

C O L O R A D O

Heritage



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ON THE COVER

In the spring of 1870, New Mexico territorial representative Jose Francisco Chaves had introduced congressional legislation to redraw the line separating the Colorado and New Mexico territories. Under Chaves's bill, Costilla County and Conejos County—including Colorado's portion of the San Luis Valley—would become part of New Mexico. The valley's residents faced a choice: would they be New Mexicans or Coloradans?

All images are from the collections of History Colorado unless otherwise noted.

For additional content, see h-co.org/blogs and medium.com/Colorado-Heritage-Extras

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THE COLORADO ENCYCLOPEDIA

Did you know? More than 100 *Colorado Heritage* articles have been adapted for the *Colorado Encyclopedia*—a new online resource where you can find a wealth of information about Colorado history. What's in this twenty-first-century reference work on the Centennial State? Find out at ColoradoEncyclopedia.org.

Spotlight On . . .

The John R. Henderson Collection: Colorado's First Licensed African American Architect

BY ANNA MASCORELLA, TEMPLE BUELL ASSOCIATE CURATOR OF ARCHITECTURE

History Colorado is proud to announce the acquisition of the John R. Henderson Collection, consisting of architectural drawings and personal items generously donated by Henderson's son, Lynn B. Henderson.

On October 7, 1959, John R. Henderson, Jr. registered to practice architecture in Colorado, becoming the first licensed African American architect in the state. Born in Kansas, Henderson came to Denver by way of Ohio, where he worked as a city planner after completing his architecture degree at Kansas State University. In Denver, Henderson worked for such prominent firms as James Sudler Associates and Hornbein & White. In 1963, he joined the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs and worked on projects across the United States. After retiring in 1981, he went on to design several residences as a consultant, many of them represented in the collection.

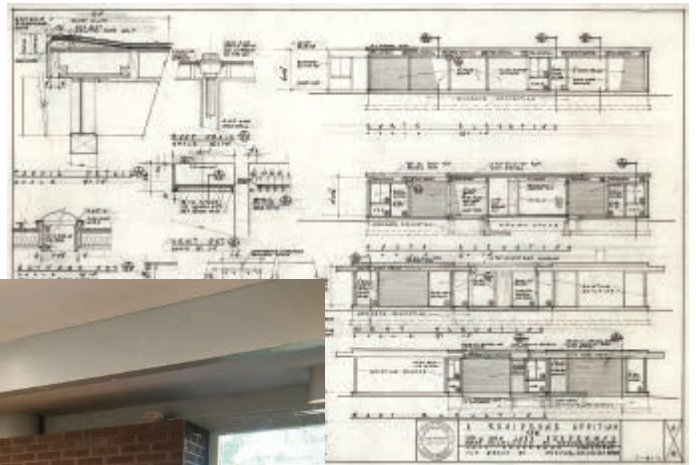
Henderson's proudest achievement was the mid-century modern home he designed for his own family at 2600 Milwaukee in Denver in the early 1960s, which was designated as a local historic landmark in 2018. The home shows the influence of Henderson's favorite modernist architect, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, with its glass walls and "less is more" aesthetic. It also reflects the legacy of the city's segregated past.

Limited on where to buy a home given Denver's racially discriminatory real estate practices, Henderson decided to build his own and bought one of the last available plots in the

Skyland neighborhood. Located on the north side of Twenty-sixth Avenue, the Henderson House sits along what was once the line of de facto segregation in east Denver; today it's the neighborhood's first landmark. The home remains one of the few designated individual landmarks acknowledging the African American contribution to Denver's built environment.

The drawings in the Henderson Collection include the plans for the home's northern wing, an addition that brought the project to completion in 1971. The drawings also depict the home's extensive built-ins, which Henderson designed to hold everything from canned goods to his wife Gloria's handbags, hats, and shoes. These details reflect the modernist principles that drove the design of the residence—one of the few mid-century modern houses to be landmarked in Denver.

We're working to make the Henderson Collection available to the public through our Stephen H. Hart Research Center. Do you know of a Colorado architecture collection in need of a good home? Contact us at 303/866-2306 or curator@state.co.us.



John R. Henderson, Elevations, A Residence Addition for Mr. & Mrs. John Henderson, 2600 Milwaukee St., Denver, Colorado, 1971. History Colorado, MSS.3129.



John Henderson in 2014 in the home he designed. Born in Wichita, Kansas, in 1921, Henderson died in Denver in June 2018. Photo courtesy Paul Brokering Photography, paulbrokering.com.



Goals for a New Decade

As History Colorado moves boldly forward, we intend to **double our impact in Colorado by 2025**. This is our moonshot.

To achieve that impact we're embracing all-new strategic goals, just one of which is to share more broadly

the diverse stories of Colorado. History Colorado intends to be a place of belonging for all. We've given that aspiration a prominent new home in the History Colorado Center's Ballantine Gallery, where new voices and perspectives will thrive—starting with the exhibit *A Legacy of Healing: Jewish Leadership in Colorado's Health Care*. Meanwhile, our Museum of Memory initiative, co-authored with communities, will reach out across rural Colorado to gather and share our citizens' most relevant contemporary stories.

Working with partners like the Buell Foundation, Gill Foundation, and Latino Leadership Institute, we've been adding new curators to our staff. They'll be hard at work across the state—reaching beyond our traditional audiences and resources to document Colorado's contemporary architecture, LGBT communities, Hispanic legacies, and more.

To share these stories we'll develop new forms of content

creation, distribution, and engagement, and we're already at work on a collecting plan that ensures we're including the voices of all.

And as we near the critical time that is the fall 2020 general election, we're preparing to host a major public engagement initiative, *American Democracy: A Great Leap of Faith*. Hosting this traveling experience from the Smithsonian—and augmenting it to tell Colorado's story—is just one way we're leaning into opportunities offered by current events.

These are just a few of the initiatives we'll implement to reach hundreds of thousands more Coloradans. History Colorado is poised to maximize its statewide impact with confidence and a grandness of scope. With your generous support, we can make it all happen.

To read more about these goals, including our plans to build long-term sustainability, invest in rural prosperity, and strengthen Colorado through education, go to h-co.org/2020goals.

Steve W. Turner, Executive Director and State Historic Preservation Officer

MISSION

History Colorado creates a better future for Colorado by inspiring wonder in our past.

OUR SITES

History Colorado Center, a Smithsonian affiliate
1200 Broadway, Denver
303/HISTORY, HistoryColoradoCenter.org

Center for Colorado Women's History at the Byers-Evans House Museum
1310 Bannock Street, Denver
303/620-4933, ByersEvansHouseMuseum.org

El Pueblo History Museum
301 North Union, Pueblo
719/583-0453, ElPuebloHistoryMuseum.org

Fort Garland Museum & Cultural Center
East of Alamosa off U.S. 160
719/379-3512, FortGarlandMuseum.org
Open: March 1 to October 31.

Fort Vasquez
13412 U.S. 85, Platteville
970/785-2832, FortVasquezMuseum.org

Georgetown Loop Historic Mining & Railroad Park®
Georgetown/Silver Plume I-70 exits
1-888/456-6777, GeorgetownLoopRR.com

Grant-Humphreys Mansion
770 Pennsylvania Street, Denver
303/894-2505, GrantHumphreysMansion.org

Healy House Museum and Dexter Cabin
912 Harrison Avenue, Leadville
719/486-0487, HealyHouseMuseum.org
Open: May 18 to October 8, or by appointment.

Pike's Stockade
Six miles east of La Jara, near Sanford, just off Highway 136
Closed for the season.

Trinidad History Museum
312 East Main Street, Trinidad
719/846-7217, TrinidadHistoryMuseum.org

Ute Indian Museum
17253 Chipeta Road, Montrose
970/249-3098, UteIndianMuseum.org

Stephen H. Hart Research Center
At the History Colorado Center
303/866-2305, h-co.org/collections

History Colorado's Collections Diversity Fellowship

The History Colorado Collections Diversity Fellowship encourages undergraduate and graduate students from diverse communities who are enrolled at an accredited Colorado university or college to explore collections-related work and the challenges within museums, historical organizations, and cultural institutions as they relate to inclusion, representation, narrative, and the workforce.

The 350-hour fellowship offers students the opportunity to work on a specific collections-based project at the History Colorado Center and is designed to engage students in the care, preservation, and interpretation of the History Colorado Permanent Collection. Fellows receive a stipend of \$4,500 to support study and research during the tenure of the appointment.

The fellowship is a proactive initiative to bring more diverse experiences and individuals into the History Colorado organization. Because cultural organizations tend to be representative of the social structures and political traditions of the groups who created them, it can take a determined effort to make their staff, programs, and collections more reflective of diverse populations. Communities need to “see themselves” in the work we do, and demographic shifts in Colorado require History Colorado and other cultural organizations to diversify our perspective in order to truly fulfill our missions.

Currently, we're offering several opportunities to complete projects to assist Curatorial Services and Collections Access staff in ongoing curatorial and collections work. These projects seek to add information and historical context to existing collection information, both for History Colorado objects and loaned materials on view in exhibits at the History Colorado Center and stored off-site. Fellows will learn how to use the various collections databases and resources utilized by museum staff.

History Colorado is seeking graduate and undergraduate students in history,

museum studies, archives management, architecture, art history, or a related program to complete and enhance these projects. Applicants must be enrolled at an accredited Colorado university or college for spring 2020. We are accepting applications until March 1, 2020.

For more about our spring 2020 fellowship opportunities, go to: HistoryColorado.org/history-colorado-collections-diversity-fellowship.



Regina Huang was the recipient of our spring 2019 Falkenberg Business Records Collections Diversity Fellowship. Originally from Taiwan, Huang recently completed a master's degree in anthropology with a museum and heritage studies concentration from the University of Denver. The Falkenberg family generously funded this fellowship to expand the interpretation of and access to History Colorado's Falkenberg Construction Company records.

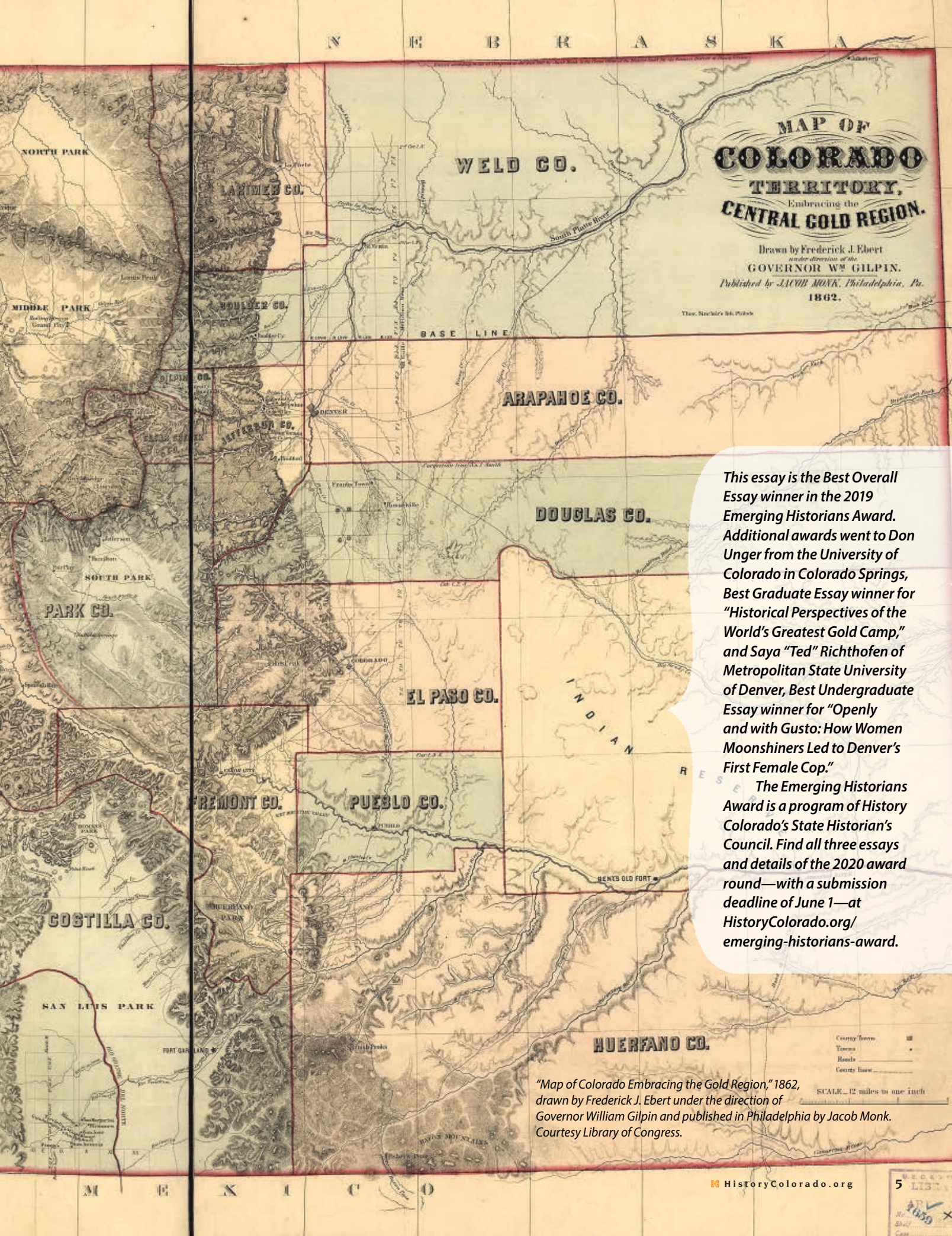
Were They Mexicans or Coloradans?

