

HISTORY *of* COLORADO

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CHAPTER XVI

BANKING IN COLORADO

By Henry Swan and Allan Herrick

INTRODUCTION—GOLD DUST BANKING—THE FIRST BANKS—THE CLARK & GRUBER MINT—EARLY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS—PANIC OF 1893—PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT.

With the prospectors seeking gold in our mountains in 1858 and 1859 there was little need for banks. Most of these Argonauts were poor. Their wealth consisted only of their personal belongings, supplies and provisions. They had little money and there was little need for any. The great West was yet to be opened to industry and commerce. In general it was uninhabited, save for wandering tribes of Indians. The scattered traders carried on their business by barter and in the primitive state of development of the western country no banking services were in demand.

With the discovery of gold, however, all was changed. The population of the Mountain West grew by leaps and bounds. Thousands of prospectors poured into the district. Many of them were men of position and influence, possessing some wealth, and attracted by the glamour of frontier life and the possibilities of winning greater wealth in the new community. Others were business men attracted by the opportunity for carrying on trade in the gold region.¹

Horace Greeley visited the gold diggings in the summer of 1859. He estimated that there were five thousand people here, with five hundred more arriving daily. The two settlements along Cherry Creek which were to merge into Denver, were estimated to have a population of several thousand people. A saw mill was erected, and this changed

¹ W. F. Stone, *History of Colorado*, 393.

the appearance of the early settlements by allowing modern construction in which rough hewn logs were not the chief building material. A newspaper made its appearance. Rapid communication by stage line was established with eastern points. Business in freighting and general merchandise was brisk, and, as might be expected, before long the need for a bank became apparent.

But before banking, comes need for a medium of exchange. In the pre-settlement days in Colorado, when the fur trade was the one industry of this region, there was need for a medium of exchange among the hundreds of trappers and traders employed here. The commodity most universally desired and which best fitted the needs of exchange was the beaver skin. By common consent this became the measure of value, the medium of exchange.² With these hairy banknotes all the primitive needs of the trapper could be supplied, and each season packs of beaver-skins were floated down the streams or carried on pack horses to the trade emporium at St. Louis to exchange for 'trappers' supplies. But the fur trade business declined and was largely forsaken in the forties, more than a decade before another and better medium of exchange was discovered beside the same streams where trappers had set their beaver traps. Thus, before the coming of the miners the country was again practically deserted.

The first gold prospectors and the early settlers had little actual money. Those who came later brought some money from the East, but this rapidly found its way back in exchange for necessary commodities needed in the West. As the community developed a real need for a medium of exchange arose. The discovery of gold met this need at once. Gold was of high value for its bulk; was of the same material as the coins in circulation in the East, and was available in rather substantial quantities. It immediately became, in the form of gold dust, the accepted coin of the realm in the West. Every prospector soon carried a small buckskin bag in which he kept his current supply of gold dust. In addition many carried on all occasions a small pocket scales on which the gold dust could be measured

² See above, Chapter VI.

out. The stores, of course, were supplied with a larger and more accurate scales.³

While the "dust" met the early needs of the community quite satisfactorily, it had certain defects as a good medium of exchange. To begin with, the process was very wasteful, as it was difficult to measure the dust accurately. Still, the lowest price of any article was twenty-five cents, and a very accurate measure was not essential. Furthermore, a difference in the grade of gold was considerable. The process of retorting was very crude, and there were many impurities in the gold, such as copper, quicksilver and iron in the form of black sand. It must be recorded also that the gold dust sometimes contained brass filings which were difficult to distinguish from the dust and added to its weight. This probably made up for the fact that the miners complained of the merchant's scales as being slightly in favor of the house. In addition to the natural impurities resulting from the process of retorting, there was a difference in the gold itself. The purest of the gold was of bright yellow color. The place from which the gold was obtained therefore added or detracted from its value.

With so many varieties of gold being circulated, the pioneer merchants found it necessary to have some knowledge of the yellow metal in order to carry on their business. The grading of the dust, its care and protection, and its shipment to Missouri River points, became an essential part of their business. So important did it become that, in many instances, the early banks in the community were the outgrowth of the gold-buying activities of the early merchants.

The need for some standard of gold dust became so urgent as the community grew that, in the spring of 1861, the Denver Chamber of Commerce established rates at which the dust was to circulate. Central City took a similar step. The prices in current use were as follows:⁴

³ Stone, *History of Colorado*, 392.

⁴ *Rocky Mountain News*, May 8, 1861. The schedule agreed upon at the Chamber of Commerce meeting was signed by 190 business men. Miners complained that the prices fixed were too low and the *News* subsequently records that prices above the schedule were generally current. The effort had the effect, however, of cleaning up the dirty gold.

	Price per Ounce
Blue River Gold.....	\$20.00
French Gulch, Humbug, Fairplay, Nigger and McNulty Gulches.....	17.00
California Gulch.....	16.00
Clear Creek Dust.....	17.00
Russell Gulch.....	15.00
Best Retort Gold.....	15.00
Common Retorted and Dirty Gold..	12.00

Nuggets and small bricks of gold also had some use and value in exchange. Here again the difficulty of obtaining a standard was great. The nuggets were rubbed on a smooth stone and valued according to the brightness of the gold. The bricks were sampled at the corners. Counterfeiting of the latter became prevalent, a pure article being placed in the corners, and the balance of the brick being of a baser material. The nuggets, too, were counterfeited with brass filings mixed with gold, but this practice was not greatly successful.⁵

The use of gold dust as a circulating medium continued for a number of years. In 1860 a private mint was established in Denver. About this time a number of merchants began to issue scrip in the form of small paper notes of small denominations. The Legal Tender Act was passed in 1862 and Treasury Notes began to make their appearance among the miners and merchants in 1863.⁶ Gold dust then began to disappear, but its use continued long after other mediums of exchange were available.

THE FIRST BANKS

The first firm to engage in the purchase of gold dust from the miners, was the firm of Samuel R. and George W. Brown and G. W. Wells, who opened for business in June, 1860, in a log building on Larimer Street, Denver.⁷ Samuel Brown soon left the country, but George Brown

⁵ Stone, *History of Colorado*, 392.

⁶ J. J. Knox, *History of Banking in the United States*, 829.

⁷ Their advertisement appears in the *Rocky Mountain News* of June 20, 1860, as "Brown, Brother and Co., Bankers."

continued in business for many years and later became the first Collector of Internal Revenue for Denver.

Another early banking institution in the city was the firm of Turner and Hobbs, bankers and brokers. They opened for business in the same month as the Brown Brothers, and had as a senior partner in the firm, Mr. William H. Russell of the freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell. The firm of Turner and Hobbs was of short duration, the project being abandoned in the summer of 1861. Other early firms to engage in banking were the firms of C. A. Cook and Company; Clark, Gruber and Company, who established the first mint; Warren Hussey and Company, and Dr. O. E. Cass. A number of these firms drifted into banking from the mercantile business, and a number of them issued scrip, or engaged in the minting of coin on a small scale.⁸

The requirements for the successful conduct of banking in those early days were two-fold. In the first place, the banker must have a general knowledge of gold dust, its qualities and grades, and its value as a speculative commodity. In the second place, satisfactory connections in the East were necessary whereby the dust could be forwarded to Missouri River points on which drafts could be drawn. During the latter period of what might be called "Gold Dust Banking," profits were occasionally very large owing to the rapidly mounting value of gold as a result of the Civil War. At times the price of gold would advance fifteen, twenty and even thirty per cent while in transit from Denver to New York.⁹ The express charge on gold in early times, from Denver points to the Missouri River was five per cent of its value. To avoid this heavy charge many brokers sent the gold East by coach passengers, who were trusted friends of the brokers. The amount paid for this service was a matter for individual agreement. It was the difficulty and burden of protecting gold shipments that led to the establishment of that unique Western institution, the Clark and Gruber mint, about which more will be said later.

⁸ Stone, *op. cit.*, 393-5.

⁹ F. Hall, *History of Colorado*, Vol. III, 166.

Some idea of the difficulties and hardships attendant upon banking in the early days may be gained from the following account of a trip East with gold dust and sight exchange, during an Indian outbreak. The story is told by Thomas T. Cornforth, who made the trip.¹⁰

"Scrip," or "shin-plasters," were issued by a number of early banking houses in the West. C. A. Cook and Company was one of these firms. This institution grew out of a mercantile business established in Denver in 1859. It developed into a gold buying business, which in 1860 and 1861 led into a regular banking business. The firm issued small engraved notes in denominations of ten, twenty, twenty-five and fifty cents and one dollar.¹¹ The scrip

¹⁰ *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. I, 253-4.

We finally got away about eight o'clock in the morning. We drove all day, reaching Living Springs about eight o'clock, and found the Station deserted. We fed and rested the horses, then drove on and arrived at the Station about two miles northwest of present Fort Morgan. This was kept by Charles Emery, who reported that the Indians had been very numerous in that neighborhood for thirty days. Here we rested for two or three hours, got six fresh horses, and after driving all night reached Valley Station kept by Moore Brothers, before we succeeded in getting another change of horses. We left very shortly and drove to Spring Hill Station, thirty-six miles from Julesburg. Here Ed Lewis was in charge and urged us not to go further, for the Indians had burned the Hackley ranch twelve miles ahead, destroyed a wagon train, and torn down the telegraph line for two miles. However, we concluded to take the chance and in the afternoon pulled out and had no trouble in reaching Fort Sedgwick. Taking a few hours rest, we continued with two additions to our passenger list, Mr. Majors of Russell, Majors and Waddell, and his son.

We drove forty miles without change of horses to Midway Station and succeeded in getting another change. We then proceeded to Cottonwood, about fifty miles distant, where we found about 100 U. S. Cavalry soldiers camped. They, too, advised strongly against our continued journey, telling of a number of Indian killings a short way eastward. Again we put out and reached Pat Malley's ranch, where we changed horses, and from there made Fort Kearney without special incident.

¹¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, November 13, 1862.



FIRST MINT IN COLORADO

Erected in 1860, Sixteenth and Market Streets, Denver

formed a substantial part of the medium of exchange in the territory until 1863, when it was all redeemed. Another firm to issue scrip was Clark, Gruber and Company, who established the mint. They issued five dollar notes which had "on the lower right hand corner an admirable likeness of Governor Gilpin."¹² The notes were payable at the firm's office in Denver. A third firm to circulate currency was the firm of P. P. Wilcox and Company, which was organized in 1861.¹³ They issued fractional currency in denominations of ten, twenty-five and fifty cents. The currency was poorly printed on cheap paper, and it is believed that a considerable amount of it was destroyed and not presented for redemption.

Paper money of the various local firms began to disappear as war-time paper money came into the country. It was not until 1865, however, that local national bank notes came into use. The issuance of paper money had some advantages to the issuing house, but great disadvantages as well. After the fire in 1863 there was a great call for the redemption of the paper money of C. A. Cook and Company. Mr. Jasper P. Sears, who was a member of this firm, had saved the cash in his burning store at the risk of his life. When the notes of his firm were presented for redemption, they were able to pay them all in full, but the lack of confidence and general attitude of the public disheartened them, and they refused to issue more of the fractional paper.¹⁴

THE CLARK AND GRUBER MINT

Several times mention has been made of the early mint operated in Denver by Clark, Gruber and Company. This is one of the most interesting financial institutions of all time, and a brief description of it will be given here.¹⁵ The

¹² Ibid., August 3, 1861.

¹³ J. J. Knox, *History of Banking in the United States*, 831.

¹⁴ Hall, *History of Colorado*, Vol. III, 164.

¹⁵ This account is based on items in the *Rocky Mountain News* and on complete descriptions of the early mint found in Hall's *History of Colorado*, Stone's *History of Colorado*, and Knox's *History of Banking in the United States*.

Clark and Gruber mint sprang from a banking firm operating as Clark, Gruber and Company at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1858. In 1859 they were purchasing considerable quantities of gold from the Rocky Mountains. They were paying five per cent express charge on the gold dust, and five per cent on the coin and currency exchanged for it. In addition it was necessary to employ messengers or guards each way. In view of these high costs, it occurred to Clark, Gruber and Company that it would be profitable to establish a mint in Denver. This would save the cost of transporting gold in and out of the country. The miners could bring their dust to the mint and could be paid in return with a minted coin of known weight and fineness. Attorneys for the banking house investigated the situation and discovered that there was no legal obstacle to the plan. It was not proposed to copy the United States gold coins, but to issue an original coin bearing the name of the banking house. When it appeared that the plan was entirely feasible, Mr. M. E. Clark, one of the two brothers who were members of the firm, proceeded to Boston and purchased the necessary dies and machinery. These were shipped direct to Denver and arrived in the winter of 1860. A building was already under construction, and by summer machinery had been installed and the plant was ready for operation. The mint was opened July 20th, 1860.¹⁶ The first coins were made from the native dust without alloy, in denominations of ten and twenty dollars. On one side was a rough illustration of Pike's Peak, and on the other, the name of the firm, "Clark, Gruber and Company." The first coins were not very successful. They were soft and showed abrasion very quickly. Accordingly, in 1861, the firm ordered a complete new set of dies in denominations of \$2.50, \$5.00, \$10.00 and \$20.00. The new dies were similar to those used on United States coins, except that they contained the words, "Pike's Peak" on one side, and "Clark, Gruber and Company" on the other. These new coins contained the same amount of alloy as the Government pieces, but had one per cent more gold. These

¹⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, July 25, 1860. The machinery and dies of this mint are on exhibit in the State Museum, Denver.

coins immediately passed into circulation, and because of the excess amount of gold, commanded a premium wherever they were known.

The early mint prospered. The principles on which it was established were sound, and the saving in transportation was very great. Gold could be purchased one day and coined the next, when the money went into immediate circulation. The mint soon opened a branch agency in Central City and payment was made for gold purchased in any form desired. The Clark and Gruber coins were popular throughout the region. They gave the miners full value for their dust, and greatly relieved the problem of obtaining a suitable medium of exchange.

Colorado became a Territory in 1861. This brought the territory into closer communication with the organized government which prevailed in the East. It became apparent, therefore, that the Clark and Gruber mint, a private institution, could hardly continue in operation indefinitely, even though no law was being violated. Accordingly, the organizers of the mint lent every effort to obtain a branch of the government mint at Denver, a scheme proposed by the first Republican convention held at Golden in July, 1861. Mr. Austin M. Clark, of the firm, went to Washington with the Hon. H. P. Bennet, the Colorado delegate, and laid the matter before the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase. Mr. Chase submitted samples of the coins to the Director of the mint, and to the Attorney General. The Director of the mint pronounced them very creditable coins, and the Attorney General rendered an opinion stating that no law was being violated by their issuance. Nevertheless, the Secretary felt that this was a matter which was solely for the government to undertake. Accordingly, he reported in this fashion to Congress and asked that he be empowered to purchase the plant of Clark, Gruber and Company and install a Government mint in its place. A bill to this effect was introduced by the Colorado delegate, and he was actively supported in his efforts by the Clarks and Gruber. The bill was passed (approved April 25, 1862) and the Clark and Gruber mint passed out of existence. In its two and one-half years of operation it struck about three million dollars worth of coins. It rend-

ered a service of the highest character to the growing community. No man ever lost a dollar as a result of its transactions, and early writers give testimony to the fact that throughout its career it lived up to the highest principles and traditions of the banking business.

The Clark and Gruber mint was the most successful institution of its kind in the West. There were two others in Colorado, however; one was the mint of Dr. John Parsons, which was started in 1861.¹⁷ Little is known of Doctor Parsons. He is reported to have come into South Park from Quincy, Illinois. He coined \$2.50 and \$5.00 gold pieces. His mint was at Hamilton, in South Park. Another mint was that of J. J. Conway and Company.¹⁸ The coins struck by this mint circulated quite freely for a time, and then gradually disappeared.

EARLY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Fifteenth Street, near Market, was the early bankers' row of Denver. We read in the *Denver Commonwealth* of June 25, 1863: "F [Fifteenth] near McGaa [Market] is aping Wall Street. All the Bankers are congregating there. Clark and Gruber, Warren Hussey, C. L. Bartlett are doing business in the vicinity, and now Cass and Eaton are building on the opposite corner. It will be the court of the money changers."

With the passing of the Clark and Gruber mint, Colorado entered upon the last stage of the early pioneer period. Soon regular banking institutions began to be established. Kountze Brothers, a firm of Eastern bankers, established an office in Denver. The First National Bank opened in 1865.¹⁹ With the founding of these institutions, the smaller private banks and gold dust brokers disappeared. Banks ceased to be founded to meet the urgent and unusual needs of a unique mining community, but became similar in character to the old established institutions of the East.

It was not to be expected that the pioneer days should

¹⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, June 27, 1861; September 24, 1861.

¹⁸ Stone, *History of Colorado*, 394.

¹⁹ Knox, *History of Banking in the United States*, 831.

disappear quickly, however. Indian warfare continued; the West was still isolated from the East by many miles of uninhabited prairie. Some idea of the difficulties of the times may be gathered from the instances which follow, relating to the founding of the first banks.

One of the first institutions to open its doors was that of Kountze Brothers.²⁰ The first reference to this institution appeared on November 29th, 1862, in the *Rocky Mountain News*, under the heading, "Personals." The item read, "We are pleased to note the arrival in our city of Mr. Luther Kountze of the Omaha Banking House of Kountze Brothers, who comes to take up his residence and go into the banking business among us." This was followed by another item on December 2d, which read:

New Banking and Exchange House.—Mr. Kountze, from Omaha will open today or tomorrow, at the corner of Blake and F. Streets, in Cheesman and Company's brick store, an exchange and gold dust office. He will pay the highest figures for gold dust, in exchange for coin, Treasury notes, and first-class bank currencies. Mr. Kountze is a gentleman of high business character, substantial, straightforward and solvent for anything and everything he may do.

The new bank remained in its location until the spring of 1863, when its building was destroyed by fire. In the spring of 1864, it moved into a brick building of its own at the corner of 15th and Market streets. Among its prized possessions were an eighteen hundred pound safe, and steel vault weighing 1,200 pounds. These constituted the most pretentious banking equipment which had been installed by any bank in the city. The safe and vault were transported from Omaha by oxen, the trip requiring thirty-five days. An interesting incident in connection with the trip is the fact that on top of the vault was a bed containing a sick girl. Her father was in Denver, and she had insisted that she would rather die on the way here than remain in Omaha. During the long trip of over a month she fully

²⁰ This account is taken from "Denver in Early Days," published by the Colorado National Bank in December, 1922.

recovered and finished by walking into Denver ahead of the oxen.

The first bank in Denver to be opened under the National Banking Act was the First National Bank of Denver.²¹ It opened for business on May 10th, 1865. Two of its original stockholders were Austin M. Clark and Milton E. Clark of Clark, Gruber and Company, founders of the private mint of Clark, Gruber and Company. About two years after the bank was founded it elected as Cashier, Mr. David H. Moffat, Jr., and the influence of this man was to be felt in the business life of Colorado for many years to come.²²

Stirring incidents continued to be a feature of Colorado banking for many years.²³ The dangers of travel, the long distances to the East, and the unusual requirements of the new Territory, frequently made strange precautions necessary in banking affairs. When the first bank was started in Gunnison County—it being, by the way, the first bank west of the Continental Divide in Colorado—the problem of transporting a safe and sufficient cash to open the bank into this region was a serious one. The problem was finally solved by hiring out Sam Gill, one of the organizers of the bank, as cook and general roustabout for a gang of freighters. The bank's capital, amounting to \$25,000, was then locked in the safe, and arrangements made to transport it by wagon from Saguache. The trip was safely made; Mr. Gill, in addition to his duties as cook, taking pains to see that nothing happened to the safe and the contents therein.²⁴

The period which followed the establishment of legitimate banking in Colorado was not such as to inspire any great hopes for the future of this region. Business was quiet, both during the war and a number of years afterward. Even when the great western movement began it

²¹ "The First National Bank of Denver," a historical booklet published by the bank.

²² Hall, *History of Colorado*, 169.

²³ E. C. McMechen, *The Life of Governor Evans*, 128.

²⁴ From "Banking in the Days of the Gold Rush," published by the United States National Bank of Denver, 1925.

was some years before Denver began to feel the effects of it.²⁵

In 1870, however, business became brighter. The Kansas Pacific Railroad was completed, and Denver was connected by rail with the Union Pacific at Cheyenne. These events led to optimism, and the period extending to 1873 was one of progress and advancement for the region. During this time a number of new banks were established, both in Denver and in other cities throughout the State. A few beginnings in savings banking were made in Denver. The Denver Savings Bank was opened in 1871, and the Colorado Savings Bank in 1872. The Thatcher Brothers Bank was organized at Pueblo in January, 1871, and in June of the same year the bank took the name of The First National Bank of Pueblo. Banks were opened in Northern Colorado cities as well. At Greeley the first bank was established by H. T. West and Company in 1870. Banks were opened at Boulder and Longmont in 1871, and in 1872 the beginnings were made toward the establishment of what is now the First National Bank of Colorado Springs.²⁶

In 1873 came the monetary panic of that year. It spent its full force in the East, but it had its effect, nevertheless, on the pioneer community in the West. In the fall of the year the three National Banks in Denver suffered a decline in deposits of over three-quarters of a million dollars.²⁷ No banks closed their doors, however, nor did any suffer any impairment of credit. The chief harm resulting from the panic was the general slowing up in business for several years thereafter. It crippled the construction of additional railroads in the territory, and postponed many other undertakings. Real estate suffered a considerable shrinkage, and this fact was the most noticeable effect of the panic in Colorado. In some respects the panic was beneficial, since it brought to the territory many business men of ability who had been caught in the panic of the East and came to

²⁵ A review of business conditions during these early years may be found in the Annual Report of the Denver Chamber of Commerce for 1884.

²⁶ Details of the founding of many Colorado banks may be found in Stone's *History of Colorado*, 404-408.

²⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, 208.

make their home in Denver in the hope of building a new fortune.

In 1874 and 1875 the growing agricultural interest of the State suffered a severe setback as a result of a plague of grasshoppers. From that time on, however, business began to revive until 1878, when mining in the Leadville territory set the State into a period of great prosperity.

From 1878 to 1883 was a period of mushroom growth for Colorado. The population of the city of Denver jumped to 36,000 in 1880 and (from there) to 75,000 in 1884. New industries of all kinds sprang up to meet the demands of the growing population. New banks were opened in Denver, deposits increased, and the business and financial life of the State appeared vigorous and healthy. In 1884 the State suffered a slight recession in business activities. It was only temporary, however. The next year progress again began and the period which followed until 1890 was one of the most active in the history of the State. It was during this time that the Denver National Bank, which was later to become one of the large banks of the city, was founded. The first President of the bank was Mr. Joseph A. Thatcher, a Colorado pioneer who had organized the First National Bank at Central City ten years earlier.

In 1885 the leading bankers of Denver met at the request of the Chamber of Commerce and formed a Clearing House. The Minutes of the meeting were written in a bold, flowing hand, such as was once the pride of American business in days before the typewriter was in common use. The Secretary records that the following banks were represented at the organization meeting:

First National Bank, by D. H. Moffat, Jr., President, S. N. Wood, Cashier; Colorado National Bank, by W. B. Berger, Cashier; German National Bank, by J. A. Cooper, Cashier; City National Bank, by John R. Hanna, Cashier; Denver National Bank, by J. A. Thatcher, President, A. A. Denman, Cashier; State National Bank, by E. T. Wright, Cashier; Union Bank, by W. D. Todd, Cashier.

Mr. J. A. Thatcher was made temporary chairman, and on October 30th, 1885, the first meeting was held. A Constitution and By-Laws were adopted, and officers elected, as follows:



1. FEDERAL RESERVE BANK AT DENVER
2. UNITED STATES MINT AT DENVER

D. H. Moffat, Jr., President; C. B. Kountze, Vice-President; E. P. Wright, Secretary; W. D. Todd, Treasurer.

Thus was formed an Association which was to play an important part in the building of a strong financial community in Colorado. At the close of 1885 the Denver Clearing House banks had deposits of \$9,000,000.

The year 1887 was another good year for Colorado, and the annual reports of the Chamber of Commerce for the period show a tremendous increase in the business wealth of the city. The State at large was being developed on a tremendous scale. From 1879 to 1889 the area under cultivation increased from 200,000 acres to 800,000 acres. The population of the State increased at an even more rapid rate. From 39,000 in 1870, it increased to 194,000 in 1880. In 1890 it was 314,000. The increase in wealth and banking resources was on a scale that has seldom been equalled.

By 1890 the business leaders of Colorado had every reason to be optimistic. The state had enjoyed a period of almost unbroken prosperity for twenty years. There had never been a bank failure in Denver worthy of the name, the early institutions which had failed being very small and of little account in the financial life of the city. Banking growth, while rapid, had been reasonable. The City of Denver in 1884 had seven banks, five National and two State. In 1890 this had increased to twenty banks—eleven Nationals, six Savings and three Trust Companies.²⁸ All branches of trade were expanding.

THE PANIC OF 1893

It was in that same year, however, that the first signs were seen of the stringency which was to bring disaster upon Colorado two years later. "It must be admitted as the truth that the stringency which affected the Eastern and Middle States has been felt in business circles here, but not sufficiently as to cramp enterprise or interfere to any extent with business interests." So wrote the President of the Denver Chamber of Commerce in his annual report for the year 1890. It was not long, however, before signs of the coming disaster began to appear. The great fight over the

²⁸ Annual Report, President of the Chamber of Commerce, 1891.

silver question was on in earnest. The Sherman Act had been signed by the President in July, 1890. By the spring of 1893 the gold reserve of the government began to reach the danger point. The people of the country at large began to have fear that the Legal Tender Notes in circulation might not be redeemed at their full value. Gold was hoarded and began to disappear from circulation.²⁹

It was at this period of uncertainty that the Denver Clearing House undertook a bold step. As a means of showing their confidence in the Legal Tender Notes, the Clearing House banks offered to deliver to the government a large quantity of gold and to receive the Legal Tender Notes in exchange. The manner in which the offer was made is interesting.

On Thursday, March 2, 1893, the Clearing House Association met and delivered to the Associated Press representative in Denver, the following resolution:³⁰

WHEREAS, reliable information has been received that a report has gained circulation in the East that the Colorado banks, and especially the Denver banks, are hoarding gold.

AND, WHEREAS, such report is untrue and, in our opinion, is circulated for the purpose of injuring the cause of Silver.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Denver Clearing House Association hereby pledges itself to exchange with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, One Million Dollars in Gold Coin for a like amount of Legal Tender Notes, the Legal Tender Notes to be delivered in Denver at the time of such transfer.

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Denver Clearing House Association be, and he is hereby instructed to send a telegram to the Honorable Senators Teller and Wolcott in the name of the Denver Clearing House Association, to the following effect:

"You are authorized to offer, on behalf of the National banks of Denver, to the Secretary of the Treasury, One Million Dollars in Gold Coin in exchange for a like amount of Legal Tender Notes, the exchange and delivery to be made in Denver. This offer to stand good for one week from date."

²⁹ W. O. Scroggs, *A Century of Banking Progress*, 239.

³⁰ *Rocky Mountain News*, March 3, 1893.

This offer was made in good faith. It was accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury and actually carried out.

It was too late, however, to stem the tide against silver. The people of the country believed that the purchase of silver bullion at the rate of four and one-half million ounces per month, as provided in the Sherman Act, to be paid for in paper currency, was responsible for the depression in business and the decline of the government's gold reserve. When the mints of British India were closed to the coinage of silver in June, the price of the metal declined rapidly.³¹ This occurred just at the time this country feared it might go on a silver basis.

Heavy withdrawals on all American banks began very shortly. Soon banks in Boston, New York and Philadelphia refused to honor drafts drawn by their interior correspondents. There appeared to be an actual shortage of money. In the summer of 1893 the storm broke in full force.

Withdrawals from Denver banks became heavy. On May 24th the Associated Savings banks of the city met and decided to limit the amount of cash payable to one person at \$50. Before the rule went into effect the amount was reduced to \$25. Thirty to sixty days' notice was to be required on the withdrawal of larger sums. At this time withdrawals so heavy as to amount to a run had been in progress at the Peoples Savings Bank for a day and a half.

Matters continued in this troubled state until July 2nd, when the Commercial National Bank and the National Bank of Commerce both found themselves in difficulty. (The National Bank of Commerce was only in temporary difficulty and later re-opened on a sound basis.) On July 16th the Colorado Savings Bank announced that it would not open. The Rocky Mountain Savings Bank was also in difficulty. On July 17th, 18th and 19th, twelve Denver banks closed their doors.³² Six of them closed in one day.

Conditions in the banking field were a reflection of the state of affairs in the business field generally. A great real estate bubble which had been building in Denver, blew up. Great business enterprises of the city went bankrupt; unem-

³¹ Scroggs, *op. cit.*, 241.

³² Smiley, *History of Colorado*, 710.

ployment became widespread; camps were established for the unemployed on the outskirts of Denver, and these men were fed at the expense of the community. The effect of the panic was far-reaching. It was not until 1895, when the building of new camps, new railroads and smelters gave employment to many men, that the state made a beginning toward recovery.

Although the panic of 1893 was severe in all parts of the United States, it was doubly so in Colorado. The chief reason for this was the fact that Colorado was the chief silver producing state of the Union. Under the Silver Purchase Act an artificial demand for silver was created. Colorado was producing 58 per cent of the total silver production of the United States. Forty per cent of this came from Lake and Pitkin counties. The Leadville district alone was producing from five to ten million dollars in silver every year.³³

Economists who look back at the panic of 1893 with the perspective which time gives, declare that it was due to unwise and unsound policies of business outside of the financial field. The shortage of money was a result and not a cause of these factors. However this may be, the fact remains that the people of the United States believed at the time that their difficulties were due to the manner of the purchase of silver by the government. Congress was called in special session in the summer of 1893 for the express purpose of repealing the Sherman Act. The House of Representatives immediately responded. Not so with the Senate. In the Senate were two senators from Colorado, Senator Wolcott and Senator Teller. They were members of a body which was called together for the express purpose of passing a measure which would destroy the chief industry of their state. It is little wonder that these two men fought bravely to prevent the Senate from carrying out its purpose.

The fight made by the Colorado senators, aided by Senator Stewart of Nevada, was one of the most bitter, most appealing and most dramatic in all the annals of the American Congress. Senator Teller was the leader, and

³³ *Congressional Record*, special session, 1893, page 1095.

through the long hot summer in Washington he fought the passage of this bill which would bring disaster upon the silver industry of Colorado. The Senate went for thirty to thirty-six hours without sleep. For ten days it was in continuous session. Senator Teller spoke for such long periods that doctors feared serious injury to his throat.

It was to no purpose. In vain Senator Teller pleaded that the coinage of silver had nothing to do with the panic. In vain he pointed out similar conditions in other countries. In vain he called attention to the fact that in the United States conditions were already improving. The country at large was pounding at the gates of Congress for a repeal of the Act, and it was beyond the power of Senator Teller to prevent it. In October it became apparent to him that the bill would finally pass. In a final speech he said, "We do not disguise the fact that we are to go through the valley of the shadow of death. We know what it means to turn out our 20,000 silver miners in the fall of the year. We know what it means when every man in the state who has a little money saved, must put his hand in his pocket and draw it forth to keep from starving."³⁴

This gloomy picture of the effect of the panic of 1893 did not fully materialize. Yet it was twenty years before the state recovered, and in some ways full recovery is not yet apparent. At the time of the panic of 1893 real estate subdivision in Denver was being conducted on a tremendous scale. Lots were being plotted and sold far out from the business center. Money was being made in real estate, and some of the city's wealthiest and most prominent citizens became so through success in the field of real estate operations. The panic of 1893 brought this chapter in the city's life to a close. Few survived the tremendous drop in real estate values which followed. Those who had purchased homes on time payments could not complete their payments, and those who had borrowed on high values could not pay their loans.

The Building and Loan Associations in Colorado were caught in this decline in values. Prior to 1893, these associations were tremendously popular. A report of the U. S.

³⁴ Ibid., 2890.

Commissioner of Labor in 1893 showed over forty associations in this state. One-half of these were in the City of Denver. They were earning large dividends, were very popular, and had many millions of dollars invested. The first association then operating had been started in 1879. The great growth in the local Building and Loan Association movement, however, had come just before 1890. Of the twenty-eight associations in Denver, nine had been started in the year 1889. Several others opened for business in 1891.

The panic of 1893, and the years immediately following, dealt a severe blow to these associations. Practically all were forced to liquidate.

The banks were a little more fortunate. Some had been established longer; had become firmly imbedded in the soil, and possessed strength to withstand severe blows. The larger banks of Denver today are those which came safely through the panic. Many smaller banks, however, fell by the wayside. Several attempted to reopen, but these attempts proved in nearly every case to be futile.

The difficulty with the banks was a shortage of currency. In those days of independent banking, no agency such as the Federal Reserve System existed, whereby prime securities could be exchanged for currency. As soon as a bank had exhausted its supply of funds, it must close, even though solvent. It is said of one bank that it paid out every cent in its possession; nickles, dimes, pennies and mutilated coins, before closing its doors.

The mercantile houses of the city shared with the financial institutions in the difficulties of the times. Daniels and Fishers, Joslins and the McNamara Dry Goods Company were leading stores of the day. Of these three, the last one was hardest hit and was forced into a reorganization. This was undertaken by Dennis Sheedy and C. B. Kountze, who renamed the organization, "The Denver Dry Goods Company."

For several years after the panic, business conditions in Colorado were at a low ebb. The silver mining industry, one of the great industries of the state, suffered severely. It was not until 1895 and 1896 that new discoveries near Creede and Cripple Creek brought renewed mining activity

and turned the tide of business upward once more. In fact, it was only after industry throughout the United States revived in 1898 and 1899 that the upward trend again became definitely established.

An unexpected effect of the panic of 1893 was the fact that it delayed for ten years the organization of a Colorado Bankers Association. In 1892 an association had been organized called "The Bankers Association of Colorado." Mr. R. W. Woodbury of Denver was president. The organization met with some success and about \$1,000 was paid into its treasury. When the panic of 1893 struck the West, however, all thoughts of a Bankers Association were forgotten. The funds of the organization remained on deposit at the First National Bank of Durango until after the formation of a new association, nearly ten years later.³⁵

The Colorado Bankers Association, as we know it today, was organized in Colorado Springs, on November 30th, 1901, and the first convention was held the following summer. Mr. J. A. Hayes, President of the First National Bank of Colorado Springs, was the first president of the organization, and Mr. A. G. Sharp, now President of the Exchange National Bank of that city, Secretary-Treasurer. It numbered on its executive committee some of the most prominent bankers of the state. The chief speaker at the first convention was the Hon. Charles G. Dawes, Ex-Comptroller of the Currency. The matter of a sound currency, of greater public confidence in banks and closer touch between bankers and the public, were the chief topics of interest.

PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

Perhaps no better evidence of the strength of Colorado could be given than the financial and business recovery of the state after the panic years. Between 1890 and 1900, when the great silver mining industry was crippled and business stagnation and panic gripped the state for many months, the business leaders could still report progress. The census of 1900 showed an increase in population of

³⁵ *Proceedings* of the First Annual Convention, Colorado Bankers Association, 1902, page 24.

30 per cent over 1890. This compared with 20 per cent for the country at large. Agriculture, scorned by the early prospectors, was building a strong foundation for years of progress later to follow.

The decade which followed 1900 was a time of great forward movement. The state increased in population from something over a half million to more than three-quarters of a million. More people came to make their home in Colorado between 1900 and 1910 than composed the entire population of the state twenty-five years earlier. The growth in population was greater in amount in this period than in the ten years prior to 1890, which was in some respects the "Golden Age" in Colorado. This period of development witnessed the founding of another bank which was later to become one of the great institutions of the State. This was The United States National Bank of Denver, which was organized in 1904. Among those active in the founding of the bank were Mr. W. A. Hover, Mr. A. C. Foster and Mr. Gordon Jones. Mr. James Ringold, now President, came to the bank shortly after it was organized.

The chief unfavorable event during the period from 1900 to 1910 was the panic of 1907. This panic is not to be compared in severity with the great upheaval of 1893. It has been called "The Wall Street Panic," and it is undoubtedly true that it was more severe in the Eastern financial centers than elsewhere. The panic came with little warning. The country at large was generally unaware of its presence until the failure of several large New York banks caused interior banks to seek to withdraw their balances in New York City. Very shortly the New York banks were unable to meet these demands, and the outlying banks in turn were faced with the possibility of not being able to meet the demands of their customers.

On October 27th, 1907, the Denver Clearing House Association met and voted to issue Clearing House certificates along the lines in use in Chicago. It voted also to restrict payments on individual accounts and certificates of deposit, in most cases, to \$100, and under no circumstances beyond \$500. This rule did not apply to payrolls. No currency orders were to be filed for banks.

In addition, on November 8th, the Clearing House com-



UPPER, BUSINESS SECTION OF FORT MORGAN
MIDDLE, VIEW OF BOULDER AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUS
LOWER, BUSINESS SECTION, GREELEY

pleted plans for the issuance of cashier's checks of the various banks, to be secured by collateral and to be acceptable for deposit on the same basis as any form of coin or currency, without deduction of any kind. Considerable effort was spent by the Clearing House in arranging for the use of these checks, and for their protection against fraudulent issue.

On November 28th a communication was received from Chicago bankers asking for an expression of opinion in Denver regarding the resumption of currency payments. The Clearing House replied that this was largely a matter for Eastern bankers, particularly New York bankers, to decide, and that whenever these authorities were ready to resume payment the Denver banks would do likewise.

Early in January, 1908, the effects of the panic had largely disappeared and conditions returned to normal. At no time during the currency shortage were the Denver banks seriously threatened with disaster, nor were they materially weakened by the difficulties of that period.

After 1907 the state again went forward with rapid pace. The total deposits of all Colorado banks, which had barely gone over the one hundred million dollar mark in 1907, increased to a hundred and twenty-one million within three years after the panic.³⁶ This growth was shared alike by banks in Denver, in outlying cities and throughout the state. Agriculture and industry were prosperous. Banking institutions organized under state laws increased in resources from \$29,000,000 in 1908 to \$43,000,000 in 1910.³⁷

In 1907 the financial interests of the state were protected by the passage of a law requiring the examination of banks organized under state authority and a submission of regular reports to the State Bank Commissioner. This law was written by Mr. Gordon Jones, a banker and prominent citizen of Denver, who was for many years the leading spirit of The United States National Bank. Mr. Jones had been a bank examiner in Missouri and brought to the work of framing the law a fund of practical experience. The new

³⁶ Annual Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1910, Table 93.

³⁷ Second Bi-Annual Report, State Bank Commissioner of Colorado, 8.

law proved successful and under it the State banks showed rapid growth. When the State Bank Commissioner took office there were 132 banks in the state subject to his supervision. In 1910 this number had grown to 182, and by 1913 it was 210. In 1920 the resources of banks under the supervision of the State Bank Commissioner totaled \$66,000,000.

The chief events of the period following 1910 were connected with the great war. This period is much too recent to attempt a careful appraisal of its effect upon the banking development of Colorado. The Colorado bankers, in common with bankers in all parts of the United States, shouldered the financial burden of handling the war as part of their service to the country. In many instances they paid from their own pockets the necessary cost of propaganda and the handling of the detail involved in the sale of government bonds.

The quota of Denver in the first Liberty Loan Drive was \$13,000,000. Although this was an unprecedented amount of money, the Denver banks wired the Federal Reserve Board in advance that they would guarantee the quota. Although seriously handicapped by loss of personnel enlisted in the military forces, the Colorado banks undertook, during the war, the handling of many millions of dollars of government business without compensation.

The deflation period following the war was a difficult one for Colorado banks in the agricultural and livestock sections. There was a great decline in farm values. With the return to normalcy, however, this condition was overcome and the state began its steady march of progress once more.

Colorado has passed through some of the most difficult periods ever faced by any pioneer community. It has seen its great mining industry grow and flourish, only to decline. It has seen the farm and the ranch come in to take the place of the flume and the stamp mill.

It is difficult for us to believe that the history of banking in Colorado during the next fifty years will unfold a chapter so full of thrilling incident and romantic interest as during the early periods. The Indian and the Buffalo, the Stage Coach and the Pony Express Rider, the Pioneer and the Prospector are no more. The telegraph line, the telephone

and the radio have placed us in instant communication with the East and have destroyed the factors which gave Colorado its unique banking position.

Colorado may always be proud, however, of the courage and fortitude of the pioneer bankers who, under trying circumstances, and in the face of great obstacles, built a sound and enduring foundation on which could be erected the strong and powerful banking structure which we know today.

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CHAPTER XVII

FIFTY YEARS OF POLITICAL HISTORY

By Charles S. Thomas

ACHIEVEMENT OF STATEHOOD—GOVERNOR ROUTT'S ADMINISTRATION—GOVERNOR PITKIN'S ADMINISTRATION—HILL-CHAFFEE CONTEST—GENESIS OF THE SILVER QUESTION—PLAINS REGION OPENED TO OCCUPATION — FORMATION OF COUNTIES — ADAMS ELECTED GOVERNOR—ELECTION OF 1888—ELECTION OF ROUTT, 1890—RISE OF THE POPULISTS—CRIPPLE CREEK—HARD TIMES AND THE SILVER QUESTION—ADAMS' SECOND ADMINISTRATION—ELECTIONS OF 1898 AND 1900—DEMOCRATS VS. REPUBLICANS, FUSION ABANDONED—INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES—ELECTIONS OF 1904 AND 1906—ELECTION OF GOVERNOR BUCHEL—PATTERSON'S CONTEMPT OF COURT CASE—ROOSEVELT'S ADVOCACY OF REFORM AND THE PANIC OF 1907—SHAFROTH'S ADMINISTRATIONS—AMMONS' ADMINISTRATION—ELECTION OF 1914—PERIOD OF THE WORLD WAR—THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

In its broader aspects the political history of Colorado is not materially different from that of the nation at large. Its story is of interest, but it is chiefly one of growth in population; of the expansion of its systems of traffic and communication; of the development of its mines and farms; of its social, economic and educational institutions. It involves statistics rather than events; and but for the fact that progress along these pathways has evolved occasional political issues, sometimes local, sometimes national, my task would be purely biographical. But this reflection would apply to any country and any era where human energy is applied to the development of material resources, and to which governmental and other activities are largely subordinated. Their relative importance is occasional and generally infrequent. They are indeed somewhat different aspects of the same events. Hence the reader will find the

outset perceive that this review of our political activities is little more than a summary of the more prominent incidents in the progress of a young Commonwealth through the first half century of its life.

The admission of the state in 1876 was due to the joint and unremitting efforts of Hon. J. B. Chaffee and Hon. Thomas M. Patterson, the delegate and delegate-elect to the National House of Representatives. Because of their dominant natures and the fierce rivalries of political controversy, the partisans of each then and for years thereafter, were prone to exalt the efforts of the one and belittle those of the other in the performance of this important service. But it may now be asserted that the credit should be divided between these illustrious statesmen since neither could have performed the task alone. Mr. Chaffee began it while Mr. Patterson was a citizen of Indiana. He had secured the passage of the bill by the House and it had been pigeon-holed by the Senate Committee before Mr. Patterson's election. The latter promptly enlisted under Mr. Chaffee's banner and succeeded in overcoming a Democratic opposition to the bill which was intended to and but for him would have strangled it in committee. Meanwhile Mr. Chaffee's deservedly great influence in Republican circles and his superb strategy in piloting the bill through the intricacies of House procedure brought it safely into port in time for the President's approval before the expiration of the Congress on March 4th, 1875. In the final achievement "there is glory and to spare" for each of these outstanding figures, neither of whom in life denied to the other his warm appreciation of the invaluable services of his colleague. They jointly earned and richly deserve the gratitude of their contemporaries and of posterity.

The sparse and widely scattered population of the territory supplied the opponents of admission with their most formidable objection. The census of 1870 returned less than 40,000 inhabitants, and while its growth was rapid and everywhere apparent, the total vote for delegate in October, 1874, was but 16,552. The grasshopper invasions of 1874 and 1875 swept from the landscape every vestige of green vegetation and forced an exodus which threatened to depopulate some of the recently established settlements.

Fortunately, important mineral discoveries, particularly in the "San Juan" country, checked this movement and revived the inflow of the "tenderfoot." In October, 1876, the total vote for Representative in Congress was only 26,176, following in some respects the most active campaign which the state had thus far experienced.

The State Constitution was ratified by popular vote on July 1, 1876. The vote was significant of nothing, however, except as to its result, which was never in doubt; hence an unusual percentage of voters remained at home, while many others, especially in Denver and other northern towns voted early and often. July 4th of that year thus became a notable day in the annals of the infant commonwealth, and Denver had prepared for its celebration on a scale commensurate with its importance. It was the Centennial of the nation and the natal day of the Centennial State. Hence festivities began promptly with the midnight salute of thirty-eight guns and ended some forty-eight hours later. They were of the usual character, duly magnified to suit the occasion. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the day was Miss May Butler, the young lady of sixteen who personified Colorado in the float carrying thirty-eight fair women, each typifying a state, and collectively the Union of them all. The committee of arrangements experienced some difficulty not in selecting, but in discovering the young lady who to the qualification of nativity added the requisite number of years and the physical and mental charms essential to the role she was to fill and who filled it well.

The first state election resulted in a decisive Republican victory, although by a slender majority. Except the election of J. B. Grant in 1882 and Alva Adams in 1886 Republican supremacy was constant until 1890, when the Democrats succeeded in electing their candidates for treasurer, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction. Since then the fortunes of Colorado politics and politicians have been inconstant.

The administration of Governor Routt was inconspicuous although confronted with some difficult problems, the chief of which involved the scope of the powers of the State Board of Equalization. An issue duly formulated for

the purpose was taken to the Supreme Court, which decided that the board might lower but could not raise county valuations, however great the discrepancies between them. This naturally encouraged the adoption of low valuations by county assessors. As a result the state revenues limited by the constitution to a low maximum levy soon became inadequate. Much embarrassment ensued, which, however, proved innocuous; partly because of our rapidly increasing population and wealth and partly because of a later adjudication which rigidly confined expenditures and appropriations to the revenues of the biennial period covered by them. Both these decisions, though severely criticized, were sound and proved highly beneficial; for they compelled the observance of a healthy economy in the administration of public affairs.

One result of the latter decision was nevertheless most unfortunate. Warrants for salaries, supplies and structures for educational and corrective institutions, and for other necessary expenses had been issued against anticipated revenues and had been readily purchased by investors and bankers, upon the natural and perfectly justified assumption of their integrity; and that they would be paid, principal and interest, in the order of their issue as future revenues would permit. But the effect of the decision was to invalidate them all. This seriously affected the credit of the state and justly subjected it to the reproach of repudiation. Years afterward, in 1910, a constitutional amendment validating these warrants and providing a bond issue for their payment was submitted and carried. Their aggregate sum due to the accumulation of interest for over twenty years was more than twice that of the principal. Payment was made of the whole; a tardy but honorable recognition of an undoubted moral obligation.

The most notable event of the Routt administration was the development of the carbonate silver lead ores in California Gulch. These had been discovered in 1875; but their extent and value first became known in 1877, when the town of Leadville was organized and the news of the great discovery began to spread throughout the country. The story of the rush of tens of thousands to the new camp is a familiar one and will not be retold here. But it is well



GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF COLORADO, 1876-1901

1. John L. Routt. 2. Frederick W. Pitkin. 3. James B. Grant. 4. Benjamin H. Eaton. 5. Alva Adams. 6. Job A. Cooper. 7. Davis H. Waite. 8. Albert W. McIntyre. 9. Charles S. Thomas.

to emphasize the fact that the expansion and the permanency of the state began with the development of the Leadville deposits. The capital which it attracted stimulated every branch of industry; the emigration which it promoted spread all over the state, and Denver rapidly passed from the chrysalis condition of a frontier town to the proportions of an embryo metropolis.

Two incidents which this development provoked were of stirring interest. The railways were quick to perceive the actual and potential volume of traffic which a great mining community would evolve. The road first entering the district would enjoy the lion's share of the harvest, and the race for the new camp began. This reopened the old feud between the Santa Fé and Rio Grande companies, which had been adjusted by a lease of the latter's road to the former company. The Rio Grande now contended that the Santa Fé Company had violated the covenants of the lease, demanded the return of its road, enjoined the Santa Fé from operating it, and protected by the writ, forcibly ejected that company from the premises. The case being removed to the Federal Court, that tribunal ordered the Rio Grande Company to restore the possession to its rival. The court then placed the road in the hands of a receiver. A few months afterwards the Supreme Court of the United States having adjudged the Rio Grande Company to be entitled to a prior but not exclusive right of way through the Royal Gorge, the two companies effected an adjustment of their differences, whose principal feature was the cancellation of the lease and the resumption of its road by the Rio Grande Company. It then rushed the construction of its Leadville extension with incredible rapidity and was the first to reach Leadville in July, 1880.

This struggle aroused much resentment and bitter animosities between the northern and southern sections of the state. In the distribution of federal and state positions the South had been allotted the Chief Justice, the Attorney General and one or two minor state offices. The rest, including both Senators and Representative, had gone to that part of the state lying north of Colorado Springs. This unequal allotment of honors had created intense dissatisfaction and complaint, supplemented by threats of "seces-

sion" followed by amalgamation with Northern New Mexico, which had become common along and below the Arkansas River, when the tug of war between the Rio Grande and Santa Fé companies began. The South espoused the cause of the Rio Grande Company to a man, and when the Federal Court reinstated the Santa Fé in possession, threats to resist the enforcement of the order were freely made by citizens of the towns along the line of the railway. Better and wiser counsels prevailed, but the bitterness remained and would have become effectual in the ensuing election of 1880, had not the great strike of Leadville miners in the spring of that year injected a new and far more serious element into the political arena.

At that time the population of the California Mining District, including Leadville, was not less than forty thousand, of which nearly half were miners. One Michael Mooney conceived and carried out the plan of a local organization of this large body of men with a view of its ultimate statewide extension. He was a man of remarkable executive ability, a born leader of men, and though uneducated, was possessed of unusual intelligence. His character was excellent. He was determined, courageous and dominating. Having completed his organization he demanded for them a horizontal increase of wages, together with a special increase and an eight hour day for workers in wet mines. The demand was refused. Thereupon Mooney called a general strike, to which the miners to a man promptly responded, and the mines were closed.

As the days passed the situation became more tense. Meetings by strikers and citizens culminated in a procession first of miners and then of their opponents. Finally the operators appealed to Gov. F. W. Pitkin, who had succeeded Governor Routt, to declare martial law and place the district under the control of the State Militia. The Governor doubted his authority to do so, but finally compromised by going to Cheyenne, whereupon Lieutenant Governor Tabor issued the desired order. The strike persisted for about ten days longer and then collapsed.

The declaration of martial law was denounced by the Democratic party and a large section of the citizenry without regard to party lines as a usurpation of executive

authority and a defiance of constitutional guaranties. It therefore became the real issue in the election of that year between the two parties, although the larger presidential campaign tended to dwarf its importance. The Republicans very sensibly avoided its discussion wherever possible, and carried the State by a normal party majority.

The State election of 1878 involved the choice of a senator by the legislature then to be chosen, the term of Senator Chaffee expiring March 4, 1879. Senator Chaffee had publicly announced that he would not stand for reëlection. He was enfeebled by disease and had doubtless been advised by his physicians against assuming the exhausting labors of a hard campaign. Because of his declaration Professor N. P. Hill of Black Hawk became an avowed aspirant for the position, made liberal contributions to the Republican campaign fund, and entered very actively into the details of the campaign itself. Meanwhile Senator Chaffee's health underwent steady improvement. By the time the General Assembly convened in January he was seemingly as well as ever, and most unwisely yielded to the persistent clamor of some of his close personal and political friends to repudiate his pre-election announcement and enter the race against Hill for reëlection. The bad faith thus exhibited, coupled with the fact that a majority of the Republican members of the legislature had long been pledged to Hill, made his success impossible. Hill was promptly chosen by his party caucus, and duly elected to the place. He never forgot nor forgave Senator Chaffee and the men responsible for his conduct. The incident was the beginning of a schism between the two men, which finally reached down to the roots of the party organization and at one time menaced its existence.

Senator Hill's opportunity came with the inauguration of President Garfield. Possessed of wealth and blessed with a charming and accomplished wife thoroughly familiar with and adapted to the social side of Washington official life, and an uncompromising supporter of the administration, he at once became the outstanding member of the Colorado delegation. The patronage was his and he used it to reward his followers, but always to punish Senator Chaffee's friends, of whom Senator Teller was the most conspicu-

ous. But for Garfield's assassination Senator Hill's revenge would have been complete.

That national tragedy reversed the situation completely. Senator Teller entered President Arthur's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. He executed the lesson which Hill taught him, and took Hill's place as the chief of the rival feudists. To the joy of the Democratic minority, the quarrel seemed irreconcilable.

Its first open manifestation was a bitter contest over the selection of delegates to the State Convention of 1882, with Hon. H. R. Wolcott, of Denver, and Hon. E. L. Campbell, of Leadville, as the rival aspirants for Governor. The Hill forces were worsted and Campbell was duly nominated. Mr. Chaffee was made chairman of the State Central Committee, whereupon the Hill forces repudiated the ticket. A few days later the Hon. J. B. Grant, of Leadville, was nominated by the Democrats for Governor, with an excellent ticket for the subordinate positions and the fight was on. Grant was elected, but all other Republican candidates were successful.

This drawn battle was renewed at the first opportunity, which occurred two years later. Senator Hill's front had in the interval been much weakened by the desertion of Mr. Edward O. Wolcott, who for reasons never fully revealed to the public abruptly and unexpectedly went over to the enemy. The Senator was again worsted in the choice of delegates to the State Convention, again revolted, nominated a full legislative ticket of his own in Arapahoe and El Paso counties, but compromised with his enemies on the eve of the election. The local tickets were recast with half of the candidates to each faction and all opposition to the State ticket was withdrawn. This ensured the defeat of the Democratic candidates. Benjamin H. Eaton of Weld County was elected Governor over Alva Adams of Conejos County, together with all other State and electoral candidates.

When the General Assembly met in January, 1885, Senator Hill, after remaining obdurate for about a fortnight, was finally persuaded that he would receive a majority of the Republican vote if he entered the caucus; but not otherwise. This proved his final undoing. Secretary Teller was chosen on the first ballot; whereupon Senator Hill

in his extremity appealed to the Democratic leaders to come to his assistance. But it was too late. He had been warned that once he entered the caucus he could expect neither aid nor sympathy from his political opponents.

He retired from public life in March, 1885, but he never lowered his flag. As the owner of the *Denver Republican* and the head of a somewhat formidable body of political friends, he continued to be a power in politics and generally a power for good until his death in 1900. He regarded Mr. E. O. Wolcott's abandonment of him as a betrayal; since the latter had enjoyed not only his friendship but had been his protege. Mr. Wolcott, however, contended that he could not serve the Senator as the latter desired without defying the obligations and imperiling the integrity of his party.

The vacancy caused by Senator Teller's translation to President Arthur's cabinet in 1881 was filled by the appointment of Hon. George M. Chilcott of Pueblo. He was in turn succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Horace A. W. Tabor of Leadville, who was duly chosen by the General Assembly early in 1883. His service was brief, as the term expired on March 4th following. Hon. Thomas M. Bowen of Del Norte was chosen for the full term beginning on that date.

The demonetization of silver by the Act of 1873, which limited its legal tender to a maximum of ten dollars, was in force fully two years before its real purpose and effect became generally known. The falling value of silver in the markets naturally aroused the interest of producers; and in the winter of 1875-6 Senator Stewart of Nevada, who had voted for the bill and who had been retired from the Senate, directed public attention to its character by charging that it had been framed and smuggled through Congress by a small coterie of members who misrepresented its object and concealed its real purpose. Public attention was at once aroused throughout the country. It became a prominent topic of discussion in Congress. Blaine, Conkling, Carpenter and others of prominence declared that in voting for it they accepted the statements of their associates having charge of the bill, that they did not even suspect its far-reaching assault upon our monetary system, and that had they known that it would deprive silver of its money function they would have opposed it.

Such statements justified the charge that the law had been enacted and approved by cunning resort to false pretenses, and although a careful examination of the history of the bill does not support this view it has always persisted, and is firmly believed to this day by many of the people.

The demand for the repeal of the Act and the restoration of silver coinage at 16 to 1 became general, and in 1876 the two great parties were much of the same mind about it. Their chief financial difference centered around the greenback, and except in eastern financial centers, remonetization was taken for granted. A bill for that purpose was promptly introduced by Hon. R. P. Bland in the 45th Congress when it assembled in December, 1877, and the House as promptly passed it. But the Senate struck out the free coinage section and substituted one requiring the government to purchase 1,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly from the lowest bidder and coin it into silver dollars, having full legal tender value. In an evil hour the House accepted the Senate amendment, not perceiving that it supplanted free with compulsory coinage; and by requiring government purchases through competitive bidding, it doomed silver to a place among commodities as long as the Bland law remained upon the statute books. Moreover, the public, little given to reflection, readily accepted as true the assertion of monometalists that the country had free coinage of silver under the Bland Act, and that in spite of it the price of silver bullion was steadily downward and the "fifty cent" dollar was as steadily depreciating the national currency. This law and its successor, the Sherman Act of 1890, more than any other single influence served to swing public opinion away from bimetallism and toward the gold standard. The question was of prime importance to the mining West until its disposition in 1900, and profoundly influenced political action in Colorado for more than a quarter of a century. Although dormant, it is yet potentially important; and may again disturb the financial circles of the nation and the world.

The transfer of governmental affairs from Republican to Democratic control in 1885 resulted in but few changes of domestic policy. One of them, however, was of prime importance to Colorado and other public domain states.

Between 1870 and 1884 stock raising in the West had largely passed under the control of a few corporations and individuals. These, jealous of their self-assumed control of the vast ranges stretching from the Rio Grande northward to British Columbia, and apprehensive of the steady advance of homesteaders westward, had apportioned enormous reaches of the public domain among themselves, and each fenced his allotment against the others and particularly against the squatter. The vital points in each enclosure were the water holes indispensable alike to the cattle and to the homesteader. The latter excluded by force from access to these places must abandon the fight for his right to a quarter section of government land unless his government should stand behind him and enforce its laws. Their appeal met with a prompt and willing response, when in April, 1885, President Cleveland issued his executive order requiring all persons or corporations who had erected or were maintaining fences upon the lands of the United States to remove them within sixty days thereafter. The order, though arousing much feeling and protest, was grudgingly complied with, and by July 1, 1885, the public lands were again free to occupation and purchase by citizens of the United States. Our population visibly increased from that time and it is not too much to assert that dry farming had its inception in Grover Cleveland's famous order to the cattlemen of 1885. Their ranges were speedily occupied by settlers at whose behest the territory east of Denver and Pueblo was divided to form the new counties of Lincoln, Logan, Morgan, Sedgwick, Phillips, Yuma, Washington, Kiowa, Kit Carson, Cheyenne, Prowers, Otero, and Baca.

Due to the Hill-Teller schism, the Republican candidate for Governor in 1886 was defeated by Hon. Alva Adams of Pueblo. Except for an Indian uprising of small proportions in northwestern Colorado, magnified out of all proportion by the press, his administration was uneventful, but characterized by marked efficiency and economy of operation.

The avowed candidacy of Mr. E. O. Wolcott for a seat in the Senate as the successor of Senator Bowen was the outstanding feature of the campaign of 1888. He was a forceful and brilliant personality, aggressive to imprudence, dominating and resourceful. He combined all the qualities

with many of the deficiencies of leadership. His enemies centered around the opposition of Senator Hill, who found what he hoped would prove an opportunity for the partial settlement of ancient scores.

The Democratic ticket headed by Hon. Thos. M. Patterson for Governor, sponsored by the national administration and encouraged by an excellent prospect of success made an unusually vigorous campaign. It nevertheless encountered disaster. Hon. J. A. Cooper was elected governor by the largest majority thus far recorded for any candidate. Mr. Wolcott was chosen Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1889.

The General Assembly which convened in regular session immediately after January 1, 1889, and overwhelmingly Republican, closed its sessions by adjourning *sine die* in April following with a record for extravagance in expenditures and appropriations which no explanations could justify. This was an opportunity of which administration opponents, both Republican and Democratic, speedily took advantage. The Denver press, excepting the *Times*, found a most compelling theme for competition in gathering and publishing details of legislative squanderings, particularly of supplies for itself, its committees and the several executive departments. The *Republican* in a vitriolic editorial upon the subject, stigmatized the Assembly as "the Robber Seventh"; a name which caught the popular fancy. It soon supplanted all other appellations. Justly or unjustly the name has persisted down to the present hour.

By the spring of the ensuing year the State administration began to show signs of demoralization. The office of State Treasurer, by far the most lucrative of State positions, became the target of popular criticism. Although the constitution prohibited under severe penalties the use of the public moneys for private gain, every incumbent of the office had deposited these funds with the banks under agreements requiring the payment of interest upon the deposits. The interest so paid became an emolument of the Treasurer, and this upon the assumption that the constitutional inhibition was not self-executing, and therefore not effective in the absence of legislation making it so.

Suits were now instituted by the Attorney General in

the name of the State against all former Treasurers for the recovery of the moneys thus diverted from the Treasury to themselves. The trial courts dismissed them upon the ground above stated, and the Supreme Court approved the decision. Meanwhile the issue became an active one in the State campaign of 1890. For this election the Republicans wisely chose their strongest man, former Governor Routt, to head their ticket. Integrity in administration was his strongest characteristic, and he pledged his party to a policy of self-purification. He was moreover acceptable to every faction of his party, which united, could easily command a majority of the electors. He carried the State, but the Democratic nominees for Treasurer, Attorney General and Superintendent of Public Instruction were elected. The outstanding public gain was the end of treasury plundering by the State Treasurers. Mr. James A. Carlile, the new incumbent of the office collected and accounted for every dollar paid as interest on the public deposits, while the Eighth General Assembly enacted the legislation required for the due observance of the prohibitions of the Organic Act.

The continued fall in market values of silver revived interest in the subject of its remonetization, the agitation of which, especially in the West had been continuous. Efforts toward that end culminated in the enactment of the Sherman law of 1890, which increased purchases of silver bullion to 3,000,000 ounces per month, with treasury certificates having legal tender value. The prevailing practice of competitive bidding between producers was continued. This foredoomed the experiment to failure and enhanced the prejudice against bimetallism. The immediate effect of the act was to stimulate prices above one dollar per ounce, but they soon fell below that figure, and the downward movement was encouraged by the Department's construction and practice. The act expressly made the treasury certificates issued under the act redeemable in gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary. That official, however, declared that parity could be maintained only by transferring that discretion to the holder of the certificate. The latter thereafter took care to demand gold, thus placing the burden of redemption wholly upon that metal. This

reversal of a fundamental provision of the act, though exposed and very properly denounced, was never changed. It could have had but one object; the permanent rejection of silver as a money metal, through the administration of a law designed for its restoration. Truth requires the admission that the law would have been disappointing in any event, as it continued and enlarged the policy of compulsory purchase at one ratio and compulsory coinage at another. But it could not have caused an outflow of gold, if its mandates had been observed by those having the responsibility of its administration.

But this attitude of the government had one unexpected consequence. It aroused a free coinage sentiment of formidable proportions throughout the West and South. Commercial and agricultural depression had become widespread, a potent cause for which was shrewdly and constantly asserted to be the decrease of money of redemption through the degradation of silver. This sentiment materialized in the formation and development of the Populist party, whose program of government demanded bimetallism as a cardinal principle.

The platform pronouncements of the two major parties in 1892 as to free coinage were evasive. They were drafted by politicians, hesitating between the advocates and the opponents of a mighty question, and fearing both. A considerable proportion of the delegations from the Rocky Mountain States to the Democratic convention bolted the ticket. Among them were five of the eight delegates from Colorado, headed by Mr. Patterson, who two years before had purchased a controlling interest in the *Rocky Mountain News*.

The moment was opportune for Populism. A convention assembled at Omaha, and attended by full delegations from nearly every state, framed and adopted a platform bristling with all the mooted reforms of the day, nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa, and Mr. James G. Fields of Virginia, for president and vice president. It made free coinage its paramount issue, which offered a shelter to all rebellious Democrats and Republicans and of which both took full advantage.

The party nominated a full State and Electoral ticket in

July, headed by Mr. Davis H. Waite of Aspen. The Democratic State Convention met at Pueblo in September following, and endorsed the Populist State and Electoral ticket by a decided majority. The minority thereupon withdrew from the convention, assembled by themselves, and nominated a full State and Electoral ticket. Some humorist dubbed it "the White Wing ticket." Its supporters readily accepted the name, since it sharply distinguished them from "the Black Legs," as they called their Democratic opponents.

The Populist ticket was endorsed by the *News* and a large proportion of the State press. The White Wings being without an organ started a daily paper of their own, which they christened the *Denver Evening Post*. It had a precarious existence for about nine months, when owing to the panic of 1893 it suspended publication. It was revived for the state campaign of 1894, and was continued over into the following year with indifferent success, when it was purchased by Messrs. Bonfils and Tammen, under whose vigorous management it long ago became the most prosperous and widely circulated paper in the state.

As the campaign advanced it became evident that the contest was between the Republican and Populist tickets, with the chances in favor of the latter. Late in October, therefore, the Democratic National Committee with the approval of Mr. Cleveland, instructed the White Wing party to withdraw its electoral ticket and support that of the Populists. Bitter protest proved unavailing. The order was sullenly complied with, and the state was carried by Weaver and Waite.

The Populist triumph was complete. For the first time in its history the Republican ticket was defeated *in toto*. General Weaver received more than a million votes throughout the country, carried the four states of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas and Nevada, and captured an electoral vote each in the states of North Dakota and Oregon.

The panic of 1893 struck the West very hard. Governor Waite's hopeless attempt at relief by legislation through a special session of the General Assembly increased public discontent, because of the useless expense it entailed upon the treasury. The repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Silver Law, fell like a pall upon all Western min-

ing industry, whose one bright spot was the new gold district at Cripple Creek. Its rapid and profitable development justified its promise of better conditions for all branches of business and enterprise, when an unexpected and extensive strike of the miners of the district completely suspended its operations. Its progress and the efforts to break it were attended with the usual processes of outrage and outlawry.

The authorities of El Paso County organized and armed a considerable body of men which were empowered to aid the sheriff in keeping the peace, restoring order and protecting life and property. Soon afterward the Governor visited the district and while there he conferred principally with the strike leaders. Returning to Denver he responded to the call for troops which had been made in conformity with the laws of the State, by ordering the National Guard to report for duty at Cripple Creek under the command of Adjutant General Tarsney. It soon developed that they were by the Governor's orders designed to protect the strikers against the sheriff and his deputies. The latter were duly admonished that the militia having been demanded had been mobilized and were in control of affairs to the exclusion of the county authorities. The strikers thus insured against interference continued their policy of force and boycott against non-unionists and citizens in sympathy with them. The exasperation of the latter over this turn of affairs was universal. Its first physical expression occurred when the Adjutant General was summoned to Denver by his Excellency. For some reason he stopped at Colorado Springs over night, where he was seized by a body of masked men, taken beyond the outskirts of the city, tarred and feathered, released and ordered to move on. News of this unwarranted and disgraceful outrage traveled fast and was denounced or palliated as the divided state of the public mind suggested. Soon afterwards, and due to the Governor's attitude, the miners and operators reached a settlement, the latter yielding to the demands of the former, and mining activities were renewed. But the animosities engendered by the episode remained. They were deep seated and lasting. The settlement was only a truce to be followed by other and graver hostilities in the future.

Although applauded by the organized miners and kindred associations, the Governor had mortally offended the conservative elements of society. The use of the military authority for the protection of lawless elements against the local peace officers, whatever the reason, doomed Governor Waite and his party to certain retirement by an indignant constituency. He was renominated, made a gallant fight, and was defeated by Albert W. McIntyre of Conejos County in the fall of 1894, when the Republicans reassumed their former control of the state. Through the reunion of their forces Senator Wolcott was able to overcome an opposition to his return which at one time seriously threatened his success. He was reelected in January, 1895, but was required to pledge his support to the cause of bi-metallism in 1896 should the issue be presented by either of the great parties.

Apart from its industrial disorders, Governor Waite's administration witnessed the triumph of the equal suffrage movement. A vigorous, but unsuccessful effort was made by its advocates in 1877, after which it remained somnolent for sixteen years, albeit agitation in its behalf was continuous. The Populist platform having committed the party to the cause, success at the polls foreshadowed speedy action in its behalf.

The Constitutional provision relating to the subject empowered the General Assembly at its first and at any subsequent session to enact laws extending the right of suffrage to women of lawful age and otherwise qualified, but "no such enactment shall be of effect until submitted to the vote of the qualified electors at a general election, nor unless the same be approved by a majority of those voting thereon." The Ninth Assembly passed and Governor Waite approved the Legislative Act early in 1893, and ordered its submission to the electorate at the general election to be held in the ensuing November.

The National Woman's Suffrage Association under the direction of Mrs. Carrie Chapman at once organized the campaign, and waged it with consummate skill down to the night preceding the election. The opposition was negative and to some extent indifferent, reliance being placed upon the general unpopularity of the movement. Doubtless

if it had been regarded as at all formidable it would have encountered vigorous, if not successful resistance. As it was, the statute was approved by a handsome majority of the popular vote.

Colorado was the second state to confer suffrage upon all citizens of lawful age. Her example was followed by Utah in 1895, Idaho in 1898, and by Kansas, California and some others over fifteen years later. During this interval the practical operation of the system was the subject of lively interest throughout the nation. It was commended or condemned in about equal proportions by its advocates and opponents, both of whom saw, or thought they saw, the vindication of their pre-suffrage opinions as time unfolded special incidents along the pathway of its experiences.

The woman vote was first cast at the general election of 1894 in which Governor Waite was overwhelmingly defeated. His party reproached, and the others credited the women with the result. They doubtless had much to do with it, and as frequently happens in affairs political, praise and censure were indiscriminately showered upon them.

This incident illustrated the contention that women were politically neither better nor worse than men, and that the practical effect of equal suffrage was merely to double the voting population. Of the justice of the extension under a system of universal suffrage, there can be no doubt, but history striving to be dispassionate and unemotional, will at present affirm that the purification of politics and the improvement of our laws and our morals, so eagerly predicted of equal suffrage, has not materialized; that human nature is static and sexless. But its conclusion is admittedly premature, since no such far reaching political innovation should be tested by the record of a score of years.

The persistent continuance of hard times here, as elsewhere, gave a tremendous impetus to the cause of bimetallicism; an impetus which gathered strength from the enormous popularity of W. H. Harvey's little book called "Coin." It consisted of a series of imaginary lectures upon the use of gold and silver in the world's monetary systems, and the reasons which impelled Great Britain and other nations following her example to exclude silver from their mints. These were followed by simple but graphic descriptions



HENRY M. TELLER

United States Senator; Secretary of Interior

of the results of monometallism, especially upon debtors and debtor nations. The book became the sensation of the time. Its circulation was phenomenal. Edition after edition was rapidly exhausted, yet the demand continued. It made converts to the free coinage cause by hundreds of thousands, and before the year 1896 was ushered in, its espousal by the Democratic party, and its importance as the dominant issue of the campaign of that year was plainly foreshadowed. The State conventions of that party met much earlier than usual, and by the first of May enough delegations pledged to silver had been selected to insure a ticket and a platform committed to a bi-metallic monetary system at the historic ratio of 16 to 1.

On the other hand the Republican party, except in the mountain states, drifted steadily in the opposite direction. It convened in June, nominated Governor William McKinley and declared that until bimetallism should be established by international agreement the existing standard should be maintained. Thereupon the Colorado delegation, headed by Senator Teller, withdrew from the convention accompanied by those from most of the other mining states. Senator Wolcott refused to break with his party, and took Teller's place as its leader in the State. A fortnight later the Democratic National Convention declared for the double standard, and nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska, who was endorsed by the Populist party a fortnight later.

In Colorado the dissident Republicans organized themselves into the Silver Republican Party, and fused with the Democrats on State candidates, with Alva Adams as the nominee for Governor. The Populists nominated Judge M. S. Bailey and the Republicans Judge George W. Allen. Bryan carried the State by an enormous majority. The fusion State ticket was also elected, together with a majority of both houses of the General Assembly.

In the fall of 1896 a strike of the miners at Leadville was called, which soon passed beyond the control of the county authorities. Mining was suspended, the pumps stopped and many valuable properties were flooded. The Governor responded to the call for troops, but limited their activities to the preservation of the public peace. Governor-elect Adams tendered his good offices to both sides soon

after his election, and to Governor McIntyre as well. Largely through his untiring efforts, and doubtless because of his rapidly approaching term of office, a settlement was effected and industrial peace came with his inauguration.

The frugality which distinguished his first administration was equally conspicuous in his second. But for the outbreak of the Spanish War, however, it would have been devoid of local political interest. That event infused a spirit of generous competition among the states in the work of aiding the National Government in raising and equipping its armies and in prosecuting the war to an early triumph. Governor Adams speedily organized a regiment of Colorado volunteers under the command of Colonel Irving Hale. His vigorous discipline rapidly converted them into an efficient fighting force. They were soon mobilized and sent to the Philippines, where they distinguished themselves and shed lustre upon the Commonwealth. They participated in every engagement which took place after their arrival at the front. Colonel Hale was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General; a merited honor conferred upon a capable and gallant soldier. After two years of service the regiment was returned to America and mustered out of service in the early fall of 1899.

