

THE COLORADO MAGAZINE

Published Quarterly by
The State Historical Society of Colorado

Vol. XXX

Denver, Colorado, October, 1953

Number 4

British Investments in Colorado Mines

ALFRED P. TISCHENDORF *

Mining fever gripped British investors during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the result was a brisk flow of capital toward ventures in Latin America, Malaya, Siam, and Africa.¹ Englishmen also invested a considerable sum in mining companies organized to work claims in the United States, and it is hardly surprising that they directed their attention to the pursuit of the precious metals in Colorado. The story of whatever social and political implications the British investments have had for the state lies outside the scope of this paper.² The author is here concerned primarily in discovering the magnitude and velocity of the investment and the dividend records of the British controlled companies formed in England after 1876 to acquire and develop claims in Colorado. Company archives and reports to stockholders might give much of this information but these are seldom readily available. In recent years, however, writers have utilized other revealing and more accessible sources for studying British overseas investments, which are of some importance for the economic history of the western United States.³

Between 1876 and the end of World War I British investors organized and controlled 68 companies designed to mine silver, lead, gold, and zinc in Colorado. After 1917, with the exception of various company reorganizations and the formation of the Montezuma Silver-Lead Mine Company, no new British concerns were registered on the London Stock Exchange for operations in that state. The *Mining Manual* and *Stock Exchange Year-Book* for 1953 indicate, however, that a small revenue from Colorado holdings now

* Mr. Tischendorf is Research Assistant in History at the University of Chicago.—Ed.

¹ J. Fred Rippey, "Background for Point Four: Samples of Profitable British Investments in the Underdeveloped Areas," *Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, XXVI (April, 1953), 110-125; Alfred P. Tischendorf, "British Investments in Latin-American and African Mines: A Study in Contrasts," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, VI (Spring, 1953), 29-38.

² An aspect of this story is presented by Lynn I. Perrigo, "The Cornish Miners of Early Gilpin County," *The Colorado Magazine*, XIV (May, 1937), 92-101.

³ The reference is to two annuals published in London: *Stock Exchange Year-Book*, the initial number of which appeared in 1875, and *Mining Manual*, which began in 1887. Both have excellent indexes and thus page references seem unnecessary. Statistics on mining profits and other company data may be verified by tracing the enterprises through the indexes.

leased to tributers is still being garnered by investors in the Camp Bird Company, presently engaged in a world wide mining finance business.

Three mining enterprises were listed on the Stock Exchange at the end of 1880 to carry on operations in Colorado. Two, the Republican Mountain Silver Mines and the Colorado United Mining Company, were controlled by Britishers, but they held only a minority share in the La Plata Mining and Smelting Company whose home office was in New York City.

The next ten years witnessed a quickening of British interest. Three companies were organized in 1883, one in 1885, five in 1886, six in 1887, and nine in 1888 for operations in Colorado. Three more were registered on the Exchange in 1890 with the same objective. A total of 25 British mining ventures with a total paid-in capital of £3.11 million were either working claims or planning operations in Colorado at the end of the year.

The depression that struck much of the world in the 1890s served as a temporary brake on British mining speculations in the state until 1895. From 1896 through 1900, however, 21 companies were formed in London for working Colorado mines, the peak coming in 1896 when British investors placed six concerns on the Stock Exchange. The *Mining Manual* and *Stock Exchange Year-Book* reveal that £3.72 million was invested in 26 Colorado companies by late 1900. The boom, however, was rapidly drawing to a close. Already by 1905 British dominated companies had dropped to 19, with a total capital paid in amounting to £3.37 million.

Nine of these enterprises survived until 1911, but by 1915 British pounds were injecting life into only six mining companies registered to work claims in Colorado. The Mary Murphy Gold Mining Company was controlled by Americans but Englishmen held an indeterminate number of shares, and the same was true of the Argo Mining and Tunnel Corporation of Boston. The St. John Mines, founded in 1913 to mine lead and zinc claims in Ouray County, was almost entirely British, as was the Tomboy Gold Mines Company which did not dissolve until the late 1920s. The shares of Stratton's Independence, Limited, were held by a small coterie of London investors until these were sold in December, 1915, to the Portland (U.S.) Gold Mining Company. Perhaps the most famous of the British holdings in 1915 was the Camp Bird Company, registered on the London Stock Exchange in 1900 to buy the Camp Bird Gold Mine in the Imogene Basin of the Mount Sneffels mining district of Ouray County, and in the upper San Miguel mining district, San Miguel County. The price was £801,163, most of this sum in cash and the remainder in company shares. The Camp Bird organization expanded quickly after 1910, buying interests in mining ven-

tures from Pachuca, Mexico, to Capetown, Africa. The capitalization of the company, over £1,000,000 when it was still interested mainly in Colorado mining, made it the largest British concern organized between 1876 and 1910 to exploit the mineral wealth of the state. Stratton's Independence was nearly as large, however, and 21 others boasted paid-in capitals of more than £100,000.

An important factor in drawing British investors to mining enterprises everywhere was the presence of members of Parliament, high ranking military officers, and titled nobility on company boards of directors. The ventures organized to operate in Colorado were no exception. Major Generals and Captains lent their names to various companies. The Earl of Chesterfield was for many years chairman of the board of Stratton's Independence, while the Earl of Essex held a similar position with the Anglo-Colorado Exploration Syndicate. In addition to these, the names of numerous Barons dotted the lists of company directors, and Arthur Brand, A. Brogden, and G. C. Bentinck were among the M. P.'s who held high positions with Colorado mining concerns.

In many cases the scanty information given in the available sources makes it difficult to determine the exact location of the British companies in Colorado. Ten of the 68 organized after 1876 indicated their claims were in the Cripple Creek district; 13 in Gilpin County; and four each in Boulder, Summit, and Ouray counties. Six gave their address as Leadville; three as San Miguel County; and others were scattered in San Juan County, Park County, Hinsdale County, and Chaffee County. The Doric Gold Mine gave its location as Saxon Mountain, Clear Creek. Two companies claimed Georgetown as their headquarters. The remaining concerns noted only that their claims were "in the state of Colorado."

The studies thus far made of the dividend records of Britain's globe-covering mining investments have revealed in every area periods of feverish speculation and capital outlay that brought small rewards, although returns were enormous in some instances.⁴ For every highly remunerative enterprise in Latin America or Africa, for example, there were at least 20 that wound up operations without ever paying a dividend.⁵ Weekly journals like the *Economist* continually warned Britishers of the speculative nature of mining investments, but promoters usually found little difficulty in luring capital to their enterprises.⁶ Table 1 contains a list of the mining companies organized and dominated by British investors to work claims in Colorado that returned dividends to their backers. The nominal capital furnishes the reader with the amount on which

⁴ Rippy, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-125.

⁵ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-38.

⁶ For an example see the *Economist*, September 25, 1886, p. 1194.

ordinary dividends were paid. The lot of the other British ventures was either liquidation, perhaps with some recouping of investors' capital, languishing activity and voluntary dissolution, or the selling of shares to American interests. Whatever the fate of this second group British investors received no dividends from them.

TABLE 1
PROFITABLE BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN COLORADO MINES⁷

<i>Investment</i>	<i>First Year, Profitable Period</i>	<i>No. Years</i>	<i>Annual Average</i>
Camp Bird Company.....	1902	13	16.2%
Colorado United Mining Company	1870	6	11.2
Lillie (Cripple Creek) Mining Co.	1898	3	6.0
New Guston Company.....	1888	3	30.7
Stratton's Independence.....	1899	7	13.5
Stratton's Independence (reorganized 1908).....	1908	8	5.4
Tomboy Gold Mines.....	1899	17	15.1

<i>Nominal Capital</i>		
<i>£</i>		
<i>Beginning of Period</i>	<i>End of Period</i>	
Camp Bird Company.....	820,000	1,749,625
Colorado United Mining Co.	308,128	308,128
Lillie (Cripple Creek) Mining Co.....	225,000	225,000
New Guston Company.....	82,554	110,000
Stratton's Independence...	1,000,000	1,000,007
Stratton's Independence (reorganized 1908)...	125,000	62,500
Tomboy Gold Mines.....	300,000	310,000

A few Englishmen were well repaid for their mining investments in Colorado. The Tomboy Gold Mines paid dividends from 1899 to 1926 on a capital that hovered around £300,000. However the highest average per annum returns came between 1899 and 1915. Another long-lived bonanza was Stratton's Independence, although the reorganized company (1908) was forced to "write off" capital in 1915. The first venture to reward British backers was the Colorado United Mining Company, organized in 1870 as the Colorado Terrible Lode Mining Company. After 1875 the flow of dividends from this company ceased. The Camp Bird Company paid substantial dividends after 1914, but as noted earlier, its interests had by then expanded far beyond Colorado's borders.

British investments in Colorado mining reached their climax around 1900, after rising steadily from 1876. Public figures as well as the traditional "little financier" contributed to the boom that

⁷ Four other companies paid dividends for one year only: Yankee Girl Silver Mines paid 25% to investors in 1890 on a paid-in capital of £238,000; in 1888 Ouray Gold Mining Company 2.5% on £105,000; New California 8% on £129,571 in 1889; and the Central Development Syndicate 10% on £4,150 in 1898. The Maid of Erin Silver Mines paid 10% dividends in 1891 and 1892 on a capital of £575,000.

sent English pounds to the important mining centers of the state. By 1910 the decline both in capital and companies was very evident and only a few enterprises were listed on the London Stock Exchange after the outbreak of World War I.

Only eleven of the 68 British companies formed to operate in Colorado paid dividends to the investors, and only six of these paid them for more than two years. The indirect profits from the British investment accruing to bankers and merchants both in the United States and England who lent capital and supplied machinery for the mining companies, cannot, of course, be easily measured; but such profits were undoubtedly made.

BRITISH MINING INTERESTS IN COLORADO
(Companies controlled by British capital)

<i>Company</i>	<i>Year of Organization</i>
Anglo-Colorado Exploration Syndicate.....	1896
Argo Tunnel and Mining Company*.....	1899
Caledonia (Cripple Creek) Gold Mine.....	1897
Camp Bird Company.....	1900
Carr Mine and Colorado Company.....	1900
Central Aspen Silver Mining Company.....	1891
Central Development Syndicate.....	1896
Clarissa Gold Mining Company.....	1888
Colorado Boy Silver Mines.....	1891
Colorado Properties	1903
Colorado Gold and Silver Extracting Company.....	1888
Colorado Silver Mining Company.....	1887
Cripple Creek Consolidated Mines.....	1896
Cripple Creek Gold Fields.....	1897
Cripple Creek Proprietary.....	1896
Crisman Corporation.....	1898
Decatur Mines Syndicate.....	1892
Delano Milling and Mining Company.....	1898
Denaro Gold Mining.....	1886
Denver Gold Company.....	1888
Doric Gold Mines.....	1900
Frontenac Consolidated Mines.....	1910
Fryer Hill Silver Mining Company.....	1885
Gilpin City Mining and Leasing	1887
Gilpin Gold	1895
Gold King	1888
Gold Queen	1888
Gower Mines	1898
Great Bonanza Gold Mining Company.....	1891
Imperial Gold Company.....	1897
Kent County Gold Mining Company.....	1883
Kohinoor and Donaldson Consolidated Mining Company	1880
Lake City Mining Company.....	1886
Leadville Mining Syndicate.....	1905
Leadville Mines	1888
Little Josephine Mining Company.....	1888
Lillie (Cripple Creek) Gold Mining Company.....	1898
London and Denver Mining Corporation.....	1896
Maid of Erin Silver.....	1891
Montezuma Lead-Silver Mines.....	1917

* Became American controlled.

Moon-Anchor Consolidated Gold Mines.....	1898
Mount McClellan Mining Company.....	1890
Mudsill Mining Company.....	1888
New California	1886
New Guston Company.....	1887
New Independence.....	1898
New La Plata Mining and Smelting Company (bought by Britishers 1883).....	1879
North American Exploration Company.....	1895
Nouveau Monde Gold Mining Company.....	1887
Old Lout Mining Company.....	1888
Ouray Gold Mining Company.....	1887
Pay Rock Silver Mines.....	1890
Pitkin (Colorado) Mining and Exploration Company..	1883
Poorman Silver Mines of Colorado.....	1891
Republican Mountain Silver Mines.....	1880
Rigi Group Gold Mining.....	1896
St. Patrick Gold Mine.....	1900
San Bernardo Silver Mines.....	1895
Sapphire Gold and Silver Company.....	1886
Slide and Spur Gold Mines.....	1887
Springdale Gold Mines.....	1900
St. John Mines (Colorado).....	1913
Stratton's Independence	1899
Tomboy Gold Mines Company.....	1899
Twin Lakes Hydraulic Gold Mining Syndicate.....	1883
United States Gold Place.....	1886
Yankee Girl Silver Mines.....	1890
Waltham Mines	1903
Total: 68 companies. ⁸	

⁸ Three additional sources valuable for studying British investments in the state—*Mining Directory* (Chicago), *Mining Journal* (London), and *Mining World and Engineering* (London)—mention nine other companies perhaps British in origin but about which little information can be found. None apparently ever paid dividends. They include: Argenta Falls Silver Mining, Crooke's Mining and Smelting, Mine Owners Trust, Olathe Silver Mining, Red Mountain Mines, Silver Peak Mining, Silver Chord Mining and Smelting, White Star Consolidated Mining, and Ute and Ulay Mines.

Colonel Kearny by 1st Lieutenant Henry S. Turner, Adjutant of the expedition. From it the Colonel submitted a short summary to the War Department which was printed as an appendix to the annual report of the General-in-Chief, Major General Winfield Scott.² What the *Journal* tells is the day by day story of the march of the 1st Dragoons in 1845, from Fort Leavenworth, along the Oregon Trail to the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, back to Fort Laramie, thence south to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, and by the Santa Fe Trail to its home station. Parts of the present States of Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming and Colorado were crossed by the expedition.

This march merely continued the important function of the 1st Dragoons in its summer campaigns. The most significant part in the work of the United States Army in exploring, mapping and reporting on the Frontier West and in protecting its settlers was played by the cavalry and in that corps the 1st Dragoons held the leading role. Activated March 4, 1833, at Jefferson Barracks, for that Congressionally expressed purpose, it became the first permanent cavalry organization in the Army.³ No other regiment traveled over such an extent of territory in the early West as did the Dragoons. Beginning with its first overland march from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, to Fort Gibson, in the Indian country, during the winter of 1833-1834,⁴ it spent practically every summer in expeditions over unexplored terrain.⁵ Until the Indian menace died down in the 1880s, the Regiment visited country now included in practically every State between the Mississippi and the Pacific. But of all its marches none possessed greater significance than its journey to the Rockies in 1845.

The purpose of this article is to chronicle some of the little known military facts about the expedition. From that point of view the study centers around two outstanding Army figures. These were the two senior Dragoon officers present—Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny and Captain Philip St. George Cooke. Both had been officer-founders of the Dragoons in 1833. Kearny became the Commanding General, Army of the West, in the War with Mexico and

Turner. Daily summaries were entered of the distance covered, the direction of the march and the weather. Concise comments were made of the principal events occurring, the nature of the terrain covered, the whites and Indians met en route, the welfare of the men and especially the condition of the animals, the value of the campsites with special reference to forage, water and fuel, and glimpses of the history of some significant places passed. Altogether it constitutes that somewhat rare literary product—an extremely well written military document, possessing a refreshing color and life which are not dimmed by its purely statistical information. Cited simply as *Journal*.

² *House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 210-213* (Washington, 1846).

³ Colonel Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865), 35-36. When a second regiment of Dragoons was authorized in 1836 the original unit was called the 1st Dragoons. It was re-designated as the 1st Cavalry in 1861 and has so remained.

⁴ See my article: "The March of the 1st Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson in 1833-1834," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXI, 22.

⁵ Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Captain Philip St. George Cooke and the March of the 1st Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1845

HAMILTON GARDNER *

Under Dept. Orders No. 11 of April 25, 1845 the 5 companies of the 1st Dragoons stationed at Forts Leavenworth & Scott were united at the former Post early in May to march under the command of the Colonel of the Regt. towards the "South Pass" of the Mountains & to return to Fort Leavenworth via Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river. Affording protection equally to the Oregon emigrants & the Santa Fe traders.

So begins the *Journal of an Expedition performed in the Summer of 1845 by 5 companies of the 1st Dragoons under the command of Colonel S. W. Kearny*.¹ It was written by official direction of

* Colonel Gardner (retired) has long been a student of western military history and has published several articles on phases of the career of Captain Cooke. He is a graduate of the University of Utah and of the Harvard Law School. He served in both World Wars and in other capacities, to a total of twenty-seven years of service. His present residence is in Salt Lake City.—Ed.

¹ General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch, Washington, D. C. This was formerly the Old Files Section, Adjutant General's Office, War Department. It will be cited here as N. A. R. S. W. R. B. The *Journal* comprises 87 pages in the handwriting of Lieutenant

the first legal military governor of California. But in the Intermountain West Cooke's contribution to local history stands out as considerably more important.

As early as 1829 he had accompanied Major Bennet Riley and a battalion of the 6th Infantry which constituted the first military escort to the Santa Fe traders.⁶ On August 3 and 11, at Chouteau's Island on the Arkansas (which was then the Mexican boundary and is now in the State of Kansas), he participated in the first of many battles with the Indians, this time against the Comanches. In 1843 he had made two round trips on the Santa Fe Trail and had disarmed a party of Texans under Colonel Jacob Snively on the Arkansas, near present Dodge City.⁷

The Mexican War found him in command of the Mormon Battalion on its dismounted march from Santa Fe, New Mexico, across Arizona, to San Diego, California.⁸ He returned to Fort Leavenworth along the Humboldt River, Nevada, Fort Hall, Idaho, and the Oregon Trail. During 1854 he commanded two punitive expeditions against the Apaches, the last culminating in a battle on the heights of Fischer's Peak, near Trinidad, Colorado.⁹ The next year he led the mounted troops under Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney at the Battle of Blue Water against the Brulé Sioux at Ash Fork, Nebraska, on September 3.¹⁰ When the Utah Expedition moved into Utah in 1857-1858, Cooke marched the 2d Dragoons to Camp Floyd.¹¹ As Colonel of that Regiment, he commanded the Department of Utah from August 20, 1860, to August 8, 1861.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he moved the Camp Floyd garrison overland to Fort Leavenworth and proceeded to Washington, D. C. Here he was promoted Brigadier General, U. S. Army, November 12, 1861. In 1862 he commanded the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac in the Peninsular campaign. He spent the rest of the War on courtmartial and recruiting duty. He was brevetted Major General March 13, 1865, and finished almost 50 years of service in command of the Department of the Platte at Omaha and the

⁶ Otis E. Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, 1829*, From the Journal and Reports on Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke (Glendale, California, 1952).

⁷ Cooke's official account of the campaign was published as "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail, 1843," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XII, 72-79, 227-255, edited by William E. Connelley. See also H. Bailey Carrol, "Steward A. Miller and the Snively Expedition of 1843," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LIV, 261.

⁸ "Journal of the march of the Mormon Battalion of infantry volunteers under the command of Lieut. Col. P. St. Geo. Cooke, also captain of dragoons, from Santa Fe, N. M. to San Diego, Cal.—kept by himself by direction of the comd'g. General Army of the West," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2, 31st Cong., Special Sess.* (Washington, 1849); reprinted in *The Southwestern Historical Series*, VII, 65-240, edited and annotated by Ralph P. Bleber and A. B. Bender (Glendale, 1938). A short report from Cooke to General Kearny—incidentally a little known document—dated February 7, 1847, at San Luis, California, was printed in *House Ex. Doc. No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.*, 551-563 (Washington, 1848).

⁹ *House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 33d Cong., 2d Sess.*, 61, and N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

¹⁰ *House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, 34th Cong., 1st Sess.*, 49-51.

¹¹ Colonel Theophilus F. Rodenbough, *From Everglades to Canon with the Second Dragoons* (New York, 1875), 185-93.

Department of the Lakes at Detroit. Thus he served in every Intermountain State.¹²

In addition to this local background Cooke is especially tied in with the 1845 expedition because he was one of two officers accompanying it who wrote an unofficial account. Based on his diary, it was published in his first book,¹³ which has come to be recognized as one of the outstanding stories of the Army's part in the settlement of the West.

1

Conforming to standard operating procedure of the Dragoons throughout the previous years, Colonel Kearny outlined in two letters to the War Department his proposals for the campaigns of the Regiment during the approaching summer. General Scott's reply was sent out about three weeks later.

No. 298.

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, April 9th, 1845.