Constructing Race and Identity at the Colorado– New Mexico Border

BY JACOB SWISHER

What does it mean to be a Coloradan? A connection to snow-capped, Rocky Mountain peaks and imposing, river canyon walls is often part of the portrait, even for those who migrate to growing cities along the Front Range. For Coloradans on the Eastern Plains, a relationship to agricultural landscapes and rural communities remains important too. A diverse heritage also shapes Colorado identity—one that fuses Colorado’s American history with the state’s Spanish, Mexican, and Indigenous pasts. Currently, this cultural identity grows more expansive as Colorado continues to





MAP OF COLORADO TERRITORY, Embracing the CENTRAL GOLD REGION.

Drawn by Frederick J. Ebert
under direction of the
GOVERNOR W^m GILPIN.
Published by JACOB MONK, Philadelphia, Pa.
1862.

This essay is the Best Overall Essay winner in the 2019 Emerging Historians Award. Additional awards went to Don Unger from the University of Colorado in Colorado Springs, Best Graduate Essay winner for "Historical Perspectives of the World's Greatest Gold Camp," and Saya "Ted" Richthofen of Metropolitan State University of Denver, Best Undergraduate Essay winner for "Openly and with Gusto: How Women Moonshiners Led to Denver's First Female Cop."

The Emerging Historians Award is a program of History Colorado's State Historian's Council. Find all three essays and details of the 2020 award round—with a submission deadline of June 1—at HistoryColorado.org/emerging-historians-award.

"Map of Colorado Embracing the Gold Region," 1862, drawn by Frederick J. Ebert under the direction of Governor William Gilpin and published in Philadelphia by Jacob Monk. Courtesy Library of Congress.

County Towns
Towns
Roads
County Lines

SCALE—12 miles to one inch



experience an influx of Americans from across the United States and immigrants from around the globe.

These two characteristics—a powerful connection to nature and a diverse cultural inheritance—converge in the San Luis Valley, a small, intermontane park in southern Colorado where the state’s complex past and multicultural identity are made manifest beneath a sublime, mountainous backdrop. Today, the San Luis Valley is a Colorado landscape. But it almost wasn’t.

In the spring of 1870, the San Luis Valley’s territorial identity was up for debate. New Mexico territorial representative Jose Francisco Chaves had recently introduced congressional legislation that would redraw the boundary line separating the Colorado and New Mexico territories. Chaves aimed to move the territorial boundary from its existing location at the 37th parallel to the northern, 38th parallel and to annex the entirety of the San Luis Valley into New Mexico in the process. Under Chaves’s bill, Costilla County and Conejos County, the local administrative units governing most of Colorado’s portion of the San Luis Valley, would become part of New Mexico.¹

For Chaves, integrating Costilla County and Conejos County into the New Mexico Territory made perfect sense. *Nuevomexicanos*—a cultural group of Hispanic peoples residing in the (formerly Mexican) New Mexico Territory—made up the majority of the San Luis Valley’s settler population in 1870.² By the 1860s, however, Euroamerican immigrants began settling alongside the valley’s *Nuevomexicano* communities, a sign that the landscape’s *Nuevomexicano* identity was beginning to give way to a more culturally diverse future.³ When Chaves created legislation that would annex the San Luis Valley into the New Mexico Territory, he made an implicit cultural claim to the region’s *Nuevomexicano* legacy.

And it was hardly the first time. The Colorado–New Mexico border, as historians Virginia Sánchez and Philip Gonzales have suggested, had been central to the ongoing “demographic dismemberment” of *Nuevomexicanos* who resided in Colorado after the 1861 creation of the territory yet maintained ancestral and political ties to the New Mexico Territory.⁴ The territorial boundary, according to the Chaves Bill and preceding conflicts over the territorial status of the

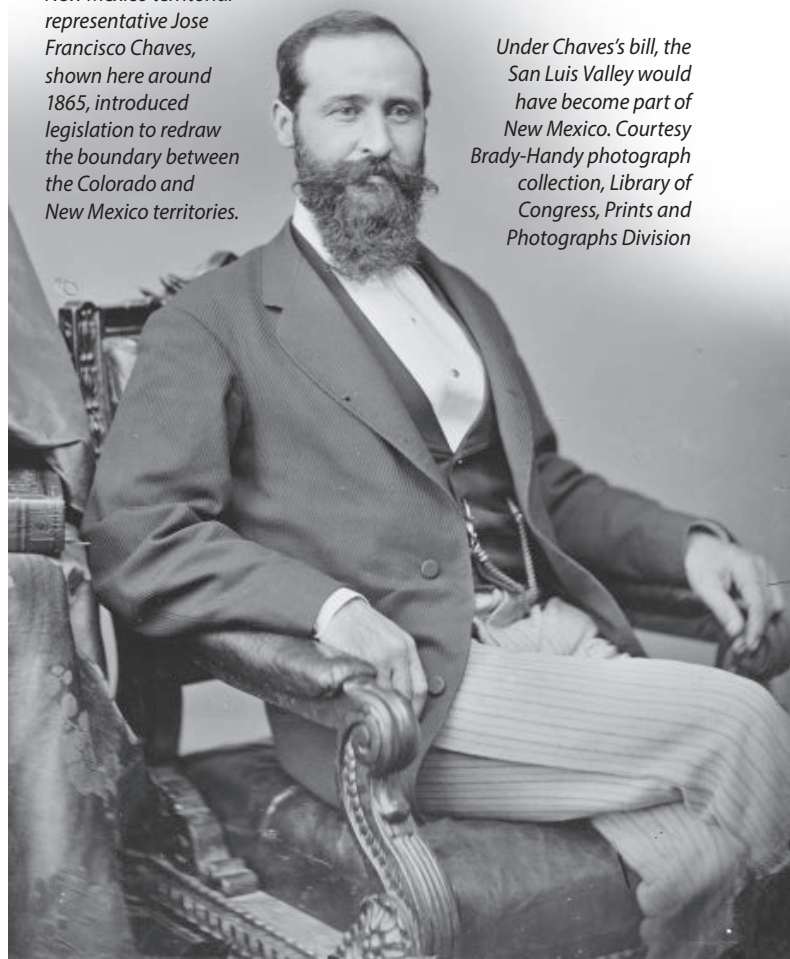
San Luis Valley, separated more than the New Mexico and Colorado territories. At stake in its location was a geographic boundary that separated Mexicans and Americans.⁵

When the Chaves Bill emerged in Washington, D.C., the residents of the San Luis Valley faced a choice: would they be New Mexicans or Coloradans? As communities throughout the valley debated Chaves’s proposal, they questioned what it meant to be, as they called themselves, “citizens of Colorado.”⁶ Outsiders weighed in as well, and, before long, public debate over Chaves’s legislation transformed into an exploration of nineteenth-century Coloradan and American identity. Though the bill eventually failed, arguments traded in the regional press made clear that *Nuevomexicanos* could never fully claim an identity as citizens of Colorado on account of cultural differences that were increasingly hardening into racial distinctions.

Nuevomexicanos in the San Luis Valley may have entered the border conflict alongside their white neighbors as citizens of Colorado, but they emerged as Mexicans.

The conflict over the territorial membership of Costilla County and Conejos County illuminates a western landscape in a state of cultural flux. In the mid-nineteenth century, rumors of mineral wealth buried in the San Juan Mountains fueled Euroamerican migration to the San Luis Valley.

New Mexico territorial representative Jose Francisco Chaves, shown here around 1865, introduced legislation to redraw the boundary between the Colorado and New Mexico territories.



Under Chaves’s bill, the San Luis Valley would have become part of New Mexico. Courtesy Brady-Handy photograph collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

By the late 1860s, however, the purpose of Euroamerican immigration to Colorado changed; Euroamericans no longer came strictly as profiteering interlopers in a Nuevomexicano landscape.⁷ Instead, they traveled as settlers keen on transforming Colorado into a distinctly American space. The Chaves Bill offered Euroamerican settlers an opportunity to Americanize—or, in this case, whiten—the Colorado Territory. Within this Americanized Colorado, Euroamericans attempted to transform Nuevomexicanos into racialized Mexicans. Nuevomexicanos experienced this transformation through a process of what historian Kunal Parker describes as being “rendered foreign” within a political territory where they had assumed themselves to be citizens.⁸ Nuevomexicanos in the San Luis Valley, however, resisted the expulsion from both the Colorado Territory and its body politic by claiming an identity as citizens—a rhetorical position which revealed that at least some non-white Coloradans believed that citizenship rights might protect them from racial subordination in the new territory.

As New Mexicans and Coloradans debated the merits of the Chaves Bill, they imbued the Colorado–New Mexico border with a racial identity that distinguished between white and nonwhite, and American and foreign, populations within Colorado. The conflict over the 1870 Chaves Bill helped to redefine Colorado as an *American* territory, and through a brief but contentious public debate, Coloradans and New Mexicans constructed race and citizenship identity together at the Colorado–New Mexico border.

In light of how borders currently inform American public discourse and national identity, the history of the 1870 conflict over Colorado’s southern border and Coloradan and American identity suggests that, in the past as in the present, race has often defined what it means to be immediately recognized as an American citizen.⁹

José Francisco Chaves was not an American by birth, having been born in New Mexico before the territory was annexed into the United States at the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexican War. Born on June 27, 1833, in Los Padillas, New Mexico, Chaves began his life as part of an influential Nuevomexicano family. Unlike poorer Nuevomexicanos in the region, however, Chaves immersed himself in elite circles from a young age when he began attending St. Louis University, a Catholic boarding school in St. Louis, Missouri, in the 1840s.¹⁰ As a member of the elementary class, Chaves went by the first name of Francis, perhaps in an effort to fit in with his American peers.¹¹

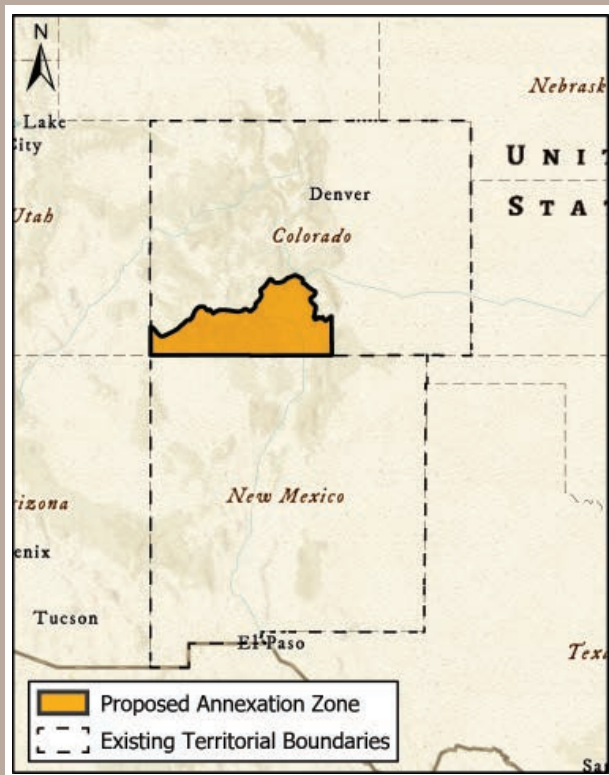
Chaves’s school records show that by the time he began boarding at St. Louis, his family had relocated to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where they cultivated political and economic influence in the region.¹² After Chaves returned to New Mexico in 1852, he found that his American education would prove useful in his political career.¹³ While his facility with Spanish helped him interact with the Nuevomexicano community in Santa Fe, the knowledge of English he gained from his American education helped him to support his neighbors in the venue that would determine their territory’s future: the United States Congress.

Chaves served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives as New Mexico’s territorial delegate. He first ran successfully in 1864 and then ran again in 1866, losing to General Charles Clever.¹⁴ Chaves ran for the third time against Clever in 1868, but the contest embroiled him in electoral controversy. At first, Clever appeared to have won the election. But H. H. Heath, Chaves’s attorney and Secretary of the New Mexico Territory, declared Chaves victorious, accusing Clever of election fraud in the process.¹⁵

This 2016 vista of Alamosa and Saguache counties in the San Luis Valley includes today's Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve. Gates Frontiers Fund Colorado Collection within the Carol M. Highsmith Archive, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Born to an influential New Mexico family, Jose F. Chaves attended St. Louis University (depicted here as it appeared in 1841), a Catholic boarding school in St. Louis, Missouri. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Archives & Digital Services.



Under Chaves's proposal, most of southwestern Colorado would be annexed into New Mexico. In total, this area contained almost 13,000 square miles of land and 4,587 Coloradans. Map and annexation zone boundaries based on Frederick J. Ebert's "Map of Colorado Embracing the Gold Region," 1862. Map by author.