The war naturally diverted public attention from domestic to national affairs. The needs of the Government for supplies of every description also greatly stimulated business and encouraged production. The only distinctively local political feature of note was the encouragement which this revival gave to the regular Republican organization. Its first effect was to split the silver Republican party asunder. One faction made a pretense of nominating a State ticket after which gesture it quietly lapsed into the old organization. The other remained loyal to Senator Teller, and in September, 1898, fused with the democrats and Populists. The fusion ticket headed by Charles S. Thomas of Denver, together with a fusion legislature, was elected. The problems of this administration were chiefly fiscal, the public funds being very low, revenues difficult of collection, and the educational and corrective institutions being in dire need of funds. By the observance of strict and rigid econ-

omy in every branch of administration, however, a serious deficiency was avoided.

During this period public interest in the money question waned. Its importance was quite apparent, but other influences crowded to the front. The most noted of these was "Imperialism," Mr. Bryan's term for Philippine annexation; an issue which he pressed upon public attention with characteristic obstinacy. Moreover the discoveries of gold in South Africa and the Klondike were yielding annually an output of gold exceeding in value the output of silver in its years of greatest abundance. Prices advanced all along the lines of production. Money became easy, and the Gold Standard Act of 1900 was passed and approved without much difficulty and with comparatively little public protest. The country was but little disturbed by Mr. Bryan's spectre of Imperialism and returned Mr. McKinley to the White House by a largely increased majority.

In Colorado the fusion of 1898 was repeated. The campaign was fierce and the outcome uncertain. Its outstanding episode was the "Roosevelt invasion." He came to Colorado accompanied by Senator Lodge. At Denver Senator Wolcott joined the party. They had the campaigners' usual experiences until they reached Cripple Creek and Victor. Their meeting in these camps was hostile. It became turbulent and then riotous. Physical violence was threatened, but fortunately for all and especially for the good name of the State, the disorder did not pass beyond the limits of vocal demonstration.

The resentment of the crowd was not directed toward Governor Roosevelt personally. Senator Wolcott was the cause and the object of it. His pre-election pledge to support that party in 1896 which espoused the silver cause and his subsequent repudiation of it rankled in the minds of the miners, and his presence in the great gold camp gave them the opportunity for a vocal display of their opinion of it upon a somewhat large scale. That his companions on the platform were the Governor of New York and the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts mattered not a whit. The audience was no respecter of persons, and did not attempt to discriminate. And its conduct was both disgraceful and without excuse.

The Republican campaign managers with their traditional shrewdness cleverly converted the incident into an unjustifiable outrage upon their vice presidential candidate. Dressed in that garb it did valiant service for the cause all over the country, and undoubtedly brought much support to the ticket. The State, however, endorsed the Fusion ticket. The Fusion candidates, with James B. Orman at the head, were elected by a substantial majority.

The battle centered upon the legislative tickets. Senator Wolcott sought to succeed himself, and to that end a Republican legislature must be chosen. He made a wonderful but hopeless fight. His campaign fund was prodigious and was prodigally employed. His lieutenants secured the support of the Democratic sheriff of Arapahoe County, who surrounded the polls in many precincts with armed deputies. These came into early and violent conflict with the municipal police, and after one or two bloody engagements they were routed and the election proceeded peacefully and properly throughout the city. The Fusionists prevailed generally, capturing both houses of the General Assembly by preponderant majorities. In January, 1901, they chose Honorable T. M. Patterson for Senator and on March 4th following Senator Wolcott retired from public life. He is the most outstanding figure among all those who up to this time have represented the State in the upper house of the national legislature. Endowed with genius of the highest order, and possessing the gift of persuasive eloquence, united with an admirable physique and a voice resonant with the melody of silver bells, he early took and always held a place in the first rank of forensic orators. Notice of a speech by him never failed to fill the Senate galleries. His arrogance toward opponents, his dominating will, and his impetuous, impulsive, and frequently changing judgment ill fitted him for leadership at a time when the overpowering importance of vital problems forced every man to declare himself and defy, if necessary, the lash of party discipline. Between the clashing insistence of the one with the unyielding demands of the other, Senator Wolcott went down to permanent defeat. Yet it is his portrait, limned in a many colored window of the State Capitol, which sheds its radiance upon the walls of the Senate Chamber.

The quiet course of Governor Orman's administration was rudely disturbed by a formidable labor outbreak in San Miguel County. The mine owners of that section introduced the contract system of mine development over the opposition of the Western Federation of Miners, then dominant in Southwestern Colorado. A few days after the contract miners began operations, the organized miners forcibly seized both the mines and the workers. The latter were rounded up, submitted to many and nameless indignities, and then forced to march across the Continental Divide to Ouray County. One or two lost their lives. Appeals were made by the mine owners for protection. On the other hand the Governor was admonished not to interfere. A state senator advised him that the miners were "in peaceable possession of all the mines and hostilities were over." Hence no occasion for troops existed. The Governor thus beset by conflicting requests, hesitated and did nothing. The Federation then dictated the terms of peace, and the expelled miners were left without redress. A few nights afterward one of the operators who had advised the contract system was assassinated in his own house and others warned of a similar fate. Some left the county, others remained, but with no protection save that which they were able to provide for themselves. For the next two years the only law in San Miguel County was the will of the Western Federation.

Machine politics have featured in Denver, as elsewhere, with the advent of the public utility. It knows no distinctive party, being common to all organizations. Being always with the majority and changing as it does, the evil has thus far proven ineradicable. Other remedies and palliatives having miscarried, the Thirteenth General Assembly proposed, and at the ensuing General Election the people ratified, the Twentieth Article of the Constitution. This Article, popularly known as the "Rush Amendment," created a municipality known as the City and County of Denver, and endowed it with political jurisdiction in many respects equal to and independent of State Control in affairs of local concern. The City and County governments are blended, party tickets and labels obliterated, franchises are granted by popular vote, and the initiative, referendum, and

recall are available to the voter, who is clothed with primary and ultimate authority in and over all matters of a municipal character.

The validity of the Article was challenged and bitterly assailed upon its adoption, but was finally sustained by the Supreme Court. Since then the innovation has worked with practical success, but the perfect municipality predicted of its establishment has not been visualized. That is still beyond and doubtless far beyond the horizon of public affairs. Like most political changes, the form has changed, but the conditions remain.

“For forms of Government let fools contest
That which is best administered is best.”

Pope might well have reminded us that that which is best administered is also the cheapest. Our City and County Government is, however, quite as good as, and in some respects better than the system it succeeded. A unified Government, ruled by a responsible head, is a long advance from a dual one with practically no head at all.

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the State's admission was celebrated at Colorado Springs in July, 1901, by a banquet at the Antlers Hotel, under the auspices of the pioneer residents of that city, and by similar though less notable gatherings elsewhere. The banquet was attended by the Governor and several of his predecessors, by Senators Teller and Patterson, with Vice President Roosevelt as the principal speaker and guest of the evening. His presence invoked a notable and prolonged demonstration, emphasized perhaps by the unspoken memories of his visit of a year before. He was presented by Senator Teller; and in a most appropriate and felicitous address he sketched the industrial and commercial development of the young Commonwealth, paid a handsome tribute to the enterprise and patriotism of her people, and predicted a much more extensive expansion of resources, wealth and population for the second quarter century of her existence. Senator Patterson in equally felicitous and appropriate phrase then expressed to the distinguished guest the appreciation of his audience, of the City and the State, for the honor of his presence, and the opportunity thus given them to express the hope that his return to the State offered the occasion to personally

wish for him many years of life, activity and public service. Within sixty days thereafter President McKinley was murdered at Buffalo, and Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States.

The election of 1902 presented nothing of particular local interest beyond the fact that fusion of parties and factions definitely opposed to the regular Republican organization was abandoned. The Silver Republican party disappeared. The Populist party nominated a ticket of its own after its offer of fusion with the Democratic party was rejected. Its vote was negligible and its organization thereupon collapsed. The two traditional parties now opposed each other as distinctive entities for the first time in twelve years. The Republican ticket headed by James H. Peabody was successful. The Democrats reelected John C. Bell to Congress from the Second District and maintained sufficient control over the State Senate to give it a very slender majority in joint session of the two houses. Hence the supporters of Senator Wolcott determined to make an effort to capture enough support from the Democratic membership in the House to return him to the Senate.

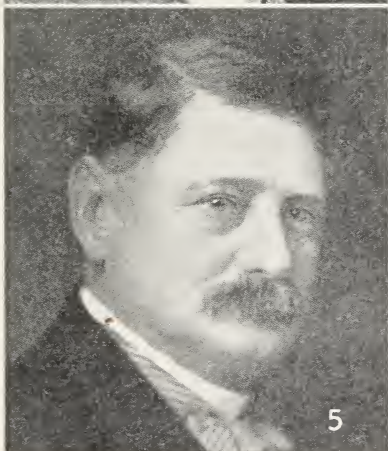
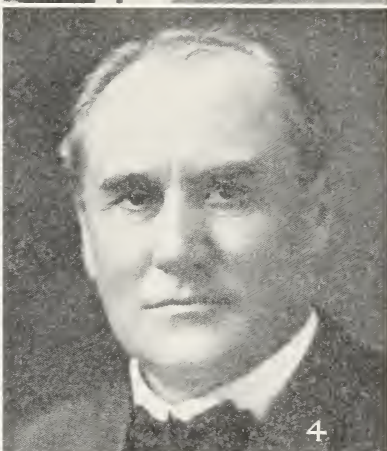
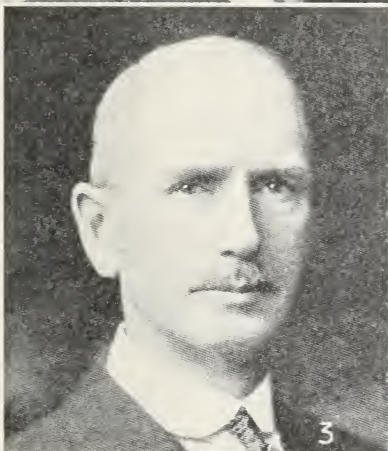
The contest really began with the official announcement of the result of the election. Senator Teller was naturally the Democratic candidate. Contests were initiated, especially against Senators-elect, and apprehensions of violence in seating or unseating those whose elections were challenged prompted the taking of every precaution. The Senate became a garrison. Its Democratic members remained in the Chamber by day and by night, heavily guarded by detachments of police which relieved each other at regular intervals. Meals were served on the floor of the Senate and in adjacent committee rooms. No outsiders were permitted on the floor. The House with its Republican majority was equally vigilant, but conducted its sessions in the usual way.

When the time arrived for taking the ballot by each House separately one or two Democratic House members were absent. Hence a full vote was impossible. Wolcott prevailed in the House and Teller in the Senate. The vote disclosed the fact that a full party vote in joint session would in the absence of a change by two individual mem-

bers give Teller a bare majority. Hence the House declined to meet with the Senate. After two or three days of inaction, the Democratic members of both Houses met in joint session in the Senate Chamber, organized and cast a unanimous vote for Henry M. Teller. A majority of the total vote of the membership of both Houses having been cast for him, the Secretary of the Senate certified the fact to the Governor and to the Secretary of the United States Senate. Two days afterward Mr. Wolcott issued a public statement declaring that Mr. Teller had been lawfully chosen to the Senate of the United States, and withdrawing from the contest, which then subsided. Governor Peabody signed Mr. Teller's commission, who thereupon began his sixth and last term of service at Washington.

Governor Peabody's administration was tormented by a continuing series of industrial controversies. They began in April, 1903, with strikes in the mines of Cripple Creek and the mills of Colorado City. He promptly responded to a local call for troops, which were sent principally to the latter point. The outbreak, after the lapse of three or four weeks, subsided, the men returned to work, and the trouble was seemingly over. But the Western Federation of Miners was now dominated by men like William Haywood, who had determined to extend the membership of the organization to all coördinated classes of labor, such as mill and smelter men, ore handlers, machinists, engineers and supply men. Having accomplished this object, the next move contemplated was a broader and more communistic organization, which was launched the next year in Chicago and christened the Industrial Workers of the World.

The April strike had barely subsided when trouble broke out afresh, this time extending over all the coal and metal mining regions of the State. It resulted in a general tie-up of the mining industry accompanied by destruction of property, outrages to the person, forcible ejection of non-union miners, assassinations, raids on supply stores, etc. Cripple Creek soon became the most active center of the strife. The mine owners and merchants of the district promptly organized a protective association, employed an efficient peace force, and kept the county fairly free from disorder



COLORADO GOVERNORS

1. James B. Orman. 2. James H. Peabody. 3. Jesse F. McDonald.
4. Henry A. Buchtel. 5. John F. Shafroth. 6. Elias M. Ammons.

for a time. There and in San Miguel County, however, the sheriffs and the constabulary were members of the unions and woefully lax in the enforcement of the law and the protection of non-strikers against assault and outrage.

In June the National Guard was again mobilized and placed under the command of Adjutant General Sherman Bell. Except small detachments stationed at Telluride and Trinidad, the troops were massed at Cripple Creek. Clashes between the military and civil authorities were of almost daily occurrence. In Teller County the sheriff and constables and some other county officers, all members of the Western Federation, were finally compelled to resign under threat of deportation. Their places were filled by the Governor with men selected by the citizens' organization. Arbitrary arrests by the military were succeeded by writs of habeas corpus from the courts, whose orders of release were in turn ignored by the Adjutant General. Finally William Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, was arrested at Telluride, upon a complaint alleging desecration of the flag, and brought to Denver. The Governor having previously declared the County of San Miguel to be in a state of insurrection, the military authorities acted upon their own initiative. A writ of habeas corpus issued upon Moyer's petition brought the prisoner to Denver. The Supreme Court, after exhaustive argument, dismissed the writ, holding in effect that the Governor's proclamation of martial law was an executive act not subject to review by the Judicial Department on the return of the writ.

In May of 1904 an explosion occurred at a railway station on Battle Mountain in the Cripple Creek District in the early morning, just after a number of strike breakers had landed from a local train. It killed several of them outright and mangled many more. It was naturally and properly attributed to the striking miners. It was also the culmination of a series of similar outrages, each taking a toll of life from those at work in the mines.

This horrible crime wrought the community to a frenzy of excitement and a mad lust for retaliation. All those prominent in the leadership and direction of the strike and many of the rank and file were rounded up, imprisoned in

the military guard houses, and then bundled into freight cars, deported from the State and dumped on the plains of Kansas and New Mexico, with a warning never to return on pain of death. This method of punishment, although a natural reaction to the awful crime of the Union was as lawless and inexcusable as the crime itself. Doubtless many of those deported were innocent of complicity and probably of knowledge of the explosion, while those who were guilty should have been punished as the constitution and the laws require. Denunciation of the murders was universal until the deportations became known, when denunciation of the Governor and his military subordinates was equally widespread. The episode gave the strikers a sympathy which they had not enjoyed before, and while their crimes were not palliated, the immediate result was condemned not more because of its inherent illegality than because of the precedent which public approval of it might establish.

The Battle Mountain explosion killed many of the strike breakers, but it killed the strike as well. Within ten days it collapsed everywhere. The open shop was established in place of the Union. In the coal mining counties the strikers had migrated to other districts early in the conflict and their places had been taken by emigrants direct from Southeastern Europe. Their naturalization by wholesale during the spring and summer of 1904 was due to the disgraceful and shameless competition of the two great parties for their votes through the corruption of their bosses.

The strike and Governor Peabody's manner of handling it supplied the political material for the campaign of 1904. Governor Peabody was renominated by his party. He was opposed by former Governor Alva Adams, whose platform while denouncing the lawlessness and deploring the crimes of the miners, denounced also the executive for declaring martial law, and substituting the military for the civil authorities in the regions of disturbance. Deportation without trial or inquiry was the ripe fruit of such usurpations of power. The issue overshadowed the national contest, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams by a substantial majority.

An incident of the campaign was a petition to the Supreme Court by the Attorney General in the name of

the State, urging that tribunal to take charge and control of the election in the City and County of Denver. He alleged as the basis of his action that the election authorities and judges were in conspiracy to carry the election for the Democratic candidates regardless of the vote actually and legitimately cast by the voters of the community, by a system of false and fictitious registration whereby thousands of spurious ballots would be placed in the ballot boxes by repeaters and others having no right to vote but registered for that purpose, and that the object of the conspiracy would be successfully accomplished unless the Supreme Court should assume jurisdiction over and supervise and control the officers and judges of the election, the casting and counting of the ballots and the making of the returns thereof.

The Supreme Court entertained jurisdiction of this extraordinary and unprecedented controversy, entered its decree in accordance with the prayer of the petition, supervised the election from its commencement to its close. But the county went Democratic nevertheless; whereupon supplementary proceedings were instituted charging various election officers with violation of the court's orders, by receiving and counting unlawful votes, etc., etc. Ancillary orders were therefore made after hearings on the charges, some of which were sustained, re-canvasses ordered and votes rejected or retained as the court determined. The final result favored the greater part of the Republican ticket, but leaving Adams with a majority over Peabody, who thereupon determined to contest the election before the General Assembly.

Meanwhile Adams qualified as Governor and assumed the discharge of his official duties without opposition. The contest was exciting and vigorous. As it approached the hour for decision Peabody's defeat became manifest, since the majority for Adams seemed proof against every assault upon it. On the other hand the opposition to Adams was equally unyielding. A compromise was thereupon proposed to the majority by Senator Morton Alexander, under the terms of which the contestor should be sustained by the majority, but conditioned upon his immediate resignation; whereupon Lieutenant Governor Jesse F. McDonald should

become Governor by constitutional succession. This suggestion was accepted by the contestor and was thereupon adopted by the General Assembly. Immediately after the final vote Peabody took the oath of office, filed his resignation and gave way to Governor McDonald, who served for the remainder of the term. The compromise was creditable neither to the Assembly nor to Governor Peabody; and while the general public acquiesced, since it ended an unhappy controversy and brought political peace to the Commonwealth, the general sentiment condemned it as an unjustifiable evasion of its duty by the General Assembly, which should have decided the contest upon its merits and awarded the office to one or the other of the contestants.

The most serious political outgrowth of this compromise was the bitter schism which it created in the Democratic party. Senator Patterson's newspaper laid the responsibility for Adams' defeat to the so-called Denver machine, which under the direction of Mayor Robert W. Speer was at best indifferent to the result. The relations between the City Government and the public utilities were very cordial, and the latter were extremely active in supporting Peabody, both politically and financially. No doubt the charge of disloyalty constantly reiterated by the *News* was much exaggerated. But the rank and file of the party believed it. Senator Patterson, therefore, had no difficulty in organizing a movement for the purpose of wresting control of the party from the City Hall machine or repudiating it altogether. The party convention of 1906 was therefore the most turbulent and in some respects the most important one in its history. It developed animosities which have not yet wholly subsided although most of the actors in the drama have passed away. The Patterson faction organized the convention, seated its delegation from Denver, ousted the machine and expelled it from the Convention. It then proceeded to nominate Ex-Governor Adams for Governor, with an excellent list of candidates for the subordinate positions on the State ticket. But its victory over the City Hall cost it dearly, since those ejected from the party took no part in the campaign, and the Republican ticket, headed by Reverend Henry A. Buchtel, won easily at the polls. A different course in the Democratic Convention would in

all probability have brought a different result on election day. And Senator Patterson's victory was wholly barren of permanent results, for the City Hall machine remained intact, and Mr. Speer in the spring of 1908 was nominated and reelected to the Mayoralty of the City.

The General Assembly of 1907 was overwhelmingly Republican. It retired Senator Patterson by choosing Mr. Simon Guggenheim as his successor. The latter for more than four years had been an avowed candidate for the position, and during that period had maintained an active organization of his own for the attainment of his ambition. It was well officered and financed. It functioned so effectively that all other candidacies disappeared before the campaign had fairly begun.

Mr. Guggenheim's candidacy was not agreeable to a large proportion of his party, and his success was less so. The use of money in promoting his purpose was bitterly criticized, although many of his predecessors had established precedents to which he might readily appeal. This sentiment was persistent and had much to do with the results of the succeeding State election. But Senator Guggenheim served his constituency and observed the duties and requirements of his high position to the best of his ability. He was industrious, constant in his attendance, modest, courteous and obliging. He attempted nothing beyond his capacities, responded to all requests for assistance by his constituents without regard to politics or class, and in all particulars upheld the standards fixed by his predecessors. His relations with his venerable colleague, Senator Teller, were cordial and considerate, as indeed they were with all his colleagues.

Senator Guggenheim was moreover one of the most public spirited of our successful business men. His gifts to the State University, the Agricultural College, the Normal School, and the School of Mines, finding expression in spacious and much needed buildings, were supplemented by many benefactions of which the public never heard, and his most recent establishment of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, providing Fellowships for advanced study abroad and for the acquisition of knowledge, with its princely endowment of \$3,000,000 has placed

him in the ranks of that long line of American philanthropists whose wealth has enriched and promoted the well being and progress of the race. In honoring him as one of her chosen representatives at the National Capital, Colorado has reflected herself beyond present estimation.

Controversies proceeding from the interference by the Supreme Court with the Denver election in 1904, together with others involving municipal and railway franchises, reached their final determination about this time. The decisions were bitterly criticized by Senator Patterson, both by editorial and cartoon, one of the latter being an adaption of the picture of the vain appeal of the fallen gladiator to the vestals for mercy. The majority of the court finally took notice of these attacks by directing the Attorney General to initiate contempt proceedings against the publishing company and Senator Patterson, which was done accordingly. The latter promptly filed an answer for both respondents, admitting the charge and assuming all responsibility therefor, affirmed the truth of everything published, and set forth with minute elaboration the alleged facts upon which they were made. He declared also that appointments of some of the judges had been made with the understanding as to what their decisions of the cases should be, and went into the details of the circumstances. The answer duly verified was a highly sensational document, and its outstanding features were published throughout the State.

The Attorney General countered by motion for judgment; contending that the answer admitted the contempt, the truth or falsity of the charges being immaterial. This contention prevailed, and Senator Patterson was adjudged guilty of contempt and sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand dollars. This way of disposing of the case which avoided a trial on the merits amazed and angered the public, which construed it as a confession of the truth of the Senator's charges. The latter was for a few days the most popular man in the State. The country newspapers proposed a popular contribution of a penny per head from the people for the payment of the fine. Had this been done or had the Senator himself made immediate payment he would have received an ovation.

But in an evil hour and against the advice of all his counsel save one, he determined to take the controversy to the Supreme Court of the United States on writ of error. An excellent lawyer himself, he must have known that it could not be done. But he persisted; and the Chief Justice of the State readily granted the writ which the Supreme Court of the United States promptly and properly dismissed. The people who wanted a martyr were deprived of their wish. Mr. Patterson's writ of error was construed as meaning that he was more concerned for the fine than for the cause; and public interest in the episode subsided. But the political complexion of the Supreme Court underwent a complete change at the ensuing election.

The course of the Buchtel administration was a smooth one, with little to disturb its even flow. National politics were, however, in constant flux because of the strenuous and all-pervading activities of President Roosevelt, which concerned themselves with all the social, political, and industrial affairs of the country. His spectacular journey down the Mississippi in the fall of 1907, punctuated with addresses wherever a landing was made, and devoted chiefly to severe criticism of the magnates of big business was followed by a severe financial panic, starting as usual with two or three outstanding bank failures in New York. The misfortune was attributed to the President's advocacy of legislation "with teeth in it" to be enacted by the ensuing Congress, authorizing the Executive to deal with the evil in drastic fashion. More probably, however, its genesis was not materially different from that of similar catastrophes, except that the terrible property loss inflicted upon California by the earthquake of the previous year and the need for supplying that section with adequate financial aid was a contributing cause to the disaster. But the outcry against the President was persistent and did much to weaken his party supremacy; for the shadow of the panic still hung over the land when the political struggle of 1908 began.

The conservative wing of the Republican party controlled that party in Colorado. It nominated former Governor McDonald for Governor and indorsed Mr. Clarence C. Hamlin of El Paso County for United States Senator.

The Democrats opposed this ticket with Honorable John F. Shafroth, for Governor, and Honorable Charles J. Hughes of Denver for Senator. Governor McDonald's nomination enabled the Democrats to revive the memories of the Peabody-Adams contest, while the general character of his ticket and platform inclined Roosevelt partisans toward the Democratic side of the contest. Moreover the *News* gave its powerful support to the ticket, which triumphed at the polls. The victory was complete, since it included the General Assembly, thus securing Mr. Hughes' election to the Senate to succeed Senator Henry M. Teller, who was now to retire from public life after a continuous service of nearly thirty-three years.

This remarkable man enjoyed the constant and unshaken confidence of the people of Colorado from the commencement of his residence among them in 1862 until his death in the summer of 1914. He early acquired eminence at the Bar, and his election to the Senate in 1876 was a deserved tribute to his well earned prominence as a citizen and a lawyer. His unavoidable identification with the Hill-Chaffee feud has been noted. But he emerged from it stronger than before; and when the silver question became a burning one, Senator Teller, though not its most conspicuous, was its most capable and persistent champion. In the Republican Convention of 1896 he led the silver forces in a vain attempt to secure some friendly recognition by his party, and failing, it was he who led the defeated and seceding delegates from its walls. His convictions thus brought him into the Democratic fold, where he was welcomed with open arms. So transparent was his integrity that his bitterest critic never charged him with insincerity or a frugal regard for his own political fortunes. He could have done nothing else. His newly acquired associates twice renewed his commission to the Senate, and but for his weight of years would have honored him with yet another term. He died full of years and of honors, beloved and mourned by the people he had served so long and so well.

Early in his administration Governor Shafroth found himself in conflict with the General Assembly because of the indifference of the latter to party pledges, notably as

to Bank Guaranties, the Primary, and the Initiative and Referendum. They differed also as to appropriations of the public moneys, the Governor being insistent upon practical economy in administration in fact, and the Assemblymen being enamored of it in theory. His Excellency prevailed as to this difficulty, having discovered legal authority for the exercise of the veto power as to amounts as well as to items. He, therefore, established a pruning system which he made very effective, and to which his successors have frequently resorted, notwithstanding bureaucratic opposition to it.

Bureaucracy in Colorado differs in no respect from the type everywhere prevalent in America. Even its growth is not a distinctive feature. With the introduction of the system which Elihu Root aptly called "Administrative law," Boards, Bureaus and Commissions have grown like mushrooms in State and Nation. Including the State Institutions, so-called, sixty of them are housed in the State Capitol and adjacent buildings erected for their accommodation. These exercise jurisdiction over divers activities ranging from Land Commissions to barbers and embalmers. They impose a heavy burden upon the taxpayers, fully half of them are excrescences, and the other half might well be consolidated into a tenth of their number, in the interest both of efficiency and economy.

Late in 1910 the Governor summoned the legislature in extra session and charged it with the duty of translating political pledges into statutes. It persevered in its obstinacy with the exception of the Initiative and Referendum, which it submitted to the popular vote as a proposed constitutional amendment, and which was ratified at the ensuing election by a large majority. It has been in practical operation for fifteen years, and like nearly all political panaceas it has been disappointing. Legislation thus enacted is neither wiser nor more efficient than that of the General Assembly. It is not so well considered, often crudely framed, is not subject to amendment and is very expensive. Yet it cannot be said that popular sentiment has yet crystallized against it.

Governor Shafroth was renominated after a bitter contest, together with practically all his associates of 1908,

and was reelected by a largely increased majority in 1910. The party maintained its majority in the General Assembly as well.

The death of Senator Hughes after a long illness occurring in January, 1911, a spirited contest for the succession was speedily staged with Mayor Speer as the leading candidate. The opposition of the *News* and that of other candidates who combined their forces against him was too formidable to be overcome. On the other hand the Mayor's strength was equally obdurate. A trench warfare thereupon ensued, which was prolonged to the end of the legislative session. The General Assembly having adjourned without filling the vacancy, and the Governor being without power to fill it by appointment because it occurred while the legislature was in session, Colorado was represented for more than two years by a single senator.

The most conspicuous work of the General Assembly was its enactment of a primary law, modelled upon those of other western States, and designed to cure the abuses of the prevailing convention system of selecting candidates for public position; the theory being that, given the machinery for popular nominations, the people would readily use it and display the same interest in the selection of candidates as in their election. But the results have not justified the assumption. Indifference to the primary is as noticeable as indifference to the party caucus upon which the convention system was founded. Those who attended and controlled the caucus are those who for the most part attend the primaries, and the ease with which nominations can be influenced by the votes of opposing party men and women, the enormously increased campaign expenses of candidates, their multiplication and the general prevalence of plurality selections have largely cooled the zeal of the primary advocate and encouraged attempts to repeal the system. It is too early, however, to predict its ultimate fate.

Its first results in 1912 were the nominations of Elias M. Ammons, Democrat; Clifford Parks, Republican, and Edward P. Costigan, Progressive, for the office of Governor. The triangular campaign gave the Democratic ticket an easy victory for the National and State tickets. Governor Shafroth was chosen United States Senator for the long

and Charles S. Thomas for the short term caused by the death of Senator Hughes. Governor Ammons' administration was tormented almost from its inception to its close by the most protracted and turbulent strike in the history of the State. It was confined to the coal mining districts which, scattered over the State, embroiled nearly every part of it. The miners were militant in the northern lignite region, Routt, Fremont and La Plata counties, and especially so in the southern fields, covering Huerfano and Las Animas counties.

In the latter county the striking miners had secured a tract of ground commanding the mouth of a cañon forming the gateway to a considerable group of coal mines belonging to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, thus blocking ingress and egress and preventing the delivery of supplies of men and provisions to or the transport of coal from them. The railway stations were everywhere picketed, and soon assaults and assassinations became frequent, and as usual the local authorities appealed to the Governor for assistance. That official responded by mobilizing the National Guard and sending them to the disturbed areas. They disarmed the strikers wherever possible, removed the miners and their families from their strategic base above noted, and earnestly endeavored to keep the peace, enforce order, and protect the operators and their employees against outrage and murder. But the situation grew more tense and both sides more determined as time passed. Finally a collision between a few strikers and a small detachment of soldiers at Ludlow station fired the train.

This incident attended by a few minor casualties was at once magnified out of all proportion to its importance. It was described as a massacre of women and children by a brutal soldiery. Appeal was made to organized workmen everywhere to rescue the imperilled miners and their families from impending disaster, and many of them armed and mobilized as requested. In the mining districts lawlessness increased with alarming rapidity. Mining stores, some of them belonging to neutral companies, were looted, and some bins and tipples were wrecked.

The excitement spread far beyond the confines of the State. New York and Washington were stirred over the

Ludlow Massacre quite as much as Trinidad and Denver. Mass meetings were held in many cities to denounce the coal operators and the unhappy Governor. The Senate and House of Representatives were deluged with telegrams demanding all sorts of legislative remedies for the punishment of the slaughterers of the innocent. The Governor and his advisers informed the President that the State seethed with domestic insurrection and beseeched him to invoke his constitutional powers as the only means for its suppression.

The President responded but only after much deliberation. He was averse to Federal interference in State affairs, and it required the reiterated assurance of the Colorado Congressional delegation that the emergency was fully as grave as represented by the Governor, fortified by the counsel of the Attorney General and the Secretary of War to overcome his reluctance and induce him to act. When he did so he determined to put the disturbed areas under the exclusive control of the national military authority; a conclusion most welcome to the Governor and to the public at large. Even the striker element seemed relieved, although protesting against any interference.

But it was not then nor since generally known that Mr. Wilson, having decided to honor Governor Ammons' request for Federal aid, determined also to take possession of the coal mines in the districts affected by the strike and hold them in Federal custody until order was restored and the State should have resumed its local supremacy over them. Such were his verbal orders to the Secretary of War at the outset, and while they were never changed they were not embodied in any written instruction to that official or to the officers in command of the district. The Secretary of War under the circumstances construed the order as in some degree discretionary; and determined to overlook it until it should assume official form, which it never did. His wise policy was fully vindicated by events, as the President either overlooked the incident, or upon reflection changed his mind about it.

The situation changed for the better with the arrival of the Federal troops and the establishment of the National authority. Law was imposed and order enforced vigor-

ously, yet without resistance. The potency of the Federal government and its impersonal character united with the external and visible evidences of its ability to make its orders effective, was never more speedily and thoroughly demonstrated. The National Guard was mustered out of service, the mines gradually resumed their normal activities and the radical strike leaders disappeared, while a Congressional committee made the characteristic investigation into causes and conditions, whose tedium postponed the final report to a period too remote to be of interest to the actors or of benefit to the public.

A more practical inquiry was made by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who with his father and immediate associates controlled the great Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Mr. Rockefeller's inquiry was largely made by himself. He visited the several mines belonging to the company, spent much time with the miners both underground and on the surface, inspected their homes, consulted their women, counseled with the union leaders, conferred with the managers of other companies, welcomed counsel and suggestion from any and all sources, invited the coöperation of public officials and of the press, and finally evolved a policy of management and operation whereby all interests were consulted and permanently represented, all disputes might be peaceably and if possible satisfactorily adjusted, the unions recognized, and the non-union men safeguarded against injury or discrimination.

His plan encountered vigorous opposition and widespread criticism from all classes, much of which was justified. But nothing better was offered or suggested; and so the plan was put into effect by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, since which time it has been in constant operation. It is by no means an unqualified success; not as much so as its advocates anticipated, but far more so than its opponents predicted. It is far and away superior to anything hitherto attempted in the West, and it is perhaps not too much to hope that if changes and modifications come with the suggestions of experience it may largely accomplish the objects for which it was designed: industrial peace and prosperity to the employer, the wage earner, and the State. It has fully vindicated itself as a deterrent of

industrial disorders, for the State has been almost wholly free from them since its application to the coal mining industry; a condition to which the "Rockefeller plan" largely contributed.

The Federal occupation was prolonged through the year, during which period the campaign and election of 1914 occurred. Again the strike became the principal political issue in the State. The Republicans condemned it unreservedly and commended Governor Ammons for his efforts to protect life and property and enforce the law. Its candidate for Governor was George A. Carlson of Fort Collins.

The Democrats accepted the issue thus tendered. It condemned the mine owners as the instigators of the trouble, charged them with responsibility for the ensuing disorder and violence, condoned the conduct of the strikers and declined to endorse Governor Ammons' administration or to approve his methods of law enforcement. Its nominee for Governor was former Senator Thomas M. Patterson, who was the embodiment of the platform declarations. He was in his 75th year, but mentally as vigorous and combative as ever.

The prohibition issue played an important though minor part in the campaign. A proposed prohibition amendment was up for determination, championed by a strong organization and opposed by another. These concerned themselves chiefly with that subject, but demanded positive expression regarding it from the party committees and also from the candidates. The Democratic attitude was for local option, which during the previous quarter century had been widely and successfully applied and under whose operation the large majority of the towns and counties had gone dry. Mr. Carlson on the other hand advocated the amendment.

Mr. Patterson during a long and stormy political and journalistic career had given mortal offense to many, perhaps to most, of the prominent members of his own party, notably in the City and County of Denver. None of these were over-enthusiastic in his support, and many of them rejoiced that he had become a candidate for the popular approval, thus supplying them with the unexpected but welcome opportunity for squaring accounts.

The "strike issue" was nevertheless the paramount

feature of the campaign. It ran a line of cleavage across the two parties particularly in the counties directly implicated in the trouble and then under the Federal military authority. This division favored the Republican ticket which in public opinion championed order and security. Of strife the State had had altogether too much. The Republicans elected their candidate for Governor by an enormous majority. Their State ticket was successful except as to Attorney General, Justice of the Supreme Court, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Democratic national ticket was successful, except as to the Representative from the Second District. The proposed prohibition amendment to the Constitution was also ratified, and took effect on January 1, 1916.

With the incoming administration strike conditions virtually ceased, the Federal troops were withdrawn, and the State authority resumed. Labor, particularly that of the coal miner, received careful attention from the General Assembly, and before Governor Carlson's term expired a better and more cordial relation was established between the body of employers and the body of workmen.

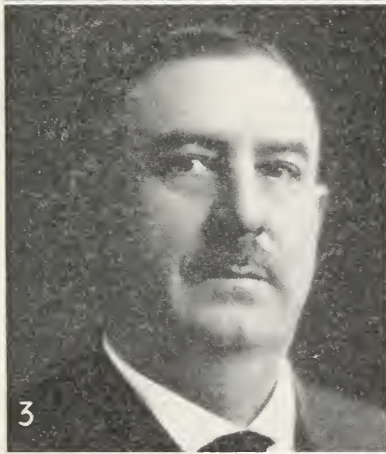
The European War during the year 1915 created a great and abnormal demand for all American products, especially munitions, food stuffs and draught horses. This demand grew with the passing of the months, showering prosperity on farmers, stockraisers and manufacturers alike. These conditions were very naturally credited to the administration, giving it the advantage which it had not earned, but which made the agricultural states practically solid for Mr. Wilson in the Presidential election of 1916. He carried Colorado by 76,000 majority. The Democratic state ticket, led by Judge Julius C. Gunter, was elected by a smaller majority, while the Congressional delegation remained as before.

The President was inaugurated in March, 1917, shortly before and after which swiftly moving events clearly foreshadowed the entry of the United States into the World War. The die was cast when the President gave his passports to the German Ambassador in February, followed by a formal declaration of war early in April. Colorado's attitude during the critical period covered by this mighty

struggle was not different from that of her sister Commonwealths. She promptly and cheerfully met every demand and requirement of the national authority whether for men, money, or sacrifice. The Governor rose to every occasion demanding executive action or direction, party lines and partisan advantage were put aside and the Commonwealth, like all the others, became the embodiment of unity and patriotism. But with the approaching triumph of the Allied cause in the autumn of 1918 came relaxation from the strain of nearly two years, and with it the recrudescence of social and political antagonisms. With the approach of the biennial general elections the usual preparations for the presidential campaign were made.

Governor Gunter was defeated for renomination; a blunder as inexcusable as it was unfortunate. He had demonstrated his capacity for administration under the most exacting circumstances, earning and receiving the appreciative gratitude of his constituents and was entitled to a continuation of official life during the progress of the war. But enmities aroused by the distribution of patronage and a reluctance on his part to vigorously prosecute a personal campaign gave the nomination to Mr. Thomas J. Tynan.

The Republican nominee was Mr. Oliver H. Shoup of El Paso County. The terrible epidemic of influenza then prevalent the world over prevented the usual campaign procedure. Public meetings of every character were inhibited by the health authorities. Hence political discussions and solicitings were conducted through the columns of the press and by the mails. A doubtful prospect was dissipated by the President's letter appealing for support because of war conditions. Properly phrased it might have procured a favorable response. But Mr. Wilson very unwisely cast imputations upon the motives behind Republican support of his Administration. This justly angered them. They voted solidly for their own nominees and gained control of both Houses of Congress. Governor Shoup was elected. Senator Shafroth was defeated by Mr. Lawrence C. Phipps, and the entire Republican Congressional ticket with the exception of Mr. E. T. Taylor of the Fourth District was returned.



GOVERNORS OF COLORADO, 1915-27

1. George A. Carlson. 2. Julius C. Gunter. 3. Oliver H. Shoup.
4. William E. Sweet. 5. Clarence J. Morley. 6. William H. Adams.

With the Armistice of November 11th, 1918, came a mass of problems national and international, many of which still vex the affairs of the Nation. The forthcoming treaty, the return of the troops, the adjustment of Army and Navy contracts, and of financial relations with the Allied Nations, the return of the railways to their owners, and the project of a League of Nations to perpetuate the peace of the world retired actual and potential matters of local concern to the wings of the stage. But with the passing of the hectic days of war, of prosperity, and the collapse of foreign markets in 1920, domestic affairs, especially those of agriculture, became all absorbing.

In the early days of Mr. Wilson's first administration an agrarian movement began in North Dakota due to the command of the grain markets of the northwest by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce. The farmers sought relief through trading organizations of their own, with the financial aid of St. Paul banking interests, but with indifferent success. They then determined to obtain control of the State government and use its corporate and sovereign powers as middleman in milling, storing, transporting and financing the products of its people. To this end the Non-Partisan League was organized. The movement spread rapidly over the State which soon passed under its control; and in 1920 its managers determined to extend its influence throughout all the western agricultural states. Its outstanding method of operation was the capture or control of the machinery of one and if possible of both the major political parties.

Its organizers appeared in Colorado in 1919, and made rapid headway with their propaganda in the agricultural sections. In the fall of 1920 they were powerful enough to nominate one of their members, Mr. James Collins, a wealthy and much respected farmer, for Governor on the Democratic ticket, together with many of the other candidates, and then formally gave the ticket the indorsement of their own organization. It was the North Dakota way, but the result was not. Conservative Democrats were driven to the support of Governor Shoup by these tactics, who was elected by a very heavy majority. The Republican electoral ticket received over 67,000 majority; only 9,000 less than

Mr. Wilson's majority in 1916. The result placed an effectual quietus upon nonpartisan activities in the State, which since then has expressed itself in other ways. Mr. S. D. Nicholson of Leadville was elected U. S. Senator at this time, succeeding Senator Thomas on March 4th following.

The disaster which overwhelmed the City of Pueblo in June, 1921, was easily the most frightful calamity in the history of the State. The flood submerged the central portion of the town, wrecking structures, carrying bridges upon its current, and taking a frightful toll of human life. Its immediate lesson was the need for ample precautions against its recurrence. This required the construction of a carefully devised conservancy system amply capable of restraining any volume of flood waters which might be poured into the river valley, together with needed changes in the channel of the stream. For its preparation and construction specific legislation was essential. Hence Governor Shoup summoned the General Assembly in extra session charged with that duty, which was duly and thoroughly performed. The work was in progress for over two years, and is now (1926) completed. This ensures both the safety and the rapid development of the Arkansas River Valley.

The agricultural depression beginning with 1921, persisted in the face of increased tariffs and the advances of the War Finance Board. The resulting unrest reacted against the National Administration, which in recent times is assumed to possess the resources and the ability to summon prosperity at will. The swing of the electoral pendulum away from the party in power was felt in the State election of 1922, when Mr. William E. Sweet, Democrat, was elected Governor over Benjamin Griffith, Republican. Governor Sweet was a vigorous advocate of the scheme of paternal government as embodied in coöperative marketing and State warehouses and doubtless owed his election to the influences in sympathy with those measures.

Although the scheme for coöperative marketing was enacted, the hostile attitude of the succeeding legislature prevented the execution of the plan in the manner originally intended. The death of Senator Nicholson during his administration created a vacancy which he filled by the

appointment of Mr. Alva B. Adams, who served with marked ability until the election of his successor, Mr. Rice W. Means of Denver, in 1924.

The outstanding political feature of the present decade is the spread and the influence of the Ku Klux Klan. This secret and hooded organization had its origin in the reconstruction days immediately succeeding the close of the Civil War. It was the last resort of the Anglo Saxon South in the struggle between a helpless people and a powerful government, and in which the social and political existence of the former was involved. Its only justification was the instinct of self preservation. It was secret and sheeted because it was lawless, and therefore required the protection of darkness and disguise. It perhaps did more to defeat the national policy of reconstruction than any other factor, but like all associations of that sort it fell under the domination of those sinister forces which prey upon society and nurse personal grudges. These converted the order into an agency for robbery, murder and private vengeance, and for which it was justly held responsible. This perversion of purpose and conduct had its inevitable reaction and justified the charge that it was fundamentally a criminal organization. It was therefore dissolved by order of General N. B. Forrest, its principal officer, for the obvious reason that it had not only outlived its usefulness, but had become a menace to the classes for whose security it had been created. With the proclamation it passed into oblivion.

The suggestion of its revival in 1919 by one Simmons, of Atlanta, was seemingly too absurd to provoke passing comment. But locally it seems to have been welcomed. A lodge was organized with Simmons as the "Imperial Wizard" of the nation, and from the centre thus established the movement spread with amazing rapidity, and within four years it covered the Union and numbered its membership by hundreds of thousands.

We now perceive that this response to the Simmons suggestion, though seemingly spontaneous, was due to a combination of causes, producing a state of mind which was ripe for any movement seemingly designed to meet a crisis. That the crisis was largely imaginary made it

none the less real to minds filled with apprehension of coming evils. The experiences of the colored soldiers in France producing changes in their social demeanor on returning home, the solid support of the Irish Revolution by the Catholic hierarchy in America, to protocols of Zion and their exploitation by Henry Ford, the reorganization under another name of the German-American Alliance, the enormous increase in immigration, furnished a fertile soil for the spread of religious and racial animosities; qualities always dormant in human nature and easily roused into activity, as our political history discloses. Such a combination of anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigration sentiment had never before presented itself for political exploitation. It was avidly seized upon by an equally unique combination of reformers, fanatics, politicians and alarmists, banded into a secret organization, armed with the shibboleth of "One Hundred per cent Americanism," and committed to the economic and political ostracism of Catholic, Jew, Negro and foreigner. Each of these purposes had its special appeal to certain sections and social elements, and to all political adventurers preferring self to principle.

The Klan was warmly welcomed in Colorado. It established itself in Denver, from which it spread throughout the State and became active in political affairs before its nest was warm. It held and used the balance of power in the municipal election of 1923, although its work was too unobtrusive to attract more than passing notice. But with Mayor Stapleton's election it promptly stressed its control of municipal affairs. This was as promptly denied by those officials whose membership it asserted, a denial which the public discounted in view of the custom of Klan membership to so declare whenever deemed expedient or desirable.

Opponents of the mayor unwisely determined to attempt his recall, whereupon the Klan openly opposed the effort, which was largely condemned by popular sentiment. The recall was defeated by a vote of more than two to one; a result which greatly enhanced the prestige of the Klan.

In 1924 the Klan took an active part in the primary elections, generally favoring Republican nominees. Its candidates for state offices and for United States Senator were

successful, only one of them, the nominee for Lieutenant Governor, being a Democrat. The Democratic platform committee declared against it, and while the Republican platform made no reference to it, the Klan became an issue of the campaign. The trend of popular support of the Republican Presidential ticket had developed long in advance of the State primaries; and this, together with the La Follette third party movement, gave the Klan the same advantage which it had enjoyed in the Denver election of 1923. Its candidates, including the lieutenant governor, were elected by decided majorities carrying with them the nominees for the legislature. But for the thirteen hold-over senators it would have controlled both branches of the general assembly. It should be added that a number of the candidates receiving Klan support, notably Senator Phipps and Representative Vaile, are neither members of or in sympathy with that organization.

Ku Kluxism is the recrudescence of a racial-religious ferment, inspired partly by fanaticism and partly by political ambition, which disturbs the normal current of national events at irregular intervals, and which accompany or succeed great crises in our history. It is akin to the anti-foreign outbreaks in New York and other large cities more than a century ago, the anti-Masonic agitation of 1830-34, the Know-nothing craze of 1852-6, and the A. P. A. movement of 1892-6. The Ku Klux Klan differs from these as these differed from each other, chiefly in the names which distinguish them, and like them it will flourish, divide into factions, pass away,¹ and be remembered only for its transient mobilization of many elements of intolerance against that freedom of conscience and of speech which is the unifying element of the composite mass which constitutes the United States of America, and which must be safeguarded against every assault from internal or external aggression, if the Nation shall maintain its growth and accomplish its destiny.

¹ This was written by Senator Thomas in the summer of 1925. Ed.

CHAPTER XVIII

COLORADO IN THE NATION'S WARS

Manly D. Ormes

THE CIVIL WAR: NEW MEXICO IN 1861—PREPARATIONS IN COLORADO FOR WAR—BATTLE OF VALVERDE—BATTLES OF LA GLORIETA PASS—RETREAT OF CONFEDERATES—REORGANIZATION OF COLORADO TROOPS—THIRD REGIMENT OF COLORADO VOLUNTEER INFANTRY—COLORADO TROOPS IN KANSAS AND MISSOURI—THIRD REGIMENT OF COLORADO VOLUNTEER CAVALRY. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR: ASSEMBLING AND ORGANIZATION OF COLORADO QUOTA—COLORADO TROOPS ORDERED TO MANILA—CAPTURE OF MANILA—SUPPRESSION OF THE INSURGENTS—RETURN OF COLORADO'S REGIMENT—FIRST REGIMENT UNITED STATES VOLUNTEER CAVALRY. THE WORLD WAR: COLORADO PREPARES FOR WAR—NATIONAL GUARD MOBILIZED AND FEDERALIZED—SELECTIVE DRAFT—COLORADO'S SUBSCRIPTIONS AND GIFTS OF MONEY—STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE AND ORGANIZED WAR WORK—OUR SOLDIERS IN FRANCE—ARMY OF OCCUPATION—RETURN OF THE TROOPS.

THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War began when the settlements in the territory now known as the State of Colorado, were less than three years old. The men who came and remained, were determined and resolute men, independent and full of resources, hardened in the mines and elsewhere, ready to make the best out of such circumstances as they found. Their first concern was gold, but they did not leave their loyalty to their country behind them when they trekked across the great plains; and when the spectre of disunion arose, they were as interested and patriotic as were their neighbors in the home communities from which they had

come. From this group were recruited the men who were largely responsible for saving the entire Southwest to the cause of the Union.

Governor William Gilpin reached Denver on May 27, 1861. Before he arrived, however, news of the attack on Fort Sumter had come to the territory. People excitedly took sides according to their sympathies. On taking up his duties as governor he found a strong, active and "malignant secession element, ably and secretly organized from November of the previous year." It was most fortunate for the Union cause that Gilpin was governor. Being intensely patriotic and a man of great intelligence, foresight and resolution, he at once proceeded to the work of overwhelming the secession element and of preparing a military organization to take part in the enterprise at hand.

The Confederates had high hopes of adding New Mexico, Arizona, California and possibly Utah to their territory. Texas was certainly a confederate state; Arizona was largely so; and the Mormons of Utah had been in constant conflict from the first with the National government. New Mexico, with a small majority in favor of the Union cause, with a show of force could be drawn into the Confederacy. In California many of the social and political leaders were in favor of breaking up the Union. Even Colorado was divided in sentiment. It will be recalled that the first mining expedition into this region in 1858 hailed from Georgia, headed by William Green Russel and was followed by many others from the South during the next three years, so that at the time of the opening of the Civil War something like a third of the people were in sympathy with the aims of the South.

The government of the Confederacy commissioned General Henry H. Sibley to organize a brigade in Texas, to recruit volunteers in New Mexico, and to capture the latter territory. General Sibley, in the regular army of the United States, had been stationed in New Mexico, and knew intimately the location and condition of all the forts in the territory. Some time before the secession of the Southern states took place, Mr. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War in President Buchanan's cabinet, in sympathy with the southern contention and in anticipation of the conflict, had at

great labor and expense, sent to the various forts in the Southwest all the military supplies they would hold. He also sent into New Mexico, a large number of soldiers of the United States Army and put them in command of officers who were known to be in sympathy with the Southern cause. It was hoped that they could influence the people of that section to cast in their lot with the South, and to carry their armies over bodily with them. In these endeavors they were not largely successful. A few of the higher officers resigned their commands, and enlisted with the armies of the Confederacy, but most of the junior officers, and nearly all the privates remained loyal to the Union cause.

General Sibley's objective was the capture of the forts with their vast military supplies, especially Fort Union; and to drive the Union forces out of New Mexico, when the latter could be organized as a part of the Confederacy. If this enterprise were successful, he would invade Colorado and coerce her also into the Southern organization. The forts to be taken were—beginning in the south and going north—Filmore, Thorn, Craig, Albuquerque, Marcy at Santa Fé, and Union, ninety miles northeast of Santa Fé. These forts were not built to stand bombardment by artillery, being posts established from which small detachments of the regular army could keep in check, and punish if need be, the various hostile Indian tribes infesting the region.

Near the end of December, 1861, General Sibley moved his army across the New Mexico line into the Mesilla Valley, on the east side of the Rio Grande River and 130 miles from the Texas line. In January he continued his march to Fort Thorn, forty miles above, the garrison having vacated it. On the 12th of February he had reached a ford of the Rio Grande seven miles below Fort Craig.

Governor Gilpin, soon after his arrival, started to keep in check secession elements, and to prepare for any emergency that might arise. He sent out his agents to buy all the fire arms of every description he could and all the available ammunition. On August 29, 1861, Governor Gilpin appointed James H. Ford, captain, and authorized him to raise a company of infantry. Alexander W. Robb was appointed first lieutenant, and Cyrus H. De Forrest, second

lieutenant. The next day he appointed Theodore H. Dodd, first lieutenant, with instructions to recruit another company. These two companies were gathered in Canon City, and were completed in December. They were to be the nucleus of the Second Colorado Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and were called "Captain Jim Ford's Independent Company" and "Captain Dodd's Independent Company."

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Colonel William W. Loring had been put in command of the Union Forces in New Mexico with headquarters in Santa Fé, his commission being dated March 22, 1861. He had had an honorable career, having fought in the Mexican War, and in the Indian wars in Florida and Oregon. Almost immediately he resigned and went over to the Confederate cause. Upon resigning his commission the War Department at Washington appointed Colonel Edward R. S. Canby to the vacant command. He too had fought in the Mexican War, and in the Seminole War, and later became major in the regular infantry and colonel in 1861. Under orders Colonel Canby gathered his forces at Fort Craig, and sent an appeal for help to Governor Gilpin. In response, the two companies of Colorado Infantry in December started off to his assistance, going by way of Fort Garland in the San Luis Valley. Here both companies were mustered into the United States service. Captain Dodd's company was soon hurried off to Santa Fé and a little later to Fort Craig, where they arrived in time to take part in the battle of Valverde, "in which they acquitted themselves gallantly." Captain Ford's company required a whole month to march from Fort Garland to Santa Fé, having to cut a roadway through deep snow most of the way. On March 5th—the day after their arrival at Santa Fé—they left for Fort Union to reinforce the small garrison at that post.

Governor Gilpin's principal endeavor however, during the summer and fall of 1861 was the raising, drilling and equipping of the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteer Infantry, which during the summer of 1862 played the leading role in checking the advance of the Confederates in New Mexico and turning them back "hopelessly crushed" to hasten their retreat into Texas, not to return. During the summer of 1861 the authorities in Colorado had offered to



FIELD OF ACTIVITY OF COLORADO TROOPS IN THE NEW MEXICAN CAMPAIGN (CIVIL WAR)

The cross near center indicates location of the battlefield of La Glorieta

raise a military force either of infantry or cavalry, "composed of men inured to toil and hardship." But their offer was discourteously refused. Governor Gilpin and other leaders proposed to raise a full regiment of infantry to be ready when needed.

On his own initiative in July, Samuel H. Cook undertook to train a company of cavalry, to participate in the war in Kansas under "Jim" Lane, but he was persuaded to become a part of the new regiment which Governor Gilpin was raising. Recruiting offices were opened in nearly all the larger towns of the territory. In early autumn the regiment was completely raised and the officers were appointed as follows: Company A—John F. Slough, captain; James R. Shaffer, first lieutenant; Edward W. Wynkoop, second lieutenant. When Captain Slough was appointed colonel, Lieutenant Wynkoop was promoted captain of the company. Company B—Samuel F. Tappen, captain; when Captain Tappen was appointed lieutenant-colonel, Samuel M. Logan, who appears to have been an "unattached" first lieutenant since July 27th, was commissioned captain of the company. Other captains were appointed as follows:—Company C, Richard Sopris; Company D, Jacob Downing; Company E, Scott J. Anthony; Company F, Samuel H. Cook; Company G, Josiah W. Hambleton; Company H, George L. Sanborn; Company I, Charles Mailie; and Company K, Charles P. Marion.

The men in this regiment were as fine a lot of soldiers as were ever gathered together in a military organization. They were unusually well seasoned and hardy, the flower of the men of military age of the territory, and the account they gave of themselves in the war left nothing to be desired.

They went into camp, named "Camp Weld" in honor of Lewis L. Weld, the territorial secretary. This was located two miles up the Platte River above Denver. Three of the companies were soon sent to Fort Wise, later known as Fort Lyon, in the southeastern part of Colorado, to act as garrison at that post. The remainder of the regiment remained in Camp Weld under the command of Major Chivington. John M. Chivington—"that stout-hearted soldier"—had come from military stock, his father having

fought in the War of 1812. He had the "martial spirit" and was a "born fighter." At the outbreak of the war he was presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Colorado. He at once offered himself for service and was appointed chaplain of the first regiment. He begged for a "strictly fighting position" and was made major of the regiment. Though without military training he at once developed "extraordinary military ability." He is described as being "the incarnation of war," "the bravest of the brave," "a giant in stature," "a whirlwind in strife." He had the devotion and admiration of his men who would follow him anywhere, "a dashing, fearless, fighting commander."

General Sibley tempted Colonel Canby to battle on an open plain within two miles of Fort Craig, but the Union forces were not yet ready. In order to force the Federals to fight, or at least to get by them if they did not oppose him, he crossed the river on the east side and passed north, but out of range of the guns at the fort. Their objective was the ford, five miles above the fort by which they could return to the west side. The Federals moved up to prevent their crossing. The Confederates had taken their places on a high mesa near the ford. This is called the Battle of Valverde, after the name of a small settlement nearby. This occurred on February 21, 1861, and was the first serious encounter between the Union and Confederate forces in this entire region. The Confederates had nominally about 3,000 men but actually about 2,600 according to Canby's report to the adjutant general of the army in Washington. Colonel Canby said that he had nominally 3,810 men, but this counted 1,000 inexperienced, untrained and unorganized militia—many of whom were more of a hindrance than a help. The two forces were therefore about equal in fighting men. General Sibley was in personal command of his army and Lieutenant Benjamin S. Roberts of the 3rd regiment of U. S. Cavalry had charge of the Union forces. Colonel Roberts was colonel of the Fifth New Mexico Infantry. He was a skillful leader, calm and brave and very much trusted by his superior officers and by the men under him. The engagement which began about 9 a. m. and continued till nearly sunset, was inaugurated by a fierce artillery duel from both banks of the river. Infantry and dismounted

cavalry wading the river in a fierce fire succeeded in driving the Confederates off the slopes up over the edge and back into a dry channel of the mesa. Soon after noon nearly all the Union forces were ordered across the river. Captain McRae protested against taking his battery over because of lack of sufficient support, but his objection was overruled.

Colonel Dodd's company was stationed at the north end of the battle line. Late in the afternoon a company of Texan Cavalry armed with lances rushed against Colonel Dodd's company, the latter being formed into a hollow square. "The Texans were quickly repulsed, many of them being tumbled out of their saddles in a few minutes. These Colorado Volunteers under fire for the first time fought like seasoned veterans." About a third of Dodd's company were either killed or wounded, a greater number of casualties than that of any other organization of an equal number of men engaged in the battle. Colonel Canby bore witness to the fine mettle of the Colorado soldiers.

When Colonel Canby came on the field he decided to strengthen his right wing and he ordered Lieutenant Hall to plant his mountain howitzers at the south end of the battle line. A detachment of regulars and Colonel Kit Carson with the First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteers were ordered to support Lieutenant Hall's battery. It was planned to turn the enemy's left and thus weaken the opposition to McRae. The Texans assaulted furiously in the attempt to capture Lieutenant Hall's guns. But Colonel Kit Carson's regiment checked the onslaught and drove back the Confederates, though it is reported that he shot several of his own men with his own hand, who, through cowardice started to run away from the fire. While the battle here was at its height a large reserve of Texans who had been out of sight rushed down the slopes of the mesa defying the "storm of grape shot and canister" from McRae's guns, killed or wounded many of the regulars manning the guns, surrounded them and killed McRae and captured the guns. McRae was a great loss. He was a fine soldier "brave and loyal and accomplished." His commander said of him, "He died, as he had lived, an example of the best and highest qualities that man can possess."

General Sibley sent three officers to Colonel Canby to demand the surrender of Fort Craig, but Canby rejected the demand. For some reason Sibley did not attack the fort—possibly because the messengers believed the fort too strong to be taken by assault or siege.

The Confederate troops now were between Colonel Canby and his supplies and the balance of his forces. After tarrying two days to bury their dead, General Sibley moved north carrying his wounded to Socorro. His main objective was still Ft. Union. The Confederate forces were divided, Major Charles L. Pyron with 500 cavalry went forward from Albuquerque by way of Santa Fé; Sibley's brigade in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Scurry, marched with the train of supplies from Albuquerque through Bernalillo to Galisteo from which point they could easily reach the Santa Fé trail and march to an attack on Ft. Union. They were expected to unite in La Glorieta Pass south and east of Santa Fé. Just previous to this time the authorities in Denver hearing of the entrance of the Confederates into New Mexico sought to obtain orders from Major General David Hunter at Ft. Leavenworth in command of the Department of Kansas, which included Colorado and New Mexico, to send the Colorado soldiers to New Mexico. On February 10th a whole month afterward such orders were given.

Immediately the companies at Camp Weld and those at Fort Wise (Lyon) started on their march for New Mexico. Acting Governor Weld sent the following dispatch to General Canby: "You will find this regiment, I hope, a most efficient one and of great support to you. It has had, of course, no experience in the field, but I trust that their enthusiasm and patriotic bravery will make amends, and more than that, for their lack of activer service in the past."

The Colorado troops when they arrived respectively at Fort Bent and Pueblo got word from General Canby to hasten to his relief. In a hurried march of forty miles a day the two divisions came together soon near Trinidad. From this point they went by forced marches over a pass in the Raton Mountains and on to the southern slope. While they were preparing to rest after a hard day, a messenger from Commander Gabriel R. Paul of Fort Union bringing

the report that General Sibley was in command of Albuquerque and Santa Fé and planning his attack on Ft. Union, arrived. After an impassioned appeal to hurry to the aid of Ft. Union, the men voluntarily set out with only "arms and blankets" to march all night and until they reached Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron covering ninety-two miles in thirty-six hours. They stopped here from sheer exhaustion; the men however on account of their superb physical condition stood it better than the horses. Many of these last had "dropped dead in the harness on the road." After two days more march through a bitterly cold hurricane they reached Ft. Union bringing great cheer and joy to the officers and men at the fort. Governor Connelly of the territory was here at the time, and wrote to the Secretary of State at Washington saying that the Colorado troops were "men that from all accounts can be relied upon."

After a few days of rest and drilling at Fort Union and being completely equipped from the adequate supply of military stores, they were ready for action. Colonel Slough assumed command of all forces at the fort. The Colorado troops "endowed with such rugged energy that they could not longer endure the routine of petty duties and the severity of discipline incident to garrison life," at once became impatient for action. Except a small garrison left under charge of Colonel Paul the whole force moved out to Bernal Springs.

On March 25th Major Chivington with 418 men, mostly Colorado troops, was allowed to start for Santa Fé expecting to surprise and capture the Confederate garrison at that point. In La Glorieta Pass at the southern end of the Rocky Mountains there were three ranches. At the eastern end Kozlowski's; farther up, Pigeon's ranch; and at the western end, Johnson's ranch. Major Chivington's force camped at Kozlowski's. But not being bound by the traditions and policies of those instructed in the schools of war, he at once became vigorous and aggressive. He captured that night a group of Confederate scouts without loss to himself. The next morning Major Chivington broke camp early and started for Santa Fé through La Glorieta Pass. In due time he and his force reached Pigeon's ranch and were descending the western slope when they encountered a scouting

party of thirty mounted men from Major Charles L. Pyron's detachment. They captured them without casualties.

Chivington's force continued on the way down until they met the main force of Major Pyron. Both groups of men were frontiersmen of "superb push, daring and hardness" and were both eager for the conflict. Two companies, those of Captains Wyncoop and Anthony were sent to the left on the hill side as sharpshooters and soon a company of the regular cavalry, dismounted, were to join them. Captain Downing and his company of Colorado troops were sent to the right—north of the pass. The accurate fire of these companies soon drove the Confederates back down the road to the west about three-fourths of a mile, where another stand was made, and the federal forces as above arranged followed along in the timbers on the banks above the narrow cañon on either side. In an hour they had made the position of the Confederates untenable. At this juncture Captain Cook's cavalry with a deafening yell raced their horses toward and into the Confederates making the horses jump a sixteen-foot arroya. They made their charges back and forward producing the greatest confusion and slaughtering many of the enemy. The latter concentrated all their fire on the horsemen. The Texans retreated across the cañon to the south where Captains Wyncoop and Anthony took about fifty of them prisoners. This ended the battle for the day. The Colorado troops behaved admirably with great coolness and courage though it was their first battle, and they did great execution, being excellent marksmen.

In battles generally much ammunition is wasted; much shooting done with little effect. But with these Colorado frontiersmen, within easy range, there were very few shots without results. The men were cool, the aim was carefully taken, and every bullet got its man. Their firing had an overwhelming and deadly effect.

The Confederates returned to the camp which they had left in the morning and Major Chivington's command returned to Pigeon's ranch for the night. While tarrying at Pigeon's ranch burying their dead and caring for their wounded they were reinforced first by 300 infantry and cavalry from Bernal Springs and later by Colonel Slough's entire command.

When Major Pyron encountered Major Chivington's men in Apache Cañon¹ he sent a swift messenger to Lieutenant Colonel Scurry urging him to come to his relief. Within ten minutes Colonel Scurry's troops were on the march to relieve Major Pyron. They marched all night with their long baggage train and reached Major Pyron's camp at Johnson's ranch at daylight. On the next day, March 28th, leaving his wagon train behind with a small guard he moved forward in the pass with about 1,100 men planning to reach level ground near the eastern end of the pass, where he expected to engage in battle with the Federal troops. He encountered the Federals however about a mile west of Pigeon's ranch, marching westward to meet the Texans.

A third of the force under Colonel Slough was ordered with Major Chivington in command to go round the Confederates on the south side of the pass and out of their sight. This meant a long hard climb over the mountain. Major Chivington was to ascertain the location of the enemy's camp. This was successfully accomplished without Colonel Scurry's knowledge. Facing him were only about 700 Federals while he thought Colonel Slough's entire command was in the pass to oppose him. Colonel Scurry divided his troop into three sections: one occupied a ridge on the south side under Major Pyron, another in the valley supported the batteries under the charge of Major Raguét, while Colonel Scurry himself led a third division on the north side. Colonel Slough disposed of his troops as he had in the battle two days before. Fighting began by a fierce and incessant artillery duel and was followed by hand to hand encounters by the infantry. The Colorado skirmishers with their unerring aim picked off the gunners manning the Texas batteries. There were rearrangements of the forces, many charges by both sides and many casualties. The advantage rested first with one side and then with the other. The Texans fought with desperation. Four times they assaulted this point of the line and as many times were repulsed. Claflin ordered his men to rise up and dash against the enemy who were approaching them. They fired

¹ The western end of La Glorieta Pass.

their rifles with deadly certainty and "scattered the enemy in great disorder."

At times the Texans decimated the ranks of the Federals and at other times the Union forces were successful in their charges against the enemy. But about five o'clock Colonel Slough believing that the object of his orders "to annoy and harass the enemy" had been accomplished, ordered his troops to return to their camp at Kozlowski's ranch. This was bitterly resented by the men since they felt it in their power to capture the enemy or to force them to retire toward Santa Fé.

When Colonel Slough's troops were marching toward camp a flag of truce approached and a messenger of Colonel Scurry asked for a suspension of hostilities till noon of the next day, which was later—upon the request of Colonel Scurry—extended to the morning of the second day, for the purpose of burying their dead and caring for their wounded. No doubt Colonel Scurry had heard of the disaster which had befallen his supply train and the men in charge of it, which induced him to ask for a truce.

Colonel Chivington's expedition had been successful beyond all expectation. By two o'clock he had reached the summit of a mountain which overlooked the immense supply train at Johnson's ranch and the guard in charge of it. The mountain on which they stood was almost perpendicular on the side toward the camp. When ready his men descended this mountain by letting themselves down by ropes and swinging themselves from tree to tree. The capture or killing of the guard and the destruction of the train was the work of a short time. They captured and destroyed the only gun left and killed the gunners. Nearly 100 wagons loaded with ammunition, food, medical and surgical supplies, officers' clothing, saddles, etc., were burned and between 500 and 600 mules were bayoneted. They were reunited with the larger force at Kozlowski's ranch about 10 o'clock, each division entertaining the other with the story of the day's experience. This day at Glorieta, is a glorious day for Coloradoans to recall. We think of Colonel Chivington's exploit with pride. He showed himself a master of strategy and he aroused his men to the

greatest deeds of daring. By his victory on this day he wrote a page of our history which can never be forgotten.

The blow which Chivington's troops dealt to the campaign in the whole Southwest was a fatal one. The advance upon Fort Union was not only halted but there was nothing to be done by the Texans but to get back home as soon as possible, being without shelter or blankets or horses and almost without food. The remainder of the force started for Santa Fé where they hoped to secure provisions. General Sibley hurried up from Albuquerque to meet them and at once issued orders to return to Texas. On March 30th Colonel Slough with his troops started for Fort Union under orders from Colonel Canby "to fall back to that post in order to protect it at all hazards and to leave nothing to chance." Ten days later under orders from Colonel Canby to come with all speed to Albuquerque they passed near the eastern entrance of La Glorieta. Colonel Slough, however, incensed at the orders to return to Fort Union instead of being allowed to capture or destroy the defeated Texas force, resigned his commission.

Colonel Canby expected a battle with the forces of General Sibley after they were defeated at La Glorieta. He was still at Fort Craig. But to meet Colonel Canby in battle was not a part of General Sibley's plans. He withdrew his troops from Santa Fé to Albuquerque. At Albuquerque the two forces engaged in an artillery duel for two days with few casualties. Colonel Canby withdrew a short distance to wait the arrival of the troops from Fort Union. These arrived on April 13th, having marched forty-six miles on the last day over a rough country, losing many of their horses and mules by exhaustion. Some of the men were overcome by the great exertion. In the meantime General Sibley, burying his heavy guns for which he had no ammunition, taking along however the six guns he had captured at Valverde, marched south, on the east side of the Rio Grande.

Upon request of all the other officers of the First Colorado Regiment, Colonel Canby promoted Major Chivington to be the colonel of the regiment, to the position made vacant by the resignation of Colonel Slough. Captain Wyncoop of Company A was promoted to be major in Chiving-

ton's place. On April 14th the Union forces following the Texans, came up to them near Governor Connelly's ranch. Colonel Chivington begged the privilege of attacking them at once, but Colonel Canby refused permission. Early on the 15th a train of seven wagons, a mountain howitzer and thirty men were captured, six of the enemy were killed, and the rest and the wagons and the howitzer taken into camp. Later in the day at Peralta the two forces did some cannonading and skirmishing with slight casualties. During the night the Confederates crossed the river and proceeded south on the west side. Colonel Canby followed on the east bank—the two forces often being in sight of each other. As the Confederates approached Fort Craig, where there was a garrison under Colonel Kit Carson, they avoided a conflict by going on the west side of the Sierra Madelena and through the Sierra de San Matéo. This was a most desperate march of 100 miles. They could not make more than ten miles a day.

Early in May General Sibley's force had left New Mexico not to return again during the war. Colonel Chivington secured a leave of absence. His regiment, however, was relieved of further service in New Mexico and was transferred to Colorado and made a cavalry regiment. It went into camp at Colorado City and by January, 1863, it was fully equipped as a cavalry regiment and marched to Denver, where, after a year's absence, it received a most royal welcome. Colorado was at this time made a separate military district with Colonel Chivington in charge, during the year 1863. The regiment was broken into parts and distributed through Colorado and the western parts of Kansas and Nebraska "as guards against Indian depredations." It was a most wearisome and harassing duty, but as important as any service which could be performed. It did not come together again as a regiment and in due time disappeared as an organization.

When Ford's and Dodd's independent companies were organized in 1861, it was understood that they were not to form a part of the First Regiment, but to be the beginnings of the Second Colorado Regiment of Volunteer Infantry when that should be recruited. The initiative to complete the second regiment was taken by the war department in

Washington, when Jesse H. Leavenworth, son of Colonel Henry Leavenworth, after whom Leavenworth, Kansas, was named, was commissioned in February of 1861 to proceed to Colorado and as colonel of the new regiment to recruit it to full size with Dodd's and Ford's companies as a nucleus. After strenuous efforts were made in the larger towns, by August two-thirds of enough men were enlisted for the six new companies with E. D. Boyd, Wm. H. Green, L. D. Roswell, J. Nelson Smith, S. W. Wagoner, and Geo. West named as captains. These were gathered at Camp Weld near Denver. Captain Theo. H. Dodd was appointed lieutenant colonel and Captain James H. Ford, major.

In August they were marched to Fort Lyon. Here Ford's and Dodd's companies joined them; also a small group of men who had enlisted in Southern Colorado expecting to be incorporated into a New Mexico regiment. These troops remained inactive in Fort Lyon until April, 1863, when an order came to Colonel Leavenworth to send six of his companies to Fort Leavenworth. On the way, at Fort Riley, Lieutenant Colonel Dodd, in command of this detachment, received other orders to proceed to Fort Scott in the southeastern part of Kansas. Here the Colorado troops in conjunction with a detachment of a Kansas regiment were to act as escort to a long wagon train of army supplies bound for Fort Gibson in Indian Territory. At Cabin Creek they met and dispersed a much larger force, the Colorado troops being chiefly responsible for the victory. In killed and wounded the Federals lost twenty-three, while the Confederates lost forty killed, seven prisoners and many wounded.