Sir:

Your two communications of March 18th have been received and laid before the General-in-Chief, who approves your suggestions in relation to the summer expeditions which you recommend for the Dragoons stationed in the 3rd Military Department. Accordingly you will give the necessary instructions for the two expeditions, the first to be performed by the 1st Dragoons at Forts Leavenworth and Scott, at the head of which, according to your request you are authorized to place yourself, marching up the Platte to the mountains and near the South pass on their returning by the way of the Arkansas; and the second, by the 1st Dragoons at Forts Atkinson and Des Moines, proceeding up the

¹² For recent studies of Cooke's career in the West see, in addition to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, cited above, my articles: "A Young West Pointer Reports for Duty at Jefferson Barracks in 1827," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (St. Louis, January, 1953), IX, 124; "The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, (October, 1952), XX, 331.

¹³ *Scenes and Adventures in the Army, or Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia, 1857), 283-432; cited as *Cooke*, with page references to the 1859 edition. Not all of the 149 pages of his account of the expedition were devoted to strictly military facts. He was an unusually well-read man, with keen powers of observation of persons, events and places. In a rather striking literary style he comments freely on the Oregon emigrants, the Indians, the daily routine of the Dragoons, their non-duty activities such as their hunting, the wild life, the flora and fauna, scenic effects, scientific conclusions, in particular, geology, and allusions to local history. But most of the space is devoted to detailing fictitious conversations with a mythical "Friend," on all manner of non-military subjects. Frequently one must wander through a maze of irrelevant material in order to find a pertinent fact concerning the march.

The second unofficial account was written by 1st Lieutenant James H. Carleton, Acting Commissary of Subsistence for the expedition: *The Prairie Logbooks, Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845* (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1943), 155-260. An introduction was written by Louis Pelzer, Professor of American History, University of Iowa. He also appended a bibliography of the published journals and writings of Dragoon officers, but unfortunately many of the most important do not appear on the list; as for example, Cooke's official journal of his 1843 march with the Santa Fe traders, his official journal of the march of the Mormon Battalion, his final report to General Kearny on that march, his book, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*, not to mention the proceedings of the Fremont courtmartial which is a gold mine of orders and correspondence of Dragoon officers in California during 1847. All these have been published and will be cited later in this study.

Carleton's story of the march appeared in several newspapers a few months after it was completed; Cooke's volume was not published until 1857. The Carleton account is filled with much more interesting detail than Turner's official *Journal* would permit, but does not include the philosophical excursions which occupy so much of Cooke's space. Cited herein as Carleton, *Logbooks*.

Saint Peters, by Lake Traverse to North Red River, and passing over as much of the country of the Sisseton Sioux Indians, as may be practicable.

The Colonel of the Topographical Engineers has been consulted with reference to your recommendations that an officer of his Corps accompany each detachment. He is of the opinion that two officers cannot be spared at this time, but one will be instructed to report to you, who Colonel Abert desires may accompany the Southern Detachment.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at St. Louis, with such sums of money as may be deemed sufficient to purchase a supply of Indian goods, to be used in the way you suggest. Be pleased therefore to consult with the Superintendent on the subject.

According to your further recommendation, you are authorized to withdraw two companies of the 1st Infantry from Fort Crawford, to reinforce the garrison at Fort Leavenworth.

I am Sir, &c.,

R. Jones, Adjt. Gen.¹⁴

In April of 1845 the companies of the 1st Dragoons were widely scattered. Such was invariably the situation with troops on the Frontier; seldom did a Regimental Commander ever see all his units together. Colonel Kearny maintained joint headquarters for the 3d Military Department and for the Regiment at St. Louis, since he commanded both. Four companies were stationed at Fort Leavenworth, two at Fort Washita on the river of that name in the Indian country, two at Fort Atkinson, one at Fort Gibson and one at Fort Scott, on the Missouri border some 100 miles south of Fort Leavenworth. To them the Commanding Officer issued his orders for the summer campaign.

Head Qrs. 3d Mil. Dept.
St. Louis, Mo., April 25th, 1845.

Orders
No. 11)

1.—The Companies of the 1st Dragoons, stationed at Forts Leavenworth and Scott, will form a junction at the former Post, and march to the Platte, thence (up that River) to the Mountains, approaching "Fremont's" or the "South Pass"—Whence they will return to their respective stations by the Arkansas: thus affording protection to the Oregon emigrants, and Santa Fe traders.

2.—....

3.—Special instructions will be sent from this office, designating the time at which these movements will commence.

4.—....

5.—....

By order of Colonel S. W. Kearny

H. S. Tanner

1st Lieut. Dept. A. A. A. G.¹⁵

From these official directives may be deduced the mission of the 1845 expedition to the Rockies. It was three-fold. Outweighing

¹⁴ N. A. R. S. W. R. E.

¹⁵ N. A. R. S. W. R. E. Paragraph 2 dealt with the expedition to the Sisseton Sioux under Captain E. V. Sumner. His later report was published with that of Colonel Kearny, *op. cit.*, 214. Paragraphs 4 and 5 contained personnel and administrative matters not related to the present movement.

the other objectives in importance, was the plan to make a powerful and effective demonstration to the Indians along the Oregon Trail by displaying the strength and mobility of the Army. Intimidation was not intended, but rather a policy of meeting with them in friendly council, at the same time impressing them dramatically that the "long knives" could move as far as the mountains with celerity and certainty.

Army officers, accompanied by small groups of civilians, had previously been over the route, the first probably being Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville in 1832. Colonel Henry Dodge, with Companies A, C and G, 1st Dragoons, under Lieut. L. P. Lupton, Matthew Duncan and Lemuel Ford, had made an exploration trip west from Fort Leavenworth in 1835, but did not traverse all of the region scheduled to be visited in the present season. Captain John C. Frémont, with a topographical party, passed along the Oregon Trail in 1842 and 1843. But to the Dragoons was now accorded the honor of being the first sizeable military force to make the journey.

The second purpose was closely allied to the first. That was to protect the Oregon emigrants.¹⁶ It had been foreseen that the current year would witness a heavy movement to the new Northwest and indications pointed to its acceleration later. The last assignment was neither comparably significant nor new—to furnish security to the Santa Fe merchants. Since Major Riley's march in 1829, the Army had repeatedly performed that task. The Dragoons had first assumed it when Captain C. H. Wharton's Company A departed from Fort Gibson early in 1834 to guard the travelers. Mention has been made of Captain Cooke's two journeys in 1843. Finally it should be made clear that the march of 1845 could in no sense be regarded as one of exploration. Both trails had been well defined and utilized for a quarter century.

Since the War Department evaluated the 1845 expedition as so important that it allocated one fourth of its cavalry troops to that mission,¹⁷ as represented by five companies of the 1st Dragoons, it is requisite to look at the roster of its officers. The information is found in the monthly return of the Regiment for May, 1845.

¹⁶ This was placed as the primary mission by the Army's foremost military historian: Bridagier General Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr. *The United States Army in War and Peace* (New York, 1937), 172.

¹⁷ The pitiable strength of the Regular Army in 1845 consisted only of eight regiments of infantry, four regiments of artillery, two regiments of dragoons, a small number each of topographical engineers and corps of engineers, with hardly company strength in the Adjutant General's Office, Quartermaster, Commissary of Subsistence, Medical, Paymaster and Ordnance Departments. It managed to function with only three generals. Authorized paper strength numbered 8,613, but actually only 5,300 officers and men were enrolled. In fact the Army was then at its lowest strength since 1808, but was spread out in more than 100 posts. And this was just one year before the Mexican War broke out! Colonel William A. Gano, *The History of the United States Army* (New York, rev. ed., 1942), 196.

Co.	Rank	Name	Post or Station	Remarks
	Colonel	<i>S. W. Kearny</i>	Camp on Platte River	Commdg 3d Mily Dept.
	Lt. Col.	R. B. Mason	Fort Gibson	" Post
	Major	C. Wharton	Fort Leavenworth	" Post
	Adjutant	<i>H. S. Turner</i>	Camp on Platte River	A.A.A. Genl. 3d Mily Dept.
	Surgeon	<i>S. G. I. De Camp</i>	Camp on Platte River	Joined Hd Qrs of the Regt May 18th for a march to the mountains
A	Captain	<i>Wm. Eustis</i>	Camp on Platte River	Promoted March 18th
	1st Lieut.	<i>J. H. Carleton</i>	" " "	" " "
	2d Lieut.	<i>Richard S. Ewell</i>	" " "	& joined by transfer from Compy "G" May 13th
B	Captain	E. V. Sumner	Fort Atkinson	Aptd. Comy Subs. Returned from recruiting service May 12th
	1st Lieut.	Ph. R. Thompson	" "	Joined fm. Sp. duty (inspecting road from Fort Atkinson to Mississippi) May 3d & resumed command of Co.
	2d Lieut.	L. Jenkins	" "	On Rectg. Service to Jeff. Bars. since Aug. 4, '44 Order of Col. Kearny July 22d
	Bt. "	A. Pleasanton	" "	Left Compy Apr 26th Returng comp of Compy to Capt Sumner May 3d
C	Captain	<i>B. D. Moore</i>	Camp on Platte River	
	1st Lieut.	<i>A. J. Smith</i>	" " "	
	2d Lieut.	<i>Jno. Love</i>	" " "	Joined from Sp. duty (Member G. C. M.) May 7th
D	Captain	Thos Swords	Fort Washita	A. Q. Mr. at Fort Scott Genl. Order No. 23, July 12th '38
	1st Lieut.	A. R. Johnston	" "	Witness G. C. M. Fort Smith—left Post May 19th
	2d Lieut.	J. W. T. Gardiner	" "	Commdg. Compy since May 19th
E	Captain	E. Steen	" "	
	1st Lieut.	Daniel Henry Rucker	" "	
	2d Lieut.	A. Buford	" "	On leave of absence for 60

Co.	Rank	Name	Post or Station	Remarks
	F Captain	E. Trenor	Camp on Platte River	days, with permission to ask for 4 mo addl. Spl. Ord No 21 W Div Mar 26th Left Compy March 30th Left at Fort Scott since May 18th under suspension from rank, Command: for 18 months from Feby 26th, '40 G. O. No. 5 Feby 26th '44
	1st Lieut.	<i>P. Kearny Junr</i>	" " "	Commdg Compy
	2d Lieut.	<i>H. W. Stanton</i>	" " "	Abs Sick since May 15th '44
G	Captain	<i>J. H. K. Burgwin</i>	" " "	from last report of April 25th Promoted Mar 17th & joined from 2d Dragoons. On duty at Fort Leavth May 20th
	1st Lieut.	T. M. Crate	" " "	
	2d Lieut.	Rufus Ingalls	" " "	
H	Captain	Nathan. Boone	Fort Gibson	
	1st Lieut.	R. H. Chilton	" "	
	2d Lieut.	Cave J. Coatts	" "	Promoted April 4th & joined by transfer from 2d Dragoons. Absent—place & cause unknown
I	Captain	James Allen	Camp on the Des Moines	
	1st Lieut.	Wm. N. Grier	" " "	
	2d Lieut.	P. Noble	" " "	
K	Captain	<i>P. St. G. Cooke</i>	Camp on Platte River	Commdg Compy
	1st Lieut.	L. B. Northrop	" " "	Ab. Sick since Dec. 11th 1843 by letter to him from Adj. Genl of that date — left Compy Oct 6th '39 Charleston per last rept of Feb. 7th
	2d Lieut.	<i>T. C. Hammond</i>	" " "	" 18

¹⁸N. A. R. S. W. R. B. The names of the officers who accompanied Colonel Kearny have been italicized.

Practically all of the officers in the Regiment served in the Mexican War. Kearny was promoted Brigadier General while he was on the march to Santa Fe in 1846 and was raised to Brevet Major General in 1848. He died prematurely October 31, 1848. Mason succeeded Kearny as military governor of California in 1847. Allen died at Fort Leavenworth August 23, 1846, shortly after recruiting the Mormon Battalion. Moore and Johnston were killed in the Battle of San Pascual in California, December 8, 1846.

During the Civil War Cooke, Carleton, Franklin, Sumner, Swords, Pleasonton, Smith, Buford and Philip Kearny became general officers in the Union

According to this return, the expeditionary force included only 15 officers. Lieutenant W. B. Franklin, Corps of Topographical Engineers, joined the column on May 29.¹⁹ It was his function to make observations as to latitude and longitude and prepare a map of the route covered.²⁰ It is stated in the *Journal* that each of the five companies consisted of 50 persons, "rank and file," making a total of 250.²¹ From the figures appearing in the May return, it was evidently necessary to assign additional troopers to each of the five companies before starting. As his civilian guide Colonel Kearny selected Thomas Fitzpatrick, a man well acquainted with the mountains and the routes leading there. He had led a party of Oregon home seekers westward in 1841, and had been a guide for Fremont in 1843-44.²² Strangely enough, no competent Indian interpreter was taken along, although such assistance was much needed later. Similarly, the Dragoons lacked a chaplain.



ROUTE OF THE DRAGOON MARCH TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS IN 1845

In the way of equipment the Dragoons carried everything to make them self-sufficient; no stores could be picked up en route,

Army and Ewell, Grier, Ingalls and Coatts in the Confederate States Army.

The May return shows a Regimental Strength of 25 officers, 59 non-commissioned officers, 24 specialists—(buglers, farriers and blacksmiths)—and 332 privates. Listed alphabetically, the 10 companies carried 35, 41, 34, 21, 32, 32, 33, 23, 29 and 32 men respectively. Not all were present on duty; 76 were on detached service, 66 on special detail, 26 with the Quartermaster Department, 18 sick, 8 absent, 6 in arrest and 3 absent without leave—the well known modern "AWOL." The aggregate strength measured 605.

¹⁹ *Journal*, May 29, p. 11.

²⁰ The map was published as part of Kearny's brief report, *op cit*.

²¹ *Journal*, pp. 1-2.

²² Kearny was so well pleased with Fitzpatrick's services that he later chose him as the chief guide for the Army of the West. Fitzpatrick subsequently changed places with Kit Carson during the march to California. See Kearny's Order No. 34, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 33, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 331*, and LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver, 1931), 165-79.

except a limited supply delivered by Captain Cooke at Bent's Fort in 1843. Each trooper rode his own horse, was armed with a carbine, pistol and sabre, and on his saddle was tied all his clothing and bedding. An unspecified number of extra mounts were driven. By tradition in the Regiment since its activation, each company in a squadron maintained horses of distinct color. Since the two squadrons were intermingled on this campaign, there were two companies of blacks and one each of bays, grays and chestnuts.²³ No forage for the animals was taken because the prairie grasses served as fodder. Two brass field howitzers, drawn each by two horses or mules, furnished a miniature artillery support. The supply trains consisted of 21 wagons, each pulled by four, six or eight horses or mules, depending on its weight. These were loaded with what the Army then called "small ration"—flour, bacon, salt meat, coffee, beans, sugar, salt, pepper—with ammunition, tentage, medical supplies and with trinkets and trade goods for the Indians. For fresh meat the soldiers depended on the wild game to be killed along the way and hunters were selected from each company. As a meat reserve, 30 head of cattle and 27 sheep were driven on the hoof. Fuel must be picked up wherever camps were made.

Prospective planning for the march involved consideration of certain fundamental factors. The column could not start until the grasses had grown up on the prairies, because the animals depended entirely on them for forage. For the same reason it must return to its home station before the weather became too cold. The actual route did not present too great a problem. On the Oregon Trail the east and west running rivers—the Platte with its North and South Forks and the Sweetwater—fairly well determined the direction. The country between Fort Laramie and Bent's Fort was not so well known. But the Arkansas formed a fairly easy path for a long stretch on the road home. In selecting campsites three things were vital—water for man and beast, grass for the animals, and fuel for cooking. The rivers and creeks and some streams supplied the water; there were no lakes on the entire march. Grass could be expected on the streams, but was where it could be found on the western half of the trip. On much of the way the troopers resorted to the well known prairie fuel, buffalo "chips." It was known that not a single white settlement would be encountered; Fort Laramie and Bent's Fort represented the only permanent human gathering places. Not a single bridge spanned the rivers and creeks, but the *Journal* mentions a few occasions when the Dragoons set up their own bridges over small streams which were not fordable. For fresh meat almost complete reliance must be placed on the herds of buffalo to be encountered.

²³ *Cooke*, 291.

Early May witnessed great activity by Companies C, F, G and K at Fort Leavenworth in preparation for the march. Colonel Kearny wrote to the War Department May 3 from St. Louis that he expected to "leave here in a few days for Fort Leavenworth, and after making the necessary arrangements for the summer campaign, shall commence it & expect to be absent about 4 months."²⁴ Company A arrived from Fort Scott May 8. By mid-month all seemed in readiness. Time of departure was set for May 17, but a heavy rain storm caused its postponement. Then on May 18, at 10 in the morning, the five companies of Dragoons, followed by their train of howitzers, wagons, cattle, sheep and extra horses moved out from the Fort and the march was on. Colonel Kearny had sent word to General Scott immediately before leaving.²⁵

Proceeding in a general northwesterly direction from the Post and fording several small streams tributary to the Missouri, the column, on the fifth day, crossed the emigrant road leading from St. Joseph, Missouri, to the Oregon Trail. Part of the movement was over the track taken by Major Wharton and his Dragoons on a visit to the Pawnee villages in 1844, which Cooke had also accompanied. On May 24 the column crossed the Big Blue. The same day it encountered the first train of Oregon-bound emigrants with their white-topped wagons drawn by oxen and followed by herds of cattle. This particular group had left Independence May 8. Other parties were passed almost daily as the cavalymen moved up the course of the Little Blue. The expedition was now on the Oregon Trail proper— (The *Journal* always refers to it as the "Oregon road.")—and thereafter it followed generally that broad highway to the mountains. So many civilian trains had been met that the Dragoons found the grass already grazed down. It became necessary, therefore, to hurry past them as soon as possible, for, as Cooke says, it was "highly desirable to 'head' the very leading 'captain' of his vast emigration, for we found that . . . they would make a clean sweep of the grass near all the spots where it is necessary to encamp for water."²⁶

The main Platte was reached May 29 and at the same time the soldiers met the first Indians on the march. These were Pawnees who, despite their demonstrations of friendliness, were mistrusted by the emigrants more than any other Indians. The expedition

²⁴ N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

²⁵ *Ibid.*: "I have to report that I leave here (this morning) for the Mountains, in the command of 5 companies of my Regt, making a total of 250, & expect to be absent upwards of 4 months."

I have not seen nor heard of Lieut. Franklin of the Topo. Engs. who was ordered by the Col of that Corps, to report to me at this Post."

The next day Major Wharton, 1st Dragoons, who had been left in command at Fort Leavenworth, reported to the 3d Military Department at St. Louis: "By request of Col. Kearny I write you, that he left this Post yesterday in command of Companies A, C, F, G, & K, 1st Dragoons, for the Rocky Mountains." *Ibid.*

²⁶ Cooke, 285.

rested the following day, one of the very few times this was done. The march now continued along the south bank of the Platte without incident, unless the slaughtering of a beef which provided the first fresh meat since leaving the Fort could be considered noteworthy; at least the men so regarded it. The first wild game, antelope, was sighted here and an excited prairie dog village. On June 3 Colonel Kearny sent one of his few communications while en route, to the War Department.

Head Qrs. 1st Regt. Dragoons
Camp near the Forks of the Platte
June 3d, 1845

Sir:

I enclose herewith a Return of the 5 Companies of the Regt under my immediate command for the month of May—

As noted in a remark on the Return, the command left Fort Leavenworth on the 18th, and on the 31st May encamped on the right bank of the Platte River above the head of the Grand Island—We are now a few miles below the junction of the North & South forks of that River.

I have nothing new to report—We are making good progress, having marched out 350 miles from Fort Leavenworth.

Very Respectfully
Your ob. Servt
S. W. Kearny
Col. 1st Drags.

Brig. Genl R. Jones
Adjt General
U. S. Army Wn.

27

This expedition of the Dragoons, as always, was conducted throughout with established military practice. Movement was timed on a schedule of bugle calls. Departure from camp was set each morning for 6:30. A stop for "nooning" was allowed, the exact time depending on the availability of grass and water. The order of march put the mounted troops in advance with the trains and animals following. Companies alternated in their position in the column. The *Journal* makes no mention of advance, flank and rear guards, which was indicative of the slight fear of any Indian menace, but camp guards were posted and herders detailed to watch the grazing animals at night. No such thing as a company mess was maintained, with its colorful but sometimes aggravating "mess lines," so well known in modern American armies, but the men of each squad, or even fewer, prepared their own food over individual fires. The surgeon conducted sick call each morning. No halts were made on Sundays and it is not of record that a single religious service was held during the entire journey.