As the Santa Fe press waffled between supporting Chaves, accusing him of fraud, and implying that his family connections enabled him to influence the election's outcome, Heath certified Chaves's victory.¹⁶ By the close of 1869, Chaves departed New Mexico for a second and hopefully more successful tenure as its territorial representative.

As a congressional representative, Chaves did not simply concern himself with Nuevomexicano interests within the New Mexico Territory. Although statehood remained

paramount among Chaves's goals in Congress, he also sought to reclaim the territory's lost Nuevomexicano population in the San Luis Valley. The valley is one of Colorado's four inter-mountain, high-altitude grasslands and covers an area of about 150 miles long by 50 miles across, a small, 15-mile-long portion of which resides in New Mexico. Cradled by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the east and the San Juan Mountains to the west, the valley's physical geography produces a north-south orientation that linked nineteenth-century valley populations to southward communities at Taos and Santa Fe.¹⁷

Given the imposing and generally inaccessible slope of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, valley denizens remained remote from Denver and other American settlements to the north throughout the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸ The Colorado–New Mexico boundary line, drawn along the 37th parallel, bisected the San Luis Valley and politically severed Nuevomexicano communities in the north from their neighbors to the south.¹⁹ But arbitrary latitudes scarcely reflected settlement patterns and the valley's cultural geography. As the Chaves Bill suggested, redrawing the border to annex the San Luis Valley into the New Mexico Territory offered a cartographic solution to a geographic problem.

Congressional legislation, however, only formed one dimension of Chaves's efforts to reincorporate the San Luis Valley into New Mexico. He also lobbied for support among the valley's Nuevomexicano communities. By 1870, Nuevomexicanos had lived in Costilla County and Conejos County for quite some time. Their settlement efforts began in the 1820s, but Ute bands who controlled the San Luis Valley repelled early Nuevomexicano advances. By the 1840s, permanent Nuevomexicano settlements emerged

in the southern part of the valley. These early communities included Los Rincones, populated by settlers led by Tata Atanasio Trujillo (who enjoyed cordial relations with the Utes), and Costilla, founded by settlers led by Carlos Beaubien, who had acquired title to most of Costilla County through the Spanish-Mexican land grant system.²⁰ With time, Nuevomexicano populations expanded, reaching 1,452 in Costilla County and 2,456 in Conejos County by 1870.²¹ Although American settlers and soldiers arrived in the 1860s, Nuevomexicanos retained an overwhelming demographic majority in the valley throughout the 1870s.²²

Chaves's public campaign for annexation centered on appeals to the valley's Nuevomexicano communities. In January 1870, Chaves dispatched Seledonio Valdez and Manuel Sabino Salazar from the New Mexico Territory to represent his case for annexation to communities in the San Luis Valley. In Conejos County, Valdez and Salazar engaged with valley Nuevomexicanos and lobbied for petition signatures in support of the Chaves Bill.²³ As Juan B. Jaquez, a resident of Guadalupe in Conejos County, reported, Valdez and Salazar "urged in the strongest language the immense advantages to be gained by annexation to New Mexico."²⁴ According to Valdez and Salazar, "fuller justice and less taxation" as well as "laws in the 'mother tongue'" were among the benefits that annexation offered to the San Luis Valley's Nuevomexicanos.²⁵

It is certainly possible that Nuevomexicano communities desired stronger legal protections, especially from vigilantes.²⁶ In May, just a few months after Salazar and Valdez's trip to Conejos County, local Utes discovered the body of Jose Roderigo, whom authorities had confined in the county jail based on his "reputation of being a horse and cattle thief."²⁷ Heavy rains had swept away the sand covering Roderigo's body, revealing a hole "such as would be made by a pistol ball" in the side of his head.²⁸ As Roderigo and others fell victim to frontier violence in the San Luis Valley, Valdez and Salazar's offer of "fuller justice" under New Mexican rule may have grown more appealing to valley communities.²⁹

In addition to offers of tax relief and legal protections, Valdez and Salazar also made an explicitly demographic appeal to the valley's Nuevomexicanos. Annexation, Valdez and Salazar claimed, would produce a "similitude of race" in the San Luis Valley.³⁰ Although the valley floor was not a strictly segregated landscape, towns in the San Luis Valley tended to host either a predominantly Nuevomexicano or Euroamerican population.³¹ As the clustering of Nuevomexicano and Euroamerican populations and the racialized over-


tures of Valdez and Salazar suggest, some nineteenth-century westerners viewed Nuevomexicanos and Euroamericans as distinct groups.

And, as some Coloradan responses to the Chaves Bill indicate, the possibility of "racial similitude" made the Chaves Bill desirable for white Americans as well.³²

As Coloradans considered the role of Nuevomexicanos in the territory's future, they confronted a peculiarity of the nineteenth-century American racial hierarchy: Mexicans were legally white but often racialized as nonwhite.³³ Mexicans' legal whiteness stemmed from two documents: the Naturalization Act of 1795 and the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Naturalization Act of 1795 linked whiteness to citizenship in the American legal system, stating that "any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States."³⁴ The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted Mexicans who remained in newly American territory the option to "either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens or acquire those of citizens of the United States."³⁵ By extending naturalized citizenship rights, which were only available to free white persons in 1848, to Mexican nationals, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo defined Mexicans as legally white. Citizenship rights, however, did not automatically produce claims to American identity. Some Coloradans communicated as much when they entered the debate over the Chaves Bill and argued that racial differences disqualified Mexicans from becoming Americans.

For Baden Weiler, the distinction between Mexicans and Americans was all too clear. In March 1870, Weiler, who lived in the northern San Luis Valley, used the editorial platform of Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* to inform the public that Mexicans were certainly not Americans.³⁶ Weiler insisted that the Chaves Bill provided an opportune moment to remove the Mexican population from Colorado. Much like Valdez and Salazar's claim that annexation would lead to "racial similitude," Weiler indicated that the Chaves Bill would result in a new racial geography that contained only desirable, or, in Weiler's view, white, communities within the Colorado Territory.³⁷ Although Weiler accused the San Luis Valley's Nuevomexicano populations of tax delinquency and emphasized the incompatibility of their Catholicism with the territory's Protestants, his most forceful support for the Chaves Bill surfaced in racial arguments.³⁸ In overtly racial terms, Weiler asked of his readers: "Why should the citizens of Colorado longer detain this mongrel race within their





The Commandant's Quarters of today's Fort Garland Museum & Cultural Center, built in 1858. A site of History Colorado, the museum (including five of its original adobe buildings) is where you can go to explore the history of Colorado's San Luis Valley.

The remnants of the plaza at Costilla lie just a short distance south of the Colorado–New Mexico border. Photo by John Collier, Jr., in 1943. Courtesy Library of Congress.



The Southern Counties — The Other Side.

SAN LUIS RIVER,
SAGUACHE CO., U. T.,
March, 1, 1870.

EDITORS NEWS: No public or enthusiastic demonstration was made on the arrival of the "colored members" from the territorial legislature! No joyful welcome greeted their return! And like degenerate curs they are writhing and squirming over their melancholy defeat, occasioned by Gov. McCook's veto messages, and appropriately selected (like assassins) the hour of midnight to reach their ignominious dens! Why should the citizens of Colorado longer detain this mongrel race within their borders? What actual benefit are they to this territory? We have no traffic and but little intercourse with them, their language is dissimilar as well as their religion. The translation of the laws entails heavy expense on the territory, and by referring to the territorial auditor's report (page 48) for the year ending December 31, 1869, you will find that the translation of the laws made in 1864, was at the enormous expense of \$5,840; and the revenue contributed at that time by the counties of Huerfano, Costilla, and Conejos was only \$3,792.92, just \$2,046.08 less than the actual cost of said translation. Again, the same report, (page 5,) under the head of "delinquent taxes," you will find, that both, Costilla and Conejos counties, do not occupy very envious positions! and as Gov. McCook justly states, in one of his messages, they "do not in any way improve the condition of the territorial finances!" Brought up in ignorance, they are destitute of all manly principles of honor and justice; their marketable votes will always prove a source of corruption in our legislation. Under the now pending "Chaves bill,"—lately introduced in congress—let us quietly permit them to take their exit from our borders! and return back to their first love, in New Mexico, where they properly belong! Inured to habits of indolence, there is no life, or energy among these people, which fact seriously retards the advancement and progress of this section of our territory. Who among us will mourn or deplore their departure? Adios! Conejos and Costilla.

BADEN WEILER,

EDITORIAL NOTE. We by no means endorse the opinions or spirit of the above communication, but print it to show that there is one Coloradan who

borders?"³⁹ According to Weiler, Nuevomexicanos would never truly be Coloradans or Americans on account of racial differences.⁴⁰

Weiler was not alone. Throughout the 1860s and '70s, whites consistently racialized Nuevomexicanos as a nonwhite, non-Coloradan group. In the San Luis Valley, white Americans commonly explained Nuevomexicanos' racial difference through their role in the valley's development. Ferdinand V. Hayden, a U.S. Geologist who conducted multiple surveys of the New Mexico and Colorado Territories in 1868 and 1869, suggested that the Southwest's economic potential remained untapped due to the "shiftless, slovenly manner characteristic of the Mexicans."⁴¹ Others, such as the anonymous author of a "character sketch" of a Mexican teamster, explained Nuevomexicano difference in ethnological terms, claiming that Nuevomexicanos were the "mongrel offspring of the Aztec, the Indian, and the Negro."⁴² Nuevomexicanos, at least in the imagination of Weiler and other white Americans, qualified only as obstructions to progress in the Colorado Territory.

Alongside public debate over the Chaves Bill, Weiler and his fellow Coloradans linked Nuevomexicanos' outsider status to an 1870 proposal to prohibit the territorial government from printing documents in any language other than English.⁴³ As Gonzales and Sánchez have shown, the printing of government documents in Spanish was hotly contested in territorial Colorado and, like the debate over annexation, functioned as a proxy for debates of the place of Nuevomexicanos in the Colorado Territory.⁴⁴ Nuevomexicanos' use of Spanish, Weiler claimed, not only marked them as culturally different from Colorado's English-speaking population, it also strained the territory's financial resources. Weiler cited the cost of producing government documents in Spanish at \$5,840. The Colorado counties containing sizeable Nuevomexicano populations only generated a tax revenue of \$3,792.92, which, according to Weiler, hardly justified the printing costs. Weiler hoped the Chaves Bill would bring desirable demographic change and, at the same time, would keep taxpayer monies from flowing to Nuevomexicanos whose presence "seriously retards the progress and advancement of this section of our territory."⁴⁵

For many New Mexicans and Coloradans, the Chaves Bill appeared to be an obvious solution to a cultural and racial problem. Reuniting the San Luis Valley with the New Mexico Territory offered Chaves an opportunity to prove his support for the region's Nuevomexicanos and promised Weiler and other Coloradans the white, settler state they desired to build in the American West. If Chaves succeeded, Weiler and others believed that Colorado might finally contain a racially desirable population. As Salazar, Valdez, and Weiler saw it, "racial similitude" would bring social harmony and progress for white and Nuevomexicano communities alike.⁴⁶ Local communities in the San Luis Valley, however, begged to differ.

San Luis Valley resident Baden Weiler, in the Rocky Mountain News of March 16, 1870, championed the Chaves Bill as an opportunity to remove the Mexican population from Colorado.

On February 14, 1870, the Costilla County courthouse transformed into a meeting hall where Nuevomexicano and white Costillans gathered to weigh the merits of the Chaves Bill. Community organizers decided that the bill held little advantage for Costilla County and established a committee to conduct a public campaign against annexation. The community elected Dario Gallegos, a Nuevomexicano merchant, as chairman, and Fred Walsen, a Prussian storeowner, agreed to serve as secretary.⁴⁷ The committee's plan was straightforward: unite as a community, and not as separate racial groups, to resist the Chaves Bill. Their argument, too, was very simple: they had been "citizens" of Colorado for quite some time and wished to remain as such.⁴⁸ Given the racial arguments forwarded in support of the Chaves Bill, the emergence of a multiracial coalition in Costilla County may appear surprising. But community relationships among the San Luis Valley's whites and Nuevomexicanos were hardly unprecedented.

Whites and Nuevomexicanos had relied on one another since the 1860s to maintain the valley's sheep economy. Sheep arrived in the San Luis Valley in the mid-nineteenth century alongside Nuevomexicano settlers who found the region to be ecologically conducive to sheepherding. Expansive pasture dominated the valley, and Ute hunting parties kept deer and bison populations under control and prevented overgrazing.⁴⁹ In the early period of the valley's Nuevomexicano settlement, Nuevomexicanos managed the valley's sheep population through the *partido* system. Under a *partido* contract, a wealthy sheep owner entrusted his sheep to a hired shepherd, who then raised the sheep for the length of the contract, returned an agreed-upon number of animals to the owner, and kept any surplus animals for their own use or sale.⁵⁰ *Partido* contracts locked Nuevomexicano shepherds into a labor system where they produced wool in the valley but rarely found themselves responsible for its export. When whites began settling in the valley in the 1860s, they often filled the role of the exporter and shipped Nuevomexicano wool to eastern markets at a considerable profit.⁵¹

While the sheep economy was not egalitarian—Nuevomexicanos generally performed a laboring role and whites tended to act as commercial intermediaries—it did foster interaction among the two populations. In the 1870s, valley Nuevomexicanos and whites defended one another from external influence, especially when external land developers tried to buy and develop remnants of the Spanish-Mexican land grants at the expense of local residents. Ferdinand Meyer, who, like Walsen, immigrated from Prussia and established a mercantile outfit in Costilla, led the local resistance against William Blackmore, an English financier who sought to disrupt the rhythms of the local sheep economy in the 1870s.⁵² Much like the committee opposed to the Chaves Bill, Meyer desired to maintain a multicultural landscape in the San Luis Valley as long as

Anti-Annexation Meeting.