Upon arrival at Fort Gibson Lieutenant Colonel Dodd's companies were united with the forces of General James G. Blunt, who was preparing to meet the Confederate army under General Douglass H. Cooper. The latter was marching up the Arkansas River on the north side. He had an army of 6,000, while Blunt had only 2,500, and twelve pieces of light artillery. The two forces came together at Honey a fierce and bloody encounter which lasted two hours, General Cooper lost 150 dead, 400 wounded and about 100 prisoners on Elk Creek, a small branch of the Arkansas. In oners. His army was completely routed. The Federals lost

17 killed and 60 wounded. Blunt's forces five weeks later occupied the military post of Fort Smith, Arkansas. Soon after Lieutenant-Colonel Dodd left Fort Lyon, Colonel Leavenworth with the remaining companies was ordered to march to Fort Larned, ten miles west of the present town of Larned, Kansas, where under his command were also placed various other detachments of troops, where he was to guard the Arkansas River trails. Here Colonel Leavenworth resigned.

Later in the year 1862, in spite of the failure of the second regiment officers to recruit their companies to the full strength, and in spite of the fewness of the men of military age in the territory, authority came from Washington to raise a third regiment and also a battery of light artillery. General William Larimer was appointed colonel of the regiment and William D. McLain to the command of the battery. Both men were Denver pioneers. Recruiting was slow and difficult, but by December 1st those who had enlisted in the infantry regiment were gathered at Camp Weld, now changed to Camp Elbert in honor of the secretary of the territory. They were in command of the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, Samuel S. Curtis, and by him put through a course of drilling. But General Larimer, disappointed over the failure of the recruiting officers to secure a full regiment, resigned with the recommendation that Major Ford should be made colonel of the regiment and that Jesse L. Pritchard should be made major. Only five companies were enlisted, which late in January, 1863, were ordered to Fort Leavenworth. On account of the delay in getting fitted for service, they did not start till March 3rd and reached Fort Leavenworth on April 23rd. McLain met with better success in enlisting men for the battery. His guns, four in number, now fully manned, had been sent by Canby from New Mexico to Denver. This battery was also ordered to Fort Leavenworth. The men proved themselves excellent soldiers, "brave and efficient" and bore a "conspicuously gallant part in military operations in Missouri and Kansas." Remaining but a few days in Fort Leavenworth, Lieutenant Curtis with his five companies were sent to St. Louis. In May they went to Pilot Knob, Missouri,

and were incorporated into General Schofield's Army of the Frontier, and continued with him till the end of the year.

In October of 1863 the incomplete Second and Third regiments of infantry were united and transformed into a cavalry regiment to be designated as the Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, on an order issued by the war department on October 11th. The six companies of the Second Colorado Regiment who had been serving under General Blunt; the other companies which had been stationed at various posts along the Arkansas River; the six companies of the third regiment under General Schofield and about 150 new recruits from Colorado were ordered to assemble at Benton barracks at St. Louis. In January of 1864 the new organization was completed, with Major James H. Ford as colonel, Theodore H. Dodd as lieutenant-colonel, Samuel S. Curtis, J. Nelson Smith, and Jesse L. Pritchard, majors. This regiment of cavalry, finely mounted and fully equipped with the full quota of 1,240 men, was sent to Kansas City in January of 1864. Colonel Ford was here placed in command of three counties in Eastern Kansas. In addition to his own regiment, under Colonel Ford were placed a Missouri regiment of infantry and a few other companies and to him was committed the task of suppressing the bands of Confederate guerrillas infesting this region. Small detachments were stationed in various places. "Words cannot do justice to the horrors of such warfare; nor can the tragedies which cruelty, violence, rapine, and the worst passions of Civil War evoked in partisan warfare, ever be fully known."

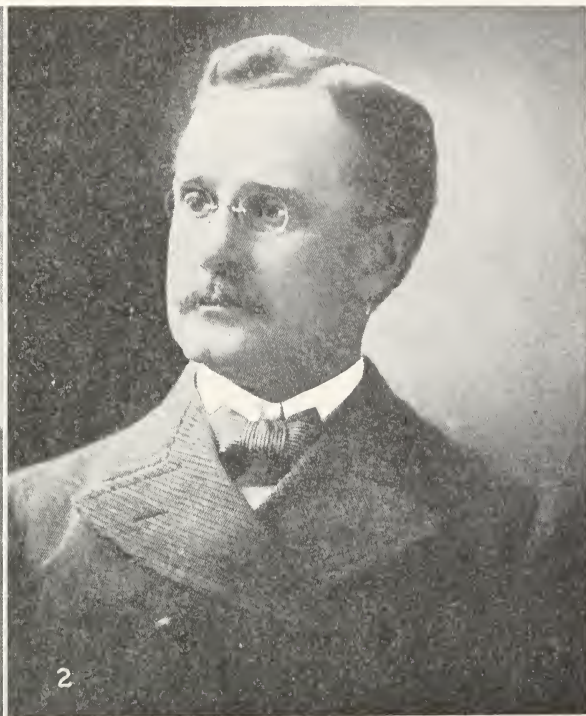
The great undertaking in Kansas and Missouri in the latter part of 1864 was the contest with the Confederate general, Sterling Price, to prevent his capture of Missouri and to drive him from the state. In September he moved from Arkansas into Missouri to conquer and occupy the latter. General Blunt was in command of the forces gathered to oppose him. The Second Colorado Cavalry and McLain's battery were a part of Blunt's forces. On approaching St. Louis, Price was repulsed by the defenders of the city. He met with the same fate when he attacked Jefferson City. He then started for Kansas City.

General Blunt was ordered by Gen. S. S. Curtis, who

was in command of the department of Kansas and Indian Territory, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, to meet Price at Lexington, Missouri. Blunt had to withdraw, after a sharp engagement, to the Little Blue River. Here he fought with his small forces nearly the whole of General Price's much larger army. The Colorado troops were in the thick of the desperate fight and lost heavily, Major J. Nelson Smith being among those killed. General Blunt moved to the other side of Independence. Here he was reinforced by the main body of General Curtis' army and by Gen. Alfred Pleasonton's cavalry, and in the engagement which followed on October 22nd, General Price was disastrously defeated. He had planned, after capturing Missouri, to take Kansas City and afterwards to march to Fort Leavenworth. Instead, he now was in a critical position. On the next day the Federals followed up their advantage and near Westport fell upon Price's army and put it to rout. On his hasty retreat to the Arkansas River he made four different stands but in all of them was overwhelmingly defeated. The Second Colorado and McLain's battery took very active part in all this fighting, and in one of these engagements at Newtonia, Missouri, the Second Colorado Regiment lost 40 men—killed in the saddle. In December of 1864 the Colorado troops were ordered to Fort Riley, Kansas, where they were prepared for service against the Indians of the plains. They were scattered along the Santa Fé trail and in other localities in small detachments where they served to the end of 1865 and were then mustered out.

The third regiment of volunteer cavalry was organized in Denver for service against the Indians. In the winter of 1864-65, six companies were enlisted for a term of three months. After the treaty of peace between the North and South was signed, more troops were sent into the West to repress the Indians and conditions improved.

Colorado made a large offering of men to the Union cause. It is believed that the number of volunteers exceeded by 30 per cent the quotas of the various calls for troops. Our losses were proportionately large. Deaths in battle and by disease, the wounded, prisoners and missing



1. COLONEL JOHN M. CHIVINGTON. 2. GENERAL IRVING HALE.

were about 40 per cent, which equals and probably exceeds the ratio in every other territory or state which had men in the Union Army. The battles were seemingly small affairs when we compare them with the numbers engaged in the great battles of the East and South, but these hardy, resolute men, accustomed to danger in many forms, fought hard and skilfully, and died bravely, and saved Colorado and the entire West and Southwest to the Union cause, and in addition protected the settlers from the hostile and savage Indians. None were braver or better riflemen, or moved by a higher purpose. In the erection of a monument on the capitol grounds in Denver, we have enshrined those heroes of '61-'65 forever in our admiration and gratitude.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Spain's medieval and outdated methods in the government of Cuba and her inability and unwillingness to modify them sufficiently to satisfy the demands of public opinion in this country were the causes of our war with that country.

The President at noon on the 23rd of April, 1898, anticipating a declaration of war, issued a proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years unless sooner discharged. On April 25th war was formally declared. On May 25th he called for 75,000 additional volunteers.

Colorado's quota was 1,600 men; one regiment of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of artillery. There was an astonishing response to the call for volunteers. The quotas of the states were small, and there was intense rivalry to get into the army. Within an incredibly short time 200,000 men had been accepted and a million rejected. The twelve companies of the National Guard of Colorado, representing the various sections of the state, were the first to be mobilized: Companies A and C from Pueblo; Companies F and L from Leadville; Company G from Cripple Creek; Company H from Boulder; and Company M from Colorado Springs.

But a large number of groups of all kinds organized

for war and offered their services. As examples: "Bob" Middleton, ex-outlaw, frontier bandit, and "cattle rustler," organized a company of cowboys with himself as leader and offered his services to the United States Government. This company was 100 strong, fully armed, recruited from the ranks of notorious ex-outlaws. Each man had a tough bronco, two large caliber Colt revolvers, a 40 to 90 Winchester, and a sleeker and every man was a dead shot. Middleton called it his "flying squadron." They hoped perhaps to atone for their crimes by serving their country in an enterprise in which they were very much at home. And again, more than 100 Navajo Indians offered themselves, saying that they could be ready in twelve hours if required, properly equipped with horses and arms; that they had had twenty years experience as scouts with the armies in the West. Because of the vast number of volunteers and the relatively small army required, the standard of admission was high and severe. The army as constituted was superb—the flower of the young men of the nation. Within two months of the first call for troops there were 278,500 men including the regular army ready for war; and it has been said of these that they were probably the best fighting men on the face of the earth.

Previous to 1898 there were in Colorado two partially filled regiments of infantry, three incomplete troops of cavalry, and the Chaffee light artillery. But when war with Spain was anticipated the ranks of these organizations were greatly increased by men who wanted to see war service. Immediately upon receipt of the telegram from Washington announcing Colorado's quota, Governor Alva Adams ordered the Colorado organizations to go into camp—called Camp Adams, after the governor—near to Denver's city park. Within one week, one regiment of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of artillery were ready for service.

Governor Adams appointed the following officers for the First Regiment Colorado Infantry, United States Volunteers: colonel, Irving Hale, Denver; lieutenant-colonel, Henry B. McCoy of Pueblo; majors, Cassius M. Moses of Pueblo and Charles H. Anderson of Denver; surgeon with rank of major, George P. Simley.

The first Colorado regiment hoped—as all other troops did—to see foreign service, and it was expected to receive a call to Cuba. Early in May orders came to them to move to Chickamauga. But before they were ready to start orders came on May 19th to proceed to San Francisco and there embark for Manila.

Commodore Dewey had replaced Rear-Admiral McNair early in the year in command of the eastern squadron with headquarters at Hong Kong. Ten days after the destruction of the *Maine* he was informed that his squadron must be prepared to attack the Spanish squadron in the Philippines if war was declared. His ships were quickly gathered at Hong Kong, gotten ready and taken to Manila, where on the first of May they attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet. Probably those who ordered this attack did not foresee all the consequences of that action, nor the responsibilities which it might entail. After the destruction of the fleet it was decided to send an army to Manila. Probably no one in this country or in Spain before the declaration of war had for a moment supposed that “armed intervention for the pacification of Cuba” would begin with an attempt to conquer the Philippine Islands, which lie on the other side of the world from the United States, and farther still from Spain.

We had no ambitions for more territory. We were at war with Spain and our aim was to capture or destroy her fleets and to overwhelm the armies wherever they were. There appeared to be as much occasion for delivering the Filipinos from Spanish oppression as for driving the Spaniards out of the West Indies, though we were ignorant of this when Dewey sailed for Manila. After the Spanish fleet was destroyed there was no honorable course but to accept the responsibility involved; attempt the surrender of the Spanish army, take charge of the government, protect the lives and property of the natives and foreigners, and await the future disposition of the islands.

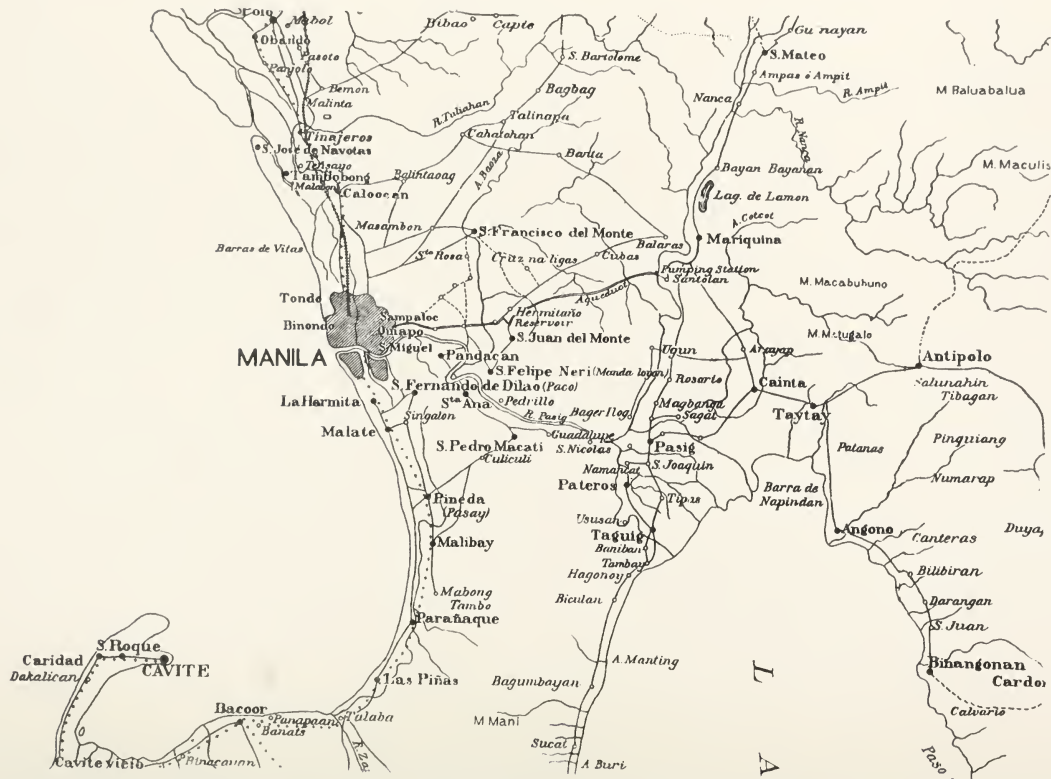
On May 13th the First Colorado Regiment received its orders to proceed to San Francisco, from which port it was to sail later for Manila. On May 17th the regiment of 1,000 officers and men, the pride and glory of the state, left

Camp Adams and marched by way of Sixteenth Street to the Union Passenger Station, headed by the regimental band, and escorted by the cavalry. Here they boarded four passenger trains and were borne away to San Francisco. The whole city of Denver packed the station, the approaches and the adjoining streets, and gave the regiment a never-to-be-forgotten ovation.

They reached San Francisco without special incident on May 21st, where they received a patriotic ovation and where they were lavishly feted. Gen. Wesley Merritt was in command of the expedition to Manila and the camp in San Francisco was named for him—Camp Merritt. Here all the troops of the expedition were gathered. The section of the camp occupied by the Colorado regiment was called Camp Hale in honor of its colonel. The Colorado regiment remained here three weeks, spending its time in drill and target practice. On June 15th the second expedition under command of Gen. V. F. Greene sailed, consisting of the First Colorado, First Nebraska, Tenth Pennsylvania Infantry, four companies each of the Eighteenth and Twenty-third United States Infantry, two batteries of Utah artillery and a detachment of United States Engineers, a total of 158 officers and 3,428 enlisted men. There were four transports in this expedition, the Colorado troops being on the steamer *China*.

While the regiment was in San Francisco the War Department ordered that all volunteer regiments should be recruited up to the new standard of members, 104 to each company. Three officers and a few assistants were sent back to Colorado to secure 200 more men, which was done. These reached San Francisco after the regiment had sailed. Some followed almost immediately, while the last to go did not reach Manila until November 23rd, long after the capture of the city. The fleet of transports in the second expedition reached Manila Bay on July 16th. They landed and went into camp at Camp Dewey near Paranaque two days later, where they remained for a week in much discomfort on account of continuous torrential rains and inadequate shelter.

The active campaign now began. General Greene's



FIELD OF ACTIVITY OF COLORADO TROOPS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

brigade occupied from the bay inland up to and across the road, called the Calle Real, running from Manila to Cavite; and other troops to take part in the battle were to the right, south and east of the Colorado regiment. The Spanish line one and a quarter miles away stretched eastward from old Fort San Antonio (the powder magazine) south of Malate, a suburb of Manila, in detached works, through swamps and rice fields completely encircling the city, and controlling all avenues of approach. After inducing the Filipino insurgents who were between the United States and Spanish troops to move further south, General Greene threw a strong out-post line on the Calle Real which first occupied the abandoned insurgent trenches, and later dug and occupied another line of trenches 100 yards nearer the Spanish line.

On the day decided upon for the assault upon the city, August 13th, the navy and the Utah battery at 10:30 bombarded Malate Fort and the Spanish line of intrenchments with a hot and accurate fire. After thirty minutes the signal was given for the firing to cease, and the Colorado regiment left its trenches and moved forward rapidly in three divisions; the first as skirmishers between the beach and the Calle Real; the second in open order along the beach; the third to the south, keeping up a steady fire on the enemy line to protect the line advancing along the beach. This latter forded the creek, waded along the beach and entered the fort, which had been deserted. Here the American flag was raised. The second and third battalions of the First Colorado Regiment advanced upon the trenches flanking the fort, but found them empty. Passing on they joined the first battalion on the Calle Real, on the way to the city; the First California joined the First Colorado on this road and together they moved through Malate. Here they were subjected to a heavy fire in a second line of defense which the Spaniards had established along the road between Malate and Cingalon. After a sharp battle of fifteen minutes the Spaniards retreated upon Manila. As the United States forces moved toward the city, the lines were rearranged so that the First California and the Eighteenth Infantry moved along the Calle Real, the First Nebraska by the beach and the First Colorado on the right flank. Along the way they passed through a straggling

fire and reached the walls of the city about 1 P. M., where they saw a white flag flying at the southwest corner of the wall. Here word was brought to them that negotiations for surrender had begun.

While the Colorado and the balance of General Greene's troops were making their way through Malate, General McArthur's brigade farther south and east engaged in some spirited fighting—Blockhouse 14 was shelled and captured and the United States flag was hoisted above it. Near Cingalon a blockhouse was burning and a scattering fire of the enemy was encountered, and as they moved forward this fire increased until it developed into stout opposition at Blockhouse 20 in Cingalon—which was occupied by a strong force. The United States troops were here driven back temporarily. When the main body came up a strong fire was directed against the blockhouse; this succumbed after an hour and a half of the most hotly contested battle of the day. There was no further opposition and McArthur's division moved with the rest toward Manila.

The losses of the day in the first brigade were four killed and thirty-eight wounded; in the second brigade, two killed and five wounded; the earlier losses in the trenches were fourteen killed and sixty wounded; thus making a total of 123 casualties in the capture of Manila.

The brigade of which the Colorado troops formed a part was ordered to move to the east around the walled city, to cross the Pasig River dividing the older and the newer parts of the city and to occupy positions on the north side of the city for the protection of the lives and property there. As soon as the city was captured the insurgents, who considered themselves allies of the United States forces, strove to gain admission to the town but guards were stationed and General Aguinaldo was informed that the insurgents could not enter the city with arms.

Generals Merritt and Greene, immediately after the capture of Manila, cabled recommendations to Washington that Colonel Hale be promoted to be brigadier general and President McKinley at once elevated him to this rank. To fill the vacancy thus created Governor Adams promoted Henry B. McCoy to be colonel, and Major Cassius M. Moses

to be lieutenant-colonel, with corresponding promotions all along the line. There now followed a period of nearly six months of guard and camp duty, which became exceedingly monotonous and irksome. During the most of this time the regiment also furnished the guard for Bilibid Prison.

The insurgents had been fighting for independence, and preceding the capture of Manila and for some time afterward they regarded the United States forces as allies. When they saw that the United States authorities were exercising exclusive control of the Philippines, and would hold them in check, they became the enemies of our forces. In December of 1898 the natives began to be troublesome, and the Colorado regiment was among the forces that did outpost duty around the city. The insurgents started their war upon the United States authority in the night of February 4, 1899. At that time the Colorado regiment was doing outpost duty near Blockhouses 5 and 6. The Filipinos attacked the American troops, but after a sharp engagement the two blockhouses were taken. The Colorado regiment was a part of the force which captured the Manila water reservoir on the 5th of February and the pumping station on the 6th, and for the next two months was on guard duty at the water works pumping station.

During this time there was much guerrilla warfare, with the loss of a few men of the Colorado regiment. There is not space for a detailed account of all the skirmishes with the Filipino troops—some of which amounted to pitched battles. But the Colorado troops or a portion of them took part in the following actions: On March 25th, Companies A, M and E were among those who marched toward Malolas—fighting in the brush—on which occasion Capt. John Steward of Pueblo was instantly killed. On March 31st Companies C, D, E and G joined in a movement against Mariquina and San Mateo, where the insurgents were preparing for an attack on the water works. Our troops came upon a long line of intrenchments occupied by insurgents. Our men as usual routed the insurgents—but at the cost of the death of Corp. Leonard Phillips and the wounding of six men. In May it was decided to move against Antipolo, a Filipino stronghold in the mountains northeast of

Manila. Six Colorado companies joined in this expedition, there being a force of 2,500 men altogether. This place was captured after severe fighting in the brush. Morong, to which the insurgents had retreated, was taken at the end of the same day.

The last expedition against the insurgents of which the Colorado men formed a part was that of General Lawton to "capture or disperse" a force of 7,000 to 8,000, which had been assembling near Paranaque, where our men saw their first service. Lawton led against them a force of 5,000 men. The Colorado men as usual were on the skirmish line. The insurgents were established on a hill covered with a dense thicket. The United States force captured the hill but suffered many casualties. The insurgents were chased all day, breaking up into small groups and finally disappearing.

On July 4th orders came to the First Colorado to prepare for the return to the United States. The regiment, accompanied by Brigadier General and Mrs. Hale, boarded the *Warren* and sailed for the homeland on the 18th of July. After touching at Nagasaki and Yokohama, she reached San Francisco harbor on August 16th. Before leaving Manila about 10 per cent of the men upon their own request had been discharged from the regiment to enlist in the Thirty-sixth Regiment of United States Volunteers which was being organized there. Colonel Hale was not long at the head of the Colorado Regiment. On September 3, 1898, he received word that he had been made a brigadier general of the United States Volunteers to date from the capture of Manila. Four days later he gave up command of the First Colorado. General Greene soon resigned his command of the Second Division and General Hale was given his position; Lieut.-Col. Henry B. McCoy then became colonel, Major Cassius M. Moses lieutenant-colonel, Major Charles H. Anderson senior major and Capt. W. R. Grove major. There were sixteen volunteer organizations in the Philippine campaign but General Greene said that the Colorado Regiment "had been the backbone of his brigade." On his way back to Washington, in an interview at Ogden, Utah, he said, "Colorado should be proud of every man she sent to the front." In referring to the

battle of Manila he said, "The Colorado troops took many a good point. The First Colorado Regiment was in the thickest of the fight and on the fourth day of the fight had the heavy end of the fighting."

Governor Thomas and a group of Denver citizens met the regiment in San Francisco and joined in the ovation which the city gave to the victorious army. The regiment was mustered out in the Presidio and reached Denver in the morning of September 14th.

Colorado's apportionment for this war included two troops of cavalry and a battery of artillery. There had been three troops of cavalry in the Colorado National Guard, A, B and C; the former had headquarters at Leadville, and the other two at Denver. As C was organized last it had to withdraw. The officers of Troop A were Charles A. McNutt, captain; John Henry, Jr., first lieutenant; Frederick A. Fallett, second lieutenant; Troop B: William G. Wheeler, captain; Arthur L. B. Davis, first lieutenant; Francis A. Perry, second lieutenant. Assembling at first at Camp Adams they were soon ordered to Fort D. A. Russell near Cheyenne, Wyoming. Here they were incorporated as the ranking troops in Col. J. L. Torrey's "Rough Riders," known as the Second Regiment of United States Volunteer Cavalry. They left Fort D. A. Russell on June 22nd and joined the Seventh Army Corps at Jacksonville, Florida, where they remained in camp until mustered out October 24, 1898.

The Colorado Battery was built upon the Chaffee Light Artillery organization, though its members were mostly new men. It was mustered into service on July 1st; on July 2d it established quarters at Fort Logan and on August 12th it left for Fort Hancock, New Jersey, where it remained until mustered out November 7, 1898. These last organizations made no war record, because no opportunity was given them to do so.

More fortunate was the First Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, of which Leonard Wood was colonel, and Theodore Roosevelt lieutenant colonel, and known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Twenty-five men from this state got into this organization. This regiment was raised

largely in the Southwest and was principally composed of men of courage and daring who had met danger in many forms; ex-county sheriffs, ex-marshals and deputy marshals, mountain hunters, "wild riders and riflemen of the Rockies." Through the intimate knowledge of Colonels Wood and Roosevelt of the men in Washington and of the way to get things done, they were enabled to get their equipment just in time to take part in the battle of Santiago, Cuba. The regiment had gathered in San Antonio, Texas, and was trained there. On Sunday, May 29th, it boarded the train for Tampa, Florida. On June 7th orders were received to take a transport at Port Tampa at daybreak the following morning. They sailed to Santiago Harbor and landed on June 22d and were in the battles of Las Grasimas and Santiago, driving the Spaniards back everywhere and overwhelming them. On the 17th of July Santiago surrendered, and the fighting part of the war was over. Illness became prevalent while the army was in Cuba, and as soon as possible after the armistice the army was moved north, and in due time the men were mustered out and returned home.

The purpose of the Spanish-American War was the freeing of Cuba, but it lifted the United States into a higher plane of outlook and influence. We acquired colonies, and a position of power in the Pacific. We took on new relations in the Caribbean Sea and became a greater and more dominating force in world politics.

THE WORLD WAR

The great world conflagration officially began on July 28, 1914, when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. This was doubtless inspired by Germany, and Germany, unwilling to postpone the conflict she had been preparing for many years, declared war on Russia on August 1st. Then followed in rapid succession other declarations of war till nearly all the peoples of Europe were engaged in the struggle. Finally, the United States, in order to protect her honor, and to join others in putting down the monster enemy of civilization, proclaimed her entrance into the conflict on April 6, 1917.

A few days before the formal declaration of war against Germany, but when war was inevitable, President Wilson telegraphed the governors of all the states that war could not longer be avoided and called upon them to protect the property of the states. Colorado was even more fortunate in the person of her governor in the World War than in the Civil War. Gov. Julius C. Gunter was the man of the hour. Elected as a Democrat, he rose above partisanship to the level of the best statesmanship. This was evidenced by his vision of what the state might do, his promptness and enterprise in carrying it out, and the quality of the men he placed in positions of leadership and responsibility. President James A. B. Scherer of the Throop College of Technology, who was engaged in the service of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and also for the National Council of Defense, who had conferences with nearly all the governors of the Union during the war once said of him: "I regard Governor Gunter as one of the great war governors of the country." Under his patriotic and swift leadership the state was first in preparation for war in many particulars. At the regular session of the legislature—before war was declared—at the governor's suggestion, \$140,000 was appropriated for the expense of mobilizing the National Guard in the event of war, to be used at the discretion of the governor, "the first act of its character by any legislative assembly of any one of the American states." On February 8, 1917, by House Joint Resolution the legislature of Colorado pledged the loyalty of the legislature and people of the state to the President and Nation; and again a little later, on March 6th, by Joint Resolution endorsed every act which President Wilson had taken, or might thereafter take for the protection of the rights of American citizens, or American interests. These are believed to be the first of such acts passed by the state legislatures of the American Union. Governor Gunter's Council of Defense was the first to be organized in the country. He called an extra session of the legislature to assemble at the capital on July 18, 1917, the first to be called in extraordinary session. Our National Guard was mobilized here earlier

than in any other state, and the governor was the first to order military equipment.²

Upon his receipt of the telegram from President Wilson, Governor Gunter turned first to L. G. Carpenter, one of the most eminent irrigation engineers of the West, who was conversant with all the irrigation properties of the state. In addition he summoned: J. K. Mullen; H. P. Gamble, former adjutant general of the state; Cass E. Herrington; Edward L. Brown, president Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company; Horace N. Hawkins, who had been counsel for the labor unions of the state; and John Morey, head of the Morey Mercantile Company, whose business interests were extensive in the state. This group with some modification became the State Council of Defense. Colorado with its irrigation reservoirs, tunnels, bridges, trestles, manufacturing plants, etc., was peculiarly open to danger from alien enemies. There were thirty-two immense reservoirs in the state, each one carrying more water than the Johnstown Dam, one of them containing 230,000 acre feet. Before the night was gone, they had by telephone and telegraph gotten guards posted everywhere. The instant and loyal rapidity with which this action was taken was a symbol of the way the whole state went into the war.

Governor Gunter called an extra session of the legislature to convene July 18, 1917, for the purpose, as he said in his biennial message, "to provide for the maintenance of order within the state, for such needs and uses as have arisen or may arise out of the war, and to provide for the

² Governor Gunter is a fine type of the Southern gentleman of the older school; cultivated, affable, courteous and gentle, thoughtful, warm hearted, pure-souled, with a manner of charm and distinction, a leader whom men delighted to follow. One of his practices illustrates his sympathy for those in sorrow. During the war he watched the daily casualty lists and wrote a personal letter of condolence to the parents or nearest of kin of every Colorado soldier who was killed in action, or died in service. He is held in tender and grateful and affectionate remembrance in hundreds of homes in Colorado. In his appointments he showed unusual strength of character and patriotism. His choices prove that he realized the gravity of the situation and that it was no time for partisanship.

conservation and distribution of the food supply." Anticipating the meeting of the legislature, the Governor submitted the matters he had in mind, eight in all, to a group of seven of the ablest men available—Henry F. May, lawyer; William H. Malone, lawyer; Prof. Arnold J. Lien, professor of economics, University of Colorado; Charles W. Waterman, lawyer; Ben Griffith, former attorney-general of the state; Harold Kountze, chairman of board of directors of Colorado National Bank; William E. Sweet, Bond Investment Company. They drafted bills to be presented and considered by the legislature for the purpose of expediting legislative action. All the bills but one suggested in the call were passed. Among them was an act to provide a bond issue of \$2,500,000 or as much of that as might be necessary and to be known as "Defense Fund; National Defense Bonds, series 1917," "For the purpose of paying the expenses which have been or may be incurred for the raising, maintenance, equipment and preparation of the National Guard of the State of Colorado to assist in defending the United States of America in war with the Imperial Government of Germany and for the purpose of providing a guard or force to maintain order in this state and defend the state during the years 1917 and 1918." Another act was passed levying a tax of a half of one mill on each and every dollar of assessed valuation in the state, the fund thus created to be known as "Defense and Emergency Fund," to aid in the payment of extraordinary expenses in the State of Colorado arising out of the war with Germany.

At the time of the mobilization of the National Guard the state owed the organization \$325,000. The Governor, in his patriotic and high minded zeal to make the military forces of the state as effective as possible in the shortest time, appealed to the members of his Council of Defense for help. Within an hour, to their everlasting honor, five of them through the banks in a few of the largest cities of the state provided \$350,000 for the immediate settlement of this debt. This amount was subsequently returned to them by authority of the legislature, out of the proceeds

of the bond issue. From this fund also was paid \$10 in gold to every officer and enlisted man on duty August 4, 1917, "as an honorarium and token of the esteem in which each man is held by the State of Colorado for the patriotism shown by each man in choosing to enlist in the National Guard of Colorado."

A constabulary force for the policing of the state, not otherwise provided for, was created, and \$650,000 was appropriated out of this Defense Fund to cover the cost of such force for the years 1917-1918. The Governor was vested with police and regulatory powers regarding the conservation, distribution or production of food, and \$25,000 was appropriated out of the Defense and Emergency Fund, to be used by him at his discretion to carry out the purposes of the act. These war bills were passed almost unanimously and with no display of partizanship and the legislature adjourned on August 4th, being in session less than fifteen working days. The consideration and passing of these bills was done in eight days.

On July 7, 1917, Governor Gunter by proclamation mobilized the National Guard in camps in order that they might be equipped, trained and instructed in preparation for the call to service when it should come. The Governor appointed Gen. Frank D. Baldwin, the best man available for the position, as adjutant general. He was a veteran of the Civil War and had been ever since continuously in the service of the War Department, and had made an honorable record. The National Guard units were distributed as follows:

At Fort Logan—First and Second Battalions, already in Federal service (except Companies F, G and H); Third Battalion, First Infantry.

Camp Gunter, Pueblo—Second Regiment Infantry.

Camp Baldwin, Denver—First Regiment Cavalry; Companies A, B, C Field Artillery; Signal Company; Hospital Corps Company.

Golden State Armory—Engineer Battalion, Engineer Train.

The National Guard was mobilized and federalized on August 5, 1917. General Baldwin, adjutant general, reported as follows on their condition: "When the state

troops were transferred to the Federal Government, the men of all branches of the service, not included in the First and Second Battalions of the First Infantry, already in the Federal service, were completely uniformed and equipped with every article of the uniform of standard quality necessary for their immediate requirements and comfort, at the expense of the state."

The strength of the organizations, drafted into the Federal service, was as follows:

	Officers	Enlisted Men
Engineers, First Battalion -----	15	290
Signal Corps, Company B -----	3	74
Cavalry:		
First Regiment -----	52	1159
Attached Sanitary -----	5	24
Field Artillery:		
First Battalion -----	17	466
Attached Sanitary -----	---	7
Infantry:		
First Regiment -----	42	1128
Attached Sanitary -----	1	8
Second Regiment -----	48	953
Attached Sanitary -----	5	18
Engineer Train -----	4	91
Sanitary Field Hospital No. 1 -----	3	79
	198	4297

The organizations departed for cantonment, as follows:

To Camp Kearney:

Engineers -----Sept. 8	15	221
Engineer Train ---Sept. 8	3	82
Signal Troops ----Sept. 26	3	67
First Cavalry ----Sept. 29	54	1048
First Infantry ----Sept. 27	49	1007
Second Infantry ---Sept. 29	57	810

To Camp Greene:

Field Artillery ----Sept. 28	19	412
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In the reorganization of the forces which took place, the troops were assigned to the following:

		Division
Former State Units	Reorganized as or assigned to	
1st Infantry.	157th Infantry	40th
2nd Infantry.		
Less Band and		
Cos. A, B, C, and		
D. Machine Gun		
Co. and Supply		
Co.	115th Ammunition Train	40th
Machine Gun Co.	115th Trench Mortar Bat'ry	40th
Supply Co. Cos.		
A, B, C, D.	115th Supply Train	40th
1st Regt. Cavalry:		
Less Band and		
Troop E.	157th Infantry	40th
Troop E.	115th Engineers	
Band.	Camp Lewis, Washington	
1st Battalion Field		
Artillery.	148th Field Artillery, Heavy	41st
1st Battalion,		
Engineers.	115th Engineers	40th
Co. B, Signal Corps.	115th Field Signal Battalion	40th
Field Hospital Co.		
No. 1.	117th Sanitary Train	42nd
1st Engineer Train.	115th Engineer Train	40th

“The first units of the Division (Fortieth) known as the ‘Sunshine Division,’ consisting of National Guard troops from California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico, embarked for overseas on August 7, 1918, and the last units arrived in France on August 28th. Upon arrival in France the division was made a replacement division, and was ordered to La Guerche, and became the Sixth Depot Division. The division was then broken up and its personnel was used as replacements for combat divisions at the front. The 148th Field Artillery participated in the Champagne-Marne defensive July 15-18th; the Aisne-Marne offensive, July 18th to August 6th; St. Mihiel offensive, September 12-16th; and the Meuse-Argonne offensive, September 26th to November 11th. The 115th Field Signal Battalion saw battle service in the Toul Sector,

October 16th to November 11th. The 115th Engineers saw service in the same sector, October 4th to November 11th."

War was no sooner declared than the conviction became certain and profound that the only way to speedily collect an army of sufficient size to win the war with so powerful an enemy was to call upon all the young men of the nation who were fit for military service—as they were needed. The selective draft act was passed by Congress and became a law on May 19, 1917. The unexpected willingness with which our people accepted the universal draft was a most remarkable feature in the history of our preparation for war. Immediately the machinery was set in motion for gathering a large army. General E. H. Crowder was made Provost Marshal General of the new army and President Wilson authorized the governors of the states to organize the machinery of the Draft. Under this order Governor Gunter appointed John Evans as Provost Marshal of the state and created within the state seventy-five local selective draft boards or exemption boards as they soon came to be called, who were to handle all matters pertaining to the collection of the army.

Upon request of the President, Governor Gunter divided the state into two districts and appointed district boards to whom the draft candidates might appeal if they thought the local boards did them an injustice. The two districts of Denver and Pueblo were created with twenty-six counties in the former and thirty-seven in the latter and the following members appointed: for the Denver district, Gerald Hughes, Dr. Carroll E. Edson, John Donovan, Bruce Eaton, and Roady Kennehan; for the Pueblo district, Miles G. Saunders, Dr. Beverley Tucker, John G. Tobin, Lee A. Tanquary and George W. McNeill. John Evans made so notable a success as Provost Marshal that General Crowder soon called him to Washington for a much larger service and Miles G. Saunders was appointed State Provost Marshal to fill the vacancy; and the appellate boards were so competent and fair and just that not a single decision they made was reversed on appeal to the Washington authorities.

John Evans, was soon put in charge of the Liberty Loan Drive in the state, and the work of his office devolved almost

entirely upon Joe Wood, the secretary. Mr. Wood devised a record sheet showing the number of men for each call issued from Washington, the number of calls, the apportionment to every local board in the state, and much other information. This was so simple, so excellent and so comprehensive, that it was very soon adopted in every state in the Union. His office was also made reserve supply depot for blanks for the second registration for all the country between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. This was so well handled that the national government requested this office to distribute the registration blanks in the same territory for the third and last registration. After the work was completed, a letter of appreciation and commendation from the government authorities at Washington was received at the office—an unusual event.

The Selective Draft law called for the registration of all men in the country between the ages of 21 and 31. The first registration was held June 5, 1917, when 9,586,508 were enrolled; 83,038 were in Colorado. A second registration took place just one year later, June 5, 1918, and included all who had become of age since the first registration. The total number for the country was 735,834. On August 24, 1918, a supplemental registration took place of all men who had become of age since June 5th. On this occasion 159,161 were added to the lists subject to call in the entire country. On these two occasions 7,590 registered in Colorado. There were so many exemptions however, and the call became so urgent for a larger army that a third registration was ordered for September 12, 1918, to include the men from eighteen to twenty and from thirty-two to forty-five years of age. On this date 13,288,762 were registered of whom 125,007 were in Colorado. By a plan fair to the men, the more than 10,000,000 men were arranged in the order of military liability.

The sites for sixteen cantonments were selected and all the required buildings were erected in the summer of 1917, the most complete any country had ever erected for the housing of its citizen soldiery. The first call was for 687,000 men issued on July 22, 1917, and out of this number Colorado was to provide 4,753. Previous to this, recruiting stations had been opened all over the state for the purpose

of enlisting volunteers to fill up the incomplete organizations of the National Guard, the Regular Army, the Marines, and the Navy. Many responded and were sent to various forts and stations for training. Many reserve officers training camps were started throughout the country, and many students from the Colorado educational institutions and also others volunteered and were accepted in these organizations. Most of the Colorado volunteers were trained at Fort Riley, Kansas and Fort Sheridan, Illinois.

The first call under the selective draft act was followed by others every few days or weeks during the period of the war. The exemption boards were busy from the time of their organization to the signing of the Armistice. The cantonments held about 40,000 men each. Call succeeded call till they were full. As soon as the earlier arrivals were trained they were sent on to other camps for further training, or to France, and other calls were issued to again fill the cantonments to capacity. Most of our selective draft men called early were sent to Fort Funston. Later many were ordered to Camp Cody, New Mexico. Some were sent to camps where technical or other special training was given.

It is impossible with the information at hand to trace all organizations which originated in Colorado. Regiments were originally organized partly on a geographical basis, but later, by transfers and replacements were very much shuffled about. There were probably Colorado men in every camp and cantonment in the country. Many of our men who went to Fort Funston for training became a part of the Eighty-Ninth Division. The most distinctly Colorado Unit in this division was the Three Hundred and Forty-First Field Artillery. The Three Hundred and Fifty-Third Infantry whose enlisted personnel were almost altogether from Kansas, were largely officered by men from Colorado. There were also many Colorado officers in the Three Hundred and Fifty-Fifth Infantry. Many of the Colorado men sent to Camp Cody, were incorporated in the Thirty-Fourth Division which reached France only a week before the cessation of hostilities.

Among the volunteers we may list those who went into

the various branches of welfare work. Two hundred and twenty-five men and twenty-nine women went from this state, entering the service of the Young Men's Christian Association. About forty-five women enlisted in the work of the Young Women's Christian Association, presiding over Hostess Houses at the camps in this country, and caring for the interests of the American women in France and elsewhere who were employed in some form of war work. From Colorado went overseas fifty-six men and seventy-three women in the work of the Red Cross. The Knights of Columbus and the Jewish Welfare League also had representatives abroad looking after the interests of their people. Several men from the state served as chaplains with the armies. A few of the librarians of the state who volunteered for war library service were assigned to positions in the camp libraries. Many physicians of the first rank from the various communities of the state offered their services with the soldiers, some being assigned to camps in this country and some to the armies abroad. There was a generous response to the requests for musicians and entertainers, to the various calls for volunteers for all kinds of mechanics, such as ship builders, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., and for all kinds of unskilled labor.

The colleges of the state made their patriotic contribution. Advanced students from all the institutions of higher learning in the spring of 1917 entered Reserve Officers Training Corps at Riley and elsewhere. Members of the faculties on leave of absence enlisted in some form of war work. Reserve Officers Training Corps were conducted at Boulder, Denver University, and Colorado College. Student Army training corps were established at the same three institutions already named; also at State School of Mines, and the State Agricultural College. Three contingents of draft men of 250 each were sent to Boulder for intensive training in vocational fields. An army service school was conducted at Colorado College for 512 draft men sent in three detachments, many of the men taking signal service and radio work. Two groups of draft men, 450 in all, were trained as mechanics at the State Agricultural college. The faculty at the Agricultural college rendered

most valuable service in the state in the work of the food commission, in giving instruction in the values of different kinds of food, in assisting the irrigation committee of the State Council of Defense and in many other ways.

Not only did the soldiers prepare for war, but the entire state enlisted for war service. The commonwealth, as a unit, hastened to support the war, and to respond generously to all the calls upon it by the national government to finance the war. Special taxes were levied and five immense bond issues were raised. In the five liberty and victory loans the figures are as follows:

	Whole Country	Colo's Quota	Subscriptions
First	\$2,000,000,000	\$12,590,350	\$18,284,750
Second	3,000,000,000	17,616,000	23,042,850
Third	3,000,000,000	20,333,900	31,050,500
Fourth	6,000,000,000	37,449,500	42,377,300
Victory	4,500,000,000	28,375,350	30,058,150
	Allotments ³	No. Subscribers	
	\$12,602,050	65,853	
	20,946,100	141,585	
	31,293,750	177,937	
	42,007,550	193,965	
	28,581,150	118,829	

In addition to the subscription of bonds, War Saving sales amounted to about \$13,800,000. By reference to the table it will be seen that the quotas were every time exceeded, in two circumstances by not far from 50 per cent, one of the many demonstrations of the patriotic fervor of our people.

Nor was Colorado any the less generous in raising the quotas of the various welfare funds. The Young Men's Christian Association had three campaigns for funds. The first one was launched June, 1917, the second, November, 1917, and the third in connection with the six other organizations. November, 1918.

³ A quota was what was asked for, an allotment was the definite amount of bonds which could be given to any district. The quotas to the different states were based on the total resources of all National and State banks and Trust Companies as shown in their condition statements of June 20, 1917.

	Goal for the Country	Colorado's Allotment	Colorado Paid
The First Campaign	\$ 3,000,000	\$ 50,000	\$ 50,134
The Second Campaign	35,000,000	200,000	340,455
The Third Campaign (United War Work)	170,500,000	1,750,000	1,479,315

The American Red Cross conducted two drives for membership during the war, the week preceding Christmas in 1917 and also in 1918. Approximately 250,000 people in Colorado paid the membership fee of \$1.00 each year. Two war drives were conducted in this period under review; the first, between June 18, and June 25, 1917; the second, between May 20, and May 27, 1918. The goal set for each was \$100,000,000.

In the first Colorado gave \$1,368,835.91 and in the second \$1,953,888.00. Only eight states of the union gave a larger amount per capita. The Y. W. C. A. on October 10, 1917, started to raise a fund of \$4,000,000 for war work. To this fund Colorado gave \$71,504.21. The Knights of Columbus in November, 1917, made their plans to make a drive for \$3,000,000. Later it was raised to \$5,000,000. Colorado was asked to raise \$130,000, which was done. In December, 1917, the Salvation Army started a campaign for \$1,000,000. Colorado assisted in raising this fund, giving \$20,757.75. The American Library Association in September, 1917, launched a campaign, "For a million dollars for a million books for a million men," resulting in a total of \$1,600,000. Colorado gave \$19,262.78.

But the outpouring of money did not stop with these organizations. Every proposal to improve the lot of the fighting man, or to give him cheer, to make his lot a bit more tolerable was promptly and abundantly supported. Ambulance corps were gathered together and their equipment provided by private subscription. Large sums were given for the relief of war sufferers, for orphans, for recreation centers in France, established for the soldiers on short leave of absence. The state outfitted the Red Cross Base Hospital Unit No. 29. Wrist watches were given some contingents of draftmen as they left for the training camps. Tobacco in huge quantities was sent to the soldiers in France; smilage books made up of coupon tickets of

admission to moving picture shows and other entertainments were bought in large numbers and supplied the soldiers. In October, 1917, there was a campaign for \$400,000 launched in the country with which to supply Bibles to the soldiers to which fund Colorado contributed generously. Books by the million were collected by the libraries of the country and sent to the war camps.⁴ The "old silver fund" was widely participated in, the proceeds of which were to provide Christmas cheer for the soldiers.

The war council has already been mentioned. It at first numbered nine, but later was increased to twenty-five so that it included representatives of the chief interests of the state. Its membership consisted of bankers, a railroad president, the president of the state university, the president of the Agricultural college, an irrigation engineer, the owner of large milling interests, the general counsel of organized labor, the president of the Farmers' Congress, the master of the State Grange, the president of the Farmers' Union, the head of the elevator interests owned by the farmers, the Provost Marshal of the state, and the state Food and Fuel administrators.⁵

In order that the organization in all the states might be uniform, the governor on September 3, 1917, created the Colorado State Council of Defense and into it merged the War Council. The new council was the state body, "charged with the responsibility of carrying out, within the state of Colorado, the war plans of the federal administration, and the safeguarding of the interests of the state." It was their function headed by the governor to mobilize all the resources of the state. The war council operated

⁴ Andrew Carnegie supplied the funds for erecting plain library buildings of wood in all army cantonments and camps.

⁵ In April of 1918 the members were as follows: Governor Julius C. Gunter, J. K. Mullen, Cass E. Herrington, John W. Morey, L. G. Carpenter, H. U. Mudge, Horace N. Hawkins, Harry P. Gamble, Gerald Hughes, John Evans, Dr. Charles A. Lory, C. A. Kendrick, George B. Berger, Clarence C. Hamlin, J. M. Collins, Fred A. Sabin, John Morris, A. H. King, John C. Hudleson, William Weiser, W. J. Galligan, Finlay L. MacFarland, Lawrence C. Phipps, Thomas B. Stearns, Dr. George Norlin. The officers were: Chairman, J. K. Mullen; Treasurer, George B. Berger; General and Field Secretary, D. W. Thomas; and Publicity Representative, Dowell Livesay.

through committees and subcommittees. Members of the council were chairmen of the committees, and others not members were chosen to serve with them. The principal committees were those on Finance, Food Control, Food Conservation, Production and Marketing, whose work was distributed to six subcommittees, Transportation, Military affairs, Organization, War Relief, Coal Survey, Labor, Medical affairs, Publicity and Information. This last committee was assisted by twelve subcommittees which could reach every citizen of the state with suggestion and information. There was also organized a Women's Council of Defense, of equal usefulness and influence to the men's Council of Defense. This operated through eighteen committees.⁶

Governor Gunter writes that "The Men's Council of Defense met in the Governor's Chambers every morning at 8:30 and rarely was any member absent." The governor was the head of the war machine in the state, and the Men's and Women's Councils of Defense were the agencies under him of directing the activities of the people in supporting the war. The state was thoroughly organized and at once sprang to action—to its remotest corners. Councils of Defense were organized in every county and committees appointed for all conceivable purposes. In addition to the loaning and giving of money, the people, men and women, boys and girls gave their time and their sympathy to the

⁶ The members of the Women's Council of Defense were: Officers: Mrs. Julius C. Gunter, Honorary Chairman; Mrs. W. H. Kistler, chairman; Mrs. Alva Adams, 1st Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Z. X. Snyder, 2nd Vice-Chairman; Mrs. W. P. Dunlavy, 3rd Vice-Chairman; Mrs. E. C. Goddard, 4th Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Rosepha Pulford, 5th Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Emma F. Wilkins, 6th Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Chas. H. Jacobson, 7th Vice-Chairman; Mrs. W. W. Grant, Jr., Recording Secretary; Mrs. Horton Pope, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Harold Kountze, Treasurer; Miss Merle McClintock, Auditor. The Executive Committee: Mrs. Jas. Rae Arneill, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Mrs. John Campbell, Mrs. C. P. Cochran, Mrs. Fred Dick, Miss Annie Ensminger, Miss Anne Evans, Mrs. W. K. Galloway, Mrs. Jas. B. Grant, Miss Jennie Hendrie, Sen. Agnes Riddle, Sen. Helen Ring Robinson, Mrs. Inez Johnson Lewis, Mrs. Thos. J. McCue, Mrs. M. D. McEniry, Mrs. Herbert Munroe, Mrs. Gerald Schuyler, Mrs. B. F. Stickley, Mrs. W. J. Williams.

work in hand and resolved to help the soldiers win the war. Multitudes gave much of their time and their thought for nearly two years, freely, without thought of reward, helping to raise the loans, the welfare and other funds, and engaging in all manner of supporting activities.

A great campaign was inaugurated to conserve food, and to raise more food. In the cities and towns vacant lots were planted and in the country thousands of acres were plowed up and compelled to produce food. Twenty thousand acres in one tract, through the good offices of the irrigation committee of the State Council of Defense, produced 300,000 bushels of wheat. There were garden parades and garden exhibits. The women of the state were taught better methods of canning, preserving and drying fruits and vegetables. Substitutes for wheat bread were adopted. Practically everybody coöperated in observing the rules for saving food, that our armies and our allies might have enough, heeding the cry that "Food will win the war," and that "He that saves a crust, saves a bullet." "Potato Days" were observed and all were instructed in the nourishing value of the humble Pinto Bean. To save transportation expenses it was enjoined upon all "to eat home grown products."

Red Cross Chapters sprang up everywhere which were veritable hives of industry. Immense quantities of Hospital Supplies of all kinds, for the patients and the surgeons and the doctors were sent to the hospitals at home and abroad, and comfort bags to all the soldiers. The Red Cross also collected carloads of clothing for the destitute Belgians and French. At railroad stations all over the state members of the Red Cross maintained booths where refreshments were served free to all men in uniform who were passing through and where good cheer was dispensed.⁷ Yarn was supplied all who would knit socks, sweaters and helmets for the soldiers, and all women engaged in this

⁷ In Denver regular meals were served, including ice cream; and shower baths were provided. Mrs. Thomas Keely was at the head of the Red Cross Station Service at this point, and was so alert and indefatigable night and day to serve all who should pass through, that she died soon after, offering up her life as truly in her country's service as those who were killed in battle or died in the war.

occupation and not a few men. Every social gathering was a knitting bee, and sometimes a woman would knit and worship at the same time. In Colorado Springs for example the secretary of the Red Cross reported that from March 1, to September 1, 1918, 50,000 articles for use in base hospitals were made and shipped "all of good quality and fine workmanship."

At the Governor's suggestion Home Guards^s were organized in all the cities and towns of the state for the purpose of assisting the police force in guarding warehouses, granaries and large plants employed in the manufacture of war material. There was a statewide organization of Four Minute men who spoke in moving picture houses, theatres and other places of congregating—advocating the purchase of bonds, the support of the welfare funds, the conservation of food, and other causes. The women, out of shirts partly worn, made garments for the orphans of France and Belgium, and out of long gloves made vests for our aviators.

Americanization classes were organized everywhere. Lawyers offered their services to assist the draft men in filling out their questionnaires. Societies sprang up to help the families of soldiers. A boys' working reserve was organized by the county councils of defense for the purpose of assisting the farmers in harvesting their crops. Even the children did their bit by making scrap books for the soldiers under competent direction. The 100 per cent American Society gathered practically the entire adult population of the state into its ranks. A "Write to the Boys" movement started with very considerable results. In short, nothing was neglected which would relieve the suffering, clothe the destitute, feed the hungry, give aid and comfort to our soldiers, and assist in every conceivable way to win the war. Never before had the people at home taken such a part in a war and never had they accomplished so much.

Without raising invidious distinctions, the soldiers from Colorado were the finest product of the great West. They had the boldness of the great mountains governed by the spirit of initiative and enterprise. They incorporated the character of the country which they represented. One who

^s Called Reserve Watch in some cities.



WESTERN FRONT IN WORLD WAR, 1918

saw the soldiers from all parts of the country said, "They were of unsurpassed physique, hardy and enduring." The men of the mines and the ranches, the forests and the factories, the shop, the office and the store and the college seemed to have assimilated from this wonderful climate and the stimulating air, power and resolution and the spirit to conquer.

On the average our men received six months training in this country, two months in camps in Europe, and remained one month in a quiet sector before entering the battle line. A few weeks after we entered the war, at the urgent request of our allies, we began to ship troops overseas. The first contingent of troops arrived in France, June 26, 1917. The second a month later, on July 27th. The Forty-Second (Rainbow) Division containing National Guardsmen from every state including Colorado landed in France, November 30, 1917. During the year 1918 the troop movement reached enormous proportions. But the miracle of transporting 2,000,000 soldiers to Europe in a few months reaching a maximum in July, 1918, when more than 10,000 a day embarked from our ports, has been so often and so well told by so many others that it does not need to be repeated here.

On October 21, 1917, Americans first entered the battle line in the quiet Toul sector, and at first here and elsewhere they were attached to the forces of the allies. It was not till May 28, 1918, that they made their first attack in force when they took Cantigny. Germany had been contemptuous of our military prowess, and ridiculed us as a money-seeking and luxury-loving nation. The Germans did not believe we would be able to create an army, and transport it to Europe before they had won the decision. Our Allies hoped we would stand the test of battle—but they did not know till they could see us in action. But after our men had been tried and not found wanting Germany had a sudden and disappointing reversal of judgment. Our Allies, who had nearly reached the breaking point, were greatly cheered and elated and our people at home were proud, and the judgment of our optimists was fully justified.

It is not in our province to tell the story of the war—already told so often by many who had abundant experience

in the conflict. In the spring of 1918 Germany, before the power of the United States could be felt, with all the forces at her command determined on a series of drives to end the war. The Germans met with immediate success in driving salients into allied lines, but did not have the power to get to Paris or to force a decision. Our men fought alongside the Allies in all their battles. At Chateau Thierry it fell to our forces to render great assistance in blocking the German Drive at this point where the Germans suffered 60,000 casualties at the hands of our men. In the last drive on both sides of Rheims, 85,000 American troops fighting with the French prevented its being a success.

The Germans had hurled themselves against the growing power of the Allies and had failed. And now Marshal Foch took the initiative. At this time also the American First Army was organized under the immediate command of General Pershing. To it was assigned first the reduction of St. Mihiel salient which was accomplished in three days, September 12th to 15th. Five hundred and fifty thousand Americans were engaged in this battle.

The second task assigned to our army was to take the offensive against the Germans in the Meuse-Argonne district. We were able to concentrate for this drive 1,200,000 men, the flower of American youth, and most of them with some experience in fighting. In Colonel Leonard P. Ayres' *War With Germany* he says: "The object of the Meuse-Argonne offensive,' said General Pershing in his report of November 20, 1918, was 'to draw the best German divisions to our front and to consume them.' This sentence expresses better than any other long description not only the object but also the outcome of the battle. Every available American division was thrown against the enemy. Every available German division was thrown in to meet them. At the end of forty-seven days of continuous battle our divisions had consumed the German divisions." "Unyielding resistance" was demanded by the German High Command; but we had become superior in numbers, in guns of various calibres, in aeroplanes and in tanks. Our men were propelled by the "will to win," and were willing to suffer all the punishment necessary to accomplish that result. By November 8th they had cut the Sedan-Mezières railroad,

which made it impossible for the Germans to continue. The enemy completely beaten asked for an Armistice, which was granted, and fighting ceased at noon on November 11, 1918, thus crumbling, "the most towering ambition since Rome," thus ending "the greatest gamble in history."

The achievements of our men in the World War makes a glorious page in our history. It was a magnificent proof of the virility of this nation. From the time they were called into training camps they were restless to get across the ocean, and come to grips with the enemy, finish the job and get back home. The officers of the Allies had but one criticism to make of them after they got into the battle line—they were too foolhardy and reckless in their dashes at the enemy.

The widely reported incident at Chateau Thierry is a sample of the American spirit throughout all divisions and from the time of entering the line till the enemy was beaten. Our men had been forced back at one point but General Dickman, commanding officer, proposed the counter attack at once and reported his plan to his superior officer, a French General. The latter advised him to wait and that his plan was impracticable. General Dickman's reply was as follows: "We regret being unable on this occasion to follow the counsel of our masters, the French; but the American flag has been forced to retire. This is unendurable, and none of our soldiers would understand their not being asked to do whatever is necessary to remedy a situation which is humiliating to us and unacceptable to our country's honor. We are going to counter attack."⁹

In the history of the Eighty-Ninth Division the story is told of how Sergeant Harry Adams of the Three Hundred and Fifty-third Infantry of that division captured 300 Germans in a dugout—single handed and with an empty pistol. Sergeant Alvin C. York in the battle of the Argonne Forest on one occasion killed more than twenty Germans and captured 132 others including a major and three lieutenants. Instances of a similar courage and daring and resourcefulness could be cited in every unit of every division which got into the battle line. In fighting with

⁹ *New York Times*, July 17, 1918, p. 1.

foreign troops, our troops with their driving power usually gained their objectives first. Many of our men were awarded the Croix de Guerre, Distinguished Service Medal, the Congressional Medal, and other honors for bravery and valor in battle. The commanding officers of the foreign allied armies wrote many letters of praise and appreciation to our officers for the fighting qualities of our soldiers. The story of the fighting is an epic of heroism, courage and daring, and the share of the Colorado men in it all has brought a great and signal honor to the state. They went as on a Holy Mission and won imperishable renown.

After the Armistice, the Third Army was formed which was to move into Germany and was known as the Army of Occupation. This Third Army was composed of eight divisions; four Regular Army divisions, the First, Second, Third, and Fourth; two National Guard divisions, the Thirty-Second and Forty-Second; the two National Army divisions, the Eighty-Ninth, and the Ninetieth, numbering altogether more than 200,000 men. Thus it will be seen that many Colorado men went into Germany as a part of the Army of Occupation. Preparations were made immediately upon signing the Armistice for returning the troops to the United States as speedily as possible. During the maximum eastward movement of the troops approximately half our men were taken over in British ships; but these were required for the return of their colonial troops. To hasten the return of our troops the Army Transport Service began at once the conversion of large cargo ships into troop carrying transports, and by May of 1919, our troops were being returned faster than they had been taken over.

While waiting for their turn to be ordered home some of our men attended the French and English universities; educational classes were conducted in camp areas, permission was easily secured to go on sight seeing trips and all manner of athletic organizations sprang up, and competitive games were constantly engaged in. The speed with which the men were sent home was another marvel of the participation of the United States in the World War. Upon arrival at a port in this country the men were usually sent to the encampment nearest their homes, or places of enlistment or induction into the service, and then discharged

from service to be absorbed again into the great mass of the people engaged in gainful and peaceful pursuits.

In the archives of the Military Department of the State Capitol in Denver there is a list of the names of about 43,000 men who were in military service during the war—either abroad or on their way to Europe or in training camps in this country when the Armistice was signed. This number goes above 44,000 if we include ship builders, men in all kinds of classified service, those who left the state to engage in one or another form of welfare service and who went to Washington as clerks, stenographers, etc. Of this number 1009 were killed or died in the service and 1759 were wounded.

“Colorado in the World War” was a wonderful spectacle, a whole state converted into a smoothly running powerful machine for winning the war. It was a moving sight to see rich and poor, country and city people alike, accept the draft, give up their sons, some of them to die, without a murmur or protest. For the time, there were no parties or classes. It was a unit moved by the single purpose to make the power of this state felt to the highest degree in destroying the enemy of civilization. It was a great sight to see a great people aroused, to see all their bad qualities in abeyance, to see them rise to the high level of unselfishness and service. Everybody within the boundaries of the state did everything he could. No sacrifice was too great. All shared in the fine spirit of the Council of Defense. With these latter it was never too early, never too late—when the governor called, all dropped their own work and hurried to his aid, and this without a penny of expense. The state went beyond all expectations. All loans and other funds were over subscribed; all quotas exceeded. Governor Gunter is justly proud of the record our people made and as he said in an interview: “It was the greatest experience in the life of the state.”

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CHAPTER XIX

THE BENCH AND THE BAR

By Henry J. Hersey

THE PEOPLE'S AND MINERS' COURTS—LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE BY MASS MEETINGS, PURE DEMOCRACY—TERRITORIAL COURTS—PIONEER JUDGES AND LAWYERS—PRIMITIVE COURTHOUSES—UNIQUE CONDITIONS REQUIRED NEW LAWS AND JUDICIAL DECISIONS—COLORADO LEADS THE NATION—HIGH CHARACTER OF BENCH AND BAR—SKETCHES OF SOME EARLY JUDGES AND LAWYERS—IMPORTANT IRRIGATION AND MINING CASES—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND LAWYERS' INFLUENCE—OTHER NOVEL CASES SINCE 1876—STRIKE OF METALLIFEROUS MINERS, LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED—ELECTION CASES—SUPREME COURT COMMISSIONERS—FIRST AND SECOND COURTS OF APPEALS.

The history of popular government is the history of its bench and bar, for as a great student of our form of government has written, "Lawyers belong to the people by birth and interest, to the aristocracy by habit and by taste, and they may be looked upon as the natural bond and connecting link of the two great classes of society. * * * Without this admixture of lawyer-like sobriety with the democratic principle, I question whether democratic institutions could long be maintained." (DeTocqueville.)

And of the judges DeTocqueville wrote, "The peace, the prosperity, and the very existence of the Union are vested in the hands of the seven judges. Without their active coöperation the Constitution would be a dead letter."

No history of the bench and bar of Colorado can be complete without calling attention to the unusual and really romantic conditions which confronted the pioneer lawyers and judges. Lawyers were the advance guard of the courts and from their ranks afterwards were chosen the judges.

As has been truly said, "The settlers of Colorado came here into No-Man's land," they dropped, as it were, out of a clear sky into this far West. In the early days there was no steady migration from the far eastern part of the United States as in the Middle West, where farmers were the ones who first pushed slowly forward and took up and cultivated the virgin lands. There they lived and farmed under conditions similar to those in the old homes and brought with them the laws and customs of the states from which they came. But this "Pike's Peak Region," as it was called, was the home of the Indian, the buffalo and the antelope, the bear and the mountain lion, known only to Indian traders, trappers and an occasional explorer, and by the latter, and so by Eastern citizens and statesmen, as unfit for civilized men.

Gold was the motive force which lured men from the Middle West five hundred to one thousand miles across a then barren waste to another place of like barrenness. They found an unfamiliar and arid climate and soil, high in altitude, apparently impossible of cultivation and some six hundred miles from the nearest frontier government "to begin without existing law or government" their new life "and thus left to their own creative ability and volition."

Nobly and most intelligently we find them meeting these novel conditions and these pages record their courage, their foresight, their ability and their wisdom in founding a great state, yet to become ever greater.

In this the lawyers played a most important part.

The early settlers and gold seekers of 1858 found themselves in a country which the various explorers had reported as a barren desert and worthless for human habitation; though nominally a part of the Territory of Kansas, yet it was so remote, because of the slow means of transportation and communication, that it was outside the pale of governmental consideration or interest, and the pioneers were forced by existing conditions to establish some sort of a government, provide courts and make laws for themselves.

So on the plains we find them quickly creating the People's Courts by the methods of pure democracies,

assemblies of the people hurriedly called together and accused persons brought before them and tried before a judge selected from the people, the people themselves acting as a jury; in the mountains a civil, rather than a criminal, court was the need of the hour and the Miners' Court was created, having, however, both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Miners' Court was also established by the mass meeting methods used in the ancient, pure democracies, for representative or republican form of government is always a matter of growth and later development.

The custom was to issue a call to all the miners living in a given mining district and, upon assembling, those present decided the boundaries of the mining district, adopted a Miners' Code, provided for the necessary officers of the mining district, and defined their duties. These officers were a president, judge, sheriff, surveyor and recorder (who also acted as ex-officio treasurer and secretary of the district), and a collector, and they comprised the officers of the Miners' Court and were all responsible to the supreme authority and tribunal, the Miners' Meeting. One dissatisfied with the decision of the Miners' Court might take his case to the Miners' Meeting, but that was final. These courts and their decisions were respected and obeyed and served a most useful purpose in this then isolated territory. That the absence of other laws made necessary these communal tribunals is further evidenced by this phrase from a judge's address to a People's Court as it convened to try one accused of murder, when he said: "Denver, where no law of the great American Union claims jurisdiction."

This code of Mining Laws adopted by these Miners' Meetings found its way later into the formal legislation of the territory and state and even of Congress and was recognized by the territorial, state and Federal courts.

In Colorado we started in the process of governmental evolution with a pure democracy, as pure as the early Grecian democracies. Every man took his part and did it well; the open air with the sky for a roof and the trees for the walls gave us our first legislative and judicial "chambers," and for nearly three years, until Congress established the Territory of Colorado, the People's and Miners'

Courts and meetings functioned in making and administering law to the satisfaction and well being of the community.

The formal judicial history of Colorado begins with the organization of the territory by the Act of Congress of February 28, 1861. That act provided for a Supreme Court consisting of a chief justice and two associate justices, divided the territory into three judicial districts and required a district court to be held in each, presided over by one of the justices of the Supreme Court.

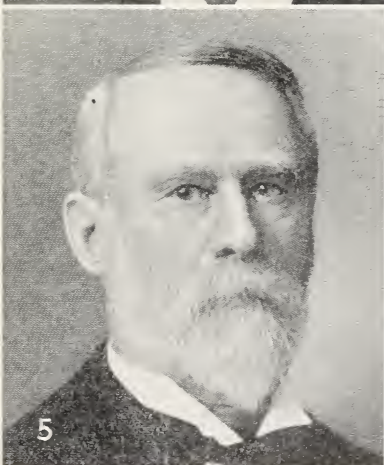
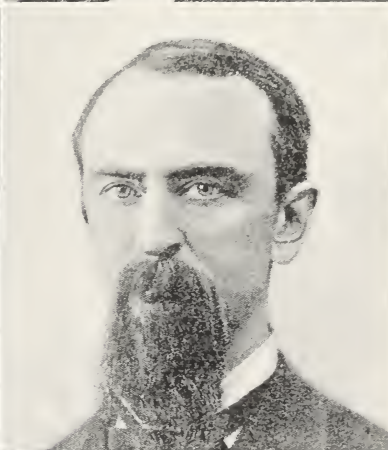
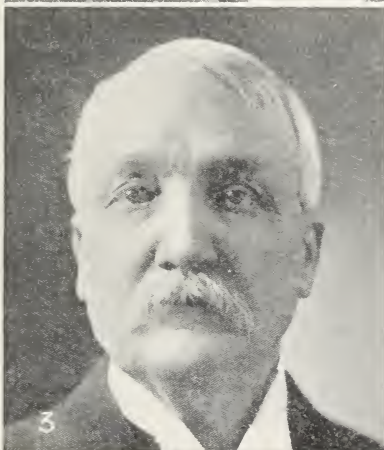
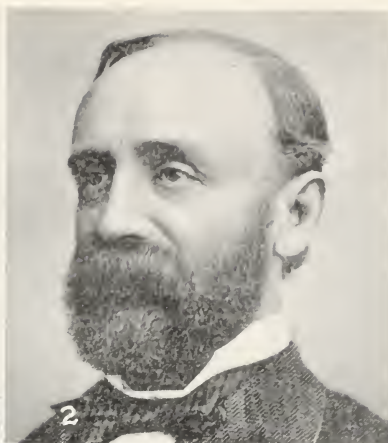
Inferior courts, such as probate and justices of the peace courts were authorized and were provided for by the territorial statutes.

The justices of the Supreme Court being also trial judges in their respective districts had the double duty of separately trying cases in the first instance and then coming together as appellate judges in the Supreme Court to decide each other's cases on appeal.

One's imagination can have full play as to the amusing situations this appellate duty at times produced, when one of the judges, who had tried the case in the court below, would be asked to retire while the other two judges considered the case on appeal and determined whether or not their associate had decided correctly.

While Colorado was a territory it, of course, had its share of experience with "carpet bag" appointees, such experiences were not always satisfactory, and complaints would be made, but during the Civil War period Washington was too busy with that great conflict to pay heed to such complaints. After the war, however, the personnel of the court was changed and from that time on conditions were vastly improved and the Supreme Court received and maintained the highest respect of the people.

In 1866 "by the united effort of the bar and the people" a young lawyer, Moses Hallett, was appointed chief justice and soon afterwards William R. Gorsline, then practicing law in Gilpin County, formerly a circuit judge in Wisconsin, able and universally loved, and to whom "law was a system of justice," was appointed associate justice and in 1870 James B. Belford, clear headed and sound thinking, was appointed as one of the justices, and in 1871 Ebenezer T. Wells was elevated from the local bar to the Supreme



SOME EARLY JUDGES OF THE STATE SUPREME COURT

1. Allen A. Bradford. 2. Moses Hallett. 3. Ebenezer T. Wells.
4. Henry C. Thatcher. 5. Wilbur F. Stone. 6. Joseph C. Helm

Court. Wells had done exceptionally useful and valuable work in the first revision of our statutes in 1868 and was a most welcome acquisition to the Supreme Court. From 1866 to statehood a majority of the judges were local men of local choice and the courts functioned most satisfactorily.

“Judge Hallett was the youngest in years and length of practice of all the early judges when he came to the bench, but in study and knowledge of law he was accounted the equal of any and the superior of most.” (Stone, *History of Colorado*, Vol. I:735.)

With the organization of the territory and courts with the territorial judges appointed by the President, the People’s and the Miners’ Courts disappeared, the need therefor no longer existing.

The territory was divided into only three judicial districts and covered an area of over one hundred thousand square miles; it was without railroads and mostly without any real roads of any sort. The Third Judicial District comprised all the southern half of Colorado from the “divide” to the New Mexico line on the south and from the western boundary of Kansas across Colorado to the Utah line.

Courts were held during the territorial days in eleven different towns or cities of that district, an area larger than the average state of the Middle West, over which judges and lawyers, court officials, witnesses, litigants and Spanish interpreters and frequently prisoners with their guards had to travel from court to court, sometimes one hundred miles apart. It must have been an interesting sight to see these travelers on horseback and muleback, in wagons or buggies, sometimes even in crude ambulances, raising the dust of the cactus and sagebrush covered plains. By meagre rock-filled roads and trails they climbed over the mountains, fording streams and rivers and resting at night wherever night overtook them. Gathered around their camp fires each vied with the other in story telling, truth was discarded and the imagination given full play. The physical stimulus and benefit of such travel and the hunting of game for food by the way, the sleeping in the open air, certainly made them strong and vigorous and the arguments of the lawyers responded accordingly.

Then the courthouses—how primitive and picturesque they were! Not of modern architecture, beauty and comfort, but with dirt floors, adobe walls and mud roofs. The judge sat often on a soap box covered with sheepskin, which constituted the traditional “wool-sack.” Another larger box in front of the judge answered for the “bench,” the lawyers and jurors had to be content with pine boards laid across other boxes, or log blocks, while the spectators attending court sat or squatted on the dirt floor and used the mud plastered walls as backs to their seats.

