Worked the LB looks Pretty Well  
 Tue 12th Worked the LB Saw A femail Joes wife  
 Sent some ore to town  
 Wed 13th fine day survayed the LB s.d. by a U.S. Dep-  
 uty. S.R.  
 Thur 14th Worked the LB  
 Fri 15th Went to Saguache for Grub  
 Sat 17th [sic] Worked the LB shot a Rabit  
 Sun July 17th looked for deer nofindee any  
 Mon 18th Worked the LB  
 Tue 19th Cloudy Worked the LB pretty Wet  
 Wed 20th Rain Worked the LB improving  
 Thur 21st Rain Helped get the Water out of the Baltic



*Even in downtown Bonanza women were greatly outnumbered by men.*

Fri 22nd A Wod Rat put my shoe in the fire love come  
 to See the claims  
 Sat 23 Rain got an assay on the LB it Run \$13.<sup>00</sup> Star-  
 wano  
 Sun 24th Wrote to A C Barr M Wrote to W.S.  
 Mon 25th M Went to Saguach I worked on the new  
 claim Nofindee  
 Tue 26th Rain Worked on the new Prospect  
 Wed 27th M went to saguache I Worked the New claim  
 Thur 28th Rain Worked on the New claim nowfindee  
 Fri 29th Rain Worked on the LB lots Water  
 Sat 30th Worked the LB M Pretty sick  
 Sun 31st July Rain Myles no better heard the Indians  
 Wer out of the White River country  
 Mon Aug 1st John & I Worked the L.B. Rec Ltter from  
 John  
 Tue 2nd Rain J & I Worked the LB

Wed 3rd Rain M went to M<sup>c</sup>s to see a cup at lest it Proved to be Love nowano  
 Thur 4th Rain Worked the LB concluded to sink a New hole  
 Fri 5 M & I started a New Hole in the LB Went to Joe Courts Gardin nowano  
 Sat 6 Rain Worked the LB got a Windless on it 9<sup>00</sup>  
 Sun 7th Rain Moved in with John Rec letter from J.M.  
 Mon 8th Rain all WorKed the LB  
 Tue 9th Rain Worked the L.B.  
 Wed 10th J & I WorKed the L.B. Goes fast  
 Thur 11th heavy Rain M & I Worked the lb cabin leaks bad  
 Fri 12th Rained all night Cabin leaked on us Slite Rains  
 Sat Aug 13th Rain all day got up Wet John Went to town put More dirt on the cabin  
 Sun 14th Still Rains got Sight of the Sun  
 Mon 15th Still Rains Rec letter from L.B. M got one from Joe S S tuttle Examined the claim liked them  
 Tue 16 Still Rains Went to Sedgwick

*Sedgwick was a mining camp below Bonanza on Kerber Creek, near present-day Villa Grove.*



Wed 17th M & I WorKed the LB plenty Water  
 Thur 18th Rain M went to sedgwick J & I worked the L.B.  
 Fri 19th Worked the LB M get Jinney  
 Sat 20th fine day Worked the L.B.  
 Sun Aug 21st Rain John Moved up to his other cabin  
 Mon 22nd Worked the L.B.  
 Tue 23rd Went to town Rec Ltters from John & W.B.C. LB fell in  
 Wed 24th Rain M. & J. Worked the L.B.  
 Thur 25th Rain Worked the LB got KnocKed out of time by the Windless Handle<sup>2</sup>  
 Fri Aug 26th Worked the LB Slathers of Water  
 Sat 27th Rain WorKed the LB  
 Sun 28th Rain Worked the LB have soon to quit  
 Mon 29th fine day Worked a little on the LB concluded to throw it up till spring P.M. Changed our Minds J. Rec. a letter from S S Tuttle  
 Tue Aug 30th fine day Worked the LB M Rec a Letter from Canida  
 Wed 31st White frost quit Work Went to town for Grub. Had a feast at Johns  
 Thur Sept 1st White frost doing Nothing slow times  
 Fri 2nd fine day Went to see the U.S. got some specimens  
 Sat Sept 3rd fine day Went to sedgwick No Mail  
 Sun 4th Rain M Went to clatonia No Mail old Jinney got loose  
 Mon 5th heavy Rain cabin leeks  
 Tue 6th Slept among Water SKunK got in the Cabin Went to town No News concluded to Vammouse  
 Wed Sept. 7th fine day Sold old Jinney to Cody \$12<sup>00</sup> to be taKin in Goods Started East got as far a Sedgwk  
 Thur 8th fine day crossed the divide to So. Arkansas [Salida]. Beat it on the Pilate [pilot or cowcatcher?] about 35<sup>m</sup>  
 Fri 9 WalKed 15 then beat it to Canon City [Colorado] payed a braker 1.<sup>00</sup> Each to Pueblo fine senery coming down Grand Canon [Royal Gorge]

<sup>2</sup> As F. A. Storey recalls hearing of this incident, Myles was at the bottom of the prospect hole when the ore bucket came tumbling down, luckily missing him. He climbed from the shaft to discover George knocked out by a blow from the windlass. Four of his front teeth had been broken in half with the nerves laid bare. The treatment for this dental problem was searing the nerves with a red-hot poker, a procedure which has been described by another of Myles's sons, a dentist, as "a little better than par for some working where no medical attention would be available."

Sat 10th Concluded to pay our Way \$22.50 to Atchison  
[Kansas] left Pueblo [Colorado] 2.30 o'clock

Sun 11th fine country and towns arived in Atchison 6.<sup>o</sup>  
Walked out 5<sup>m</sup>

Mon 12th Walked to St. Jo. Mo bought ticket to Ottum-  
way Ia [Ottumwa, Iowa] Arived thair 1<sup>o</sup> Very Sleepy

Tue 13th found the famous town What Cheer

Wed Sept 14th Got on at Gilfoys Went up to see the  
Boys

Thur 15th Bummed With the Boys Commenced Bording  
at Neffs

*Mr. and Mrs. Myles Storey and two eldest sons,  
a few years after Myles's and George's prospecting trip.*



*Myles Storey,  
in later years.*

*George A. Storey, who survived accidents and disappointment  
as a miner, posed with his sister Jane about 1920.*