Arriving June 4 near the junction of the North and South Forks of the Platte, the column proceeded up the south bank of the latter. It was at this point the cavalymen saw their first buffalo, a lone bull. But early the next morning "a herd of buffalo ap-

²⁷N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

proached within a hundred steps of our tents, and but for the braying of a mule would doubtless have found their way among our horses, than which nothing could have created a greater panic."²⁸ Hunters immediately set out on the chase and bagged a meat supply. At this time of the season, however, the men found "the buffalo meat poor & scarcely eatable—greatly inferior to ordinary beef." For the next six weeks the expedition crossed buffalo country and subsisted on fresh beef; gradually the quality improved. Many were the thrilling buffalo hunts in which both officers and men participated.²⁹ Yet the hordes of shaggy beasts brought another peril; frequently they had cropped the buffalo grass so short as to destroy its value as forage for the expedition's animals.

On June 6 the column forded the South Fork at the "usual crossing" and after ascending its valley for some miles moved over the ridge separating it from the North Fork. Nearly every day they passed trains of emigrants, mostly out-bound from St. Joseph. They reached the banks of the North Fork the following day and for the next three weeks followed up its course. One camp was near the mouth of Blue Creek at Ash Hollow, scene of Cooke's battle with the Brulé Sioux ten years later; Cooke notes the location with an exclamation point but no comment.³⁰ Here were met a party of boatmen who were trying to transport furs to St. Louis by navigating the North Platte from Fort Laramie, but owing to the season's unusually shallow water, the "engages" abandoned the attempt. On the 11th Colonel Kearny visited a band of Brulé Sioux camped in the neighborhood and by means of signs invited them to attend a council at Fort Laramie. "Chimney Rock" came in sight about this time.

The march continued up the valley of the North Platte, the *Journal* frequently commenting on the barrenness of the region. Scott's Bluff was passed June 12. First glimpses were soon obtained of the Black Hills and the distant Laramie Peak. Going ahead of the foremost train of emigrants, the column arrived in the vicinity of Fort Laramie on the morning of the 14th. Both the people of this post, which was on the Laramie River, and its recently established rival, Fort Platte, on the North Platte, endeavored to persuade the Dragoons to camp in their respective areas, but after reconnaissance a site was selected about three miles above the older fort. The soldiers visited freely at the stations during the three day stay and the trappers and Indians stared with unfeigned curiosity at the soldiers' camp.

Fort Laramie had been established as a fur trade post in 1834, and did not become an Army post until 1849. Its nearby rival, Fort

²⁸ *Journal*, June 5, p. 28.

²⁹ E. G. Cooke, 299, 301-302, Carleton, *Logbooks*, 215-220.

³⁰ Cooke, 309. His book was published in 1857.

Platte, was started late in 1840.³¹ Cooke gives a vivid description of the older post as the Dragoons saw it in 1845.

I came on in advance, and spent an hour at Fort Laramie; it is about two hundred feet square, with high walls of adobes, made of the clay and sand soil, just as it is found; the dwellings line the wall—which is a part of them—and have flat adobe roofs, and wooden galleries. The Fort swarmed with women and children, whose language—like their complexions—is various and mixed—Indian, French, English, and Spanish; they live nearly exclusively on dried buffalo meat, for which the hunters go at least fifty miles; but they have domestic cattle.

Here, barbarism and a traditional or half civilization meet on neutral ground . . . represented chiefly by females . . . but their credentials are ill-looks, dirty, and revolting habits . . . while the male representatives of civilization have the orthodox, although questionable aids of alcohol and gunpowder, avarice, lying and lust.³²

Before departing from Fort Laramie on June 17, the Colonel made several dispositions to facilitate the march to the South Pass. All the horses and mules in poor condition which could possibly be spared were put out to pasture near the trading post. Excess baggage and several wagons were left behind. Captain Cooke was designated to make a quick survey of the surrounding terrain to select a site for a future military installation, although nothing ever came of it. To guard the animals and Government property, Captain Eustis' Company A was detached to stay until the return of the other four companies.

Cold weather was encountered in the increasingly high altitude as the column continued up the North Platte. The *Journal* repeatedly complains of sparse grass in a country which "presents an unbroken scene of barrenness & sterility."³³ Lieutenant Turner, like the true cavalryman he was, laments over the condition of "our poor reduced animals." On the 18th the soldiers rescued an Arapaho squaw and two little children, alone, lost and almost starved. They fed the miserable creatures, treated them kindly and about a month later, in what is now northern Colorado, turned them over to their kinsmen. Herds of buffalo were encountered almost to the mountains. At this time occurred the only near casualty on the trip. One of the enlisted men accidentally shot himself in the arm and it was found necessary to perform an amputation. Notwithstanding the meager facilities existing in the field, the man survived. As soon as he could be moved, he was sent on a crude litter with the surgeon and a Dragoon escort to Fort Laramie and Captain Eustis. The squaw and the children accompanied the party. Some new types of wild game were seen near the mountains—grizzly bears, mountain sheep or "big horns," deer, and a fowl

³¹ Le Roy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West* (Glendale, Calif., 1938), 18-27, 69. For an account of the 1845 visit of the Dragoons, see pp. 109-111.

³² Cooke, 335.

³³ *Journal*, June 17, p. 32.

which the Dragoons called grouse or heathcock, but was probably the sage hen. Elk and wild horses were noted some time later. Some of the soldiers tried to make pets out of these wild things; Cooke attempted to domesticate some "heathcock" chicks and a baby antelope fawn, but all pined away and died. Camps were made on Horse Creek, Deer Creek, and Bitter Spring, and the Red Buttes were passed to the south of their trail.

On June 24 the Dragoons crossed the North Platte for the last time and continued the march up the Sweetwater. Independence Rock attracted the usual attention, with the names of travelers carved on its rocky slopes; the *Journal* slyly remarks that some of them, such as Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, could hardly have passed that way. Cooke climbed part way up the Rock and marveled at the view of Devil's Gate and the wide spreading country with the Rocky Mountains on the western horizon. The next day Colonel Kearny left all the cattle and more weak horses under guard, to be picked up on the return trip. Buffalo still remained in abundance.

Leaving the Sweetwater June 29, the expedition began the gradual ascent up the South Pass, with the Wind River Mountains to the right. The Dragoons could not accustom themselves to the extremes of heat and cold in a single day. The next morning they passed the summit and, descending into Oregon Territory, camped on an unnamed stream tributary to the Green River. All remarked at the anomaly of crossing streams which flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and within a short distance others whose waters reached the Pacific Ocean. Colonel Kearny held the required monthly muster on the last day of June in Oregon Territory. According to the method of reckoning distance in the cavalry, which was based on the average miles per hour covered by the horses and not on astronomical observations, the command now rested 281 miles from Fort Laramie and 847 from Fort Leavenworth.

The return trip to Fort Laramie began July 1. For the most part it followed the route of the out-bound march, which had been almost entirely on the Oregon Trail. Going back, however, the wagons were left to continue eastward on the Trail while the mounted troopers, guided by Fitzpatrick, deviated on a supposed short cut through the Red Buttes. The experiment did not prove particularly successful. On July 3 the column met the first of the oncoming emigrant trains, the forerunner of continuous groups back to Fort Laramie. Here they picked up the cattle and horses previously left on the Trail. The soldiers fired a salute from the two howitzers on Independence Day at reveille, chiefly for the benefit of the Oregon homeseekers.

Shortly after this the only sickness on the trip developed. It affected Colonel Kearny and some of the officers and men. The surgeon ascribed it to the altitude and the extremes of heat and cold. None of it proved serious. A band of Ogallala Sioux numbering 73 lodges was camped near the Dragoons July 10. They regretted they had not participated in the council at Fort Laramie and particularly had missed the presents which the Colonel had there distributed. The column arrived at Captain Eustis' camp about eight miles from Fort Laramie on July 13. They found the wounded soldier much improved, the squaw and her children thriving, and the horses and mules fairly reconditioned. Preparations were now made to leave the Oregon Trail and strike south to the Arkansas. Four empty wagons were sent back to Fort Leavenworth; a similar action had been taken on the main Platte.

3

What manner of impressions did the Dragoon officers gain of the Oregon bound emigrants? Certainly they had ample opportunity for observation of these people whom they had passed from the Blue to Fort Laramie and again on the return from the Rockies. They were entirely disinterested; indeed in their somewhat narrow professional life they might have been too little aware of the upsurging pioneer spirit which impelled the movement westward. As factual witnesses they were intelligent and credible; as analysts they might have lacked understanding of the motivation of the people they saw.

Colonel Kearny, in his final report, hazarded no opinions whatsoever about the emigrants. He limited himself to recording objectively the statistics of the civilian migration, but he did go out of his way to recommend a new route from the South Pass to the "Willamet" Valley—which, incidentally, he had never seen.³⁴

Captain Cooke was more profuse, but not always in sympathy with what he observed. On first sight of the rolling wagons he exclaimed:

. . . the Oregon emigrants; the rude founders of a State. Self-exiled and led by a human instinct—inspired, and superior to reason . . . neither pilgrims nor of broken fortunes, but unconscious workers of National *Human* Destiny . . .

Yet a few days later on the Platte he could commiserate with them in misfortune.

About noon we saw a company of some fifty wagons, winding a toilsome way to the high grounds . . . Soon we learned the truth: they were burying an infant! It is Sunday; forty-seven wagons and families form a procession . . . to reach that grassy hill which poetic affection would choose for a place of sepulture. There they solemnly consign to the unblessed earth,—to the howling wilderness—the father's hope—the mother's love and her pride. Pity her! It is no common loss! . . .

³⁴ *Report, op. cit.*, 212ff.

Shortly before reaching Fort Laramie he summarized his views.

This migration severs the ties of home and country; leaves lands of exceeding richness . . . and pushes on with women and children, to the dangers and exposures of a great journey—they hardly know whither—Should we then admire as praiseworthy the energies and sacrifices of these first laborers in a great work? Or can we, regardless of prospective results, deny them magnanimous motives; attribute all to the wantonness of discontent,—a diseased appetite for excitement and change,—to a restless habit of vagrancy?

I hope I am not uncharitable, if I incline to this last opinion. Are we not taught to recognize in the history of man, that God shapes all evil to good results?

At his last sight of the Oregonians, while the troops were counter-marching from the South Pass, he sympathized again.

I saw a poor woman weeping. The sight of our return! the home! the friends behind! the wilderness ahead!³⁵

Lieutenant Turner, younger and more susceptible, viewed a brighter picture on first impression.

The men appeared in excellent spirits, & the women in reply to our interrogatories would say that they were perfectly contented and willing to emigrate. Many of the families were walking at the sides of wagons & in rear of them; the remainder with the children were riding in them. Each wagon appeared to be the property of some single family . . . One wagon held 5 bachelors . . . We are informed that each party of emigrants is accompanied by men of all the civil professions. Priests, Lawyers, Doctors &c. so that they are prepared to form an organized community wherever they may determine to stop.³⁶

Lieutenant Carleton wrote at considerable length about the Oregonians, including a complete chapter, following the completion of his account of the march on July 13, which is the last day included in his diary. He philosophized about the progress of the first company he encountered.

It is not the mere performance of a long journey by these families with their flocks and herds, and their little all of worldly wealth, that calls for particular notice; though that alone, when looked upon in connection with the loneliness, the dangers and the privations which attend it, is a matter worthy of peculiar attention: it is their destiny when that journey shall have been completed, and the influence that destiny may hereafter exert—not only on the country they have left behind, but on the world at large—that makes the simple passing along of these people—humble though they may be—a subject inviting the most profound reflections. They are journeying to the fulfillment of that destiny, and in that light, above all others, should they be regarded.

But the Dragoons did more than record personal impressions. "In meeting the emigrating parties, on our return from the S. Pass," states the *Journal*, "great pains have been taken to obtain accurate statistical information in relation to the emigration to the Oregon Territory during the current season."³⁷ A summary shows

³⁵ *Cooke*, 282, 295-296, 331, 368.

³⁶ *Journal*, May 25, pp. 8-9; Carleton, *Logbooks*, 183, 261-266.

³⁷ *Journal*, July 14, p. 57. The tabulations contain the names of the captains of all companies.

846 men, 473 women and 958 children, totaling 2,277 souls; 6,871 cattle; 389 horses and mules, and 456 wagons. Most of the travelers came from Missouri, but Iowa, Ohio, Illinois and Arkansas were well represented.

4

Departing from Fort Laramie July 14, the column of Dragoons set out southward for the Arkansas River on the second phase of their 1845 march. The route for two days lay up the Laramie River and then passed over to Chugwater Creek. Near this stream the officers visited a camp of the Cheyennes and Colonel Kearny held a council with them. Several stops were then made on Crow Creek. Throughout most of this march the troops found the country dry and desolate, due to a prolonged drought. The animals suffered severely. The guide, Fitzpatrick, said that when he had passed through this region two years before, it had been much greener. Crow Creek proved to be dry, but water was found by digging wells in the stream bed. But "Cache le Poudre" provided some water. For the first time in four weeks a beef was slaughtered; no buffalo were encountered during the entire trip to Bent's Fort. The expedition arrived at the South Fork of the Platte July 20. Long's Peak, in the Rockies, had been in view for some time.

The route of march followed up the South Fork of the Platte for almost three days. St. Vrain's Fort was found abandoned.³⁸ The expedition camped near the future site of Denver on the night of July 22 and then turned southeastward along Cherry Creek. Two days later they cut away from that stream. They were now nearer the mountains and they believed the country to be less desolate. Soon they reached a point almost due east of Pike's Peak, rising majestically on their right. Crossing the ridge separating the drainage of the South Fork and the Arkansas, and continuing 18 miles along the "Fontaine qui Bouille," they reached the Arkansas on July 26. As they followed down the north bank of that river, which then formed the international boundary between the United States and Mexico, scouts spied a small party of whites who proved to be traders from Taos. Upon investigation Colonel Kearny discovered they carried a load of whisky which he promptly confiscated and destroyed. He arrested the traders, but eventually was compelled to let them go.

The column reached Bent's Fort on July 30.

5

Since one of the primary missions of the expedition was to impress on the Indians the available power of the Army and since

³⁸ See: Le Roy R. Hafen, "Fort St. Vrain," *Colorado Magazine* (October, 1952), XXIX, 241.

none were encountered after leaving Bent's Fort except a small party of Apaches from New Mexico, it seems pertinent now to inquire how well this objective was attained.

First meeting with the tribesmen had occurred May 29 near the Platte. These were Pawnees, whose reputation the *Journal* records, was that of "the most treacherous & cowardly Indians on the western prairies: They are complained of more by the emigrants than any other Indians."³⁹ But they now exhibited a suspiciously friendly attitude towards the Dragoons.

About two weeks later, on the North Platte, the first band of Sioux appeared, some 20 to 25 lodges. Colonel Kearny sent Fitzpatrick to invite their principal men to the soldiers' camp. They accepted and, in the lack of an interpreter, the Colonel explained by signs that he was friendly and invited them to the forthcoming council at Fort Laramie. Presents of a few plugs of tobacco emphasized the good will. Another group of Sioux were similarly treated just before the arrival at Fort Laramie. Cooke, already widely experienced with the redmen and who later became recognized as one of the Army's most capable Indian campaigners,⁴⁰ favored these particular tribes over all others.

The Sioux are rather my favorites: their freedom and power have imparted to the warriors—the men—some gentlemanly qualities: they are cleanly, dignified, and graceful in manner; brave, proud, and independent in bearing and deed. Their misfortune, their deep stain—the law of barbarism—is their treatment of women; they apply to them the brute law of the stronger!⁴¹

Outstanding event of the summer campaign, as it related to the Indians, was the council at Fort Laramie on Sunday, June 16. In addition to his earlier invitations Colonel Kearny had sent runners out to all the lodges nearby. The gathering met on a flat space near the trading post and Cooke estimates 1,200 Indians were on hand, all Brulé and Ogallala Sioux. Buffalo robes were spread on the ground where the Colonel and his suite were seated in a semi-circle. The Indians sat facing the officers, behind whom rose a scaffold hung with elk robes. On two flag poles flew the National colors and on a third was an emblematic banner of Indian design. The white Commander stood in soldierly dignity before the solemn Sioux and "they were addressed by him to the following purport:

Sioux—I am glad to see you. Your great father has heard much of his red children & has sent me with a few braves to visit you. I am going to the waters which flow toward the setting sun. I shall return to this place, & then march to the Arkansas & then home. I am opening a road for the white people, & your great father directs that his red children shall not attempt to close it up—there are many white men coming on this road moving to the

³⁹ *Journal*, May 29, p. 13.

⁴⁰ See: *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York 1802-1903*, I, 525, *House Ex. Doc. No. 789*, 58th Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington, 1904).

⁴¹ *Cooke*, 323.

other side of the mountains—they take with them women, children & cattle—they all go to lay their bones there & never to return—you must not disturb them in their persons or molest their property—should you do so, your Great father would be angry with you, & cause you to be punished.

Sioux—You have enemies about you, but the greatest of them all is whiskey:—I learn that some bad white men bring it here from Taos & sell it to you. Open your ears & listen to me. It is contrary to the wishes of your Great father that whiskey should be brought here, & I advise you, whenever you find it in your country, no matter in whose possession, to spill it all on the ground. The ground will drink it without injury but you cannot. I wish you, Sioux, to remember what I have now said to you, & that you who have heard me will tell those who are not present. Your Great father is the friend of his Red children, & as long as they behave themselves properly will continue to be so. I have not come among you to bring you presents, but your Great father has sent a few things that you may remember what I have said to you.⁴²

The principal Sioux chief present, Bull's Tail, made a reply in which he promised his people would obey the advice of the Colonel. He concluded with an exhortation to his braves to follow that course.

The Dragoons then distributed the presents which had been brought along for that very purpose, "consisting of scarlet & blue cloth; white, red and green blankets, tobacco, scalping knives, looking glasses, beads, &c. &c."⁴³ "In the midst of these proceedings, a squaw commenced a chant, in which she was soon joined by many women and some men, with a very fine musical effect; it was expressive of satisfaction and thanks."⁴⁴

A few shots were then fired from the howitzers, with awesome effect on the Sioux. That evening rockets were set off and it was conveyed by the Colonel to the savage spectators that thus "to send up stars to the heavens . . . should tell the Great Spirit that they had listened to his words."⁴⁵

A month then elapsed and the Dragoons were near the present Wyoming-Colorado line before the next council was held, this time with the Cheyennes—Cooke calls them "Chians"—part of a band of 70 lodges. Buffalo robe seats on the ground again served the white visitors in the Indian camp. Unlike the Laramie council with the Sioux, a preliminary smoking of the peace pipe preceded Colonel Kearny's address. It followed the previous lines, with possibly more emphasis on the dangers of whisky. Then came another distribution of colorful presents, which also were received with constant singing.

Messengers from a second band of Cheyennes soon arrived to solicit presents, but Kearny declined, holding to a policy of

⁴² *Journal*, June 16, pp. 29-30, Carleton, *Logbooks*, 247-250.

⁴³ *Journal*, June 16, p. 31.

⁴⁴ *Cooke*, 338.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 338.

making such gifts only when it could be impressively done at a council. He took the same action later on the Santa Fe Trail with a roving band of New Mexican Apaches.

In his final report Colonel Kearny enumerates the different tribes of Indians encountered and observes that further expeditions of the same kind

. . . would serve to keep the Indians perfectly quiet, reminding them of (as this one proved) the facility with which our dragoons can march through any part of their country, & that there is no place they can go but that the dragoons can follow . . .

Although we did not see as many Indians on our march as we had desired, yet the fact of our having been through their country is, no doubt, at this time known to every man woman and child in it. And as these were the first soldiers ever seen by the upper Indians, & as those who saw them were much struck with their uniform & appearance—their fine horses—their arms & big guns, (howitzers)—it is most probable, in their accounts to those who did not see us, they have rather exaggerated than lessened our numbers, power & force.⁴⁶

That the mere show of force did affect the Indians remains undisputed. Not an unfriendly word was spoken, not a shot fired by either side. And the only report of any hostile act by the Indians received by the Dragoons in the entire summer came from the captain of an Oregon train at Fort Laramie. He claimed that the Sioux—not the Pawnees—had stolen a few horses.

6

Bent's Fort, built earlier on the Arkansas by the Bent family and Ceran St. Vrain,⁴⁷ while primarily an Indian trading post, served likewise as a stopping place for those Santa Fe traders who feared the desert route turning off at the Cimmaron Crossing and preferred the greater safety of the longer road through the Raton Pass. On arriving Cooke comments on seeing

. . . the national flag, floating amid picturesque foliage and river scenery, over a low dark wall, which had a very military semblance . . . An extensive square, with high adobe walls, and two large towers at opposite angles; and all properly loopholed. Our near approach was saluted by three discharges from a swivel gun; the walls being well manned."⁴⁸

The Dragoons were greatly relieved to find intact the stores of provisions left there in 1843 by Captain Cooke; their own supplies were almost exhausted. They also derived some satisfaction from the old newspapers from the States which had been dropped there.