While Judge Hallett was on the circuit he noticed that the same faces frequently appeared in the jury box of widely separated localities where trials were had. Finally he asked the sheriff why he so often selected the same men for the jury panel. “The benches are so rough and splintery, Judge, I have to choose only those men who wear leather seats in their trousers,” said the sheriff. “Thereby,” remarked Judge Hallett, “introducing a qualification for jury service unknown either to the statute or common law.”

After court hours in the evenings, lawyers, judges and others attending the courts were entertained in the Mexican pueblos and all the Mexican belles and caballeros would entertain the visitors. Everyone danced, without awaiting an introduction, with anyone he chose, but one bit of etiquette was strictly followed without exception—every man at the end of each dance took his lady to the bar at the rear and treated her to candy and a glass of native wine.

The circuit riding of the early days here was strenuous but full of life and fun and quite in contrast to these more luxurious times since the advent of better roads, railroads and automobiles.

In this primitive way the early bar of Colorado was trained, their law books were few, but what they had the lawyers knew and applied, and justice was had and maintained, showing that the principles of justice are fundamental and few, and that “law is the rule of reason applied to existing conditions” (173 Wis. 400, 406), that “law is a growth, an evolution. It is born with the needs of the people, as those needs develop themselves. It may be crude at the outset; but as civilization advances and wider range

of needs of citizenship is disclosed, the law applying these varying, diverse, differing needs, under constantly shifting conditions, itself is changed, unfolded and adapted to these varying wants and needs of an advancing civilization." (89 Miss. 448, 536.)

Colorado in view of the entirely new and different conditions, of location, climate, soil, minerals and its different economic and social needs, furnished an opportunity for the evolution of law, the making of new laws and the adaptation of old laws to the new conditions, not theretofore offered.

"Irrigation, mining and non-agricultural public domain begot new rights of person, property and business, demanding new legislation, which in turn exacted judicial interpretation, construction, application, consideration of possible results and the application of the doctrine and rules of selection and adaptation." (Stone, *History of Colorado*, Vol. I:742.)

This novel and interesting task appealed to the lawyers and judges of the territory and they rose to it with enthusiasm and intelligence, so that the bench and bar of Colorado has always been of high rank.

Here it will be well to refer to the character and ability of some of these early pioneer lawyers. Space does not permit reference to all who are justly entitled to mention here and their omission must not be regarded as implying that they are less important than those specifically named; their worth is chronicled elsewhere and will ever be gratefully remembered.

Among those prominent as leaders at the bar and on the bench in the early days were the following:

Moses Hallett, the most outstanding of all, was appointed to the Territorial Supreme Court in 1866 as its chief justice, remained as such until Colorado's admission to the Union as a state, and then was appointed as our first United States district judge and served with credit to himself and distinction to our state until his retirement thirty years afterward. To him not only this state, but all the so-called arid states, owe the pronouncement and establishment of the doctrine of prior appropriation of public waters and the right to apply them to beneficial use; to him and his

judicial learning we are also indebted for most of the decisions as to mining rights, which have long since become the well settled law of the land, besides others of his decisions relating to the use and occupancy of the public domain.

Judge Hallett's vigorous and masterful decision "abrogating the law of riparian rights in the arid west" contains this concise and forceful language: "Rules respecting the tenure of property must yield to the laws of nature, whenever such laws exert a controlling influence. In a dry and thirsty land it is necessary to divert the waters of a stream from their natural channels, in order to obtain the fruits of the soil, and this necessity is so universal and imperious that it claims recognition of the law." (1 Colo. 553.)

During part of the same period there were on the Supreme bench Judges Gorsline, Wells and Belford, who also participated in the sound opinions of the court affecting the novel and peculiar conditions of Colorado, and they too did much in laying the foundations of our state government which followed later and in settling the rights of the people. Their intelligent work was used for the welfare of the people in the State Constitution of 1876.

Christian S. Eyster, one of the territorial judges of the Supreme Court, of whom it was said that he was "endowed with the highest and sublimest opinions of the unchanging principles of right and justice." (12 Colo. XXV.)

Henry C. Thatcher, chief justice of the Supreme Court: "He was a most excellent judge, * * * pure, conscientious, clear sighted and learned, * * * careful, painstaking and laborious, * * * he never wrote a slovenly opinion, * * * his statement and argument were always clear, accurate and logical, * * * above all, * * * presenting a judicial character, the purity of which was as snow, and the integrity of which was as the granite." (7 Colo. XVI.)

These characteristics are embodied by the sculptor in the marble bust which graces, and has for years graced, the Supreme Court room of this state.

Samuel H. Elbert, who came to Colorado in 1862 as a young lawyer and soon became secretary of the new terri-

tory and acting governor. Upon the admission of Colorado to statehood he was elected one of the three justices of the Supreme Court and served for more than eleven years, his opinions extend through eight volumes from the third to the eleventh of the Supreme Court Reports, and his long service helped to "blaze the way upon many new and doubtful questions." As a judge "his motto was excellence, not rapidity; he never inquired how many cases could be decided within a given time; his sole concern was to have the decisions, were they many or few, incontestably right. * * * His opinions will furnish safe guidance so long as our form of government endures."

"Of all the men who have occupied a place on this bench," said Chief Justice Campbell, "Judge Elbert was probably the most potential factor in the public life of the commonwealth, and his influence has left its impression on all of its departments." (26 Colo. XXIII.)

Edmond L. Smith, who attained a place "at the head of his profession," and of whom one of the justices of the Supreme Court, responding for the court at the memorial exercises, said he "was my ideal of a great lawyer." (16 Colo. XVII.)

E. P. Jacobson, "a man of much intellectual power, * * * the bar * * * lost one of its brightest ornaments, society one of its most useful citizens, * * * a man who would scorn to be guilty of a mean or dishonest action." (5 Colo. XXII.)

Vincent D. Markham, remembered as a great equity lawyer with "an inborn love of justice," "impatient of all shams and injustices," and, as was truly said by one of the justices speaking for the Supreme Court at his memorial exercises, "the imprint of his master hand is plainly discernible in the moulding of much of the jurisprudence of this commonwealth." (21 Colo. XVIII.)

William E. Beck, for fifteen years a justice of our Supreme Court, "he was an able lawyer, a distinguished jurist, a faithful public servant and a worthy citizen. * * * His record is written in the reports of this court [the Supreme Court], a record to which his friends justly point with pride." (18 Colo. XIX.)

Andrew W. Brazee, appointed a justice of our Territorial Supreme Court in 1875, "considerate, impartial and

able, * * * of much learning and ability" and "did not speak, write or act to gain popular favor." (16 Colo. XXV.)

George G. Symes, one of the really great lawyers and citizens of "the earlier days" in the history of the state, he filled many responsible trusts "with honor to himself and to his country," as a soldier, a judge, a legislator, a lawyer, and as a private citizen. "His every step was marked with ability, honesty and devotion to a higher purpose." After the Civil War, in which he served with distinction, he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Montana Territory, which position he "filled with conspicuous ability for three years." In 1874 he came to Colorado and within three months was retained as counsel in the then most important mining case in the courts; from 1874 to 1885 he was employed in nearly all the great mining litigation in Colorado. From 1884 to 1888 he was Colorado's representative in Congress, after which and until his death in 1893 he was a private citizen, as ever interested in the general welfare of our people and evidencing his continued public spirit. With his death a great lawyer and citizen passed away.

H. P. Bennet, a gentle soul and fine lawyer, who showed his own high ideals as well as those of the lawyers of the time, among other things, in the following toasts he proposed at the banquet given in Denver to the members of the Colorado Constitutional Convention of 1875-76:

"The President of the United States—Ruler of forty millions of sovereign people by the 'divine right' contained in the vote of the majority, subjected himself to his subjects, and all subject to law."

"The Constitutional Convention—May the instrument it will form contain all the good that is to be found in the organic laws of the thirty-eight sister states, and none of the defects."

"The Press—An engine of almost boundless power—may it be animated by a spirit which shall love justice and uphold it; which shall hate iniquity and scourge it."

The responses to the toasts were of as high character as the toasts.

Luther S. Dixon, for fifteen years before coming to Colo-



1. CITY HALL, COLORADO SPRINGS. 2. PUEBLO COUNTY COURT HOUSE. 3. POST OFFICE BUILDING, DENVER

rado to practice law he had "presided with great distinction as the Chief Justice" of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, he "was one of the greatest common law lawyers who ever adorned the bench of this or any other country," "his standard of professional ethics was high," and of his professional life a prominent lawyer said at the memorial exercises that "he was never known to take an undue advantage of an opponent and scorned to profit by a mistake or laches of the attorney on the other side. * * * He loved the right. * * * He was strong as a lawyer. * * * He was never found seeking to mislead the court as to the law, nor the jury as to the facts. * * * He entered the temple of justice with integrity, truth and honor stamped on his face and the bench and bar alike felt that he was no trifler with justice." (17 Colo. XIX.)

Victor A. Elliott, for years a district judge in this state, he was then elevated to the Supreme Court for the then full term of six years. "During this period questions of grave moment to the public were decided" and his "ability, courage, honesty, industry and devotion to duty" were most manifest. "In his judicial work [on the Supreme Court] he did not rely entirely upon his natural ability, though it was exceptional, nor upon his great learning as a lawyer; nor upon his previous experience upon the bench, varied and extended as it had been, but he went to the bottom of every case * * * and his judicial opinions are accordingly well considered. * * * In the practical application of the law to the peculiar conditions existing in this young commonwealth, he had no superior. * * * These will stand through the coming centuries as monuments to his judicial fairness and ability." (25 Colo. XIX.)

Then there were Wilbur F. Stone, also a judge of the Supreme Court and later of the special United States Court for the adjudication of Spanish and Mexican land claims, a gentleman of the old school; Henry M. Teller, later secretary of the interior and United States senator; his brother, Willard Teller; Hugh Butler, John O. Charles, and Lewis B. France, all lawyers of great ability; Robert S. Morrison, able mining lawyer and author of valuable works on mining law; Chase Withrow of Central City and now living; George

Q. Richmond, still active at the bar and formerly the able president judge of our first Court of Appeals; Bela M. Hughes; Edward O. Wolcott, first shy, but later with experience taking a leading place at the bar and maintaining it, and then United States senator and of commanding influence in the nation; Joel F. Vaile, learned and affable, partner of Wolcott; Charles S. Thomas, forceful and able, later also governor and United States senator, influential in national and international affairs and still active in the profession; John M. Waldron; Charles J. Hughes, later United States senator and a lawyer of the highest attainments; and then there was the brilliant lawyer, Thomas M. Patterson, afterwards newspaper owner and editor and United States senator; Joseph C. Helm and John Campbell, both justices of the Supreme Court and as able jurists as ever sat on any bench, and the latter still on that bench.

Among the eminent judges of the Supreme Court, who have passed away, mention should be made here of Melville B. Gerry, Robert W. Steele, Luther M. Goddard and Morton S. Bailey, all judges of outstanding ability.

While Judge Hallett was United States District judge mining of metalliferous ores was our chief industry, at least during the first half of his service on that bench, and he settled the mining law wisely and well on sound fundamental principles. He decided the greatest mining case in all the history of mining litigation and his decision was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. That was the case of *Del Monte Co. v. Last Chance Co.* (66 Fed. 212 and 171 U. S. 55). The rule of law announced in that case was that, if the apex or a vein crosses one end line and one side line, the locator has extra-lateral rights and can follow the vein upon its dip, and that in order to obtain parallel end lines, which are essential to extra-lateral rights, a locator of a mining claim has the right to locate his claim within, upon, or across a pre-existing location. That case has been more frequently cited and followed by the courts, as correctly stating the law, than any mining case ever decided. The lawyers in that case were Wolcott and Vaile on one side, and Thomas, Bryant and Lee on the other.

In another mining case Judge Hallett, in charging the jury, defined the meaning of the words "top or apex" of a

vein as "the end or edge, or terminal point of the lode nearest the surface of the earth," which definition has been accepted and followed by scores of Federal judges throughout the country. That is the case of *Iron Mine v. Loella Mine* (2 McCrary 121).

Another leading and very important mining case tried by Judge Hallett, and in which he was upheld by the United States Supreme Court, was that of *Iron Silver Co. v. Elgin Co.* (14 Fed. 377 and 118 U. S. 196), in which it was definitely decided that end lines are such lines as the locator intended to be end lines and not the lines which by accidental location happened to be parallel. Markham, Patterson and Thomas were attorneys for the Elgin Company, and G. G. Symes for the Iron Silver Company.

An examination of the mining statutes of other mining states will disclose that they are really copies of the Colorado mining statutes, notwithstanding the fact that gold was discovered in California ten (10) years earlier than in Colorado, from which naturally it would be expected that California, not Colorado, would lead in the making and exposition of the mining law.

The historic fact, however, is that the Colorado bench and bar laid the sound foundations of the now well settled law relating to metalliferous mining.

When Colorado finally succeeded in securing from Congress the act to enable it to frame a constitution and become a state, the lawyers took an important part as members of the Constitutional Convention. Their learning and familiarity with the constitutions of other states were, of course, of great value. Among those lawyer members of the convention were Henry C. Thatcher, Wilbur F. Stone, Lewis C. Rockwell, E. T. Wells, Alvin Marsh, W. E. Beck and H. P. H. Bromwell, who had then recently come from Illinois, where he had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of that state.

The result was that under the constitution then drafted and adopted Colorado has grown to over a million happy and prosperous people, and the one time "desert" has become a garden of 25,000,000 acres and 60,000 farms.

Since the adoption of the constitution the number of judges and of lawyers have increased with the population,

but there has been no lessening of high ideals or of service for the welfare of the state.

New problems have arisen, but they have been met, as they arose, and solved with intelligence, as were the earlier problems by the earlier bench and bar.

In 1903-4 another most novel question arose—an unfortunate strike of the metalliferous miners of the state was in progress and life and property were being ruthlessly destroyed, armed forces of miners resisting the enforcement of the laws of the state and overpowering the civil authorities. An insistent demand by petition and otherwise was made upon Governor Peabody that he perform his constitutional duty and enforce the laws, suppress the insurrection, restore peace and order and protect life and property by sending the militia into the mining districts for those purposes.

The governor issued his proclamation declaring the County of San Miguel to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion and ordered Adj. Gen. Sherman Bell to proceed to that county with the necessary troops and use such means as he might deem right and proper to restore peace and order and to enforce obedience to the constitution and laws of the state.

The adjutant general, as being necessary, in his judgment, to suppress the insurrection and enforce obedience to the constitution and laws and to restore peace and order, caused the arrest of C. H. Moyer, the president of the Western Federation of Miners.

Moyer's attorneys, E. F. Richardson and H. N. Hawkins, applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*; the writ was issued and served on the adjutant general. The governor, represented by Attorney General N. C. Miller and Deputy Attorney General Henry J. Hersey, filed his answer and return to the writ showing that the governor acted in pursuance of his constitutional power and duty.

The fundamental proposition involved was that under the constitution it was the duty of the governor to enforce the laws, suppress insurrection and rebellion within the state and that when he had determined as a fact that insurrection existed and that it was necessary to call out the militia to suppress it and had done so, the governor's de-

termination of such facts could not be disputed and was conclusive upon all departments of the government, as well as upon all other persons whomsoever. The secondary proposition was that in performing his constitutional duty therein the governor through the militia had authority to arrest and detain in custody any person aiding or participating therein until the insurrection was suppressed.

The Supreme Court in an able opinion by Chief Justice Gabbert sustained the governor and the writ of *habeas corpus* was discharged and the petitioner remanded to the custody of the adjutant general, Justice Steele dissenting. (35 Colo. 159.)

The Moyer case has been followed since as a leading case in other states in domestic disturbances and in a civil damage suit brought by Moyer against Governor Peabody and Adjutant General Bell in the United States District Court, when Judge Robert E. Lewis dismissed the case and sustained the power and duty of the governor in such matters. Moyer then took the case to the United States Supreme Court, and in January, 1909, that learned tribunal unanimously affirmed Judge Lewis' decision, reaching the same conclusions as that reached five years before by the Colorado Supreme Court. (212 U. S. 78.)

Judge Hallett in the United States District Court had previously, in 1904, dismissed the petition of one, Sherman Parker, for *habeas corpus* under the same facts and for the same reasons.

Both the State and Federal courts in Colorado there settled a new and important constitutional question, the practical result of which was the prevention thereafter of armed warfare in industrial conflicts in this and other states.

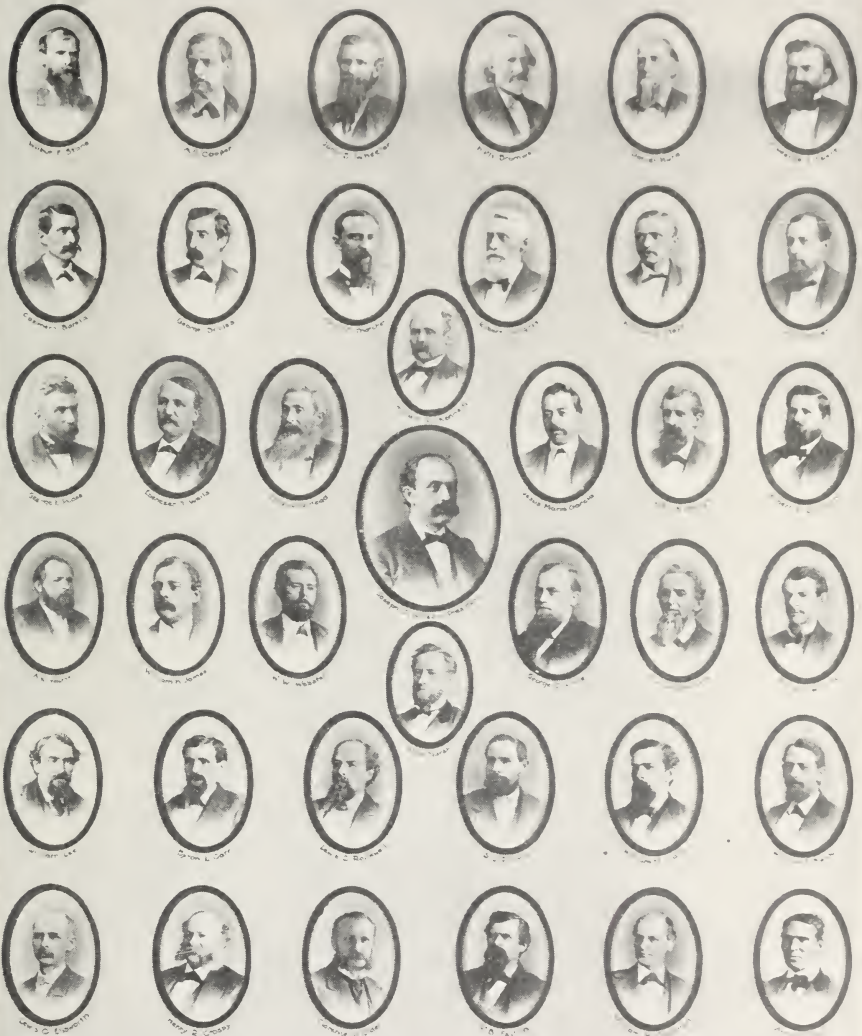
About the same time there were the important questions relating to the purity of elections, and here the Supreme Court, after able arguments at the bar, rendered a forceful and able opinion, which protected forever the sacredness of the ballot. That case is known as the Tool Case. (35 Colo. 225.) Chief Justice Gabbert, in rendering the opinion of the court, said: "The cardinal principle of our government is that it shall be controlled by the people through the medium of the ballot box. Destroy this right, and the

government itself is destroyed." (35 Colo. 225.) This case, as have many others, became a leading case in this country. No case in the history of this state has ever excited more interest and discussion—newspaper criticisms resulted in a contempt proceeding before the Supreme Court, Justice Gunter writing a learned opinion on the law of contempt (35 Colo. 253), and later was in effect sustained by the United States Supreme Court in its opinion dismissing the writ of error for lack of jurisdiction. The highest court in the land there positively decided that the claim of a right under the Federal Constitution to prove the truth of certain published articles claimed to constitute a contempt of court is too clearly unfounded to serve as a basis of a writ of error from the Federal Supreme Court to a state court (205 U. S. 454).

As early as 1887 it became necessary to provide some method of relieving the congested condition of the docket of the Supreme Court, so the legislature passed an act providing for the appointment by the governor of three Supreme Court Commissioners possessing the same qualifications and receiving the same salary as the Supreme Court judges; their term of office was two years unless sooner terminated by law. They were authorized to examine and decide cases referred to them by the Supreme Court, their decisions were submitted to the Supreme Court as "reports," which the Supreme Court was required to "approve, modify or reject," and when the Supreme Court "approved and adopted" the Commissioners' report, or opinion, it was promulgated as the opinion of the Supreme Court and its judgment was rendered thereon in manner and to the same effect as in other cases.

Governor Adams in 1887 wisely appointed as the Commissioners three able lawyers, Thomas Macon, A. J. Rising and John C. Stallcup, but in a few months Macon resigned and another able lawyer, A. H. De France, was appointed in his stead. The opinions of these Commissioners which were adopted as the opinions of the Supreme Court are published in Volumes 10, 11 and part of 12 of the Supreme Court Reports.

Merely as an illustration of the soundness of the Commissioners' decisions, it is interesting to know that one



Portraits of the Members of the Colorado Constitutional Convention, held in Denver in the Winter of 1875-76.

Top row: Wilbur F. Stone, A. D. Cooper, John S. Wheeler, H. P. H. Bromwell, Daniel Hurd, Frederick J. Ebert. Second row: Casimero Barela, George Boyles, Henry C. Thatcher, Robert Douglas, William H. Meyer, W. C. Stover. Third row: George E. Pease, Ebenezer T. Wells, Lafayette Head, William R. Kennedy, Jesus Maria Garcia, John S. Hough, Robert A. Quillian. Fourth row: A. K. Yount, William H. James, W. W. Webster, Joseph C. Wilson (President), George G. White, J. W. Widderfield, Philip P. Wilcox. Fifth row: William Lee, Byron L. Carr, Lewis C. Rockwell, Alvin Marsh, S. J. Plumb, William M. Clark, William E. Beck. Bottom row: Lewis C. Ellsworth, Henry R. Crosby, Clarence P. Elder, W. B. Felton, William H. Cushman, Agapito Vigil

of the very earliest (10 Colo. 112) was cited thereafter as authority sixteen times by the Supreme and Appellate courts of Colorado, also once each by the California Supreme Court and by the Federal Court, and in notes to annotated cases and in the Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure twenty-four times, or a total of forty-two different citations of that case since it was decided.

In 1889 the Legislature passed another act, fixing the term of the Commissioners at four years, unless sooner terminated by law, and with the passage of that act, the terms of the previous Commissioners expired. Governor Cooper thereupon appointed three new Commissioners from some of the ablest lawyers then at the bar; they were Albert E. Pattison, Gilbert B. Reed and George Q. Richmond. Pattison resigned in April, 1890, and Julius B. Bissell was appointed in his place. Their opinions begin with the latter part of Volume 12 of the Court Reports and extend into Volume 15.

As one illustration of the value of the work of these later Commissioners we find that one case (13 Colo. 41), a mining case, decided by them has been published in two different publications of leading cases and since cited as authority twenty-five times by our Supreme and Appellate courts, also twice cited by our Federal courts, and in notes to annotated cases and in the Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure thirty-five times, in all a total of sixty-two different citations of that case since it was decided.

Other cases of equal importance might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to show the great ability of these several Supreme Court Commissioners.

In 1891 their terms expired by law when the Legislature created the first Court of Appeals of three judges with limited appellate jurisdiction. The full term of the judges was fixed at six years, it, however, being provided that the terms of the first incumbents should expire in two, four and six years, respectively, and that they should be appointed for such terms. The governor appointed thereto the last three above named members of the Supreme Court Commission, with George Q. Richmond as presiding judge.

This Court of Appeals was intended to continue relief to the Supreme Court, as its docket was still greatly con-

gested, and it existed for fourteen years until the first Wednesday in April, 1905, when it was abolished by amendment to the Constitution and the number of Supreme Court judges was increased to seven (7).

The Court of Appeals did a great service and maintained in its decisions the high standard set by the Supreme Court Commissioners. Its opinions were published as the Colorado Court of Appeals Reports and fill twenty volumes.

Cases filed in that court numbered 3,266, of which 2,631 were disposed and the remaining 635 were transferred for decision to the enlarged Supreme Court.

During its existence there were changes in the judges of this first Court of Appeals, but the following are the names and periods of service of the several incumbents: George Q. Richmond, two years; Gilbert B. Reed, six years; Julius B. Bissell, ten years; Charles I. Thompson, twelve years; Adair Wilson, six years; Julius C. Gunter, four years; John M. Maxwell, two years.

The governor appointed as the four new judges of the Supreme Court: Julius C. Gunter and John M. Maxwell, who had been two of the judges of the expiring Court of Appeals, and Luther M. Goddard, who had been previously a district judge and a former judge of the Supreme Court, and George W. Bailey, and the enlarged Supreme Court had its first session the same day the old Court of Appeals expired, Wednesday, April 5, 1905. William H. Gabbert was chief justice, and Robert W. Steele and John Campbell, with the four new judges, constituted the court.

With a growing population, and likewise greater business, throughout the state, litigation naturally increased, and six years later it became necessary to create the second Court of Appeals to relieve the docket of the Supreme Court and give to litigants a reasonably speedy final determination of their cases. The Legislature of 1911 passed such an act limiting the life of the court to four years from the date the act took effect, that is, until June 5, 1915.

This act provided for five judges and gave the new Court of Appeals jurisdiction to review and determine all judgments in civil causes then pending upon the docket of the Supreme Court, or wherein appeals were perfected prior to the taking effect of the act or that might there-

after and during the life of the Court of Appeals be taken to the Supreme Court for review, save and except writs of error to county courts.

Manifestly this was purely a temporary court, solely to relieve the docket of the Supreme Court.

The first judges appointed were Tully Scott, as presiding judge, and Alfred R. King, Edwin W. Hurlbut, Stuart D. Walling and Louis W. Cunningham as associate judges. Their appointments, however, were delayed for some two months, as the governor seemed for a while to fear lack of funds to pay the salaries and expenses of the court. After their appointments original proceedings in *quo warranto* were brought in the Supreme Court (52 Colo. 59) and the constitutionality of the act creating the court was attacked, as well as the validity of the appointments, they having been made during the recess of the Senate, and the act itself requiring "the advice and consent of the Senate" thereto and further expressly providing that "no such appointment shall take effect until a confirmation thereof by the Senate."

The Supreme Court, however, held that the act was constitutional and the appointments valid.

The Court of Appeals then began to function and in its January term, 1912, handed down its first decisions and continued to do so until it expired by operation of law in 1915. These decisions are found in Volumes 21 to 27, inclusive, of the Colorado Court of Appeals Reports.

On August 22, 1912, Judge Walling passed away and the bench and the bar lost a judge and a lawyer who "was possessed of a clear analytical mind; of splendid poise. Profoundly learned in the law and trained to a nicety in the profession, these, together with a perfect mastering of language, make his opinions of great and permanent value to the profession." Those quoted words are from the remarks of Presiding Judge Scott at the memorial exercise held on January 13, 1923. (23 Colo. App. VII.)

William B. Morgan was appointed to fill the vacancy, Judge Scott was elected to the Supreme Court and took his seat there in January, 1913, and in his stead John C. Bell was appointed to the Court of Appeals and Judge Cunningham became presiding judge, and the Court of Appeals

thereafter was composed of Presiding Judge Cunningham, Associate Judges King, Hurlburt, Morgan and Bell.

Both Courts of Appeals maintained a high place as an Appellate Court among the Appellate Courts of the country.

We had, therefore, three methods from 1887 to 1915 of relieving the Supreme Court of its continually increasing heavy docket, namely, the Supreme Court Commission and two Courts of Appeals, and, by the earnest efforts of the seven judges of the Supreme Court since, that docket has for several years past been "up to date" in its hearing and decision calendar.

To write all the achievements of the bench and bar of Colorado would require volumes, not merely these few pages; they are, however, recorded in every chapter of this history, for they form an essential part of all development and progress of this state, in government, agriculture, mining, industry and education, as well as in the social life and growth of the state.

The bench and the bar of Colorado have always held, and still maintain, high rank in the nation.

CHAPTER XX

MEDICINE

Charles S. Elder, M. D.

PRIMITIVE MEDICINE—THE DOCTOR AS EXPLORER—THE PIONEER DOCTORS—A TERRITORIAL MEDICAL SOCIETY—THE GROWTH OF KNOWLEDGE—HOSPITALS AND SANATORIA—MEDICAL EDUCATION.

A history of medicine in Colorado may not begin with the first physician to appear in the vast quadrangle which is now our State. This worthy gentleman, with his vials of quinine and calomel and his ready lancet nicely folded in the red velvet lining of its leathern case, as if it were a jewel rather than a tool, is too modern and must wait his turn. The medical historian would like to begin with the cliff-dwellers who do so much honor to the antiquity of Colorado as a human abode, but of their conception of disease and of their method of treating diseases we know very little directly.

Among the relics found in cliff dweller ruins are some boards so hewn that they would nicely fit an arm or leg. It has been inferred from their shape that they might have been used as splints in the treatment of broken bones and this conjecture has been supported, if not confirmed, by the discovery of a skeleton at Aztec, New Mexico, in which both bones of one forearm were broken and boards far inferior in design to some now in the Colorado State Museum were bound on either side of the injured limb.

It is probable that fractures of the limbs were common among the cliff dwellers,¹ as their homes were designedly made difficult for enemies to approach, and access to them was accomplished by means of ladders. A method of treating fractures so obvious as holding the limb straight by

¹ Leonard Freeman, "Surgery of the Ancient Americans," in *Art and Archaeology*, 18 (July and August) 1924.

fastening it to a board might have obtained some development among them. Aside from such practices as necessity most demanded and experience developed, it may be assumed that medicine among the cliff dwellers was nothing better than a code of superstitious observances. Medicine, among all peoples, begins in superstition. Gradually, as the useless processes are eliminated and those that seem helpful retained, it becomes empirical. In the distant years through experiment it gains precision and grows to great stature.

We know much more of the way the Indians contemplated healing and cared for their sick ones. The seeming chaos of their childish practices are reduced to order when we view them from their standpoint rather than look back upon them from our own. They believed that every event was caused by a living agency. Disease, accordingly, was a visitation of vindictive or malicious spirits.² To their minds, there were many evidences of the presence of these invisible denizens of the air. When the Indian drank from a pool he saw his image in the water. He accepted this event as an actual visit from a spirit which resembled himself in all respects except its lack of substance. The explanation we give of such an appearance would go far beyond the limit of his learning. His language was as inadequate to express the true meaning of such an occurrence as his mind was unprepared to understand it.

In the mountain cavern the echo of his call told him plainly that someone had spoken to him in his own words, and in his own voice. At some time during a period of sharp abstinence enforced by a scarcity of food, he would dream that he was in the presence of a rich repast. As he was about to place the first morsel to his lips he awoke. In narration of these events he didn't say he had dreamed, but that he actually had been away in a place where there was food and returned before he could satisfy his hunger. If his squaw should insist that he had not moved from the place where he lay sleeping, he still believed that something had gone forth from his body to more provident regions; perhaps it was that duplicate of himself he had seen in the water or heard in the mountain recesses.

² Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Chap. X.

When afflicted by disease the Indian's question was not "What is the matter?" but, "Who did this to me?" He dealt with these airy invaders of his body as he did with his tangible associates. When trouble threatened or friendships were to be promoted he met his guests at a campfire and passed from mouth to mouth the pipe of peace. With similar motive, at the entrance of his tepee he hung a pipe³ to supply the habits and appease the asperity of any visiting spirit. If, in spite of this friendly gesture, sickness came, he was in need of some one who stood midway between himself and the fickle hosts of spirit land. Such a person was the medicine man. He was usually the ablest man in the tribe so far as mind could be measured, and often the best specimen of manhood. He was held in high esteem not unmixed with awe, for his influence with spirits implied a power for evil as well as a capacity to heal.

The medicine man treated his patients with such measures as he thought effective in removing the malicious spirit from the afflicted person.⁴ He imagined he could make the body of the patient an unpleasant dwelling place for the invader by draughts of the most bitter, most nauseous and the vilest concoctions or by inflicting torture upon it. He tried to frighten the spirit away by loud and threatening noises and by his appearance, horrible as it was when dressed for the ceremony. He might wear a mask made of the head of a savage animal. The skins of other fearsome creatures were disposed about his body. The teeth, tails, claws and beaks of every horrid thing he knew dangled about him. So caparisoned he might have been taken for some ferocious animal of the composite order of architecture that had eloped from a circus cage.

Some times quackery entered into the practice of the Indian medicine man, although not as commonly as it appears among his more civilized successors. If one of the tribe were attacked with a pain in his side, as of pleurisy, it was represented to him, in all good faith, that he had been wounded by an arrow of a vengeful spirit. The medicine man met the occasion by applying his lips to the

³ Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, Chap. IX.

⁴ John Lee Maddox, *The Medicine Man*.

painful part and producing suction to withdraw the missile. He did not neglect, however, to place a piece of sharp flint under his tongue before the treatment began, which he produced afterward as an undeniable proof of the correctness of his diagnosis and of the success of his treatment.

Such were the medical practices of the Indians who roamed over our prairies hunting bison and antelope when Dr. John Robinson came west, acting in the capacity of volunteer surgeon for the expedition led by Lieutenant Zebulon Pike. He was the first physician following European and American traditions to enter the land on which the commonwealth of Colorado was to grow. The record of Pike's activities does not show that Doctor Robinson's medical services were ever invoked. While the care of the sick and injured was the avowed purpose of his presence with Pike and his men there are reasons for suspecting that it may not have been the real one.

Early in the year 1807, some of the exploring party were quartered on the Conejos River in Southern Colorado. The winter was unusually severe. The feet of some of the men were badly frozen, and some of the bones were sloughing away. Food and fuel were insufficient. The men needed the daily attention of a surgeon and the constant assistance of a friend. Even at such a time Doctor Robinson left them to collect, so he declared, a claim due him at Santa Fé. As long as Doctor Robinson was with the exploring party he was the constant associate of Pike in all their trials and adventures. Pike spoke of him with enthusiastic admiration as a man of generous mind, unhampered by dogma or narrow views, and as one capable of great enterprises.

More attractive than Doctor Robinson to those who practice medicine, or read its annals, is Dr. Edwin James. The latter was attached to the expedition of Major Long. He was supposed to act in the versatile capacity of botanist, geologist and surgeon. To these duties, the pressure of events added that of historian. About the end of June, 1820, Major Long and his men crossed the eastern boundary of Colorado. The plains at that time were parched by the midsummer sun. The historian's spirits were afflicted by the dreary and monotonous prospect. Doctor James could

see no probability of this western land ever supporting a population. He noted the great number and varied species of wild animals—the bison, deer, badger, hare, wolves, eagle, ravens and owls—but was unable to account for their presence and apparent prosperity in a region so lacking in fertility. Their course seemed to him to be, in the main, southward and he conjectured that they were on their way to more provident pastures.

Varied as Doctor James' knowledge must have been of things that are, of animals, plants and of the earth's structure, he lacked vision of things as they might be. He could not foresee that the valley where he was encamped would sometime be furrowed with the ditches carrying water over the lowlands which would arouse their latent productivity, and that the plateau about him would yield rich harvest to intelligent treatment.

Doctor James was the first person to ascend Pike's Peak, in attempting which Pike had failed. The later explorer had the advantage, however, of undertaking the ascent in midsummer. At the conclusion of his service with Major Long, Doctor James entered the army as a surgeon. He was a devout man, and with an earnest solicitude for the welfare of the human soul, no matter in what body it made its temporary dwelling place. He translated the New Testament into the Chippewa dialect. After his retirement from the army in 1830, he undertook editorial work on *The Temperance Herald and Journal*, forgetting, or possibly repenting that Fourth of July ten years earlier when, in camp near Brighton, he passed whiskey among the men of the expedition. Perhaps he then thought that there was nothing else in his supply train resembling fireworks so closely.

The distant streams of events sometimes flow into the current of our own lives. So it was in 1833, when a band of German students, galled and oppressed by regal authority, started a rebellion and seized Frankfort. One of them, the leader of the insurrection, was F. A. Wislizenus, a student of medicine. The people of Frankfort failed to support the rebellion, reinforcements of the authorized soldiers soon arrived, and the attempted revolution was suppressed. Young Wislizenus escaped to Zurich, where he completed his medical course under two of the most famous physicians

of the time—Schoenlein and Oken. After his graduation, the newly fledged doctor came to America and settled in St. Clair County, Illinois. By a combination of a country medical practice, work on a farm and German thrift, he saved a small sum of money which he expended on a trip to the Rocky Mountains. Doctor Wislizenus published a description of the country he had visited and a narration of his experiences in the German language.⁵ He felt surer of his power of expression when using his native tongue, and he wished to inform the German people, with whose social condition he felt a deep and lively sympathy, of the extent, character and resources of that part of the United States which lay far beyond the Mississippi.

Dr. W. A. Bell, of London, came to Colorado with the party of Gen. William J. Palmer in 1867. Two years later he published an account of his travels and a description of the country visited. It was Doctor Bell's purpose so to present his subject as to enlist popular interest without sacrifice of scientific accuracy. In this difficult undertaking he showed not a little of the talent of British writers, such as Tyndall and Huxley, for making attractive scientific subjects which are usually presented with grave precision. Doctor Bell's work occupies two interesting volumes. Taken with the book of Doctor Wislizenus, and the records of Doctor James, one feels safe to affirm that no profession has contributed more to early knowledge of the region out of which Colorado was formed than these members of the medical profession, who laid aside their calling for a season of adventure in the West.

The autumn of 1858 found the gold prospectors led by the Russell brothers, still poor but hopeful. They had washed from the sand of the Platte enough gold to encourage them to continue their search for more. But that search must be interrupted while some provision was made for protection against the asperities of the approaching winter. Dr. Levi J. Russell, one of the brothers, built a cabin on the west bank of Cherry Creek near its confluence with the Platte. It was, as more pretentious apartments of today are designated, a duplex. Its floor was of dirt. Its roof

⁵ F. A. Wislizenus, *Ein Ausfug nach den Felsen-Gebirgen*.

was covered with clay and grass. One half of the rude structure was occupied by John S. Smith, a fur trader, and his Indian wife. Doctor Russell was from Georgia. This association must have been particularly repellent to one who held the strong racial prejudices of our southern people. It was tolerated, however, because of the protection expected from Smith's assumed influence with the Indians. Reacting to the exaggerated reports of gold found in the Pike's Peak country, expectant immigrants began to arrive in great numbers. According to the social instincts of man, they established their camp near the solitary cabin. Such was the beginning of the City of Denver, and so it happened that a remote and lonesome doctor unwittingly attended the birth of Colorado's metropolis.

Doctor Russell continued to be a man of great influence in the young and growing community. When a municipal corporation was formed he was one of its officers. It was left to him to select a name for the new town. He was yearning for the village he had left behind in the hills of Georgia. There are no people to whom home means more than to those from our southland. Though Doctor Russell made his bed at the foot of mountain grandeur, the odor of palmetto bloom and visions of plantations whitening with cotton found their way into his dreams. Moved by such thought, which neither the day's work, nor the night's repose could dismiss, he named the new community "Auraria", after the little mining town he called his home. Doctor Russell was a delegate to a convention chosen to prepare a constitution for a new state and one of a committee to prepare an address to the people urging them to support the movement for statehood. He was one of a delegation of citizens of Auraria to bring about a union with Denver City, as the settlement on the east side of Cherry Creek was called. He had come into the West in search of wealth, and was now one of the owners of a site on which a great city was to rise. The knock of fortune at the rough-hewn door of his cabin might seem to have been distinct enough, but he was unmindful of it. His mind was still set on finding gold, and when a new prospect was uncovered he was ready to go to it.

There were about twenty physicians in Colorado in the

winter of 1860. A majority of these were located at the twin communities, Auraria and Denver City, at the junction of Cherry Creek and the Platte River. The remainder had followed the prospectors into the mountain ravines where some of them sustained the body by the practice of medicine and the spirit of hope by hunting gold. The economic conditions prevailing in the West were unlike those which obtained in the East. The cost of living was high. It was, therefore, desirable that there should be some agreement among physicians concerning the fees which it would be proper for them, under the new circumstances, to demand. They had found themselves thrust together in a great popular movement. They were strangers practicing among strangers. Amicable competition demanded a new pledge of loyalty to those principles and ideals which are presumed to regulate the relations of physicians with one another. Accordingly, on June 2, 1860, a meeting was called for the purpose of forming a medical society.

Dr. W. M. Belt was made temporary chairman of the meeting. It was resolved that a society should be formed which should be known as the Jefferson Medical Society. This name was chosen because the people, without legal authority, had assumed to form a territory which they called "Jefferson Territory." Two committees were appointed, one to present a draft of a constitution, the other to draw up a code of ethics and a fee bill. A week later, the committees were ready to report. The doctors reassembled, adopted the proposed constitution, and under its provisions, Doctor Belt was elected president of the society. The committee which was to write a code of ethics found nothing novel to present. New circumstances require new adjustments, high cost of living must be met by high wages, but the essentials of good manners are the same in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances. It was advised that the society adopt the National Code of Ethics and pledge its members to abide by its provisions. The fees agreed upon did not differ materially from those which physicians and surgeons now expect to receive for their services.

While the Jefferson Medical Society was yet in the tender period of infancy, the whole nation began to stagger from the shock and weight of civil war. Physicians who

had been active in the formation of the society entered the service of the army, and the new organization was left to languish without parent, guardian or interested patron. The fees of the doctor were resigned to ruthless economic causes, as they must ever be in spite of fee bills, and resolutions. The conduct of the physician was guided by personal character rather than by measures of restraint and there, in any event, it would have found its compelling motive.

The war brought financial disaster upon both victor and vanquished. The new settlements of Colorado were not sustaining their early promises, certainly not the expectations of the settlers. The mountains gave up their treasure niggardly. The soil awaited more experienced treatment to arouse its fertility. Times were hard.

The arrival and departure of physicians were not different from the prevailing migrations of other people, but the medical profession was gaining from time to time recruits who were not discouraged by hardships, men of determination, high character and sound judgment. Dr. R. G. Buckingham came to Colorado in 1863. He was destined to become the first president of the Denver Medical Association, and of the Colorado Territorial Medical Society. Dr. Frederick J. Bancroft, his duties as army surgeon ended, joined the Denver doctors in 1865. He was particularly qualified in the surgery of accidents, such as fractures of bones and dislocations of joints. He became the chief surgeon of the Denver and Rio Grande, and of the Colorado and Southern railroads. He accumulated considerable wealth. As his material fortunes grew, his once keen interest in medicine waned. The changes in surgical practice, after the true nature of wound infections became known, were rapid, and Doctor Bancroft failed to keep up with them. As his life drew to a close, his sensitive nature conceived a lively distrust of his own medical attainments, and he withdrew from active practice. He had a remarkable faculty of seeing the humor in events obviously grave. The stories told of him and of his quaint remarks made under trying circumstances still excite mirth at the meetings of medical men.

On the morning of April 9, 1869, a cloud of dust aris-

ing eastward along the Platte announced to the experienced the approach of the stage coach. The arrival of the stage coach must have been an attractive event in the remote settlements it served. In all our villages the idle gather about the station at train time to see who comes and who goes. How much more impatient must have been the curiosity of the settler, far removed from friends and family, as the stage coach drew near his village or encampment. On the top of the coach sat a tall gentleman of powerful frame. He had a handsome, kindly, but determined face. If he were a miner, the rock would crumble beneath the stroke of his pick; if he were a politician, the law-breaker would better reform or shoot quickly with the pistol which hung from his belt; if he were a preacher, he would argue with the strength of conviction and exhort with all its fervor. He was none of these. He was Dr. Arnold Stedman, physician of fine judgment, sound learning and a citizen of strong social feeling. From his high seat he was anxious to get an early view of the place where he was to live, work, love, be loved and die. Its ugly buildings, its ungraded streets, covered deeply with dust which almost suffocated the passengers as it was stirred by the feet of the four stage horses, its rude homes untouched by the hand of taste, its yards without grass or tree, were all in complete conflict with his cultured taste. He was not dissuaded from pursuing his venture, but his heart was heavy. How it would have cheered his drooping spirit if he could have foreseen the beautiful city which was to arise from such unpromising beginnings; that among its comfortable homes his was to be numbered; that in his profession and among his people he was to be a beneficent leader; that on the brown hill which stood against the eastern sky, a public school building would be given his name—a monument fairer and fitter than pyramids of granite! These things time alone was to reveal, meanwhile, solace must be found in work and service.

Early in the year 1871, Doctor Stedman and Doctor Buckingham decided that the time had come for again getting the doctors of Denver into an organized body.⁶ They

⁶ Arnold Stedman, An Address printed in *Colorado Medicine*, X:100 (1913).

issued a call for a meeting to be held in Doctor Buckingham's office on April 4. Seven physicians responded and started the preliminary work. By the time a constitution was prepared, the number of prospective members had grown to twelve. They met, approved the new constitution, affixed their signatures to it, and became members of the Denver Medical Association. Meetings of the society were held in the offices of its members. There they discussed questions which needed clarification or review. At times the host of the evening entertained the members at dinner in his home in such generous spirit as to draw forth a eulogy directed to Mrs. Bancroft, Mrs. Whitehead or another good wife who had borne the burden of the entertainment. These expressions of appreciation were incorporated in the minutes of the society. In spite of pecuniary loss which their action entailed, the society took an active interest in the health of the new and growing city. The city officials were forcibly reminded that there was more to municipal management than furnishing sinecures to self-appointed patriots. In the spring of 1873 open meetings were held to discuss problems of public health. Physicians of the territory were zealous in advertising the advantages of Colorado's climate, but they seriously objected to the smell of the capital city. This seemed to be compounded of the odors arising from the sty, the stable, the cow-pen, and the slaughter-house. Doctor Bancroft declared that Denver was the dirtiest city in the United States. He asked for sewers, street sprinkling, more systematic alley cleaning, and restrictions on keeping domestic animals in the city. Typhoid fever was prevalent. The city water was suspected of being the source of the infection. Dr. Charles Denison, in a way illustrative of his character as it was for years known to physicians of Denver, made drawings of the water supply and pointed out distinctly the probable source of contamination. The newspapers published the discussions of the physicians. The city officials and the management of the water company proved immune to the strongest criticism administered in the most heroic doses. They stood together. They had need of each other. Why should a few deaths from typhoid fever annually impose any unusual expense upon a water company? Why shouldn't the city

officials stand by the water company? Meanwhile, the doctors profited by the indifference of elected officials and public servants, but they never condoned such indifference. On the contrary, they exposed and condemned it.

Sometimes the physicians found it necessary to defend themselves against serious accusations. In the same year, 1873, an eloquent, but irresponsible temperance advocate was holding meetings in Denver. He asserted in one of his addresses that physicians made many people intemperate by prescribing alcohol as a stimulant. Responding to this charge, the physicians assembled, and the doors to their meeting room stood wide. The clergymen of the city and representatives of the press were invited to attend. Several members declared they had never known the desire for alcohol to be acquired from doctors' prescriptions. It was explained that many people would plead, in extenuation of their moral weakness, that they had been sick, whiskey was necessary to their recovery, and yielding to this necessity they had acquired a habit which had overmastered them. The experience of the doctors didn't support this story. Dr. H. A. Lemen, a most patient student of medical writings, offered the statement of some of the most distinguished physicians of the day to the effect that they knew of no cases in which addiction to alcohol had been the result of prescribed medicinal doses. Dr. H. K. Steele changed the mode of battle from defence to aggression. He charged that ministers were more commonly the agents of alcoholic addiction than physicians; that all the so-called bitters were nothing more than cocktails glorified by claims of curative properties; that all of these bitters were sold to the people largely on the recommendation of credulous clergymen who professed to have found them beneficial; that the manufacturers of these bitters designedly promoted self-drugging and ministers of the gospel, perhaps innocently, contributed to it. Such self-drugging, the doctor argued, was far more dangerous than the supervised medication of the physician.

Bishop Spaulding, who sat in the audience, responded with such good temper that "grim visaged war smoothed his wrinkled front." The bishop hoped it would be found that alcohol was not necessary as a medicine. He conceded that

physicians alone were the judges of its value and proper use. He knew that if anyone continued a doctor's prescription after leaving the doctor's care, the moral and physical consequences of such treatment should be charged to the patient alone. He disapproved of temperance revivals, as such periods of emotion were followed, in his experience with periods of debauch. Bishop Spaulding's well-tempered remarks may have done more than maintain friendly relations between two professions, for it happened, some years later, that the daughter of the impetuous Doctor Steele became the wife of the son of the benignly mannered bishop.

Dr. H. K. Steele had come to Colorado in 1870. He was the first dean of the medical department of the Denver University. He was a man of strong character and lofty ideals. He held to the uncommonly espoused principle that a public officer should receive no pay for his services. In 1892, Mayor Platt Rogers appointed him health commissioner of Denver. He accepted the appointment and regularly turned his salary back into the fund provided for the conduct of his department.

As soon as the Denver Medical Association gave promise of surviving the perils of infancy, which, after the loss of their first born society, might have caused the members some apprehension, it was decided to form a larger organization consisting of all reputable physicians practicing in the territory. Invitations were issued for a meeting to be held in Denver, September 19, 1871, and plans for entertaining the visitors were carried forward. Doctor Buckingham was asked to prepare an address for the occasion. Without the need of much persuasion, it seems, he yielded to the compliment. The brief report was made that "the address would be forthcoming." Arrangements were made for a banquet; neither social nor intellectual desires were to be left without gratification.

At length the day arrived for the first meeting of the Colorado Territorial Medical Society. Although travel in Colorado was difficult and time and space still maintained their primitive relations, physicians from Central City, Georgetown, Black Hawk, Laporte and Idaho Springs responded to the invitations. There were twenty-four,

including the Denver men, in attendance. As soon as the preliminary organization was effected, Doctor Buckingham came forward with the promised address. It had a gloomy beginning and a glorious conclusion. The speaker's view of medicine as a profession was not a bright one, although he held his vocation in strong affection. Those who entered it, he thought, should be prepared to abandon all hope of wealth, fame or comfort, and hold to the single aspiration of being of service to others. No hour of the physician could be secured to his own indulgence, for the night's repose, the evening's entertainment or for a period of solemn devotion. He was subject to call at any time regardless of financial recompense or just appreciation of his services. This frigid prospect was in strong thermal contrast with the exhortation which was to follow. Doubtless Doctor Buckingham had treated a sprained ankle by dipping the injured member into cold and hot water alternately, and his oratory answered to this practice. He held out to his twenty-four listeners the advantages of being associated in a territorial organization. There were men among them of accurate and extensive learning. With such, an exchange of opinion would prove profitable. Their association as friends would be agreeable, and soften the sting of envy which was apt to be felt too keenly by men working in close competition. With rare foresight, he urged them to be ready to act as one man in opposing any legislation threatening to medical progress. Such coöperating energy was greatly needed when, fifty years later, an initiated measure was submitted to the people of Colorado proposing to prevent all forms of animal experimentation. It was defeated overwhelmingly through the efforts of those physicians who had inherited the spirit of Doctor Buckingham, aided as they were, most generously by men engaged in the live stock industry and by many other enlightened people who held truth above prejudice. Aiming a shaft of scorn at the most prominent medical cult of that day, the speaker drew his hearers together by his appeal to mutual interest and common antipathy. Finally he asked them not to falter now nor later, but to proceed with their purpose to form a society which might be as enduring as the mountains which rose in white and azure before them. Respond-

ing to Doctor Buckingham's address all the physicians present entered the work of organization and became, without dissent, charter members of the Colorado Territorial Medical Society.

As time went on not a few of the men Doctor Buckingham addressed accumulated considerable wealth, in spite of his dark prediction. There have stood, or still there stand, in the business section of Denver, the Bancroft Block, the Steele Block, the McClelland Block, and the Stedman Building. The owners of these buildings and many of their fellows, lived in well-appointed homes, which still show old-time comfort and elegance. They visited their patients in excellent carriages drawn by beautiful horses. Though they had no security against interruption, they had leisure, at times, to visit the theater, where they saw the dark Othello rant or the fair Ophelia rave. They were enlightened in conversations with the learned and invited to the entertainments of discriminating wealth. All of the genuine pleasures of life were theirs and when the end of their labors came there was much left to their heirs. The name of Doctor Bancroft will be long remembered as the first president of the Colorado State Historical Society, and his picture will hang upon a wall of its home. In appreciation of the services of Doctor Stedman to the schools of Denver, a schoolhouse has been given his name. The Steele Memorial Hospital for contagious diseases, in Denver, stands as a monument to Dr. H. K. Steele. Though one hears no clamor from the crowd, this is indeed fame. Few of the sons of Colorado will find it more generously or more appropriately given to them.

The records of the Colorado Territorial Medical Society and of its successor, the Colorado State Medical Society, have been carefully and completely preserved. In them one finds an expression of the opinions and an account of the progress of the most active and outspoken physicians of the state. Looking back on them with the improved knowledge of today, one may see strong men making brave and well directed attacks upon the ramparts of doubt and darkness, or being led contentedly by the delusions of folly. This is the nature of history.

In 1875, Dr. H. A. Lemen presented to the society his

views on tuberculosis. He thought that the changes always found in the lungs in cases of consumption were merely the result of some mysterious defect in the functions of the body. The loss of weight, the weakness and evening fever, were all signs of a general physical deterioration. As Doctor Lemen had an acquisitive, rather than a productive mind, he supported his inference with quotations from a great number of distinguished men who held accordant views.

Such vague attempts to explain disease have both helped and hindered medicine. The impulse to look beyond a malady for its cause has developed our knowledge of the animal body and of the part played by each organ in the physical commonwealth. This line of investigation is the most difficult and delicate in the whole realm of experimental science. Great ingenuity and tireless patience have been invested in it, and great has been the return on the investment. It is fortunate, however, that what we know of the causes of disease has not been compelled to wait on such arduous research. Such knowledge, in most instances, has grown out of a study of the disease itself rather than from an examination of the functions which are disturbed by it.

Six years after Doctor Lemen had given his conception of tuberculosis, Robert Koch, a wide-eyed country doctor in Germany, announced his discovery of the germ of tuberculosis. The essay in which Koch presented his work to a waiting world was one of the most positive and convincing papers ever written in all the annals of medicine. It even announced the principles with which proof of the relation of cause and effect between a germ and a disease must comply: the germ must in every case be found in the diseased body; it must be grown pure outside the body; inoculations of such a growth must produce the disease in susceptible animals; it must be obtained from such animals and again grown pure. No better illustration of applied logic can be found in the records of science and discovery.

This revealing thesis of Koch was read in Berlin, March 24, 1882. In June of the same year the Colorado State Medical Society met in Pueblo. Dr. H. A. Lemen was president. His address was very long and yet short as compared with its large purpose. He undertook to review

the history of medicine from its beginning in superstitious practice. One paragraph was devoted to tuberculosis, but it made no mention of the very recent discovery of Koch. Doctor Lemen was a diligent and watchful student. It is quite probable that the preparation of his long address had largely occupied his mind for several months. Its preparation certainly entailed wide reading and great condensation of what had been read. But at this same meeting, less than three months after Koch had announced his discovery, Dr. Charles Denison read a paper on the "Contagiousness of Phthisis". He showed that even Hippocrates, the father of medicine, who lived four hundred years before the Christian era, suspected that pulmonary diseases might be transmitted through the breath of affected people. Many wise physicians, in all the years since this early and acute observer expressed such suspicion, held well established opinions that tuberculosis was a contagious disease. Many experiments had been performed which gave firm ground to such opinions. Finally, seeing the importance of the work of Robert Koch, Doctor Denison presented the results of it in detail. This early consideration of one of the great discoveries in medicine shows how eagerly some members of the medical society stood on tip-toe to see the first ray of dawning light.

There were few women in the early settlements of Colorado. The home with its matron and her children was not a rarity but it was not representative of the mining camps and growing towns. Early pictures of Denver show no women on the streets. Newcomers were impressed with the prevalence of men. To be visited by an illness in such a place was twice unfortunate, for women are our nurses by instinct and nurture. The need of a hospital to care for the homeless sick was early and urgent. The city council of Auraria appointed Dr. A. H. Sternberger city physician and entrusted him with the task of establishing a hospital. He chose a log house that stood near Lawrence and Eighth streets and equipped it for a hospital. He intended that the place should give protection, during sickness, for the indigent and for those self-sustaining men who were without homes and care. Soon after this beginning was made Auraria and Denver City were consolidated

and Dr. J. F. Hamilton became city physician of the new municipal organization. He opened a new institution of a similar kind, so we are informed by an advertisement which appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* in June, 1860. It was called the "City Hospital." A few days after the advertisement appeared, George Steele, one of a band of ruffians incensed at the criticism of their lawlessness by the *Rocky Mountain News*, was fatally wounded during an attack upon the newspaper office and its editor, William N. Byers. Steele died the same afternoon in the City Hospital. This fatal case is all that is left us of the record of the City Hospital. It probably was not of long life. It was established on the wrong principle. People who are self-supporting are always too proud to be cared for in an institution designed for the relief of paupers. Dr. Hamilton, the moving spirit of the hospital, entered the army in 1861. When he assumed the sword his hospital probably closed its doors. Thereafter, for a long time, the county officers found lodging and care for the sick poor in private homes.

During the sixties Blake Street was the principal thoroughfare of Denver. The business conducted about this center of trade was still as indiscriminate as the earlier buildings which had given it shelter. Saloons, gambling clubs, boarding houses dignified by the name of hotels, a blacksmith shop, banks, retail stores and corrals were oddly grouped together. On one corner of Blake and F streets stood the National Block, home of the First National Bank. If one had gold dust to sell he would be accommodated at the cashier's window by Mr. Moffat, then appropriately known as David H. Moffat, Jr. Across the dusty roadway was Mr. Cheesman's drug store. In its window was an exhibit of lamps, chimneys, paints, brushes, toilet articles, whiskey, brandy and other liquors said to be of superior quality. Not to be overlooked were some bottles of a very popular medicine called "bitters." A picture of the St. George of Medicine destroying the dragon of disease appeared on the label. These "bitters" were supposed to be good for the stomach and the blood, especially if taken in the springtime. Mr. Cheesman probably didn't know of what the nostrum was concocted. Its only active ingredient was alcohol which



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was present in a thirty-five per cent dilution. This was flavored with aromatic substances and sweetened with sugar. Two tablespoonfuls, the dose advised, was as effective as any cocktail served in the Mountain Boy's Saloon a few doors away. Inside the store the walls were covered with shelves holding glass bottles of medicine labeled in abbreviated Latin. Mr. Cheesman's patrons wondered at the strange names and at the mystic powers of these tinctures and powders. The doctors prescribed them with an air of easy learning and, as often as not, with an unwarranted confidence in their medicinal virtues. By 1873 business had extended far out Blake Street. A mile eastward from the business center, at about Blake and Twenty-third streets, as Dr. Stedman remembered, there stood a two story frame structure displaying a sign, "St. Joseph's Hospital." The equipment of this, the first private hospital in Colorado, was extremely simple. On the first floor there was a room about forty feet long and twenty-two feet wide. Along its walls there were ten cots. Three Sisters of Mercy in solemn raiment but with cheerful faces were in attendance. The unfortunate adventurer weakened by illness and worn with anxiety found a peaceful refuge and gentle care in this primitive hospital. Often enough, though not as often as the good Sisters wished, the patient was restored to health. In the hours of dark despair a new hope came to the dying as they passed the beads of Mother Josephine's rosary between their fevered fingers. St. Joseph's Hospital now stands at the corner of Eighteenth Avenue and Humboldt Street, on land donated by Governor Gilpin. As it was the first, so now it is the largest private hospital in the State. It has three hundred beds, modern and ample laboratories where diseases are studied according to the methods of science. Since St. Joseph's Hospital made its timid and unpretentious start many other admirable hospitals have grown up in Colorado. They may be found in every important city. In this period of improved roads and easy transportation hospitals are accessible to nearly all of the most remote settlements. There is now in Colorado, one hospital bed for each two hundred people. This compares favorably with the ratio of one to two hundred and ninety-one which obtains for the whole Nation.

The earliest inhabitants of Colorado believed that the climate of their territory was beneficial for people afflicted with tuberculosis. The pioneer physicians soon passed the stage of conjecture. They were convinced that tuberculosis subjects regained their health more commonly in Colorado than in any other region with which they were acquainted. They tried to explain this very clear experience. The almost unbroken succession of sunny days, the rarified air and the low relative humidity of the atmosphere were distinguishing characteristics of Colorado's climate. To each of these great importance was attributed. Fifty years ago breathing exercises were advised for all kinds of pulmonary diseases. Filling the lungs to capacity with fresh air was supposed to be of great benefit. The tenuous air of elevated regions was thought to promote expansion of the lungs even without exertion. An abundance of wholesome food and exercise in the open were the agents for good on which the early physician rested his faith and practice. We would now modify in one respect the prescriptions of our predecessors. The physician of today looks carefully to a generous qualified diet and a constant supply of fresh air which no severity of weather may interrupt, but he insists upon rest. So much emphasis has been placed on the importance of rest, particularly of the diseased lung, that methods have been devised for putting it completely out of use for variable periods.

Climatologists have tried to assess the curative value of the atmosphere of dry elevated regions. Sunshine has proven beneficial in tuberculosis of the bones but its influence on that disease when it affects the lungs has not been determined. Dryness and sunshine together permit, even provoke, a life in the open. The benefit arising from this inspiring combination cannot well be questioned. In what way it works to the advantage of the sick man self-confident people easily explain, but it remains an enigma to scientists. Poets testify that there is kinship between sunshine and contentment as between dreary days and remorse. A contented mind is essential to a resting body. No one has insisted more often and effectively on the value of rest and contentment for tuberculous people than one of our own physicians, Dr. Gerald B. Webb of Colorado Springs. In

a little book written for the instruction of patients, *Recovery Record for Use in Tuberculosis*, he has set forth the things which people with tuberculosis should know. His advice is given so simply, pleasantly and encouragingly that a reader, if well, would almost enjoy the adventure of trying his resistance against the disease. In this little book the importance of rest for the body and peace for the mind are repeatedly emphasized.

As the pioneer physician believed in the healing virtue of exercise in the open it would not have occurred to him that a hospital could ever be an appropriate place for one with consumption. The first sanatorium for tuberculosis patients to be established in America was a slow growth fostered by a man whom disease could not defeat, Edward Trudeau of New York. He had contracted tuberculosis as did John Keats the poet, from nursing a brother who died of the disease. His body worn and weak but with a resolute heart Trudeau decided to quit the city and retire to the Adirondack Mountains. There his health improved and he invited others afflicted as he was to join him. He provided cottages for them and guided them with his wise counsel. Trudeau's establishment grew in physical structure and fame. It became a Mecca for patients from every part of the world, some of them very famous, such as the late Robert Louis Stevenson.

In 1890, only six years after Dr. Trudeau had started his work at Saranac Lake, New York, the first sanatorium for tuberculosis was built in Colorado. The climate of the State had won a great reputation for its wholesome influence on tuberculous people. They came in large numbers. Some were homeless. Very few were properly housed. Many in need of rest and care were compelled to work at unwholesome occupations. The Jews were particularly pained at the condition of their people. They were easily persuaded by the eloquent importunities of Rabbi W. S. Friedman to build a hospital for consumptives which should be free and non-sectarian. Soon \$42,000 was contributed, a building erected and the first free hospital in the world for tuberculosis invalids opened its generous doors. The project was greater and more burdensome than anyone had conjectured it would be and in a little while the panic of

1893 put an end to the practicability of so great a philanthropy. The building stood as Dr. Friedman remarked, "like Rachel weeping for her children." In time the great Jewish order B'nai B'rith furnished the funds for reopening the hospital and promised a substantial contribution for its maintenance. Other notable gifts were made and the institution was assured a permanent existence.

With a view to doing the greatest good to society as well as to the individual the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives limited its admissions to those cases in which there was a strong probability of recovery. The principle rests solidly on ethical and economic ground but tuberculous Jews, learning that under a kindly sun a hospital had been established for their benefit, came to Denver in great numbers, some of them in the last stage of consumption. Still the appeal to the tender sympathy of the Jew found no abatement. A little tent colony was formed and from this houseless and treasureless beginning a great hospital arose which was free to anyone, in any stage of tuberculosis. This "Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society" now maintains three hundred beds. It operates a farm, a print shop and a book bindery. These industries furnish appropriate employment to patients able to resume work. It would require a separate volume of no small size to give an account of the rise, the growth and the purposes of the many sanatoria for tuberculosis now in Colorado. The two Jewish charities are particularly deserving of mention in a history of medicine in Colorado. Two other sanatoria may not be omitted from this limited record. Senator Lawrence C. Phipps, wishing to do honor to the memory of his mother, in 1902 established the Agnes Memorial Sanatorium in Denver. He furnished the funds for the erection of the buildings and provided an endowment for their maintenance. The patients pay the cost of operating the institution. Its purpose is not only to furnish an opportunity for recovery to favorable cases but to instruct them in the care of themselves and in the prevention of the disease in others. To this end patients promising recovery are accepted for a period of not less than two months nor more than one year. The buildings are beautiful, in the Spanish mission style of architecture. They are well designed and

equipped without regard to expense with a view to fulfill their high purpose.

Deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis have always caused a great expense to life insurance companies and fraternal benefit societies. The Modern Woodmen of America observant of this source of loss to its benefit fund resolved to extend its function to the saving of life as well as the paying of death claims. It was reasonable to expect that the losses due to deaths from consumption might be prevented or at least postponed by providing for members of the order a free sanatorium in a kindly climate. It opened such a hospital in 1909 near Colorado Springs at a place now called Woodmen, Colorado. The Woodmen Sanatorium is now large and efficiently conducted. It has already saved thousands of lives, prevented loss to the order and returned producers to their employment. Its teaching of the means of preventing the spread of consumption will insensibly operate to the benefit of the Modern Woodmen of America and to society as a whole.

During the war with Spain there were more deaths from typhoid fever than from the enemy's missiles. Before the country was to enter another war a protective inoculation against that disease had been discovered and typhoid fever was no longer a menace to the army. Tuberculosis, in spite of all progress, remained a camp follower, taking advantage of the exposure and privation incident to soldier life. When the United States entered the World War the Surgeon General of the United States Army, in anticipation of evident necessity, began preparation for the proper care of a large number of tuberculous soldiers. A site for a hospital was selected about ten miles east of Denver. The tract of land chosen consisted of about one thousand acres. Construction of forty-eight buildings was started in April, 1918. The work proceeded with war-like haste and the hospital was ready for the reception of patients in October of the same year. It bears the name of Lieutenant William Thomas Fitzsimmons, the first American medical officer to die of wounds after the entrance of the United States into the war. Fitzsimmons Hospital has been enlarged even beyond the original extensive plans. It can now easily accommodate seventeen hundred patients. It is a city in

itself, having its own railroad, supply houses, amusements, educational institutions and all else that goes into the social structure of a modern well-organized community. It is the largest military hospital in the world.

When Doctor McClelland read his address as president of the Territorial Medical Society in 1873, he recommended that a committee be appointed to seek a donor of a block of ground to be used as a seat for a medical college. Additions to the City of Denver were becoming numerous. There were more building sites than prospective builders. It was probable that some one might be induced to set aside a square of ground with the prospect of a medical school being erected on it. Doctor McClelland thought that Colorado was an ideal place for college life because of her wholesome climate. He professed to believe, moreover, that a student in Colorado could study twice as long as one in an eastern college before feeling mental weariness. Nothing seems to have come of Doctor McClelland's suggestion. The plan might have seemed, at the time, too ambitious, but subsequent experience in starting medical schools in Denver has proved that he was not unduly optimistic.

A medical school, such as several that appeared a few years later, required much less than a block of ground. A room for lectures, another for dissections, and strong influence with the county undertaker who was to furnish bodies for dissection, were the primary requirements. As potential professors were exactly as numerous as physicians in the state, it was not necessary to resort to military conscription in forming a faculty. Even chemistry was taught by lectures. The learned professor might bring before his class a glass tube containing a few particles of zinc immersed in dilute acid to permit the student to see the bubbles of hydrogen arising from the mixture. They saw quite certainly the effervescence. That it was due to hydrogen was a conclusion supplied by their own credulity—a quality they were required to have in great abundance, and to use freely. Too often the dissecting room, the only laboratory, was without its required material. The graves refused to give up their dead, and the conscience of



UNIVERSITY OF DENVER SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, FACULTY OF 1884-5

Standing: Dr. G. W. Cox, Dr. S. A. Fisk, Dr. E. C. Rivers, Dr. W. H. Williams, Dr. L. E. Lemen, Dr. J. T. Edson, Dr. A. Stedman, Dr. C. Denison, Dr. C. M. Parker, W. P. Headden, Dr. H. A. Lemen.
Sitting: Dr. W. E. Wilson, Chancellor Moore, Dr. H. K. Steele, Dr. J. C. Davis, Dr. F. J. Bancroft

the undertakers, designated to bury paupers, became more meticulous as the funds of the school were depleted.

In the fall of 1881, the medical department of the University of Denver opened its doors to students.⁷ The course of instruction leading to the degree of Doctor of Medicine extended over two years; a year in scholastic chronology consisted of six months. Dr. H. K. Steele was the dean. Although the faculty was made up of men of high character and considerable learning, they rarely weighed the responsibilities of their professorships. If it happened to be inconvenient to give a lecture at the appointed time, the professor was absent. The students felt little resentment at this neglect. They had their text-books, and would have relied on them for accurate information in any event. The professor regretted that some woman's ill-chosen hour of travail had deprived the students of their instruction. The students were not disappointed at having been spared a tedious hour. These opposing ways of viewing a teacher's delinquency maintained amicable relations and gave longevity to a school that might otherwise have perished before it matured.

For several years medical instruction was given in any available space in the old building of the Denver University at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets. When the room in use was needed for more important purposes, the medical school sought other quarters. For a time lectures were given in the old Chamber of Commerce building on Fourteenth and Lawrence streets. During this period in the life of the school, it had one Grecian characteristic—it was peripatetic. After the completion of the Haish building in 1889, the school was given permanent quarters, which it occupied until it became defunct.

After the University of Colorado had been giving collegiate instruction for six years, it was felt that the fulfillment of its legal designation, "university", demanded a medical department. Such a department was, accordingly, organized in 1883. Its aspirations were quite beyond all

⁷ Henry Sewall, "A Historical Sketch of the Medical Department of the University of Colorado," in *Colorado Medicine*, XXII:364 (Nov., 1925).

possibility of accomplishment. It offered a four-year course of nine months in the school year. After a year's experience in teaching a class of two students, the length of the course was reduced to three years of nine months each. Life in the West had not become well tempered with patience. Students were anxious to get into practice, and in spite of the free tuition offered by the University of Colorado, they favored the school which would detain them the shortest time. Dr. W. R. Whitehead of Denver, did the greater part of the teaching in the medical school during its first year, thereafter a gradually increasing number of Denver physicians made weekly trips to Boulder for the purpose of giving medical instruction.

In 1892, Dr. J. T. Eskridge became the dean of the medical department of the University of Colorado. His character was in some respects remarkable. While practicing his specialty in Philadelphia he became ill of tuberculosis and came to Colorado in 1888. His mind was vigorous; his body frail. He probably felt it necessary that his impoverished physical energy should be directed to a single end. He had made a specialty of diseases of the nervous system. He had no diversions. Rarely did he spend an evening in social indulgence. The day's work done, he was isolated, even insulated, from telephone calls or other manner of communication, except by some indirect path known only to the initiated, which might be used in case of urgent necessity. This time he solemnly gave over to study and writing. His single emotion was to know more of his specialty. To all else he was cold. As soon as his opinion was well settled as to the nature of a patient's disease, he was impatient for a surgical exploration or a *post mortem* examination which might prove the precision of his judgment. He did more to promote the surgery of the nervous system than any other man, perhaps than all other men, in Colorado. His constant insistence on the value of *post mortem* examinations set an example which has not been wholly lost. He was a student and thinker purely, without much of the warm feeling which grapples friends to one with hooks of steel. It is doubtful if any physician in Colorado truly loved Eskridge. It is equally doubtful if there was one who failed to admire him.

On the twelfth day of January, 1902, a cloud of sorrow

cast its shadow over the medical men of Colorado. Two of the foremost among them were dead, Jeremiah T. Eskridge and Clayton Parkhill. The latter was one of the ablest surgeons in the state. He had a strong propensity toward invention. Many of his instruments were of his own design. His method of exposing the ends of broken bones and fixing them together is still used with some modification. He was the deft surgeon who had done many delicate operations upon the nervous system under the certain guidance of Eskridge. In such work they had coöperated as brain and hand. Now, on the same day, their life work was concluded. The once feverish brain was cold with the frost of death, and the dexterous hand lay still forever.