SAN LUIS, C. T., February 17, 1870.

At a mass meeting held February 14, 1870, at San Luis, in the court house, Costilla county, C. T., the following proceedings were had:

The meeting was called to order by Fred Walsen, who explained the object of the meeting, after which Dario Gallego was elected chairman, and Fred Walsen, secretary.

The meeting was addressed by Hon. H. E. Easterday, Jesus Maria Silva and others, criticizing the action of Hon. Francisco Chavez, delegate to congress from New Mexico, and his followers, in their grand scheme of annexing the counties of Costilla, Conejos and Saguache to New Mexico.

On motion of Nasario Gallego, the following were appointed a committee to draft resolutions and to bring them before the meeting: Hon. H. E. Easterday, Juan Miguel Vigil, Jesus Ma. Silva and Fari Ignacio Ortega. During their absence the meeting was addressed by several persons. The committee returned and reported as follows:

Resolved That we, the citizens of Costilla county, do remonstrate against being annexed to New Mexico, and that we consider that the movement involves our best interests, and to be annexed would be a sacrifice to the people of this valley.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Costilla county, pledge ourselves, one and all, to oppose by all honorable means, such annexation.

Resolved, That we circulate petitions for signatures, to be forwarded, together with the proceedings of this meeting, through our secretary, to Hon. Allen A. Bradford, delegate to congress, requesting him to use all his exertions to thwart these attempts of annexation.

Resolved, That a report of this meeting be forwarded at once, to the Denver News and Colorado *Chieftain*, requesting them to publish the proceedings of the meeting, and assist us in retaining our present position as a part of Colorado territory.

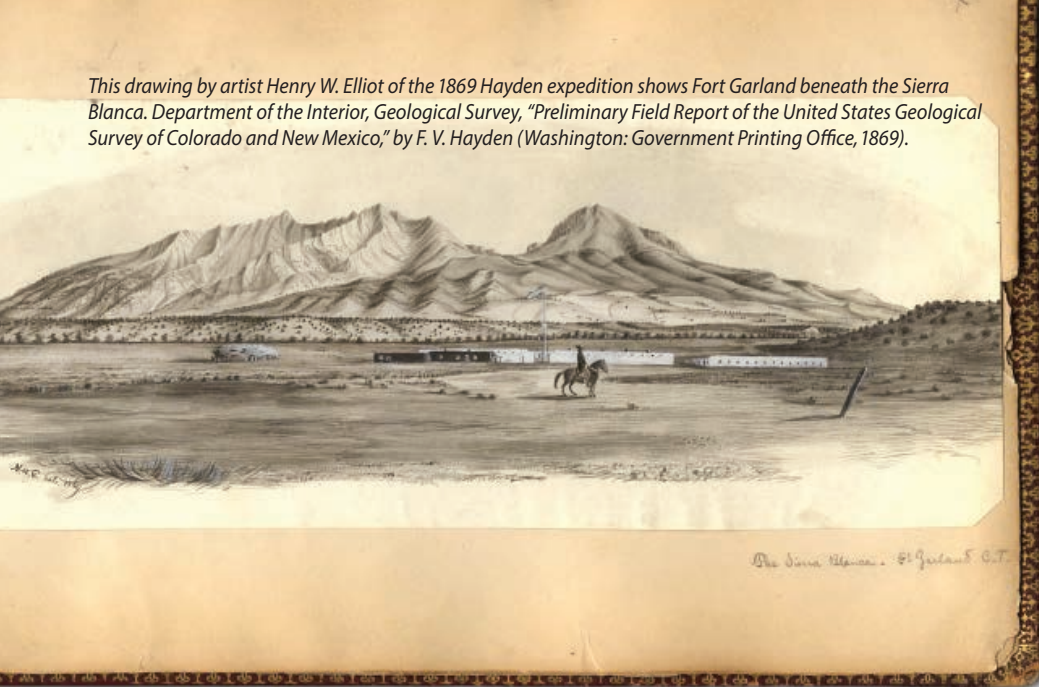
On motion of N. Gallego the resolutions were unanimously adopted. A petition was circulated and every one present signed.

On motion of Juan Miguel Vigil the meeting adjourned.

FRED. WALSEN,
Secretary.

A multiracial coalition met in the Costilla County courthouse to weigh the merits of the Chaves Bill, deciding to unite as a community to resist the bill and oppose annexation. Their argument: they were Colorado citizens and wished to stay that way. This editorial by Fred Walsen, the committee's secretary, appeared in the Rocky Mountain News of February 25, 1870.

This drawing by artist Henry W. Elliot of the 1869 Hayden expedition shows Fort Garland beneath the Sierra Blanca. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, "Preliminary Field Report of the United States Geological Survey of Colorado and New Mexico," by F. V. Hayden (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869).



it was financially profitable. And, much like Meyer, Walsen and his fellow organizers found community solidarity to be crucial to their success.

Unlike Meyer's resistance to British interlopers, which stemmed from economic relationships with Nuevomexicanos, Gallegos, Walsen, and other San Luis Valley residents rejected the Chaves Bill by making shared claims to Colorado citizenship. Referring to the group as the "citizens of Costilla," Walsen and the committee argued that "to be annexed would be a sacrifice to the people of this valley."⁵³ Moreover, the possibility of annexation produced an identity crisis among San Luis Valley residents. Claiming to speak on behalf of the valley, the town of San Luis (or, more likely, Walsen and Gallegos's committee) disseminated an editorial expressing the valley's anxiety. Valley populations, San Luis claimed, had lived for years "supposing they were citizens of Colorado."⁵⁴ According to San Luis, a new boundary line would not only prove disastrous for business in the valley but would isolate communities from the territory they considered their rightful home.

Supportive coverage of the town of San Luis's editorial campaign aligned with the community's claim to Colorado identity, and reporters who opposed annexation also referred to valley residents as citizens. The prevalence of articles advocating for the "citizens" of the San Luis Valley indicate that Weiler's racially charged support for the Chaves Bill was not shared by all Coloradans.⁵⁵ But Weiler and the citizens of Costilla shared one conviction throughout the debate over the Chaves Bill: inscribing identity categories on Nuevomexicanos—either as racial others or as fellow citizens—was also a method of defining Coloradan identity. In 1870, the Chaves Bill made clear that Nuevomexicanos

who resided within the territorial boundary would remain citizens with *geographical* claims to Coloradan identity and, by extension, to American identity as well. The debate over the bill, however, ensured that Nuevomexicanos' racialized identity would prevent them from full inclusion in the Colorado and American community.⁵⁶

The Chaves Bill died sometime in 1870, never having gained significant support in Congress or the San Luis Valley.⁵⁷ As far as

Chaves's representatives were concerned, San Luis Valley communities sent them back to New Mexico without petition signatures or support in the local press.⁵⁸ We can only imagine Baden Weiler's frustration as the San Luis Valley continued to host a sizeable Nuevomexicano population that, like Weiler, maintained a geographical and legal status as citizens of Colorado and the United States.

For the San Luis Valley's Nuevomexicanos, however, the Chaves Bill's demise marked only a temporary moment of inclusion as full-fledged members of the Colorado Territory. The racial identity that proponents of the Chaves Bill applied to them only hardened, ensuring that the racial and geographical borders of American identity driving Chaves's proposal would continue to shape the Nuevomexicano experience and sense of belonging in Colorado and the American West.

In the early twentieth century, the racial boundary that Chaves's supporters drew at the Colorado–New Mexico border resurfaced in the Arizona and New Mexico campaigns for statehood. Colorado shed its territorial status in 1876, but Arizona and New Mexico's location on, as the Chaves Bill defined it, the Mexican side of the 37th parallel delayed their statehood bids. Not unlike the debate surrounding the Chaves Bill, race played a central role in the southwestern statehood campaigns. Historian Linda Noel suggests that Arizona gained statehood more easily than New Mexico due to a white demographic majority and a statehood campaign that highlighted white control over territorial politics.⁵⁹ New Mexicans also made claims to whiteness to achieve statehood and emphasized their Spanish ancestry to highlight a shared European heritage between New Mexicans and other Americans.⁶⁰

Statehood eventually arrived in the Southwest—reaching Arizona and New Mexico in 1912—but Nuevomexicanos persisted within a set of racialized borders.⁶¹ From the Chaves Bill through the statehood campaigns, the 37th parallel transformed Nuevomexicanos from citizens of Colorado and the United States into foreigners within American (read: white) communities.

Today, the Southwest’s overt racial boundary lies at the U.S.-Mexico border, where the international boundary separates nonwhite migrants (often incorrectly homogenized as “Mexican”) from American communities. The debate over the Chaves Bill, however, continues to emerge in the American interior, where Mexican American claims to Coloradan and American identity remain unstable. In 2017, this instability met Bernardo Medina of Gunnison County, Colorado, with temporary incarceration. Medina, born in Montrose, Colorado, found himself detained in U.S. Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE) custody for three days following an appearance in Gunnison County Court. ICE officers, according to Medina, held him on suspicion that he was not, as he claimed, an American citizen, telling Medina, “you don’t look like you were born in Montrose.”⁶² Three days later, officials released Medina after an immigration rights advocate delivered his birth certificate to an ICE facility in Aurora, Colorado.

As Medina exited the facility, he walked through the Colorado landscape like the Nuevomexicanos of 1870. Medina, despite his legal citizenship, had been marked as an outsider because some Coloradans, both past and present, have racialized the region’s Hispanic community as nonwhite, noncitizens.

Although Americans who identify with the Latinx community, like the nineteenth-century Nuevomexicanos of the San Luis Valley before them, exercise citizenship rights, racialized state and international borders still mark them as possible foreigners in their own communities.⁶³ As public debate surrounding the Chaves Bill indicates, whites marked the Latinx community as a cohort of racial foreigners long before the rise of immigration controls targeting Mexican migrants in the twentieth century. State borders, and not only international ones, played a central role in the early racialization of Mexicans in the Southwest.

While the Chaves Bill calls attention to a moment of border conflict and race-making in territorial Colorado, its legacy also demands that we consider how the American interior continues to operate as a key site for the racialization of American identity. As the San Luis Valley’s frustration with

Coloradans like Baden Weiler and Medina’s encounter with immigration officials both suggest, race often supersedes legal and geographical claims to Coloradan and American identity. For Medina, certainly, the contemporary reverberations of the Chaves Bill were not without consequence.

For Further Reading

For broader context on the Nuevomexicano experience in the San Luis Valley and the Colorado Territory following the U.S.-Mexican War, see Virginia Sánchez’s *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado* (2019), Derek Everett’s *Creating the American West: Boundaries and Borderlands* (2014), and Virginia McConnell Simmons’s *The San Luis Valley: Land of the Six-Armed Cross* (second edition, 1999). On the relationship between race and citizenship identity in American history, readers should consult Kunal Parker’s *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600–2000* (2015) and Natalia Molina’s *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (2014).

The Colorado newspapers referenced in the author’s endnotes can be accessed via the Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection (coloradohistoricnewspapers.org); access those outside of Colorado via the Library of Congress’s Chronicling America database (chroniclingamerica.loc.gov). Access congressional records via the Library of Congress at memory.loc.gov.

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Gardnerville, Nevada, is a graduate student in the History Department at Colorado State University. He received his B.A. in history from Montana State University, where he developed a passion for studying environmental history and the history of the American West. Jacob’s current work at CSU investigates the mid-nineteenth-century history of the Sangre de Cristo Land Grant in the San Luis Valley and explores entwined cultural and environmental histories of race, science, labor, and identity formation in the Colorado–New Mexico borderlands. Jacob’s work has also appeared in *Montana The Magazine of Western History*.