On the last day of July the column left Bent's Fort along the Santa Fe Trail on the final stage of the march back to Fort Leavenworth. Many of them had traversed the Trail before—some several times—so they neither expected nor experienced anything unusual.

The rate of travel was accelerated so far as the condition of the mounts and the draft animals permitted. Modern military students will be interested in Cooke's description of a typical day's routine of this period.

We marched at half past 6 o'clock. That means that two hours earlier a trumpet had called us all from sleep to sudden labors; first, arms in hand,—there is an inspection;—then a "stable call," which the poor horses know well, although they have perhaps forgotten what a stable is, or have despaired ever to see one again; possibly they retain a vague memory of the grain, which, on a time, was served to them at that signal. Now, they whinny a morning greeting to their masters, and seem grateful for a little rubbing of their stiffened limbs, and removal to fresh grass. Meanwhile the cook of each mess (of six or seven men) has been preparing hot coffee; and offers it with the unleavened cakes which were baked over night against a spade or board, and some boiled or fried buffalo meat for breakfast; as a rarity, he gives them a morsel of fried pork. Then,—at the signal for the new guard to saddle,—baggage is prepared and packed in the wagons; the ceremonies of guard mounting over, the assembled trumpeters sound "boots and saddles," when,—in a quarter of an hour—all bridle, saddle, and arm, and the last preparations are completed; then, "to horse," and the regiment is almost instantly in "order of battle"; and at the "advance!" each squadron in turn ahead, we all ride forth to "battle" with space, with fatigue, perhaps with great heat and dust—with saddening wastes,—with thirst and fears of finding no haven of refreshment and rest.

In the heat of the day, if there be water, we wait wearily, generally unshaded, about three-fourths of an hour, for horses to rest and take a luncheon of grass, and for the baggage to come up. After eight or ten hours, happily finding water and grass we commence the settlement of a canvas village in the wilderness. The horses are first to be attended; . . . a slight scramble for that scarce article, fuel . . . The baggage is then unpacked—if fortunately it have arrived—and fires are lit, perhaps in a rain,—water is brought; . . . issue of rations is made,—and this may depend upon still absent hunters, or the slaughter of a beef . . . cooking then goes on. We eat with an appetite; but of the coarsest and simplest food. The guard then commences the labors of the night; but the many enjoy rest—the single luxury of a pipe!⁴⁹

During the second day out they learned they had just missed the topographical party of Captain John C. Frémont, westward bound. By messenger later Frémont asked for the guide, Fitzpatrick, to accompany him, and Kearny granted the request.

(It is interesting to speculate what effect on future events a meeting of the two parties at this point might have had. Neither Cooke nor Turner had ever met Frémont; Kearny knew his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. Would a better mutual acquaintance among these officers have alleviated or possibly prevented the bitter controversy over the governorship of California and the local military command, which arose during the occupation of that region in 1847, resulting in Frémont's being

⁴⁹ Cooke, 421-423.

⁴⁶ Report, *op. cit.*, 212, 213.

⁴⁷ George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922*, XV, 28ff.

⁴⁸ Cooke, 417-418.

court-martialed? Cooke and Turner then supported General Kearny loyally and were the principal witnesses against Frémont.)⁵⁰

On August 2 the Dragoons met the first party of traders Santa Fe bound; they had left Independence July 1. The first herd of buffalo seen since Fort Laramie appeared August 5; the beasts were generally in sight during the remainder of the trip. About the same time the column passed Chouteau's Island and Cooke indulges in some reminiscences of his first Indian battle there in 1829. Some time during August 9 they reached the place where Cooke, in 1843, had arrested and disarmed a party of Texans on the ground that they had encroached on United States territory. The legality of his action turned on the location of the parallel of 100° west longitude, which then marked the international boundary. As to this matter the *Journal* sets forth:

4 miles after leaving camp brought us to Jackson's grove, the spot at which a Texan force under Col. Snively was disarmed in the summer of 1843 by Capt. Cooke in command of a detachment of Dragoons. The grove is on the south bank of the river, & the Texan party at the time they were disarmed claimed to be within the limits of Texas or without the limits of the U. States & their Government, through the resident minister, made a strong protest against the act of Capt. Cooke on this ground. From the observations taken by Lieut. Franklin, the grove is found to be near 25 miles within the U. States, or east of the boundary line—⁵¹

Marching past the Cimmaron Crossing, the Dragoons cut off from the Arkansas on the 14th and headed northeast for home. The green prairie grass was now in luxuriant growth, but some of the horses had become so jaded that they were left behind with drivers to proceed at a more leisurely pace. Only two days out from their destination, the cavalymen made their longest day's march of the journey—34 miles. Finally on August 24 they approached their home station and encountered the most unpleasant weather of the entire trip. Excessive heat, clouds of choking dust, the scorching sun—all brought about the greatest discomfort. "At dusk we entered the portal, and staggering to the usual parade, renewed the line, . . . And there was, perforce, a silent but eager suspense; then came words of encouragement from the Colonel. I can only remember some sounds breaking monotonously a dead silence . . . and then the ranks dissolved,—the spell was broken, and—we were home!"⁵²

7

That the Dragoons had accomplished a remarkable feat of marching appears most strikingly from the statistics concerning it. They had covered 2,066 miles in 99 days. The greatest distance

⁵⁰ *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 33, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.*

⁵¹ *Journal*, August 9, pp. 79-80. See also the last paragraph of Kearny's *Report*.

⁵² *Cooke*, 432.

in a single day extended 34 miles and the shortest was of three. Omitting four days' rest, the average daily march exceeded 21.7 miles—an outstanding example of cavalry mobility. Not a man died; all returned to their starting point. The single serious accident resulted in the amputation of a trooper's arm. Only nine horses and mules were lost by death.

Colonel Kearny was not habitually given to excessive praise of his officers and men. But this cold, formal statement in his final report did not hide his pride in his command:

Great credit is due to the officers and men who composed this command. They had all proven themselves what their ambition was to be—good soldiers.⁵³

Consider in comparison the flood of special orders, commendations, citations, medals, and ribbons which flowed so freely in World War II.

In the modern connotation Presidential citations were unknown in 1845. But President James K. Polk, in his first Annual Message to the Congress, December 2, 1845, placed something of equal value on the record of history.

During the last summer the First Regiment of Dragoons made extensive excursions through the Indian country on our borders . . . a part as far as the South pass of the Rocky Mountains and the headwaters of the tributaries of the Colorado of the West. The exhibition of this military force among the Indian tribes in those distant regions and the councils held with them by the commanders of the expeditions, it is believed, will have a salutary influence in restraining them from hostilities among themselves and maintaining friendly relations between them and the United States.⁵⁴

Cripple Creek in 1900*

LEO J. KEENA

If Hollywood were to make a film of the Cripple Creek District at the turn of the century they, undoubtedly, would have Marlene Dietrich slinking dangerously around in gambling rooms peopled thickly by two-gun, sombrero-topped characters, while Yvonne de Carlo strutted her stuff in the Hayes version of admissible figleaves in a local dance hall. How wrong. Women were not allowed in gambling rooms, or clubs, as they were usually called; guns if carried were as carefully concealed as in present day New York;

⁵³ *Report, op. cit.*, 211.

⁵⁴ James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1897), V, 2235.

* This reminiscent account was written last spring in South Africa by Mr. Keena, a retired Foreign Service Officer of the United States. It was prepared at the request of Dr. James Grafton Rogers, president of our Historical Society, who learned from James B. Stewart of Lakewood that Mr. Keena had spent a year as a young miner in Cripple Creek about 1900.—Ed.

sombreros were out—in those days a cowboy would spend \$7.00 for a “Stetson” as a working hat proof against all weather, whereas a miner could get whatever non-descript headcovering he fancied at one third the price. As for the dance halls, they were drab and drunken, and businesslike, with no nonsense about glamour. Hollywood would be right in making the business district false-fronted—most of it was, with an occasional two story building breaking the back level.

Cripple Creek and Victor were both sizable small towns. I had a room, for a time, in a place called Independence, which was just a single street running up a hill with houses on each side of it. You could tell that it was a street because the houses, a couple of saloons and an eating house faced on it.

Cripple Creek and Victor had street lighting — electric of course, as there was a big power plant in the district. Independence's single street was unlit and in going about at night on that unpaved street one carried a miner's lantern—a glass tube with a candle inside and a wire handle. I never could find that it was much use in avoiding obstacles in the dark, the candle gave so uncertain a light. However, if you strayed away on the hillside, outside a lighted area, practically anywhere in the District, a light of some sort was a must. The evidence of some prospector's enthusiasm in the shape of an embryo shaft anywhere from ten to fifty feet deep might be encountered in the most unexpected places.

It seemed to be generally accepted in the District in 1900 that five dollars was then being put into the ground for every dollar taken out. That the spirit of technocracy had outcroppings in the District as early as 1900 is shown by the irrefutable local reasoning that, since five dollars then went into the ground for a return of one as against seven dug in to one taken out in 1898, the District must be more prosperous. Pre-Moleyism, no doubt.

Those were days of twenty dollars in the District. If ore did not assay twenty dollars to the ton, or better, it was not worth shipping to the smelter at Florence. The narrow gauge Florence and Cripple Creek Railway, which chased its tail down hill from the District to Florence, was a real gold mine—if one thinks of a gold mine in terms of return on investment; which of course no one does. The mental conception of the gold mine is the jack-pot.

The Colorado Midland connected the District with Colorado Springs and Denver and was the usual passenger route to and from the outside world. An electric railroad gave hourly service between Cripple Creek and Victor. Other than by those established means of travel the going was very rugged and the lowly burro was the prospector's friend and burden bearer.

The high wages in the District—\$3.00 a day for muckers, \$4.00 for drill helpers, and \$5.00 for miners—and the eight-hour day for all mine workers had attracted miners and would-be miners from all parts of the country. Also, there were plenty of jobs offering. No previous experience was needed for mucking, i.e. shovelling on top or shovelling and car or bucket loading below ground. Any man who was broad in the shoulder and narrow between the eyes could get a job as a mucker—and his \$3.00 a day for eight hours work must be looked at against a background of the 10 cents an hour wage for a ten or twelve hour day which prevailed in most of the country for similar work in industry. There was still current a sort of bar-room slogan in the East which ran, “No honest man can earn more than a dollar a day.” What produced such a pronouncement I do not know, but in the presidential election of 1896 it rivalled “Sixteen to one” in the slogan hit parade and, in the popular mind, was equally germane and rather more intelligible.

The old timers, that is the miners who had been in the District for two or more years, were very proud of what they had done in establishing the eight hour day. Over drinks in the bars tales of derring-do in '98 were told—how the miners had taken on and defeated the owners, the Pinkertons, and the State Militia in the great battle of Bear Mountain and won out in their demands for an eight hour day and a \$2.00 minimum wage. Whether their claim to have ushered in the first 8-hour day is true or not—a recent Ford advertisement claimed that Ford had done just that in 1914—the character of the district at the turn of the century spot-lighted what, I think, must have been one of the most outstanding examples of its time of advancement from the master and servant relationship which from the beginning of the industrial era had enchained labor. Employer's liability on accident account and their responsibility for safety devices were to come later, of course, but that was part of the full tide of human, or should I say, humane progress.

In 1900 only the big mines in the District had cages. In the smaller mines men going on and coming off shift rode the bale of the bucket, that is stood on the rim of a one ton bucket and steadied themselves by holding to the hoisting cable. Three hundred feet or so of that, when the hoist was working jerkily with an occasional back slip, engraves itself on one's memory.

I rode the bale of a bucket with Chase Osborne on one occasion. Osborne was at one time Governor of Michigan. A year or so ago he was written up in the *Reader's Digest* as a “Most Unforgettable Character.” He was part Indian and proud of it and always wore moccasins in the country and, as far as I know, in inspecting mines. We went down about three hundred feet and all during the drop I watched him, in his moccasins, trying to get comfortable on the

rim of that bucket. He didn't make it. Afterwards he said something hearty about it being a thrilling experience—but then he did not have to do it 362 days in the year.

Three hundred and sixty-two days was the mining year for underground work. The three holidays—to catch up with the calendar—were July 3rd, 4th and 5th. Of course there were stoppages, particularly on the smaller mines, many of which were only prospective producers. These were mainly due to the rather widespread use of second hand pumps or a temporary shortage of money awaiting the sale of more stock. These, naturally, made unpaid holidays. I knew of only one strike on a producing mine which occasioned a shut down, in 1900. That was on Stratton's Independence. That mine had been sold during the course of the year to the Venture Co. of London for \$11,000,000 or \$13,000,000, I forget which, as I never counted any of the money. Almost immediately after transfer the mine ran into a bad patch and production fell so sharply that the Directors got quite jittery and in the end blamed it on the stealing of rich ore by the miners. So they decided to adopt the Kimberly system and have all men working below ground strip to the buff and pass naked with their hands above their heads, by a line of inspectors. I found the Victor Club in a very merry mood the night that news came through. There didn't seem to be any general suggestion of anger but rather a large tolerance regarding what "the Limeys would think up next." The strike lasted two weeks. The pump men joined the strike after the first couple of days and the mine was placed out of bounds as far as all operating labor was concerned. At the end of two weeks the mine was re-opened on the old and time honored inspection basis of shaking and feeling the weight of the dinner buckets of the out-going shift.

Appropriating small bits of ore in moderation was considered the right of the miner who had uncovered it—a perquisite, and certainly not stealing, as it might have been lost in the muck. Dynamite was in much the same category, also percussion caps; but taking an occasional stick of dynamite or a few percussion caps while recognized as technically stealing was much condoned. Those who bothered to steal a little dynamite, some percussion caps and a small amount of fuse were all planning to go prospecting on their own and it was a dollar to a doughnut that within a month they would be able to pay back a case or ten cases of dynamite for every stick taken. Just a loan backed by the best security in the world—the jack-pot.

On the other hand one's rights in personal property were inviolate. I remember that when I first took a room in Victor I was rather disturbed because, although it had a door lock of sorts, there was no key. In later experience I found that if there was a key

it was uniform with all the other door keys in that building and, probably, for most room doors in the town. Nothing of mine was ever stolen. Even a revolver which hung on a nail over the dresser was allowed to gather dust undisturbed. If you think that a strange place for parking a revolver it is because you have not had to concentrate your shirts, underwear, socks, handkerchiefs, etc. in the two small drawers the room furnished for that purpose, and a well oiled revolver, no matter how thoroughly wiped, when mixed in with what was once known as "body linen," can exude enough oil to fill the sump of a small motor car. Don't take my word for it. Try it!

I have a vivid recollection of only three buildings in the District. One, the Victor Club, an imposing solidly built two-story building with, as far as my recollection goes, one very large room on the ground floor which housed the bar and which was the gossip and pipe-dream section of that area of the District; the two story house, most flimsily built, in which I had a room on the upper floor which was so small that in navigating it I learned how to reverse in waltzing; and lastly a saloon in Independence in which I was inducted into a boxing match with a sinister unknown.

I was present at the Victor Club on two occasions when unusual things involving gun play of a sort happened. In one of these a shot was fired in the rather crowded gambling room and six people were injured without being hit. This was the way of it. A stairway just comfortably wide enough for passing ran down from the gambling room to the barroom of the Club. Someone in the gambling room discharged a revolver—possibly accidentally, as no one was hit—and in the ensuing excitement so many people tried to get down the stairway at the same time that the front ranks hung suspended over the stairs for a moment by the pressure against the narrow entrance. Then the wave broke and they went tumbling down the whole length of the stairs. They were the casualties. On the second occasion I was watching a Faro game, being broke at the time, and noticed that the look-out was having trouble with a player who seemed unable to distinguish his chips from those of the other players whenever anyone made a win. This went on for some time in spite of the look-out's repeated warnings, and then, as this man leaned forward to pick up a win that was not his, the look-out tapped him smartly on the head with the butt of his revolver. It was a cat like stroke and the look-out apparently hadn't shifted at all from his negligent and rather bored pose beside the dealer. The man went out like a light, but he was all right a little later and having a whiskey on the house with evident enjoyment.

The room in the lodging house which I have mentioned was a cubicle rather than a room. It contained a bed, an affair on legs

which had two small drawers and which supported a wash bowl and pitcher, and a stove. In present day merchandizing it would, I think, be called a stovette. The outer wall of the room was made of two thicknesses of boards with tarred paper in between. This type of construction was made obvious by a number of knotholes. The room was made even smaller by several long nails driven into the door and the outer wall for the hanging of clothes. The inner walls would not have held a nail. They were vibrant tremulous things which acted as sounding boards and recorded and amplified whatever went on in the house. But as the hearth is the heart of the home so the stove held first place in my life in that room. I was only there in the winter. It was the smallest stove I have ever seen outside of a toy shop. A tiny sheet-iron cylinder with a stove pipe about as thick as my wrist. You fed it with chips of wood and it responded promptly by going red-hot and singeing your eyebrows, but if you turned your back for a moment it went black, then out and had to be relighted and restoked if you wanted any more heat out of it. It was very conducive to early retiring. There were six rooms like that on the upper floor of this lodging house, each renting for \$10.00 a month. I do not know what the ground floor of the house was devoted to. The stairway to the upper floor was just inside the front door and I did not go beyond it.

The saloon which I remember so well was a long, one-story building, one long room from front to back. The bar and some tables were near the front door and a sizable space in the back was unfurnished. Stopping at the bar one night I noticed quite a crowd in the back room and could see beyond their heads two men whaling away with boxing gloves. It looked as though it might be interesting so I became part of the crowd. During the latter part of the bout I was vaguely conscious of the crowd in front of me thinning and that behind me correspondingly thickening and when the bout was over I was in the front rank. Two men seemed to be running the show and had taken charge of the boxing gloves. One of them came over to me and said, "You're next." I said, no, I was only an onlooker, as he appealed to the crowd behind me and they all agreed very heartily that I was next. My second—I suppose I should call him that—laced the gloves on me—warned me not to hit my opponent on the nose. It appeared, according to his story, that my opponent had had his nose broken in a fight for the State heavy-weight championship in Denver and there was a bone out of place which the doctors couldn't do anything about, consequently he had to give up a promising ring career. Now he didn't mind much being hit anywhere except on the nose. One blow there and he would go savage. I do not know what sort of a build-up of me my opponent's second was giving him at the same time, but I do know

that in the resulting match we each could have carried a clutch (whatever that is) of eggs in our gloves without damaging them. It was the fine etching of fear which gave the picture its preservative quality.

I feel that by now I have touched on everything except food and all I recall in that regard is the mechanics used in getting it. There were a number of simple lunch-counter cum restaurant places and at any of them you could buy a ticket entitling you to 21 meals for \$5.00 paid in advance. The numbers 1 to 21 ran around the edge of the card and were punched out as meals were taken.

So there is the economic picture as far as a single man earning the basic wage was concerned. Wages per month \$90.00; Food, \$20.00, Lodging \$10.00; balance of wages after payment of food and lodging, \$60.00; twice as much as he would have received in his pay envelope for the month, for rough work in the East, on the basis of a seven day week.

There is one hollow tooth in my Cripple Creek experience—I never saw a Pinkerton. That should be, perhaps, that I never recognized one as such. In the Victor Club and other bars I heard much of what should be done to Pinkertons, and what would be done to them if caught, but for me they remained disembodied spirits. However, I can honestly say, like Burgess of his Purple Cow—"but this I know, that anyhow, I'd rather see than be one."

Discovery of Prehistoric Ruins in Colorado, 1854

Report of W. D. HUNTINGTON

[*Editor's Introduction:* Perhaps the earliest published report on prehistoric houses of southwestern Colorado and the San Juan River region was written by W. D. Huntington. This account was published in the *Deseret News* of Salt Lake City on December 28, 1854. Of course, Father Escalante, on his historic expedition of 1776, had noted the evidence of ancient inhabitants, especially their scattered potsherds, but he did not examine or describe any of their buildings.

The Mormons had settled in the Salt Lake region in 1847 and had rapidly occupied the nearby valleys. They sent exploring parties far afield to locate streams and valleys where settlements could be established. The exploring expedition described in the following report was to examine the land and, if possible, to open trade with the Navajo Indians. W. D. Huntington was one of the leading frontiersmen and explorers among the Mormons.

We sent a copy of the Huntington article to Mr. Don Watson of Mesa Verde National Park. His contributions toward identification of the ruins described by Huntington are given below, in the footnotes. The report published herewith was copied from the *Deseret News*.—L. R. HAFEN.]

INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF A TRIP TO THE NAVIJOS,
AND OF THE ANCIENT RUINS IN THAT REGION.