For those branches of medicine properly taught in laboratories, Boulder was an ideal place for instruction. The animating principle of learning and research was active there, the laboratories and teachers were there. Economy might have demanded that these same teachers instruct medical students in the class-rooms and work rooms already a part of the university, but there was in Boulder a scarcity of what doctors call "clinical material", in spite of the addition of a small hospital to the medical school. There were not enough sick people to be brought under the observation of students. It was therefore decided in 1892 to give the last two years of the medical course in Denver, where hospitals were larger and the sick more numerous. As soon as this step was taken Dr. Samuel A. Fisk, a prominent member of the faculty of the medical department of the University of Denver brought a legal action to prevent the alleged trespasser from continuing its medical instruction in Denver. After five years, the Supreme Court sustained the contention of Doctor Fisk, that the constitution of the state had designated Boulder as the seat of the University of Colorado and there, as a whole or as a part, it must remain. The school in Denver, after this decision, was necessarily abandoned, and the medical department of the University of Colorado went through a process of reorganization and renewed growth in Boulder.

The faculty of the medical department of the Denver University was composed of certain men who were prominent in the Denver Medical Association. The school was

not able to satisfy the ambitions of all members of that society by offering professorships to them. Human capacity, whether imagined or real, if pent up, is quite as explosive as other confined natural forces, particularly when it is ignited by a spark of envy. The Denver Medical Association was not able to maintain amicable relations between its professors actual and its professors potential. A large body of its members withdrew, formed another society and another medical school. This new school was named, in honor of a distinguished Philadelphia surgeon, The Gross Medical College.

The homeopathic physicians were not to be outdone by their competitors of the "old school." They established the Homeopathic School and Hospital in 1894. There were at this time four medical schools operating in Denver. The keen appetite of Denver physicians for the title of professor was about to be, in some measure, allayed, when something happened that put an end to the insatiable lust.

The Journal of the American Medical Association began to collect statistics in regard to medical colleges, students and graduates. It desired to know what the equipment of each college really was. It refused to accept the eloquence of catalogues in lieu of facts. It dared to inquire about the preliminary preparation of students entering medical schools and about the standing of graduates before state examining boards. This investigation revealed that there were more medical schools in the United States than in all the rest of the world. Some of them were conducted for profit, some to satisfy the ambitions of those who would be known as professors, and a few for the serious purpose of giving thorough medical instruction and training.

As soon as an alien eye began to look into medical schools, pride prompted them to dress for inspection. Certain standards were being established for representation among worthy institutions. A general improvement in American medical schools rapidly took place. The Colorado schools strained every resource to meet the growing requirements but this effort entailed expense. The money derived from the tuition fees of students was not sufficient to meet the rising cost of the school. Men of pride unwilling to be associated with a demonstrably inferior institution, con-

tributed regularly to the school treasury. It was soon apparent that the honors derived from a professorship were only presumptive, while the cost of sustaining them was real. No one esteems that a position of excellence and advantage which the purse must support. The envy which school connection formerly excited rapidly passed away and in 1902, The Denver School of Medicine, as it was then called, and The Gross Medical College were joined to form a larger and stronger institution.

The Homeopathic School was having a hard struggle. It never became adjusted to the environment. It gathered insufficient nutriment and gave forth insufficient energy. In 1909 it was closed. The Denver and Gross College now had the fertile field of Denver to itself. It enjoyed a period of prosperity but there were difficulties ahead of it still unseen. In 1910 The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching began a serious and searching investigation of colleges in the United States. It frowned upon all schools which were supported wholly from the fees of students, and gave hope of moral and financial assistance for those which were endowed or maintained by public funds. It promised to call the attention of philanthropists to the rising costs and needs of medical schools and to designate those which were worthy of support. The Denver and Gross College could see no possibility of raising an endowment sufficient to meet the new conditions imposed upon it. There was no obvious way of conducting the school that would keep it in good standing among medical colleges. Its prospects were dark. At this period of despair, it entered into negotiations with the University of Colorado for a fusion of the two schools, which negotiations were speedily successful. Thus ended the early period in medical education, though it ended not long ago. Its history shows how strangely strength and frailty, wisdom and folly are compounded in human character. There were great and good men in each of the schools which have now passed away, but they were flattered by empty honors and led on to selfish ends.

The University of Colorado had tried many times, after the Supreme Court had decided that all its teaching must be given in Boulder, to have an amendment to the constitution

submitted to the people permitting the last two years of medical instruction to be given in Denver. The University of Denver, or the faculty of its medical department, always was able to influence enough members of the legislatures to prevent such a referendum. Now all opposition had passed away. The constitution was amended and in 1911 the teaching of the last two years in medicine was resumed in Denver after a suspension which lasted fifteen years. For ten years more the medical school was a great burden for the parent institution. The medical department needed more than it got, and what it did get could not well be spared. At length the long expected succor came in the form of substantial gifts from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, Mrs. Verner Z. Reed, an appropriation from the legislature of Colorado, contributions from the people of the state, and from Mr. F. G. Bonfils, who gave an admirable site for a new school and hospital buildings, where they now stand complete at a cost of nearly two million dollars. This great achievement for medicine is so grand in its proportions and so hopeful in its prospects, it may well form a fitting climax and close for this chapter.

CHAPTER XXI

WOMAN'S CONTRIBUTION

By Anna Wolcott Vaile and Ellis Meredith

FOREWORD—BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION—FIRST ARRIVALS—FIRST FLAGS—THE KINGDOM OF GILPIN—FIRST SUFFRAGE AGITATION—NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—FIRST CLUBS—LEADVILLE'S DAUGHTERS—SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL INNOVATIONS—SUFFRAGE WON—FIRST POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS—EARLY LEGISLATION—THE CLUB MOVEMENT—WOMEN IN POLITICAL PREFERMENT—FIRST AIDS—SOME BEAUTIFUL PHILANTHROPIES—A FEW LAST FIRSTS.

The other contributors to this series of volumes have each dealt with one theme in its varied phases. This chapter necessarily touches many of the same subjects, hence knowing that the work of women in art, literature, music and the professions is covered elsewhere, we have reluctantly relinquished fields in which it would have been a privilege to linger. Insofar as possible we have endeavored to deal with movements and trends of thought and action rather than with personalities; to relate events rather than offer opinions, and we have limited ourselves to phases of history in which women have taken the initiative or played a leading part. The restrictions of the work have compelled abbreviation and omission at every point. If we have dwelt more at length on the early days than on present times it is because the foremothers of Colorado were great women, and the scanty record of their eventful lives has been gathered from their own lips, from ancient documents, and material which, where possible, we have verified. The story of the Pioneer Woman is a moving picture of a phase of life which has gone forever. The woman of today writes her own story and writes it large. The future historian will have no trouble learning of the

activities of the women of the Twentieth Century. We wish to acknowledge our grateful appreciation for help rendered by some of the few remaining pioneers, by Mrs. Frances Wayne and by the Reference Department of the Public Library of Denver.

Woman had no part in the story of Colorado told in the second, third and fourth chapters of this history. She did not decree the veins of ore and coal that were to give future riches nor prepare marble beds so vast that nowhere else could be found blocks of sufficient size for the mighty columns of the Lincoln Memorial. She did not raise our lofty mountain peaks, nor spread out our plains, nor drain our one-time enormous rivers into unknown, ancient seas. She did not send the little eohippus scampering over our tertiary rocks, nor ordain that this region should have more species of birds than any other part of the continent, nor create the buffalo and the buffalo grass as a green pasture for those cattle of the plains and a thousand hills. She did not spread the blue sky over us, nor does she deserve any credit for the climate and the beauty of our scenery. The fifth day of creation passed and all that was done was good. From the morning and evening that were the sixth day men and women have worked together.

The story of the ancient inhabitants begins with the remains of the houses kept by women of the days of the long ago. There are the humble pots and pans and utensils fashioned and used by her hands. Her descendants still use the patterns, the decorations, the symbols she wrought with such care. There on her hearthstones are the signs of the fires she kindled long ago—or was it part of her ritual to appease some Indian Vesta by a fire kept eternally burning? There are bows and arrow-heads and flint knives and beads—from the beginning of the subsidence of the flooding waters there seem to have been beads—but the utensils of the women tell more of departed peoples than the persisting weapons of those long dead warriors.

The history of modern Colorado began when Anglo-Saxon families came to the Pike's Peak region. From the

beginning the settlers of this Far West came not merely as "gold diggers" but as home makers, and in an astonishing number of cases, when one considers the hardships and dangers to be endured, the women of their households came with the men or followed soon after.

Some irreverent person has said that the Pilgrim Mothers had much more to endure than the Pilgrim Fathers, because in addition to perils of waters, perils of the heathen, perils in the wilderness, they had to endure the Pilgrim Fathers also! If there was anything beside climate and grandeur of scenery to reconcile the women of the covered wagons to these new and often unprepossessing surroundings, it was the men who walked beside those wagons. The Safety and Four-percenters stayed at home. Only the brave soul undertook the great adventure of the long trek. Colorado ought to be a great state; it is no small task to live up to the standard set by the gallant men, the dauntless women who laid its foundations, and laid them together. Like the red thread that runs through every rope woven for the British Navy, the influence of woman has been present in every hour of our history.

Does this seem too great a claim? The first white woman to come to this region was the Countess Catrina Murat, and she tells us:

Colonel Larimer came over to Auraria and offered us a great many lots, if we, Count Murat and myself, would move over to Denver as they had just christened it. He said that when other women came in to settle they would locate where there was a woman living and would not go to Auraria.

The first flag that was ever unfurled to the breeze over Denver or Auraria, as it was then called was made by me in May, 1859. We could not wait until the Fourth of July, so its glorious stars and stripes were floating over us as soon as the flag was completed.

Old settlers love to tell of the coming of the Count and Countess and of the excitement created and the changes in the habits and customs of Denver which were necessary after the arrival of the first advocate of woman's rights. All agree that the Countess Murat was a splendid cook and as she was forced to keep boarders during most of the

stormy periods of her career some of the first settlers of Colorado still discuss her culinary achievements.

Her husband is said to have shaved Horace Greeley when the famous journalist visited Colorado and to have charged him five dollars for performing the operation.

The regular price for a shave ranged from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter, and there were plenty of men willing to pay it just on the chance of seeing the Countess, not because she was a countess, but because she was a woman.

It is worthy of note that the first flag should have been made by a woman of foreign birth, who yet loved the ideals of this democracy so that she "could not wait" to raise the red, white and blue emblem of the Republic. It would be interesting if one could know the story of the "first flags" of this country—all of them made by women from the time when George Washington himself cut the five-pointed star for Betsy Ross, until flag making became a commercial business.

Mrs. Mary M. Hall, who came here in 1859, and was the second woman in California Gulch—the first was Mrs. Augusta Tabor—made a flag which at the time she believed was the first. There was nothing with which to make a flag, so Mrs. Hall took a blue sunbonnet, a little red dress and a strip of white muslin and fashioned one.

Always something had to be sacrificed for that flag. The countess because she "could not wait" to send to Omaha for material cut up a perfectly good red merino skirt to get stripes for her flag.

Possibly it will not be amiss to tell of one more flag, made by Mrs. Joseph Wolff, who came to Auraria with her husband and baby in fifty-nine, and afterward was one of the well-known characters of Boulder. "Uncle Joe" Wolff was for a time the main part of the composing room of *The Rocky Mountain News* in the days when its proprietor and editor, William N. Byers, was making war on the desperadoes who made life in the town almost as dangerous as the Indians made it on the plains. The two men used to change hats and coats at night so that the enemy never knew which was which. It undoubtedly saved Mr. Byer's life, but it did not add to Mrs. Wolff's peace of mind.

When they left Ohio for Colorado they camped for the winter some distance south of Omaha, and there a famous Indian chief visited the little group of palefaces. One of them gave him a pumpkin, and with lordly air he turned to Mrs. Wolff and ordered her to take it to his tepee, and being a fine, upstanding young woman unused to taking orders from any man she boxed his ears! He went off carrying his own pumpkin, but great was the terror that descended upon the camp, and unbounded the reproaches poured upon the head of the offending woman. They all expected to be scalped, but toward sundown a squaw rode into camp and in hilarious mood demanded to be shown the "squaw that whipped Spotty," and then invited her and her chief to a "pow-wow" the following day.

As in the case of royalty it was equivalent to a command, and there must be something in the way of a peace-offering. All night Jane Wolff sat sewing an American flag, and tears dropped on the red stripes, made from a beautiful quilt given her by her mother for the baby's cradle, and lined with a fine piece of scarlet cloth. "I hope I wasn't unpatriotic," she said, "but as I hemmed down all those stars, a tedious job, I was glad there were no more of them." The rest of that story is well worth the telling but it does not belong here.

Mr. and Mrs. William N. Byers arrived in Denver about the same time as the Wolffs in 1859, and the families were drawn to each other by the fact that Byers had come prepared to start a newspaper and Wolff had been driven out of Wheeling, Virginia—there was no West Virginia—for trying to run an anti-slavery paper on the soil of the Old Dominion, and had found Ohio hardly less hospitable. Here was a fighting man who could set type—just what Byers needed. Mrs. Byers has told the story of their arrival and here it is in her own words:

We went directly to the new hotel, a large frame shack. I had a room in which were a pine table and two pine chairs. I used my own blankets to make beds on the floor for my family. After staying there about six weeks we moved into a new log cabin without a floor, the grass roots being much in evidence. Here we spread out our nice little belongings that

we had brought from the states and really enjoyed life for a month when we moved into the rear of the printing office.

After spending the winter of Fifty-nine and Sixty there we moved into a canvas-lined frame house on the West side of Cherry Creek. Very soon it burned down and we lost everything we had except the children.

While living here I experienced the horror of seeing desperate men hiding behind a low shed waiting to shoot my husband as he came from the office. Nothing but a disguise changed every night prevented his assassination.

There is much that is pathetic in the pioneer's life, a great deal of the grotesque, and so many things that were awfully funny one often had to laugh through tears, but after all, we had many pleasant times. My life was easy compared to that of many.

There were no houses that did not have dirt roofs. I sent for my furniture to Omaha and wouldn't move it until I had a shingled roof.

And then the shingled roof went up in flames, a misfortune to which adobe is immune!

The first office of the *Rocky Mountain News* was built in the center of the bed of Cherry Creek "so as to cause no ill feeling among the people of the rival towns of Auraria and Denver," no one knowing the temperamental character of the "creek"—a lesson they were to learn to their heavy cost a very few years later.

It is not often that one family has to endure both fire and flood, but after the loss of their home the Byers had also to endure the loss of their printing plant, everything being swept away in the flood of 1864 which distributed type faster than any compositor, and left press and imposing stones and all the paper supply buried in sand, or lost beyond recovery. Did they repine? Hear this splendid, gently-bred woman:

"We will try again, William. Never fear but what we will make good at what we have started. Denver must have a paper."

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to record that the first white child, born in the new territory, was Colorado Johnson, born to Mr. and Mrs. William Johnson, August 28, 1859, and for and in consideration of this immigrant's choosing Colorado City for its advent, eight lots were promptly deeded to the newcomer. The second

child, born two days later in Denver, was John Denver Stout.

Another of the intrepid women of that day was Mrs. Augusta Tabor, a native of Maine, and the eleventh woman in Denver. She came across the plains from Kansas with her husband and rested for three weeks at Golden for the sake of the footsore cattle. Her husband went into the mountains, prospecting, and she remained alone with her baby and the livestock and provisions. Long ago it was written, "As his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff." Surely if ever anyone deserved an even share it was those gallant Western women who tarried by the stuff!

Later, they went to the present site of Idaho Springs, at the rate of three miles a day, and were driven back to Denver by tales of fearful winter disasters and there Mrs. Tabor remained "and took boarders through the winter," going to Colorado City in February, 1860, where she says, "They gave me some lots as I was the first lady there." It was Mr. Tabor's idea that this was the ideal location for the future capital of the state, and it was fixed there by the first legislature, but when the second met two years later in July, 1862, they adjourned to Denver after nine days' more or less stormy sessions which concluded when the members "were finally brought together in Mother Maggart's hotel under the pretense of compromising the matter, locked in" and kept there until they voted to adjourn to Denver. This session attempted to fix the capital at Golden, and the Third met there, but returned to Denver. The Fourth held all its sessions there, but the Seventh finally settled on Denver mainly because it was the only place where there were enough women to feed and lodge the members. Thus early in the day, the city was laid under permanent obligation to its womanhood.

To return to Mrs. Tabor, who was probably conducting the first mining operations ever undertaken by a woman. They had gone to Cache Creek and she says:

We found plenty of gold but there was so much black sand that we did not know how to separate it. We had no quicksilver and so had to abandon it.

I would work all day long picking it out with a little magnet and when night came I would not have a penny-weight, it was so fine. Afterwards these mines turned out to be very rich.

There were several men in California Gulch and they "turned to" and built their "first lady" a "cabin of green logs, had it finished in two days," and there she met Mrs. Hall, the maker of the flag. Who can gainsay her when she says:

Really the women did more in the early days than the men. There was so much for them to do, the sick to be taken care of—I had many unfortunate men, shot by accident, brought to my cabin. There were so many men who could not cook and did not like men's cooking and would insist on boarding where there was a woman, and they would board there all they could.

The women didn't have very much choice in the matter, for no one turned away a hungry man so long as there was any food, so women who had never done such a thing before found the simplest way to limit the number of their "guests" was to let them pay for their board. Alas for Mrs. Tabor, she lost the one chance for sudden wealth ever offered in return for board, when she refused to take the prospect of the Mule Express agent; that same summer \$80,000 was taken out of the claim.

I weighed all the gold that was taken out of the upper end of the gulch that summer. There was many a miner who did not know one thing about weighing gold. I never saw a country settled up with such greenhorns as Colorado. They were all young men from eighteen to thirty. I was there a good many years before I saw a man with gray hair.

I made all the returns for the post office for seven years, and General Adams said that during those seven years he only sent back one paper for correction. * * *

I have been taken along as a body guard a great many times because Mr. Tabor thought we were not so liable to be attacked. If anyone came along they would rather search him than me. There were some miles that we could not ride our horses on account of the wind, it blew so fiercely. We had to have our clothes tied on firmly. In some places it was so steep we had to hang onto our horses tails, and it was all they could do to get up.

Along about this same time the Silverthorne family moved into a magnificent building in Breckenridge which

had "one very large front room and a smaller room in the back" which was used as a bedroom and kitchen. This had a floor made of discarded sluice boxes.

The front room had a dirt floor with shelves and a counter running along one side [writes the daughter of the household]. Father took a team and hauled sawdust from an old sawmill above town and covered this dirt floor to a depth of six inches. Mother sewed burlap sacks together and made a carpet. Then father made pins such as are used for fastening tents down and nailed the burlap down with these. All dust sifted through so they were easy to keep clean. * * * The post office was in the front part of this room and a pigeon-holed box about three by five feet held all the mail. * * *

In 1867 we made a trip East. We took with us an Indian Chief's jacket that had a fringe of two hundred four human scalps.

On the return trip, failing to get stage reservations, they bought horses and were twice so hard beset by Indians that they expected "never to see the rising sun again." The telegram sent by Mr. Silverthorne asking for help is in the Denver museum, and when the help came the daughter writes, "Father broke down and cried brokenly, 'I did not know I had so many friends.'"

When the Civil War broke out Mrs. Silverthorne acted as commissary for the Summit County companies, "for which through some neglect or mistake she never received a dollar," and her heroism, said the *Breckenridge Journal* at the time of her untimely death, "probably saved us from an Indian outbreak when we were in no condition to defend ourselves."

While it is evident that many among the women immigrants to Colorado were forced, willy nilly, to become business women, in fact, if not in name, at least one woman, Mrs. L. E. Miller, came to Denver with an eye single and fixed upon a field which she could count on cornering for her own operations. She left her home in Berlin, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1860, in a covered wagon, drawn by oxen, and came to Denver, where she took orders for sewing machines. She brought her own with her, and demonstrated the marvels of this first of the great labor-saving inventions for women so effectively that she was able to sell a

reasonable number at the price of one hundred sixty dollars each. She took boarders also and was active in church work, for wherever there are women churches soon open their doors.

In Colorado it was literally true that "the groves were God's first temples," for the first sermon ever preached in the territory was delivered in a clump of cottonwoods near the junction of Cherry Creek and the Platte by the Rev. G. W. Fisher in the fall of 1858. What is not so generally known is that in the days when Golden was capital *pro tempore*, whenever a preacher could be secured, it was the custom for all save those entirely dead in wickedness and sin to gather for a morning sermon in a big tent which was the property of Edward Chase. He gave its use freely in the morning. In the afternoon and evening it was devoted to three-card Monte, poker and the circumvolutions of the roulette wheel.

But even in the very early days it was not all a tale of hardships and deprivations and dangers. The state was settled by people with traditions of culture and education, and they brought their traditions with them. Moreover, as Gen. William J. Palmer has pointed out, after the Civil War was over there were thousands of young men who had learned teamwork together. In some cases their old places were gone; in others something of the same spirit of restlessness that prevails among those who served in the World War made them long for new fields, and they turned to the West. Colorado Springs and Greeley were colony enterprises, unique in the fact that both their charters prohibited the sale of liquor within their borders. General Palmer said that he was not moved by the moral consideration alone, but that his experience in railway building had proved to him that in each temporary town set up along the growing roads, the graveyard grew in a manner out of all proportion to the rest of the population, and this was due mainly to the direct and indirect influence of liquor. He believed it possible for a town to thrive by making its appeal to the law-abiding, the cultured and the refined who wanted to find in the West that which had been dearest in their

homes whether in this country or the Old World. So they came, men and women together to build anew, holding fast all that was best of the old, but undaunted by the thought that they were undertaking something strange and different from the civilization with which they were familiar. They calmly set aside the iron rule of custom and said with King Henry, "We are the makers of manners!"

Everyone in Colorado who knows anything of history, knows that the state owes a debt to General Palmer which can only increase as the years go by, but everybody does not know that his wife worked side by side with him, and herself gathered and taught the children of school age of the settlement which but for his innate modesty would have borne his name. Perhaps the first lecture ever heard in Colorado Springs was delivered by Canon Charles Kingsley, whose daughter came to this far away region with him. Morris Kingsley, a son, was secretary of the Colorado Springs Company. Alva Adams, an interested boy, tells how the beetles and moths, attracted by the lights, flew in at the unscreened window, putting out the light now and then, which had to be re-lit in spite of burned fingers. During the relighting process, the speaker discarded his manuscript and scooping up a handful of insects inspected them closely, as if in search of new varieties. Kingsley was the first naturalist, poet and novelist to visit us.

Miss Rose Kingsley was entertained by Denver's best people. In fact, it was a most hospitable town and it was the hospitality extended to Samuel Bowles and his daughter Sallie, added to the mountain scenery, that gave Colorado its first introduction to the world as "The Switzerland of America," and it was conceded that the editor of the *Springfield Republican* spoke with authority.

It is said that in the early days the aristocracy consisted of the families which possessed vast copper or brass kettles, useful in crossing the plains for boiling the family washing, and after their arrival for the making of soap, a highly prized and extremely expensive article. The Plebeans borrowed the kettles when soap was to be made, or pigs to be

butchered, and no woman mean enough to refuse the loan of her kettle ever came West.

If the kettle was evidence of a proper background and substantial means a piano stood for the very last word in wealth, culture and elegance. The first piano of Denver was the property of Miss Kate Goss, afterward Mrs. George Clark. "It was a small, square piano, inlaid with pearl" and there was apt to be an uninvited audience around the house when the young musician played.

When Helen M. Wixson was nominated for state superintendent of public instruction in 1910, an old friend told of the establishment of her father's family in "a gorgeous, four-room, canvas-lined, French-windowed mansion" and how "when the furniture, including a grand piano, arrived they had the ardent assistance of all the distinguished citizens in camp in carting it, piece by piece, on their backs into the new home, after which they took turns watching for the girl who could not only paw hell out of the ivories, but who according to her father, 'sang like an angel.'" And then he went on to describe how the crowd gathered around the "mansion" in Rico, while the rain poured down on them, and they hardly breathed for fear of missing a note, and how "the singer switched from something that was gay and rollicking to 'Home, Sweet Home,' and one of the fellows leaning against the window began to swear softly, and the old man heard him and jerked up the shade, and there we were, a hundred of us, crowding up to the window, looking mighty foolish and mushy peering in at her." Of course they were invited in, and the "slim bit of a girl" sang for them till long after midnight.

Then there is the story of Mrs. Thomas Macon's piano—perhaps the first in Canon City—nothing has made more trouble in this state than the mooted question of priorities and one cannot be too careful in asserting them. There were plenty of Indians in that vicinity, and they heard of the wonderful new box that made strange, sweet sounds, and was the property of the lady whose hair they felt would be such an addition to their various collections. No enterprising brave ever saw a lovely thatch of golden or auburn hair without breaking the tenth commandment. Mrs. Macon had shown a disposition to retain her own hair, but

certainly she would let them see how the box made the music. They were at the door before she saw them, and being a quick-witted woman she gathered up her kittens, almost as unusual a possession as the piano itself, and putting them on the keys shut the piano. Then she told the Indians that something had gotten into her piano, and she couldn't play for them until whatever was bewitching the instrument was driven out. They looked at the big, oblong box, and they heard the tinkling sounds and the discords produced by the kittens and fled, convinced that some very potent "medicine" would be required to remove the enchantment.

Of course there was marrying and giving in marriage. The first wedding ceremony was that of Miss Lydia Allen and Mr. John B. Atkins, October 16, 1859. Miss Allen was the daughter of Denver's first postmaster, and Mr. Atkins was assistant auditor of Jefferson County, so that officialdom of both sections turned out. Christmas eve, two years later saw Denver's first military wedding when Miss Fannie Walthall was married to Lieut. George H. Hardin by Father Keeler, founder and first rector of St. Johns-in-the-Wilderness. War had been declared and Colorado had already begun her splendid response, so this ceremony took place at Camp Weld, far out beyond the city proper, where the Burnham shops were later located. We are told that—

"The ultra smart of society drove to Boulder and Golden to attend dances," and that "Mrs. Hardin was a predominant figure among the dancers, her radiant beauty enhanced by a gown of mulberry silk."

Another personality of the state then and for many years was Mrs. John Pierce. Her husband was Colorado's first surveyor general, and they had a house of quite magnificent proportions "which was brought piecemeal from the Missouri River, wood, glass and all, freighted across the plains by the owner and sold to General Pierce." Here they entertained Louis Agassiz, the former teacher of the General. He found Agassiz looking at the mountains and weeping softly. "John," he said, "I see so much here, and I have come so late!"

When the Pierces celebrated their tin wedding it must

have been a truly hilarious occasion, with a procession led by trumpeters with tin horns as long as those of any of Fra Angelico's angels, and guests bearing gifts of every description of shining tinware. The day following Lord Douglas called to pay his respects and was shocked by what looked like a display of a shipment of supplies for a hardware store.

"Is the General, then, in trade?" he asked anxiously.

The *News* gives an account of some festivities in behalf of guests of such celebrity that Denver would be hard put to it to entertain with more pomp and circumstance today:

The arrival of Schuyler Colfax and his friends created a furore. The coming event had been noised abroad, especially the fact that there were young ladies in the company. When the special stage, drawn by six dapple-gray horses drove up in front of the express office on Fifteenth Street the sidewalks were lined with men. "It was no trouble to be a belle in Denver in those days," declares Mrs. Sue Hall, "for we had seven young men to call on us that first evening."

When General Grant was here in the Sixties a notable reception was given to him at the Masonic Hall, in the Tappan Block on Fifteenth Street, but a still more notable event was the supper that followed at Barney Ford's restaurant on Blake Street. There Jerome B. Chaffee, Colorado's first senator, entertained at supper General Grant, General Sherman, General Sheridan, General Dent, General Frank Hall and H. M. De Lano, the mayor of the town, afterward consul to Japan.

Incidentally, one likes to recall that it was Grant who signed the bill conferring statehood on Colorado, and that he had the prophetic vision then to recommend experimenting with sugar beets, and a colossal engineering feat, by which the waters of the Missouri should be diverted in such a way that they would be available for the irrigation of the new state. It staggers the imagination even now, to picture what might have been the result had the United States Government acted in accordance with these suggestions. Some day Colorado will remember and write the name of Grant high in her annals. So far, only one place in her borders has done him proper honor. When the Grant party visited Central City the first and only paving in the state was laid between the stage-road and the Teller House that there should be made straight in the desert a highway

for his feet. It was made of bar silver, and has no rival in recorded history.

But "The Little Kingdom of Gilpin" was not as other gold camps before or since. When it is said that a region was a law unto itself it very generally means that it was lawless, but the facts seem to prove that Central City, with its two wings, Nevada and Black Hawk, was a transplanted Eastern town in three sections. Of course all the people were Easterners, but they were the kind of men and women, and there were many fine women, who brought their ten commandments, and their books and violins and silver and purple and fine linen and cut glass and good clothes and table napkins and manners along with them, for this was par excellence the place where

" . . . there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed nor Birth

When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!"

and all the men were strong and all the women worthy. In his delightful book, *Echoes from Arcadia*, Frank C. Young gives a wonderful picture of the first of Colorado's great gold camps, but gives it with a modesty and reticence truly regrettable from the standpoint of the historian. Only an occasional name is given. In speaking of the "literary predilections" of the people, which he says "soon manifested themselves," he speaks of the churches, the "aggressive Methodists" and "their present shepherd, Brother Vincent, active, genial and extremely popular among all classes. To him is due the honor of creating a Library Association. . . . He has gathered together a few hundred books for circulating purposes in a small room, and as an adjunct to his library, has already inaugurated a lecture season." They had speakers of much more than local fame, for he tells us, "Last year we caught Bayard Taylor and coerced him into a lecture at the courthouse; and as we paid him for his talk, it was hardly gracious in him to insert a sting in the tail of one of his published letters from Central charging it with being the 'most outrageously expensive town,' he had yet found in his wanderings. Then Grace Greenwood happened to stray this way and was forced, in a gentle way, to pay tribute, which she did very graciously,"

and they were willing to pay Dickens "five hundred dollars for the privilege of listening to him and looking upon him in the flesh" though still holding somewhat against him for his *American Notes*.

It is easy to imagine Mr. Vincent popular, but those of us who knew Mrs. Beth Vincent know that she must have been one of the loveliest and best loved women who ever radiated goodwill in the Gregory Gulch.

And there were the Horace M. Hales, fine, and finely educated, whose son, Gen. Irving Hale, broke all records at West Point; the father was the second president of the new State University, and both of the parents staunch adherents of the suffrage cause in all three of the attempts to secure its passage. Does bread cast on the waters return? When the first charter convention in Denver organized, one of the three women members cast her vote for Irving Hale for president because, she said, she "had always wanted to pay some little part of her debt to his father and mother."

The N. P. Hills were there, Mrs. Hill acting as the arbiter in social affairs; the Tellers and the Thatchers and the George Randolphs and the Sayres and the Youngs, to name a few of the brilliant galaxy, and Henry and Edward O. Wolcott probably figured in a brochure issued anonymously under the title of "A Tale of Two Cities" which Mr. Young says was "greeted by various forms of emotion, laughing, critical, acrimonious, even profane—for the innocent-looking little sheet published a list of the bachelors in the two towns," dividing them "into three groups of matrimonial eligibility." The author quoted a line from Shakespeare for each victim, and while several persons sought eternal fame by claiming authorship no one ever knew who wrote the leaflet.

Mr. Young tells us that "as early as 1867 Central sent a commissioner to the Paris Exposition, who gave the foreign world its first comprehensive idea of the value of Colorado minerals. In course of time, after the state's admission, it furnished to the nation three United States senators, a cabinet officer and the state's single representative in Congress." Central actually furnished four senators, for



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF DENVER, 1870

W. A. Clark of Montana mined there. Every time we purchase a sleeping car ticket we pay tribute to the bunks of Central miners, for it was there that George A. Pullman got the idea of the folding double-deck bed.

Mrs. Sayre's two sisters were also early residents of Central. Mrs. Nathan Thompson went there with her husband, one of three Andover graduates who came to Colorado as Congregational missionaries, and Mrs. Maxwell sent a very unique exhibit to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. She had taken up the art of the taxidermist, and she shot and mounted a very complete exhibit of Colorado fauna. Moreover, she anticipated the modern idea, and grouped and arranged her exhibit with as lifelike backgrounds as she could manage. Helen Hunt Jackson, Colorado's first poet, wrote an article about the exhibit which was published with numerous illustrations in the *St. Nicholas*, a magazine which was just beginning its long career. Mrs. Maxwell shot only the animals she wished to use in completing a collection of the state's fauna.

Of all the women who went to Central none had a wider influence than Mrs. James B. Belford, and her going there was, in spite of the hardships, the first outstanding piece of good fortune that had come to the Belfords, for James B. Belford's law practice had been intensive rather than extensive. Indiana was too law-abiding for the weal of ambitious young attorneys, and Belford had the book habit. It is written in the Belford annals that when the Longfellow translation of Dante appeared he looked long at his shoes, of which the soles were missing and the uppers mainly gone, but the tongue and the strings were there, so he bought a pair of rubber overshoes to make up for these deficiencies and spent the rest of a five dollar fee in purchasing the book which made his wife one of the authorities on Dante and so recognized by the National Dante Society. But Belford read law—whatever kind of law books came his way, and among them were a number on mining law; as nobody in Indiana was interested in mining he had these books all to himself. There is a divinity that shapes our ends, and in this case the mundane influence was that of Schuyler Colfax, who had been well treated in Colorado,

and was personally fond of Belford. He thought this might be a good place for a young man with a knowledge of mining law, and so Grant appointed Belford as one of the three Supreme Court Territorial judges. They drew lots for locations, and Belford went to Gilpin. Lawyers who expected to have an easy time with the "Tenderfoot," were rapidly undeceived. The other two judges appointed at the same time were Moses Hallett and E. T. Wells. Colorado has never improved on the pattern.

But truth compels the confession that Mrs. Belford looked at the grim, treeless valley, with its always troubled waters, the chimneys of one street obtruding themselves on the backyards of the street on the next level, and prayed "Lord, let this cup pass from me!" Homesick for the banks of the Wabash, she took a turn at the first book of Dante, realized that there were worse places than Central City, and in the course of time grew to love her new abode. It was there that she began to work out the details for the great Lincoln Highway that was to bind East and West, and forever prevent the sectionalism that had cost the Civil War. "If we had had great roads going North and South," she once said, "so that the people would have traveled more and known each other better, there need never have been a war," and long long years before anyone but Tennyson had predicted a "Federation of the World," Judge Belford was advocating America's leadership toward a league of nations. Both of them were stars of the first magnitude in Colorado's literary firmament.

In spite of all its refinement Central had what every other town before 1870 possessed,—more saloons than churches, schools, and libraries combined. What she saw made Mrs. Belford ready to go into temperance work long before there was any Women's Christian Temperance Union, and a close view of politics, far from making her feel that this was no place for woman, convinced her that in a Republic all reforms crystallize at the ballot box. When women were enfranchised she was, appropriately enough, the first woman appointed on the State Board of Charities and Corrections; later she served as trustee of both the Greeley Normal and the Agricultural College. Wherever there was hard, thankless, unremunerative public

work to be done Frances Belford was apt to be among those present. It was so from her coming to Colorado in 1870 until she was finally mustered out, full of years and crowned with love and honor.

There is another respect in which Central was unique, and here again we are indebted to Mr. Young, for he tells of a little group of Negro women who occupied a place in the town unlike that accorded them almost anywhere else on earth. He mentions only one, Aunt Clara Brown. "She was raised in old Kentucky, and with her own freedom secured after years of persistent, patient toil, when well along in life she joined the procession of gold seekers to Gregory Gulch, where, through the unusual returns of a mining camp for labor such as hers, she has been enabled in the first few years to bring out from the old plantation her children, and latterly her children's children; and with them, whether aided by her efforts or stimulated by her example have year by year come many others of her race, worthily represented by the Poynters, the Lees, the Nelsons and other families."

They nursed the sick and superintended the advent into this world of the younger generation, and they "laid out" those for whom further ministrations were not to be required. Did Miss Hattie Louise Sims give a musicale? It was Aunt Clara or some other aunt, who made the cakes. When there were church fairs and suppers these women were on hand to serve and clear up. If there was a fine dinner, and they had fine dinners—Mrs. Hill is credited with starting the fashion of dinners served in courses—some of the colored women who were famous as cooks and waitresses were always on hand. There was game, there was mountain trout, there were ducks and grouse and quail and mountain raspberries and there was the *cameraderie* that made it the simplest thing in the world for a hostess to borrow extra glasses, or a dozen more napkins in case of unexpected guests, knowing that she would be called on for a similar accommodation in the near future. The wonder is that nobody ever wrote the annals of that Happy Valley in the form of fiction, for there was rollicking mirth and stark tragedy and a continuous drama unfolding almost from day to day.

But the social function which is silhouetted upon the memory of all the old-timers [we are told by the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*] is the occasion upon which royalty visited Colorado. It was in 1872, when E. M. McCook, one of the fighting McCooks, was Governor that the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia came to Colorado to hunt buffalo. He was accompanied by his tutor, Admiral Possuet, Counts Disefief and Starlinghoff, General Bodisco and Lieutenant Tudor of the Imperial Army; with these were Generals Sheridan and Custer with members of their staffs.

A ball was given in honor of the Duke at the American House [Denver]. There was a sound of revelry by night; fair women and brave men made up a picture which has never been equalled in Denver's social annals.

Mrs. McCook, the young and beautiful wife of the Governor, was in despair. She was so ill that her physicians commanded that she remain in bed, but the wife of a fighting McCook does not so easily surrender. She attended the ball, but was not able to dance and deputized Mrs. George Randolph to be her proxy in the first dance with the Duke.

In the same set were Mrs. Frank Hall, dancing with Admiral Possuet, and Miss Moffat, now Mrs. W. P. G. Hayward, as the partner of Count Bodisco. [The narrator does not give the fourth couple, but it is safe to assume that there was one, possibly two men served, that being a favorite way of stretching out the scant resources in those early days.]

The wife of the Lieutenant Governor, Mrs. Frank Hall, danced the second dance with the noble visitor whose clumsy feet played havoc with her gown, a corn-colored silk which was a part of her trousseau. Nineteen years old, very large, very awkward, and with mediocre ability as a dancer, there were many fair partners who examined their wrecked frocks after the ball and declared the Russian Duke a most undesirable partner.

In another set on that memorable occasion were Generals Sheridan, Custer and Hall, with Colonel Randolph.

Sue Hall, Harriet Randolph, Mrs. Hayward—any of those women was brilliant enough to make an ordinary Grand Duke as commonplace and graceless as Alexis' unskilled feet.

In her interesting reminiscences Mrs. E. M. Ashley, who came to Denver as a bride in 1861 gives a glimpse of another kind of social activity.

The first organization that I assisted in forming in this new West [she says], was a Soldier's Aid Society, where underwear, bed garments, bandages and lint were made for

Colorado's first regiment. * * * This was before a sewing machine had reached this region. Indeed it was when extremely few sewing machines had invaded Eastern homes. Garments were not turned out as quickly then as now, but the fifteen ladies who composed this society, with Mrs. William N. Byers as its president, worked with a will and the results were most satisfactory. [She gives us also a vivid picture of Denver's preparation to welcome the Iron Horse, which was to unite Denver and Cheyenne, thus bringing Denver in touch with the world East and West.]

The preliminaries settled, a multitude of intensely interested spectators looked on and cheered while, to the music of a brass band, Miss Nettie Clark and Mrs. F. J. Stanton guided the plows that turned the furrows for the first railroad that was to connect Colorado with the outside world.

§

In the North there was no trouble in the speedy adoption of the Thirteenth amendment. It was otherwise with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, and the Woman's Suffrage movement took on a different aspect from the passage of the former, when for the first time by the Constitution the franchise was limited to male citizens of voting age. Every effort was made to prevail on Congress to give the ballot to intelligent white women, many of whom had done valiant service for the preservation of the Union, at the time when they were bestowing it upon some two million negroes who had never asked for it, were totally unprepared for any duty of citizenship, and in whose hands it became a source of offense and danger. It was a bitter blow to the women, and there was great opposition to both amendments in many sections of the North, as ill-timed and premature.

The Secretary of State of Wyoming, Gen. E. M. Lee, had become a convert to suffrage by hearing it discussed in Congress, and there are two stories as to its adoption in Wyoming. Lee was, of course, a Republican, but the entire legislature was Democratic, and had been elected by methods which might be called irregular by a polite euphemism. One story is that a man named William H. Bright, introduced the suffrage bill at the request of and out of gratitude to Esther Morris, who had cared for his sick wife and baby. He afterward lived in Colorado. The other, for which Mary Lee Stark is authority, is that after the organization of the territorial legislature Mr. Bright called on her brother and complained that he didn't see any chance to do anything

that would render his name immortal in history. Whereupon General Lee persuaded him to get a suffrage bill through the council, while Lee undertook to get it through the house. It was regarded in the light of a joke on the Republican governor, and taken for granted that he would veto the bill. Instead, he signed it, and the few women in Wyoming considered it the best, and most practical "joke" on record. Shortly thereafter Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony made their first transcontinental tour on the newly constructed railroad, and were delighted to make the acquaintance of Miss Lee, whose "hand had held a ballot." In 1870 the Mormons had enfranchised the women of Utah and with enfranchised regions on two sides of them it was inevitable that the subject should receive considerable attention in Colorado. In 1871 Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony visited Denver, speaking there and in the infant colony of Greeley, the county seat of Weld County, which was the banner county in the suffrage vote of 1893; their words fell upon good ground. In Denver Mrs. John Evans, wife of the ex-governor, arranged a meeting for them, and for a time it seemed probable that Colorado would fall in line.

The first suffrage bill was introduced in the territorial legislature of 1868, and in 1870 Governor Edward McCook urged action in his message to the legislature, but his advocacy was no recommendation to a legislature in which he had many opponents, and it again failed. When statehood was imminent the women made another effort to secure recognition in the constitution, but the convention was unwilling to assume the responsibility of enfranchising the women. Judge Henry Pelham Bromwell did succeed, however, in securing this section in Article Seven:

The general assembly may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein enumerated, but no such law shall take effect or be in force until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election and approved by a majority of all votes cast for or against such law.

But for this section the situation would have been much more difficult. Judge Bromwell and Agapita Vigil were

the only signers of the minority report, but the convention did confer school suffrage and it instructed the first legislature to submit a suffrage referendum. Persons interested in this subject will find fairly full accounts in the first volume of Judge W. F. Stone's *History of Colorado*, J. F. Browne's *History of Equal Suffrage in Colorado*, Helen Sumner's book on the same subject and the fourth volume of the *History of Woman's Suffrage*.

The coming of statehood was anticipated and celebrated July 4, 1876, with much burning of firecrackers and gunpowder. It was easy to find thirty-eight women to represent the states then in the Union, but there was considerable trouble in finding a native daughter mature enough to represent the new state. The honor finally fell to Miss May Butler, a girl of sixteen. The pronouncement from President Grant came nearly a month later, and August First is known as "Colorado Day."

Statehood brought new problems and new opportunities, and with the discovery of silver in enormous quantities at Leadville, the population began to grow with great rapidity. These newcomers were not limited to ox-trains or stage-coaches. They did frequently drive hither from nearer states, like those west of the Mississippi, but for the most part they arrived by train, and if their families did not come with them, they arrived soon after. Leadville grew from a few shacks to a city of thousands in a few months, and the woman who was able and willing to engage in humble occupations found a gold-mine where her brothers were looking for silver.

Mrs. Sarah Ray took in enough washing to build a two-story brick block a few months after arrival. The mines there were not of the "placer" variety, but she washed a small fortune out of the miners' habiliments.

But Leadville has a history something like that of Central City. There were people of culture and refinement there from the very beginning. Generally when questions are asked about Leadville society, the answer begins with, "Of course, there were the Goodell girls: Mary and Clara and Olive and Jennie were all married up there, and Mrs. Whitmore visited there until the various families moved away." The story of "the Goodell girls" would be one of

romance, leading to the far parts of the earth could it be told. Mary married James B. Grant, and was a most gracious "first lady" when he was elected governor in 1882. Clara married John Mitchell, and they were for years very much to the fore in Denver society. Mr. Mitchell was president of the Denver National Bank, and it was he who gave the Memorial Gates in honor of Dennis Sullivan with whom he had long been associated in the bank. Olive, Mrs. Zeph Hill, died in her early womanhood and Mrs. A. A. Blow, as wife of a successful mining engineer has spent more time in other countries than in her own. Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Whitmore were among the club leaders from the beginning. Then there was Mrs. J. D. Ward with four lovely daughters, and there was Miss Cooper, afterward Mrs. Thomas Daly, and there were the Campions and Mrs. L. H. Barnes, and the Harveys, and the Dougans—Blanche Dougan Cole has made a name as an artist; there were the C. S. Thomases, and the Cavenders and so many others that space fails.

It is noteworthy also that Leadville had a men's club that was organized on cultural lines, for C. C. Davis says in his *Olden Times in Colorado*, "From the Assembly Club of Leadville have been chosen senators, congressmen, governors, supreme judges and its men and women are filling high and responsible positions in all honorable walks of life."

In 1913 Calvin H. Morse gathered the members of the old club at an Assembly ball and banquet at the Brown Palace, and the club was incorporated that it might never die.

Davis tells one incident which illustrates the vast change between those days and these, and his futile effort to prove to the world that Leadville was not only safe, but a desirable residence section. He says:

So much had been said and printed regarding the character of the population of the camp, the impression being that it was largely composed of blackleg men, and women of the underworld that I sought to correct the popular idea with a single convincing proof. I secured photographs of one hundred of the most beautiful and cultured ladies of the city, grouped them upon a broad page of highly calendered pa-

per, and printed the impression from lithograph stones in the highest style of the art of that day. At that time no newspaper had thought of printing the face of a respectable woman, and I was put to my wits end to secure the needed photographs. Of course at that time no respectable lady would furnish a photograph for such a purpose, nor would any photographer provide me with one without an order. I simply had to steal them. I justified myself as did Basanio:

“And I beseech you
Wrest once the law to your authority;
To do a great right, do a little wrong.”

I assumed that the publication of that symposium of beautiful, obviously pure and cultured women would forever remove the blot from Leadville's fair name. But the secret got out before the day of publication; and the town was astir with indignation. I pleaded with some who came to protest in person, that no names, place of residence, or other signs of identification, were to be used; but it was all to no purpose. Even the insistence of my worthy purpose, and the need of such a demonstration, fell upon deaf ears. Subscribers threatened to cancel their subscriptions, merchants in some instances were induced to intimate a boycott, and finally a coterie of wealthy and influential big-wigs sued out an injunction in the district court restraining the publication. And thus sixty thousand sheets of as beautiful female faces as ever graced the pages of a newspaper were necessarily consigned to the flames before the day of publication.

A very limited number of the sheets had in some manner escaped from the press room, and thereafter the office was besieged for duplicates, a dollar a copy being freely offered.

Pueblo also had a club, the Monday Club, to which belonged nearly all the eminent men of that enterprising city. It was organized in 1882, and the club long believed that it was the first club in the state, a mistaken view, since there were already three women's clubs. In those days the wives were invited on rare occasions only, but they were permitted to furnish refreshments, and sometimes several wives united their efforts, if the entertainment was to be at all elaborate, and before time came for serving they sometimes gathered in the hall, or an adjacent room and were an interested audience. Perhaps what they learned by listening prepared them for their own participation in club work some ten years later.

Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Thatcher, second president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Stickley, Mrs.

McHarg, Mrs. Orman—in spite of its insistence that it is a “workingman’s town,” Pueblo has never lacked for society or for thoughtful, capable women.

The facility with which what are usually called “quiet, home women” rise to the occasion was never better illustrated than in the life of Mrs. Nachtrieb, whose name gave her neighbors so much trouble that they simplified it, and it still appears on Denver & Rio Grande folders as “Nathrop,” though it is hardly a town. When left a widow Mrs. Nathrop carried on her ranching operations with the aid of her eight children. She raised stock, she operated a sawmill, she had a lumberyard, and a general store, and she was considered an authority on irrigation and irrigation laws. She educated all her children, and her daughter Josephine graduated at Wolfe Hall and at Ann Arbor, where she took her degree as M. D. Dr. Josephine Nathrop Dunlop is one of the staff at Minnequa Hospital in Pueblo at this time in the research division.

Another successful business woman was Elizabeth Frazier who came to Denver, and presently married John Iliff, a wealthy and successful stockman. Being a practical and a capable woman she learned so much about his business that she was able to conduct it after his death, being known as the richest of the cattle “queens,” and if there were not a vast number of “queens” there were a goodly number of princesses, for in the early eighties the *Denver Republican* quoted a stockman as saying:

Of all the failures in stock-raising in this Western Country not one has been made by women. They are worth several million dollars and they have got the clearest heads and the best judgment as regards managing stock that I have seen displayed by anybody. Of the eight hundred stock-women now doing business in Colorado all are well and favorably known among cattle and sheep men.

There were ranch women also, but they had no publicity agents, and the story of their heroic struggles with loneliness and drought and grasshoppers and distant markets and lack of equipment is an heroic page yet to be written. But before she started for Belgium early in the spring of 1914 Mrs. Belle Van Dorn Harbert pruned her orchard of more than a thousand cherry trees. She went to Belgium to attend an international congress of farm women, with



Upper: Mrs. W. N. Byers, Mrs. H. A. W. Tabor, Mrs. N. P. Hill. Middle:
Mrs. Frances Jacobs, Mrs. J. B. Belford. Lower: Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker,
Mrs. M. D. Thatcher, Mrs. E. M. Ashley

more than 20,000 members representing twenty-eight nations. She said she wanted to go to this congress because she "had some practical ideas that had come to her while, as an orphan girl, she was doing the housework and also much of the field work on a farm in Iowa, and later as a school teacher and ranch woman in Colorado."

The farm women from those twenty-eight countries liked her ideas, which she was able to express in several languages, so much that they elected her president, and Albert, King of Belgium, decorated her with a gold medal. Her apples are famed beyond her own borders, and Manzanola is proud of her and her work. Perhaps it is too much to claim that she is a typical farm woman, but she is a shining encouragement for all the others.

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In this era when there are organizations for everything under the sun, to most of which women are eligible, it is somewhat difficult to pass the sponge over the slate of the mind and think of a time when, save for missionary societies and church guilds and sewing circles women had no common meeting place whatever. Mrs. Byers organized the first "Ladies' Union Aid Society" in January, 1860, and other towns had similar clubs, only they called them by other names, which were supposed to be much more sweet.

The first combination of women outside of their homes and denominational affiliations, which from the beginning was founded on the federation idea, county and state and national, was the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It began with the "Crusade" in Ohio, and everywhere that saloons existed there were women who felt a direct call to enlist in this work. The first Union in Colorado was organized in Denver in 1878 and the next in Longmont in March, 1879, and Greeley followed in June. Its temperance charter could not protect it from the enemy which set up its opposition just beyond the colony limits. The state organized at Longmont in April, 1880, electing Mrs. Mary F. Shields as president. Frances Willard wrote, "Yours is the first state to organize without outside help," and Mrs. Shields was said to be the "only resident woman of the state known as a public speaker." In those days the W. C. T. U. was a narrow-gauge affair, with many members who looked upon the franchise as the special prerogative of man,

and felt it "unwomanly" for women to desire the vote, but Mrs. Shields was not of that type. From the beginning the work here proceeded on broader lines. The story of this organization has never been written in even approximately its entirety. The records are so meagre that they give no idea of either the work or the workers. The fact remains that they were generally "first" in every field of women's endeavors. They trained women in parliamentary procedure and speaking and debate. Beside Mrs. Shields at least three other women who were identified with this work from its inception achieved more than a local reputation: Mary Jewett Telford, Frances Belford and Antoinette A. Hawley were brilliant speakers, and there are dozens and dozens of women in this sisterhood able to conduct a meeting and speak without preparation on almost any topic likely to be brought up.

And it was not easy. Women were seldom treated with actual disrespect anywhere in the West, but there were a good many men who felt that any woman who could make a speech was a sort of denatured person, who was a legitimate subject for ridicule; there were others who called such women "unsexed" and waxed abusive at the idea of any curtailment of their "right" to do anything whatsoever that seemed good to them. There was enough "persecution" to help them grow, but it stopped short of providing the crowns of martyrdom mainly because no one believed their cause could ever prevail.

Nobody can keep up a losing game continuously, and seeing many other conditions that needed attention, these women set their hands to doing "the next thing," according to the needs of their particular locality.

In Denver, even in the eighties, there were a good many women who had come West with invalid husbands or sons, who had to turn breadwinners, and since they were untrained women they had to do what they could find to do, and it frequently took them away from home, where children were left unprotected. The W. C. T. U. opened the first day nursery to care for such children after the city had been shocked by a horrible tragedy of which two little girls were the victims. And it was the W. C. T. U. of Denver that finally prevailed on the City Council to let them

employ a police matron, paying her wages for three months, as an experiment to see whether her services were needed.

Long before the first month was up the police officials bore grateful testimony to the value of the matron, and up to the present time Mrs. Sadie M. Likens is the one Colorado woman to whose memory a public memorial has been raised by popular subscription. Contributions came from the Woman's Relief Corps, the Grand Army, Ladies of the Grand Army, Sons and Daughters of Veterans, as well as from the W. C. T. U. and other citizens, for she was one of the founders of the Woman's Relief Corps, and devoted to the interests of the old soldiers. But her great work was demonstrating beyond cavil that wherever women are held in subjection a woman should be. Until she was installed in a pitifully inadequate little place, upstairs and at the rear of the city jail proper, there was no place to put a lost child, a woman void of offense held as a witness, or for investigation except a place known as "the hospital cell," adjacent to the "dark cells"; ordinary women prisoners were locked up in half a dozen cells next to the male prisoners, where they could converse back and forth. Unspeakable abuses took place. Even with this proof before them it was some time before a woman matron was installed in the county jail, where the need was no less.

It is said that Mrs. Likens was the second police matron in the United States, the first having been appointed in the Chicago jail at the instance of the Woman's Club of that city.

What little legislation there was for the protection of children or women or the regulation of the liquor traffic to the extent of prohibiting its sale to children—nearly every saloon boasted its "ladies' entrance"—or to habitual drunkards if a protest against such sale was made, raising the "age of consent" from ten to sixteen—practically all the pre-suffrage legislation of this character was their work, and theirs alone. They have done more than their share in all feminine undertakings since our enfranchisement. They were the only women with any real training for citizenship, who had learned by doing, who understood teamwork, or had ever drafted a bill. Exactly twenty-one years after suffrage was granted, just long enough for a new

generation to reach voting age, the state voted for prohibition. The fact cannot be wholly without significance.

The Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic saw its inception as a national organization in Denver. There were auxiliary societies here and there over the country, but they had no contacts with each other. In 1881 Mrs. Likens, Mrs. John Kennedy and Mrs. Jennie McGill organized Farragut Relief Corps.

In 1883 Commandant Paul Vandervoort of the Grand Army issued an invitation to all ladies' societies auxiliary to the Grand Army camps to meet in Denver, July 25, for the purpose of organizing on national lines. Sixteen states responded to the invitation, and when the delegates arrived Mrs. E. K. Stimson called them to order, and presented the matter embodied in the call of the Grand Commander. After some discussion Mrs. Kate B. Sherwood of Toledo, Ohio, moved that a national organization be perfected, and the motion was carried. A very elaborate and beautiful ritual was adopted, and a general effort was made to gain members among all patriotic and loyal women, regardless of their relationship to veterans of the Civil War. Colorado had the honor of having three officers in the first list named: Mrs. E. K. Stimson, junior vice president; Mrs. Emily Gardiner, inspector, and Mrs. Mary Jewett Telford, one of the two corresponding secretaries. Mrs. Likens was department president in 1912-13. Mrs. Emily R. Meredith was awarded a gold medal for the best essay on a patriotic subject in the early '90s.

The French fable which we have translated to mean "half a loaf is better than no bread" is quite otherwise in the original. There the angry woman throws the remainder after the dog that has just stolen half the loaf and is making off with it, exclaiming as she does so, "No bread is better than half a loaf." To tell the truth this was much the attitude of the women who had desired full citizenship when they were granted the school suffrage. Generally they did not vote at all at school elections. Neither did the men, but it was not their only chance. However, the fact that the women could vote doubtless proved a protection on more than one occasion. Saloon keepers were very apt to find a place on city councils, or as county commissioners;

in fact they were eligible for any office—except that of school board. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell says, and the statement has not been challenged, that saloon men were never elected on school boards. The only case in which she remembered that a member of that fraternity served in that capacity was in a small town where the school officials were appointed by the city council. As men were by no means anxious to bring out the woman vote they avoided the nomination of persons who would surely have aroused active opposition.

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It is impossible to tell with any certainty how many of the early women settlers taught school, but it was an amazing per cent. There were many well educated women among them, and the need for teachers was great, and they were the type of women who recognized their civic responsibilities and rose to the occasion. Mrs. Grenfell herself, as little Helen Loring went to school in turn to Mrs. Frank C. Young, Mrs. Hal Sayre and Miss Mary Kirtley, all destined to become social leaders in Colorado's list of the elect, and she herself in turn taught school, which was the obvious profession, and about the only one, open to young women in isolated communities in those early days.

On paper the territory and the state have always intended well by education. In fact, the generous plans frequently failed of realization, and it is to be regretted that women did not accept the rather thin slice offered them, in lieu of full enfranchisement, and make a concerted effort to demonstrate their ability to do constructive work by building up the public school system. Instead, as time went by, private schools were opened here and there to meet special needs. The private school is apt to precede the public school,—it did in Denver—and when the public school comes along to meet the universal need in all communities that have a high standard of culture there will still be private schools to meet special requirements.

From the days when the ecclesiastic was the only person who had any book learning, education and the church have gone hand in hand, and running true to form the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodists were first in the field in Colorado, and the last named was first to stake out an educational claim, never "jumped"

entirely, even when the state itself provided higher education. Stone's *History of Colorado* says:

The first educational charter granted in the history of Colorado was the charter of the Colorado Seminary, given by the territorial legislature, when in session at Golden, on March 5, 1864. The Supreme Court of Colorado in a unanimous decision, certified that "this is the pioneer school of higher learning in this state."

This institution, which was reorganized after twelve years of inactivity, in 1880, as Denver University, has owed much to women. When Governor Evans endowed "The Woman's Chair" Mrs. Evans named it for the then incumbent, "The Mary Lowe Dickinson Chair of Belles-Lettres." In the '80s Mrs. Elizabeth Iliff Warren gave \$100,000 to found a theological school, as a memorial to John Iliff, a staunch Methodist. Later her son and daughter gave generous gifts, and Mrs. Warren bought the present site of the school.

When Father Joseph P. Machebeuf came to Denver he found "perhaps ten Catholic families." His first church "was not plastered and was without windows" for more than a year, and soon after he got the windows he "bought a vacant building, had it moved to the lot beside the church and fitted it up for a day school. He engaged a lady teacher, Miss Steele, who opened the school in the fall of 1863 with a fair number of pupils, some of whom were not Catholics," and opened a correspondence with the Sisters of Loretto in Kentucky. In June the following year four sisters came from that order in Santa Fé and prepared to open a school. "This was the beginning of St. Mary's Academy."

The Sisters of Loretto have continued their devotion to education in Colorado, and at the present time conduct the Loretto Heights College on the outskirts of Denver.

In 1864 the Indians were waging a war of the most horrible description, hoping to deter the incoming of the settlers. When several sisters were sent from Kentucky the stagecoach in which they had taken passage was attacked, and one of them killed. She was buried on the plains, and it proved impossible to remove the body to consecrated ground. Perhaps that kind of martyrdom is consecration enough for any soil.

Wolfe Hall was founded in 1867 by Bishop Randall, one of the great missionary bishops of the Episcopal Church. The land upon which the first building was erected was given by Amos Steck, R. E. Whitsitt, J. B. Cofield and Daniel Witter. It was at Seventeenth and Champa streets, and a rectory for the Bishop was put up beside the school. The first principal was succeeded by his assistant, Mrs. Mary Reichard (nee King), and her two sisters, Anna (Mrs. Calvin W. Marsh) and Edith (Mrs. Louis Dougall) both taught in the school. A fourth sister, Miss Margaret King taught in Georgetown, and subsequently married John D. Best. In 1869 Miss Flora J. Sargent came from Chicago to take charge of the school, and was shortly afterward joined by her sister Eloise. These sisters (Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Lehow) tell us that there were about a hundred pupils, thirty being boarders, day scholars being discouraged in their attendance because "the school was so far out of town." "Little Marcia Moffat (Mrs. J. A. McClurg) was our youngest pupil," says Mrs. Lehow.

After the death of Bishop Randall many changes were made in the school, and Bishop Spalding sold the site that was "too far out" and erected a fine building at East Fourteenth Avenue and Clarkson, incurring, unfortunately, a heavy debt. There had been several changes in management when, at the invitation of Bishop Spalding, Miss Anna L. Wolcott became head of the school in September, 1892. At the close of that school year came the panic of 1893. As Dean Hart puts it, "Prosperity had fluctuated, and the requirements of the school as its efficiency increased, naturally heightened the expenses," and it became impossible to meet the interest upon the debt.

On the other hand, the improved conditions in the school and its constantly rising standards led the school committee of the chapter to feel that by careful financing and a little friendly help it might be tided over its difficulties. A Wolfe Hall association was formed among the very best business men of Denver, most of them staunch churchmen, and a sum of money subscribed which was to be used to meet the interest and more pressing necessities for five

years, during which time the management of the school was to be vested in the association. This was in 1897. At the close of the first year, owing to a division of opinion in the chapter the plan was abandoned.

This led to the establishment, by essentially the same group of business men, of the Wolcott School. They had already expended a fifth of the sum subscribed on Wolfe Hall; but the remainder was given to the new enterprise, of which they were stockholders until bought out by Mrs. Vaile (nee Wolcott) after her withdrawal, which she believed at that time to be final, from the school.

The school was never affiliated officially with any church but it remained always under the wing of the Cathedral, in which parish it was located.

Various organizations began to find it a convenient center for their activities, and meeting with a cordial welcome, presently made it something of a community center. The "Mother's Congress" outgrew the parlors of Mrs. Charles Denison where it held its first meetings, and transferred them to the Wolcott auditorium, where it continued to meet in its new guise as the Parent-Teacher Association. The "Mountain Club," the "Archaeological Society" met there and the auditorium was found ideal for concerts and lectures. The school particularly stressed its character as a preparatory school for girls intending to enter college, and achieved a reputation far beyond the borders of the state, its credits being accepted by leading colleges East and West.

During the years of its existence, from 1898 to 1924 inclusive it was the chosen school of so many Denver girls that its story might be told in the saying of Christopher Wren, "If you seek my monument look about you."

There have been a number of schools started at various times and places of which no records are available. One short-lived Methodist seminary was opened in Pueblo in the late '80s and Pueblo has a somewhat unique little school conducted by the Misses Gulliford, where a great number of Pueblo's elite have received their very early training. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of their school many public spirited Pueblans raised a fund and sent the sisters to England for a brief European trip. Also among the schools

that have an established reputation, is the Colorado Woman's College, conducted by the Baptist Church.

It would be impossible even to list the names of all such undertakings; this partial record is given merely to show that from its territorial days Colorado has been mindful of the requirements of its young people, and that women have had an integral part in the development of its educational system.

Even the most ardent advocate of the public schools will admit that they owe much to the pioneering impulses of private schools. Many an innovation in the public schools has come as the direct result of experimental work done in private schools, the worth of a suggested change having often to be demonstrated at private expense before our wary public authorities are willing to run the risk of the criticism of the taxpayer by its adoption. Many a school board has dismissed a proposed innovation by the fatal word, "fad!" This fact if it needed proof has been demonstrated by a number of special schools now absorbed into the public school.

In the late '80s a small group of women organized the Kindergarten Association, the immediate purpose being to furnish free kindergartens for children whose mothers were employed and had no place to leave them, or for other children whose parents were not able to pay the fee of the private kindergartens. Mrs. N. P. Hill was president of this association, Mrs. Charles E. Dickinson, secretary, and Mrs. John Denison of Montclair was among the most active members. The first kindergarten established was known as The Delgany Street Kindergarten, and for the greater part of that first perilous year, Mrs. A. W. Steele, who had taken kindergartening under Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, was in charge. The work proved too strenuous for her frail health and she gave it up, but it went on, and other kindergartens were established. In the meantime many onsets had been made upon the Denver School Board, but it remained obdurate. Money was needed, in considerable sums, and the Kindergarten Association faced the same crisis that led a certain clergyman to exclaim, "Having tried all honest means to raise money, and in vain, we will now have a bazaar!" A bazaar was decided upon, but it was to be

something new, and with a special appeal for children, so a doll's fair was given, and every woman in, near, or aspiring to Denver's Smart Set dressed a doll. Dolls of ancient lineage, rag dolls, Indian dolls, corn-husk dolls—all sorts and conditions of dolls were there. Miss Anna Louise Johnson, just arrived from the Oswego New York Normal School where she had been trained as a kindergarten director, was taken to see Mrs. Hill. The result of the bazaar was a full treasury and Miss Johnson was asked to take charge of a kindergarten in Montclair, which had its own school board, and was lucky in having N. P. Cochran in the double capacity of mayor of the town and principal of the school, and Miss Johnson was given a free hand. She says that Mrs. John Denison "played the piano for us, helped get the materials, worked every day and was of inestimable service."

Having been vitally interested in education in all its phases in this territory and state, when women were enfranchised, they continued to be interested. Indeed, it was generally conceded in 1893 that the women forestalled the argument to the effect that they would not vote, by turning out and voting all over the state at the school elections. There was no time for propaganda. They seemed moved by a common impulse. In Denver it was the culmination of the long effort to get free kindergartens. Mrs. Ione T. Hanna was nominated and elected to the school board, the first woman in Denver, and presumed to be the first woman in the state to serve in that capacity. The kindergartens were installed, but that was only one service out of many rendered by this noble woman.

When the political parties met in convention in 1894 it was conceded that the women should have the state superintendency of Public Instruction. They did not ask for anything else. They were, and still are, very modest in their demands, and in those days the leaders in the suffrage movement pleaded with them not to seek office, lest it be used as an argument against the enfranchisement of other women. In fact for long years they were continually reminded of the fierce, white light that beats upon any experiment of a fundamental character, and accomplished less than they might had they been left to follow the natural course of events. Mrs. Angenette Peavey of Colorado



UPPER: COLORADO WOMAN'S COLLEGE
MIDDLE: LORETTO HEIGHTS COLLEGE
LOWER: WOLFE HALL, DENVER

Springs, an educated woman, but not an educator in the accepted sense, was nominated on the Republican ticket and elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Two years later she was succeeded by Miss Grace Patton, a teacher in the Agricultural College. She was a Democrat elected on a Fusion ticket. In 1898 Helen Loring Grenfell, who had been county superintendent of Gilpin County, was nominated as a Silver Republican, and served three terms in succession. To her the school children of the state owe an eternal debt. In 1848 Congress granted two sections of land in every township to be known as "school land" and used for the benefit of the schools. There was, roughly stated, three and a half million acres of this land in Colorado or had been, but the simple fact is that it had been bartered away by previous land boards, at nominal prices, regardless of the possibilities of future development under irrigation. Having taught in Boulder county, Mrs. Grenfell had seen the blossoming of the desert. She had seen school land sold at from \$2.50 to \$5.00 an acre and resold at ten times those sums in a few years. As a member of the State Land Board, a position which has since been taken from State Superintendents of Public Instruction, she set herself against the sale of these lands, and insisted on the extension of the leasing system; moreover, she insisted that the money from such leases should be turned into the school fund, where it was immediately available for school work, instead of being paid into the general fund as had been done prior to that time, from the admission of the state. That there might be no further question, she asked for the opinion of the Attorney General, Byron L. Carr, and her position was sustained. Since then these moneys have been credited to the school fund.

Much was made of it at the time, and during her sojourn in England, whither she was sent by the Federal Government as a member of the Labor Commission in 1919, women asked her if she was "the Helen Grenfell who saved the lands for the school children." The exhibit of the School work of Colorado sent by her to the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 received five grand gold medals, twenty gold medals, sixteen silver medals and four bronze medals. An international jury of experts made the awards, and the Chief of the

Department stated that "The Colorado exhibit was one of the most complete and comprehensive among the various states and in many features held the foremost place."

Right here it may be stated that Colorado furnished the only woman commissioner to the St. Louis Exposition. Governor J. H. Peabody appointed Leonel Ross Anthony (Mrs. O'Bryan) as one of the representatives from this state, and she was Chairman of Education and Transportation. The one particular feature of the educational exhibit which she recalls with the greatest pleasure was sending little Lottie Sullivan to St. Louis, with her teacher. Lottie has never achieved the fame of Helen Keller, but she had the same handicaps, and was a wonderful evidence of the excellence of the work done at the State School for the Mute and Blind. She also received a gold medal. Mrs. O'Bryan was Commissioner of Publicity to Greece and afterward to the Balkans during the World War, appointed by H. P. Davison of the Red Cross. Incidentally, the State school mentioned above had the first kindergarten for the blind in the United States.

To Mary C. C. Bradford, who has served six terms as state superintendent belongs the credit of what is known as "The Colorado plan of Standardization," which is being copied all over the nation. It has done great things for Colorado schools by appealing to the pride of communities and school boards, and consists of a standard of requirements which a school must meet in order to be entitled to a tablet bearing the words "Superior" or "Approved" in red and gold or blue and gold lettering respectively, with the words "State of Colorado" above and "Standardized School" below.

For the former the school must register ninety per cent and to rank as "Approved," eighty-five per cent of possible "credits" which are given for heating, lighting, ventilation, cleanliness, site, condition of the school building, grounds and equipment. There must be modern furniture, a library, pictures or statuary, musical facilities, tinted walls and well finished woodwork. There must be a minimum of two hundred cubic feet of air and fifteen square feet of floor space for each pupil, and not less than one acre of play-

ground, with lawn, shrubs, trees, playground apparatus and sanitary conveniences. The school must be a community center and the teacher a leader in the community, and proper lodging must be available for the teacher, who must have a high grade certificate and be paid a good salary, as teachers' salaries go.

While this plan gives credit where it is due, the backward school, or the one hampered by a sparse population and poverty is not singled out for reproof, but rather encouraged to get out of the undesirable class, and a great number have done so since the first "Standardization Day" was observed, February 25, 1917.

This plan originated in Colorado, and Colorado has also worked out a unique method of handling the work done under the Sheppard-Towner act. This is carried on by the "Child Welfare Bureau," which was created through the efforts of the State Board of the Colorado Congress of Parents and Teachers (initiated under Mrs. Fred Dick, President, and enacted under Mrs. H. T. French) with the coöperation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Child Welfare Bureau (now under the able direction of Mrs. Estelle Mathews) is governed by a board of five members appointed by the Governor and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction from a list submitted by the Colorado Congress of Parents and Teachers. Some time after its creation it was designated to take over the Sheppard-Towner work in Colorado. This work is now done by the Child Welfare Bureau with the coöperation of the Colorado Tuberculosis Association, Colorado State Board of Health, State Dental Association, Colorado State Psychopathic Hospital, and the University of Colorado. They conduct clinics all over the state, giving the children in every locality the most careful examination.

Colorado has one other educational achievement that is receiving national and even international recognition. Long years ago, when Emily Griffith was teaching in the dingy old Twenty-fourth Street school, she was impressed with the needs of those who had no time to attend day school. She was given permission to hold a night school—receiving

no extra remuneration, and various public-minded people subscribed small sums from time to time to pay for necessary equipment and expenses. Slowly the idea of the Opportunity School took form, and when Supt. Carlos M. Cole presented it to the school board it was accepted and Miss Griffith was given the means to develop her wonderful plan.

It is hard to write about this school because it changes with occasion, and grows like a bamboo, under one's very eyes. With the passage of the Smith-Hughes act it came under the requirements of the Federal law and receives national assistance. In 1926 there were forty-two departments, and more will be added when there is a demand for them. No "attendance officer" is required for this school. The pupils go in and out all day, from eight in the morning until nine at night. Housekeepers come for lessons in food values and the balanced ration. The foreign-born come to learn English, and what it means to be a good American citizen. Now and then some elderly person comes to see if there is not some way by which he may learn to become self-supporting and so remain self-respecting. Old and young, without distinction as to race, color, condition or sex—any one who wants to may attend the Opportunity School. They teach everything from millinery to acetylene welding, from plumbing to English composition. Nowhere else are there to be seen such eager faces, such concentration, such attention, such anxiety lest one word of the instructor be lost. No wonder all the teachers in this school are devoted and enthusiastic. They do not have to devote half their energy and time to coaxing their classes to study their lessons.

This is the place that demonstrates that Opportunity is no fleeting vision, vanishing like a rainbow, but a wide gate that here is set permanently open. It is a Door of Hope to nearly three thousand girls and boys and men and women, and the number is growing. The plant has been doubled, but it will be doubled again and quadrupled as the years go by, and other schools on the same plan will be established in other sections in Denver and Colorado, and far beyond our borders for this is no experiment, but an actual proof

of what may be done in applied education of every faculty that we possess.

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It is not possible to rehearse the stirring and often dramatic scenes in connection with the gaining of the suffrage by Colorado women. Several years before, the Woman Suffrage association had dropped the word "Woman" and substituted "Equal," suggesting that we were not asking anything but an even political footing. This is only important in its subsequent influence on the suffrage movement elsewhere; the change seems to have generally commended itself.