Notes

- 1 On the particulars of the Chaves Bill as covered in the press, see *Rocky Mountain News*, February 7, 1870; the “Chaves Bill,” as local Coloradans and New Mexicans referred to it, is plausibly one of two bills, both of which Chaves introduced on January 24, 1870. The first (H.R. 954) is a bill authorizing the New Mexico Territory to create a constitution and state government in preparation for admission for statehood and includes language proposing to redraw the state boundary. It is possible, based on the geographic bounds laid out in the bill, that Saguache County would have been annexed as well. Costilla County and Conejos County, however, became the focus of public debate over the bill and, therefore, are the focus of this essay. The second (H.R. 956) only proposes a new northern boundary for the territory but makes no reference to statehood. See US Congress, House, January 24, 1870, “A Bill to Authorize the People of the Territory of New Mexico to Form a Constitution and State Government, Preparatory to Their Admission to the Union on an Equal Footing with the Original States,” H. Res. 954, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., *Library of Congress*; see also US Congress, House, January 24, 1870, “A Bill to Define the Northern Boundaries of the Territory of New Mexico,” H. Res. 956, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., *Library of Congress*.
- 2 While Conejos County stretches across southwestern Colorado, census records indicate that most of its population lived in Conejos (located in the San Luis Valley), with some recorded individuals on the Ute Indian Reservation west of the San Juan Mountains. My calculation of the Nuevomexicano population in both counties at the time of the Chaves Bill is based on a close reading of the 1870 manuscript Census records. Because the Census Bureau did not differentiate between whites and Mexicans, I have assigned a “race” to each individual living in Costilla County and Conejos County based on name, place of birth, and parent’s place of birth in accordance with how racial categories were deployed in the 1870s American Southwest. All data generated through HeritageQuest. For records on individuals living in Conejos County and Costilla County, see Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population Schedules, NARA Microfilm Publication M593, 1,761 rolls, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., accessed via HeritageQuest.
- 3 On Euroamerican settlement in the late 1850s and 1860s, see Virginia McConnell Simmons, *The San Luis Valley: Land of the Six-Armed Cross*, 2nd ed. (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999), 111–39.
- 4 Phillip B. Gonzales and Virginia Sánchez, “Displaced in Place: Nuevomexicanos on the North Side of the New Mexico–Colorado Border, 1850–1875,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (Summer 2018): 275.
- 5 Historian Derek Everett has similarly explored how race operated at the nineteenth-century New Mexico border, examining both an earlier attempt by Francisco Perea to redraw the boundary in 1865 and the importance of race to Colorado’s statehood identity. See Everett, *Creating the American West: Boundaries and Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 167–89.
- 6 San Luis, “More About Annexation,” *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), February 17, 1870.
- 7 On the shift from strict military and mining interests to permanent settlement and mineral extraction, see McConnell Simmons, *The San Luis Valley*, 125–39; see also Michael Geary, *Sea of Sand: A History of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 79–101.
- 8 Kunal Parker, *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 9 The study of the relationship of race, American identity, and borders has received promising attention by borderlands historians. This essay suggests that the Chaves Bill reflects, similar to other moments in American western history, a moment when we see race being constructed in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. On race-making in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, see Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Rachel St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.-Mexico Border* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); for a study that explores blackness in the Southwest, see James Leiker, *Racial Borders: Black Soldiers Along the Rio Grande* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002); this essay also makes use of Jared Orsi’s approach to borderlands history, in which Orsi identifies borderlands as spaces where border categories—borders of geography, race, and citizenship in the case of the Chaves Bill—are undergoing a process of “construction and contestation.” See Orsi, “Construction and Contestation: Toward a Unifying Methodology for Borderlands History,” *History Compass* 12 (May 2014): 433–43.
- 10 A detailed sketch of Chaves’s early life can be found in his obituary that followed his death by assassination (according to the press) in 1904; see “Escorted to His Final Resting Place,” *Santa Fe New Mexican* (Santa Fe), November 30, 1904; for a more detailed biographical sketch, see Maurilio E. Vigil, *Los Patrones: Profiles of Hispanic Political Leaders in New Mexico History* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), 56–62; see also William Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846–1868* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 480–1, fn1.
- 11 For records of Chaves’s attendance at St. Louis University, see Catalog of St. Louis University, vol. 1, 1828–1850, Saint Louis University Library Digitization Center, St. Louis, Missouri.
- 12 Boarding students were listed with their family’s place of residence, and the young Jose’s records list his family as living in Santa Fe by 1841; see Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Saint Louis University, Missouri, 1841–1842, Saint Louis University Library and Digitization Center; on Chaves’s family background, see Vigil, *Los Patrones*, 56–62.
- 13 “Escorted to His Final Resting Place,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 30, 1904.
- 14 On Chaves’s congressional career and the relationship of territorial interests to politics in Washington, see Howard Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History*, revised ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 116–7; see also Robert Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 91–103.
- 15 On Heath’s involvement and accusations against Clever, see “Another Trick Exposed,” *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 14, 1868.
- 16 On later accusations of fraud against Chaves, see “The Manifesto,” *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 13, 1869; on Heath’s success in securing the delegacy for Chaves, see “Another Trick Exposed,” *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*.
- 17 For an overview of San Luis Valley geography and topography, see Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply Paper 240: Geology and Water Resources of the San Luis Valley, Colorado*, by C. E. Siebenthal (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910).
- 18 On the remote nature of the San Luis Valley and the surrounding area, especially the mines in the San Juan Mountains, see Cathy Kindquist, “Communication in the Colorado High Country,” *The Mountainous West: Explorations in Historical Geography*, edited by William Wyckoff and Lary M. Dilsaver (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 114–37.
- 19 On the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Colorado–New Mexico boundary at the 37th parallel, see Everett, *Creating the American West*, 170–2.
- 20 On Tata Atanasio and the early settlement of the San Luis Valley, see Thomas Andrews, “Tata Atanasio Trujillo’s Unlikely Tale of Utes, Nuevomexicanos, and the Settling of Colorado’s San Luis Valley,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (2000): 4–41; on Carlos Beaubien and the Sangre de Cristo Grant, see Simmons, *The San Luis Valley*, 77–87; see also Herbert O. Breyer, *William Blackmore: The Spanish-Mexican Land Grants of New Mexico and Colorado, 1863–1878* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson, 1949); for an excellent overview of the Spanish-Mexican land grant system and a detailed discussion of how race operated on the nearby Maxwell Grant, see Maria Montoya, *Translating Property: The Maxwell Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840–1900* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002).
- 21 Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedules.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Valdez and Salazar’s lobbying efforts were reported to the press by local residents of Guadalupe in Conejos County, who promptly rejected Valdez and Salazar’s overtures; see Juan B. Jaquez, “From Guadalupe,” *Rocky Mountain News*, February 4, 1870.
- 24 Jaquez, “From Guadalupe,” *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 On the lynching of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the Southwest, see William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848–1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

- 27 On the circumstances of the Ute discovery of Jose Roderigo's body and the implication that he was lynched (which the press's reference to his alleged criminal behavior—it is unclear if Roderigo was found guilty or just held temporarily—appears to justify), see "Wednesday's Local Matters," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 11, 1870.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 Jaquez, "From Guadalupe," *Rocky Mountain News*. For a discussion of frontier or rough justice in the Southwest, see Durwood Ball, "Cool to the End: Public Hangings and Western Manhood," in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, edited by Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (New York: Routledge, 2001), 97–108.
- 30 Jaquez, "From Guadalupe," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 31 Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedules.
- 32 Jaquez, "From Guadalupe," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 33 In the 1860s and '70s, Mexicans increasingly occupied what James Barret and David Roediger term an "inbetween" status of non-Anglo whites in the late nineteenth century. Unlike European immigrants, who, according to Barret and Roediger, underwent a process of "whitening" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hispanos in the Southwest were increasingly stripped of their whiteness as Anglos recategorized them as a distinct, Mexican race. In effect, racial arguments in support of the Chaves Bill stripped Nuevomexicanos' citizenship claims and, with them, Nuevomexicanos' whiteness. On inbetween peoples and critical whiteness studies, which underpin my interpretation of how Chaves and others constructed the northern territorial boundary as a racial border in 1870, see Barrett and Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 3–44; see also Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Kunal M. Parker applies a similar approach in his study of citizenship law, and Nuevomexicanos north of the 37th parallel underwent a process of being "rendered foreign" in the late nineteenth century; see Parker, *Making Foreigners*.
- 34 US Congress, January 29, 1795, "An Act to Establish a Uniform Rule of Naturalization; and to Repeal an Act Heretofore on the Subject," Chap. XX, 3rd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Library of Congress*.
- 35 Mexicans' legal whiteness and their ability to attain American citizenship are codified in Article VIII of the treaty; see United States, February 2, 1848, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, *Library of Congress*.
- 36 Baden Weiler, "The Southern Counties—The Other Side," *Rocky Mountain News*, March 16, 1870.
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 *Ibid.* Gonzales and Sánchez, "Displaced in Place," 292.
- 40 Weiler, "The Southern Counties," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 41 Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, "Preliminary Field Report of the United States Geological Survey of Colorado and New Mexico," by F. V. Hayden (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), 121–2; on Hayden's scientific activity as a U.S. Geologist, see Mike Foster, *Strange Genius: The Life of Ferdinand Hayden* (Niwoot, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1995); see also James Cassidy, *Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).
- 42 "The Mexican Bullwhacker: A Character Sketch," *Las Animas Leader* (Las Animas, Colorado), November 1, 1873.
- 43 This linkage emerged in an untitled article in *The Colorado Transcript*, where the author explores the pending English language bill and indicates that, if the Chaves Bill were to succeed, the debate over the language bill would be settled by the removal of Mexicans from the Colorado Territory. See "Untitled," *Colorado Transcript* (Golden City), February 16, 1870.
- 44 On attempts to make Colorado documents appear only in English, see Gonzales and Sánchez, "Displaced in Place," 290–1.
- 45 Weiler, "The Southern Counties," *Rocky Mountain News*. On Weiler's editorial in the context of the campaign to issue the Colorado Territory's laws in English only, see also Gonzales and Sánchez, "Displaced in Place," 291–2.
- 46 Jaquez, "From Guadalupe," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 47 Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedules.
- 48 Fred Walsen, "Anti-Annexation Meeting," *Rocky Mountain News*, February 25, 1870.
- 49 On the relationship of Ute hunting to the region's ecology, see Andrews, "Tata Atanasio Trujillo's Unlikely Tale," 11–13; for a more general overview of Utes in the San Luis Valley and surrounding region, see James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); see also Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 50 On the *partido* system in the San Luis Valley, see Breyer, *William Blackmore*, 11–16; on the characteristics of the *partido* system, see Montoya, *Translating Property*, 142–3.
- 51 On the interaction of white merchants and Nuevomexicano producers—generally shepherds—see Breyer, *William Blackmore*, 107–9.
- 52 On Meyer's arrival in the San Luis Valley, see Simmons, *The San Luis Valley*, 85; on Meyer's resistance to Blackmore's efforts on the Sangre de Cristo Grant, see Breyer, *William Blackmore*, 107–16.
- 53 Walsen, "Anti-Annexation Meeting," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 54 San Luis, "More About Annexation," *Colorado Chieftain*.
- 55 The use of "citizen" was common among press reports that opposed the Chaves Bill. In addition to articles cited above, see, for example, "Daily News," *Rocky Mountain News*, March 1, 1870. The *Rocky Mountain News* also referred to the residents of the San Luis Valley as citizens in a response published alongside Weiler's editorial; see "Editorial Note," *Rocky Mountain News*, March 16, 1870.
- 56 On the relationship between racial and national identity, both of which infused Mexican identity in nineteenth-century America, see Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); see also Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848–1912* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); see also Linda C. Noel, *Debating American Identity: Southwestern Statehood and Mexican Immigration* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); for recent approaches to Mexican identity in twentieth-century American history, see Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); see also Julie Weise, *Corazón de Dixie: Mexicanos in the U.S. South since 1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- 57 It is unclear exactly when the Chaves Bill died but the congressional record does not show any movement out of committee. By mid-1870, press coverage of the bill disappears from the archival record, indicating that the bill was no longer a point of concern for southern Coloradans by midsummer.
- 58 The citizens of Guadalupe, Colorado, according to Jaquez, gave Valdez and Salazar "the mortification of being left out in the cold, with the free option of returning to their paradise in New Mexico just as soon as they see fit." See Jaquez, "From Guadalupe," *Rocky Mountain News*.
- 59 Linda C. Noel, "I am an American': Anglos, Mexicans, Nativos, and the National Debate over New Mexico and Arizona Statehood," *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (August 2011): 451–7.
- 60 Noel, "I am an American," 442–7.
- 61 Noel, "I am an American," 465–7.
- 62 Blair Miller, "ICE Agents Illegally Detained Colorado US Citizen for Days because He was Hispanic, Lawsuit Claims," *Denver7 News*, March 8, 2017.
- 63 On producing foreigners through racialization in the American interior and the importance of state borders, see Parker, *Making Foreigners*, 4–10.

Adobe Ethos: The Art, Science, and Politics of Adobe Restoration

BY MICHAEL “SPYDR” WREN
SPECIAL PROJECTS MANAGER, FACILITIES & HISTORIC SITES

History Colorado's Fort Vasquez, northeast of Denver at Platteville, is a restored trade-era fort that's home to exhibits, living-history presentations, and workshops.

A man who works with his hands is a laborer.

**A man who works with his hands
and his mind is a craftsman.**

**A man who works with his hands,
his mind, and his heart is an artisan.**

—Saint Francis of Assisi

In 2015, the Facilities & Historic Sites Division of History Colorado embarked on a journey to better understand the current state of adobe and to provide a long-term solution to the rising cost of adobe maintenance at its sites—including Fort Vasquez, a recreated adobe trading post north of Denver, and the Baca House, a two-story nineteenth-century adobe mansion in the Trinidad History Museum complex.