Springville, Utah Co., Dec. 21, 1854

To the Editor of the Deseret News:

Sir,—On the 13th of October last, by request of Governor [Brigham] Young, I left this city, in company with eleven white men and one Indian, to explore the southern part of our Territory [Utah] and, if possible, to trade with the Navijos for sheep, goats, and horses, as they have an abundance of these animals; and besides, are quite a manufacturing people, making all their blankets, leather, bridle-bits, &c., many of which are executed with most curious workmanship. They also work iron, gold, and silver into a multitude of forms, and articles for the warrior, husbandman, and tradesman.

On the 17th, we left Manti with our full fit-out of men and animals, and with five wagons. We never felt more gloomy and doubtful, or undertook what appeared to us a more hazardous work, during an experience of twenty years in this church. A wild, mountainous, and dreary desert, hitherto almost entirely unknown, lay before us, and what was still more formidable, Indian Walker¹ and his allies had decreed that we never should pass, and with twenty Spaniards had posted themselves on our route, and their rallying smoke was in full view. Still, we unanimously resolved to go a-head, and our enemies fled before we reached their position, the Spaniards their way, and Walker his, leaving our path perfectly open. In this, and many other instances in our tour, we publicly acknowledge our wonderful protection and deliverance by the hand and power of God.

We followed Gunnison's trail² to within 25 miles of Grand River [now the Colorado], which, according to our calculation, is 350 miles from G.S.L. [Great Salt Lake] City. This road, so far, was a tolerably good one, but the country has little or no wood, grass, or water. There is a beautiful valley on Grand River, 20 miles long, and from 5 to 10 wide; it has good soil, and grazing range, is very well timbered and watered,³ and is about 50 miles from the Elk

¹ Chief Wakara was an outstanding leader of the Utes. For an excellent account of his career see G. O. Larson, "Wakara's Half Century," in *The Western Humanities Review*, VI, 235-59 (Summer, 1952).

² Captain J. W. Gunnison, surveying for a railroad route, took a wagon train across Colorado and eastern Utah in 1853.

³ This is the valley where the town of Moab, Utah, is now located.

Mountain. From here we travelled 110 miles to St. John's [San Juan] River, over a very rough and mountainous region, difficult to pass over even with pack animals, being covered with dense forests of cedar. It is 40 miles from the St. John's River to the nearest Navijo town.

The Navijos met us with very hostile feelings, as they are at war with the whites, and, three days before we arrived, had killed, boiled, and eaten a white man, so great was their exasperation. By the persuasion of two friendly Indians with us, our guide and interpreter, they listened to an explanation of our business. We were finally enabled to form a treaty, and did some trading with them, while they were doing some tall stealing from us. They were highly excited, but the chiefs were more cool, appeared quite friendly, and wished us to come again and trade. Trade is the best letter of introduction a white man can take among the Indians. Their great captain wished us not to go among their towns and villages, as there were some that could not be controlled, and he did not want to fight us. He said we had come a very great way, and he wished us well; and sent to his town and brought out an abundance of corn, meal, flour, bread, beans, dried pumpkin, dried squash, pine nuts, with sheep and goat meat of the finest quality, to fit us out for our journey home.

On the north side of the St. John's River about 500 miles southeast from G.S.L. City, we travelled over a section of country, mostly among the mountains, and about 40 miles in length, up and down the river, by 25 miles in width, covered with the ruins of buildings of former towns and villages.⁴ The walls of many buildings were still standing entire, some of them three or four stories high, with the ends of the red cedar joists yet in the wall, some projecting eight or ten inches, but worn to a point at their extremities. Every building was a fortification built in the strongest manner imaginable, and in a style that the present age know nothing of; and many of them still plainly show their whole manner of structure, and even the marks of the workmen's tools.

The first ruins we discovered were three stone buildings, crumbled to mere heaps. One appeared to have been a pottery, for in and around it were loads of fragments of crockery of fine quality, ornamented with a great variety of figures painted with various colors as bright as if put on but yesterday.

⁴ Don Watson writes (in a letter of February 10, 1953): "The problem of identifying the ruins Huntington describes is difficult since it is not easy to follow his route from the meager statements given. It appears that he moved south from the Moab region and struck the San Juan River in the vicinity of present-day Bluff, Utah. There are many ruins in that area along the San Juan and in Cottonwood and Recapture Canyons. One of our men, Mr. Alfred Lancaster, has seen many of these ruins but is not able to identify any in that particular area."

From here we travelled ten miles, with occasional ruins by the way, and entered a deep kanyon with projecting shelves of rock, and under these shelves were numerous houses or fortifications. The one we examined was divided into twenty-four rooms, each nearly square and enclosing an area of about 144 square feet.



RUINS AT HEAD OF SQUARE TOWER CANYON, HOVENWEEP NATIONAL MONUMENT

In bottom of canyon: The square Tower. At right: Hovenweep Castle.

The front wall was built up to the overhanging cliff, which formed the roof, and was curved, and full of port-holes. The stones were all squared and faced, were of an equal thickness, and laid up with joints broken in a workmanlike manner. The only entrance we could find was a hole about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which is the usual size of all the doors, both in the outer and partition walls, with the exception of some subterranean entrances, which were yet smaller, and difficult to find. Through the perfection of the rocky roof, there was very little rubbish in the rooms. From the first room we passed through a small hole in the right hand corner to the second, and there through another hole into the third, and so on, from left room to right, and from right to left, all through the twenty-four rooms; and every wall was supplied with port holes.

Fifty yards above this was a large cave with a narrow winding entrance, guarded by a high wall; near the mouth of this entrance is an opening in the rock leading off into the mountain which we

did not explore, and after a little looking and rummaging about we found an outlet to the cave. For 3 or 4 miles up this kanyon buildings were everywhere in view, of various forms and dimensions, and in almost every stage of decay.

From here to St. John's River, a distance of 10 miles, there were scattering ruins; and from there, in 12 miles N.E., we came to the head of a kanyon, whose sides or banks, even to the very head, were perpendicular and shelving, and near the banks there was no soil on the rocks. Right on the brink of this precipice, and under the shelves of rock beneath, was the best building sites for those beings who built and dwelt here ages ago.⁵

All around the head of this kanyon, and down on either side, as far as we could see, were houses of every conceivable form, and size; and in places where the soil was sufficient, they were overgrown with sage and cedar, in every respect like that on the mountains around. In the center of this kanyon, and near the head, was a building 16 or 20 feet square, four stories high, and built upon a flat rock about 4 feet higher than the level bed of the kanyon, and but little broader than the building; to this we could not find an entrance, and unlike all the rest, it had no port holes.

One large building which we entered, stood on the edge of the precipice, with its front wall circular and flush with the bank which formed the back part, making the ground plan of the building like a half moon. There were no windows in the lower story of any building, and every entrance was made as difficult and hidden as possible. The door, or hole into the one last mentioned was guarded by 2 or 3 walls of different angles, thus making a crooked, narrow passage to the door, and every part of this passage was in full view from the port holes of the building, the front wall being full of them, like pigeon holes, pointing in every possible direction; they were not more than 2 inches in diameter on the out side, and were plastered smooth on the inside with a kind of cement with which the stones were laid, and the rooms plastered, and is as hard as the stone.

The inside arrangement of all the houses was much alike, all having port holes in the partition walls, and very small, obscure passage ways from one room to another, from one house to another, and from one or two houses back into the mountain. Some on the cliff above were connected with those below.

⁵ Mr. Watson writes that the description, beginning with this paragraph, is of the "only ruins we would attempt to identify." "The location and the description of the ruins fits, almost perfectly, the group of ruins in Hovenweep National Monument now known as the Square Tower Group. They are clustered around the head of Square Tower, or Ruin, Canyon. It goes by both names. Huntington's description fits this group very well, except for his statement that the square tower had no loopholes or doors. The tower does have a number of loopholes and there is a small door just above ground level on the south side. The door may have been hidden by the heavy growth of sage and rabbit brush and Huntington could have missed it if he did not search carefully."

We noticed there was no water about there, and enquired of the Indians how the former inhabitants could have managed:—they told us they had heard that a *very long time ago* there was water running there.

We asked them who built those houses. They smilingly shook their heads and said they had never heard, but that surely **SOME-BODY** built them *a very long time back*.

We very readily came to a conclusion drawn from the Book of Mormon in second chapter of the book of Nephi, that the ancient possessors of those strong holds were robbers of the Gadianton Band, and we considered this locality as one of their very strong holds.

Yours most respectfully,

W. D. HUNTINGTON

Vignettes of Central City, Colorado

DORA LADD KEYES*

Not through a huge modern "picture window" of the 1940s and 1950s, but through the 5" x 9" panes of my gracious mid-Victorian windows in the Ladd Memorial House on East First High Street, do I recapture some glimpses of pioneer Central. For the sixties and seventies, it must be a matter of "as told to me." But from the early eighties and on for a while, it will be the crystal-clear memories of a little child of pioneer parents, whose impressions are recorded here.

I. MY OLD BROWN HOUSE

I see a beautiful bride stepping out of a carriage near the rose-brown granite steps of a very new frame house on East First High Street. It is about the year 1865. The bride is a Denver belle, daughter of Captain Sopris, an early mayor of Denver. All honor to Indiana Sopris Cushman, Colorado's first woman schoolteacher. As the wife of a civil engineer, she begins a new life in Central.

Central's first mining boom is over. The adventurers have left for greener fields and pastures new. But the die-hards, which included Cushman, Ladd, Schuyler, and Young, stayed on. "We will fight it out if it takes all summer." It took more than one summer.

The Cushman home became a radiant social center for a group of lonely, isolated people who needed to give cheer to one another. A baby came. One Sunday afternoon, in this "parlour" where I now am standing at a south window, the baby was the center of

* Mrs. Keyes, who spent her childhood in Central City, owned in the 1940s two of Central City's oldest pioneer homes—the D. C. Collier cabin, and the Cushman-Trenoweth house. The latter building, now known as the Ladd House, she gave to the Central City Opera House Association in memory of her parents.—Ed.

attraction. She was dressed in a little white dress and an embroidered bib, fastened by what, in those days, was called a Beauty Pin.

"I want you to notice especially the baby's Beauty Pin," said Mr. Cushman. "It cost \$1500."

The guests took another look. They saw no sparkling emeralds or diamonds. What sort of a joke was this?

"That," said their host, drily, "represents the sum total of the gold I got out of my mine—\$1500 invested."

II. "I SAW THE TRAIN COME ROUND THE BEND"

Today, in the 1950s, one can still see the roadbed of the narrow-gauge train that connected Central with the outside world, after 1878. It was pulled by a brave little engine very similar to "Old 71" which, since 1941, has stood with its coalcar and quaint passenger coach on the hillside south of Central, near the old freight depot. It just "stands," alas! It came into Central that year, not on its own power, but drawn and installed by a big truck. Little old 71 was no doubt very weary. She had been working since 1897. The last mile of her hard daily journey, where she had to negotiate the steep grade between Blackhawk and Central, entailed switching back and forth and hither and yon, taking four miles to achieve one.

I can actually see Old 71 as I stand here at my window, today. But I prefer to close my eyes and recall the original train that arrived, loaded with passengers and supplies, to Central in the mid-eighties when the famous gold camp was still in its golden age.

Two small girls, named Jessie and Dodie Ladd, watched for the train to come round the bend. They were in a pioneer home, one hundred feet to the east, that was cruder than the Cushman home. But it was a precious, secure home to the little Ladd girls. They didn't gaze out of 12-paned windows, but they welcomed the train through their own plain parlour window.

I was tempted to call this vignette

ORANGES IN CENTRAL CITY—THEN AND NOW

Oranges came in to Central once a week. The supply must have been far from adequate. My father was not a poor man. He could have purchased more oranges for his family of seven if there had been any to buy. He could only have his share. I think that we children eagerly watched for the little engine, bringing its magic golden fruit, about noontime, on Saturdays. But our father, pressed hard to take care of heavy Saturday business in the Ladd-Schuyler Hardware Store, could not get up to our home, which, on the street above, overlooks the store on Lawrence Street, until Saturday night.

Then with his load of oranges, Sunday roast of beef, etc. etc. he came home. Not by trudging westward on the board walk at the end of Lawrence Street and up Eureka Street until he would pass the sturdy stone Masonic Building, which had withstood the Big Fire of 1874. Then laboriously up a long flight of Register Steps. I have a notion that even Charles Ladd, magnificent specimen of pioneer manhood though he was, would need to pause to catch his breath. Then he would have proceeded eastward, on the narrow board walk that has long since ceased to exist. He might have greeted his pioneer neighbors—Goldman, who owned the saloon where the Chain O' Mines Hotel was, in the 1940s; Judge Becker, of that fabulous pioneer family of Blackhawk and Central; the dentist, Dr. H. A. Fynn, in his elegant two-story brick house with two marble fireplaces.

D. C. Collier would be the next neighbor. He was living in Central's oldest pioneer home—its sturdy logs already concealed under white siding, a favorite color of the pioneers who had nostalgia for their New England and New York State homes. Last of all would come a neighborly nod to Charlie Trenoweth, another respected merchant, selling shoes, saddles and other leather goods. Now, almost home, he might have spied Dr. Day on his front porch. Then would come his welcome from five eager children.

No, he did not come that long, hard way. He hurried up the steps of the hardware store, into the huge tin shop, Ike Schuyler's special domain. Out the back door, over a wide plank that spanned the edge of the store's excavation of a chunk of Casto Hill. Up a 15-foot ladder, across rough, rocky East First High Street to our stone steps. Not over five minutes!

Dodie always had a hard time deciding when to eat her weekly orange. To this day, her sister takes a wicked joy in telling how once she hid it away in her one and only dresser drawer,—then proceeded to forget it.

For years untold, Dodie has had at least one orange every day. She enjoys them. But they don't give her the thrill of those eagerly-anticipated Saturday Night Oranges in the Central of Long Ago.

* * *

Do you know that an orange tree grows in Central City? That it has grown there for many, many years? Blossoms? Yes! Fruit? Yes! Thousands of tourists come and go and do not learn about this amazing orange tree, let alone seeing it. In a pool hall at first, where it probably had its best production, it was taken up to the primary room of Clark School, many years ago, by Grandpa Morgan. It was tended faithfully, year in and year out, by him, and later by his son-in-law, Frank Gray.

Transplanted into larger and larger tubs, it has come to the end of that process. It drinks a gallon of water a day and is given chemical fertilizer. The fruit is somewhat sour and tasteless. But the children are proud of their orange tree. As they pass by the big, sunny window where it grows, they are careful not to brush against it.

What's to be done about Central's orange tree? Love it, feed it, water it, and leave it alone? Or supply it with some vigorous graftings from California?

History of the State Historical Society of Colorado*

II. 1900-1925

LEROY R. HAFEN

The Natural History department of the State Historical Society was especially active at the turn of the century. Having been organized as a distinct department in 1897, it had enlisted most of the leading Colorado workers in the various fields of science and held periodic meetings at which scholarly papers were read and discussed. In January, 1900, the name of the Department was changed to the "Colorado Academy of Science," which remained a Department of the State Historical and Natural History Society.¹ In February the Executive Committee of the Academy drafted a new and elaborate Constitution and By-laws. By this document the academy was to be divided into eighteen Departments.²

Curator Ferril was elected Secretary of the Academy and gave much time to this branch of the Society's activities. He wrote to the Colorado Senators and to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, asking for duplicate specimens in the fields of zoology, botany, geology, etc. In June, 1900, came the first tangible results—

* The assistance of Miss Thelma Chisholm in research work for this article is acknowledged.

¹ Ferril's Letter Press Books, I, 219 (letter of January 27, 1900, to Senator E. O. Wolcott).

² A copy of the Constitution and By-Laws is preserved in the Letter Press Books, I, 248-54. The eighteen Departments and the Directors tentatively chosen for each were as follows (*ibid.* I, 247a): Astronomy and Mathematics, Herbert A. Howe (Director of the Chamberlain Observatory, University of Denver); Physics, Florian Cajori of Colorado College; Meteorology, _____ Brandenburg, of the Weather Bureau; Chemistry, C. S. Palmer of the University of Colorado; Geology and Physiography, George L. Cannon; Biology, A. M. Gillett; Microscopy, D. A. Richardson; Botany, Ellsworth Bethel; Zoology, _____ Gillette, State Agricultural College; Anthropology, Ethnology, and Archaeology, C. M. Coburn, "Egyptologist and explorer"; Philosophy, James Baker, President of University of Colorado; Philology, Language, Folklore, B. O. Aylsworth, President of the State Agricultural College; Political, Economic, and Social Science, W. F. Slocum, President of Colorado College; Psychology, _____ Phillips, University of Denver; Ethics, Aaron Gove, Superintendent of Denver Schools; Pedagogy, Z. X. Snyder, President of the State Normal School, Greeley; Technology, _____ Bradley, Manual Training School, Denver; Exploration, Research, and Discovery, C. I. Hays, President of the Academy. This elaborate organization was not carried through; instead, the Academy was divided into the following seven Sections, which persisted for a number of years: Botany, Zoology, Geology, Microscopy, Meteorology and Physical Science, Nature Study, and Anthropology and Ethnology.

a shipment of marine invertebrates preserved in jars of alcohol.³ In February he received 82 fishes, 2,122 insects, 67 birdskins, and 100 casts of prehistoric implements.⁴

The Biennial Report of the Secretary, December 1, 1900, lists the twelve speakers and their respective scientific addresses before the Academy during the preceding two years.⁵ The scientific acquisitions during the biennium included the following specimens: Insects, 2,122; Botany, 682; Ornithology, 517; Invertebrates, 294; Fishes, 112; Reptiles, 8; Anthropology and Ethnology, 103; miscellaneous, 80.⁶

The Society experienced development in other departments as well. The Library reported the acquisition of 1,485 books, 3,364 pamphlets, 201 bound newspaper volumes, 243 newspaper files, and 344 miscellaneous relics, framed pictures, and photographs.⁷ The library was not kept open at specified hours, but the materials were made available to interested persons.

The attendance for the year 1900 amounted to 113,256. The curator had lectured to 54 classes, comprising 2,043 students. The time given to each class frequently was two hours, as the students took notes and made drawings. Mr. Ferril had to refuse appointments to some classes because of pressure of other duties.

A number of the more valuable gifts to the Society are listed in the Biennial Report of December, 1900. Outstanding was the collection of 535 books, 604 pamphlets, and 207 special newspapers and maps given by Edward B. Morgan, Vice President of the Society. Dr. Bancroft, first President of the Society, also donated a collection of books and pamphlets. The *Denver Times* had given 65 volumes of its files and those of the *Colorado Sun*; the *Castle Rock Journal* gave 15 unbound volumes of its paper. There were photographs of soldiers of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, of 23 members of the Ladies Aid Society of Colorado; a portrait of George A. Jackson and the journal of his trip when he discovered gold near the site of Idaho Springs in January, 1859; photographs of the Indian delegation of 1879; and portraits of some Colorado pioneers.

Of the \$50 per month appropriated to the Society by the legislature for expenses, \$30 per month was given as wages to a newspaper file clerk. The Board of Capitol Managers paid for certain pieces of equipment and for supplies needed by the Society.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 212 (letter of January 23, 1900).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 318 (memorial to Board of Capitol Managers, February 28, 1900).

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 321.

⁶ "Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society, 1899-1900," in Ferril's Letter Press Books, II, 303 (p. 4).

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 303 (pp. 5 and 6).

The Curator declared the biennium ending in December, 1900, to be thus far "the greatest in the history of the Society."⁸

To the legislature that convened in January, 1901, the Historical Society presented its needs, which were embodied in House Bill 190. This Bill provided that the office of Curator of the Society "be deemed a public office," and that the salary be \$1800 per year. A file clerk at \$600 per year, a stenographer at \$600, and expenses at \$600 were called for; and the Society's biennial report was to be considered a public document and be published by the state.⁹

The Bill, which had been introduced by B. F. Montgomery, Speaker of the House, passed the lower chamber on March 19, but it failed of final enactment. Instead, the General Assembly placed in the long appropriation bill, for support of the Society, provision for a curator's salary of \$1000 per year, and \$800 annually for expenses (fiscal years 1901 and 1902).¹⁰

The biennial period, 1901-1902, brought continued expansion to the Society.¹¹ The number of visitors to the Society's rooms in the Capitol basement increased to a total of 294,983—an average of 495 per day.

Accessions to the library had amounted to 2,255, including 406 books, 1,297 pamphlets, and 295 pictures. Some 400 newspapers were being received, most of which were from Colorado and the West, but important dailies from all sections of the country were included.

Scientific acquisitions for the biennium had totaled 7,526, including 2,593 specimens in botany, 3,986 in entomology, and 796 in ornithology. In the autumn of 1901 the Society had induced the County Commissioners of Arapahoe County to purchase and present to the Society the ornithology collection made by Horace G. Smith in Arapahoe County and which consisted of 646 bird skins. The archaeological collection had been supplemented by a group of facsimile casts of prehistoric stone implements given by Smithsonian Institution.