Now and then someone who took no part in that campaign speaks of the granting of suffrage in this state as if it were a free gift, won without toil and anxiety and heart-burning. This is not true. The women who did the work were relatively few in number and without training or experience, but they were animated by a great purpose, and they had good advisers. Moreover, most of the newspapers of the state supported the cause. There are a few men whose names should be held in grateful remembrance; Judge Bromwell who made the referendum possible without recourse to a constitutional amendment; J. Warner Mills who pointed this out, when other attorneys insisted that an amendment was necessary, and who drew the bill; Representative J. T. Heath who sponsored the bill in the House; Speaker Elias M. Amons who took the floor and forced the bill through when its defeat seemed imminent; Senator C. S. Thomas who got a favorable resolution through a meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee, and A. M. Stevenson and I. N. Stevens who gave invaluable suggestions in the gentle art of corraling voters. Mary and Margaret Patterson and Isabel Hill organized the "Young Women's League," and enlisted a host of brilliant young women who did invaluable service. Equal suffrage was almost fashionable. The honor list of the men and women who served is to be found in the books already mentioned. The officers of the parent association that engineered the fight were Miss Martha A. Pease, President; Mrs. H. S. Stansbury (Ellis Meredith), vice president; Mrs. E. P.

Ensley, treasurer; Mrs. C. A. Bradley, secretary; and Mrs. Louise M. Tyler, chairman of the Executive Committee. There was hardly an outstanding woman in the city who was not found in the ranks of the suffrage workers.

But with all this in its favor, it is probable that the deciding factor was the panic, the distress and hard times that came upon the state in 1893. Workless workingmen have plenty of time to read and think; they were supplied with literature, and while some of them said frankly that they "didn't see what good the vote had done them," they were in a mood to be generous since they "had nothing else to give." At the last an attempt was made to juggle the referendum off the ballot, and had the vote been smaller it might have been "counted out" by processes only too familiar in those days, but the opposition gave up in the face of a six thousand two hundred thirty-seven majority.

Mrs. John L. Routt was the first woman registered, and realizing that the registration of so many women would be a difficult undertaking Governor Waite ordered a house to house canvass to be made for that purpose. The canvass was made by women. One little group, having been told that their "indirect influence" was more powerful than the ballot, with a dark suggestion that the possession of the franchise would in some mysterious way invalidate the influence, determined to put the matter to the test. Denver had only about a hundred and ten thousand population, and most of the ideas for beautifying the city were still unborn, but there were some women who had views on the subject, and they sent a committee to the City Council and asked them to "park" a diagonal street, explaining what "parking" meant to the bewildered city fathers, who consented hastily, lest a worse, or a more expensive thing be asked of them, and Park Avenue stands as the first tangible evidence that the possession of power never decreases "influence."

The second result was much more widespread. Off and on editorials had appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* decrying the wearing of hats in the theatres. Shortly after the election Peter McCourt announced that he thought the enfranchised women should be willing to give evidence of appreciation to the men of the state, and that thereafter

hats would not be tolerated in the theatres under his management. The women acquiesced without a murmur. All over the nation similar rulings and city ordinances to this effect followed.

Another effect, forgotten now, was a sudden demand for books on Civil government and parliamentary law, which sold in numbers hitherto unknown. Women showed a desire to fit themselves for the duties of citizenship almost pathetic when compared to the apathetic attitude of many of their brothers, and, indeed, one of the best things accomplished was that many men, in the words of "Parson Tom" Uzzell, "thanked God and took courage" when all these new, eager voters joined the ranks.

So much has been said in regard to Governor Waite and his part in the suffrage movement that the facts in the case should be stated. In his inaugural address he advocated municipal suffrage for women, which none of them wanted. Also the so-called "Populist" members, who were merely insurgent Democrats and Republicans, voted for the measure in larger numbers than their fellows in the older parties in the legislature, but neither the governor nor any member of his party gave such service as the Republican speaker, Elias Ammons. Waite was mildly in favor of equal suffrage; there is no doubt whatever that he did all he could to capitalize the woman vote in his own behalf, and that immediately after his defeat he denounced woman suffrage as "a failure" and remained of that opinion.

In June, 1894, the National Republican League Clubs held their annual convention in Denver. Everyone knew that a redhot campaign was at hand, and the Republican leaders prevailed on Mrs. Frank Hall to undertake the organization of the women of their party. No better woman could have been found.

Anna Marshall Cochran and Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford organized a Democratic club, of which Mrs. Thomas Macon was president and Mrs. Mary Holland Kinkaid, treasurer. Mrs. Cochran was secretary and it was her difficult and delicate task to get in touch with party leaders, and arrange meetings for Mrs. Bradford, who went from county to county, drawing the factions into which the party had been

split in 1892 together, that they might face the foe with a united front.

That first campaign was memorable. It seemed as if all the fears often expressed concerning the partisanship of women were about to be realized, but when it was over and the legislature met every party line was obliterated, so far as the women were concerned. The legislation the women wanted had no party significance. Committees of women were made up almost without regard to party. Of the members of the legislature who were holdovers from the preceding assembly, or reelected, those who had been friendly to the suffrage bill were counted as friends and coworkers. There was little disposition to take reprisals, and women had a faith in their newly acquired powers that was almost as touching as it was engaging. The first lesson they were to learn, and it took several sessions to drive it home, was that they were to have great difficulty in effecting any kind of political reform. Much was conceded to them in humanitarian legislation, but the majority of the members of the legislature wanted no interference in what they regarded as the mechanics of party management. They shuddered at the calm way in which women regarded the Australian ballot and when Mrs. John L. Routt, at the head of a committee of women made up from all parties, presented a resolution signed by the officers of more than a hundred and fifty suffrage clubs from all over the state, asking for a constitutional amendment granting the Initiative and Referendum, their alarm was past concealment. Had any single political group of women done this they would have understood it, but that women identified with all parties, and all sections of the state should unite was almost as portentous as it was amazing. That the women should demand equal guardianship of their children was natural and proper. That they should suggest that the emblems be removed from the ballots filled the minds of the men, also regardless of party, with the direst apprehension.

This experience appears to be fairly universal in the growth of the suffrage movement, and with the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, the situation has not changed, save that in the states where men enfranchised women of their own free will, they had rather more of the

spirit of coöperation than is yet apparent in regions where the franchise came by Federal action, and against the expressed wishes of the existing electorate. Men felt that they had been generous in Colorado, but some of them resented it when the women expected them to be just also. Certainly they had no intention of allowing women to "tinker" with the political machine. They tried to make it clear that women were welcome to occupy the pleasant "parlor" cars, but under no circumstances would they be permitted to suggest destinations to the engineers or investigate the running-gear. There was an unconscious unanimity in this attitude that probably accounts very largely for the way in which women, also unconsciously, have continued to work together. In all these long years never once have the women of either party had a bill introduced that could be considered a "party measure" by any stretch of the imagination. As time went on and the party affiliations of women became known, men in the legislature often found it confusing.

This is not saying that women agree on policies or legislation on all points; far from it, but in their legislative work they voice their agreements collectively and their differences individually. This solidarity of action has given them more power than they realize. The majority rules, but it does not muzzle even the smallest minority.

But in 1895 women had much to learn—not the least important lesson being that failure is sometimes even more instructive than success. What they asked in the way of protective legislation they got—in the main. The Equal guardianship bill passed without opposition; the "Age of Consent" bill, introduced by Carrie Clyde Holly of Pueblo was passed after a hard fight; a bill for an industrial school for girls was passed, but found unconstitutional. It had been introduced by Frances Klock, of Denver. The other woman member of that Assembly was Clara Cressingham, also of Denver. All three were Republicans. Senate Bill No. 1 (Senator Merritt) was for a State Home for Dependent Children. There was a certain relation between these two bills, sponsored by women, which is too long to be more than suggested here.

When the State Industrial School was first created both

boys and girls were sent there; it is unnecessary to say that this worked badly, and when the entire school was needed for boys, there were so few "incorrigible" girls that no appropriation was made for an institution for them. But Denver was growing, and it had a "Red Light District" where vice, like the virtue of the Garden of Eden, was "naked and unashamed." With the ruin brought by the panic of ninety-three "reform" took on attractions for erring women, and wayward girls, and the need for some place of refuge led to the creation of the Crittenton Home, of which Anna Marshall Cochran was the moving spirit. When there is repentance the problem of salvage is still difficult enough. When "the wayward and the lost, by earth's wild passions tossed" refuse to lay hold on the life-line they become a menace to the community. Other cities had their problems as well as Denver, and various counties made contracts with The House of the Good Shepherd and placed recalcitrant girls in that establishment; sometimes they put children there also for safe-keeping. The state is forbidden by the constitution to make any appropriation to sectarian institutions, but the counties adopted this evasion as the easiest way out of their troubles, and for a time it worked fairly well.

There were divergencies of opinion as to the women and girls but so far as the children were concerned there were none. They must be cared for. Mrs. E. M. Ashley went about pleading their cause wherever women were gathered together; the club movement was only beginning to get under way but every church had its "Ladies' Aid" or "Guild" or similar auxiliary. Anna Marshall Cochran did the "publicity," which in those days consisted in enlisting newspaper support, and keeping friendly journals informed. She also spent much time in the legislature. Finally, the question was put up to these two women, whether they would take the bill with an appropriation of but \$10,000 for the biennial period or let it lapse and hope for better success the following legislature. They took the small bird in the hand, and began with a poorly equipped building and an underpaid force. Most of the time the board of control has had four women and but one man; the majority has always been made up of women. No charge of extrava-

gance in its management has ever been made. There have doubtless been differences of opinion on the board but no dissensions. It has acquired property and buildings and changed its directors—at rare intervals. Colorado women have a right to be proud of the first institution erected at their instance.

Whatever the "State Home" failed to furnish in the way of newspaper notoriety was amply made up by the stormy history of the early days of the Girls' Industrial School. After the legislature failed to act, a group of men and women decided that something must be done, and that sufficient authority existed under the old act creating the Boys' Industrial School to warrant them in going ahead; and Governor A. W. McIntyre appointed a board of control, a place was secured to house the girls and a start was made. There is much for civilization to learn concerning the treatment of the delinquent and the criminal, but the situation was grave and there is nothing so daring as the courage of ignorance. A great many people still labor under the delusion that badness is only the seamy side of virtue, and given a chance vice will hasten to repent and cease to do evil. The "Crittenton" work had convinced a few women that restrictive measures were necessary in many cases. The Ministerial Alliance appointed a committee at the request of Mrs. Cochran and with her they took up the subject with Governor McIntyre. Long years afterward one of that committee wrote her: "While others became interested, I have always felt that the school owes its existence to your initiative and persistence in getting it started." She refused to serve on the board herself, but suggested most of those who were appointed. Mrs. Klock, who had sponsored the bill in the legislature, was made chairman.

The girls in the House of the Good Shepherd were taken over and girls held in various counties were brought to Denver and the "School" started, without any equipment to teach anything or even to supply employment. The result was disastrous. There were riots and escapes and trouble of every conceivable variety. It did not cease until several boards and superintendents had given up in despair. Finally, Governor Adams appointed a new board, Miss Blanche Deleplaine, Dr. Minnie C. T. Love, John Gabriel

and Robert Golder being the members, and they rented some cottages in Aurora, had a stockade built around them to keep out the prying and employed Sarah Irish as superintendent and peace reigned. Later Izetta George was added to this board, and in 1900 they leased the place subsequently bought by the state, where the present Girls' Industrial School is located. There was one more insurrection, which was ended largely through the insistence of Mrs. Henry Van Kleeck that the state should employ a woman who had training and experience in dealing with wayward girls. This was the second state institution erected at the instance of the women, and they raised the funds to start the work, afterwards taken over by the state.

"The Industrial Workshop for the Blind" is credited to the efforts of Colorado Association of the Adult Blind, but The Woman's Club of Denver had at least a part in its establishment. The beginning was small enough, with teachers paid to go from house to house and teach the blind to read and to make simple articles. Colorado has more than its due share of adult blind on account of its mining operations, and when the blind themselves demonstrated that they could be useful citizens if given the necessary training, the state took over the undertaking which had been successfully carried on for several years by Denver people.

Almost as soon as it was created the State Board of Charities and Corrections advocated the establishment of a Home and Training School for juvenile defectives. With citizenship the women began to make special investigations and found that the need for such an institution was imperative. It took them a long time to convince a legislature that one of the most expensive economies in the world is that which leaves feeble-minded persons at large. It was not until 1909 that a bill creating such a school was passed, and three years later it was opened on a farm of three hundred twenty acres near Ridge, Colorado. Another "Home for Mental Defectives" has since been established near Grand Junction; children between the ages of five and twenty are admitted by court action.

There is one other institution, differing from all the others in that it has no buildings—only an office in the State



UPPER: COLORADO SPRINGS. LOWER: PUEBLO

House—that is very dear to the hearts of the women of this commonwealth, and that is the State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection. It was created by act of the Thirteenth General Assembly in 1901, and since its inception women have worked with it, recognizing its immense value as a moral and economic agent. About sixty per cent of the children rescued from wretched surroundings and sent to the State Home are sent there through this agency. Live-stock on many a range, horses snowed in and starving to death, injured animals—whatever is defenseless and in want has found friends among the volunteer officers of this department. The number increases as the years go on. In 1926 there are nearly two thousand of these volunteers, and about a quarter of them are women. From the time when the state took over the work of the Humane Society, E. K. Whitehead has been in charge and no one can estimate the saving in dollars and cents, let alone the greater value of human lives, that has been accomplished through this philanthropy.

In the Eleventh General Assembly there were three members. Evangeline Hartz, who was regarded as the special representative of labor, Mrs. Olive Butler and Mrs. M. A. B. Conine who were nominated by the Silver Republicans and elected on a fusion ticket. Mrs. Conine was regarded as preeminently the candidate of the women, being a prominent member of the Woman's Club, and specially interested in the measure advocated by the women.

We have already referred to the emblems on the ballots. Mrs. Frank Hall tells how Governor C. S. Thomas came down to a meeting of the women who were trying to get the bill through which took the menagerie of eagles, roosters, pigeons, flags, cottages, water plugs and rabbits off the ballot. The bill provided that the voter might continue to vote a straight ticket by writing the name of his party in a blank space at the top of the ballot, or so much of the name as should make the meaning clear. When the Governor arrived he went much further, and said that we ought to have the real Australian ballot, with no designation whatever; if the voter was not able to read and write well enough to find his candidates he should be disfranchised until he could do so. This delighted the women, but when the bill

came before him for signature perfectly good politicians from his own and the opposition party told him he was going to bring ruin upon them, and begged and pled with him to veto the bill. Learning of this the women who had been watching the course of the measure were much perturbed, but not Mrs. Hall. She appointed a committee. "Go up to the Governor's office," she said. "He will sign that bill; stay there until he does and then bring me the pen!" Later finding that "since the women vote the tickets are all scratched up anyhow," another assembly removed the party designation, and later still they prohibited giving any assistance to voters save for total physical disability.

It was Mrs. Hall who organized the Civic Federation, which played a dramatic part in Denver's politics for several elections. She asked a politician of the "Machine" variety to "come and tell us how you run a campaign—then we will beat you!" and they did. For five years party ties were very loose in Colorado, for three reasons; in their first campaign the women had gone into their parties, and the results had not been satisfactory. It was in 1895 that the Republican women served notice that there were certain reforms which they intended to have—"In the Party if we can—out of the Party if we must." In 1896 the financial issue dominated everything else in Colorado, and party lines were forgotten. And last, but not least, the club movement was teaching women team work with unprecedented rapidity.

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It was not until 1902 that party regularity was again established, and in 1904 both the Republican and Democratic parties declared in favor of the election of precinct committeewomen at the same time and place and in the same manner as committeemen. That was the beginning of actual, intensive organization of party committees all over the state, and when the primary law was passed in 1910 it provided that these officials should have their names on the ballot and be regularly elected. That year also, for the first time in its history, Denver elected a woman official on its city ticket. (Ellis Meredith was chosen election commissioner.) There had been women elected to county offices in various parts of the state, but none in the City of Denver. Two years later Mrs. Lucy Harrington was elected Recorder

and Mrs. Honora Macpherson, Superintendent of Schools, a somewhat anomalous liaison officer between the "County of Denver" and the state and sister counties. These are the only elective offices held by women up to 1926, but many women have done fine work in appointive offices.

Helen Ring Robinson and Agnes Riddle are the only women who have served in the senate. Over the state women have been elected to many county and a few city offices. Mrs. Laura Holtschneider was elected alderman in Buena Vista shortly after women were enfranchised, and Mrs. Jane Pettipier has the distinction of having been Denver's only feminine deputy sheriff, while Miss Lola Anderson was a deputy United States marshal, under Marshal Samuel Burris for six years, a position in which "she proved herself highly resourceful and courageous on many occasions." Mrs. Ina R. Thompson, who was Republican vice chairman of the State Central Committee in 1904-06, was appointed cashier of the Denver Post Office, the first woman in the country to hold such a position in a post office of the first class. Colorado's first jury composed entirely of women served in December, 1907. The question was whether a certain lady should pay a man dressmaker for a gown, and the women gave the man the verdict. It has been decided that a constitutional amendment is necessary to give women the right to serve on juries, and so far (1926) such an amendment has not been passed. This is one respect in which many other states, where the franchise is a much later acquisition, have outdistanced Colorado.

When it became evident that the Nineteenth Amendment would be passed very shortly, the Democratic National Committee adopted a resolution in January, 1918, creating the office of National Committeewoman; these women to be appointed, until the states could act for themselves, by the National Committeemen. The first woman in the United States to receive such an appointment was Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee of Weld county. The Republican National Committee organized in a somewhat different way at first, but presently doubled its National organization, Mrs. Anna Wolcott Vaile being Colorado's first Republican National committeewoman. Both parties have recommended what is

known as "The Colorado Plan" of organization—that there shall be a committeewoman wherever there is a committeeman—to the various states, where it has been adopted, or modified in accordance with local conditions.

When the first charter convention was elected in 1903 three women were among its members, all of them from the Woman's Club of Denver, which had sent delegates to a mass convention which had taken the initiative in trying to secure coöperation of all the societies in the city, interested in civic affairs. These women were Mrs. A. M. Welles, Mrs. Helen Belford and Ellis Meredith. Mrs. Belford was nominated as a Democrat; the other women by the mass convention, which invited the old parties to send in nominations. This charter was defeated—by frauds, now admitted. In the second convention, Mrs. Alice Polk Hill, a prominent Republican, was elected.

Good candidates have been elected and bad ones defeated many times by the woman vote, and the same thing is true of many legislative measures. But women are especially liable to be deceived by what William Allen calls "the goodness fallacy," which is the erroneous idea that a "good" man will also be a good executive. Unfortunately personal morality does not have as an inevitable corollary administrative ability of a high order, and some apparent victories have turned out miserable failures.

The Juvenile Court bills had the endorsement of the women when the court was first established, and there is no doubt whatever that Judge Lindsay has owed his elections to their vote.

If they look back with regret to some of their earlier successes, and feel that they are not maintaining the record made in the first years of their enfranchisement, it is to be remembered that all the "easy" legislation was secured long ago. The women of Virginia secured the passage of eighteen bills through the first legislature meeting after their enfranchisement, but they had arrears of a hundred and fifty years to make up; they will probably never equal that record again.

No one can tell how much the woman movement owes to that great Mother of Clubs, the Chicago Woman's Club. When Mrs. Charles Denison came to Denver in 1881 she

brought with her pleasant memories of association with the women of this organization. Why not a club in Denver? It was more difficult than she had expected. Women were timid; the name frightened them and the possibilities and uncertainties of such an undertaking filled them with trepidation. However, in April, 1881, ten brave souls set out upon this uncharted sea, under the name of "The Fortnightly Club." These things seem to be in the air, for at almost exactly the same time the Monday Club was organized, and that summer the Durango women also launched a similar undertaking. These were small, limited clubs, devoted to self-improvement and literary pursuits. Nearly every one of the charter members of the Fortnightly achieved distinction in one field or another. With the memories of the Chicago club as a background Mrs. Denison shepherded and encouraged the women for a year or so, and presently the club flourished and reached the limit set for its membership. Mrs. J. F. Brown who has done so much to inculcate an appreciation of art, whose gallery has been opened to the public again and again and has come as near being a *salon* as anything in the state, was one of the charter members.

When "Sorosis" sent out its invitation to the few clubs scattered from Maine to California the "Fortnightly" and the "Boulder Literary Club" were asked to send delegates, and Mrs. Kate Gray Halleck attended that first memorable meeting in New York City, in March, 1889, and cast Colorado's vote for the General Federation. This club entered the Federation the following year.

The idea of a big, unlimited department club, on the lines laid down by the Chicago club, came from Mrs. Denison and eleven of the eighteen first directors of the Denver Woman's Club were Fortnightly women. Indeed, there was a strong disposition to make Mrs. Denison president of the new club, she being a much older resident of Denver, but she refused the honor and insisted that it be given to Mrs. Sarah S. Platt (Decker). Nothing more important for the women of Denver occurred in the decade from 1894 to 1904, than the organization of the Woman's Club in 1894. It afforded a forum and a clearing house for

women's activities as well as a training school for the new duties they were called on to discharge.

In the preface to a pamphlet gotten out by the club in 1900 Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker wrote:

The Woman's Club did very little practical work for nearly three years. An organization of this kind must first obtain the confidence of the community by conservative methods, the members must become familiar with each other and with their respective departments, and, above all, careful study and research must be made into the needs of the community in which such a body desires to work. It is better to theorize a year too long than to start into work and fail.

It is safe to assume that the clubs, which sprang up elsewhere, like those in Denver began with the work most familiar to women—philanthropy and education, and in all humility they set out to learn what conditions were, that they might supplement lacks rather than attempt reformative processes, which are always sure to provoke opposition. Just as the private school had demonstrated the desirability of certain innovations, so the women's clubs showed what might be done with very little money carefully expended. The various "Art" departments, or clubs, did not lecture the school boards on the uninspiring character of bare walls, but bought beautiful pictures and hung them where they would be a constant source of pleasure to pupils and teachers. Frances Jacobs, who deserves to be remembered as the mother of the Associated Charities idea, once said she "never went anywhere where food was needed that soap was not needed worse." The clubwomen found much the same condition, and installed sewing classes and "Kitchen Gardens," which boys clamored to attend, saying girls had a chance to learn housework at home, but they had none, and didn't know how to cook or make a fire—for this was before the day of Scouts. They found poverty and taught the planting of gardens, and established a free employment bureau that took the "Down and Out" of either sex, and lifted them up and brought them in to hope and cheer. They found boys and girls struggling with poverty that compelled them to labor and kept them in ignorance and they started night schools, and day classes for those employed in the stores. They found sickness and estab-

lished a Free Dispensary. They found a lack of reading rooms, and established them, and for years they sent the Traveling Library Boxes hither and yon over the state. Then the state itself agreed to take this work over, as various cities and towns have taken over many of these other undertakings, and the bill that made this possible, provided that the officers of the State Federation of Women's Clubs should send in a list of names acceptable to them, from which the governor must make his appointments.

Most of our ill winds blow some blessings toward us, and the hard times that beset Colorado during the early part of the nineties compelled club women to make their own programs. In the East the speakers are usually paid professionals, and while that is doubtless more profitable in many cases, the necessity that set women to studying and thinking for themselves, and discussing what they studied is mainly responsible for the development of dozens and dozens of women into easy presiding officers and fluent speakers. In working for the franchise women worked for themselves, but with the clubs came the realization that now they were to work for each other and the community, and here was a great educational plan, by means of which they were to learn to work together. They discovered that they had leaders, and some of them were great leaders. The Woman's Club of Denver lost Mrs. Conine, Mrs. A. M. Welles and Mrs. Decker in three consecutive years; small wonder if it has never quite rallied from the shock. To read the names of the women who made up those various boards of directors is to read the list of the women who were in the van of almost every good work done in the City of Denver, during the two decades that followed its founding. It was the clubs that prevailed upon reluctant librarians to try what seemed the dangerous experiment of the "open shelf," now in almost universal use, and again it was the clubs that asked for books for the blind, and it was the "South Side Extension" of the Art and Literature department that established and carried on the South Side Library, now the Sarah Platt Decker branch. If the work of the Denver clubs is cited instead of that of other cities, it is because its records have been preserved and are available, but also because it is typical. It took the Chicago Woman's Club,

the pioneer, and still the greatest of all the clubs in the scope of its undertakings, as its pattern, and in the same way many clubs in Colorado have followed the lead of this club of the capital city. The "Tuesday Evening Club of Salida" has built and equipped a beautiful library building where it holds its meetings, and which is a real community center in that busy town. The library of Craig began with the vision of Rosetta Webb McKinney and three books. The club women got interested, a site was purchased, and friends contributed a few books; they raised a little money and bought a few more, and congratulated themselves when they were able to display the first unabridged dictionary in their county.

Like the wise woman in the Proverbs, they considered a plot of ground and bought it; the idea was to have a memorial park for World War veterans. It cost \$3,000 and was a big undertaking, but they raffled an automobile and made \$500; they had suppers and dinners and rummage sales. They set aside eight acres for a tourist camp and made \$400 on rents, and they have practically discharged the debt. They have not yet built a library building, but the Woman's Civic Improvement Club of Craig certainly deserves to rank high for courage and good work, well done.

The Meeker library, established in the old log cabin that was once Ft. Meeker was lucky in having the services of a trained librarian from its inception and is said to be one of the best libraries, in point of selection and cataloging of any in the state.

But there are so many that to name any lays one open to the charge of invidious distinctions, and every year the list grows longer.

Victor Hugo said the greatest discovery of the Nineteenth Century was the discovery of woman—by herself. The state Federation of Women's Clubs helped the process amazingly, and it began with a relatively small number of clubs in 1895, and grew by leaps and out of all bounds. Mrs. E. M. Ashley was the first president, and Mrs. M. D. Thatcher of Pueblo the second. It was during her term of office that the Colorado Federation entertained the General Federation of Women's Clubs at a brilliant convocation in Denver, everyone having a tacit understanding that

"Woman Suffrage," as yet considered a dangerous subject, if not one to be openly disapproved, was not to be mentioned unless the visitor brought up the topic, but as nobody warned the Governor of the State, Alva Adams, that suffrage was considered even more objectionable than politics and politics was taboo, he went right ahead and made a first-class suffrage address of welcome! And it didn't seem to throw any damper over the festivities. That biennial was a great thing for the Colorado women and possibly it was beneficial to the visitors. At any rate, six years later the biennial convention elected Sarah Platt Decker president of the General Federation, and in 1924 and 1926 they chose Mary King Sherman of Estes Park, Colorado, as their leader.

The Federation brought closer ties between the club women, and they listened eagerly to reports of work done, work so new and so full of suggestions that in those days reports were as interesting as any part of the conventions. They were a moving picture of achievement. Mrs. James H. Baker of Boulder was elected president in 1898, and Mrs. T. M. Harding of Canon City in 1902, and to speak of Mrs. Harding is to think of the scholarship work which was inaugurated in that year. When Mary C. C. Bradford of Denver was elected in 1904 Mrs. Harding was made chairman of the Scholarship Fund committee, this work being, in the words of one of our Congressmen, "The biggest little philanthropy I know anything about." The fund has grown steadily. Every dollar contributed has been loaned over and over again, and almost every dollar has come back, sometimes bringing a thank offering from the girl who has become a successful teacher or business woman through the training she received, thanks to the aid of Federation.

The other outstanding undertakings of the Federation are the Traveling Library and the legislative work. Beside the traveling library there was also a traveling picture gallery; this was the special work of Mrs. C. A. Jacobson, who gathered and mounted many of the pictures which were sent on request, just as the library boxes were sent.

Mrs. A. M. Welles had charge of the library boxes until her death, when Mrs. W. K. Galloway, a most worthy suc-

cessor, took up the work and carried on, in spite of discouragements, reduced appropriations and administrative indifference. As the libraries grow in number this work may change its nature, but for long years to come, while there are remote ranches and little mining towns it will be needed, as is evidenced by the many calls made upon the Commission for books and yet more books.

Until her death Mrs. Martha A. B. Conine was chairman of the legislative committee of the Federation, and she was a most devoted and capable official. Her experience as a legislator gave her an advantage in many ways that no other chairman has possessed, and her interest never flagged. She always had the ideal since achieved by the Federation, of a Legislative Council, every federated club being entitled to send delegates in proportion to its membership, which makes it a more dignified and powerful body than the original committee. The Council meets twice a month during the club year in the pleasant auditorium of the State Museum building, and during sessions of the legislature it meets weekly. Bills are discussed, and measures that are to be voted on at the general election have a fair hearing, proponents and opponents being given the opportunity to voice their views.

A very excellent and comprehensive "Outline of Legislation in Colorado" was compiled and published by this council in 1920. Colorado has been at the forefront in progressive and protective legislation, especially on behalf of women and children for many years.

The presidents of the State Federation not already named were Mrs. Isabella Churchill of Greeley; Mrs. J. D. Whitmore of Denver; Mrs. H. L. Hollister of Pueblo; Mrs. A. H. McLain of Canon City; Mrs. P. J. McHugh of Fort Collins; Mrs. W. R. Garretson, Denver; Mrs. Adam Weiss, Del Norte; Mrs. C. H. Jacobson, Denver; Mrs. L. A. Miller, Colorado Springs; Mrs. T. A. McHarg, Boulder; Mrs. H. M. Munroe, Denver; Mrs. M. H. Velhagen, Alamosa, and Mrs. Nora Barnett Wright of Denver. Each served a two-year term, save Mrs. Munroe, whose untimely death brought the presidency to the Vice-President, Mrs. Velhagen.

Colorado has been "first in war" three times. In the Civil War it sent more men, according to its population, than any other state to the defense of the union, and it was

but a territory. In the Spanish-American War its color bearer was first over the top in the taking of Manila, but what is not so generally known is that Colorado opened the door that admitted women nurses to the Philippines. Dr. Rose Kidd Beere, who had served as the second superintendent of the Children's Home, went to San Francisco, armed with letters from Governor Adams and ex-Governor McIntyre to General Merriam, in command of the Division of the Pacific. Perhaps it was because of pleasant memories of Ft. Logan and Colorado hospitality, perhaps it was because Doctor Beere was the daughter of a regular army officer, but whatever it was, she was the first woman to be commissioned to go to the Philippines, and having commissioned her, General Merriam extended the same courtesy to six California women, who hailed her as leader, made her welcome at their headquarters and coöperated with her in every way; two Oregon women went also, and all of them did much good service at the Oriental front. The Colorado Springs Red Cross, and Mrs. C. S. Eldredge in particular, stood back of her with supplies and financial support.

During the days when illy-equipped soldiers were being sent West through Denver, Mrs. Decker and a corps of assistants met every train with what comforts they could command, and plentiful supplies of food and steaming canteens of coffee.

Need it be said that when the Government went into the Great War Colorado met her quota long before the Selective Service act was passed, and that while other soldiers drilled in civilian clothes, the Colorado boys went away to Camps Kearney and Funston in proper regimentals.

All this splendid story is told so fully in the chapter devoted to "Colorado in the Nation's Wars," that there is no excuse for more than the barest mention here, but no story of the work of Colorado women would be complete without some small tribute to the enthusiastic response of the women in the nation's hour of need. When the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense was appointed, April 21, 1917, the states began immediately to appoint committees to carry on the work locally. In Colorado, Governor Julius C. Gunter appointed a very large committee of which Mrs. W. H. Kistler was the chairman,

the work being delegated to thirteen committees, of which the most important were those of organization, Mrs. C. H. Jacobson, chairman, and finance with Mrs. Harold B. Kountze, as chairman, because they had to prepare the way for all the others. Eighty-nine women served on these committees, thousands and thousands of women filled out the registration cards that put their services at the disposal of the committee. Mrs. James H. Baker was chairman of the work in the city and county of Denver, and it is not too much to say in her case and that of Mrs. Thomas Keeley that their devotion was even unto death.

Feeling that the names of the women in every county of the state who served in positions of responsibility in the county councils should be preserved they are appended hereto.

CHAIRMEN OF COUNTY COUNCILS

Adams	Mrs. J. M. Counter	Brighton
Alamosa	Mrs. Wm. Graham	Alamosa
Arapahoe	Mrs. Wm. Dobbin	Englewood
Archuleta	Mrs. Wm. E. Furrow	Pagosa Spgs.
Baca	Mrs. Ida Young	Two Buttes
Bent	Mrs. J. R. Gaines	Las Animas
Boulder	Mrs. C. I. Binford	
Chaffee	Mrs. Rose W. Ridgway	Salida
Cheyenne	Mrs. Alfred Parker	Kit Carson
Clear Creek	Mrs. Frank Graham	Georgetown
Conejos	Mrs. Fred Warshauer	Antonita
Costilla	Mrs. F. B. Webster	San Luis
Crowley	Mrs. Wm. Broadbent	Ordway
Custer	Mrs. E. T. Wadleigh	Westcliffe
Delta	Mrs. John Hillman	Delta
Denver	Mrs. J. H. Baker	
Dolores	Mrs. C. W. Rohde	Rico
Douglas	Mrs. Maude Haskins	Castle Rock
Eagle	Mrs. B. A. Hart	Red Cliff
Elbert	Mrs. Sharold Adams	Elbert
El Paso	Mrs. Inez Johnson Lewis	Colo. Spgs.
Fremont	Mrs. T. M. Harding	Canon City
Garfield	Mrs. C. H. King	Glenwood Springs
Gilpin	Mrs. Alice Fullerton	Central City
Grand	Mrs. S. J. Button	Sulphur Springs
Gunnison	Mrs. Margaret W. O'Leary	Gunnison
Hinsdale	Mrs. H. A. Avery	Lake City
Huerfano	Mrs. August Unfug	Walsenburg
Jackson	Mrs. W. H. Slee	Walden

Jefferson	Mrs. A. H. Barth	Arvada
Kiowa	Miss Elsie Chambers	Haswell
Kit Carson	Mrs. Roy Winger	Flagler
Lake	Mrs. W. T. Harrington	Leadville
La Plata	Mrs. E. D. Smith	Durango
Larimer	Mrs. M. M. St. Clair	Ft. Collins
Las Animas	Mrs. W. P. Dunleavy	Trinidad
Lincoln	Mrs. C. H. Douglas	Genoa
Logan	Mrs. G. A. Henderson	Sterling
Mesa	Miss Merle McClintock	Grand Jet.
Mineral	Mrs. Clemens Wells	Creede
Moffat	Mrs. R. A. Breeze	Craig
Montezuma	Mrs. Ella Ausburn	Mancos
Montrose	Mrs. Fred Schermerhorn	Montrose
Morgan	Kate M. Clatworthy	Ft. Morgan
Otero	Mrs. John Harbert	Manzanola
Ouray	Mrs. Minnie W. Nolen	Ouray
Park	Mrs. Charles Aicher	Alma
Phillips	Mrs. A. J. Justice	Holyoke
Pitkin	Mrs. P. T. W. Doolittle	Aspen
Prowers	Mrs. W. S. Partridge	Holly
Pueblo	Mrs. R. C. Robe	Pueblo
Rio Blanco	Mrs. J. A. Pierce	Meeker
Rio Grande	Mrs. Adam Weiss	Del Norte
Routt	Mrs. W. A. McKinley	Steamboat Spgs.
Saguache	Mrs. C. S. Coleman	Saguache
San Juan	Mrs. Mary B. Hodges	Silverton
San Miguel	Mrs. J. M. Woy	Telluride
Sedgwick	Mrs. Ella W. Babcock	Julesburg
Summit	Mrs. J. A. Traylor	Breckenridge
Teller	Mrs. W. W. Black	Cripple Creek
Washington	Mrs. Rose E. Bachman	Akron
Weld	Mrs. Charles H. Tew	Greeley
Yuma	Mrs. Edith M. Finch	Idalia

When Fitzsimons General Hospital was located near Denver the little group of "War Mothers" there found that even the most devoted "mothering" a stranger can give, does not satisfy a homesick boy. Then a great idea came to Mrs. Rebecca A. Peek, a Denver War Mother; she talked it over with the local chapter, and having no money for so ambitious an undertaking they decided to present it to the national organization, which thought well of it. All over the country War Mothers heard of the "War Mothers Home" to be built across from the great hospital near Denver, where five acres of ground has been secured, with

a house that is used as an administration building. It is being furnished by Chapters in other states. Indiana and Illinois were among the first states to do their part, and as funds are received it is intended to extend this modest beginning to meet the needs of visiting mothers, and convalescent boys, glad to get away from the hospital atmosphere.

This latest of Colorado philanthropies is so new that one does not like to indulge in prophecy, or go into detail because anything published now will be entirely inadequate and inaccurate within a few months. It is enough to tell of the plan, now being pressed by Mrs. S. E. Barlow, president of the Denver Chapter and by the officers of the national association. Doubtless similar work will be undertaken elsewhere, but the first such home has been opened in Colorado, and once more it is a Colorado woman's idea that is given to the country.

And speaking of prophecy one harks back to Denver's first Day Nursery, and her first kindergarten, begun so humbly, with such cramped and dingy quarters, such scant supplies, such inadequate equipment. It is a far cry from those first Delgany Street institutions to the wonderful Marjory Reed Mayo establishment at Lawrence and Twenty-eighth streets. The wildest dream of the most visionary of the women who began this type of work in Denver would never have pictured such exquisite perfection. If the Red Queens of Denver's early day philanthropies had sat down to "imagine six impossible things before breakfast," and could revisit the scenes of their early activities they would find that this Community Center and the Children's Hospital discount their very best efforts in castle building.

The latter association was incorporated May 2, 1908, and received its first substantial aid when the *Denver Post* conducted a campaign which resulted in raising more than \$7,000; the second was \$5,000 to endow a free bed in the name of Dorothy C. and Helen C. Phipps. The hospital, from the first, has been open to all "children from birth to sixteen years of age, irrespective of sex, creed, color or nationality," and they have come from all over the state. Not the least valuable contribution which this hospital is making is the fact that it gives a special opportunity for

nurses and physicians who wish to specialize in the care and treatment of children. Among its nurses and internes there are always women from other Colorado towns. For a good many years the hospital had the usual experience of having to cut its garment according to its cloth, and then—a generous woman turned a Christmas present into “a dream come true” and consecrated women who had carried this work along in the face of discouragement and calls constantly in excess of their funds, discovered what it is like to have a real Fairy Godmother, whose wand materializes Spanish castles. Agnes Reid Tammen, with no children of her own, built a sheltering wing for many little ones, and in this section of the hospital the beds are free. With the death of Harry H. Tammen, and in accordance with his wish, a trust for the hospital was created, so that it has the income from two million dollars with which to carry on and extend its gracious work. Here also, everything that could be imagined by the most loving mother has been provided for these little ones.

And by way of adding a third vision, so fine that it would have seemed impossible fifty years ago, consider the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Young Men’s Christian Association in Pueblo. First one has to take liberties with the title, for it is not limited to the young, nor to men and boys, nor to Christians. It is a great Association, with a magnificent plant where everybody in the neighborhood goes for whatever is needed—education, entertainment, gymnastics, swimming pools, friendship—girls and boys, men and women, every hour of the day something is going on somewhere under its commodious roof, and it is a something that makes for better citizenship, and a happier community.

The Junior League is a national organization, each local branch choosing its own line of work. In Denver the fine young women who make up this society looked about them for something that would not be a duplication of work already being done. As a result in January, 1923, they undertook to finance a “Preventorium,” which is really a get-well-quick home for ailing children. They have a place so far out of town that it has the advantages of the country, and near enough in to have the conveniences of a city.

There they take little folks under ten years of age and try what ideal conditions will do to restore them to health. According to medical statistics the children should gain at the rate of seven pounds a month, but these fortunate youngsters have averaged eleven pounds. They have a Gift Shop which helps to provide funds, and resort to various methods familiar to all women who have pet charities to maintain. It is a departure in relief work and one that wins friends wherever it is presented.

The story of philanthropy in this state calls for a chapter, or even a book of its own. The list is so long and so enticing, and so illustrative of the interests nearest to the hearts of women, that we dare not pursue it further, for already this chapter has grown too long.

If we have said nothing of women in the learned professions it is because there are sections of this history that tell of the development of bench and bar, the science of medicine, the contribution of the churches, and of art and literature. The first woman to practice law in Denver was Miss Mary Lathrop, eminent in her profession and an authority on probate law. The first woman physician is said to have been Dr. Edith Root; Dr. Mary Barker Bates and Dr. Mary Elizabeth Bates came about the same time. Dr. Mary Elizabeth Bates had the distinction of graduating from a medical college with honors when but twenty years of age, and she was the first woman in the world to have charge of a great public hospital, having been made interne of the Cook County (Chicago) Hospital after a grueling competitive examination with the male applicants for the position. Her work in behalf of dumb animals is well known. For a quarter of a century Miss Nona L. Brooks, President of the Colorado College of Divine Science, has been one of Denver's most beloved ministers. So well is her work known that she has given lecture courses in other cities, even going to London to conduct a series of classes.

A beautiful and unique enterprise in Denver's history began as a truck farm, and grew into a beautiful pleasure resort. "Elitch Gardens" has long been Denver's favorite

summer place of amusement. Many a well known actor began in the stock companies that have given such excellent plays from year to year, and Mary Elitch Long, the gracious Lady of the Gardens, has ever been most generous in aiding every worthy cause.

We have found ourselves confronted with such a mass of material on the one hand, with records so scanty on the other, that we can not but feel that many a splendid piece of work has been lost in oblivion for lack of an historian. It is hard to write "Finis" with so much unsaid that is worthy of preservation in the annals of the state. If in any respect it shall seem to the reader now, or in after years, that the women of Colorado have ever fallen short of the mark of their high calling, as the story is set forth here, let the fault be attributed to the authors of this chapter, not to those radiant women who deserved better chroniclers.

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATION IN COLORADO

By Thomas J. Mahan

EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORY OF COLORADO—THE FIRST SCHOOL—THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE—OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN TERRITORIAL DAYS—TAX SUPPORTED SCHOOLS IN TERRITORIAL DAYS—TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION RELATING TO EDUCATION—CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN 1876—THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION—THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT—CITY AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS—EDUCATIONAL FINANCE—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION—SECONDARY EDUCATION—HIGHER EDUCATION—PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES—REFORM SCHOOLS—COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS—STATE HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY—QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS—TEACHERS' SALARIES AND PENSIONS—TEACHERS' INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS—PROGRESS IN TEACHER TRAINING—SUMMER SCHOOLS—PRESENT TENDENCIES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS IN EDUCATION.

Education in the region now embraced by the boundaries of Colorado did not begin with the advent of the white man and the establishment of his formal school. It should be remembered that the various tribes of American Indians who inhabited this region long before the coming of the white man had a system of discipline and instruction which might well be termed "education." Such training was provided by the parents or other members of the family, and it began at a very early age. True enough, it dealt chiefly with the practical arts of every day life, but it may be true that it better equipped the child to provide for himself and to contribute to his family than does our scheme of education today. But our education does not go back to this source, and consequently it need concern us here but little.

Exaggerated reports of wonderful gold deposits in the new "El Dorado" resulted in a great rush to this region in the spring of 1859. These early pioneers largely comprised the better and more enterprising classes of East, Middle West, and South. Their settlements rapidly increased; women and children came and towns sprang up. As is typical of all pioneers, they early began to make preparations for the establishment of schools.

THE FIRST SCHOOL

The sentiment of the time is expressed in the following statement printed in the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver, August 27, 1859. "No school house or place of religious worship is to be found in our city. Shall this longer be said of us?" On September 22 of the same year appeared the following: "A movement is on foot by citizens of Auraria and Denver to erect a union school house for the coming winter. Mr. Ross is circulating a subscription paper. About \$250 has already been raised." This was followed by an advertisement for Mr. Goldrick's school on September 29: "Union day school will open October 3, in the room lately occupied by Colonel Inslee, Auraria. Pupils may enter by the month. Terms moderate." And on October 20 was published the statement: "Union School is prospering. Already it numbers twenty pupils and more have been promised."¹

While authorities differ as to the first school established in the present limits of Colorado, it is most generally agreed that Mr. O. J. Goldrick's Union School in Auraria, now West Denver, established October 3, 1859, was the first.

Mr. O. J. Goldrick, the first person to teach in Colorado, was born in Ireland and graduated from an Irish University. He came to Denver with a wagon train from St. Louis in 1859, and is said to have entered Denver driving a team of oxen and wearing a black broadcloth suit and a high silk hat. He had only 50 cents in his pocket.

Mr. Goldrick had taught school in Ohio and when he found that no school existed in the little camp, soon made

¹ Data furnished by L. R. Hafen, Historian of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado.



FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN COLORADO

Boulder, 1860

preparations and established both a Sunday School and a day school. The latter, like all of the first schools, was a private school supported by subscription of the parents whose children attended the school. Mr. Goldrick "boarded around" and received an average salary of \$27 per month. The following spring, May 6, 1860, he re-opened his school under the name of the "Denver Union School" and employed a Miss Miller as his assistant. Later, in 1862, Mr. Goldrick became superintendent of schools in Arapahoe County and served for two years.

THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE

Following a slump in the mining industry in the latter part of the year 1859, there came to Colorado many immigrants whose purpose was to settle down and build permanent homes. Many of these immigrants settled in Boulder County, and while the first school in Colorado was taught in Denver, it was in Boulder County that the first school house was built.

"Mr. Abner R. Brown passed through the village of Boulder with a band of prospectors in June, 1860. The little town boasted of twenty cabins and two general merchandise stores. Being more of a teacher than a miner, he inquired about the number of children that might be of school age. To his surprise there were about forty. Leaving the gold seekers, he determined to teach school there. The question of a school house was settled by taking up a subscription. With the help of some of the citizens he constructed a frame building from boards and shingles made at a sawmill on Boulder Creek. The desks and benches he also made of pine boards. At an old abandoned placer mine he found some pieces of iron. These he fashioned into a stove. In Denver he purchased some sheet iron which he bent over the tongue of a wagon to form a stove pipe. The cost for furnishings and building was \$1200."² Mr. Brown began teaching in this building in the winter of 1860. The building served also for town and

² *History of Education in Colorado*, by Sister Hildegarde Sumner, page 8 (Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, on file in State Teachers College Library, Greeley, Colorado).

church purposes until 1872, when it was replaced by a much larger and finer school building.

OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN TERRITORIAL DAYS

The first schools in the Territory of Colorado were almost all private schools, probably due to the fact that it was more difficult to finance public schools. By the year 1861 there were four private schools in operation in Denver. "Mr. F. B. Steinberger opened a private subscription school in Auraria (West Denver) on Ferry Street, in a small one-room log hut, in the fall of 1859. Mr. Steinberger taught school in Denver until 1861."³ "Miss Indiana Sopris, daughter of Captain Richard Sopris, opened a private school on Eleventh Street on May 7, 1860. She has the distinction of being the first woman to teach in the territory."⁴ Other private schools in Denver included: Miss Wood's Denver Seminary, opened October 3, 1860, and Miss Lydia Ring's school, opened October 1, 1860. Miss Ring taught a private school until the public schools were organized and later was principal of the West Denver schools. Mr. N. A. Baker (still living in Denver) also taught a private school in Denver, in 1862. Tuition in his school was paid in gold dust.

In the winter of 1860 a private school was opened in Golden, which town was then largely a cluster of tents, one of which served the purpose of a school house. There were only four or five pupils. Pueblo had a private school in 1862, taught by a Miss Weston, and Laporte opened a private school in 1865. Mrs. A. L. Washburn taught a private school in Larimer County in 1864, near the present town of Loveland.

While the private schools of the Territory were all supported by subscriptions paid by parents of children who attended, provision was always made for the children of those who could not afford to pay, thus extending the opportunities of schooling to all.

³ *History of Education in Colorado*, by Cecil J. S. Bowling (Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, on file in Western State College Library, Gunnison, Colorado).

⁴ Sumner, *Op. cit.*, page 9.

TAX SUPPORTED SCHOOLS IN TERRITORIAL DAYS

There were no tax supported schools in the Territory until the year 1862, when two districts were formed in Denver, one in East Denver known as district number one, and one in West Denver known as district number two. A board of education was elected by each district. Buildings were rented in both districts and they each opened a two room school in December. On December 16, 1862, the *Rocky Mountain News* printed the following: "Our public schools are now in successful operation. In East Denver schools there are some 60 scholars in attendance under two teachers, Mr. Lamb and Miss I. Sopris."⁵

The first district in Pueblo was organized in 1866. A two-room adobe building was erected on the site of the present Centennial High School Building in Pueblo. In 1873 a one-room brick building was opened on the south side and was soon replaced by a four-room building.

"In 1867, on the southern boundary of the state, a district was organized in Las Animas County in the mining town of Trinidad. The first teacher was George Broyles.

"El Paso County had in 1868 six districts organized. The first school opened was in Colorado City. Before 1875 they had one good graded school with some high school subjects offered.

"The counties of Bent, Clear Creek, Custer, Huerfano, and Fremont each had a one-room school building of frame, log or adobe before 1876, and Weld County had several such schools.

"Gilpin County has the distinction of having the first permanent school building. Like all the counties, it began school in improvised buildings. Central used an old saloon, Black Hawk an abandoned billiard room, and Nevada a room in which the school alternated with a town hall and a ball room. The rooms were uncomfortable, ill-ventilated, and shabby, with furniture to match. In 1870, Central City finished a \$25,000 granite building, which today is too large for the number of children in the district. In the same county Black Hawk built a \$15,000 frame building

⁵ Data furnished by L. R. Hafen.

which still serves the district well. Nevada built a two-room frame building furnished like the other two cities of Gilpin County which was one of the first to have graded schools.

“Costilla County has a unique record. Its first public school opened at San Luis in 1866, and not until May 1919 did it have an eighth grade graduate.”⁶

By the year 1871 there were 160 school districts organized in the Territory, with 120 schools established and eighty school houses built.⁷ There were at that time 7,742 persons of school age in the Territory, 4,357 of whom were enrolled in the public schools. By the year 1873 the number of school districts had increased to 243, with 180 schools and 125 school houses in the Territory; the number of persons of school age had increased to 14,417 and the number enrolled in school to 7,456. In 1876, the year of admission to statehood, a still greater increase is shown.⁸ In that year, there were 313 school districts in the state and 219 school houses. The number of persons of school age had increased to 21,612, with an enrollment of 14,085. Thus it is noted that along with the great increase in population, there was a similar increase in interest in education and efforts to provide for the extension of the advantages of the public school were everywhere apparent.

TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION RELATING TO EDUCATION

The first Legislative Assembly of Colorado, held in Denver in 1861, passed a rather comprehensive school law, similar in its provisions to that then in force in the state of Illinois. This law provided for the appointment, by the governor, of a “Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools” whose salary was to be \$500 per annum and whose duties were similar to those now imposed on the state superintendent of public instruction. Accordingly, Governor

⁶ Sumner, *Op. cit.*, page 13.

⁷ *Second Biennial Report* of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Colorado, pages 2-3.

⁸ *First Biennial Report* of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Colorado, pages 37-41.

Gilpin appointed W. J. Curtice to the position in December of that year.

All this did not mean much. "As a matter of course, the superintendent could accomplish but little. The impulses of the people were in the right direction, but the essential elements of success—children—were wanting. Some of the first school districts organized were as large as states, while the school population numbered less than a score."⁹ Mr. Curtice accomplished but little, the only thing worthy of note being his publication of the first school law for the use of school officers. He resigned in 1863 and Wm. S. Walker was appointed in his place. No records were left of the doings of the latter.

In 1862 the Legislature enacted a law providing "That hereafter when any new mineral lode of either gold bearing quartz, silver, or other valuable metal shall be discovered in this Territory, one claim of one hundred feet in length on such lode shall be set apart and held in perpetuity for use and benefit of schools in this Territory, subject to the control of the Legislative Assembly." While this law seemed to promise much for the schools, the results were very insignificant—few claims so located ever contributed a dollar to the school fund.

In 1865 the school law was amended, making the territorial treasurer ex-officio superintendent of public instruction. A. W. Atkins was then territorial treasurer and the office of superintendent fell to him. He left no record of his official work, the same being true of his successors in 1866 and 1867.

In 1866 the Legislature passed a law making it a misdemeanor to jump mineral claims that had been set apart for schools, or for failing to relinquish such claims as had previously been preëmpted; also providing for the sale and leasing of school claims, and the investment of the proceeds in U. S. bonds, and for giving to the colored people a pro rata share of the school fund for the maintenance of separate schools.

In 1867 Columbus Nuckolls became superintendent, and his deputy E. L. Berthoud set out with good intentions but

⁹ W. F. Stone, *History of Colorado*, Vol. 1, page 585.

little was done. "This chaotic state of affairs continued until 1879. It was no uncommon thing for the school funds to be misappropriated by both county and district officers."¹⁰ Nearly all who were required by law to make reports responded with some such statement as: "My predecessor in office has left no records;" "I hope to get matters in shape so as to render a complete account next year;" "School matters here are in a bad condition; for the past two years the County Commissioners have neglected to levy a school tax, hence we have no money;" etc.

In 1870 the Legislative Assembly empowered the governor "by and with the consent of the Legislative Assembly" to appoint a suitable person as the superintendent of public instruction at a salary of \$1000 a year. This law remained until Colorado became a state in 1876.

"With the advent of statehood, the schools, both city and country, became thoroughly modernized, culminating in the standardization of the schools, particularly of the second and third class, and in the development of consolidated or union schools in country districts."¹¹

CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN 1876

In 1876, when the state constitution was adopted, the public school system of Colorado compared very favorably with that of most of the eastern states. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction was established and twenty-five counties of the state had superintendents of schools. There were at that time 21,962 children of school age in the state, 14,364 of whom were enrolled in schools. There were 341 school districts already established. School houses had been constructed in 217 of these, and schools were provided and teachers employed in all of the districts in which the number of children warranted them.

Secondary schools had already been established in Denver, Pueblo, and several of the other larger towns of the state.

¹⁰ Stone, *Op. cit.*, page 586.

¹¹ Stone, *Op. cit.*, 586.



COLORADO SCHOOL HOUSES, 1876

Upper row, left to right: Public School, Georgetown; Public School, Black Hawk; District No. 21, Arapahoe County; Greeley; Central City; Boulder. Second row: School for Deaf Mutes, Colorado Springs; Broadway School, Denver; Pueblo; Wolfe Hall (Denver). Third row: School No. 2, Denver; West Denver; North Denver; St. Mary's Academy. Fourth row: Colorado University (Boulder); First School House (Boulder); Colorado Springs; St. Aloysius Academy (Central City); School of Mines (Golden). Fifth row: High School, Denver; View of Denver; Golden School.

In addition to the common schools and the small number of secondary schools, several institutions of higher learning had also been established.

The State University at Boulder, which was incorporated by an act of the Territorial Legislature in 1861, was not yet in operation, but opened the following year, 1877, with an enrollment of forty students.

The Colorado Agricultural College, at Fort Collins, was established in 1870, but in 1876 the school was not yet open, although one building had already been erected.

The State School of Mines at Golden had been established two years before (in 1874), and its first term which began in 1876 was attended by a total of twenty-six students.

The University of Denver which was established in 1864 was at that time a thriving institution and Colorado College, at Colorado Springs, had been in operation for two years (since its establishment in 1874).

In addition to the well organized system of public schools and institutions of higher learning, there was in 1876 one institution for the training of deaf mutes, located in Colorado Springs. There were twenty pupils in attendance that year, of whom eleven were boys and nine were girls.

It was not until the year 1876, when the State Constitution was adopted that Colorado's schools were put on a firm foundation. The Constitutional provision for education in the state in the case of the three levels, elementary, secondary and higher education, was both liberal and inclusive.

The Constitution provided for a uniform system of free public schools for all persons between six and twenty-one years of age, one or more public schools to be maintained in each district for at least three months of the year. It provided that the school fund remain intact—the interest only to be expended and that for school purposes only.

The Constitution provided also for the sources from which the school funds may be drawn; for a county superintendent of schools in each county; freedom from religious tests or qualifications and race and color discrimination; for compulsory attendance at school; for the organization

of school districts, the establishment of a board of education and for the election and duties of its members and for a state board of education. Other indirect provisions were made by the Constitution the purposes of which were to benefit education in the state.

THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

As provided by the State Constitution, the Colorado State Board of Education is comprised of the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state, and the attorney-general. The superintendent of public instruction is president of the board. The duty of the board as prescribed by the constitution is "the general supervision of the public schools of the state." It functions chiefly in the formal approval of teachers' certificates recommended by the state board of examiners, and in considering appeals from decisions of the county superintendents relating to boundary disputes, etc. Lack of further functions in respect to the duties and powers granted this board by the constitution is doubtless due to the fact that it is made up of ex officio officers of other departments of the State, the duties of which require their full time.

THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The state superintendent of public instruction is elected every two years by popular vote at the general election. The qualifications as prescribed by law are that he must be at least thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States, and must have resided in Colorado at least two years.

The duties are prescribed by law which states, "He shall have general supervision over the county superintendents and the public schools." In practice the duties have been largely clerical. The state superintendent prepares the questions for the county examinations and grades the papers. He keeps the official seal; has school laws printed and distributes copies to all school officials and to school and state libraries; he files reports from county superintendents and school boards; furnishes registers and blank forms to teachers, school officers and administrators;

reports to the governor in December of each year the condition of the public schools; apportions the income of the school fund and notifies the county superintendent of each county of the amount apportioned to his county.

The state superintendent keeps in touch with educational movements and is provided by law with authority to "open such correspondence as may enable him to obtain all necessary information relating to the system of public schools in other states."

The state superintendent is president of the State Board of Education and is ex officio state librarian but may appoint an assistant librarian as prescribed by law, with a salary of \$1500.

The judiciary duty of the state superintendent includes the making of decisions on all points related to the interpretation of the school law.

THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT

In each county, a county superintendent of schools is elected at large at the regular biennial election. There are no educational qualifications and the salaries vary from \$100 to \$2,800 per year.

The duties of the county superintendent as prescribed by law include the general supervision over all the schools of the county, visiting all schools in the county once during each session, deciding boundary disputes between districts of the county, conducting county examinations, examining accounts of school districts, apportioning school funds within the county, approving school census lists of various districts and making an annual report of the condition of the schools to the state superintendent of public instruction. He also has many clerical duties to perform, such as the keeping of a record of his official acts, records of supplies furnished the several districts and of the boundaries of school districts, etc.

While the county superintendent is charged with many duties which would seem to indicate that he has a great deal of control over education in the county, in reality he has little real authority. His function is advisory only and the authority in the conduct of public school affairs is exercised chiefly by the directors of each district.

CITY AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

The cities or first class districts are subject to different laws from those governing districts of the second and third classes. Their board is composed of five members elected for a term of six years. The city systems act independently of both state and county superintendents. Their elections are held biennially and are not subject to the law governing elections in districts of lower class. Their board employs a superintendent of schools and special supervisors.

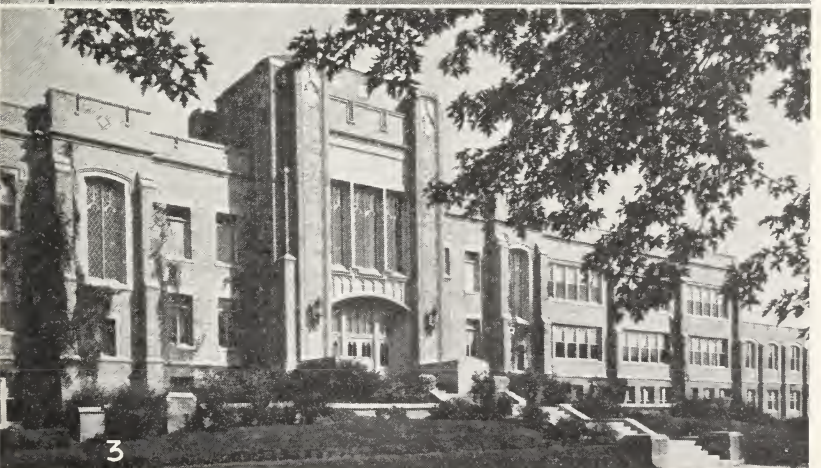
Colorado is organized for school administration on what is known as the district basis. There are thirty-six first class districts (school population 1,000 or over); 74 second class districts (school population 350 to 1000); and 1812 third class districts (school population less than 350).

Third class districts include all rural and small village schools of the state. Both second and third class districts have a board of three directors, one of whom is elected each year. The powers of these boards are almost unlimited. They employ teachers; determine the length of the school term, the length of the school day, the dates upon which school begins and closes; adopt the course of study; select the text books; select school sites; rent, repair and insure school buildings, etc. In fact they dominate the whole system of education.

In districts of the first class the board is composed of five members elected for a term of six years. These boards employ special superintendents and supervisors and act independently of state and county in almost all matters pertaining to the school. They usually do not recognize certificates issued by either county or state, but conduct special examinations of their own. They are also granted special powers by law including the power to establish and maintain continuation schools, part time schools, evening schools, vocational schools and schools for aliens or other opportunity schools.

EDUCATIONAL FINANCE

Sources of Support. The schools of Colorado derive their support from three main sources—the state school



TYPES OF NEW COLORADO SCHOOL BUILDINGS

1. Central High School, Pueblo.
2. New East High School, Denver.
3. Byers Junior High School, Denver

fund, the county general school tax and the special school district tax. There are in addition to these, lesser funds derived from forest reserve rentals, certain fines, fees and forfeitures, royalties from mineral lands, special federal aid, etc., though the income from these sources is relatively small.

The State Fund. The state school fund includes interest on the permanent fund and rentals and leases of state school lands. The permanent fund is derived from the sale of school lands and in 1921 amounted to \$6,905,505.98, which produced an annual income of \$359,204.97. There were 3,748,942.38 acres of land granted to the public schools by the Federal Government, of which 2,768,761.17 acres are yet unsold.

The state school fund is apportioned semi-annually by the state superintendent of public instruction to the sixty-three counties of the state, on the basis of the school census of the number of children of school age in each county. It is then re-apportioned to the school districts of the counties by the county superintendents on the same basis.

The County Fund. The county school fund is derived from a general school tax levied by the county commissioners from each county on all the taxable property of the county. The law required that this levy be at least two mills and not more than five mills on the dollar, until the year 1913. At that time a change was made in the assessed valuation of all taxable property from a fractional part to its true value, and a reduction in the levy was made accordingly.

The county funds are distributed to the schools on the same basis as the state funds and the amount so provided varies from one to twenty-five per cent of the total school expenditure.

The District Fund. The local district tax is the chief source of school support in the state. The various school districts levy a special tax to raise the amount necessary to operate the schools over and above the amount received from the state and county. In first and second class districts the local district tax is determined by the school boards, and in third class districts the qualified electors fix the amount to be raised. Approximately three-

fourths of the total school expenditure is derived from this source.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

At the time Colorado entered upon her statehood, in 1876, elementary schools existed in the leading centers of population, but universal education was not as yet the accepted thing. In 1875 "there were 20,000 school children in the territory, and yet only one-half had entered a school room and only one-half of that half had attended school 116 days in the year."¹² Five counties had a single one room school each, while four more counties were so fortunate as to have more than one school within their borders. Previous attempts at gathering any data had been more or less unsuccessful, for while the territorial law required regular reports, there was no means of enforcing the law and few reports actually came in. The United States Bureau of Education *Report* gives a slightly higher number attending school than the quotation given above,¹³ and yet the figures are anything but encouraging. All this was due largely to the nature of the people who made up the shifting population of a rapidly growing mining state where the percentage of women was relatively small and where the lure of gold attracted the adventurer rather than the home seeker.

By 1900 a remarkable change had taken place in Colorado schools. From a few scattered, small schools had grown a system which had nearly 120,000 students, with compulsory school laws and legal regulations for the truant. Building was rapidly advancing, and in that year no less than 126 new school buildings were erected in the state.¹⁴

In 1926, fifty years after she became a state, Colorado has one of the finest school systems in the country. Since

¹² *Education in Colorado*. Compiled by order of the State Teachers Association, News Printing Co., Denver, 1885, page 42.

¹³ *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1876*, pages 500-507.

¹⁴ *Twelfth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Colorado, 1900*, pages 82-93, 67-72.

1900 the enrollment has doubled; there are well over 3,000 schools attended by some 250,000 students.¹⁵ The property of the schools amounts to \$33,000,000 and is growing rapidly. Much work has been done in the education of foreign children, especially in the mining districts and in the sugar beet belt. The first consolidated school was established in 1912, and since then the movement has grown very rapidly. In 1924 there were 126 consolidated schools with 35,000 attending them.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education had little foothold in Colorado at the time she became a state. There were no laws in regard to high schools, except an old territorial law entitled "An act to establish a common school system." This act declared that a school board had the power to permit the organization of a high school if the necessary funds were provided by private subscription. Under this provision only one school was organized, that being the East Denver High School, which opened in 1874 and graduated its first students four years later.

With the coming of statehood, the General Session Law of 1877 provided that first and second class districts might establish separate high schools. The high school in the early days was a product of evolution, since the ninth grade was usually established for eighth grade graduates who wished to go on—and so the system grew.

With the growth of the need for high school training, it was found that the sparsely populated parts of the state were having difficulty in meeting this need. For this reason the union high school was made possible by legislation in 1909. By this plan territory surrounding a town might incorporate with that town for the purpose of establishing a high school. The financing of such schools proved difficult, and there are at the present time only about twenty-five such schools in Colorado. Although there was only one high school in the state in 1876, twenty-four years made a great change, and by 1900 there were nearly 7,000 high

¹⁵ *Colorado Year Book*, 1925. State Board of Immigration, pages 152-159.

school students in Colorado.¹⁶ However, only one town, Denver, was able to maintain a separate and complete high school, though most of the graded schools throughout the state had high schools in connection.

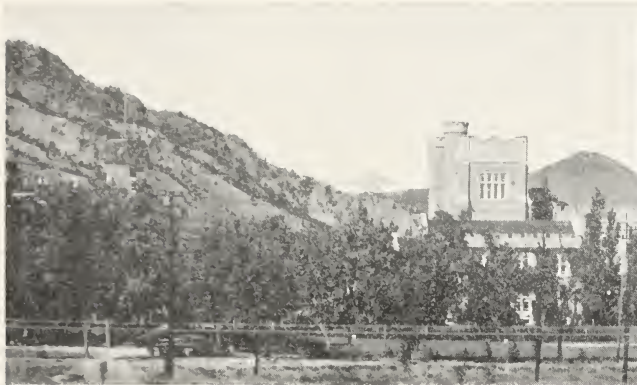
The high schools of the state are rapidly increasing in number, equipment, enrollment and service. In 1923 there were 197 four year high schools in the state, 37 three year, 66 two year and 56 one year high schools. The plan of the junior high school, with the resultant three grade high school, is being favorably received in the state. Denver, Colorado Springs and other cities are experimenting with this type of organization with seemingly good results. Denver has also recently completed some of the most modern and up-to-date high school buildings in the country.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Colorado now has six major institutions of higher learning, besides several smaller colleges. These all have an interesting history and one which shows the determination of a people to advance the interests of themselves and their children by sacrifice in money and effort in the interest of education.

Colorado College is a Congregational school which had its beginning in a land grant along Monument Creek in 1871. When the Congregational Church asked the Colorado towns to make grants for the founding of a school, Colorado Springs offered \$10,000 and forty acres of land if \$40,000 more was forthcoming. On this basis Colorado College opened in 1874 with eighteen students in a rented building down town, where it remained until 1880, when its own building was completed. Its early history was characterized by financial adversities and several times it seemed that its existence was to be cut short, but by the efforts of able leaders and the backing of its church it weathered the difficulties and in 1900 had several buildings with good equipment, and about 400 students. From then on it grew rapidly until, in 1925, there were 750 students under a

¹⁶ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Colorado, 1899-1900, page 93.*



UPPER: MACKY TOWER AND THE NEW ARTS BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
LOWER: AMMONS HALL AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

faculty of seventy-five. At that time the school occupied sixteen buildings.

The University of Colorado was really incorporated in 1861, and its location fixed at Boulder by the territorial government. However no real work was done until 1874, when the legislature appropriated \$15,000 for the school with the condition that the same amount should be raised by subscription. This was done, and the building was commenced the next year. When Colorado became a state, the university received a grant of seventy-two sections of land and was made a state institution. It began actual instruction in 1876 with an enrollment of forty-four students. The next important step was in 1880, when the medical department was started. This was done largely to provide a home supply of physicians and to protect the state from the invasion of poorly prepared men who were coming here to practice. By 1900 there were seven departments with an enrollment of 700 students. Now there are about 3,000 students taught by a faculty of 406 members, and the school occupies twenty-two buildings.

Denver University, the Methodist school of the state, had its beginning in an academy known as Colorado Seminary. The Seminary began under a charter grant in 1864 and gave instruction from the primary grades to academic work. In 1880, when it really became the University of Denver, it had one building worth \$7,000 which was entirely paid for. It had six departments, with thirty-six instructors and 260 students. Denver University also had difficulties, but they were not so extreme as those of Colorado College and in 1900 the school had seven departments and 600 students. It continued its growth and in 1926 there are over 100 instructors and 3,500 students in the school.

An attempt to establish a School of Mines was made by the territorial legislature in 1870, and a building was partly completed. In 1874 an appropriation of \$10,000 was made but the growth of the school was very slow; most of the students attending the school were not regular but part-time students; for many years they had only gratuitous, part-time instruction; in 1876 there were only six students. In 1880 a \$13,000 building was erected and a permanent

income from taxation guaranteed; and in that year the number of students increased from thirty to sixty with a great increase in the number of full time students. From then the attendance fell off and did not again reach the sixty mark until 1890. The year 1890 marked the real beginning of the growth of the Colorado School of Mines. In 1900 there was a faculty of seventeen instructing almost 300 students. At the present time the school has ten buildings, nearly 500 students and a faculty of over fifty. The school is situated at Golden.

Colorado Agricultural College was not legally established until 1870, though it had 90,000 acres of land prior to that time. After it was legally established it had no funds to carry on its work. The people of Fort Collins, the town where the college is located, took the lead, and in 1876 the school had a site and one small building which were worth \$5,000. In 1877 a tax income of \$7,000 annually was assured. In 1879 the school was really open to students for the first time and started with twenty students and one course of study. The growth of the school was rapid and in 1900 there were 345 students enrolled. There are now 2,000 students and a faculty of 131.

Colorado State Teachers College began as a normal school in 1889. Prior to this time work in pedagogy had been given at the University of Colorado, but it was felt that a separate school was needed for the training of teachers. An appropriation of \$20,000 was made and Greeley donated forty acres of land and \$15,000 for a building. The school began with ten teachers and seventy-six students in the college and 225 students in the model school which was established in connection with the college. In 1900 there were 500 students in the school. At the present time the school has sixteen buildings, with a \$250,000 gymnasium under construction, a faculty of over 100 and nearly 2,000 students. It is given the credit of being one of the outstanding teacher training institutions of the country, and is the only institution of its kind to give standard graduate work leading to the degree of Master of Arts.

There are other schools in the state which should be mentioned: Western State College, at Gunnison, which does the same kind of work as Teachers College and which is



LEFT: UPPER, MEMORIAL CHAPEL; LOWER, MAIN HALL, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
RIGHT: UPPER, PALMER HALL; LOWER, AIRPLANE VIEW, COLORADO COLLEGE

under the same board of directors; Regis College and Colorado Women's College in Denver; the Normal School at Alamosa, which is growing and making good progress. Higher education in Colorado ranks with the best which can be found in the country.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Private and parochial schools had more of a place in the early days of Colorado than they do today. Early schools were often private or under the guidance of some church. Especially was this true in reference to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church founded missions which in many places were quickly followed by schools; Denver, Pueblo, Trinidad and many other places early had Catholic schools.

Many private schools which charged tuition for the compensation of the teacher became at least partly supported at public expense, and with the growth of the state were usually taken over by the state or local district.

In the early history of Colorado, private and denominational schools abounded. The Catholics had sixteen schools of varying kinds in nine towns and cities. The Episcopalians had a school for girls and another for boys. Colorado College was a Congregational institution and Denver University was Methodist. There was a Presbyterian school at Salida and a military academy at Canon City.¹⁷ There were about 200 students enrolled in elementary private and parochial schools when Colorado became a state.

Elementary schools of this type are not encouraged today; public education is more favored. However, quite a number of schools of this type are in operation at the present time, and they probably will continue for some time.

REFORM SCHOOLS

Colorado maintains an industrial school for boys and an industrial school for girls. These institutions are inde-

¹⁷ *Education in Colorado*. History of the early education of Colorado; compiled by order of the State Teachers Association, Denver, 1885, p. 99.

pendent of the State Department of Education and are governed by special boards of from three to six members appointed by the governor.

The industrial school for boys is located at Golden, fifteen miles from Denver. The institution furnishes board, room, clothing, schooling, medical attendance, dental work, special eye and ear treatment, military drill, amusement and entertainment, and has about twenty teachers giving trades instruction. Necessary disciplinary and restraining measures are also provided.