In total, History Colorado is responsible for the integrity and long-term maintenance of fifty buildings and 2,000 acres spread across the state, while providing a safe environment for the many visitors to those sites. A collapsed wall at Fort Vasquez provided the palette for developing new protocols and processes, led by natural building consultant and *adobero* Andrew Phillips, to address the wide array of challenges at sites populated with earthen structures.

The foundation for the new process followed four main criteria:

1. Assemble preservation specialists from all fields, who think outside the box and enjoy working in a collaborative, team-based process, to invent or reframe dynamic protocols that lay the foundation for new approaches to historic preservation. Highly valued skills included concentrated focus, innate curiosity, a high level of discipline, flexibility, a love of complex puzzles, and an innate understanding that failure leads to innovation. Finally—and paramount to success—we needed to convince the Office of the State Architect to sole-source the team.

Adobe rehabilitation—or in many cases restoration—as applied to the ten adobe structures within the State of Colorado’s History Colorado “portfolio” requires a combination of curiosity, forensics analysis, intuition, and constant adaptation.

In Japanese vernacular, the word *kaizen* refers to constant improvement. In its most basic form as applied to adobe rehabilitation, *kaizen* refers to a unique blend of art and science, developed over time while acquiring a feel for individual building design, environmental influences, and a lack of documentation over decades of attempts at solving an age-old riddle.

Most areas populated with earthen structures don’t have building codes that mandate specific standards, a situation that leads to a variety of approaches for restoring or stabilizing elements that have weakened in the constant battle with the elements. Over the years, a multitude of hands, techniques, and materials result in new matrixes that in turn create a puzzle that we must understand before remediation can happen successfully. The world of State procurement guidelines adds another layer of complexity to the process.



2. Develop a process for new adobe restoration standards, based on research of past projects, intensive forensics, testing of new protocols, close and continual observations, multi-disciplined documentation, and constant adaptation. Lessons learned from each project are the baseline for future restorations and a foundation in the development of future project requests. We needed to provide a “Twenty-Year Solution” that includes secure material sourcing, along with application techniques performed by specialists trained in Colorado adobe restoration.



The two-story Territorial-style Baca House, part of History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum, was home to two influential Trinidad families including Dolores and Felipe Baca.

3. Bring the entire adobe portfolio to “Zero Point,” or baseline, and produce a yearly maintenance plan specific to each structure.
4. Create a Colorado Adobe Education and Testing Center specific to the region, to train potential adobe specialists in new protocols, provide educational resources for partner organizations and individual owners of earthen structures, inspire future preservationists, and provide a lab and expertise for materials testing and analysis.

First and foremost was assembling a team that could develop the right kind of chemistry, with sufficient time to work through a “Discovery Period” on multiple projects

Facing: Members of the Adobe Ethos Team, from left: Clyde L. Schroeder, preservation architect; William Granda, preservation specialist; Michael “Spydr” Wren, special projects manager; Andrew Phillips, earthen building consultant/adobero.

in order to understand decades of different approaches to materials and mixes, application techniques, and, most importantly, the thought process that went into any particular restoration process.

The second challenge was substantiating our ideas to the myriad levels of State government—starting with the State Architect—while showing that our unique approach followed fiscal and procurement rules. The need to limit the number of times we returned for additional funding after “discovering” unknown issues with any given structure meant a great deal of forensic work before any actual

rehabilitation. Our team has found that research—and particularly forensics—is at least 30 percent of our projects. History Colorado is looking for ways to increase funding to incorporate this step into an ongoing operational procedure.

Finally, we provided extensive documentation in the form of written reports, photographs, videos, and cross-referenced indexes of historic documents that incorporate timelines, communications, State appropriations, and information

about all the participants of past and current restoration projects. People come and go, organizations’ philosophies change over time, and State government adds its own unique brand of challenges.

In the end, the citizens of Colorado own these historic properties, and our main charge is to provide the best means of telling the story of how we got to this point in time, for the next team charged with carrying forward State mandates and to ensure that we preserve these sites for future generations.

To see more images of the adobe restoration process at Fort Vasquez and the Baca House, go to h-co.org/adobe.



MICHAEL “SPYDR” WREN has served in a variety of roles over the past twenty-seven years, including writer, muralist, photographer, filmmaker, vignette set designer, exhibit developer, researcher, documentarian, historic preservationist, and volunteer. Adobe preservation is at the top of the list in regard to complexity and challenges.

The History Colorado Adobe Ethos Team presented at the Earth USA conference in October 2019 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, attended by 160 professionals representing more than fifteen countries.

EARTH USA 2019
10th International Earthbuilding Conference

Lens on the Past

Edward R. Baker of Fort Collins and His 1895 Pocket Kodak

BY MIKE VINEY AND BRIAN CARROLL

It's amazing how something so seemingly simple—like a camera and a batch of photos made with it—can reveal so much about a time and a place. So often, the story of a camera ends with research into manufacturers and the evolution of designs and models. But when we know exactly who owned a 125-year-old camera, it becomes a lens on the past.

Edward R. Baker's 1895 Pocket Kodak connects us to two natives of Fort Collins, Colorado, who grew up in influential families, found each other, married, and started a family. Further research into the camera and its accompanying photographs brings to light just how great a role the Baker family played in early Fort Collins.



This 1895 Pocket Kodak covered in red leather would catch *anyone's* eye, whether a camera enthusiast or novice. The Pocket Kodak was designed to make photography appealing to the amateur—affordable, and easy to use and carry. Over a period of five years, from 1895 to 1900, the Eastman Kodak Company manufactured 147,000 Pocket Kodak cameras—a testament to its popularity.

William Hall Walker and George Eastman were granted a US patent for their innovation, the “Roller-Holder for Photographic Film,” on May 5, 1885. Walker and Eastman are listed as assignors to the Eastman Dry-Plate and Film Company of Rochester, New York. Designs to accommodate roll film were an important step towards simplifying the process of photography—although the roll of film still had to be loaded in the dark.

George Eastman was granted a US patent for a new “Camera” on August 6, 1889. Eastman’s patent describes his invention as relating to “that class of photographic apparatus known as ‘detective cameras;’ and it consists in the novel form of construction and arrangement of the camera-body, the lens support and adjusting device and the exposing-shutter...” Box cameras made for roll film were an essential step towards creating a market for amateur photography.



At left is Edward Baker's 1895 Pocket Kodak, shown at approximately its actual size. The images Baker took with the camera offer a peek inside the world of two natives of early Fort Collins, Colorado. Above are two of the photos Baker took with the camera, also shown near actual size. All photos for this essay are by Mike Viney.



POCKET KODAK

Above: Mounted on embossed cardstock is Edward Baker's photo of his parents, Frederick and Elenora. Frederick came to America from England, served in President Lincoln's bodyguard corps, then moved to Fort Collins from Ohio with Elenora, a graduate of the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music. Frederick served four terms as Fort Collins mayor. Photo in the Baker family collection



Another of Baker's photos is this image of a picnic and camping trip, about 1896.



William Hall Walker and George Eastman filed a US patent for their “Roller-Holder for Photographic Film” in 1885 on behalf of The Eastman Dry-Plate and Film Company.

The Pocket Kodak utilized another important innovation that would eventually be protected with a patent. The Boston Camera Company introduced the No. 2 Bulls-Eye box camera, which used a paper-backed film, in 1892. Samuel N. Turner’s paper-backed roll film could be loaded in daylight and included printed numbers identifying the exposure frames, which could be viewed through a small window on the back of the camera. Turner was granted a US patent for “Photographic Film Roll” on May 21, 1895. He suggested using “yellow transparent material such as celluloid or glass” for the window—although red became the preferred color among most camera manufacturers.

George Eastman bought a license from the Boston Camera Company in 1894 to utilize Turner’s innovation and eventually purchased the Boston Camera Company and its patents from Turner in 1895. The Pocket Kodak was designed to accommodate either dry plates or roll film 102 with numbered paper backing. The daylight-loading spool included twelve exposures that produced 1½ x 2 inch negatives. Roll film that could be loaded in the daylight and sent to professionals to be developed immensely simplified the process of photography.

The diminutive Pocket Kodak was graced with the most up-to-date design elements necessary to attract any consumer interested in capturing life’s moments without a substantial investment of time or money. The camera was small enough to fit in a coat pocket or bag and was sold with a daylight-loading roll film, which you could send by mail to be professionally processed—all for \$5, or the equivalent of \$153.10 in 2020. Kodak ads for box cameras said it all: “You press the button—we do the rest.”

An 1895 *Kodak-ologue* description of the Pocket Kodak assured the consumer that the camera was easy to load:

The Roll Holder is extremely simple to load and takes a roll of film for 12 exposures. A red window at the back of the camera enables the operator to tell just how far to turn the key by observing the figures on the black paper which protects the film. As the film is furnished in light-tight rolls this camera can be loaded in daylight.

The two-page ad ends its pitch with, “They are elegant, artistic and durable.”

The Pocket Kodak owned by Edward Richard Baker (1879–1972) provides the rare opportunity to connect a photographer to his camera and photos. In our hands, they provide evidence that enrich research into the Baker family and their connections to Fort Collins, Colorado.

Some informed observations of Edward’s Pocket Kodak help to identify the model and date of manufacture. The round viewfinder, separate shutter board with sector shutter, and film rollers identify this camera as a third variation made in 1895. The initials “E.R.B.” are written in pencil inside the wooden box. The homemade camera case is canvas cloth and holds the lidless original box for a Pocket Kodak. The case is marked, “Ed Baker Fort Collins Colo.”

Four of Edward’s photographs have a close association to the Pocket Kodak camera. The first photo was being used as a base for the inside of the case and is mounted on plain cardstock; it’s stamped “Edward R. Baker Fort. Collins, Colo.” on the back, with “Picnic about 96” written in ink. The print measures 1½ x 2 inches, the standard size for the Pocket Kodak. Thus, the camera model combined with the photograph allow us to place Edward R. Baker in Fort Collins with a Pocket Kodak that was bought in either 1895 or 1896.

Several of Edward’s photographs are mounted on fancy cardstock impressed or embossed with the words “Pocket

Kodak.” The prints measure 1½ x 2 inches, while the cardstock measures 3⅜ by 2¼ inches. The first photograph is a portrait of a well-dressed elderly couple seated next to one another and is featured in the Baker family album. The back of the photo is stamped “Edward R. Baker Fort Collins, Colo.,” and in Edward’s handwriting says “FRB Mother.”

The image captures Edward’s parents, Frederick Richard Baker (1844–1906) and Elenora Sophronia Jackson Baker (1846–1919). Frederick was born in Spratton, Northamptonshire, England, and immigrated with his parents and seven siblings to Elyria, Ohio, in 1852. Frederick’s father, Richard Baker, was a successful farmer in England and likewise in Ohio, where he introduced a breed of shorthorn cattle to his farm.

During the Civil War, nineteen-year-old Frederick was selected as a member of the Union Light Guard, an Ohio cavalry regiment handpicked to serve as bodyguards and escort for President Abraham Lincoln in Washington, D.C. Stringent selection criteria for assignment to the guard required above-average intellect, excellent morals, and social and physical skills—traits that Frederick embodied throughout his adult life. As a consequence of serving in the Union Light Guard, Frederick was a frequent observer of proceedings at the Senate and House, was exposed to the workings of a wartime White House, had casual contact with Lincoln and other dignitaries, witnessed Lincoln’s second inauguration, and was part of the events immediately following the president’s assassination. Frederick served in the guard from December 1863 to September 1865.

At the end of the war Frederick returned to Ohio and took part in the family business. He moved to Fort Collins in 1873 at a time when Europe and America were in the throes of a financial panic triggered by investors pulling their support for the railroad industry. Apparently, Frederick saw opportunities in farming and ranching in Fort Collins—an area with a river system and a growing city. The year 1873 is a notable one for Fort Collins: Larimer County granted the community its town government; the city’s first newspaper, *Larimer County Express*, was established; a town ordinance prohibiting the sale of spirits passed; and a grasshopper plague destroyed local farmers’ crops. As an early settler of the city of Fort Collins, Frederick would establish himself as a successful farmer, rancher, businessman, civic leader, and community member.

On August 1, 1876, president Ulysses S. Grant declared Colorado the thirty-eighth state in the Union. Less than five months later, Frederick returned to Lorain, Ohio, to marry

Elenora S. Jackson in December—the newlyweds settled in Fort Collins. Elenora was a graduate of the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music. Frederick filed a homestead claim along the Cache la Poudre River, where he farmed and bred the shorthorn cattle for which his family was famous. His brother Alfred and sister Sarah Ann also moved to Fort Collins, as did some of his Ohio friends. Frederick homesteaded on property that was at the time the outskirts of Fort Collins—bounded by the Poudre River to the east, today’s Mulberry Street to the north, Elizabeth Street to the south, and Lemay Avenue on the west, partially encompassing today’s Poudre Valley Hospital. The Bakers also purchased land that is now in the vicinity of Lindenmeier Lake on the northern edge of the city.