The Society's museum occupied eight rooms in the basement of the capitol, and the Board of Capitol Managers had provided sixteen wood and glass cases, shelving for the library, and money for incidental supplies.

⁸ Ferril's "Memorandum on House Bill No. 190," ms. 5257 in the Society's library.

⁹ A typed copy of the Bill is preserved in the Society's archives, ms. 5276. Mr. Todd prepared a "Memorandum on House Bill No. 190" in which he gave a brief history of the Society, described its collections, work, and needs. (This is copied in the Letter Press Books, III, 119).

¹⁰ *Session Laws of 1901*, p. 39. The Society also received some aid from the Incidental and Contingent Fund in the hands of the State Auditing Board.

¹¹ Biennial Report of the Curator, 1901-1902, ms. 5260, in the Society's archives. Also a faint copy in Letter Press Books, V, 235-72.

In his field work Curator Ferril had been assisted by railroad passes from the Denver and Rio Grande, the Colorado and Southern, and the Colorado Midland railroads. Pressure of other duties had prevented him from lecturing extensively to visiting school classes, so he was hoping for additional help to carry on this educational activity.



EDWARD B. MORGAN

The Colorado Academy of Science, organized and functioning under sponsorship of the Historical Society, was flourishing. The Biennial Report of December 1, 1902, gives a description of activities, lists all the addresses given before the Academy throughout its history, and lists the officers and the members.¹²

The General Assembly in 1903 raised the Curator's annual salary to \$1,500, and gave him an assistant at \$800. The expense account, and the amount allotted by the Auditing Board from the general incidental fund amounted to \$1,087 for the biennium.¹³

¹² The Report lists the officers and all the Section Chairmen for each year, 1897-1902, and also lists the 97 members of the Academy (Letter Press Books, V, 200-34).

¹³ *Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, 1902-1904* (Denver, 1905).

After serving as President of the Society for six years, W. N. Byers died at Denver on March 25, 1903. Edward B. Morgan, who had been Vice President since 1897, was elected President.¹⁴ Mr. Morgan, of Welsh ancestry and a native of Connecticut, came to Colorado as a small child in 1864. Following a boyhood spent in Central City and Denver he attended Yale University. After graduation there, study at Harvard Law School, and extensive European travel, he began the practice of law in Denver.¹⁵ Always interested in Colorado history, he early began collecting books and pamphlets on the subject. Ultimately his excellent collection came to the State Historical Society's library, where a bronze plaque acknowledges the gift.

Activities during 1903-1904 were similar to those of the preceding biennium. There appears to have been more emphasis upon the fields of botany and entomology than heretofore. Mr. Ferril and his assistant, Horace G. Smith, utilized their railroad passes to make collecting tours to different sections of the state. Their gatherings for the biennium included 2,048 botanical specimens, 1,345 insects, and 240 birds.

Library accessions for the period amounted to 570 books, 5,973 pamphlets. Most of the library volumes were stored in the sub-basement, but the Board of Capitol Managers installed an iron stairway between the two floors (at the east end of the east hall), thus connecting the Society's museum rooms with the newspaper stacks beneath. The Society's collections occupied twenty rooms, and in addition there were some exhibition cases in the rotunda.¹⁶

The visitors to the Society's rooms during the biennium totaled 274,832, 20,000 less than the preceding two-year period. This decrease was charged to the allure of the World's Fair at St. Louis.

Inasmuch as the Deane Cliffdwellers collection was being offered for sale, and several other collections were available for purchase, the officers of the Society decided to make a special effort to procure these items. The idea of a subscription list¹⁷ was discarded in favor of an appeal to the legislature. Accordingly,

¹⁴ The officers listed in the *Biennial Report* of 1902-1904 were: Edward B. Morgan, President; Nathan A. Baker and George L. Cannon, Vice Presidents; Charles R. Dudley, Secretary; William D. Todd, Treasurer; Will C. Ferril, Curator; Horace G. Smith, Museum Assistant. Officers were elected for a two-year term (see Ferril's Journal, January 17, 1906). Directors in 1904 were listed thus: Nathan A. Baker, *William N. Byers, Charles R. Dudley, Aaron Gove, Granville Malcolm, Edward B. Morgan, Robert S. Roeschlaub, William D. Todd and *Roger W. Woodbury (*deceased). Ellsworth Bethel was President of the Colorado Academy of Science.

¹⁵ William N. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado* (Chicago, 1901), 309, 310.

¹⁶ *Biennial Report* . . . 1904, p. 10.

¹⁷ Ferril's Journal, under date of October 19, 1904, says that at the suggestion of President Morgan and Secretary Dudley the proposal was made to raise \$2000 to purchase the Deane collection, but thus far the response has not been encouraging. A typed subscription list was prepared, but there are no signatures to it.

House Bill 207 was introduced by Wilber F. Cannon of Denver. It called for an appropriation of \$6,000 "for procurement of archaeological, ethnological, anthropological, historical and natural history collections, and for the binding and preservation of documents and papers now or later the property of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado."¹⁸ The measure, pushed with vigor and persistence, was enacted, and was signed by the Governor April 10, 1905.

From this fund the Cecil A. Deane collection of Cliffdweller relics, numbering 708 items, was purchased for \$2,000.¹⁹ The Ellsworth Bethel botanical collection, consisting of about 12,000 specimens, was bought from Mr. Bethel for \$500.²⁰ J. C. Smiley was paid \$350 for editing W. C. Whitford's *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*; and Smith Brooks was paid \$728.30 for printing the volume.²¹ Cases for the botanical exhibition were purchased²² and persons were employed to classify and arrange exhibits. The sword worn by General Zebulon M. Pike when he fell at the Battle of York during the War of 1812 was purchased from this fund.²³ Money was also used for the binding of newspapers, the purchase of books, and "to collect, preserve, and catalogue historical documents and scientific specimens."²⁴

For the Society's regular work the legislature appropriated \$1,500 annual salary for Curator Ferril, \$800 for Museum Assistant Smith, and \$400 for expenses. In addition, Mrs. S. J. Jordan, hired by the Board of Capitol Managers, served as chief clerk for the Society. James F. C. Boyd as newspaper file clerk, and one or more persons employed for limited periods and special work were paid from the \$6,000 appropriation, or from the Society's expense fund. Mr. William Huestis was employed in the summer of 1905 in classifying the botanical collection, and young Frank L. Fetzler, now a Denver attorney and one-time Justice of the Colorado Supreme Court, was a general helper in the summer of 1906. Certain officers of the Society or members of the Board of Directors, especially Robert S. Roeschlaub, George L. Cannon, and Ellsworth Bethel, gave technical assistance.

¹⁸ Quoted from the title of the law as passed and printed in the 1905 *Session Laws*, p. 356.

¹⁹ See vouchers in Ferril's Letter Press Book, 377, 433, 434, dated May 6, 1905.

²⁰ Ferril's Letter Press Books, November 27, 1906, voucher in *ibid.*, XII, 45; Deed of Sale of April 20, 1906, in Historical Society records, Box 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 449 (October 1, 1906), 480 (October 22, 1906).

²² *Ibid.*, 448. The Society paid \$395 and the Board of Capitol Managers paid \$325 on the cases.

²³ General Pike's sword and that of his aide, Major Donald Fraser, were purchased from S. W. Thomas of Wrightsville, Georgia, for \$100. Copy of the voucher is in Letter Press Books, XII, 19.

²⁴ *Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 1, 1904-November 30, 1906* (Denver, 1906), 19. The Letter Press Book, under date November 30, 1905, records the purchase of 258 books and pamphlets from Daniels and Fisher, and their addition to the E. B. Morgan collection.

During the biennium Curator Ferril and Museum Assistant Smith spent considerable time on trips into the state collecting natural history specimens, especially plants and birds. Other acquisitions for the period, summarized in the biennial report, were: books, 2,432; pamphlets, 5,486; bound volumes of newspapers, 369; pictures, 238; botanical specimens (including the Bethel collection), 13,166; birds, 343; and ethnology (including Deane collection), 715.

The number of visitors to the Society's exhibits during the biennial period was 301,265. W. C. Whitford's *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War* was published by the Society in an edition of 1,200 copies. The report for the biennium (December 1, 1904-November 30, 1906) also was published. It included the biennial report of the Colorado Academy of Science, with a list of Officers, Sections and Chairmen, and a list of lectures delivered before the Academy.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on January 16, 1907, the officers and Directors of the Society were re-elected for a two-year term.²⁵ The vacancies on the Board of Directors caused by the deaths of W. N. Byers and Roger W. Woodbury, had been filled in the preceding biennium by the election of William S. Ward and George L. Cannon.

The appropriation made by the legislature in 1907 for the Society provided \$1,500 for Curator's salary; \$1,200 for Museum Assistant; \$900 for file clerk; and \$400 for expenses. In addition the Board of Capitol Managers employed Mrs. Jordan, who served the Society as chief clerk.

Encouraged by their success in getting a special appropriation of \$6,000 from the legislature of 1905, the Historical Society officers tried for a similar amount in 1907. Bills were introduced in the House and Senate²⁶ and were printed, but they failed of enactment.

The matter of a State Museum building was agitated. Mr. W. K. Burchinell, Secretary of the Board of Capitol Managers, talked with Ferril about the introduction of a bill for condemnation and purchase of a site adjacent to the capitol for erection of a museum building. Ferril looked up old bill files and found Senate Bill 197 of 1901 by C. B. Whitford for erection of a State Museum. This bill was taken out, remodeled, and prepared for introduction. It provided an appropriation of \$100,000 with which to start. At Burchinell's instance it was introduced by Representative Frank L. Dodge of Denver on January 31, 1907.²⁷ On March 5th the joint legislative committee visited the Society's rooms and those occupied

²⁵ Ferril's Journal, in Record Book S, p. 20. The previous list of Directors is given above, in footnote 14.

²⁶ The bills were introduced on January 21, 1907, House Bill 201 by John L. Fetzler, and Senate Bill 205 by Rodney J. Bardwell. See Ferril's Journal in Record Book S, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27, 28.

by the War Relics collection and the Mineral collection in the capitol basement, to consider the advisability of erecting a building for the various museum collections.²⁸ The bill failed of passage at this session, but was to have a happier fate two years later.

Activities of the Society during 1907-1908 were similar to those of immediately preceding bienniums. The number of visitors totaled 258,229. Acquisitions to the library included 1,274 books, 3,056 pamphlets, 82 bound volumes of newspapers, and 53 pictures. The manuscripts gathered amounted to 3,421, most of which were mining location certificates obtained in the mining counties. Mrs. O. J. Hollister, widow of the early newspaper man, gave bound volumes of the *Daily Mining Journal* of Black Hawk, 1863-66; and a bound volume containing the *Herald Republican*, *Rocky Mountain Herald*, *Commonwealth* (Denver), and the *Miners' Register* (Central City) for the 1860s.²⁹

Friends of the Society subscribed \$500 with which the Society joined the University of Colorado in supporting the archaeological work of Dr. E. L. Hewett, in 1908, and consequently received relics obtained by Hewett from the Mesa Verde area. Natural History collections of the Society were expanded, the developments being summarized in the Society's biennial report and that of the affiliated Colorado Academy of Science.³⁰

The General Assembly of 1907 passed an important historical measure at the instance of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Colorado. This Act appropriated \$2,000 for the survey of the Santa Fe Trail through Colorado and to procure suitable monuments to mark the Trail.³¹ The Historical Society, though interested, was not directly connected with this project.

At the legislative session of 1909 the Historical Society endeavored to have its staff increased by the addition of a historical assistant and a stenographer, but the effort failed.³² Instead, the existing three staff members were continued.³³ Special bills were introduced into both houses: "to enable the State Historical and Natural History Society to inaugurate and carry on a systematic research into the early history of Colorado; to procure collections relating to the natural history of the State and to arrange, catalogue and exhibit

²⁸ Otto Mears and Senator Burchinell of the Board of Capitol Managers, and Edbrooke, architect of the Board, accompanied the legislative committee.—Book S, p. 38-39.

²⁹ *Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 1, 1906, to November 30, 1908*, 13-14.

³⁰ Horace G. Smith wrote detailed accounts of his collecting trips, December 4, 1906, to December 20, 1907. These are preserved in Ms. Record Book R.

³¹ *Session Laws of 1907*, 157-158.

³² Letter Press Books, XIV, 49-51.

³³ *Session Laws of 1909*, 141-144. The Society's allotment, in the general appropriation law, was \$1500 for Curator's salary, \$1200 for museum assistant, \$900 for file clerk, \$400 for expenses, and \$600 from the Incidental and Contingent Fund.

the same; and, to publish historical and scientific papers, books and documents, bind newspapers and pamphlets"; the sum of ten thousand dollars to be appropriated. Both bills failed of passage.³⁴

John A. Lehr Ritter of Gunnison introduced a House Joint Resolution on January 25, 1909, which provided for appointment of a special committee to investigate the occupancy by the State Historical and Natural History Society of state capitol rooms wherein are stored "vast quantities of combustible materials" and "what amount the legislature should appropriate out of its revenues as the State's proportion of maintenance of the said society, and whether or not the State should provide other quarters for the reposit of their historical relics, and whether relics, not native to Colorado, or files of papers and magazines not published in Colorado, should be preserved at State expenses." The Resolution was passed by both houses and a joint committee of seven was appointed.³⁵ What effect its investigations had it is difficult to determine.

The Bill for erection of a State Museum, which had failed of enactment in 1907, was brought before the General Assembly again in 1909. House Bills 369 and 494 embodied the project, and the former passed the House on March 31.³⁶ But the measure that was finally enacted began as Senate Bill 240, introduced by Senator Frank E. Gove, son of Aaron Gove, a member of the Board of Directors of the Society and for thirty years Superintendent of Denver City Schools (1874-1904).

The Bill was introduced on February 1 and was referred to the Committee on Finance. It was ordered printed February 8 and was referred to the Committee of the Whole on March 4 with recommendation that it pass. The Senate, sitting as a Committee of the Whole on March 29, amended the bill to make the appropriation from the Capitol Building Fund instead of from the general fund of the state. A motion to strike out the enacting clause of the bill failed by a vote of 3 to 29. The next day the Senate passed the Bill by a vote of 31 to 0.³⁷

The measure went to the House March 30, was read a first time and referred to the Committee on Appropriations and Expenditures. The Bill passed the House on April 4 by a vote of 58 to 7.³⁸

³⁴ Senate Bill 238 and House Bill 370.

³⁵ *House Journal* (1909), 191, 192, 209, 217, 222, 225; *Senate Journal* (1909), 167-68, 174. The inquiry was also to extend to the questions as to whether the state appointed any of the "members or officers of the organization," "what obligation, if any, the State of Colorado is under to maintain the said society," and "whether or not the said society has a right to occupy quarters in the Capitol Building."

³⁶ *House Journal* (1909), 290, 334, 857, 907, 943, 1154, 1252, 1271, 1443.

³⁷ *Senate Journal* (1909), 190, 264, 324, 534, 862, 865, 892.

³⁸ *House Journal* (1909), 1243, 1293, 1300, 1430, 1435, 1504.

It was signed by the President of the Senate the same day and by the Speaker of the House the next day; but the Governor did not approve it until May 5. The law reads as follows:

AN ACT

For the purchase or condemnation of a site, and for the construction and furnishing of a building thereon, to be known as the Colorado Museum, and to make an appropriation for the same. Be it Enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

Section 1. The Board of Capitol Managers are hereby directed to procure by purchase or condemnation for the State of Colorado, a site upon which shall be constructed a public building, to be known as the Colorado State Museum, and procure furniture for the same. Said site shall be in one of the squares or blocks adjacent to the Capitol grounds in the city and county of Denver.

Section 2. Said building shall be constructed by the Board of Capitol Managers, and, when completed, shall remain under its control in the same manner that said board now manages and controls the Capitol building.

Section 3. The Capitol managers, in the construction of said building, shall provide accommodations for the collection belonging to the State and controlled by the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado and its future collections; for the war relic collection; for the museum of mineralogy and all future additions thereto; also for a State gallery of art; and also for any other appropriate exhibit in reference to the resources of the State or to the achievements of its citizens; Provided, That all property accorded space in said building shall belong to the State of Colorado.

Section 4. There is hereby appropriated out of any funds in the State treasury, belonging to the Capitol building fund not otherwise appropriated, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000.00) to secure by purchase or condemnation the site for said buildings and prepare plans and specifications and to begin construction.

Section 5. All expenditures on said sum, hereby appropriated, shall be paid by the State Treasurer on warrants, that shall be drawn by the State Auditor on vouchers, approved by said board, duly signed by the Governor of the State as chairman of said board, and attested by the secretary thereof.

Approved, May 5th, 1909.³⁹

In conformity with the above Act, the Board of Capitol Managers purchased the tract of ground, 125 by 125 feet, at the southeast corner of Fourteenth Avenue and Sherman Street, had building plans drawn by architect Edbrooke, and began construction of the State Museum Building.⁴⁰

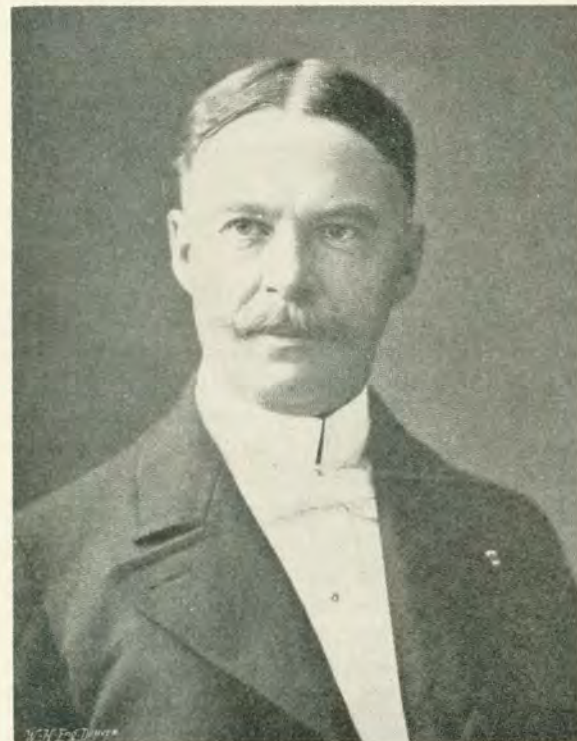
The 1909 appropriation by the legislature for the Society's operations provided for the same three staff members as heretofore, and \$1,400 to cover expenses for the biennium.⁴¹

³⁹ *Session Laws* (1909), 192-193. Senate Bill 240 contained the emergency clause as Section 6 (see original bill in the State Archives, State Historical Society vault), but this was dropped before enactment.

⁴⁰ *Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 1, 1908, to November 30, 1910* (Denver, 1911), 19.

⁴¹ *Session Laws* (1909), 141, 144. The annual salaries voted were: Curator, \$1500; museum assistant \$1200; file clerk \$900.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors on January 26, 1910, Jerome C. Smiley was appointed Curator of the Society.⁴² A native of Ohio, he had for a number of years devoted himself to the study and writing of Colorado history. In 1903 his monumental history of Denver (978 two-column pages) had been published. Soon after assuming the office of Curator he recommended a reduction in the



JEROME C. SMILEY

number of newspapers being preserved, the mass of which had posed a difficult problem. Upon approval of the Board he discontinued receipt of 46 dailies and 27 weekly newspapers coming from outside the state. After these reductions the Society was still receiving at the end of the year 283 Colorado publications, including 26 daily newspapers; and 24 publications from beyond the state's borders.⁴³

During the biennium 1909-10, there was a noticeable shift in emphasis from natural history to historical activity. This was re-

⁴² Mr. Ferrill protested in a letter of the 27th (Letter Press Books, XIV, 129) that he had been appointed for two years, and that the appointment of Mr. Smiley was illegal. For a time both men occupied desks in the same office (*Denver Times* of February 10, 11, 1910).

⁴³ *Biennial Report 1908-1910, op. cit.* 7-8, 18. A list of those discontinued is preserved in the archives, in a file of miscellaneous papers, Box 10.

flected in the accessions, which totaled 2,670 historical items and 808 specimens. The museum assistant devoted but eight days to natural history field work during the biennium. But the Academy of Science branch of the Society continued to hold its regular meetings and to discuss the scientific papers presented.⁴⁴

The legislature in 1911 appropriated \$200,000 "for the purpose of completing and furnishing the Colorado State Museum Building," and \$50,000 "for construction of a tunnel between the Capitol Building and the Colorado State Museum Building, and for the installation of the boilers, engines, heating, lighting and power plant in the Colorado State Museum Building."⁴⁵

For the Society's maintenance and operation the legislature made an appropriation in 1911 similar to that for the preceding biennium.⁴⁶

For the years 1911 and 1912 the Society's historical accessions amounted to 1,592; those in natural history, 40. The Curator's report lists in considerable detail the books, photographs, and relics received during the biennium. Notable acquisitions included the original German edition of Dr. Wizlizenus' report of his journey across Colorado in 1839, and the Luke Tierney history and guide-book of 1858-59.⁴⁷

At its session in 1913 the General Assembly decided to change the name and alter the use of the State Museum Building. The original law, of May 5, 1909, was amended to read: "a public building which shall be known as the Department of Justice."