The various departments first attend to the practical work needed for the institution, which provides valuable training and experience in the chosen occupations of the boys. Training is provided in typing and bookkeeping, printing, woodworking, gardening, plumbing, blacksmithing, mason and cement work, shoe and harness making, tailoring, florists' work, boiler and machine work, farming, baking, laundry, culinary work, etc. Regular religious services, both Catholic and Protestant, are provided.

In 1922 there were 366 boys enrolled in the school, with an average number of 318 per day during the term.

The industrial school for girls is located at Morrison and serves a similar purpose to that of the institution for boys. Girls are committed to the institution by the county judges of the state and are well cared for in every respect. Attempt is made to provide training along the lines that will prove most practical and beneficial to the girls when they leave the school. Wholesome recreation is amply provided and a light form of discipline has always been the policy of the institution.

Regular religious services are conducted by Protestant and Catholic ministers and devotional exercises are held each morning and evening.

During the year 1924 there were 215 girls in care of the institution.

In addition to the industrial schools, the state maintains a school for deaf and blind, at Colorado Springs; a home and school for dependent and neglected children, at Denver, and a home and school for mental defectives at Grand Junction.



1. Campus, State School of Mines. 2. Administration Building, State Teachers College. 3. Simon Guggenheim Hall, School of Mines. 4. Adams State Normal School (south wing unfinished). 5. North Hall, Western State College. 6. Library, State Teachers College

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS

Commercial education in Colorado is begun in many of the elementary and secondary schools of the state, especially the latter. Many of the high schools offer special commercial and trades courses which equip in part or altogether for some of the vocations.

In addition to the commercial training provided by the public schools of the state, three of the institutions of higher learning have special departments in commercial training, including the University of Colorado School of Business Administration, the Colorado College Department of Business Administration and Banking, and the University of Denver School of Commerce. Other business and commercial schools of the state include the Barnes Commercial School, Central Business College, Denver Business College, Modern School of Business, and Woodworth's Shorthand College of Denver; the American Business College of Pueblo; Blair's Business College of Colorado Springs; the Boulder Business College of Boulder; Dodds' Commercial College of Canon City; Greeley Commercial College of Greeley; the Hoel-Ross Business College of Grand Junction, and the Trinidad Business College of Trinidad.

STATE HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The State Historical and Natural History Society, which was founded in 1879, was in 1915 made one of the state educational institutions. It has furnished for the benefit of the public valuable publications pertaining to state history, ethnology, and science. It is memorializing this semi-centennial year (1926) by publishing a history of the state. In the autumn of 1922 the directors of this society, in conformity with a suggestion by Dr. A. J. Fynn, framed a bill and presented it to the Legislature (1923), requiring state history to be taught in the public schools. Immediately after the passage of the bill interest in the story of Colorado began to awaken on the part of pupils, instructors, and citizens generally.

This society has a valuable collection of books, manuscripts, and relics pertaining to Colorado and the West. It

also has excellent archaeological, ethnological, and natural history exhibits on display at the State Museum, Denver.

QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS

Since the early teachers of Colorado were largely from the East, they were fairly well qualified in the technique of teaching as it was developed at that time.¹⁸ But with the advent of native men and women in the teaching profession in Colorado, the need of better qualifications was felt.

As early as 1861, provisions were made for the examination of teachers and further provision was made in the state law in 1877.¹⁹ The county superintendents were the authors and sole judges of these examinations, and dissatisfaction with them was keen. First, second, and third grade certificates were issued. The same general plan of certification has been in effect ever since, with some changes made from time to time. The last change was made in the Twenty-fourth General Assembly in 1923. It provided, in part, that by 1931 all teachers in the state shall have at least two years of professional training beyond the high school.

These regulations have at no time been constant, as each successive Legislature has changed them more or less. The issuing of certificates has been taken away from the county superintendents and the boards of the first-class districts and been placed entirely in the hands of the state department. Provisions for recognizing certificates from other states are becoming more stringent. Some of the characteristics of the certification of teachers may be seen from the following summary of the certification law of 1900.²⁰ The State Board of Education or the State Board of Examiners may issue state diplomas without examination if they are sure of the fitness of the candidate. Conditions for acquiring a state diploma are that the candidate: possess a first-class county certificate which is in

¹⁸ State Superintendent's *Report*, 1880, page 24.

¹⁹ Act of 1877, Section 2505.

²⁰ *Twelfth Biennial Report* of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. 1899-1900, page 37.

force; pass an examination on the general subjects; pass an examination on three subjects chosen from the special subjects; present evidence of higher education.

TEACHERS' SALARIES AND PENSIONS

The trend of teacher remuneration through several periods in the development of Colorado education may best be shown by extracts from the reports of state superintendents. Not much material is available for the early days of statehood. The following is taken from the report of 1875: Average salary of men, \$60 per month; average salary of women, \$48 per month.

In 1899 there was a fairly uniform minimum salary schedule in operation. Most of the schools were going over the minimum, as they do today, but the following figures will show the lowest and the highest salaries paid to teachers in that year:²¹ In the graded schools: The lowest county average for men, \$45; for women, \$42.25; the highest county average for men, \$125; for women, \$120. In the rural schools: The lowest county average for men, \$31.25; for women, \$29; the highest county average for men, \$75; for women, \$64.

By 1921 the present minimum salary schedule was in effect, and under it the following average salaries were being paid:²² In the high school: Men, \$187.80; women, \$166.79; average salary, \$162.69. In the one-teacher school: Men, \$102.72; women, \$96.81; average salary, \$101.37. In the two-teacher school: Men, \$124.64; women, \$110.15; average salary, \$116. Three-teacher schools: Men, \$149.19; women, \$113.48; average salary, \$118.97.

In 1921 a law was passed which provided for the following minimum salary schedule:²³ Minimum salary per month, \$75; minimum salary for teacher with two years' training, \$111.11; minimum salary for teacher with four years' training, \$133.33.

²¹ *Twelfth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Colorado. 1899-1900, page 94.*

²² *Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Colorado. 1921-1922, page 123.*

²³ Colorado School Law, 1923. Section 236 a.

At present there is no state system of pensioning teachers in Colorado; however, some of the larger city systems of the state have adopted individual systems by which teachers are pensioned after a certain number of years' service.

Denver is perhaps the leader in adopting a system of pensioning teachers. The Denver system, known as the "Denver Teachers' Retirement Fund," was established in 1909 and is supported by a special levy amounting to a maximum of one-tenth mill. The teachers do not contribute. Men may be retired on a pension of \$480 annually at the age of sixty, and women at the age of fifty-five, provided they have served twenty-five years, fifteen of which must have been served in the City of Denver, or at disability after at least ten years of service. The getting of pensions depends entirely upon the discretion of the city, which may at any time discontinue granting new retirements.

TEACHERS' INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS

On November 25, 1875, Mr. Horace M. Hale, at that time superintendent of public instruction, sent to superintendents, principals, teachers, and friends of education, a letter which announced a convention which would meet in Denver in December. This was the first move toward an organization for teachers in the state. The notification mentioned specifically the organization of a State Teachers Association and the consideration of the revision of the school law. These were the topics which were taken up at the meeting. A constitution and by-laws were adopted and all the machinery for an association which would be as efficient as possible was perfected. The whole matter pointed toward the benefit of education in Colorado. The following officers were elected to manage the affairs of the first teachers' organization in Colorado: President, Horace M. Hale; secretary, Aaron Gove; assistant secretaries, Estelle Freeman and Sara A. Scott; treasurer, L. G. A. Copley.

The membership at this time numbered about 100 and came mostly from Denver, Pueblo, Golden, Boulder, Gree-

ley, Fort Collins, and the mining districts in the mountains west of Denver. From that time regular meetings have been held and the association has grown along with education and all the other activities in the state. More and more functions have been taken over by the association. In 1924, at the annual meeting, a motion was made to employ a full-time secretary. Mr. W. B. Mooney was appointed in 1925 to this office.

At the first meeting of the Colorado Teachers Association it was recommended that institutes be held in various counties and attempts were made to do so in several counties, but the difficulties of travel and the expense were so great that many found the plan impracticable. But with the coming of better facilities and the development of the state, the institute has gained prominence and for many years has been a source of real inspiration to the teachers. With all this came the chance for better training of teachers through the institutions of higher learning; one of the chief of these was the Colorado State Teachers College; the Western State College at Gunnison helped greatly, and also, though more recently, the Normal School at Alamosa. With these opportunities teachers could get thorough training during the vacation period, and this training is much better than that afforded by the short institute sessions. The institute is now on the decline and will soon be replaced by better methods of teacher training.

PROGRESS IN TEACHER TRAINING

Beginning with the opening of the University of Colorado, training at state expense has been available to teachers. The normal department, in which the subject matter of the common branches was taught along with some pedagogy, was maintained until the Normal School, which is now the State Teachers College, at Greeley, was opened, in 1889. There were not many students at that time, but not a great many teachers were needed in Colorado, and with the increase in the number of teachers needed, the State Teachers College grew. From its humble beginning with seventy-six students and ten teachers, the school has grown rapidly and it now has, as noted earlier,

over 100 on the faculty, nearly 2,000 students, and many excellent departments. It is now among the leading institutions for the training of teachers. Besides this school, the state maintains two other colleges for the purpose of training teachers. Western State College at Gunnison is an outstanding school, and compares favorably with institutions of its kind in other states. The Normal School at Alamosa, also a teacher training institution, is still young, but it promises to be of great value in the training of teachers in Colorado.

Most of the other institutions of higher learning in the state have strong departments of education where prospective teachers may receive training under excellent instructors.

Denver University, a pioneer educational institution in many striking respects, was the first to introduce pedagogical extension work. In 1898, Dr. D. E. Phillips established an annual course for teachers leading to university degrees. At the present time more than 700 Denver teachers are taking advantage of the Saturday classes of this university. The State University and the State Teachers College maintain similar extension college work in Denver and in a number of other cities and towns of the state.

The Agricultural College at Fort Collins maintains a department for training teachers, in which a large number are enrolled each year. It also provides special training in rural education and leads in this movement in the state.

The University of Colorado, at Boulder, now definitely established among the outstanding universities of the country, maintains a college of education in which excellent teacher training is provided. Teachers' courses are provided in many departments and special emphasis is placed upon educational methods and principles.

Colorado College also provides professional training of high grade for teachers. Hence, means for the professional training of teachers are not lacking in Colorado. The movement has grown, since 1876, in approximate proportion to the increase in the population and industry of the state.

SUMMER SCHOOLS

For the benefit of teachers and others who are unable to avail themselves of the privileges of college training during the regular semesters, and for regularly matriculated students who wish to continue their college training without loss of time, seven of the institutions of higher learning of the state hold summer sessions, viz., the University of Colorado at Boulder, the State Teachers College at Greeley, the Agricultural College at Fort Collins, Western State College at Gunnison, Denver University at Denver, Colorado College at Colorado Springs, and the Adams State Normal School at Alamosa.

The summer schools have grown to be one of the most potent factors in higher education in the state. Most of the institutions offer a full quarter's work and a larger number and variety of courses than are offered during the regular year.

Another advantage of the summer schools is in the policy of the various institutions of employing a special faculty for the summer term—outstanding men and women, experts in their fields—from the most prominent universities and colleges of the United States and from foreign countries.

During the summer term of 1925, the State University at Boulder had in attendance over 3,000 students, with most of the states and several foreign countries represented. Their special faculty numbered more than fifty. The State Teachers College at Greeley had in attendance the same summer over 2,500 students, with thirty-seven states and several foreign countries represented. Their special faculty numbered more than forty. Denver University also had enrolled in the summer of 1925 nearly 1,000 students, and the enrollment in some departments was so large that it had to be limited. Likewise, the enrollment and special provisions for the summer sessions in the other institutions mentioned are accordingly great, and the summer school is now recognized as one of the most important quarters of the year in most of the institutions of higher learning, while in some it is the most important.

PRESENT TENDENCIES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS IN EDUCATION

Colorado has kept pace with the nation in educational development and progress. The system of public instruction is broad and extensive. Beginning with the kindergartens and continuing up through the elementary schools, secondary schools, normal schools, colleges, and universities, practices of the best that is known in education today are to be found. The socialized recitation, the project method, the individual instruction method, multi-track systems, scientific grouping and classification, etc., etc., some of which are yet in an experimental stage, nevertheless are all to be found in operation in the various levels of the schools of the state.

In addition there are technical schools, vocational schools, continuation schools, and opportunity schools. Vocational education comprises a prominent part of the modern curriculum. The 6-3-3 plan of organization embodying the junior high school is common throughout the state. The program of curriculum revision now being carried on in the Denver schools is attracting attention throughout the nation. The schools of the state are characterized by continued changes in subject matter and in method, and are indeed among the greatest of the laboratories of progress.

CHAPTER XXIII

RELIGIOUS BODIES

By Wilbur Fletcher Steele

INTRODUCTION—FIRST CHURCHES—RELIGION IN THE CONSTITUTION AND LAW—ROSTER OF COLORADO RELIGIOUS BODIES—PROGRESS AND PROPORTIONS OF THE LARGER BODIES — THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH—THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE—THE PROTESTANT BODIES.

“There never was a state of a-theists,” wrote Plutarch of old. “You may travel the world over and find cities without walls, without king, without mint; but you will nowhere find a city without a god, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a state without a belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation.”

“The most interesting thing about Man,” observes Carlyle, “is his Religion.”

“Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity,” President Washington is quoted as saying, “*Religion and morality are indispensable supports.* In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert these pillars of human happiness, *these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.*”

“Our Government rests upon Religion,” avers President Coolidge. Whether as Nation or as State, we neither require nor prohibit any form of outward Religion, encouraging or tolerating any and every expression and practice of inward Religion that works no ill to the neighbor.

“It is no part of Religion,” said Tertullian, the ancient liberal Church father, “to compel religion, the essence of which is that it is accepted freely and not from force.” Religion is one thing, however; religions, its concrete, visible, necessarily-alloyed forms in circulation, quite another. In finite mankind and society, Religion chemically, 24-carats pure, may be as difficult to isolate and define,

as is gravitation. And yet, Religion is as omnipresent as gravitation, though as indefinable perhaps as life itself. Too many confuse these to their own disastrous confusion.

“Religions are alloyed; Religion is pure.

Religions end; Religion endures.

Religions glorify men; Religion exalts God.

Religions divide; Religion unifies.

Religions are formalities; Religion is life.

Religions are many; Religion is one.”

Religious *rites* have value only when they result in human *rights* more clearly discerned and formulated and equitably accorded and shared.

Whenever, wherever, and however mankind came into being, man then and there was religious, *in posse* if not *in esse*. His religious gland marked him off widely from all the mere brute world, save where he has refused his birth-right, undergone dehumanization, and gravitated back to a place among the brutes. Like other animals he was formed from the dust of the ground, but somehow into his nostrils was breathed a something—be it called what it may—that differentiates him from brutes and gives him dominion over them. He is thus the uncaused cause of his moral choices and attitudes. When normal, within the finite limitations of his power to execute, he alone creates the decision whether he is to be a plus or a minus—whether to will to add to or subtract from the Infinite, whether to aim to sweeten or to embitter, whether to be an Asset or a Liability—a source of good or of evil.

Normal Religion is the attitude of consent to, and coöperation with, all Being. When inverted or perverted, it becomes an attitude of dissent therefrom and a losing conflict therewith. Constructive Religion is composed of a *Constant* and an infinitely *Variable*. The *Constant* is love or good will—the will ever to help and never to harm. The *Variable* is all possible degrees of comprehension of all the Real around us up to and out to the farthest bounds of knowledge. As an infinite number of lines of any length can be drawn through a geometrical point, north, south, east, west, up down, and all between, so the *Constant*, love or good will—the will to help and not harm—will be outgoing and self-expressing in an ever expanding spherical

phase of knowledge, in an infinity of individual ways and degrees, each probably unlike its neighbor. In essential love, they will be essentially one and like; but in their accuracy and extent of perception of real objective truth and its approximations, they will differ, perhaps almost diametrically. This is being "led into *all Truth.*" It is endless *Success.* But when one ceases thus welcomingly to expand in approximating better truth, and habitually refuses to mend his life and ways by the bettering truth, he commits the unpardonable sin—never escapable, never forgivable, whether in business or anything else. It is to believe and bank and bet on an untruth. It is endless failure.

Hence the *Constant*—and the greatest of these is Love—must be left unforced to work outward and through its *Variable* into as many forms of helpful expression as there are individuals, each harming none, but struggling to be at his best toward himself and his next and the All-Best.

To this high experiment in evolution of bringing each to his or her best for the best of all, America as Nation and as States is consecrated in the Constitutions. A self-governing people must by all means be a self-governing people. Hence America tolerates and encourages any and every form of religion that tolerates Religion itself in its broadest terms and interferes not therewith. Hence necessarily our multiplicity of religions.

Myriad-fold are the rites and ceremonies for expressing Religion the world over. Recognized in the Federal Religious Census are some two hundred Religious Bodies. One may at first be amused at the hair-splittings, but on second thought become profoundly sobered in the presence of this great restless, resistless, diversified groping of the soul of man for the heart of God and the weal of the neighbor—a tidal upheave well-nigh omnipotent, that nothing can still. It is the most intense and amazing force and appetite in mankind.

All this has been said to explain how in Colorado in common with the Nation, we are in one sense profoundly religious, while being in another sense profoundly indifferent to denominational religions. For a pronouncedly and determinedly irreligious man to come to the top in public confidence and trust and rule, is as rare as for a sunken

mill-stone to float to the surface. Not one of our Presidents has absolved himself from Religion. Of the twenty-nine entrusted with that high office, nearly all, either as communicant members or as regular supporting attendants, have acknowledged religious duties and influence. In 1803 only ten in the hundred population were members of a religious body, and in 1826 only sixteen. But thus far in our second national century every President has been a communicant member and about forty in a hundred of the people are such.

And it is manifestly the same in Colorado. The presence of religious consent upon the part of her Governors and Supreme Bench Justices, simply amazes upon research. Churchmen are ever to the fore. As by an invisible instinct the popular trust seems drawn to men otherwise fit, who have early come to terms with the Creator, however named and outwardly adored. *Per contra*, the common people seem not drawn to those for official power, who have determined and published it that they "fear neither God nor man."

The stumbling school-lad who remarked that "in 1492 America discovered Columbus" was not far out of the way, as we in our young modernness are beginning to discover. The uncovering of ancient civilizations in Colorado undreamed of a half century ago, only begets the suspicion that under our soil may lie vestiges of a vast civilization as ancient as that in the Eastern Hemisphere. In this respect we are still meditating upon the indications found in the Cliff Palace and the Spruce Tree ruins. Something must have characterized the ceremonial meetings and life of the men of this race in their *kivas*. The Sun Temple was brought to light less than a dozen years ago. It is believed that it was devoted wholly to the performance of religious rites and ceremonies.

Father Escalante in 1776 led an exploring expedition at the request of the California Fathers for pioneering a road from the Santa Fe Mission in New Mexico, to the California Missions. He crossed Southwestern Colorado, and in so doing made a map whereon he gave many ecclesiastical and Biblical names to localities.

The first permanent church building in present Colorado



FIRST CHURCH IN COLORADO

Built at Conejos, 1858. Catholic Church ("Our Lady of Guadalupe")

was erected by the Spanish Catholics in a place named by them from the abundance of prairie dogs or rats, Conejos, a word recalling the words of the Psalmist: "The rocks are a shelter for the *conies*." It is alleged that this church was built in 1856 on the left bank of the Conejos River, and that it was afterwards made the foundation of an enlargement. As these words are being penned the following regretted press despatch is read:

Alamosa, Colo., Feb. 19, 1926.—The adobe Catholic church at Conejos, in the extreme southern part of San Luis valley, a very picturesque and said to be the oldest religious structure of its kind in Colorado, was destroyed by fire Wednesday. The church was built in 1856 and occupied continuously since then. It had a floor space of 6,000 square feet and contained many historical church relics of great value. It is estimated that a hundred or more members were buried beneath the adobe floor fifty to seventy-five years ago, as protection against Indians and wild animals disturbing the graves. The walls were of adobe.

It and its village was the most striking and permanent of the spreadings northward of the Roman Catholic influence from New Mexico and farther back, Old Mexico.

A company of Mormons found themselves near what is now Pueblo in 1846-7, and here built winter quarters, including a cabin for their worship.

But the religious influences that became most noteworthy seemed to center about the region of Denver and the valley west of it.

So interesting, as showing conditions at the hour of birth of Denver and Colorado, is the narrative of William H. H. Larimer (Episcopalian), who arrived at the mouth of Cherry Creek on Tuesday, November 16, 1858, that we refrain not from giving it quite fully. The next day, Wednesday, the 17th, they joined those proposing to organize the Denver City Town Company, the organizing meeting being at McGaa's cabin. Sunday, Nov. 21st, occurred what Larimer (a tender-foot of five days) narrated thus:

Among the Oskaloosa Party, which joined our party *en route*, there was an old gentleman by the name of George W. Fisher who, when at home, I think, followed wagon making. He was a good man and my father took quite a fancy to him. He would often visit us in our tent. Father discovered that, aside from making wagons, he had been at

one time a Methodist circuit-rider or preacher in Kansas; so, on Nov. 21, the first Sunday after our arrival, arrangements were made for preaching. The weather being too inclement for outdoor services, Jack Jones and John Smith donated the use of one end of their double cabin.

It was morning service. The congregation was small, although Mr. Fisher and my father went around and invited everybody to attend. [New arrivals of five days.] There were no church bells to ring, no finely draped ladies, no choir, no pews to sit in. But seated on the buffalo robes spread on the ground, with both the Jones and Smith squaws present (there were no other ladies), Fisher, father, myself and perhaps six or eight others, held the first religious service ever held in this country. Mr. Fisher was very earnest in his worship. I have forgotten the text, but it was selected to suit the occasion, and we sang old time songs led by Mr. McLane, formerly of Omaha, and whom we had known when we lived in that city. In the opposite end of the cabin I could hear the money jingle where the gambling was going on at the same time that Mr. Fisher was preaching.¹

In the Denver City Town Company's meeting, Nov. 22, 1858, William Larimer, Jr., was elected Treasurer and one of the Directors, and also was selected "to donate lots under the instruction of the Board." That day he wrote his wife:

I want you to tell Mr. Pitser that I have selected for him his church lots: four lots (of 100 feet) on the southeast corner of C and Arapahoe streets. I have given Mr. Fisher similar four lots (100 feet) right across C street. I mean our Rev. Fisher, Methodist clergyman. . . . If Rev. Pitser wants another pair of lots to build a home on, I will give them to him, or rather the company will.²

While the thousands crowding across the plains toward the gold, either lightened themselves of their religious impedimenta on the way, or cached it at Council Bluffs, or dumped it in the Mississippi, Colorado owes beyond measure to men of the moral fiber and religious stamina of Larimer and his like for such wholesome beginnings.

The rival Auraria Town Company on the west bank of Cherry Creek in January, 1859, offered lots "to the first four religious societies that would build a church or a place of worship in Auraria."

¹ *Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his son William H. H. Larimer*, 116.

² *Ibid.*, 112.

One would be only too glad to discover such extensive and explicit testimony from all participants in such first services of the different rites. It is alleged that the first sermon in Mountain (now Central City), was preached in June, 1859, by Rev. Mr. Porter, from Georgia, of the Methodist Church, South, as many of the early Georgia miners were of that body.

And then on June 12, 1859, the records show that the Rev. Lewis Hamilton, who became known as the "Pioneer Presbyterian Preacher in the Rocky Mountains," proclaimed the gospel with resulting church organization in Denver, in the unfinished Pollock Hotel. Closely followed was he by the Rev. W. H. Goode and Rev. Jacob Adriance, who on July 3, 1859, at the same place, as the first appointed Methodist Episcopal Ministers, preached, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The next week they were preaching up Clear Creek, organizing the work at "Mountain City," July 11, 1859, and placing it under the oversight of the aforesaid G. W. Fisher, a local preacher.

Reliable tradition has it that Jewish "holy days" were kept in 1859 by gold-seekers and others of the Jewish faith.

Before February 19, 1860, the Protestant Episcopal "St. John's Church in the Wilderness" was organized. It soon bought the building on the southeast corner of 14th and Arapahoe streets, the site now occupied by the Welch-Haffner Company, which in June and July, 1860, the Rev. William Bradford, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had erected for shepherding his flock. With the war clouds arising, he became discouraged and sold out.

It was in June, 1860, that the Right Rev. J. B. Miege, Roman Catholic Bishop of Leavenworth, Kansas, came to Denver to establish the work of that body, which he did in services held at the house of Mr. Guiraud, corner of 15th and Market streets, lots having been donated to said church in the March before. Upon returning to Denver from a ministering trip westward, he discovered that the Denver City Town Company had donated to him an entire block, bounded by Fifteenth, Stout, Sixteenth and California streets. Upon foundations at once begun, the Very Rev. J. P. Machebeuf, arriving soon after, builded, and held the first formal services on Christmas night of 1860.

The first Baptist Church in Colorado was organized in Denver, Sept. 25, 1860, with twenty-seven members, the late devoted Robert S. Roe being the first chief clerk, but it led a very feeble life until in 1863 it became firmly reorganized.

Mention of these beginnings has been made, covering about all prior to the end of 1860. All over the state, however, in perhaps a thousand cities, towns and hamlets, exactly the same beginnings were made and are still being made. The innate urge toward God and good has expressed itself in the drawing together of kindred spirits in every community for the spiritual and other weal of the people. In every place some leaders have led, and in each place the work was as heroic and outstanding relatively, as in these earlier and historic ones. Eternity alone will furnish time enough for calling them individually to remembrance, but a "book of remembrance" of them has been kept and will some day be opened. Extendedly the various bodies influencing Colorado will be described later.

When feeling the necessity of better government, an attempt was made to organize "The Territory of Jefferson," in the fall of 1859, the Rev. Jacob Adriance was asked to officiate as Chaplain, which he did, receiving for expenses a check for \$10.00, which is now in the State Historical Society's exhibit, endorsed: "Presented, but not paid. No funds." In the later sessions of the Territorial Legislature at Colorado City, the Rev. William Howbert so officiated.

The many abortive attempts to pass from Territoriality to Statehood resulted in 1875 in an Enabling Act being passed by Congress prescribing the conditions and processes whereby Colorado might present herself for admission to the Union of States. As a result a Constitutional Convention was ordered and delegates elected thereto. This body consisted of thirty-nine members duly elected. A majority of those whom the writer has been able to trace were members or attendants of some Religious Body. Three are known to have been Roman Catholics, one a Jew, and others were of various Protestant bodies.

The Enabling Act by Congress said among other requirements (*Italics the writer's.*):

Said convention shall provide by an ordinance *irrevocable without the consent of the United States and the people of said State*; First, That perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant of said State shall ever be molested in person or property, on account of his or her mode of religious worship.

The convention met and organized, and the chairman was asked to invite the various clergymen residing or visiting in the city, in alternation to act as Chaplain and open each morning session with prayer. This was in lieu of appointing some one person as Chaplain, for which the mixed nature of the body was not ready. As a result twenty-two clergymen accepted such invitations.

The Preamble of the Constitution reads as follows (Italics the writer's.):

We, the People of Colorado, *with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe . . .* do ordain and establish this Constitution for the State of Colorado.

Thus reverence for the Creator is posited as the foundation of all our life in every respect.

Outstanding in the Bill of Rights is the following noble specimen of Americanism which the citizens of the State alone can never change. As far as they are concerned, it is irrevocable.

4. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall *forever* be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege, or capacity, on account of his opinions concerning religion; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the good order, peace or safety of the State. No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship, religious sect, or denomination against his consent. Nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship.

Secularists presented many petitions to the effect that every vestige of reference to Religion be omitted, all chaplains, weekly or annual "holy days" and the like, doubtless forgetting that every benefit they then enjoyed was due to Religion in its essence, and to the death of many in procuring the very freedom they were then exercising. Madness at enforced denominationalism is not always

opposition to *true Religion*. Remembering that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lotteries were frequently authorized for building public buildings, and even churches, it became most manifest how much water had flowed under the bridge ere this article could be entered in the Constitution:

The General Assembly shall have no power to authorize lotteries or gift enterprises for any purpose, and shall pass laws to prohibit the sale of lottery or gift enterprise tickets in this state.

Duelling was once a "gentleman's divinest right," whereby he might preserve his honor. Its prohibition and gradual disuse is one of the marks of the moral evolution of the race. It was bedded in the Constitution that duelling, or leaving the State to fight a duel, shall disqualify for holding office in the State. "Thou shalt not kill."

And "prohibition" reared its ugly, presumptuous head in the Constitution. There was a very strong and all-embracing law as to spiritous liquor. It reads most strangely today. One feels like Noah's sons walking backward with averted gaze to cast from their shoulders a cloak to hide their drunken father's shame: Note what it prohibits:

The General Assembly shall prohibit by law the importation into this State for the purpose of sale, of any *spurious, poisonous, or drugged* spiritous liquors, adulterated with any poisonous or deleterious substance, mixture, or compounds. . . . The General Assembly shall provide by law for the condemnation and destruction of all spurious, poisonous or drugged liquors herein prohibited.

The "dear people" must be protected by prohibition from poisonous drink, forsooth! But in less than forty years, so advanced had mankind become, so morally and sensibly evolved, that they discovered in common with every scientist that the most virulent, character-destroying, and damning thing in such liquors is the *rank poison alcohol* itself, and that every spiritous liquor is poisonous, and hence in protection of the people to be prohibited. Enlightened concept of personal freedom now demands that one man's freedom to drink must not infringe upon his neighbor's right to security from his drunken disability, his becoming a demented and degenerate and dangerous nuisance.

Hence, exactly thirty-eight years later, in common with most of the States, this over-turning Amendment to the State Constitution was adopted: (Amendment XXII)

From and after the First day of January, 1916, no person, association or corporation shall import into the state any intoxicating liquors or offer such for sale, barter or trade.

This was adopted by 129,589 drys, to 118,017 wets. When the yet stronger Federal Constitutional Amendment was up for Colorado's adoption, the legislative wets had dried down to one lone State Senator and a *pair* of Representatives in the House. Otherwise its adoption was unanimous.

In presenting a list and figures relative to Religious Bodies in Colorado, the writer has depended to a considerable extent upon the Federal Religious Census. As the Colorado returns from this census will not be published until perhaps 1927, the writer has had to use figures ten years old, and has had to get more recent figures where possible, giving an average twelve per cent increase, such as the whole country has made since the 1916 figures, for those bodies from which no fresher figures could be obtained, or for which no fairer estimate could be made. It has seemed best to group these bodies somewhat into families as is done by the more condensed Census Returns.

One thing stands out in the study of the returns, and that is, how firmly and geographically the idea that religion is a racial, tribal or family affair, clings to those of the Eastern Hemisphere, only gradually yielding to the American individual adult idea. The farther east the center of the religious body, the more all of the race are returned as belonging to that religion. Thus in the case of the Jews, all of that race are often returned as all members of some synagogue and under pastoral care. Much the same is the case of the Greek Catholic Church, as well as somewhat with the Roman Catholic Church. Differing therefrom in this respect are the religious bodies longest breathing the American air of voluntarism and individualism in religion, where only adult persons making profession of such and such faith are enumerated. Between these lies the question to what extent children not yet confirmed, or still in Sunday

School instruction, shall be counted. The two ideas as to Religion here come into conflict, as far as giving numbers is concerned. The Census authorities from wide correspondence and estimates, are inclined to subtract from the *whole population* returns, fifteen per cent for unconfirmed children reported. But that is not satisfactory to all.

THE ROSTER OF THE COLORADO RELIGIOUS BODIES
KNOWN TO THE LAST FEDERAL CENSUS.

(Some names changed and bodies united. Mention is impossible of the nearly 2,000 separate organizations and places of worship in the State.)

Adventist Denomination—Seventh Day.

Baptist Bodies:

Northern Baptist Convention.

National Baptist Convention.

Brethren: Church of the Brethren (Conservative Dunkers).

Brethren: Plymouth II.

Churches of Christ.

Churches of God in North America.

Congregational Churches.

Disciples of Christ. ("Churches of Christ (Disciples)").

Eastern Orthodox Churches:

Greek Orthodox Church (Hellenic).

Russian Orthodox Church.

Evangelical Church.

Friends.

German Evangelical Synod of North America.

Independent Churches.

Jewish Congregations.

Latter Day Saints:

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Lutherans:

United Lutheran Church in America.

Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference in America.

Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.

United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.

Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States.

United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Mennonites:

Mennonite Church.

Mennonite Brethren in Christ.

- Mennonite Brethren Church in North America.
- Methodist Bodies:
- Methodist Episcopal Church.
 - Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
 - Free Methodist Church of North America.
 - African Methodist Episcopal Church.
 - Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.
- Pillar of Fire.
- Presbyterian Bodies:
- Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.
 - United Presbyterian Church of North America.
 - Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America.
- Protestant Episcopal Church.
- Reformed Bodies:
- Reformed Church in the United States of America.
 - Christian Reformed Church.
- Roman Catholic Church.
- Salvation Army.
- Scandinavian Evangelical Bodies:
- Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America.
 - Swedish Evangelical Free Church.
- Spiritualists.
- The Theosophical Society.
- Unitarians.
- United Brethren in Christ.
- Universalists.

Other denominations and churches: Numerous are the individual missions or meetings but little known and unconnected. Christian Science declines to be reported.

There are simply hundreds of individuals with followings, who separately are exercising religious influence as perhaps "missions," whose names fail to reach a census.

(In passing, it may be incidentally mentioned that the 1870 census gives 55 as the number of religious organizations in Colorado, with 47 edifices. Sittings rather than membership were given in that census. These organizations were distributed as follows: Regular Baptists, 5; Christians, 2; Congregationalists, 4; Protestant Episcopalians, 9; Jewish, 1; Methodists, 14; Presbyterians, 6; Roman Catholics, 14.)

THE BODIES MORE SPECIFICALLY

In considering the Religious Bodies in the State, it seems best to show the origin and emphasis of each body, "what it stands for," and later something of its progress in the State, sometimes grouping together the families of bodies having some degree of relationship. Wherever aid

PROGRESS AND PROPORTIONS BY LARGER BODIES AND GROUPS.—COLORADO
(Adapted from Federal Census of 1916. Approximations and Estimations for 1926.)

	1926		1916		1906		1890	
	No. Mem.	Per cent of Total	No. Mem.	Per cent of Total	No. Mem.	Per cent of Total	No. Mem.	Per cent of Total
<i>All Denominations</i> -----	344,905	100.0	257,977	100.0	223,281	100.0	95,151	100.0
Roman Catholic Church -----	114,729	33.3	104,982	40.7	(a) 117,435	52.6	(a) 55,425	58.2
Methodist Episcopal Church (with 4 kindred bodies in 1925) -----	57,848	16.8	38,534	15.0	24,830	11.1	8,560	9.0
Presbyterian Church in U. S. of A. (with 2 kindred bodies in 1916) -----	29,124	8.4	22,960	8.9	16,055	7.2	5,902	6.2
Baptist Churches (No. Conven.) (with kindred body in 1926) -----	29,003	8.4	16,528	6.4	12,917	5.8	4,944	5.2
Disciples of Christ -----	19,347	5.7	12,805	5.0	8,521	3.8	2,400	2.5
Congregational Churches -----	15,061	4.4	11,781	4.6	8,951	4.0	3,217	3.4
Latter Day Saints--Church of (two bodies in 1926) (b) -----	11,869	3.4	3,358	1.3	2,194	1.0	1,640	1.7
Lutherans--Synodical Conf. (with 5 kindred bodies in 1926) -----	11,328	3.4	2,738	1.1	1,651	0.7	394	0.4
Protestant Episcopal Church -----	9,064	2.6	8,437	3.3	6,232	3.1	3,814	4.0
Seventh Day Adventist Church -----	4,206	1.2	2,762	1.1	2,311	1.0	414	0.4
Jewish Congregations (c) -----	3,326	1.0	2,356	0.9	853	0.4	1,062	1.1
All other Denominations -----	40,000	12.0	25,956	10.1	18,933	8.5	6,842	7.2

Note a. Figures as corrected in Census Table. Note b. Possibly by population in 1926. Note c. Variations by reckoning one head of a family or both heads.

Small reliance may be placed upon the Federal Religious Census before 1890. Hence this study has not undertaken to go back of 1890. Naturally and inevitably the more sparse and inaccessible the population the smaller the proportion churchd. The Federal Tables reveal this fact. This accounts for Colorado's only one-third churchd, while the proportion in the whole land is over four-tenths churchd.

has been rendered in getting the latest figures and history the writer's thanks are here expressed.

These will be considered in three primary heads, The Catholics, The Jews and The Protestants. For the characterizing of these bodies the matter in Part II of the Religious Census of 1916 has been liberally used—often verbally.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Because of its antiquity in the world, and its priority in the State, and its largest number of communicants, this body is outstanding on the horizon in any study. Its furnished data were the most thoroughly prepared and available.

“The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church,” more generally known as “The Roman Catholic Church,” or by preference as “The Catholic Church,” includes that portion of the Christian body which recognizes the Bishop of Rome as Pope, the Vicar of Christ on earth and the Visible Head of His Church. It dates its origin from the selection by Jesus Christ of the Apostle Peter as “Chief of the Apostles,” and it traces its history through St. Peter's successors in the papal chair at Rome.

Until the tenth century its ministering rule was practically one and unchallenged. But in the eleventh century it became divided into the Eastern Church (with center at Constantinople and its language Greek), and the Western Church (with center at Rome and language Latin). This latter body felt and feels responsible for the spiritual and social (and some may add civil) welfare of mankind the world over. It has been exploring and missionary in the extreme, or perhaps better—missionary and exploring. It has presented what it holds to be the common Christian teachings and morals to more peoples than has any other religious body. In such outgoing its priests early founded Santa Fe, in New Mexico, whence came influences into our state.

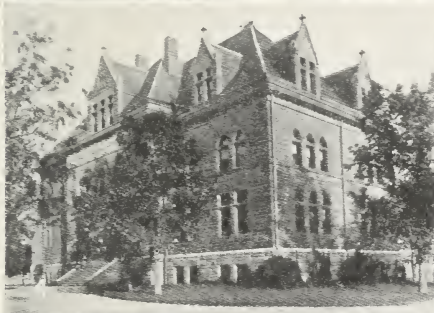
Of all our religious bodies, this is best characterized by the idea of authoritative and shepherding paternalism. Doubt is unknown, inconceivable. Unexcelled is its clergy in “feeding the lambs,” when and what the Catholic body

lays down. Its great task and problem is how to voice the changeless old in terms of the everchanging new.

In the establishment of the Catholic Church in Colorado, the name of the Very Rev. Bishop Machebeuf casts its undiminished shadow from 1860 to this day. Unconquerable, he did his work for nearly a generation, seeing churches humble or commanding, arising in all parts of the state. Very notable is his parochial school work as well as the hospital and other benevolent work now carried on.

Outstanding is the large number of churches of strength and beauty that are being erected strategically in Denver and other parts of the State. "Church membership begins with baptism in infancy, and there is no method of inductions into formal membership corresponding to confirmation or admission to the Church in Protestant bodies, except as there is a renewal of baptismal vows connected with the first communion or confirmation." There are far fewer Catholic church buildings in proportion to membership returned than in almost any other body, for the simple reason that at least in cities and towns, each building is used by from four to seven congregations on Sunday, beginning at five o'clock in the morning.

Official information is given that in the State there are 220 priests, about half being pastors in the 108 parishes. There is a Theological Seminary (St. Thomas), established in 1907, and in charge of the Vincentian Fathers. There is also Regis College, in charge of the Jesuit Fathers, in Denver (for boys); Loretto Heights College (for young women) in charge of the Sisters of Loretto, opened in 1918. Holy Cross Abbey was founded in 1926 in Canon City. There are in the diocese four academies for young ladies, four orphanages, forty-three parochial schools, two Homes (one for aged, and the other for girls and business women), one Industrial School, one institution conducted by the Dominican Sisters for the sick poor, and twelve hospitals. "The Catholic population of Colorado is estimated at about 114,729, and this figure is found from the annual report of the various pastors of parishes. Each pastor has the census of the different families belonging to the Church."



1. Immaculate Conception Cathedral. 2. Grace Community Church. 3. St. John's Cathedral. 4. Liff School of Theology. 5. Temple Emanuel. 6. Episcopal Church, Greeley. 7. Montview Boulevard Presbyterian Church

THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

By reason of great antiquity, if for no other reason, the Jewish Congregations call attention next. This body is unique. For nearly nineteen centuries one has read in the Bible: "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day." And this is truer today than ever before.

This once nomadic people from the Arabian desert, has played an outstanding—yes, in some respects, *the* outstanding part in history, religious as well as otherwise. The debt of mankind to the Jews, too frequently unacknowledged, is very great. From that poor, rocky little Palestine have come the religions known as Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, influencing about half the human race. At the first and most ancient angle of the triangle stands the patient, imperishable Hebrew with his *Shema* daily over and over: "There is but one God; and Moses is His Prophet!" At the next angle stands the just as conscientious Christian with his cry: "There is but one God, and Jesus is His Prophet!" At the third angle stands the implacable Moslem with his slogan many times a day: "There is but one God, and Mohammed is His Prophet!" One wonders what it is that keeps these apart in strained unequilibrium—lack of good will, or lack of understanding?

The Jewish race and body have endured three thousand years, surviving in a denationalized way, solely as a religious entity, "the servant of JaH-VeH."

Like Abraham of old, wherever ten Jews have pitched their tents they have builded a place of worship. Since the Temple and sole sacrificing-place in Jerusalem in 70 A. D. was destroyed, this has been a synagogue, or house of only prayer and study of the scriptures. There are among them all conceivable degrees of tenacity for things ancestrally religious. Some hold that Judaism is a purely spiritual religion, at home everywhere and freed from all the limitations of place and primitive circumstances, such as foods "clean and unclean," and customs primitive, tribal and ritual. In worship such conform increasingly to the customs of the country in which they are citizens. For reasons these are called "Reformed Jews," though in fundamentals claiming identity with all Jews. As distinguished from

them, the "Orthodox" Jews retain with more or less tenacity the "custom of the fathers" laying stress upon their religion as a national matter, ultimately to be reestablished in an earnestly-hoped-for future in Palestine and Jerusalem on the old Mount Moriah.

Every synagogue congregation is independent. "Holy Days" in the fall and spring are as persistently kept (with children remaining away from school), as are those of Catholics, or as is Christmas. To reckon membership is difficult, one counting the male heads of families, another counting both heads of the family, while yet another counts all of Jewish descent.

As is not unfrequently the case, the first Jewish body here was a chapter of the Fraternal Order of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant), whence followed in two months in 1872, the organization of what is now the splendid "Temple Emanuel", at Sixteenth and Pearl, Denver. Having long outgrown the building of 1899, and debating removal and large expansion in residential Denver, this body decided to remain in the heart of the city, doubling the capacity of their building. It is now one of the most complete and useful in the state. Its roster of members reads almost like a list of leading business houses and professional men. For thirty-seven years, its Rabbi, Dr. W. S. Friedman (beginning before he was twenty-one years of age, and now long Rabbi for life), has been its leader as well as powerful in many directions in the state. He and his have been the founders and builders of the superb National Jewish Hospital on East Colfax Avenue, of world-wide repute and service. In the spirit of Jewish Philanthropy, millions have been poured into it.

Well nigh parallel has been the career of the more conservative synagogue known as Beth ha-Medrosh Ha-Gadol (1919), now superbly housed at the corner of Gaylord and Sixteenth, Denver, with Dr. Hillel Kauvar, now also Rabbi for life. This is a hive of religious training and activity, its members being perhaps a generation nearer European life and oppression. West of Denver its religion has philanthropically blossomed and fruited in another large Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society. From a wooden shanty worth some \$300, surrounded by tents, it has increased to

some sixty acres with a score of buildings, full of friendliness and mercy.

In different parts of the state (with synagogues in Trinidad, Pueblo, Colorado Springs), are some fifteen congregations, representing different foreign lands and surroundings, and having slightly varying denominational differences, some more conservative than others. All alike seek in their inherited way the spiritual weal of their people. Not all of them can afford regular and trained rabbis. In all these bodies and families, the most prodigious effort is made to impart religious instruction, before or after public school hours. They put some others to shame. In this respect Sunday is their busiest day.

THE BEST KNOWN PROTESTANT BODIES

Efforts to discover all of the smaller and more individual bodies or individual churches left much to be desired, names being often changed and modes of reckoning and reporting being very varied and too often scant. They will be listed chiefly in alphabetical order, the more related bodies being sometimes grouped into families as does the condensed federal census.

Adventists. The Seventh Day Adventist Denomination. Of the eight bodies of Adventists in the United States, this is the only one in Colorado.

In its present form the Adventist movement in general took shape from the work of Rev. William Miller in the middle of the nineteenth century. In New England he bore good reputation as a farmer and citizen, and with a common-school education of the day was a diligent student and great reader. Intense study of the English Bible with such equipment, resulted in his conviction and earnest preaching of the immediate Second coming of Jesus Christ, which he fixed for 1844. Believers, only, become immortal, and these today are still divided, some fixing the date ahead, but others contenting themselves with the Second Advent as in the "near future." This body centers in and spreads from Battle Creek, Michigan. It entered the state in 1880. The weekly holy day is Saturday, from sundown Friday until sundown Saturday. There are about seventy churches and

organizations, which number about 4,200 members. As tithers their religious gifts make them outstanding among the denominations, especially when their moderate circumstances are considered. About thirty years ago they opened at Boulder The Colorado Sanitarium, using largely hygienic food treatment, with a large supply store in Denver. They also conduct an industrial school for needy children of some thousand acres in the San Luis Valley.

Baptists. Of the seventeen such bodies at work in the United States, only two are known in Colorado, the Northern Baptist Convention and the National Baptist Convention formed of colored members.

These date their origin as distinct bodies from the time of the Protestant Reformation, though taking their name from the Baptist's sacrament of Immersion as the Christian initiatory rite. "Faithful in *one*; faithful in *all*." For centuries in the middle ages, that rite among the Catholics had more and more limited itself to sprinkling. But with the Reformation right to interpret the Scriptures individually, many became convinced that immersion alone met the command to be baptized, and hence in Germany and Switzerland they were called Re-Baptizers, from the Greek, Anabaptists, which term is now shortened to the Baptists. Their insistence upon this rite led to much opposition and persecution in the centuries from 1500 to 1900.

In American history is noted the remarkable career and initiative of Roger Williams, the "Apostle of Religious Liberty," who fled from rigid colonial Boston to Rhode Island, for the right to have a good conscience. "As there was no Baptist or Immersionist Church in existence at that time, he immersed Ezekiel Holliman, who thereupon immersed him. Williams then immersed ten others," and this company of obedient Baptist believers organized themselves into what is now the First Baptist Church of Providence and Rhode Island, and the United States, and far beyond.

That for which the body stands, is the legal independence of each church organization; entire separation of church and state; liberty of conscience in matters religious; baptism only by immersion upon adult confession of the com-

mon Christian faith; creeds and confessions merely advisory; the Bible alone binding.

The Baptist growth is steady and wholesome. Schools and missions have flourished with them, rather more than some other kinds of humanitarian works that others take to.

Golden claims about August 1, 1863, the senior enduring Baptist Church of Colorado, closely followed by that in Denver in the next year. The first pastor at Denver, the Rev. Walter Potter, early pre-empted 320 acres near the city, and had persuaded his uncle, W. Gaston, of Boston, to buy the fifty acres covering what is now the depot site. All this valuable property was ultimately given to the benevolent boards of the Baptist body. While utterly independent as churches, there is the closest inter-relation touching common matters. The urge of growth through conversion and nurture, manifests itself remarkably in the growth of its "Associations," in various parts of the state, formed from lay and ministerial delegates, for training in all common matters. The original "Rocky Mountain Baptist Association" about Denver in 1866, has gradually swarmed into the following, full well covering the activities of the body in the state: The Southern Colorado organized in 1872 at Cañon City; The Gunnison Valley, in 1886; The San Luis Valley, in 1895; The Colorado Midland, in 1896; The Southwestern, at Mancos, in 1899; The Southeastern, at Pretty Prairie, in 1915; The Eastern Colorado, at Limon, in 1918; and The Northeastern, at Fort Morgan, in 1925. Thus with the most natural urge and minimum waste of energy, each member in his enthusiasm reaches out toward some neighbor to share his blessings, and like leaven the communities are permeated.

Perhaps the longest pastorate among the Baptists, if not also in the state among Protestants at least, is that of the Rev. Joshua Gravett in the East End of Denver, more than thirty-five years. Only exceeded is he perhaps by Father O'Ryan and Rabbi Friedman. With the utmost fidelity and contentment has he tilled that field, or to change the figure, shepherded that flock. The First Church in Denver has long contemplated selling its valuable lots in the heart of the city and rebuilding elsewhere.

Educationally the Baptists have for some thirty-five

years prayed and worked for an institution of higher education under their auspices. The corner stone of the Colorado Woman's College was laid in 1890, far out east of the then inhabited City of Denver. With varying fortunes since, it has seen the city with students creeping out toward it, and is laying foundations against the day it will be in the heart of the great residential part of the city.

For nearly a half century a Baptist deacon in the person of Professor Herbert A. Howe has furnished education energy to the Colorado public, as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Denver. While in fact the predecessor of that institution was in suspended animation in the seventies, the Baptists endorsed a plan whereby it should be brought to life as a "Union Evangelical University," under the auspices and support of "the Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and Baptists churches," but funds were not forthcoming.

The National Baptist Convention. With every degree of Emancipation, the colored Baptists have more and more set up for themselves. This is true in Colorado. These colored Baptists, with dignity known as The National Baptist Convention, have more than a dozen churches in Colorado, and some 2,500 members. Having bought and held "down-town" church property until its rise, several of these bodies have acquired full church accommodations.

Brethren, German Baptists (Dunkers). At last reports this sect had seventeen churches and 1,090 members. It arose in Germany as a protest against a barren Protestantism, under the German Pietists Spener and Francke. They gave great impulse to the critical study of the Bible. Eight such Pietists in 1708 cast lots and the one upon whom the lot fell led Alexander Mack into the River Eder and immersed him three times in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then Mack likewise immersed the other seven, and these eight formed the first church in Protestantism having this conviction. They have been called Taufer, Tunkers or Dunkers, Dompelaars, German Baptist Brethren, or Church of the Brethren, and are largely of German descent. They came west from the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Brethren, Plymouth. For the fewness of their numbers,

these are widely known. Dissatisfaction arose in the minds of some in England and Ireland over the close connection between church and state, and with stereotyped forms of worship, and with church organizations in general. Such hopers for better things drift together in private houses, as members of the "invisible church," for the weekly "opening of the Word," and the breaking of bread. In America are no less than six groups, known by the Roman numbers as I, II, and so on. They acknowledge no creed, looking upon the Scriptures agreeably interpreted as sole guide. Believers are eternally elect. The few in Colorado are of the "open" Brethren, looking more to "What the person himself holds," rather than to his credentials.

Churches of Christ. These churches are closely allied with the Disciples of Christ, sprung from the same Thomas and Alexander Campbell a century ago, and standing now nearer together and now farther apart. There were ever those who favored the new and those who feared it. Apart from these two attitudes, the two bodies hold and advocate the same. At last reports these had here some twelve churches and 700 members.

Churches of God in North America. Of general German Reformed origin, through the conversion, activity and preaching of John Weinbrenner, whence the body is popularly known as "Weinbrennerian." Finally in 1829 he organized "The Church of God." In doctrine the body is evangelical and orthodox, being Armenian rather than Calvinistic, and Presbyterian in polity. Its missionaries reached Colorado, planting at last accounts three churches with 137 members (1916).

Congregational Churches. The Reformation in England developed along three lines: Anglicanism (now Church of England), Puritanism (Presbyterians and some Anglicans) desiring a thoroughly purified National Church, being reformers from within, and Separatists, holding that any established church was an anti-Christian imitation of the true church and could not be reformed, and that the only thing for a Christian to do was to "separate" himself from it. Separatism eventuated into Congregationalism. Some of these Separatists found shelter in Holland as Pilgrim Separatists, who ultimately sailed for New England in

1620, landing at Plymouth. Later came from England some of the Puritans, and while opponents in England, these gradually drew together in America, forming our Congregational Churches, though in the newer West preferring for strength to form themselves into Presbyterian Churches. During the 17th and into the 18th century, the Congregational was the tax-supported State Church in Eastern New England. A century and more ago it divided into Trinitarian and Unitarian bodies, usually dividing the town into a weak new church of some kind, according to which did the splitting. With the Congregational Confession of Faith as adopted in 1913, there would have been less cause for such split.

Sharing in the "Union Sunday School" of November, 1859, the Congregational Church finally took root in Central City in 1863, and in Denver in 1864. Because larger, Boulder and Central anticipated Denver's church. After much struggling, in 1870 a church was finished at 15th and Curtis, Denver.

Outward over much of the eastern slope has gone the fructifying influence of that church. Without much flourish of trumpets, it has steadily ministered to a large number of Germans in the country, about a fifth of its more than a hundred churches being for such.

Disciples of Christ. This is the best-known name in parts of the country, though "Churches of Christ (Disciples)" is the name recently adopted officially.

In its present form, it is an American movement more than a century old. Its habitat is the Central and Western states; its patron saint, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, of the Secession branch of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Coming to America in 1807, he settled in western Pennsylvania. With his son, Alexander Campbell (whence the frequent name "Campbellites") and others, there was formed the "Christian Association of Washington, Pa.," the purpose of which was to set forth the essential unity of all true Christians. To minimize and as much as possible abolish all schisms and uncharitable divisions among Christians, was the aim. But in spite thereof, the result was *another* sect added to the unhappy list. They have been called: "Christians," "The Christian Church," or "Church of Christ," or

“Church of Disciples,” or “Disciples Church.” The Year Book of their Missionary Society bears the name of “Churches of Christ (Disciples).”

In general it accords with Protestant ideals: the Divine Sonship of Jesus, the fundamental fact of Holy Scripture, the essential creed of Christianity, the one article of faith in order to baptism and church membership.

For the decade of the seventies, numerous steps were taken for the beginning and establishing of the Disciples Church. Governor Routt and family and that of Professor Brinker were leaders therein, meetings being held for long in the chapel of the Brinker Institute, later the Hotel Richelieu, and still later The Navarre, opposite The Brown. There was incorporated The Central Christian Church of Denver, which soon built upon the site of the Majestic Building, later to move to 16th and Lincoln. Rev. W. B. Craig was a power in the origin and growth of numerous churches. Equal pioneers were those in Boulder and Colorado Springs, followed by a noted body at Grand Junction.

Eastern Orthodox Churches. Of the seven branches in America (chiefly due to language), only two have come to Colorado. Its members number 2,362, chiefly men and boys.

These are chiefly guests from Eastern Europe, known as Eastern Catholics (with center at Constantinople or Petrograd), as distinguished from Western Catholics (centering at Rome). It is to the highest credit of these incoming peoples of various forms of religion powerful to them, that they should rear here in America their strange altars, and to seek the good through their wonted ways.

The two forms acclimated in Colorado, are the Greek Orthodox Church (Hellenic), meaning that it is most closely connected with Athens and Greece, and the Russian Orthodox Church, being of Russian birth. The former serves over 100,000 natives of Greece in America, mostly young men engaged as confectioners, florists, shoe-blacks, caterers. Of such there are about five hundred in Denver alone. Among these the spiritually alert felt that it should not be said at home that so-and-so had gone to America and h_____, and accordingly they led in the buying of marketable church buildings, sending to their home-land for pappas,

and keeping themselves near to God. Two societies are thus maintained in Colorado, strangers in a strange land, bound not to forget their God and their moral weal therein. Blessings upon them! The writer has seen its large congregation of men and youths standing or kneeling during an entire two-hours' service. The Russian Orthodox Church is brought and set up wherever the Russians are numerous enough. For several years there has been litigation as to just which Russian section shall have control in these Colorado churches, whether the officials favorable to the Soviet or opposed to it.

The Evangelical Church was formed in 1922 by the merging of the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church. May the good work go on!

The Rev. Jacob Albright was a Methodist minister of German extraction in 1790 in Eastern Pennsylvania. He was very successful in ministering to his countrymen wherever found. They finally persuaded him to care for them exclusively, and formed a church around him, which in doctrine and polity is Wesleyan. It has spread westward until it has in the country some 2,000 ministers and 200,000 members. With people of German ancestry or religious training, it took up work in Colorado some forty years ago, having now about twenty-five churches (four in Denver), and nearly 3,000 members. A recent and very successful venture was their Evanston Church in South Denver, which had to be enlarged in two or three years. It is mostly on the Eastern Slope.

Evangelical Synod of North America. German Lutheran and Reformed ministers in Missouri a century ago, and sporadically elsewhere, finding themselves in America without the advantages of any "Established" Church, gravitated together for the benefit of union and coöperation in shepherding their scattered flocks. They are generally Lutheran in tone and practice.

Friends. Of the four bodies in America, only one is at work in Colorado—the regular original Orthodox body. In the disturbed conditions in England, one George Fox arose and sought to emphasize the spiritual side of Christianity, as he thought overwhelmed by the outward rites. He taught the necessity of divine power within the

man to enable him to live according to the will of God, and the direct communication of this will to the individual believer in Christ, and the need of a perfect consistency between the outward life and the religious profession. Fox having called upon all men to "tremble at the Word of the Lord," they came to be called Quakers, though at first calling themselves "Children of Truth," or "Children of Light," also "Friends of Truth," or finally the "Religious Society of Friends." William Penn finally accepted Pennsylvania and a colonial charter in return for a debt owed to his father by the King, and the body and movement prospered.

Their emphasis is upon the immediate personal teaching of the Holy Spirit; outward simplicity in garb and speech and worship; invisible character of the sacraments; non-resistance; non-combative service when impressed.

One or two Friends' Meetings have existed in Colorado for nearly half a century, the chief being in North Denver. They have "borne witness." They have made headway, increasing to several hundred in twenty years.

Independent Churches. There are many such bodies, often known as "Union Churches," or "Community Churches," or "Independent Churches," where it is deemed best to have only one religious body in a town or neighborhood. One of the best of these can be seen at Roggen, on the Burlington, east of Denver, largely the choice and work of the Painter Brothers. In every case the advantages and disadvantages of being detached have to be weighed. An experiment of this sort has been carried on at Gunnison, where a Methodist church organization and a Presbyterian church organization have the same Pastor and public worship and shepherding, but are otherwise perfectly identified with their State organization.

While there were found by the Census of 1916 five churches styled "Independent," with about 150 members, there are doubtless many more that are trying the more or less independent experiment.

Latter Day Saints. This body is not a century old. Its striking personalities were first, Joseph Smith, "the Martyr," followed by Brigham Young, founder of Utah. In common with many, Joseph Smith was disturbed by the

variety and number of the denominations and of the interpretations of the Scriptures. In a vision he claimed to have been warned "to join none of the religious sects, for the Lord was about to restore the gospel, which was not represented in its fulness by any of the existing Churches." Visions came, including the "golden plates" written in "old Egyptian," whence he was understood to translate what is now known as the Book of Mormon, variously esteemed.

All this resulted in the founding at Fayette, New York, of "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." Courage and devotion characterized the body as it migrated by stages to Kirtland, Ohio, and thence to places in Missouri, finally settling in Nauvoo, Illinois. Great hostility was manifested against them by the people of the surrounding counties, with the result that by a mob at Carthage, Ill., the Prophet Joseph Smith was killed, and the body greatly discouraged. Brigham Young was chosen president, and under him took place the wonderful and perilous migration to the uninhabited desert of Utah. There, with less molestation, the body became through tithing and industry rich and strong. Brigham Young introduced polygamy, now held in abeyance because of Federal laws.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Even before Joseph Smith's death a number were dissatisfied with his leadership, and these and others refused to follow Brigham Young, forming this body with center at Independence, Mo., denouncing the polygamous innovation and differing with the older (or newer) body in more than a hundred points.

Mormonism holds that the Bible, as far as correctly translated, with the Book of Mormon, are the Word of God. Freedom of conscience is insisted upon. The organization is very elaborate and minute—a most perfect hierarchy. The tithe enriches the body and makes more thrifty the people.

Most naturally, as adjoining Utah, this body has many followers in Colorado.

Lutheran Bodies. There are twenty-two bodies in America, seven in Colorado. The common impulse was given by Martin Luther in Germany, and spread to Den-

mark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and other kindred lands. For two centuries and more Lutherans from these lands have been coming to America.

The heart of Lutheranism is justification of the sinner before God by faith alone, with proving good works following; the supremacy of the Bible; the two sacraments the channels through which God offers his grace. Fundamentally the churches are independent, but coöperating through synods of delegates. Only those are counted as members who have been confirmed at about the age of thirteen years. The worship is a moderate liturgism.

In 1873 the Rev. H. Brammer was set apart as the first German Lutheran Pastor in Colorado. The work of himself and others so prospered that a score of churches resulted. In 1880 the Swedish Lutheran Church—the Augustana—began work at the hand of the Rev. G. A. Brandelle, whose pastorate was long and useful. The beginnings of English Lutheranism were late in 1884. The Rev. A. P. Heilman gathered nineteen members “back east” who had settled here, and organized the body which in a little more than a year entered the landmark on 22nd and California, so soon to be left for the superb edifice in the center of things at 16th and Grant.

Mennonites. There are sixteen bodies in the United States, three in Colorado. These are individualistic groups that in the middle ages were irked by the changes in organization and doctrine going on. They remained as much aloof as possible. Early in 1500 they found organic connection around one Menno Simon, a former Roman Catholic priest, being much akin to the English Baptists. They emphasize foot-washing, non-resistance, and protest against unjust laws.

Methodist Bodies. Of the seventeen branches of this movement, only five are at work here. These are the Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, South, the Free Methodist, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal. The total membership is 57,848.

This was another of those breaks for life in the eighteenth century, over against lethargic and lifeless conditions ecclesiastically in England. In Oxford, from several

colleges there met a half-dozen students who looked in terror upon conditions. It was another "Youth Movement." They set out by the severest self-denials and humanitarian good works to become holy. Forerunning another "Oxford Movement," they sought to fashion their lives after the saints of the early church, rigorously fasting, keeping the hours of prayer, and the like.

John Wesley was highly schooled and became a teaching Fellow, in charge of a group of students. The carefulness and seriousness of the lives of the little dozen leaders, evoked for them the derisive names: "The Holy Club," "Bible Bigots," "Methodists," because by *method* as in the sight of God they regulated their every word and act and thought to win God's favor. As time passed, the last derisive name became that of a world population influenced by it to perhaps the number of 30,000,000, while indirectly through other bodies it has influenced as many more.

In a Moravian meeting in London, Wesley "felt his heart strangely warmed" as free forgiveness and justification before God by faith alone was held before him. From that hour his aim and motive power were diametrically changed, as all continents now know. From a forgiven and love-filled heart he began to go about doing good to all men, becoming the power that Lecky declares transformed England. His aim was vital rather than dogmatic. His intent was anything but the formation of an ecclesiastical body to add to the list of contending sects. He would form "societies" of "awakened" persons, whether members of any Church or not, simply to secure holy living.

Immigrants to America in mid-eighteenth century, set up his societies here. When in 1783 American Independence was recognized, he advised that those under his care here should organize themselves into an independent body, which he advised should adopt Twenty-Five of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and form a "moderate" Episcopal Church.

With freshness and joy its itinerant preachers and class-leaders covered the land, ultimately entering Colorado in 1858. While others wrought more or less before or after, it was the work of The Rev. Jacob Adriance who for several years "rode (or more truthfully walked) the circuit," that

laid the foundations that have endured. What has now become superb Trinity with its new institutional addition in the heart of the city, is directly descended from his work. Perhaps more people remember with pleasure the Rev. B. T. Vincent in the extending of the Methodist lines, than any other. For he came in the fall of 1863, and was at once sent to the center of things at Central City and Black Hawk. It so came to pass that in his old age and their weakened condition, he was for much of a year their Sunday Pastor fifty-seven years after, and at the hour of his death. With its system of oversight, now having five District Superintendents, the work has spread over the entire State, in many parts having comity agreements with other bodies more numerous represented or better able to care for the community undivided. Conducted at first as an outlying Mission of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference, it was permitted and authorized to become in July, 1863, the Rocky Mountain Annual Conference, having six charter members, though it now requires twenty-five to form such a body. In 1864 its name became The Colorado Conference. Since 1884 Denver has always been chosen quadrennially as a place of residence for one of the score or more of the Methodist Bishops, Bishop H. W. Warren so residing from 1884 to 1912, when he was followed by Bishop F. J. McConnell until 1920, when upon the election of Trinity's pastor, the Rev. Charles L. Mead, as Bishop, he was assigned to the Denver Area.

The great church at Colorado Springs has been a large inspiration in the planning and founding of Beth-El Hospital in that city, of national proportions. It is unexcelled anywhere.

The perpetuation of the Board of Trustees of the University of Denver (or its underlying Colorado Seminary with tax-exempt Territorial charter), rests with the Ministers of the Colorado Conference without restrictions. Going with such responsibility is understood to go an unusual measure of responsibility for financial support, which was given generously when for a score of years Chancellor Buchtel gave himself to Church and School in saving and securing it. The same body perpetuates the Trustees of The Iliff School of Theology, erected by Mr.

W. S. Iliff and projected and endowed by Bishop and Mrs. Warren, to serve all the religious bodies in these regions accepting its services. A dozen denominations are represented in it.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, originated in the split on the slavery question, in 1844. As already stated, men of this body were with the Russells early in 1858, being from Georgia. Beginnings were also made in Canon City, but were interrupted by the Civil War. Naturally many of this persuasion came to the State for health and other reasons, to be followed by their spiritual advisers and shepherds, until in the lower half of the State there are some score of churches and pastors of this body, with nearly 2,000 members.

The Free Methodist Church originated in the late fifties in Western New York, as a protest to worldly tendencies in the old church. Plainness and simplicity in all things were required. The chief officers are General Superintendents, re-elected quadrennially.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church. Single congregations of colored people alone have existed for a hundred years under more or less oversight of the mother church. But with Emancipation these churches passed rapidly into autonomous and distinct church bodies, largely where the colored population is most dense. Their Bishops followed the trek into Colorado in the eighties, planting strategically "Shorter's A. M. E. Chapel," the strong body of this denomination in Denver. In the larger towns of the State, more than a dozen kindred churches have sprung up. The Chapel aforesaid was recently burned, but with the fortunate insurance it is being replaced by a much larger and more beautiful structure.

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, protege of the Church, South, has now two plants in the State.

Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Sporadically in the last decade of the nineteenth century, many claimed that the "full gospel" was not being taught, that many of the churches were moving away from the poor, were becoming worldly. These persons and bodies finally merged into one body in 1906, with this name. Their work is to feed the hungry not satisfied elsewhere.

Pillar of Fire. This organization is of Colorado birth and growth. It is the outgrowth of the intense evangelistic work of Mrs. Kent White and her husband in the late nineties, in Denver and around Colorado. Using Champa Street as a center, with excursions into surrounding towns, working upon such material as the Salvation Army reaches and saves in the unchurched slums, Bishop Alma White launched forth a work of faith in 1901, which has grown largely abroad. New Jersey has become its greatest habitat, though in and around Denver members and property have gravitated toward her ministry. Once called "The Jumpers," such extravagances seem to be waning, and the work seems deepening and broadening. A fine temple-like church is being erected just south of the State Capitol; the valuable "Westminster University" north of the city has been bought most advantageously, and their educational work is carried on there.

Presbyterian Bodies. Of the ten bodies in America, only three have become at home here: The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; The United Presbyterian Church of North America; the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America.

This is one of the score of Reformation bodies, springing especially from Geneva, with Calvin as prophet, and passing quickly to Great Britain. Scotland under John Knox heartily welcomed it, and in the undoing of king and prelate in England the body took definite shape at the Westminster Assembly in London in 1645-49, producing the perfectly articulated Westminster Confession. The latter has been the venerated foundation, more or less conspicuous and impressive to this day in all Presbyterian-ruled bodies and some others.

The distinctively American Presbyterians came chiefly from Great Britain. As each group under its circumstances emphasized some one phase of doctrine or administration, there was perhaps some gain as well as some loss in the many divisions that have taken place. Basal is the idea of the Supreme Sovereignty of God in His universe; of Christ in Salvation; of the Scriptures in faith and conduct; of the individual conscience in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Christ is the only head of the Church, and the people as

subject to Christ are all entitled to participate in the government of the Church. Scouting prelacy, all ministers are peers. Presbyters or Elders, teaching or ruling, are elected by the congregations as their representatives, and this representative feature has commended the body in all regions representatively governed, being a mediation between the pure democracy of some sects and the absolute autocracy of the hierarchical bodies.

In June, 1859, "Father Hamilton," a "health-seeker," preached his first Colorado sermon in what is now West Denver, proceeding westward up Clear Creek, where by that time the thousands of men were. The first enduring Presbyterian Church in the Rockies was organized in Denver, September 2, 1860, in a large room on Larimer Street, by the Rev. A. T. Rankin. After a stay of four months "looking around," he returned to Buffalo. A year later the Rev. A. S. Billingsley appeared and in the International Hall on "Ferry Street" organized "The First Presbyterian Church" of Denver, no trace of the former body then appearing. Late in 1862, the Rev. A. R. Day arrived, and was able to find six persons who would identify themselves with the Church. Many were the tribulations endured and overcome in that first decade. At its end there were only six organizations and three church buildings in all. Twenty years later, however, what of the good seed that had taken root, had grown to four Presbyteries and eighty churches, and 6,500 members; a College and an Academy with over 200 students.

Most creditable has been the urge to establish institutions of higher education for denominational support and guidance. But the preliminary and ever essential "support," does not seem to have been forthcoming. The great and fine "Westminster University" was hoped for for some thirty years, but was finally sold to "The Pillar of Fire."

Under guidance into another field of benevolence and kindness, this spring has been opened in a sightly site in Denver, the last word in such institutions, as The Presbyterian Hospital, after many years of planning and aspiration. More and more is the ministry of healing seen to be a part of religious work, the wealthy ill taking with them into the hospital some poor patient free.

True to type, this body is pushing Daily Vacation Bible Schools relentlessly, these having grown to a total of forty-three. Along this line is the fine "Educational Unit" being added to the Montview Boulevard Church in Denver.

United Presbyterian Church of North America. This is the most successful attempt at union of the different Presbyterian bodies in the United States which represent the Covenanter and Secession movements in Scotland, which was accomplished in 1858. In general, in doctrine, polity and organization, the body follows Presbyterianism, emphasizing, however, a certain attitude toward the civil government. Among its eighteen articles, is the comforting one as to the "atonement through the satisfaction of the justice of God by the sacrifice of Christ, who thereby placed himself in the room of a definite number chosen before the foundation of the world."

Only psalms are to be sung in public worship.

This body is well situated in the leading towns of the State. It has twelve strong churches, numbering some 2,665 substantial members.

Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. This is the "Old Covenanter" stock of Scotland. For their religious liberties in the middle of the seventeenth century they in writing covenanted to resist all encroachments, even into blood. Their documents simply reek with determination. The descendants of this people, very largely, have four churches in Colorado, and their sturdiness ministers to the public welfare.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Many of the American Colonial Charters specified "Public service according to the Church of England." During the Revolution those using that service were thus doubly tied to the Crown, and were more likely to be royalists. Most of the Clergy returned to England, and at the close of the war, such worshipers were left in the lurch. But after a few years they gathered strength and became known as the Protestant Episcopal Church, deviating as little as might be from the English Prayer Book and its customs. It became a power in American life, furnishing more Presidents and more army and naval officers than any other body of its size.

In its finely organized expansion to the West it came to Colorado, it having already been narrated how it was probably owing to the persistence of the Larimers, father and son, that the first voice of praise and prayer and sermon was heard in what is now Denver. When William H. Moore began The Church of St. John's in the Wilderness, he remarked that it was "seven hundred miles from the nearest church." When Bishop Talbot, missionary Bishop of the Northwest visited in 1861, he judged that Central was the only place promising permanence to organize. The mining camps were still the centers. For a generation Bishop Spalding ministered and builded all over the State. The old cathedral was begun in 1880, costing some \$115,000. This was burned in 1903, but with the insurance and sale of the lots, the beginnings of the present partly-completed Cathedral were made.

The Bishops have been G. M. Randall, J. F. Spalding, C. S. Olmsted, I. P. Johnson, with several assistants and co-adjutors. The Western Slope has been well cared for, there being a score of rectors and two score parishes and missions.

Large ideals as to institutions of higher education have been held before this body, and heroic efforts have been made, deserving of larger success than was ever reached. This ambition thus to minister to a new community is all to their credit, but their chief collateral ministering has been in its great St. Luke's Hospital, now ready to enter upon its second half century of "healing the sick."

Reformed Church in the United States, formerly the "German Reformed Church." By intensity of conviction it has survived in America nearly two centuries. At first (1890), German-speaking, at Twenty-third and Lawrence, but English-speaking since 1898, and for twenty-five years at Seventeenth and Emerson, under Rev. D. A. Fouse. With another church, the membership is about 250.