Edward Richard Baker, Frederick and Elenora’s only son, was born in February 1879 on their farm southeast of Fort Collins.

Baker’s camera in its homemade case (shown smaller than actual size).





Edward's future wife Ella May Vandewark was sixteen when he took this portrait in 1896.

Facing, top: Edward's photo of a "Doc McClain" shows an otherwise unidentified man camping "Near Sheep Creek."

Facing, center: In Edward's photo of "Owl Canyon Camp" in July 1899, May Vandewark is third from the left. May and Edward married in 1902.

Facing, bottom: Three young women cool their feet in a river. May is at far left.

Frederick became a devoted Fort Collins resident, taking leadership roles on boards and commissions, as a director of the First National Bank, and as a founder and trustee of the First Presbyterian Church. Elenora served as the church organist when it was located at Linden and Walnut streets. Frederick served as a Larimer County commissioner from 1890 to 1893. On January 16, 1890, the *Fort Collins Courier* said of Frederick, "He is to-day without doubt the wealthiest and most successful farmer in Larimer county and one of its best citizens. He is an excellent businessman, careful and methodical in all that he does." He served as mayor of Fort Collins for four terms, from 1895 to 1902. Lincoln Park and the Carnegie Library building were conceived during his time as mayor—testaments to his engagement in a growing and culturally maturing city. While his original homestead, later occupied by Edward, is just a memory, two of his homes, at 103 Sherwood and 304 Mulberry, still stand in Fort Collins.

Frederick died in 1906, and his obituary reads in part, "He was a man of earnest convictions, strong in his advocacy of the right, and fearless, persistent enemy of the wrong."

A second photograph mounted on Pocket Kodak cardstock has "May" written in ink on the back. A young woman sits poised on a rock wearing lace-up boots, a dress, and a wide-brimmed hat. Ella May Vandewark was sixteen years old when Edward took her portrait with his Pocket Kodak in 1896.

May, a native of the Fort Collins area, was the youngest daughter of Elmore Elliott Vandewark and Elizabeth Vandewark. Elmore, like Frederick, was a Civil War veteran. He enlisted in April 1861 and was assigned to Company A of the 3rd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Elmore was reported missing at Chancellorsville in 1863, but later found to have been wounded and taken prisoner. He was mustered out in July 1865.

The Vandewarks moved to Fort Collins from Beatrice, Nebraska, in their covered wagon in 1873, the same year Frederick Baker arrived, bringing along infant daughter Emma Viola and their two sons, Willis Elliot and James Finley. The Vandewarks settled in Pleasant Valley northwest of Fort Collins. Elmore made his living as a farmer and they added two more children to their family: Florence in 1877 and Ella May in 1880. May was a graduate of the high school program in Fort Collins, housed on the second floor of Franklin Elementary School, and briefly attended Colorado Agricultural College in 1900. She was awarded a Colorado State Teachers Certificate good for schools in

Larimer County in March 1901 and for a short time taught on a ranch near Livermore.

A third photograph mounted on Pocket Kodak cardstock is stamped “Edward R. Baker Fort Collins, Colo.” on the reverse and has “Camping” written in pencil and “Near Sheep Creek Doc McClain Partners” in ink. A man poses next to a covered wagon near a tent set in a mountainous region. The name “Doc McClain” is a bit of a mystery; however, our research did identify a doctor D. A. McLean who served as Larimer County Coroner from 1896 to 1898. Mrs. D. A. McLean is credited with helping to secure \$12,500 from the industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie to help build the Fort Collins Carnegie Library in Lincoln Park.

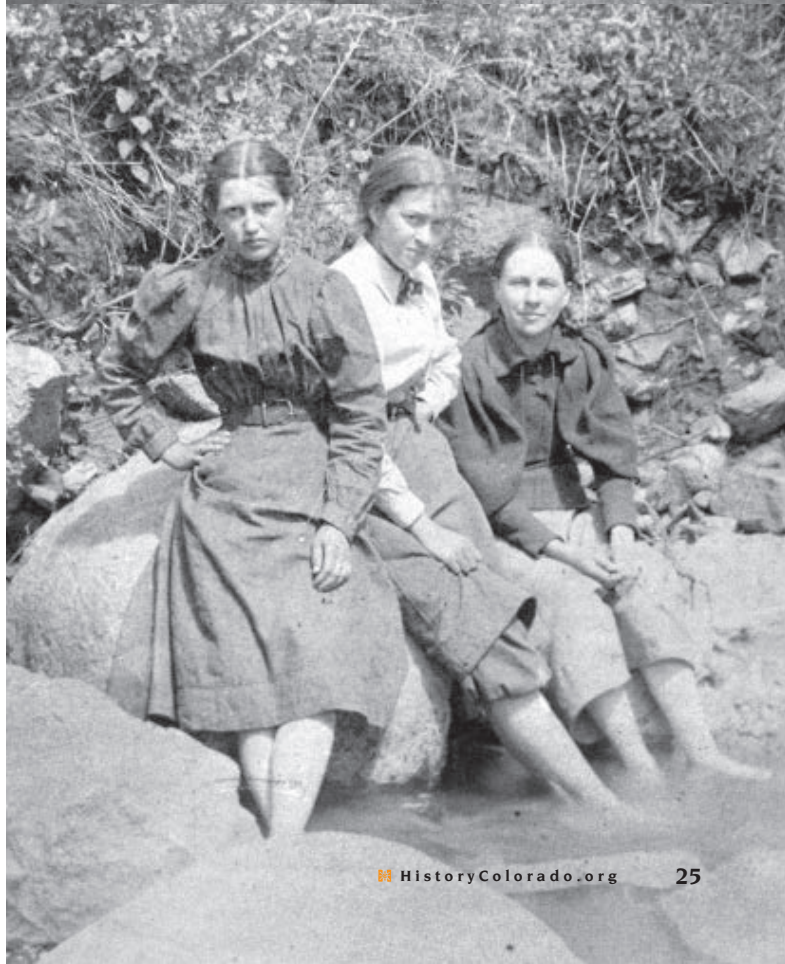
Edward’s habit of stamping the back of his photos with his name, city, and state frame the images in place and time. An album containing larger photographs, measuring approximately 3¾ x 4¾ inches, relate his life’s trajectory. Although negatives from the Pocket Kodak could be used to make enlargements, it’s also possible that these images were contact prints made from a different camera using a larger film size.

The first photo is marked with the date “7/19, 99” on the front, while on the back is stamped “Edward R. Baker Fort Collins, Colo.” and written in cursive with ink, “1st Camp, Owl Canyon, 1st camping trip 99.” Three women sit around a campfire, while a man stands next to a tent. A covered wagon is in the background. May sits between two young, unidentified women around a camp stove, while an unidentified man stands in front of a camp tent.

Additional pictures in the same album indicate the first camping trip of 1899 was up the Poudre Canyon. For example, there are pictures of the Poudre Narrows and Chambers Lake.

A second photograph in the album shows three young ladies with their feet in what is most likely the Poudre River. This photo must have been a favorite of Edward’s as he printed two: one pasted onto white cardstock and another on grey cardstock, both with fancy embossed edging. The photos are stamped on the back with “Edward R. Baker, Fort Collins, Colo.” May is on the left and seems to be wearing the same dress as in the earlier portrait; here, the photo has been cropped in order to show the three women more clearly.

A third photo in the album is stamped “Edward R. Baker, Fort Collins, Colo.” on the back and in ink is “At the Narrows 1899.” The photo shows two couples. On the left sit Edward R. Baker and May Vandewark. The couple to the right is unidentified. At the time these photographs



were taken, from 1896 through 1899, Edward was attending classes at Colorado Agricultural College.

May was 19 and Edward 20 when they went camping with their friends up the Poudre in 1899. Three years later, on June 11, 1902, they married in Fort Collins. The wedding took place in Frederick and Elenora's house on East Mulberry. Frederick built the house in 1895 at a cost of \$4,500 when he became mayor, and the photo of Frederick and Elenora was taken in this house. This residence, known today as the Baker house, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978. Edward and May Baker would make Fort Collins their home.

Edward and May's only child, a son they named Richard, was born in July 1910. The federal census for that year lists Edward and May's address as "North Fossil Creek, Larimer, Colorado," and Edward's occupation as "Farm Owner," while the Fort Collins City Directory has their address as "Riverside 1st s of Myrtle" and his occupation as "Farmer."

According to family oral history, Edward Baker and Richard Andrew Bradley formed a partnership to sell Great Smith automobiles in Fort Collins—a venture that did not fully materialize. Still, the family album includes pictures of Edward's Great Smith auto. Edward and May loved adventure and took auto trips at a time before many highways were established—one all the way to Salt Lake City. Edward reminisced about how the men would repair tires at night while the women cooked around the campfire.

In 1913 Edward and May moved to 330 West Oak. (Today, a parking lot occupies the space, but the house was moved in the 1970s to LaPorte Avenue, where it still stands.) City and county directories indicate that Edward continued to farm and ranch through at least 1925.

According to family documents, correspondence, and travel records from around 1919, Edward and childhood friend Stuart Bennett Garbutt bought some land in Culiacán, Mexico, with plans for agricultural development—plans that were supposedly thwarted due to revolutionary activities associated with Pancho Villa.

Interestingly, Edward, May, and Richard appear on the manifest list of the SS *Matsonia* sailing from San Francisco on June 10, 1925, and arriving at the Port of Honolulu, Hawaii, on June 16. One month later, the family once again appears in the manifest of the *Matsonia*, sailing from Honolulu to the Port of San Francisco. Perhaps this trip represents a big adventure the family took just before Edward transitioned to a new profession.



In this photo labeled "At the Narrows 1899," May Vandewark and Edward Baker are the couple at left.

Edward is listed as president of Fort Collins National Bank in a 1927 city directory. In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, Edward closed the bank—but not before "all the depositors were paid off, with eight percent interest, and stockholders were paid," according to his 1972 obituary and confirmed in interviews with family. Edward transitioned to a new job as president of the Water Supply and Storage Company. He made some of the original surveys on the Grand River Ditch, an ambitious canal built between 1890 and 1936 to divert water from the Never Summer Mountains across the Continental Divide at La Poudre Pass down to Long Draw Reservoir. The Grand River Ditch was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976.

During World War II, Edward worked at the Denver Ordinance Plant run by Remington Arms in Lakewood, Colorado. The company produced half of all the ammunition made in the United States.

May Baker died in 1951. Rather than remarrying, Edward turned his attention to their only son, Richard, and his family as well as his interests in all things mechanical. Marcia May Baker Dawdy remembers her grandfather Edward's metal shop and some of his inventions, including an automatic garage door opener and secret electronic locks for doors to the house. Richard worked in Fort Collins as a purchasing agent, as director of parks and recreation, and as an assistant city manager. After retiring in 1968 he became



The final photo in Edward Baker's album is this Fourth of July outing in 1899. Photo in the Baker family collection.

Ed Baker sits at the wheel of his Great Smith auto in the mountains near Fort Collins in November 1912. May and their son Richard are in the back seat with their friend Jessie Searing and her daughter. Edward owned a No. 4 Folding Pocket Kodak model B by then, which may have been used to take this photo. Photo in the Baker family collection.



well known as a local historian. Edward not only became a caretaker of his family's history; he also joined his wife in the caretaking of his father.

The camera is an amazing invention. The original film photography captured the fleeting play of light with light-sensitive silver salts. The resulting image recorded a moment in time. Many catalogued cameras and archived photographs are lost in time—detached from any realities that would help us connect them to past lives. But here, the camera is truly a lens on the past.

A final image transports us back to the emergence of Edward and May's life together: a sunny Fourth of July day in Fort Collins, Colorado, in 1899.

For Further Reading

Marcia May Baker Dawdy, granddaughter of Edward and May, and her husband Roger Dawdy have helped preserve this history by donating Civil War-era family artifacts to the Fort Collins Museum of Discovery. The authors thank Marcia for sharing her family history. See also B. Carroll and M. Viney, *The Civil War Diary of Frederick R. Baker* (Johnston, Colorado: Old Army Press: 2019); Andrew J. Morris, ed., *The History of Larimer County, Colorado* (Curtis Media Corporation, 1985); and B. Coe, *Kodak Cameras: The First Hundred Years* (Cincinnati: Seven Hills Books, 1988). Find a detailed timeline of Fort Collins history (a collaboration of the Fort Collins Museum of Discovery and the Poudre River Public Library District) at history.fcgov.com/timeline.

MIKE VINEY completed a thirty-year career teaching science in Poudre School District in 2017 and works at the Education and Outreach Center in the College of Natural Sciences at Colorado State University. He is the creator and webmaster of the Virtual Petrified Wood Museum and the Virtual Apple Parer Museum. Viney is editor of the International Society of Apple Parer Enthusiasts newsletter.



BRIAN CARROLL had a twenty-seven-year career as a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and served as adjunct professor at the University of Denver in its Security Management program and as president of Carroll Security Services. Using guiding principles learned throughout his career, he has applied attention to detail and thoroughness in his historical research. He is a sought-after speaker on northern Colorado history.