Section 3. The Board of Capitol Managers shall provide, in said building, accommodations for the collections now or hereafter belonging to the State and controlled by the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado; and said Board of Capitol Managers may also provide in said building a court room for the Supreme Court of the State, chambers for the justices thereof, a courtroom for the Court of Appeals, chambers for the judges thereof, accommodations for the clerk or clerks of said courts and for the Supreme Court Library, and offices for the Attorney General of the State, and accommodations for such other purposes as said Board may deem proper; but nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the Board of Capitol Managers from at any time transferring from said building, to quarters which in the opinion of the Board are proper and adequate, any of the collections or exhibits that may be placed in said building, or from transferring any or all of the offices and accommodations herein provided for the courts, library, judicial and other officers mentioned.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The biennial report of the Academy of Science accompanies the Society's *Biennial Report*, *ibid.*, 21-28.

⁴⁵ *Session Laws* of 1911, 154.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 51, 56.

⁴⁷ The Society's *Biennial Report* for 1910-12 (Denver, 1913).

⁴⁸ *Session Laws* of 1913, p. 245-46.

Apparently, the Supreme Court did not choose to be transferred, so no quarters were provided, and the plan embodied in the new Act was nullified.⁴⁹

The appropriation voted by the legislature to the Society for the biennium 1913-14 was similar to that of preceding years.⁵⁰ But in April, 1913, the State Auditor raised the question of the legality of the appropriation, alleging that the Society was not a state institution, and requesting an opinion thereon from the Attorney General of the State. The latter ruled that the Society was not a state institution. Further payments under the appropriation were thereupon cut off. However, the Board of Capitol Managers came to the rescue and paid the salaries of the Curator and the Museum Assistant.⁵¹

The outstanding acquisition by the Society during the biennium, 1913-1914, was the office file of 285 volumes of bound newspapers formerly owned by the *Denver Tribune* and the *Denver Republican*. These papers came as a gift of the Denver Publishing Company that was organized by John C. Shaffer after his purchase of the *Republican* plant and the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Times*. This valuable file of papers included the *Tribune* from 1867; the *Republican* from 1881; the *Tribune-Republican* from 1884; the *Denver Times* from 1894; the *Rocky Mountain News*, 1882-1913; the *Denver Post*, 1896-1913 (partial); and some other papers.⁵²

During the biennium the accessions numbered 1,565 historical items and 15 natural history specimens; which indicates a continuing emphasis on historical work and neglect of natural history activity. Curator Smiley in his official report listed in detail the books, pamphlets, maps, photographs, etc., acquired during the biennium.⁵³

With the State Museum Building nearing completion, the Curator and his assistant were busy labeling items, enlarging pictures for exhibits, and making necessary preparations for the move to the new home. The transfer began in November, 1914, but was not completed until late the next year.

⁴⁹ Report of the President on December 7, 1915, found in "Records of the General Meetings and of the Meetings of the Board of Directors of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 7, 1915, to November 3, 1919" (Ms.), p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Biennial Report* for 1912-14 (Denver, 1915). The appropriation for Curator was \$1500 per year; for Museum Assistant, \$1200; File Clerk \$900; and expenses \$750.

⁵¹ From a statement by J. C. Smiley, requested by the Board of Directors of the Society and incorporated in the Minutes of the Historical Society's meeting of February 29, 1916. This is found in "Records of the General Meetings and of the Meetings of the Board of Directors of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, from December 7, 1915, to November 3, 1919." The File Clerk was cut off, and the expense account was stopped after only \$34.60 had been expended (*Biennial Report* of 1912-14, *ibid.*, 39).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁵³ The Curator's Report, which constitutes the *Biennial Report* of the Society, 1912-14, runs to 40 pages.

For years there had been some uncertainty and controversy as to the status of the Society—whether it was a private corporation or an official state agency. The ruling of the Attorney General in 1913 had precipitated the issue. The matter was now brought to the legislature, and Senate Bill 316 was introduced in the session of 1915. After passage of this Act, which made the Society an Educational Institution of the State, the President of the Society said: "While we have always claimed to be a State Institution and been so recognized for years, by the State officers, it has recently been questioned, which cannot occur again." "A most important Bill in our interest was passed by the last legislature, wherein our status was definitely fixed."⁵⁴ The law reads:

Be it Enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

Section 1. That the State Historical and Natural History Society, an organization heretofore incorporated to carry out the provisions of a special act of the second session of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado and approved February 13, 1879, be and the same is hereby declared to be one of the educational institutions of the State of Colorado.

Sec. 2. That the said society shall be the trustee of the state, and as such shall faithfully expend and apply all money received from the state to the uses and purposes directed by law, and shall hold its present and future collections and property for the state, and shall not sell, mortgage, transfer or dispose of in any manner or remove from the Colorado State Museum any article thereof, or part of the same, without authority of law; *Provided*, This shall not prevent sale or exchange of any duplicates which the society may have or obtain, or the transfer to other educational institutions of the state of property not deemed applicable to the purposes of the society.

Sec. 3. That it shall be the duty of the president of said society to make a biennial report to the Governor of the state at least twenty days preceding each regular session of the General Assembly which shall set forth all transactions and expenditures of said society and such other matters concerning its affairs as its president shall deem to be of public interest.

Sec. 4. That the board of directors of said society shall appoint its employees and fix their salaries, and said employees shall not be subject to civil service rules or regulations.

Sec. 5. All acts or parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

Sec. 6. In the opinion of the General Assembly an emergency exists; therefore this act shall be in force and take effect from and after its passage.

Approved: April 17, 1915.⁵⁵

The legislature of 1915 made a final appropriation for the Museum, voting \$15,437 for "improvements, furniture, and fix-

⁵⁴ President's Report of December 7, 1915, in "Records of General Meetings . . . 1915-1919, 2. In the *Leaflet Concerning the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado*, 1917, it is stated that the Society "is a Trustee of the State . . . The question has sometimes been raised as to the legality of appropriations, though such questions have been decided favorably. But the Act of 1915 defined the organization further and declared it to be 'one of the Educational Institutions of the State of Colorado.' It thus removed a doubt as to its standing."

⁵⁵ *Session Laws of 1915*, 440-41.

tures for the Colorado State Museum Building and grounds."⁵⁶ Mr. W. D. Todd, Treasurer of the Society from its beginning to 1914, and President of the Society in 1915, gives his predecessor as President the principal credit for procuring the Museum Building. He says that it was "secured by the persistent and laborious efforts of our late most efficient President, Mr. E. B. Morgan."⁵⁷

In the election of officers of the Society in January, 1915, William D. Todd, who had taken the lead in founding the Society and had served as its Treasurer from the beginning, was elected President of the Society, George L. Cannon and Frank L. Woodward were elected Vice Presidents; Charles R. Dudley, Secretary; Frank E. Gove, Treasurer; and J. C. Smiley, Curator.⁵⁸

After months of hard work in transferring and labeling collections, and in arranging exhibits, the new museum was opened on September 2, 1915. No formal ceremonies were staged.

The *Rocky Mountain News* in announcing the opening said on September 1, 1915:

The stately new marble structure will be brilliantly lighted in honor of the occasion. There will be no formalities. The general public is invited to view the exhibits which have been newly arranged. The work of transferring the museum material from the basement of the Capitol building has been in progress for months, and while the task is not yet done, the exhibits in place are complete. Many of them are unexcelled anywhere in the country, and all are of the highest interest to Colorado people.

From 500 to 800 visitors, mostly tourists, go to the museum daily. Curator J. C. Smiley hopes for an increased attendance and interest on the part of home people.

The *Denver Post* of September 1, 1915, ran pictures of the Clark and Gruber Mint machinery and some birds, and observed: "Specially made exhibit cases have been filled with war relics, priceless curios of the cliff dwellers, and interesting exhibits of products of the state."

For the fiscal period 1914-16 the legislature voted \$8,200 for maintenance of the Society, but the Governor reduced the amount to \$5,050.⁵⁹

For some time trouble had been brewing in the Society. The conflict appears to have been primarily between the members especially interested in Natural history and those concerned with history. The former planned a coup for the evening of December 7, 1915. Apparently they "packed" the meeting with their sup-

⁵⁶ *Session Laws of 1915*, 106.

⁵⁷ "Report of the President on December 7, 1915," in "Records of General Meetings . . . 1915 to 1919," p. 4.

⁵⁸ No minutes of the meeting are preserved, but the list of officers for 1915 is printed in the *Biennial Report of 1914-16*. The Board of Directors so listed comprised the following: N. A. Baker, Charles R. Dudley, James Grafton Rogers, Ellsworth Bethel, Frank E. Gove, George L. Cannon, Enos A. Mills, Frank L. Woodward, and W. D. Todd.

⁵⁹ *Session Laws of 1915*, 48, 62. He cut the biennial appropriation for Museum Assistant from \$2400 to \$600; and that for File Clerk from \$1800 to \$450.

porters. After the opening of the meeting, according to the minutes, "Motion was made by Mr. George L. Cannon that we proceed to the nomination of a board of directors for the ensuing year. The President ruled that it was out of order as the directors were elected to serve for two years at the annual meeting in January last. An appeal was taken from the ruling of the President and he was not sustained. Mr. Todd thereupon tendered his resignation as President and a member of the board of directors.

"Mr. George L. Cannon, the first vice-president, took the chair."⁶⁰

Candidates for the Board of Directors were thereupon nominated and voted upon. Only two members of the old Board were re-elected.⁶¹ At a meeting of the Board on December 11, the following officers were chosen: George L. Cannon, President; John Parsons, Secretary; A. J. Fynn, Treasurer; and J. C. Smiley, Curator.

With an auditorium, or assembly room, available on the third floor of the Museum building, the Historical Society conducted a series of meetings during 1916. The lectures, upon historical and scientific subjects, were so popular that occasionally the attendance was greater than the room could accommodate.⁶²

At the Director's meeting of May 4, 1916, a committee was appointed to revise the constitution of the Society. The proposals were discussed at several meetings, were adopted by the Board of Directors on October 24, 1916, and this revised constitution was adopted by the Society at the regular meeting of November 28, 1916.⁶³ One of the changes was provision that three members of the Board of Directors be chosen each year for a three-year term. The Annual Meeting was to be held on the second Tuesday of December. Entrance fee for membership in the Society was set at \$2; and annual dues were fixed at \$2.

⁶⁰ "Record of the General Meetings . . . 1915 to 1919," *op. cit.*, 1.

⁶¹ While the ballot was being taken, Mr. Todd read the report which he had prepared to read as President. It is copied into the minutes. Brief reports were given by the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Curator. The tellers then announced the results of the voting, the following being elected to the Board of Directors: G. L. Cannon, L. G. Carpenter, E. A. Kenyon, H. R. Steele, John Parsons, Ellsworth Bethel, W. D. Engle, H. C. Parmelee, and A. J. Fynn.

The minutes of the meeting concluded thus: "Mr. Todd spoke of his activities in connection with the founding of the Society, his work and interest in it since 1879, and his disapproval of the treatment he had received.

"Mr. Dudley gave a few words of regret that political methods had been brought into the management of the Society which heretofore had always been free from such entanglements."

⁶² *Biennial Report . . . 1914-16* (Denver, 1916), 41.

⁶³ "Record of Meetings . . . 1915-19," 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. This revised constitution is copied into this Record Book, page 270. It was also multigraphed for distribution. One of these copies of the constitution is preserved in the Society files and marked "Spurious Copy." There was some question as to whether all legal requirements were observed in the drafting and ratification of this constitution of 1916. But the document was accepted and the business of the Society was thereafter conducted under its provisions, although it was again involved in the constitutional controversy of 1918-19.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 12, 1916, W. N. Beggs, Ellsworth Bethel, and G. L. Cannon were elected for three-year terms; L. G. Carpenter, A. J. Fynn, and E. A. Kenyon, for two-year terms; and H. P. Parmelee, John Parsons, and H. R. Steele, for one year.⁶⁴ Officers chosen at the Board Meeting of January 9, 1917, to serve one year, were: L. G. Carpenter, President; W. N. Beggs and Ellsworth Bethel, Vice Presidents; John Parsons, Secretary; and A. J. Fynn, Treasurer.⁶⁵ The legislative appropriation of 1917 was similar to that of preceding years.⁶⁶

Dr. James F. Willard, professor of history at the University of Colorado, and Eugene Parsons, historical writer, appeared before the Board of Directors early in 1916 and advocated that the Society issue a publication. A committee was appointed to study and report possibilities.⁶⁷

The outcome was the issuance in January, 1917, of a modest little Society publication, *Leaflet Concerning the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado*. This eight-page pamphlet, 3½x6 inches in size, told of the organization of the Society, what it had done, and indicated its "Possibilities and Usefulness."

Leaflet number 2 (eight pages and same size), issued in February, 1917, listed the officers of the Society, recounted the development of the organization, described the Society's collections, stated that monthly meetings were held, with the History and the Science sections conducting the meetings alternately, and it included an appeal for an increased membership.

America's entry into World War I in April, 1917, soon absorbed much of the attention of Coloradans and caused a diminution in historical activity. Space in the State Museum was given up to War agencies. The newspaper room in the basement was cleared for the War Council, the Assembly Room for the Red Cross, and other agencies were accommodated.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 11, 1917, Messrs. H. R. Steele, John Parsons, and Platt Rogers were elected for three-year terms to the Board of Directors. The officers of the Society were re-elected for one year at the Board Meeting of the Society on January 8, 1918.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁶⁶ The salary for Historian and Curator (a title carried in the Appropriation Act of April 23, 1917, and adopted by the Board of Directors on April 3, 1917, to replace that of Curator) was \$3000 for the biennium; that of Museum Assistant, \$1890; File Clerk salary was cut by the governor from \$1575 to \$375; and \$500 was allowed for binding newspapers.—*Session Laws of 1917*, 39, 53.

⁶⁷ "Record of the General Meetings . . . 1915-19," *op. cit.*, 8-9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 21.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-46. Mr. Smiley was elected Historian and Curator of History to serve at the pleasure of the Board of Directors; the salary to be \$150 per month. Ellsworth Bethel was elected Director of Education and Curator of Natural History, serving without pay. Frank M. Brown was made File Clerk and Stenographer.

Realizing the historical importance of Colorado's war activity, the Historical Society made special efforts to obtain records of enlisted and drafted men in military service, and information of the work of such organizations as Draft Boards, Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Labor organizations, etc., as it pertained to the War effort.⁶⁹

In the Biennial Report of the Society, 1917-1918, the President summarized the work accomplished and especially mentioned the efforts to obtain records of Colorado military and civilian personnel. Curator Smiley lists in detail (65 pages) the acquisitions (1,770 items) of the biennium; and Curator Bethel reports the Society's Natural History activities.⁷⁰

The three members whose terms expired were re-elected at the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 10, 1918. Two days later the officers of the Society were re-elected, except that Dr. A. J. Fynn, at his own request, was replaced as Treasurer by E. A. Kenyon.⁷¹

In March, 1919, the Society issued eight-page leaflet No. 3. It reviewed the founding, organization, and development of the Society, and described collections, publications, meetings, membership, war history efforts, etc. Booklet No. 4, issued at the same time, listed the newspaper collections of the Society, with dates covered. These included 35 dailies and 192 weeklies. Leaflets 5, 6, and 7 (each two pages) also issued in 1919, described the various collections and exhibits in the State Museum Building. Mr. Bethel's, "The Flora of the Denver Mountain Parks," published in *Municipal Facts* (Denver), in March, 1919, was issued as a 24-page illustrated booklet by the Historical Society as "Natural History Leaflet Number 1."

It was felt that the staff and facilities of the Society were inadequate for gathering and organizing the historical records needed to preserve the story of Colorado's part in the great conflict.

Upon leaving office Governor Gunter issued a Proclamation emphasizing the importance of gathering and preserving records of Colorado's war activity, and appealing to individuals and organizations to send in their records to the State Historical Society for preservation.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-52—President's Report at the Annual Meeting, December 10, 1918.

⁷⁰ Apparently, this report was not published, at least we have found no such publication. Fortunately, however, the Report in manuscript was found by Miss Ina T. Aulls among the L. G. Carpenter papers in the Denver Public Library. The papers in this collection pertaining to the State Historical Society were recently given to this Society.

⁷¹ "Record of General Meetings," etc., *op. cit.*, 51-53. The other officers re-elected were: L. G. Carpenter, President; W. N. Beggs, Vice President; Ellsworth Bethel, Vice President; and John Parsons, Treasurer.

⁷² Issued by the Governor on January 14, 1919; published and distributed as a two-page card by the State Historical Society.

An appeal to the legislature resulted in provision for additional help for the Society. The appropriation of 1919 carried an added item of \$6,000 for "War History of Colorado."⁷³

Related to the desire for War history preservation was the enactment by the same legislature of a law authorizing county units of the State Historical Society, with the county commissioners providing safekeeping of exhibits. These county units were "to bind and preserve copies of newspapers published in the county where located; . . . and especially to preserve to the fullest extent possible the history of our soldiers in the recent world war. . . ." ⁷⁴ Such societies were to report regularly to the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado.

The legislature of 1919 also passed an Act authorizing the State Historical Society to exchange "or otherwise dispose of" any duplicate books, documents, or specimens no longer useful or needed.⁷⁵

The "War History" activity of the Society was carried on in 1919 under the direction of Miss Clara R. Mozzor. She and her assistants prepared and distributed Questionnaires. These were expected to secure "a record of the achievements during the war of every man who had been in the Service, every civilian who worked at home or abroad, and every organization created primarily for war work."⁷⁶ Volunteers helped in the clerical work. Information from the Draft Boards as to Service Men and their next of kin was tabulated, with a card for each man. Histories of the Red Cross in many counties, history files on the Council of Defense, records on the Liberty Loans, and accounts of various voluntary organizations were assembled. The appropriation was small for the amount of work undertaken, and the overall results were hardly satisfactory.

At the Society's annual meeting and election of December, 1919, alleged irregularities caused the matter to be submitted to the Attorney General. He ruled that the Society as a non-profit corporation and a state educational institution was not bound by regulations applicable to corporations organized for profit. But he stated that, inasmuch as "questions of fact" were in dispute, questions "which properly belong to a judicial tribunal for determination after hearing all the evidence relating thereto" he could not rule upon the questions.⁷⁷

⁷³ *Session Laws of 1919, 193-94.* The total appropriation to the Society for the biennium was \$17,860, including \$1000 for binding newspapers, and \$2000 for a catalogue clerk.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 659-61.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 662.

⁷⁶ Miss Mozzor's Report in *Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 1, 1918, to November 30, 1920* (Denver, 1920), 31.

⁷⁷ Opinion of the Attorney General as given in his letter of February 3, 1920, to L. G. Carpenter, President of the Society.

The dispute seemed to stir up interest and activity in the Society and its work. Regular monthly meetings, that had been suspended during and after the War, were resumed. A campaign was launched for increasing the membership of the Society, and during 1920 the membership was more than tripled, to a total of 405 on December 1, 1920.⁷⁸ The officers who served in 1920 were: William N. Beggs, President; Ellsworth Bethel and Arthur J. Fynn, Vice Presidents; Elmer A. Kenyon, Secretary; and Harry V. Kepner, Treasurer.⁷⁹



WILLIAM N. BEGGS

Leaflet No. 8, issued by the Society in March, 1920, made an appeal for new members, and described the Society, its objects, accomplishments, and needs. A similar leaflet (No. 9), issued the following September, listed the monthly programs for the 1920-21 season and published the membership list of the Society.

During the year 1920 the Society planned and carried through a celebration commemorating the centenary of the Major Stephen H. Long Expedition into Colorado. The cooperation of various

⁷⁸ *The Bulletin of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado*, I (November, 1920), 8. *The Biennial Report of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, December 1, 1920, to November 30, 1922* (Denver, 1923), 31, gives the 405 figure in the "Report of the Secretary."

⁷⁹ The other members of the Board of Directors were: George L. Cannon, L. G. Carpenter, Platt Rogers, Hugh R. Steele, and Governor Oliver H. Shoup, ex-officio.

civic and patriotic groups was enlisted. The principal events culminated in an elaborate historical program on the evening of Colorado Day (August 1).

A new interest gripped the Society in 1920. President Beggs explained in the *Biennial Report* of 1918-20 (pages 7-8):

During this year [1920] our attention was called, incidentally, and I may say accidentally, to the region of the prehistoric ruins in the southwestern part of the state, and the necessity for prompt action on the part of the state if they are to be saved for ourselves and our posterity. Our correspondence has resulted in the active assistance of Mr. J. A. Jeancon, of the Bureau of Ethnology of the United States Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C. It appears that in a territory of about two hundred miles in length and one hundred miles in width, from Pagosa Springs to the western state border, and from about sixty miles south of Grand Junction to the southern state border, and another small territory in the extreme northwestern part of the state (the latter being an entirely new discovery) there are hundreds and thousands of prehistoric ruins, the Mesa Verde National Park being only an exceedingly small part of this section and containing only a small part of these archaeological treasures. It also appears that there is immediate danger of expeditions being sent into this territory for the purpose of exploration, excavation and exploitation by scientific and other institutions of learning outside this state, and the removal to these institutions of these most valuable remains, which should be preserved by us for our own people. Such expeditions, I understand, are now being planned for the year 1921, to begin as soon as weather conditions permit. An intensive work of surveying, mapping, excavation and publication should be undertaken at once.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society on October 16, 1920, it was decided "to establish a section on Archaeology and Ethnology." Special meetings of the Society, at which Mr. Jeancon spoke, were held in the House of Representatives on October 18 and November 1, 1920. Resolutions were adopted stating the importance of archaeological work and urging the Governor and legislature to provide money for its prosecution.⁸⁰

The Bulletin of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, planned as a quarterly publication, was launched in November, 1920. This 16-page, illustrated pamphlet, 5¼x7½ inches in size, was directed especially to the promotion of the Society's new archaeological program. The Foreword of *The Bulletin* announced:

It is our special object just now to preserve the numerous ruins and relics—monuments of those ancient peoples—for the instruction and enjoyment of our own citizens. These ruins are being destroyed and their precious contents are being removed from the state. They are now the prey of vandals in search of curios.

The President of the Society at the end of 1920, reported: "This Society is now endeavoring to raise not less than thirty

⁸⁰ *The Bulletin*, op. cit., I, 11-12.

thousand dollars (\$30,000.00) from private sources for the financing of this [archaeological] work, and the present indications are that it will be entirely successful therein, as, in a very short time, we have already secured pledges amounting to about twenty-five hundred dollars.⁸¹

The resignation of Jerome C. Smiley, who had been absent in Ohio on account of ill health, was accepted in December, 1920. He had served the Society as Curator and Historian for ten years and had made a notable contribution with his histories of Denver and of Colorado. Mrs. Elizabeth McNeil Galbreath, who had served the Society as cataloguer and as librarian, was appointed Acting Curator of History.⁸²

The annual reports of the Society's President and members of the staff at the end of 1920 indicated general advancement, although the binding of newspapers was lagging and a catalogue of accessions was badly needed. The statistical abstract prepared by the curator showed acquisitions of books, pamphlets, portraits, and maps, 1,416; historical relics, 1,129; and natural history specimens (mostly of the herbarium) in excess of 3000.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 14, 1920, three Directors were elected: I. W. Clokey, Benjamin Griffith, and Hugh R. Steele. The officers of the Society, with Dr. Beggs as President, were re-elected⁸³ at the meeting of December 20th following. Ex-Governor E. M. Ammons and Ernest Morris were chosen to the Board on April 16, 1921, to replace Messrs. L. G. Carpenter and Benjamin Griffith.⁸⁴

In the second issue of *The Bulletin* (February, 1921) it was announced that J. A. Jeancon had left the Smithsonian Institution and had accepted the position of Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology with the Historical Society. Mr. Jeancon, it explained, had had "many years of experience in this work, both as an amateur and professional." He had worked extensively in New Mexico, knew the Indians intimately, and had been adopted by the Tewas of the Rio Grande. He was to explore, map, and excavate ruins, write reports, and give popular lectures. Another section of this *Bulletin* emphasized the value of Colorado's archaeological remains, the need for holding these relics in the state, and gave reports on prehistoric sites. The Society's 1921-22 budget requests of \$41,000 (exclusive of the \$15,000 which the Society undertook to raise by private subscription for archaeological work) was cut by the Budget Commit-

⁸¹ *Biennial Report* of 1918-20, 8.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 7. A salary voucher was issued to Mr. Smiley to December 8, 1920.—See the Society's letter press book, December 22, 1917, to June 24, 1922, pp. 389, 393, 394.

⁸³ Except that Ira M. Clokey replaced Kepner as Treasurer.—*Biennial Report* of 1920-22, p. 28.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

tee and the Governor to \$31,100; but the legislative appropriation was only \$12,600.⁸⁵



JEAN ALLARD JEANCON

At this session of the legislature an Act was passed authorizing the Historical Society "to accept and receive gifts and donations to carry out and promote the objects and purposes of the Society." Donations made for the use of a particular Department of the Society were to be kept as a separate fund for that Department.⁸⁶

Inasmuch as many proposals had been made for amendment of the Society's constitution, it was decided to re-vamp the document. Consequently, an amendment was proposed to strike out the entire constitution and substitute therefor a newly written one. The amendment was voted and the new constitution adopted by letter ballot on April 12, 1921.⁸⁷

This constitution continued the Board of Directors as the governing body of the Society. Three of its nine members were to

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 29, and *Session Laws*, 1921, 64, 69.

⁸⁶ *Session Laws* of 1921, 740-41.

⁸⁷ The proposal was published in *The Bulletin of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado*, I, No. 2 (February, 1921), 26-31. The report of the adoption is given in the Society's *Biennial Report*, 1920-22, 31. The constitution and the by-laws are printed in this *Report*, pages 32-41.

be chosen at the Annual Meeting each year for three-year terms. The new stipulation was that the voting "shall be confined to a list of nominees filed in writing with the Secretary of the Society by any eleven (11) Active members not less than thirty (30) days prior to the annual meeting." The Board was empowered to make and amend the By-laws, provided these do not conflict with the Society's constitution or the laws of the state. The constitution of 1921, with minor amendments subsequently adopted, remains today the Society's governing instrument.

In May, 1921, Thomas F. Dawson, who had served as secretary to Senator Teller and then as Secretary of the United States Senate, was induced to come back to Colorado and accept the position of Curator of History for the Society.⁸⁸ Mrs. Galbreath, who had temporarily served as Curator, now became Librarian, a position for which she was especially qualified.

With funds privately raised, and in cooperation with the University of Denver, an archaeological expedition under Curator Jeancon was placed in the field in the summer of 1921. The excavation work was conducted on Chimney Rock Mesa, in the Pagosa-Piedra Region of Colorado's San Juan Basin. A report on the undertaking, giving a full description of the work and discoveries, and illustrated with many photographs and drawings, was published.⁸⁹

During 1921 the Society held monthly meetings at which historical and scientific subjects were discussed. The membership of the Society was increased during the year from 405 to 517; and cash contributions (primarily for archaeological work) amounted to \$2,787.81.⁹⁰

Dr. A. J. Fynn, E. A. Kenyon, and Ernest Morris were re-elected to the Board of Directors on December 13, 1921, for three-year terms, and E. M. Ammons for a two-year term, succeeding Mr. Griffith, resigned. William G. Evans, son of Governor John Evans, was chosen as Director on February 6, 1922, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of G. L. Cannon. At the same meeting the resignation of I. W. Clokey was accepted and Frank S. Byers, son of the founder of the *Rocky Mountain News*, was elected to succeed him.

At the meeting of the Board on March 6, 1922, the following officers were elected: E. M. Ammons, President; William G. Evans, First Vice President; A. J. Fynn, Second Vice President; W. N. Beggs, secretary; and E. A. Kenyon, Treasurer.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Biennial Report of 1920-22*, 3: and vouchers of April and May, 1921, in the Society's letter press books.

⁸⁹ *The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado and the University of Denver, Archaeological Research in the Northeastern San Juan Basin of Colorado During the Summer of 1921*, by Jean Allard Jeancon, Edited by Frank H. H. Roberts (Denver, 1922).

⁹⁰ *Biennial Report of 1920-22*, 29-31.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

During the 1922 season Mr. Jeancon continued his archaeological work in the Pagosa-Piedra region. "Much new material was uncovered and a great mass of new information gained," he reported.⁹²

Mr. Dawson obtained during 1921-22 many papers and records pertaining to the pioneer history of Colorado. Through correspondence and interviews he gathered pioneer experiences, and he also assembled and placed in order his own extensive collections and newspaper clippings.

The Natural History Department was concerned with the Bethel Herbarium, filing and classifying plants and sponsoring collecting trips. Numerous other natural history specimens were received during the biennial period.

The librarian made good progress during the biennium in cataloguing the Society's book collection. A shelf list of 1,900 cards and 11,250 dictionary catalogue cards were prepared. Part of the newspapers were bound and properly shelved.⁹³

The Society's *Bulletin* number 3 (16 pages), issued in November, 1922, reported developments in the various departments and gave an extended account of the archaeological project.

The membership campaign, continued in 1922, resulted in a net gain of 133, bringing the membership to 650 on November 30, 1922. The complete list of members, with addresses, was published at the end of the *Biennial Report* of 1920-22. The various classifications were segregated; Life memberships in the Supporting, Sustaining, and Active categories had been given to persons making the corresponding donations to the archaeological fund for the Society.

The Directors whose terms expired at the end of 1922 were re-elected at the Annual Meeting in December. Officers of the Society were continued without change.

Special efforts were made to induce the legislature of 1923 to increase the Society's appropriation and to provide for the archaeological department, heretofore carried by private funds. A budget of \$48,800 for the biennium was proposed. While the legislators did not accept this amount they did vote more than double the amount given for the preceding biennium. Included were appropriations of \$3,000 for archaeological research, \$1,200 for natural history research, \$1,000 for publication, \$1,000 for purchase of books and relics, \$1,600 for binding newspapers, and \$3,000 for incidental expenses.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 8. The complete report of the season's work was later published in the *Colorado Magazine*, I, 11-36, 65-70, 108-18, 163-73.

⁹³ Department summaries in the *Biennial Report of 1920-22*.

In the Society's *Bulletin* of April-May, 1923 (number 4, 16 pages), the officials exulted: "The Society is now facing what is probably the most prosperous period of its existence. The legislature has just made an appropriation of \$14,900.00 per year for the current biennial period. While not nearly enough for our work it is more than we have ever received from the legislature and will give the Board of Directors a breathing spell from the grind of securing by personal appeal the funds wherewith to pay for imperative and routine work."⁹⁴

In June, 1923, while accompanying the President Warren G. Harding party on a tour of Denver's mountain parks, Mr. Dawson was killed when an automobile plunged over an embankment. For some months he had been classifying and indexing his large collection of newspaper and magazine clippings, the accumulation of a lifetime. This important collection, comprising seventy volumes, came to the Historical Society; also about 400 of his books dealing with Colorado and the West.⁹⁵ Dr. A. J. Fynn was chosen acting curator of history, to serve until a permanent appointment was made.

The Archaeological Department had two projects in 1923. One was Mr. Jeancon's tree ring study for dating timbers from prehistoric ruins, and was sponsored by the National Geographic Society. The other, under Frank H. H. Roberts, mapped the region from Pagosa Springs to the Utah line and south to the New Mexico border. "All prehistoric house sites and ruins were located," reports Mr. Roberts, "and a collection of pottery sherds was made from each place visited. These sherds will be studied and will furnish considerable information on the question of pottery development, relationship and sequences in this region."⁹⁶

Secretary Beggs, with the assistance of Miss Jessie Wells, carried on a vigorous membership campaign in 1923 and raised the membership of the Society to 1,000 by December, 1923.⁹⁷

Dr. Beggs was also a leader in launching the *Colorado Magazine*, which he was to edit through the first volume (November, 1923, to November, 1924, inclusive). This was an ambitious and important undertaking, the fruition of a long-dreamed hope. It had been expected that Curator Dawson, experienced journalist, would edit the magazine, but his tragic death forced changes, and the management was put in the hands of a Committee of the Board. The magazine was to comprise two sections; the first and major one was devoted to historical, archaeological, and natural history articles;

⁹⁴ *Bulletin*, I, 67.

⁹⁵ See E. M. Ammons, "A Tribute to Thomas F. Dawson," in the *Colorado Magazine*, I, 3-8 (November, 1923).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 179-80; and a full report by Roberts in *ibid.*, II, No. 2 (April, 1925).

⁹⁷ *Biennial Report of 1922-24*, 38.

the second section was the "Bulletin," which carried news about the Society and reports and notes from its various departments.

At the Annual Meeting on December 11, 1923, E. M. Ammons, F. S. Byers, and Lou D. Sweet were elected Directors for three-year terms. The officers of the Society who served in 1923 were re-elected for 1924: E. M. Ammons, President; William G. Evans and A. J. Fynn, Vice Presidents; William N. Beggs, Secretary; and E. A. Kenyon, Treasurer.

The archaeological field work of 1924 included a study of the pithouse culture on the Stollsteimer Mesa, west of Pagosa Springs, and the completing of the survey and mapping of the archaeological ruins in southwestern Colorado.

The Board of Directors, conscious of the need for gathering personal historical data before all the pioneers were gone, appointed on March 8, 1924, Albert B. Sanford as Special Assistant to the Curator of History for gathering pioneer data. Mr. Sanford, born at old Camp Weld near Denver in 1862, and nurtured in the Territorial background, went to work enthusiastically.

Anxious to procure a trained historian to succeed Mr. Dawson, the Directors investigated widely, and Mr. Ernest Morris visited and consulted Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, the outstanding historian at the University of California. The result was the selection and appointment of LeRoy R. Hafen, who had just received his Ph.D. degree in Western History under Dr. Bolton's direction. Dr. Hafen assumed his duties at Denver on July 1, 1924. He brought with him and presented to the library copies of 52 Bancroft manuscripts pertaining to Colorado. The originals had been obtained by H. H. Bancroft and his representatives through interviews with Colorado pioneers in 1884.⁹⁸

The Society sustained a real loss in the death on October 21, 1924, of William G. Evans, Vice President of the Society. His place on the Board was filled by the election of his son, John Evans.⁹⁹

Dr. William N. Beggs, who had served as President of the Society during 1920 and 1921, and as Secretary 1922 to 1924, resigned from the Board of Directors (and consequently as Secretary and as Editor of the *Colorado Magazine*) at the end of 1924. He had edited the magazine for seven issues, and had successfully carried on a vigorous membership campaign. His professional duties no longer permitted him to devote such time and energy as he had heretofore given to the Society's work. The Directors elected

⁹⁸ These are listed in the *Colorado Magazine*, I, 285-86.

⁹⁹ *Colorado Magazine*, II, 53; and A. J. Fynn, "An Appreciation of William G. Evans" (with portrait), *ibid.*, 40-45.

Roger W. Toll, Superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, to his place on the Board and chose Dr. Hafen as Editor of the magazine.¹⁰⁰

A Prize Essay Contest for High School students was announced by the Historical Society in May, 1924. "The Story of a Pioneer" was to be the subject; all essays were to become the property of the Society; and \$300 in prizes were offered. Fifty-nine essays, from all parts of the state, came in. Several of these were subsequently published in the *Colorado Magazine*.¹⁰¹

Monthly lectures arranged by the Society were given through 1924, as they had been presented regularly since the Society moved into the State Museum Building—with the exception of the World War period, when the auditorium was taken over by war agencies. These numerous lectures—historical, scientific, and popular—had constituted an important part of the Society's educational program.¹⁰²

(To be continued)

Cowmen in a Storm

As told by EDDIE BOIES to J. N. NEAL*

This story took place during the period when the old time cowboy considered it a disgrace to wear overshoes or washed overalls; at a time when no person dared question the honesty, courage, or loyalty of the men of the range. Eddie Boies who related the story to me was one of the best of these men.

"In October of the year 1901 the Scheu-Green Cattle Company, having sold their ranch holdings on Piceance Creek in Rio Blanco County, decided to move their herd of cattle to the desert west of Fruita for winter grazing. This would be about a six day drive if everything went well.

"The drive was to be made by Perry Boies, John White, and me (Eddie Boies). We left the ranch with plenty of help, nice weather, and everything looking fine. We got to the Bard D summer camp located on Cathedral Mountain, the highest point on the divide between Sleepy Cat Mountain and the Wasatch Mountains in Utah, on the night of the third day.

"Our helpers turned back at this point as we figured that we three could handle the herd and finish the job. We had enough

¹⁰⁰ *Biennial Report* of 1920-22, 48; and the *Colorado Magazine*, II, 56, 58.

¹⁰¹ The Curator's Report on the contest is found in the *Colorado Magazine*, II, 59.

¹⁰² The lecture subjects were listed in the Society's publications: *Biennial Reports*, *The Bulletin*, and the *Colorado Magazine*.

* Mr. Neal, who lives in Meeker, has contributed articles to our magazine previously.—Ed.

grub for supper and some breakfast so I killed a fawn to give us meat for breakfast.

"The next morning it was snowing so we started our drive early and expected the herd to make the Barrel Spring camp on the Grand River slope for the night where we would get food for ourselves and pasture for the cattle, but we had no such good luck. We had several hundred head of mixed cattle—lots of cows and calves. It kept snowing harder and harder with lots of blowing and drifting. Cattle in a storm like that will not string out, but keep on milling. The storm finally got so bad we could not see our way, so decided to shove them into the timber after fighting them all day and not making over six miles. We rustled wood and made a big fire, and stood around it to thaw out and dry our clothes as best we could. We took turns standing guard to keep the cattle from drifting off.

"We stayed in that spot five days and nights until the storm broke. Our beds were so full of snow that we could not sleep in them so we sat around the fire. We had nothing to eat and no tobacco—we missed the tobacco most of all. Each of us waited for the other to decide whether to stay with the cattle or go back to the Bard D summer camp. We did not have much choice as it was snowing so hard there was little chance that any man could find his way. Many cattle died—the loss was especially heavy in calves—and the horses became so famished they ate the dung that came from them.

"On the evening of the fifth day the storm eased up a bit so we left the herd in a snow corral four feet high made by their own milling around. We reached the cow camp late that night. There was no feed for our horses and no food for ourselves there at camp so I dug up the carcass of the deer I had killed six days before and cut some meat off of it to cook. We had no salt, grease, or cooking utensils, but it tasted good cooked on top of the stove. We used the roof poles of another old cabin for firewood. There was no chinking or daubing between the logs in our cabin, our bedding was too wet to sleep in, so we hung our blankets or soogans up around the walls to help keep out the wind and snow, and tried to keep warm. We would have frozen to death if we had taken our boots or clothes off—we just stood around all night and kept the fire going. Our short overall jumpers, "levis" and chaps had not been much protection, and I'll tell you that old cabin looked good to us in spite of its condition.

"We left as early the next morning as we could see for the Parks Ranch. We arrived there about noon, tired and as hungry as coyotes, and had the first meal we had eaten in six days. That afternoon we reached the Scheu-Green ranch which we had left ten days before.

“The next day we got our camp outfit together and a bunch of fresh horses and more cowboys and were ready to go back to try and get the cattle out to feed. The horses broke trail to the herd where we found some of the cows and many of the calves dead. It took all day to make the six miles back to the Bard D Camp. Some of the cattle couldn't make it and were dropped on the trail to be picked up later if they were still alive.



COWBOY CAMP IN RIO BLANCO COUNTY

“It took three more days to get to the Love ranch on Piceance Creek. There we worked out the ones too weak to walk to Rifle and put them on feed. The next day we started the balance of the herd for Rifle. We covered the distance of about fifty miles in seven days. The herd was loaded on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and shipped to Fruita where it wintered with very small additional loss.

“Had we been able to go over the mountain in the four days it should have taken, the cattle could have been wintered with no loss and little expense. This just illustrates the hazards of the cow business in those early days.

“I think there are only three men now living who were on Piceance Creek at that time—Joe Neal, Freddie Burke, and myself.”

I have often thought of the extreme suffering those boys endured throughout the six days and nights in that storm without food, rest or sleep, and have also wondered how our present day cow hands would react under similar circumstances. How different is the present routine! The cow hand's women folks prepare his lunch, he loads his horse into the trailer, climbs into his pickup and heads for the range. There he unloads his horse, mounts and makes

a few hours ride, eats his lunch, loads up his pony and heads for the ranch and a good hot meal. He probably will take in a picture show in town after supper.

It is certainly hard for an old veteran cowman to adjust himself to the “Great Change.” One can't help longing for the good old days when the range was free and it took several mess wagons running with “Reps” from Snake River, Bear River, Blue Mountain, Douglas Creek, and Grand River to cover the ground.