History Colorado's New Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation

History Colorado has announced the opening of the Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation—a preservation education center headquartered in Leadville at the Healy House Museum and Dexter Cabin. The center will create and oversee a preservation education program open to the general public, and serve as a resource for preservation information and training to homeowners, business owners, developers, students, and interested novices across the state and region.

We spoke to the center's director, Janell Keyser, to ask her about it. Here's what she had to say:

What's the Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation?

It's History Colorado's new initiative to increase preservation trades and education about preservation trades around the state and also within the Mountain West region.

So, it's not just for people in Colorado?

Actually, it's open to whoever would like to attend. I held a historic windows workshop in Trinidad, and a person from New Mexico attended. Colorado has a really strong preservation program, and people know that Colorado is a leader across the country. So, they look to us to do things like this.

Why do we need a Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation?

There's an urgency. More and more people are retiring from the preservation trades who've been doing the work for a long time. We can't expect them to work forever. So, we need to make sure that people coming into choosing or changing careers understand that preservation trades give people a really great opportunity to own your own business if you choose. There's opportunity to work on significant buildings in Colorado and contribute to preserving our historic fabric.

Who can participate?

Anyone! We're building a curriculum to cover a variety of topics and training components. Some will include hands-on components while others might be more classroom focused. Anyone who has a general interest in preservation trades is encouraged to attend.

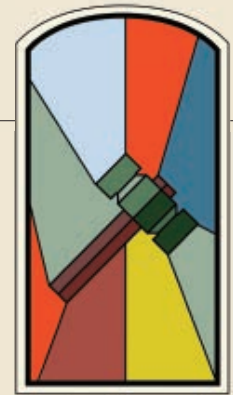
Are you only going to hold workshops in Leadville?

The Leadville area will be the focus for a lot of our summer workshops, but this is a statewide initiative, so we want to reach folks in all areas of Colorado. We want to travel to different communities with specific projects they want to tackle. So, serving as many communities outside of Leadville as possible is our goal. And we need people to help us get the word out!

Where should people go for more information?

Easy! First, join our Facebook Group; it's a community of experts and preservation lovers sharing information about upcoming workshops and exchanging general information about preservation trades. You can always visit our offices at the History Colorado Center. The preservationists there can connect you with more information.

For more about upcoming workshops and ways to get involved, visit HistoryColorado.org/rocky-mountain-center-preservation, call 720/584-1720, or email Janell.Keyser@state.co.us.



Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation



Janell Keyser, the director of History Colorado's new Rocky Mountain Center for Preservation

New Listings

In the National Register of Historic Places and Colorado State Register of Historic Properties

The National Register of Historic Places is the official list of the nation’s historic places worthy of preservation.

Wagon Wheel Gap Hot Springs Resort

Creede vicinity

First established in 1877, the Wagon Wheel Gap Hot Springs Resort originally featured a log bathhouse and a two-story wood-frame hotel. In 1883, the tracks of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad reached the area and a depot was promptly built nearby. By 1906, with investment from the D&RG’s founder, General William Palmer, and the Wagon Wheel Gap Improvement Company, the resort featured a remodeled hotel, guest cottages, a Mission-style bathhouse, a recreation hall, a dairy and horse barn, and a fish hatchery. Under new ownership beginning in 1944, the resort transformed from a Victorian health-oriented resort of rest to one offering a nostalgic, idealized version of the “Old West” complete with cowboys, ranching, and activities to match, reflecting the evolution of tourism and recreation in Colorado’s high country. In addition to the impressive Mission-style bathhouse, the resort includes several excellent examples of Rustic-style architecture from the early 1900s through the 1950s.



Wagon Wheel Gap Hot Springs Resort

National Register of Historic Places

Hannah Barker House

Boulder

White Spot Restaurant

Denver

Tammen Hall

Denver

Kelley House

Loveland

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and Medina Cemetery

Medina Plaza

Star Filling Station

New Raymer



State Register of Historic Properties

Kelley House

Loveland

Denver, Northwestern & Pacific Railway Depot

Kremmling

Red Feather Lakes Post Office

Red Feather Lakes

Von Long/Slagle House

Fort Collins vicinity

Sacred Heart Church

Fruita

State Bank of Raymer

New Raymer

Mary Murphy Tramway Romley Terminal

St. Elmo vicinity

Palmer Lake Town Hall

Palmer Lake

Bennett House

Fort Collins

Do you know this building?

- | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Where is it? | 2. Who built it? | 3. When was it built? |
| a) Swink | a) Omaha-Grant Company | a) About 1883 |
| b) Pueblo | b) Ohio and Colorado Smelting and Refining Company | b) About 1892 |
| c) Salida | c) Colorado Fuel & Iron | c) About 1906 |
| d) Globeville | d) Holly Sugar | d) About 1917 |

Answers on page 30

Do you know this building?

Continued from page 31

BY AMY UNGER,
NATIONAL AND STATE REGISTER HISTORIAN



Answers: c) Salida, b) Ohio and Colorado Smelting and Refining Company, d) 1917

Completed in 1917, the Ohio and Colorado Smelting and Refining Company Smokestack dominates the hay fields and grazing land near Salida. Standing 365 feet tall, it is an engineering marvel, constructed of red brick and tile reinforced with standard-gauge railroad rails and iron rods. The concrete foundation extends 30 feet below grade to bedrock, the walls of its massive octagonal base are six feet thick, and its circular chimney is 17 feet in diameter at the top. Touted as the tallest smokestack west of the Mississippi when first built, the gigantic structure stands as a poignant reminder of the pivotal role mining played in Chaffee County's early development—and the power of local preservation advocacy.

In 1901, the New Monarch Mining Company formed the Ohio and Colorado Smelting and Refining Company to build a smelter that could service the mining districts in Chaffee County and the surrounding region. Smelters processed ore transported from the mines and mills to extract the valuable metals.

Centrally located along the Denver & Rio Grande rail line, Salida offered an ideal location for a large-scale smelter. The 80-acre Ohio and Colorado Smelting complex was finished in 1902 and originally featured two brick smokestacks—150 feet and 85 feet in height—and employed 250 men, many from Austria, Greece, and Italy. The majority of the workers and their families lived in Kortz, an adjacent townsite named for company president John C. Kortz and more commonly known as Smelertown.

By the mid-1910s, it was clear to many that emissions from the smelter's smokestacks were killing trees, damaging crops, and sickening livestock. Under pressure from local residents, the company began construction of a soaring new smokestack that would allow it to process larger shipments of ore and presumably release the dangerous gases at a less-harmful height. After the third smokestack's completion, however, financial difficulties and falling mineral prices hampered operations, and the smelter permanently closed in 1920. The two smaller smokestacks were dismantled along with other parts of the complex, and the bricks were salvaged to construct homes in Salida.

When the historic structure was threatened by demolition in the 1970s, the Salida community rallied to save it. In 1973, members of the Save Our Smokestack campaign successfully halted demolition and worked with Chaffee County to develop an alternative plan. The Salida Museum Association took over ownership, and in 1976 the smokestack was listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Thanks to the community's efforts, it continues to stand proudly as an important monument to the local mining industry and the Smelertown workers.

Good to Know

National or State Register listed properties may be eligible for investment tax credits for approved rehabilitation projects. Listed properties may also be eligible to compete for History Colorado State Historical Fund grants. These grants may be used for acquisition and development, education, and survey and planning projects. The next nomination submission deadline is May 31, 2020. For information, call 303/866-3392.

For more about these and all National and State Register properties in Colorado, visit HistoryColorado.org/national-state-registers.



To Serve the Need of Every Creed: The Power of Rose

The History Colorado Center partners with the historic Rose Medical Center to bring to life the exhibit *A Legacy of Healing: Jewish Leadership in Colorado's Health Care*.

“From its very inception, the General Rose Memorial Hospital has borne upon its brow the stamp of dedication,” reads the hospital’s 1958 annual report. “The Jewish community of Denver sponsored this entire effort and dedicated the hospital to the ideal ‘serving the need of every creed.’”

That’s still the vision today in the year of the hospital’s seventieth anniversary. Throughout the decades, the hospital has never been afraid to do as its namesake did: lead from the front. It remains uncompromising in doing the right thing for its patients and community, even if that’s radical or unprecedented. The result is a power that can only be found in doing right.

News broke that General Maurice Rose, a Denver son and the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the U.S. Army during World War II, had died in combat. Rose was known for his aggressive style of leadership, directing his units from the front rather than a rear command post. With news of Rose’s passing making national news, the Rose Medical Board knew it had an opportunity to both create a new Jewish hospital and memorialize a fallen hometown hero.

Rose’s distinction of being America’s first postwar, privately sponsored hospital, and the first in Denver to admit physicians based solely on their professional credentials regardless of race or religion, marked just the beginning of many innovative milestones.

One of the provisions made to ensure the vision remained uncompromised was the creation of the Rose Community



Courtesy Beck Archives, University of Denver Libraries



Courtesy Rose Medical Center

Foundation, born out of the proceeds from the sale of the hospital



to HCA Healthcare in 1995. The foundation works to enhance the quality of life of the greater Denver community through its leadership, resources, traditions, and values.

In line with the foundation’s commitment to education, *A Legacy of*

Healing tells the story of the Jewish community’s impact on Colorado’s health care system starting in the late 1800s with the tuberculosis crisis up to today, with Rose Medical Center leading the way in women’s health and obstetrics.

We give a special thanks to Rose Medical Center for being lead sponsor of *A Legacy of Healing* and to Rose Community Foundation for supporting the exhibit’s educational programming.

A Legacy of Healing is on view in the Ballantine Gallery through April 2020.



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In every issue of Colorado Heritage, we'll field your questions about our collections, your own collections, Colorado history, archaeology, or historic preservation.

Q: *Here's a question we get all the time: What's the oldest town in Colorado?*

A: And here's the answer, courtesy of Devin Flores, digital storytelling coordinator at our Community Museums.

It depends on who you ask, and—more importantly—how you phrase the question. The first problem is: what defines a town? If by “town” you mean permanent settlement, then the oldest in Colorado is likely one of the many Ancestral Puebloan sites scattered around the state.

“There are sites in Saguache County on the north end of the San Luis Valley [in south-central Colorado] that were likely inhabited as far back as the Late Archaic,” says Dr. Nicholas Saenz, a professor of history at Adams State University. “Ancestral Puebloan sites, like Mesa Verde, in the Four Corners region warrant consideration.”

“Do forts count?” he continues. “If so, there are more recent claimants. Bent’s Fort was probably in operation from 1833 until it was destroyed. Located in downtown Pueblo, the site known as El Pueblo operated from 1842 to 1854, when it, too, was destroyed. But none of these sites were continuously inhabited to the present.”

So if by “oldest town” you mean the oldest still-inhabited settlement, then all of those are disqualified.

If you’re referring to places that still have residents, or the first settlements made by European (Anglo or Hispanic) settlers, or even the first settlements legally recognized by a colonial government, then that brings us back to a specific region: the historic San Luis Valley.

For many years two valley settlements—Garcia and San Luis—were the center of controversy over which would be formally recognized as the oldest town in Colorado. Both took shape around 1849 as Mexican settlers started building permanent habitations. And while it’s difficult to say which had those habitations first, it’s relatively easy to check official records and documentation. San Luis was officially incorporated as a town by the Colorado Territorial Government in 1852, the first place in the state to gain such recognition.

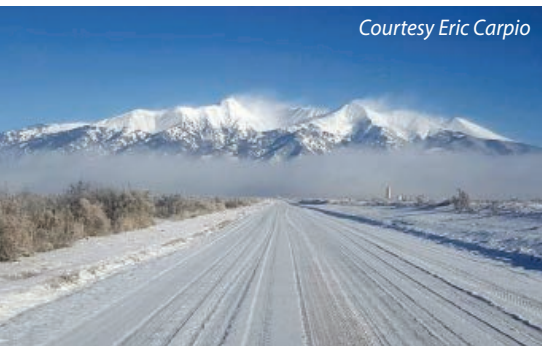
“Incorporation brings with it a kind of status,” explains Saenz, “and a notable paper trail.”

San Luis was also the first town to receive official water rights from the territorial government. And

since Garcia has never been incorporated as a town in all 170 (and counting) years of its history, the State of Colorado officially declared San Luis the oldest still-inhabited town in the state.

Still, “There’s a general understanding that all of the Hispano settlements of the southern San Luis Valley are among the oldest in the state,” Saenz says. “That claim makes an important statement about the centrality of those communities to the emergence of Colorado as we know it today. It refigures how we think about Colorado history.”

For more about the settlements of the San Luis Valley, including insights from longtime educator (and valley native) Dennis Lopez, go to h-co.org/oldesttown.



Courtesy Eric Carpio



Do you have a question for History Colorado? Send it to publications@state.co.us, and please put “Ask History Colorado” in the subject line.

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In 1879, just three years after Colorado achieved statehood, Governor Pitkin established the State Historical Society (today's History Colorado) to collect and preserve items related to the state's identity. Today, History Colorado's Society 1879 honors those whose estate gifts will help preserve Colorado's past for generations to come. Estate gifts come in all shapes and sizes. Options exist. Contact Cheyenne Johnson at 303/866-4845 or Cheyenne.Johnson@state.co.us.



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