Christian Reformed Church. This came more directly from Holland, being called at times the "True Dutch Reformed," as the preceding body was characterized as "German." The leading church is under Rev. I. Van Dellen in South Denver. With several other churches in the state, the membership approximates six hundred.

Salvation Army. The Salvation Army sprang from the love of folks in despair in East London, when William Booth and wife caught a vision of Man's need and God's supply, and resolved self-sacrificingly to bring them together. In a life time the Army has circled the globe. Early it came to Denver, and steadily it has carried on its mission of grace and cheer and relief there and in a score of cities in Colorado, by its usual and familiar methods. They are "complaining," however, that the closing of five hundred saloons in Denver and a thousand elsewhere, has greatly changed the nature of their field and work. The bums they must sober up, and the saloon-robbled families they must look out for, have almost wholly disappeared since 1920, with the abolition of the licensed liquor traffic. Fine "barracks" have been put up or acquired, but still the Army preaches hope and restoration for the downs-and-outs of other sorts, and will only have to keep on adapting its slogan of S. S. S.—Soup, Soap, Salvation!

Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. Here is felt and seen the devout urge to things religious in these guests from Scandinavia. The morals they knew at home they do not propose to ignore or abandon until they meet better. Accordingly whenever a dozen could meet and maintain worship across the wide country, they have done so at great cost. There were in 1916 two churches and 172 members.

Swedish Evangelical Free Church. These are akin to the preceding, with the characteristic adjective "Free" inserted. It is largely of the West. There were in Colorado in 1916, seven churches and 419 members.

Unitarians. Unitarianism may be defined in the most general terms as the religious doctrine of those holding belief in one God in one person, as distinguished from the Trinitarian belief in one God in three persons, and the related belief in the strict humanity of Jesus, as contrasted with the belief in his deity.

In America the first church to enunciate this belief was the Episcopal King's Chapel in Boston, and soon the Congregational Churches of New England divided into two camps.

In Colorado the struggle of the body has been heroic, beginning in 1871 in the District Court room. A long list of pastors is given during fifty-five years, and of halls and buildings used, until forty years ago the present fine building was erected. The census of 1916 gives five organizations in Colorado, and 638 members.

United Brethren. These purposeful people from two hundred years ago have been in close contact and more or less coöperation with several other bodies. It was the use of the German language alone that kept them apart from the Methodists, with whom they held much in common. Gradually the one conceded the use of German and the other outgrew it, but the organisms persist.

The organizations in the state numbered 17, with a membership of 1,240, both of which are understood to have increased during the decade.

Universalists. "The universal Fatherhood of God; the spiritual authority and leadership of His Son, Jesus Christ; the trustworthiness of the Bible as containing a revelation from God; the certainty of just retribution for sin; the final harmony of all souls with God."

At present there are only one or two churches in Colorado. That in Denver dates from 1890, in its present building since 1898.

CHAPTER XXIV

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Edgar Carlisle McMechen

LITERATURE: HISTORY AND TRAVEL—POETRY—THE PRESS—FICTION. THE DRAMA. ART AND ARCHITECTURE: SCULPTURE—ARCHITECTURE. MUSIC.

LITERATURE

Colorado literature is a curious polychrome upon a background vital and, at times, barbaric in color; overlaid with daubs of caricature and touched on rare highlights by the golden gleam of genius. An annotator of infinite patience and courage someday will appear who will scrape away the supercilious and lay bare the original pattern; for it is to be regretted that some of the most noted of early Colorado writers consistently lampooned pioneer life, in marked contrast to Bret Harte's treatment of California Argonauts. Although a master humorist, laughter and tears traveled hand in hand when the latter penned his tales and verse of the Forty-niners.

Perhaps the local treatment was due to the rapidity with which the scenes shifted under the influence of rapid transit; perhaps to the knowledge that the Rocky Mountain West was to be the last American frontier, and newspaper correspondents, magazine writers and travelers rushed to each recurring gold discovery to record "impressions" of a novel and fast-disappearing life; perhaps some will ascribe it to that moldy jest—"the altitude." Except in a few instances these impressionists failed to sense the simplicity, the courage and the unsophisticated nobility that spark when civilization and wilderness touch. The heritage of greatest value to future writers lies in fragmentary passages found in semi-historical and biographical books, unknown today except to students.

Unfortunately, an Atlantic Coast misconception of the Old West has dominated and retarded Colorado literature, with the inevitable result that a generation of pot-boilers, with mercenary intent, has produced a spurious and melodramatic fiction. To Eugene Field, the Peck's Bad Boy of American Letters, must be ascribed a partial responsibility. Although a rare genius himself, he approached his subject in Colorado with the cynic's eye. Whether Field ever would have seen the tremendous drama of the mining days, even though he had spent a lifetime in the state, is more than doubtful. His was the attitude of Gulliver in Lilliput; and by reason of his brilliance and facile pen he became the shibboleth for a horde of lesser lights. The romance, the tragedy and the ennobling traditions of the frontier have never been interpreted through such a medium. While the world must revere the childrens' poet of later Chicago days, Field's importance in Colorado is that of personality rather than accomplishment.

The point touches the chief criticism of early Colorado literature; that it is largely a burlesque variant from which, happily, some writers of the present generation are escaping. There have been too many literary offspring of Field and Bill Nye for the good of Colorado Letters; too many dialectic illiteracies of the Red Hoss Mountain Type.

HISTORY AND TRAVEL

Too much stress cannot be placed upon the importance of reports of exploration, territorial books of travel and personal experiences. They constitute the sources, descriptive and historical, from which have been drawn some of Colorado's best fiction and poetry. The unconscious self-portrait, contained in the official report of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, published in London in 1811, is as fine a bit of character delineation as the state can boast. No one, to the writer's knowledge, has more vividly portrayed the fur-trader's hard life, nor commented in a more illuminating manner upon famous frontiersmen like La Bonte, Bill Williams, St. Vrain and the Bents, than Lieutenant George Frederick Ruxton of the British Army in his books: *Wild Life in the Rocky Mountains* and *In the Old*

West. This intrepid adventurer, as his editor has said, "wrote in the saddle," but even so the young Englishman's writings have an unexpected literary interest. John C. Frémont, Rufus Sage, and Wislizenus contributed graphic touches of frontier life and hardships.

After the discovery of gold in 1858 a horde of newspaper and magazine observers crossed the plains to "write up" the Pike's Peak Diggings for their publications. Several were writers of superior attainments who have left faithful descriptions, somewhat prolific in adjectives, of Colorado's scenic attractions. Of these the best remembered is Bayard Taylor, world traveler, whose *Colorado*, published after the author's visit in 1866, is still quoted locally. Horace Greeley, magic and revered name in newspaper tradition, Henry Villard of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, A. D. Richardson, author of *Beyond the Mississippi*, and Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*, author of *Our New West* (1869), were the most eminent newspaper commentators of the sixties.¹

Though important work has been done by Colorado historians in the compilation of data, and though their volumes display a vast amount of research work, the combined result leaves much to be desired by the student. Neither are they of the type suitable for popular consumption. Jerome Constant Smiley is generally accredited with having written thus far the standard historical works. For many years Curator and Historian of the State Historical and Natural History Society, he exhibited untiring industry in his efforts to preserve the records of the state, and his *History of Colorado* (1913), and *History of Denver* (1901),

¹ Among the more notable women writers of the seventies were Mrs. Isabella I. Bird Bishop, member of the Royal Geographical Society of England, who contributed in 1873 an interesting book entitled, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*; and Grace Greenwood, whose *New Life in New Lands* was the result of a trip made for a New York magazine. The latter remained in Manitou from 1872 to 1877. A descriptive writer who exhibited excellent literary training was Judge Lewis B. France, "Bourgeois," lawyer, printer and journalist, who wrote for the ear of the sportsman, using a form of fiction replete with descriptions of nature. (*History of Colorado*, by Wilbur Fisk Stone. P. 880.)

are monumental evidences of his genius as a collector. He placed future historians and students forever in his debt, but left something to be desired in the organization of his works and his citation of authorities. General Frank Hall (1836-1918) left a *History of Colorado* that gives much detailed information about the pioneer period, and Colorado politics. One feels, however, as he peruses this work, that General Hall was very actively engaged in the politics of his day, and that some color of this activity is reflected in his writings. As a newspaper man at Central City in 1860 he had a rare opportunity. William N. Byers (1831-1903) founder of the *Rocky Mountain News*, also left important historical works, but his greatest legacy to posterity is found in the files of his newspaper, a mine of information and color bearing upon territorial and state history. There is a feeling among old residents that Byers was best equipped of all to have written *the* history of Colorado, but other affairs prevented him from placing in his effort the time and labor required by such an undertaking. The *History of Colorado* by Wilbur F. Stone, to which the writer is indebted for much of the material found in these pages, is included among the most ambitious attempts of Colorado historians. Valuable contributions were made by William B. Vickers in his *History of the Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys* (1880), *History of Denver and Colorado* (1880), and *History of the Arkansas Valley* (1881); as well as by Sidney Jocknick, author of *Early Days on the Western Slope of Colorado*, and *Campfire Chats with Otto Mears*.²

Aside from strictly historical publications there have been many books of personal experience, biography and autobiography published, more valuable to the litterateur than the major works, for these modest volumes contain a

² Professor James Field Willard's scholarly *Records of Union Colony* (1918); Ansel Watrous' *History of Larimer County* (1911); David Boyd's *History of the Union Colony* (1890); several books by Thomas F. Dawson, Curator and Historian of the Historical Society at the time of his death in 1923, including *The Life and Work of Edward Oliver Wolcott* and *A History of the White River Massacre* (1879), the latter in collaboration with Frederick J. V. Skiff, also are important documents.

wealth of color upon specialized phases of pioneer life,³ particularly in relation to the early churches and their ministers, and to the story of mining. In the former class may be mentioned: *Echoes of Peak and Plain* by Ira Haight Beardsley; *The Snowshoe Itinerant* by Father John Lewis Dyer (an astonishing and very human account of the hardships encountered by pioneers of the cloth); *Life of Bishop Machebeuf* by William Joseph Howlett (the story of the pioneer Catholic Church); *Recollections and Reflections* by Dean H. Martyn Hart of St. John's Cathedral.⁴

Numerous scientific and pedagogical works were penned by Colorado educators, but as they come properly under another chapter only a few need be mentioned here. Chief among the writers of this class was President James H. Baker of the University of Colorado. His writings were more than pedagogical for he reached out and embraced world conditions, as evidenced by the titles: *After the War—What?* (1918), and *American Problems* (1907). Dr. A. J. Fynn of the Denver Public School System wrote entertainingly of the American Indian in *North America in the Days of Discovery*. He is also author of the State Song, "Where the Columbinas Grow." Dr. Ammi B. Hyde, poet and essayist, Professor of English at the University of

³ Frank Fossett's *Colorado* (1876) and Ovando James Hollister's *Mines of Colorado* (1867) contain vivid pictures of mining conditions that enliven an otherwise dry subject. Miscellaneous books of special interest to students include: *Indians of the Pike's Peak Region* (1914) by Irving Howbert; *The Navajo and His Blanket* (1903) by General Uriah S. Hollister; *The Central Gold Region* (1860) and other writings by Governor William Gilpin; *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (1893) by Alexander Majors; *The Early West—Central City Recollections from 1865 to 1880* by Frank Crissy Young, several books of research by Eugene Parsons and others.

⁴ Notable books by authors of the cloth, which bear upon the faith and discipline of the church include: *Ten Commandments in the Twentieth Century* (1905) by Dean H. Martyn Hart; *In the School of Christ* (1910) by William Fraser McDowell, one of the great Methodist bishops of America and chancellor of the University of Denver during its formative period; *The Church and Its Apostolic Ministry* (1887) by John Franklin Spalding, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Colorado; and *Temple Talks* (1898), the liberal pulpit addresses of Myron Winslow Reed, one of the most versatile and brilliant men ever to fill a Colorado pulpit.

Denver for many years, had the distinction of having instructed, while in the East, Charles Dudley Warner, famous editor of *Harper's*, and Ida M. Tarbell, the historian.

POETRY

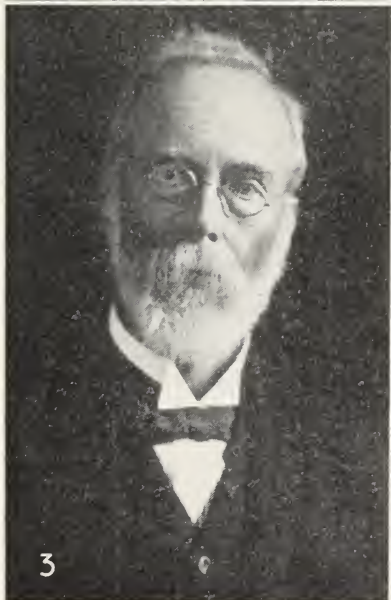
The art of poetry had a strong numerical following in the dawn of Colorado's literary activities. It was fitting that this should be so. Oceans, deserts, mountains, all natural phenomena that stagger the imagination, awaken in man the singing instinct. Although early songs were jingles, it may be well, at the risk of crowding out far better efforts, to give a typical example of this primitive effort. It has been said that one must know the primitives to appreciate art.

Major T. O. Bigney, aptly dubbed by Alice Polk Hill (*Tales of the Pioneers*, 1884, p. 293) "Colorado's primevil poet," published a curious book, *Month With the Muses* (1875), in which was included a plenitude of local color. The verse selected for partial quotation concerns a Georgian who sued unsuccessfully for the hand of a fair Mexican senorita—

And so they planned a famous plot—
 At dead of night they stole away
 And stole a burro swift and gay;
 By the light of the stars' uncertain ray.
 The maid stole out of the plaza gray—
 They mounted the ass and rode away.

"Her wrathful father, with a band of greasers at his command" pursued hotly, amid inspiring scenery, until the lovers were confronted by a desperate gorge "full seven yards wide." Undaunted, the Georgian scanned "with piercing, blazing eyes, The horrid gorge," and with commendable agility but without the burro, made the Lover's Leap. This obstacle gloriously overcome, the lovers sped on without the burro swift and gay, and this happy ending was theirs:

This danger shared, weds them, forsooth,
 As squarely, firmly, as the rite
 Imposed by priest or law, and quite
 As holy is, and just and true—
 And good enough, they thought—don't you."



1. EUGENE FIELD. 2. HELEN HUNT JACKSON.
3. HENRY READ. 4. HENRY HOUSELEY.

Eugene Field worked on the old *Denver Tribune* from August, 1881, to August, 1883, penning the most audacious verse and signing thereto the names of men prominent in business, political or social life. More often than not his jokes had a cruel point, but everyone in town laughed, except the victim. Field was thirty-one years old when the discerning eye of Ottomar H. Rothaker, that genius in detecting newspaper genius, located him in Kansas City, Missouri. Field's lasting fame came from work done after he had left Denver, "Little Boy Blue," "Wynken, Blynken and Nod," "The Sugar Plum Tree," and other tender lullabies succeeding to the "Casey's Table D'Hote" and "When Mojesky Played Cameel" period of his Colorado newspaper days. So much has been written of Field that it would be but repetition to relate his pranks here, but a story printed in the *Denver Republican*, November 11, 1910, is typical. When saying good-bye to his Kansas City friends in George Gaston's bar the poet casually ordered a ten cent cigar. Gaston suggested that Field pay his bar bill—over one hundred dollars—to which Field replied:

"Add ten cents."

"If you pay for that cigar," persisted Gaston, "I will write out a receipt in full." Field promptly borrowed a dime from a friend, paid the bill, pocketed the receipt, looked expectantly at Gaston, coughed.

"What's the matter?" asked the unwary saloon-keeper. "Aren't you satisfied?"

"Why—er—isn't it customary," sweetly inquired the poet, "when a man settles a big account like that to set 'em up?"

In addition to Field's Chicago book publications Joseph G. Brown edited in 1901 *A Little Book of Tribune Verse*, containing the best of Field's work while on this paper.

Hardly less enduring than Field's is the fame of Helen Fiske Hunt Jackson, the daughter of an Amherst professor, who wrote practically all of her important work, with the exception of *Ramona* (1884), in Colorado Springs between 1873 and 1885, the year of her death. Born in 1831, she was twice married, the second time to W. S. Jackson, treasurer of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company. The last ten years of her life were devoted to constructive

interest in the American Indian, culminating in her great novel, already mentioned. Her *Procession of Flowers in Colorado* and *Calendar of Sunrises in Colorado* are among her most popular works. Her poetry and prose reveal an alert mind, thronging with original ideas, often strongly philosophical, always delicate. One of her most typical verses is entitled "Thought."

O messenger, art thou the king, or I?
 Thou dalliest outside the palace gate
 'Till on thy idle armor lay the late
 And heavy dews; the morn's bright, scornful eye
 Reminds thee; then, in subtle mockery,
 Thou smilest at the window where I wait,
 Who bade thee ride for life. In empty state
 My days go on, while false hours prophesy
 Thy quick return; at last, in sad despair,
 I cease to bid thee, leave thee free as air;
 When lo, thou stand'st before me glad and fleet,
 And lay'st undreamed-of treasures at my feet.

In any anthology of Colorado writers Helen Hunt Jackson must be placed in the first rank, and several local poets have paid tribute to her romantic grave on Cheyenne Mountain, including J. Ernest Whitney, Virginia Donaghe McClurg and Stanley Wood.

The last named writer, though his output was small, comparatively, and his name all but forgotten, justly must be ranked as among the most talented the state has produced. Stanley Wood (*Stone's History of Colorado*, p. 880; *Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 239) was a newspaper man, a graduate of Oberlin University, born in Peru, Ohio. After service on New York papers he came, in 1879, to Colorado Springs, acting as city editor of the *Gazette* until employed between 1882 and 1889 as chief of the literary bureau of the Rio Grande Railroad. He wrote stories for *Harper's*, *The Century* and *St. Nicholas* magazines; two plays, and the comic operas *Priscilla*, *Red Riding Hood*, *Barbara* and *Brittle Silver*, the latter the first opera produced successfully by Colorado author and composer.

Recently a Denver litterateur said that he considered Wood's *Homes of the Cliff-Dwellers*, the finest poem ever produced by a Colorado author. While the writer would hesitate to endorse this sweeping estimate he would have

no hesitation in placing it close to the top. Wood handled difficult meter with ease, and in most of his verse there is a distinguished and individual charm. If any criticism were to be offered upon this poem it would apply to the length, yet the sonorous roll of the stanzas carries one along unconsciously. A partial quotation is deemed sufficient here:

In the sad Southwest, in the mystical Sunland,
Far from the toil and the turmoil of gain;
Hid in the heart of the only—the one land
Beloved of the sun and bereft of the rain;
The one weird land when the wild wind blowing,
Sweeps with a wail o'er the plains of the dead,
A ruin ancient beyond all knowing,
Rears its head.

On the canon's side, in the ample hollow,
That the keen winds carved in ages past,
The castle walls, like the nest of a swallow,
Have clung and have crumbled to this at last.
The ages since man's foot has rested
Within these walls no man may know;
For here the fierce gray eagle nested
Long ago.

Above those walls the crags lean over,
Below, they dip to the river's bed;
Between, fierce-winged creatures hover;
Beyond, the plain's wild waste is spread.
No foot has climbed the pathway dizzy,
That crawls away from the blasted heath,
Since last it felt the ever busy
Foot of death.

The white, bright rays of the sunbeam sought it;
The cold, clear light of the moon fell here;
The west wind sighed, and the south wind brought it
Songs of summer year after year.
Runes of summer, but mute and runeless,
The Castle stood; no voice was heard,
Save the harsh, discordant, wild and tuneless
Cry of bird.

No Voice of Spring—no Summer glories
May wake the warders from their sleep,
Their graves are made by the sad Dolores,
And the barren headlands of Hoven-weep.

Their graves are nameless—their race forgotten,
 Their deeds, their words, their fate, are one
 With the mist, long ages past begotten
 Of the Sun.

Only one who has stood upon the brink of a Southern Colorado canyon, and gazed into the silent heart of a cliff-dwelling may sense in full the melancholy beauty of this verse, for there hangs over all these ruins an indefinable atmosphere of unreality, that intangible something that separates the dreamer from his dream.

Nothing could be farther from the dignity and solemnity of Stanley Wood's lines than the lilting rhymes of Cy Warman, dubbed by the *New York Tribune* "The Poet of the Rockies." (*Stone's History of Colorado*, pp. 886-888; *Evenings with Colorado Poets*, p. 238.) Warman, born in 1855, came to Denver in 1880. He served first as a fireman, and later as an engineer on the Rio Grande Railroad. Soon he began to scribble verse that, in its easy, flowing style, is suggestive of the monotonous click-click of wheels on steel rails. A prolific producer of light lyrics, often carelessly executed, he attained national fame in one bound with "Sweet Marie," set to music by a traveling minstrel. The inspiration was Myrtle Marie Jones, a Denver girl, whom he married in 1892, the year that he started and failed with the *Creede Chronicle*. The Creede experiment resulted in the production of a short poem of two verses, named after the town, the last two lines in each stanza being among the most widely quoted by any Colorado author:

Here's a land where all are equal—
 Of high or lowly birth—
 A land where men make millions
 Dug from the dreary earth.
 Here the meek and mild-eyed burros
 On mineral mountains feed—
 It's day all day in the daytime,
 And there is no night in Creede.

Even in the most colorful days of the old mining era Creede was noted as the wildest of the wild, and this description of the quaint little town, seething with ore wagons and freight by day, roaring at night when the min-

ers came down from their hills, caught popular fancy and has lived where more worthy lines have died.

Following the reign of Helen Hunt Jackson several poets of ability flourished in Colorado Springs, of whom Virginia Donaghe McClurg (*Stone's History of Colorado*, p. 888; *Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 233; *Denver Post*, December 12, 1916) was among the most distinguished. Poet, journalist, archaeologist and lecturer, she came to Colorado in 1882 as correspondent for the *New York Graphic*, but the spirit of Hoven-weep took her and she remained to organize the Colorado Cliff-Dwellers' Association. She married Gilbert McClurg, publisher, author and lecturer, in 1889. Mrs. McClurg was a frequent contributor to national magazines, and left several volumes of excellent verse notably *Colorado Favorites*, descriptive of the state's wild flowers.

A contemporary was J. Ernest Whitney (*Stone's History of Colorado*, p. 888; *Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 239), a purist in style, former English instructor at Yale and editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine*. *Elm Leaves* and a fine Chant Royal "The Glory of the Year," represent his best while at Yale; *Pictures and Poems of the Pike's Peak Region* and *Myths and Legends of Manitou*, his Colorado work.

After one has perused hundreds of Colorado poems, beginning "Colorado, Land of Sunshine," or waded through scores of "Denver, City of Lights," it is refreshing to meet something as virgin in thought as the following:

Old Winter! at thy name what visions rise
Of fields outstretched, bewildering brown and bare,
Of ice and chill, and snowdrifts everywhere,
Of mists and rain and lowering cloudy skies.
Thou hast thy sunny side, thy gloomy guise
Is not for us; upon this ambient air
Thy breath is sweet as May, and thou dost wear
Such smiles! Each morn unfolds some new surprise.
O'er Colorado's mountains thou dost trail
Thy days so sun-bespangled that they seem
Steps to the infinite, and whirl on whirl
They circle westward like a golden sail
Upon the billowy blue, a radiant dream
Which nightward drifts upon their gates of pearl.

The author was Emma Playter Seabury (*Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 236), a minor poet of the nineties, who wrote for the *Commonwealth Magazine* between 1889 and 1891.

Howard Vigne Sutherland (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-25, p. 3095; *Post*, December 12, 1912; *Parson's Mss, Denver Public Library*), poet, short story writer, ceramic and art dealer, miner, reporter, adventurer extraordinary, was the author of several books of poetry, in which excellent literary craftsmanship was displayed. Sutherland was born in South Africa and during his travels lived in Argentina, San Francisco, Denver and Alaska, where he was the bosom friend of John Muir. His *Idylls of Greece* and *Out of the North* are his best known books. Mrs. Harriett L. Wason, who resided near Wagon Wheel Gap in the San Juan Mountains for thirty years, produced prolifically during the '80s and '90s, publishing several volumes of poetry, including *A Tale of the Santa Rosita Mountains* (1904). The influence of Edgar Allen Poe sometimes was discernible but it takes a clever bard to parody well "The Master of the Raven" and this Mrs. Wason did most successfully in her "Song of the San Juan." Harriett Lancaster Westcott, "Gwendoline," wrote some commendatory short poems of which "Night Cometh" (*Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 238) is an excellent example. William E. Pabor, poet of agriculture, whose life as a colonizer was most extraordinary (*Republican*, November 8, 1911), served for thirty years as poet laureate of the National Editorial Association.

Contemporary poets are a host, for the last dozen years have seen a renaissance of the art in Colorado. Space does not permit mention of all. Lillian White Spencer has published some lovely sonnets of the outdoors and the *Sonnets of Santa Fé*. Hattie Horner Louthan, novelist and poet, (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 2029; *Municipal Facts*, December 1922; *Stone's History of Colorado*, p. 886) has published two volumes of poetry, *Thoughts Adrift* and *Hill Rhymes*. She is Professor of English at the University of Denver and has taken an active part in furtherance of good literature in the state.

Alfred Damon Runyan's swinging lyrics of army life are picturesque interpretations of the American "dough-

boy's" ideas and mannerisms, and his work, in this field, is among the best. *Tents of Trouble* and *Rhymes of the Firing Line* represent his poetic collections, but he also is a short story writer of merit.

Typical newspaper verse seldom bears the stamp of permanency, and this is true of the output of James Barton Adams, for many years writer for the *Denver Post* and *Denver Times*. He published one volume, *Breezy Western Verse*, but his bid for fame was so startling that it had great vogue among the clipping bureaus of the country. This poem was based upon a sermon by John Jasper, negro slave preacher, (*Denver Post*, April 23, 1918) of which one verse follows:

When de trumpets am a-tootin' an' de stahs dey am a-shootin'
 An de owls dey am a-hootin' in de trees,
 When de earf it am a-quakin' an' de dead dey am a-wakin'
 An' de people am a-shakin' in de knees;
 When yo' hea' de rollin' thundah, an' de hosts am in der wondah
 standin' awed,
 An' yo' fin' yo'self a-tremblin', while de nations am assemblin',
 Oh, sinner, what yo' gwine to tell de Lawd!

The most popular verse ever penned by a Colorado writer undoubtedly is "Out Where the West Begins," by Arthur Chapman. (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 694; *American Magazine*, June 1916.) Written in 1910 and published in the *Denver Republican* this poem struck a popular chord, based as it is upon a sentiment that always will be close to the hearts of westerners. Chapman was born in Rockford, Illinois in 1873, and wrote for Chicago newspapers before coming to Denver in 1898 as "Center Shots" man on the *Republican*. Later he became managing editor of the *Denver Times* and is now free-lancing in New York. His books include: *Out Where the West Begins and Other Poems*; *Cactus Center*, poems of the alkali plains; *Mystery Ranch*, a novel of the West, and numerous stories and magazine articles. The poem that brought him fame came in a few minutes as part of his daily work, following an *Associated Press* dispatch that told of a discussion by a governor's convention upon the mythological location of the West. The verse has been reprinted thousands of times, used by two governors in their political campaigns, set to

music, quoted in Congress. It has been so widely broadcasted that it is hardly necessary to reprint it here.

Clement Yore (*American Magazine*, March 1918), was a Chicago police reporter, who gained fame by his *Songs of the Underworld*. His success brought him to Colorado's mountain parks, where the object of his creative effort was completely changed by nature.

This section may well be closed by a quotation from the youngest of Colorado poets as an indication of the high trend the art is taking, while it still retains local atmosphere. Thomas Hornsby Ferrill (*Rocky Mountain Herald*, April 20, 1918) was born in Denver in 1896, educated in the public schools and in Colorado College. His verse shows an unusual devotion to form; a meticulous care in the selection of words, an intellectual force, that give promise of higher attainment. The poem selected, "Hillbound," has a local inspiration, illustrating a point that the writer has consistently attempted to emphasize.

Under the shrill, cool quivering of mountain stars
He lay in boyish hate; hate for the time-ribbed scars
And bloodless crags, the stupid flocks, the wanton birds,
Hate for his mountain folk, their ways, their loves, their herds,
The rough-hewn women of their kind, the dew-plumed sage,
Hate for the space about, the endless space, the age;
Nor would he open up his eyes lest he should see
More things to hate, some shaded voice, some mordant tree,
Some dread assurance that the irons of mountain birth
Would chain him hillbound till he ebbed again to earth.
At length, too full of fearing hate for hating more
He rose, beastlike, and shook as if to fling the roar
Of silence from his heart, and struck a jagged trail
And climbed the black, unraveling thing up to a pale
Old Amber height, and stood there in the winged wind
As he had done long nights before, and let his mind
Dream o'er the blue plain far below, and out to where
A glow of checkered city lit the distant air,
And while he watched, the far-off city lights grew dim
And slowly drew away—and drew away from him,
As they had always drawn away when he had stood
Upon the clutching crag with longing in his blood.
And in that jeweled far-away were burning eyes
Of one much like himself, sweeping his prisoned skies
To see the peaks, rising like keen-edged silver helms,
Splitting and shivering golden moonlight down themselves,
Forever slipping back the more his longing grew,

Vanishing, vanishing into the open blue,
 Leaving him hopeless, cursing in the city's clasp,
 Like some old withered mandarin reaching to grasp
 A snowy, blooming girl who meets his crumbling glance
 With white withdrawal and sweeps on in ghostly dance.

THE PRESS

The story of the Colorado Press may be said, without straining the point, to be the story of Colorado Letters. The unique condition existing on the last American Frontier drew to the state adventurous knights of the pen, eager to see with their own eyes the eventful life of a world in the making. Men and women with ideas, alert to new impressions and sensations, quick, by virtue of their training, to grasp the odd, the unusual, the humorous, flooded the state, especially during the Leadville boom. The galaxy of colorful press personalities that resulted would be difficult to match elsewhere in the nation. Some of them have appeared already in this chapter.⁵

The first printing press used in Colorado was hauled across eight hundred miles of barren prairies behind a mule team. From it came William N. Byers' *Rocky Mountain News*, first printed April 23, 1859. Others quickly followed. Pioneer publishers had strange conditions to meet. The story of Lincoln's assassination was carried by pony express, and Byers met a news print shortage by issuing his celebrated Extra on brown butcher's paper.

The period most prolific in newspaper personalities was that between 1879 and 1890 when Leadville roared at its height of gold and pleasure. The most notable points of attraction to members of the Fourth Estate were the

⁵ Even the names of papers started, many of which came from the printing press overnight and died a-borning, were freakish. (*Stone's History of Colorado*. Chapter on The Press.) Let one equal, if possible, such a list of harlequin titles as the following: *La Junta Watermelon*, *Creede Candle*, *Canon City Clipper*, *Colorado Miner*, *Rifle Reveille*, *Trinidad Picketwire*, *The Solid Muldoon of Ouray*, *San Juan Prospector*, *Steamboat Pilot*, *Craig Pantagraph*, *Hudson Headlight*, *Nunn News*, *Fort Lupton Cyclone*, *Glenwood Avalanche*, *Wray Rattler*, *Lake City Silver World*, *Glenwood Ute Chief*, *Pueblo Chief-tain*, *Newcastle Nonpareil*. Some of these titles still are in use.

Denver Tribune, the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, both of which have left fine literary traditions, and the *Leadville Chronicle*, later the *Herald-Democrat*. The last named paper had one of the most meteoric rises of any newspaper publication in the world. The population of Leadville, when the first edition was printed, was twelve hundred; six months later it numbered sixty thousand. Carlisle Channing Davis, founder and editor, says in his *Olden Times in Colorado* that, starting without a single subscriber the *Evening Chronicle* sold nine thousand copies the first day. The profits at the end of one year were fifty thousand dollars; enough for John Arkins and James M. Burnell, his partners, who sold out and returned to Denver. Arkins, a brilliant and forceful editorialist, was for many years thereafter editor of the *News*. One of the incidents related by Davis is typical of the times, and indicates how the enormous profits, in part at least, were secured. A gambler wished printed a set of cards, numbered from one to ten. Burnell fixed the price at ten dollars, but Davis added ten more because of the man's disreputable character. Arkins, appealed to by the partners, who disagreed, said: "He's a disreputable whelp. Make it thirty." Whitten, a circulator, called in as arbiter, added: "He's an escaped convict from the North Dakota Pen, and engaged in unlawful business. Make it fifty."

When presented with a bill for the larger amount the gambler drew his check without change of expression, handed it to Whitten and remarked mildly: "John, I was a thief once myself, you know—but isn't this price a little high?"

Some brilliant writers began their careers on the old *Chronicle*, notably Luther H. Bickford, author of musical comedies and extravaganzas, who became managing editor of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean's* Sunday edition; and Robert Gauss, who later served as editorial writer on the *Denver Republican* for twenty-nine years, one of the ablest editorialists in the state's history. But there were others whose careers would have furnished interesting "copy." "Cad" Davis, in his book, takes particular delight in relating their unsavory criminal records; but a man's antece-

dents in those days were not investigated. He was judged solely on his ability to produce.

The *Tribune's* golden age ended with its change of name and the passing of Ottomar H. Rothaker, its managing editor, one of the greatest newspaper geniuses of the West, who died when thirty-six while editing the *Omaha Republican*. His keen perception brought to the *Tribune* Frederick J. V. Skiff, Eugene Field, Fitz-James MacCarthy, Patience Thornton (afterward Stapleton), Thomas F. Dawson, and other celebrities. Skiff's executive ability afterward brought him the Directorship of the Field Museum in Chicago, and numerous high posts on world exposition boards. Nearly every civilized nation on the globe decorated him in recognition of his work. Dawson became Washington correspondent of the *Associated Press* and executive secretary of the United States Senate.

Famous among early newspaper editors was Dave Day, founder of the *Solid Muldoon* at Ouray, and the *Durango Democrat*. A man of keen and biting wit, he proved himself the ablest paragrapher the state ever has produced, though sometimes his proclivity for pungent jokes brought him into dispute with the United States government. Also among the notables who served on the old *Leadville Herald-Democrat* and *Denver Republican* may be mentioned James H. MacLennan, the canniest of all Colorado political writers, and an editorialist of fine literary and intellectual endowment. He still is in service as editorial writer on the *Rocky Mountain News*.

Denver produced many extraordinary newspaper personalities besides those mentioned. Walter Juan Davis, who in feature and mental attitude, bore no little resemblance to Cyrano de Bergerac; William Stapleton, managing editor of the *Republican*, who made this paper a great power in Colorado politics, and Wilbur Steele, gifted cartoonist of the *Denver Post* for years, spent their lives in Colorado and have become newspaper traditions. Among living writers of this type also may be mentioned Charles H. Leckenby of the *Steamboat Pilot*, Ellis Meredith, distinguished writer on woman's suffrage, and Frances Wayne, witty feature writer of the *Denver Post*. But standing above all, by virtue of his dynamic personality, with, per-

haps, the single exception of Field, was Josiah M. Ward, for years city editor of the *Denver Post*, later managing editor of the *Denver Republican* and *Kansas City Post*. He was of the old driving type, with a tongue that could rasp like a file, but so keen, so capable, that he had the loyalty of his staff to the man. Ward wrote one novel, *Come With Me Into Babylon*, that ranks with the best fiction produced by a Colorado author. It ran through several home and one foreign edition.

FICTION

Among the early Leadville writers to gain recognition outside the state was Mary Hallock Foote, whose *Led Horse Claim*, a tale of the Tabor discovery, was a fine achievement. The Tribune writers, too, were producing good fiction at this time. Fitz-James MacCarthy, "Fitz-Mac," produced several remarkable stories dealing with the supernatural, trenchantly written with a splendid command of English. He wrote only for local publications, but several of his stories deserve places as Colorado classics. Of these the strongest is "Dead Man's Canyon," (*Tribune*, March 6, 1883). A co-worker on the *Republican* was Patience Stapleton (*Evenings With Colorado Poets*, p. 236), author of several novels and hundreds of short stories, who died when thirty-two years old.

To the unique personality of Enos Abijah Mills (1870-1922) was added a rare talent as a story teller. Naturalist, hotel-keeper, and writer on outdoor subjects for the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other magazines, Mills became a national figure. The writer has classed him with the fictionists for, when analysed, his books and articles on wild life owe their greatest charm to his gift as an engaging spinner of yarns. Born in Kansas City (Stone's *History of Colorado*, p. 880) he came to Colorado at an early age and engaged in mining. The lure of the outdoors captured him and he settled at the foot of Longs Peak, and worked for the creation of the Rocky Mountain National Park. From the naturalist's standpoint his first books are his best, his study of beaver, embodied in his book *In Beaver World* (1913), containing a wealth of valuable observation. *Wild Life in the Rockies*, *The Spell of the Rockies*, *Your*

National Parks, Waiting in the Wilderness, The Story of the Thousand Year Pine, will long have great charm for the lover of outdoor life.

It has remained, however, for Chauncey Thomas (*Who's Who In America*, 1924-1925, p. 3144; *Municipal Facts*, December, 1922) to carry away the palm for the western short story, local atmosphere, true delineation of frontier life and excellence of composition all considered. *The Snow Story* is a tale of the traditional bad man who, like Bret Harte's characters, had an occasional moment of the heroic; of a deadly six-gun that did not always belch flame and death, although the author himself is a noted pistol shot. Chauncey Thomas is a product of the environment of which he has written, born in Denver in 1872 of pioneer stock. He ran cattle over the hills of Middle Park in his youth, and snow-shoed over the Continental Divide in the dead of winter. Doubtless, because of this background, *The Snow Story* seems so virile and real when compared to modern "western stories" with their fire-cracker tragedies. Aside from its other excellencies Thomas' story is remarkable for its double climax, the drama of men paralleled by the drama of the elements. The same method was used in Bret Harte's *Outcasts of Poker Flat* and in Frank Norris' *McTeague*. Thomas' stories have appeared in some of the leading magazines of the country.

Another son of Colorado who has reached the top rung in Colorado literature is Robert Ames Bennet (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 377; *Stone's History of Colorado*, p. 886), a prolific novelist with twenty books to his credit. Born in Denver in 1870, the son of H. P. Bennet, first Colorado delegate to Congress, he practiced law, and later surveying, while writing his first novel, *For the White Christ*, a story of Charlemagne, that won him immediate success. In 1917 the University of Colorado awarded him the honorary degree, Master of Letters. Among his books are: *Into the Primitive* (1908), *A Volunteer With Pike* (1909), *The Blond Beast, Bloom of the Cactus, Tyrrel of the Cow Country*. Adventure and problem novels engage his attention, and he maintains his standard well.

Courtney Ryley Cooper is one of the later arrivals among successful Colorado authors. Born in Kansas City

in 1886, he ran away while a boy to become a circus clown. He became a special writer on Kansas City, New York, Chicago and Denver papers, but since 1912 has devoted himself to fiction, producing two novels, *The Cross-Cut* and *The White Desert*, and over three hundred stories of circus and jungle life. More recent is George Looms (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 2022), newspaperman and author of the novels *Stubble* and *John-no-Brown*.

A novelist as prolific as Bennet and Cooper is William McLeod Raine (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 2639; Stone's *History of Colorado*, p. 886), an Englishman who came to the United States in 1881, while a boy. He writes of cowboys, forest rangers and western bad men, with an occasional venture into other fields. *Bucky O'Connor*, *Steve Yeager*, *Wyoming*, *Tangled Trails* and other novels crowded with action have had a popular vogue. Over twenty books have appeared from his pen.

While not a Colorado resident, many of Hamlin Garland's novels (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 1246) are laid in Southern Colorado. He writes with the skill of an accomplished author, and is a member of the American Academy of Letters. Perhaps the best of the Colorado productions is *The Captain of the Grey Horse Troop*.

One who rode the Chisholm Trail and punched cattle before he became an author is Andy Adams of Colorado Springs (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 173; *Rocky Mountain News*, October 4, 1904; *Denver Times*, August 18, 1915). He tried mining unsuccessfully, and while dejected and penniless saw Hoyt's *Texas Steer* in Colorado Springs. This decided his career for he believed that if imitation cowboy drama could succeed, the real thing should yield him a living. *The Log of a Cowboy* (1903), followed by *A Texas Matchmaker*, *The Outlet*, *Cattle Brands* and *Reed Anthony, Cowman*, established his reputation. Though not of the highest literary character, his stories have a permanent value because of their accurate description of cattle-range life and manners.

Somewhat off the beaten track of fiction, yet told with the novelist's skill, are the books of Harvey O'Higgins (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925, p. 2435), who spent several years in Colorado writing *The Beast and the Jungle*,

Judge Ben B. Lindsey's picturesque political tale; and *Under the Prophet in Utah*, in which he collaborated with Ex-United States Senator Frank J. Cannon of Utah. Both are frank "muck-rakers," smacking of yellow journalism methods, but in each O'Higgins exhibited a skillful dramatic sense and literary ability.

Will and Wallace Irwin, both of whom have made national reputations as novelists and magazine writers, may be classed among Colorado authors, although practically all their work has been produced on the Pacific or Atlantic coasts. While the boys were still very young their father took them to Leadville, where they lived from 1882 to 1889, when the family moved to Denver. Both were educated in the Denver Public Schools, receiving their early literary training and aspirations from Sarah M. Graham of West Denver High School, one of the greatest inspirational teachers in Denver's educational history. She, herself, was a writer of light fiction. From her slender means she helped the Irwin boys attend Stanford University. Will has laid several of his productions in Colorado, one of these being a novel, *Columbine Time*. Two of his finest literary accomplishments include an exposé of yellow journalism throughout the country, and a series of articles in *The Saturday Evening Post* upon early days at Leadville, entitled *Leadville, An Epic of the West*. He is justly ranked as one of the greatest reporters the American Press has produced.

Wilbur Daniel Steele is the peer of modern Colorado short story writers. Born in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1886, he was brought to Denver at an early age by his father, Dr. Wilbur Fletcher Steele, for many years a professor at the University of Denver. In this institution young Steele received his literary training, later studying art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Academie Julien, Paris, and the Art Students' League, New York. His career as short story writer began in 1913 with a tale entitled "Storm." Since then he has climbed steadily in reputation. Most of his work has been executed and laid in other climes than Colorado. In power of plot and literary excellence he stands among the foremost living short story writers of America, having received the first and second O. Henry awards for this type of fiction, as well as a special prize in

1921 for "maintaining the highest level of merit for three years among American short story writers."

THE DRAMA

Saloon, church, theater and literary society! These were the stepping stones in the social and cultural development of frontier mining towns in the Far West. True to the order of Genesis man's needs came first, and were fulfilled through the cup that cheers and the gayety engendered by song and dance; but woman, in each instance, countered with the house for worship and the club for the exchange of ideals and gossip and like things.

The first theaters were variety houses, where the cold managerial eye appraised the artist by the number of brass checks that glinted through her red or pink silk stockings, each check denoting the negotiation of a sociable cup with a guest and consequent profit to the house. Sometimes the gambler-proprietor felt that his patrons needed softening influences and loaned his hall for an hour to a pioneer minister, but on the whole the saloon and church did not harmonize well. On the other hand, the literary society and the variety theater gradually drew together, and from the camaraderie thus established the legitimate stage arose.

The first dramatic production on Colorado soil was given by a company of barn-stormers from Fort Leavenworth. The *Rocky Mountain News*, of October 6, 1859, less than one year after the founding of Auraria, reported this performance, which took place on the evening of October 3, 1859, at Apollo Hall, the second floor of the old Barney Building on Larimer, between what are now Fifteenth and Fourteenth streets. Thorne's Star Company gave *Cross of Gold*, followed by the farce, *The Two Gregories*, interlarded with a popular song by Miss Flora Wakely and a dance by Mlle. Haydee. After a few performances the *News* regretfully announced that Col. Thorne had departed, but that Mlle. Haydee and sister had taken over the hall and would present programmes three evenings a week. The Cibola Minstrels, composed of local talent, opened Reed's Theater on the evening of October 24, 1859.

Under this stimulus the creative impulse stirred local

breasts, and Colorado's first dramatist, A. B. Steinberger, composed *Skatara, the Mountain Chieftan* in celebration of the newly formed "Territory of Jefferson," a popular government of short duration, preceding the legally constituted Territory of Colorado. An old playbill, dated December 12, 1859, announced the production. The *News* of December 1st announced that this play was to be given in Apollo Hall as a benefit to Miss Wakely, and reprinted part of the prelude. As this is the only extant, verbatim fragment of this historical piece, it is reproduced here:

Far amid the highlands of the West,
Where mountains rear aloft their sombre front,
And dark vales echo to the stirring hunt;
Where roaring torrents plunge their rocky way,
Upon the plains to seek the light of day,
Great stirring center of the land they don
So proudly now; the State of Jefferson.

The Denver Amateur Dramatic Company entered the lists during the ensuing year, and in the *News* of March 5, 1860, we have the first dramatic criticism penned within the confines of the Centennial State. There is a certain naive frankness about this that makes it worthy of preservation:

The Amateur Exhibition—The Apollo was well filled last evening and the performance passed off smoothly. Mr. Wyncoop deserves more than a passing note. His rendition of the drunkard was given with most thrilling effect and in the scenes of delirium, in the intensity and strength of his mania, he exhibited more than ordinary histrionic ability. It has been our lot to witness, and our task to soothe the terrible agonies of one who was wild with delirium tremens, and although the scene will never fade from our memory, it was more vividly before us last night than we have seen it for years.

It is doubtful if any actor who has appeared in Denver has received a more sincere and authoritative criticism than this fine tribute to the consummate art of this pioneer actor.

In the fall of 1860, J. S. Langrishe (*Denver Tribune*, January 1, 1881), who may be called "the father of the Colorado stage," came to Denver from Fort Laramie, bringing his artists in mule-drawn wagons. The first perform-

ance was in Gunnell Hall, or Apollo Hall, September 24, 1860. Mike Dougherty, a Central City gold miner, and other local amateurs, joined the company, which played six months to crowded houses, and then went to Central for six weeks. Their success resulted in the erection of the Platte Valley Theater at Sixteenth and G streets, another company having been organized from Denver talent. The Langrishe players engaged in the first barnstorming trip in the territory, opening in a log cabin in Georgia Gulch, and eventually organizing a pioneer circuit that played in Denver six months, Central three months, Georgia Gulch, Delaware Flats, Montgomery, Buckskin Joe and French Gulch.

The Platte Valley Theater opened October 26, 1861, in *Richard III* (*Rocky Mountain News*, October 26, 1861). *The Devil's in the Room* was the secondary performance. (*Rocky Mountain Herald*, March 24, 1921.) Mlle. Haydee danced. Sam D. Hunter, as house manager, attired in dress suit and white kid gloves, delivered a poem as an address. Gold scales were in the box office to weigh the miners' gold dust. Fifty ladies were present. The barkeeper, in the elegant saloon, located in an adjoining room, found business good. Langrishe soon bought the Platte Valley House from George Harrison, owner of the Montana Theater at Central, who had been forced to leave that settlement because of a shooting fray. The name was changed by Langrishe to "The Denver."

Between 1861 and 1873, when it burned (*Rocky Mountain News*, March 24, 1921) the old "Denver" served many purposes, and had many names, ending as "The Wigwam." Here spoke George Francis Train on the railroad question. Artemus Ward lectured there. P. T. Barnum, circus genius; Grace Greenwood, poet and writer; Schuyler Colfax, Grant's vice president; William P. Blaine, Cassius M. Clay and others famous in their day for oratory and wit appeared upon its platform.

N. C. (Nick) Forrester came to Denver during the Winter of 1874-1875, playing in the Denver Theater (*Denver Inter-Ocean*, 1881). It was he who first placed the Colorado stage upon a substantial and commendatory plane.

Forrester later secured Guard Hall, the armory, and called it the Forrester Opera House. Stars who appeared here during the late '70s included the elder Sothern, Joe Jefferson, Kellogg, Cary, De Murski, Janauschek, Mrs. Bowers, Lawrence Barrett, Tom Keene, Rignold, Mrs. Scott Siddons, Blind Tom, John T. Raymond, Barney Maccauley, W. E. Sheridan, Charlotte Thompson and others as famous. Edwin Booth played Hamlet here, and Joe Jefferson gave the inimitable Rip Van Winkle (*Denver Times*, December 11, 1895). In 1879 Forrester opened in Leadville in a monster tent (*Olden Times in Colorado*, Carlyle Channing Davis). The same year H. A. W. Tabor presented to the city of Leadville a two-story brick theater, where appeared many of the celebrities who came to the capitol city.

Soon thereafter Tabor, who is said to have made one million three hundred thousand dollars from the Little Pittsburgh mine alone, transferred his residence to Denver. Nowhere else in the world, except on the Colorado mining frontier, could so marvelous and delicious a thing have happened as the spectacle of this unlettered but large-hearted mining magnate spending his fortune lavishly to give the state its first great cultural impulse. The Tabor Grand Opera House, at the time of its erection one of the handsomest and most completely appointed theaters in the country, had a stage seventy-two feet wide and fifty feet deep. The architect, W. J. Edbrooke of Denver, was told to spare no expense, and he took the builder at his word. Cherry woodwork was used in the interior, two massive columns of this material flanking the proscenium arch. Oscar Wilde was then at the height of his glory, and his predilection toward sunflowers was well known. The decorative motif was the sunflower. L. J. Hopkins of Detroit painted the curtain, ruined classical columns standing beside a palm-fringed pool. Underneath was a legend that caused nation-wide dispute:

So fleet the works of men, back to the earth again,
Ancient and holy things, fade like a dream.

The name of Charles Kingsley was appended to this couplet, but the poet's published works failed to reveal the words. An Ann Arbor professor finally sustained the artist

by discovering the couplet in an early edition of Kingsley, and settled the dispute. The curtain has been one of the most famous in the history of the American stage. Hector and Andromache were represented on a panel above the arch, and a gold-leaf profile of Shakespeare appeared beneath this panel. The late Jerome S. Riche, one of Denver's pioneer citizens, related to the writer an interesting incident in connection with the Shakespeare medallion. Tabor dropped into the theater one morning as Hopkins was completing the profile. For several minutes he contemplated the work with growing ire, finally booming forth:

"Who's that thar feller you're paintin' up thar?" The surprised artist replied that it was William Shakespeare.

"Willum Shakespeare?" roared Tabor. "Who's Willum Shakespeare, and what in hell did he ever do fer Colorado? Paint him out and put me up thar."

The noble old house was opened September 5, 1881, by Emma Abbott and her opera company, playing *Maritana*. Gene Field had poetic comment to make upon the event, as he did later when Mojeska appeared, and he gave the world his Red Hoss Mountain ballad, "Mojesky as Cameel." Oscar Wilde visited the city about this time, but did not like the theater, the sunflowers or Gene Field. The latter had gone to the nearest incoming railroad station upon the day of the poet's arrival, dressed himself as dudishly as the city's haberdasheries would permit, stuck a huge sunflower in his buttonhole and boarded the train upon which Wilde was supposed to arrive. Entering a carriage amid the crowd's plaudits he had himself driven up Sixteenth Street, bowing and smirking to tumultuous applause. Wilde, who had been delayed, received not so much as a glance of interest when he stepped from the train.

Among the great ones who appeared at the old Tabor were Alexandre Salvini, Mary Anderson, Sarah Bernhardt, Modjeska, Minnie Maddern (later Fiske), Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, Lotta, Maggie Mitchell, Henry Irving, Clara Morris, John McCullough, Christine Nilsson and her concert company, Emma Abbott; in fact, every famous player of the '80s and '90s.

After the erection of the Broadway the Tabor Grand



CURTAIN OF THE TABOR GRAND OPERA HOUSE

gradually sank to the rank of a second-rate dramatic house, becoming shabby with age, but remaining a noble relic to the end. Even in its later days, upon stepping into the parquet, one insensibly wondered whether the ghosts of the great dead still hovered in the wings; or whether, when the lights went out after a performance, the shades of Bernhardt, Booth, Barrett, Salvini, Mary Anderson and their ilk, did not come forth to declaim their lines, to laugh and strut the creaking old boards. Even so powerful was the atmosphere of the old Tabor. But that was before the smart movie designer bedezened the simple and dignified house with the gilt and rouge of a demirep.

The probability is strong that Senator Tabor never heard of the de Medicis, grand patrons of Florentine art, but, broadly speaking, his purpose was the same, and he came much nearer to realization of his dream than many later and more sophisticated benefactors have done.

As said before, the Tabor began to wane when the Broadway Theater, built in 1890, was opened by Sarah Bernhardt in *Camille*, in 1891. This also was an attractive theater, decorated with East Indian design; ornate with filigree and gilt. Even the curtain was in accord, the subject "A Glimpse of India." Both theaters became the property of Peter McCourt, Tabor's brother-in-law, and remained under his management until recent years, when a new corporation took over the Tabor, and it became a moving picture house. The Broadway was preceded a year or two by the People's Theater at Fifteenth and Court Place, modeled after a greystone castle in Spain, and built by Charles Fagenbusch. The opening performance was *King Cole*. Adelina Patti sang here. It was never highly successful. Tabor acquired it, but fire gutted the building after a few years.

The contiguity of Colorado Springs to Denver permitted convenient routing for the smaller city, and what became known as the Old Opera House was built during the late '80s by Irving Howbert, B. F. Crowell and Joseph T. Humphrey, who made their money in the Robert E. Lee mine. Hopkins painted the curtain for this theater—a Roman ruin suggestive of Pompeii—but without the success that attended his former effort. William K. Bush, the manager,

maintained a booking connection with the Broadway (*Gazette and Telegraph*, November 4, 1923). In later years James F. Burns, owner of the Portland mine, erected the Burns Theater Building, a magnificent structure that has since been the home of the stage in Colorado Springs.

The most successful summer gardens in Denver, from the theatrical standpoint, have been Elitch's Garden, Manhattan Beach and Lakeside. Manhattan presented stock for many years. For the most part these companies maintained a high standard for, in order to meet the Elitch competition, this was a necessity. About fifteen years ago Manhattan theater was destroyed by fire, and the park soon disappeared entirely. Lakeside, established in 1916, had several very successful seasons of light opera.

Elitch's, however, has become a Denver theatrical tradition to which only the old Tabor is comparable. In 1888 John Elitch bought the Chilcotte farm in North Denver and opened with a menagerie in 1890. The theater started with acrobatic and vaudeville programs. After the death of her husband Mrs. Elitch, later Mrs. Elitch-Long, managed the Gardens for a quarter of a century. Under her wise guidance its standard was consistently maintained. No liquor was ever sold within its precincts. Carleton Miles, dramatic critic of the *Minneapolis Journal*, in 1926 described this institution as "not only a theater, but a museum of theatrical history.

"Since the passing of the A. M. Palmer Union Square Stock Company, the Daniel Frohman Lyceum Companies and the Boston Museum," he commented, "there has been nothing in the country like this Denver institution. * * * The Boston Museum endured for nearly fifty years. The Elitch Gardens comes next with almost thirty-six years of dramatic stock. At the present time it is the only stock company that has endured for so long a period, and it has become a national, rather than a local institution." Every year for these thirty-six years Denverites have trudged gaily under the bloomy apple trees to the annual June opening, have smiled upon and received in return the gracious smile of "The Lady of the Gardens." Among well-known actors who have appeared here are: Blanch Walsh, the

Russell Brothers, Henry Woodruff, Aubrey Boucicault, Sarah Bernhardt, Minnie Maddern Fiske, Jane Kennark, Rose Coghlan, Holbrook Blinn, Henrietta Crossman, Henry Kolker, Edwin Arden, the De Mille Brothers, Milton Sears, Ida Conquest, Douglas Fairbanks, Maude Fealy, Tyrone Power, David Warfield, Amelia Bingham and a long list of equally notable people.

Douglas Fairbanks, a Denver boy, began his career at Elitch's. Other Denver-born players, later to attain fame, include: Maude Fealy, one-time leading woman for Sir Henry Irving; Jobyna Howland, the original "Gibson Girl" (*Times*, December 3, 1897); Maud Durbin, later with Modjeska, leading lady and wife of Otis Skinner; Edward Elser, with Marie Wainright and Lewis Morrison, who wrote dramas and adapted *Carmen* for the dramatic stage; Walker Whiteside, who only a few years ago gave the premier of *Sheep* at the Broadway, the composition of Lute Johnson, a Denver newspaper man; Ted Shawn, of the Denis-Shawn Company; Ernest Truex; and Fred Stone. Frederick Roberts, now in the movies, first appeared in Denver with the Forrester Company, later opening and managing variety houses and theaters in Silver Cliff, Pueblo, Denver, Georgetown and Leadville (*Denver Post*, December 3, 1909).

Several Denver dramatists have been mentioned but none have attained the prominence reached by Eugene Walter, author of *Paid in Full* and *The Easiest Way*. He and Burns Mantle, the Chicago *Tribune's* dramatic critic for years, were dramatic critics on the *Denver Republican*.

With a dramatic history as interesting and varied as that just related it might be expected that an unusual culmination would ensue. Such, indeed, was the case, made possible through the erection of the Municipal Auditorium in 1908, during the administration of Mayor Robert W. Speer, than whom no individual without artistic training has exercised a more powerful influence for the advancement of the arts in Colorado. Through his city planning activities he set an example in civic beautification that bore state and national results; through his public works he encouraged higher standards in architecture; through the erection of the Auditorium and installation of a municipal pipe organ he opened the door for great communal move-

ments, theatrical and musical; through public monuments, secured through his persuasive powers, he gave an impetus toward creative effort in painting and sculpture. In 1909 Mayor Speer inaugurated the first municipal theater in America. During two seasons, from 1909 to 1911, the Shuberts presented there twenty engagements, under city auspices and supervision, admission prices being limited by the city to amounts varying from twenty-five cents to one dollar. Innumerable dramatic and operatic productions, professional and amateur; musical festivals, dances and exhibitions have been made possible by this building. The story of the Auditorium is in itself a drama of surpassing interest, and to the genius who built it the state owes its loyal memory.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Writers upon the history of art in Colorado have been fond of mentioning the handicraft of the American Indian as the first step in its development, citing the pictographs on canyon walls and decoration of skins as the initial impulse. This interpretation seems to the writer to be erroneous and unjust to the Caucasian artist and to the Indian. In the first place the two periods represented, the methods involved and the trend of creative thought were wholly dissimilar, and it is an absurdity to link the arts together, historically or in any other way. The art of the Indian is essentially an industrial art, or craft, based upon religious ceremonials, and purely decorative in character. In this latter aspect only may the two touch. The Indian has nothing to learn from the Caucasian that will not alter or destroy his race expression; the white may, by an intelligent application of Indian principles in design and color harmony, especially in the crafts, develop a new art in the West that will acquire the finest traditional value. But this inspiration lies in the Indian crafts, blanket weaving, pottery and basketry. Considered from the decorative standpoint the Indian was a master craftsman, and handled color with the instinctive genius of the barbarian, an instinct which sophistication tends to dull.

Colorado art had its inception, as did literature, in the visits of "observers" to the Rocky Mountains for brief

periods, who recorded their impressions of a new land to satisfy the curiosity of Eastern people. They dealt with strange scenes, the native inhabitants and the wild life of plains and mountains. They were frank pictorialists, and within this limited horizon their work was important.

Of this type Albert Bierstadt and Ralph Albert Blakelock stood above their contemporaries as artists of considerable attainment. Bierstadt (1830-1902), was of German birth (*Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*, by Mantle Fielding, p. 28; *Colorado Springs Gazette*, November 16, 1924). Trained in Germany and Rome, he visited Colorado in 1863 and 1864 and toured the mountains by pack train. His work had vitality and power, and he was ranked as one of the important painters of his day. A National Academician, he received also the French Legion of Honor and decorations from Austria, Bavaria, Germany and Belgium. His "Storm in the Mountains," painted near Georgetown, Colorado, now hangs in the National Capitol at Washington.

Blakelock (1847-1919) came to Colorado in the '60s to furnish illustrations of western scenes to New York magazines. His pictures were "notable for rich, vibrating color." (*Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*, p. 31.) He was a member of the National Academy and winner of several important awards in the East. S. Seymour, with Long's expedition in 1820, and artists with John C. Fremont were the first to sketch the country with considerable success.

The first art colony in the state developed in Colorado Springs during the '70s. Included among its members were Eliza Greathouse, the first woman to be elected an associate of the National Academy; Walter Paris, Thomas and Anne Parrish, Rose Kingsley, Alice Stewart Hill, all painters of minor importance. Thomas Moran, N. A., however, was a man of national reputation, who handled color masterfully. His woodblocks, made for Major Powell and Professor Hayden of the United States Geological Survey, dating from 1873, are important historically, but he found time to paint several noteworthy landscapes, among them the Mount of the Holy Cross (*Colorado Springs Gazette*, November 16, 1924; *American Art Annual*, p. 603; *Dictionary of Ameri-*

can Painters, Sculptors and Engravers, p. 246). During the '80s Charles Craig was the outstanding Springs painter. He is represented today in many fine private collections in the United States and abroad by his portraits of Apache, Ute and Pueblo Indians (*Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*, p. 80). He came to Colorado Springs in 1881, and in 1885 made a sketching trip to the Southern Ute country with the artist, Frank Sauerwein. Other members of the Springs art colony, during his time were: William H. Bancroft, W. H. M. Coxe, Frank T. Brent, Katherine Smalley, and Leslie J. Shelton, the latter a strong force in maintaining high communal art standards.

A distinctive contribution to Colorado art was made in 1902 when Artus Van Briggie, formerly of the Rookwood Potteries in Cincinnati, inaugurated the pottery bearing his name. This Colorado Springs pottery was gracefully designed, and the glazes admirable. By winning the gold medal at the St. Louis World's Fair Van Briggie demonstrated that Colorado pottery clays, when treated by the hand of a master potter, are equal to the best in the world. Unfortunately, Van Briggie died two years after establishing his works, but his wife continued the production until 1910, when the plant was sold out and commercialized. Mrs. Van Briggie is now a contributor to the exhibitions of the Denver Art Museum as Anne Gregory Ritter.

The Colorado Springs art colony, since 1900, has had some distinguished painters, and a fine art gallery and school have developed there under the name of the Broadmoor Art Academy. Among the more notable artists have been: William Martin Shettle, who won a reputation as a portrait painter in New York, although not highly creative, his work including portraits of Ada Rehan, Commodore Vanderbilt, Edith Kingdon, Mrs. Howard Gould, and a daughter of Andrew Carnegie (*Colorado Springs Gazette*, December 7, 1924); Robert Reid, N. A., painter and instructor, winner of numerous gold medals and awards both in this country and Europe, whose mural decorations may be found in the Library of Congress, and several important public buildings in eastern cities, and who is represented in the collections of many of the more important art galleries of the country; Francis Drexel Smith, a

modern landscape painter of power and individual style, who has exhibited widely throughout the country; William J. Potter, landscape artist, represented in several important museums of the country; John I. McClymont, whose portrait work among Colorado business men and political leaders in Colorado is well and favorably known; Lloyd Moylan, Eleanor Ormes, and several others. (*Who's Who in America*, 1924-25; *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*; *American Art Annual*, Vol. XXII; *Colorado Springs Gazette*, December 7-14, 1924.)

Pioneer artists of the golden '80s, both in Denver and Colorado Springs, where art development has centered, found peculiar conditions to combat. The mining magnates who contributed in no small degree to the success of the theater, were free spenders, but their ideas of art were peculiar. The first attempts toward artistic expression in the mining camps ran to golden cherubs, gilded women pouring gilded grapes from gilded cornucopias, golden lions and deer, sportively perched upon the cornices of public buildings and hotels. Senator Tabor's old mansion in Denver, torn down a decade ago, was surrounded by patient iron stags and weary iron stag hounds. Nevertheless the International Mining Congress, held in Denver in 1883, provided a section devoted to art, and made possible the first general exhibition by Colorado artists. Local notables who exhibited included: A. Phimister Proctor, now internationally-known animal sculptor; Mrs. A. J. Chain, Captain "Jack" Howland, Charles Craig, J. Harrison Mills, Alexis Compera, Charles Partridge Adams, W. H. M. Cox, Fanny Clark. These artists, especially Mrs. Chain, Captain Howland, Mills and Adams, helped lay the foundation of a broader creative field through the establishment of a museum. Captain Howland, trained in Paris, was a painter of western landscapes, Indians and animals; and, having lived among the Sioux when a boy, his Indian scenes have a valuable ethnological turn. He first appeared at Fort Laramie in 1857 and, having a retentive memory and natural gift for story-telling, was a most interesting and picturesque character. Mrs. Chain, who was drowned in the China seas in 1890, did notable work in helping to organize the first important artist group, to which J. Harri-

son Mills, landscape painter and engraver, contributed largely through his inspirational spirit. At a later period Adams, with Harvey Young, were Denver's leading artists. They devoted themselves to depicting Colorado landscapes and both attained great popularity, though neither ever won membership in the National Academy. Adams faithfully reproduced the colors of the Colorado sunsets, mountains and plains, while Young added to his landscapes an understanding appraisal of the miner's humorous burro. Young was picturesque to a degree, traveling through the West for several years with burro, pick and gold pan, sketch box and pigments. His close friends included Robert Louis Stevenson, Bret Harte, Maxfield Parrish, Du Paine in Paris. For several years he traveled the Rio Grande system in a specially-fitted studio car, painting for this unique patron. Young had an unusual technique, involving a varnish process that gave his water colors the appearance of oil.

In 1892 the Denver School of Fine Arts (The Art Department of the University of Denver) was given exclusive use of the old University building at 1330 Arapahoe Street, where the first organized effort to teach art was instituted. The school had been organized in 1880 but had laid quiescent for twelve years. The *Prospectus for 1892-93* stated that the department sought to instruct in the fine arts and establish a museum. Mrs. John Evans, wife of Ex-Governor Evans, president of the University Board of Trustees, was the patron spirit. The faculty included: Preston Powers, sculpture; Ida De Steiguer, drawing, life and casts; George W. Platt, painting; and John Henderson, design and wood carving. Hamilton Hamilton, N. A., was an important painter of this period, who gave inspirational advice to the coalescing artists' group.

The interest engendered by the University School resulted in the formation of the Denver Art League, of which William Ward Shaw was president, and Samuel Richards, painter, was director (*Prospectus, Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Denver Art League, 1892*). These preliminary steps laid the foundation for the Denver Artists' Club, which held its first annual exhibition in 1894. In time this became the Denver Art Association, then the Denver Art Museum. The founder and moving

spirit was Mrs. Emma Richardson Cherry; while Charles Partridge Adams, Anne Evans, daughter of the Governor, Grace Church Jones, Henry Read, Henrietta Bromwell, Elizabeth Spalding and Elsie Ward, were among the more active members (*Denver Artists' Club Year Book of 1903*). Mrs. Cherry, exceedingly well-trained as a painter, afterward founded the Houston Art Museum and the San Antonio Art League.

Henry Read became the most potent factor in the development of Denver's civic art. He is an Englishman, trained at Heatherley's in London, who came to Denver in 1891, and opened the Denver Art School in 1895, upon the closing of the Art League's rooms. He is father of the Municipal Art Commission of Denver, created by charter in 1904, the first in this country to the writer's knowledge; and while president of this commission and president of the Art Association, wrote the letter to Mayor Speer that resulted in creation of Denver's Civic Center. For years he gave his time and talent unselfishly to this work, designing civic improvements, advising city officials upon city planning and, in many ways, contributing an all-important service to Denver's civic development. The work of this commission had its effect upon municipalities throughout the country, and Mr. Reed's service toward the development of the Colorado art movement may hardly be overestimated. Miss Evans and Miss Spalding, together with Miss Marion Hendrie, constituted the triumvirate that kept the Denver Art Museum alive for many years by its sole efforts. They did everything needful, from collecting exhibitions and hanging them, to packing and shipping. The first director of the Denver Art Museum was Reginald Poland, later educational secretary of the Detroit Institute of Arts, and now Director of the San Diego Museum. He was succeeded, in 1921, by George William Eggers, who gave up the Directorship of the Chicago Art Institute to come here, being attracted by the spirit of creative art he found in the Colorado capital, a movement directly in line with his ideas of a museum's proper sphere. For five years he did inspirational work, co-operating with the city authorities and Public Schools, until Denver has assumed an enviable position as a center of creative art. Soon after

his coming, in 1922, Mrs. George E. Cranmer and Delos Chappell gave the old Chappell residence at 1300 Logan Street to the Museum, as a memorial to their parents "for the use of creative artists." The Museum membership in 1926 was one thousand five hundred.

A cultural institution, organized to foster creative art, and allied with the Museum, was formed about this time, through the influence of Mrs. Cranmer. The Denver Allied Arts has helped further the careers of several talented young Denver musicians and artists.

Among the painters, etchers and engravers who came to the front during the period from 1890 to the present time were a number who have shown a fine appreciation of the native environment. George Elbert Burr is the most celebrated etcher the state has produced. His etchings and pastels of mountains and desert have an exquisite delicacy, and he has won recognition by having his work in the permanent collections of the largest museums in the country. (*Dictionary of American Painters, Etchers and Engravers; American Art Annual, 1924-1925, p. 430.*) Jean Mannheim, now a well and favorably known California painter, was a member of the art colony during the earlier years of this period. Elisabeth Spalding (*American Art Annual, 1924-1925, p. 680*), a modernist, whose medium is water color, has exhibited throughout the country, won important medals, one at the Art Institute of Chicago, and is represented in several large museums. Her training was under J. Alden Weir, Leonard Ochtman, Henry B. Snell of England, Twachtman and others of this type. Albert Byron Olson (*American Art Annual, 1924-1925, p. 617*), a Montrose, Colorado, boy, has developed an excellent technique in still life, and handles color with precision and rare talent. Trained at the Pennsylvania Academy, he won there the Henry Thouron prize, and studied in Paris and Madrid. Olson exhibited at the Panama-Pacific Exposition and elsewhere. His altar painting in St. Mark's Church is one of Denver's most brilliant artistic achievements. John Edward Thompson, a modernist painter, mural decorator and teacher, and pupil of Laurens, Blanche, Cottet and Tudor-Hart, has raised the art of design to a high plane in Denver. A master of color harmony, he has two brilliant

decorative results to his credit in the Denver Polo Club and the Lafayette Hughes house. (*American Art Annual*, 1924-1925, p. 698.) Allen True, painter and illustrator, and a native of Colorado Springs, has won fame by his murals in the Denver Public Library, Civic Center, Colorado National Bank and Cosmopolitan Hotel of Denver, Missouri State Capitol Building, and elsewhere. His favorite theme, and one which he understands thoroughly, is western Indian and pioneer life. True was a pupil of Howard Pyle and Brangwyn, the famous English muralist, with whom he has collaborated in important work. (*American Art Annual*, 1924-1925, p. 703.) Dudley S. Carpenter, now a resident of California, was another Denver mural painter of ability. Two of his works are in the Decker Branch Library in Denver. Grace Church Jones, Anne Gregory Ritter, both landscape painters; Dean Babcock, painter and wood block artist; Robert Alexander Graham, painter of Colorado landscapes, Adma Green Kerr, painter and pastel worker, with a spiritual understanding of the mountains, also are among the leading artists of the region.

SCULPTURE

Mayor Speer first introduced public monuments in Denver streets, with the exception of a bronze group on the State Capitol grounds, executed in 1893 by Preston Powers, son of the noted sculptor, Hiram Powers. This monument, entitled "The Closing Era" is important in the history of Colorado, because it is the first attempt at real sculpture within the state. Mayor Speer followed this by introduction of a replica of the "Children's Fountain" in Dusseldorf, Germany, by M. Blondet of Paris, one of the most beautiful in the city. While in office he also executed commissions for erection of some notable groups. The "Pioneer Monument," by Frederick Macmonnies; the "Bucking Broncho" and "On the War Path," by A. Phimister Proctor, and the "Sea-Lion Fountains," by Robert Garrison, all on the Civic Center, were the result of his fostering interest. At the City Park Lorado Taft is represented by the "Fountain of the State," and Leo Lentelli of New York, by two groups upon the Sullivan Memorial

Gateway; while a beautiful group, "Wynken, Blynken and Nod," by Mabel Landrum Torrey of Sterling, Colorado, stands in Washington Park, interpretive of Eugene Field's famous lullaby. Both Taft and Lentelli are national figures, who have reached great heights of success. Garrison is a young Denver sculptor, pupil of Gutzon Borglum, who has developed an intellectual and individual style. He has done several distinguished things, notably the polychromed "Junior Minerva" at Morey Junior High School in Denver, executed in archaic Greek; and grotesques in the South Denver High school. One of his latest and most successful works was a series of Romanesque reliefs for the Midland Savings Bank in Denver, entitled "The Covered Wagon," in which the trials and pleasures of the immigrants of the plains are humorously depicted. Enrico Licari, an Italian sculptor of the Roman classical school, has executed several graceful fountain pieces, and Mrs. Clara S. Dieman also has shown power. Among the finest works in Denver is the McPhee Memorial at Mount Olivet Cemetery by Mario Korbel of New York, Hungarian sculptor. Margaret George, the well-known English sculptor, spent several years in Denver and has left some of her work with Denver residents, although she has erected no monumental work. Of an earlier period Elsie Ward Hering must be mentioned. A Denver girl, she developed a rare talent, and seemed destined to reach great heights until her death in New York in 1922. Her marriage to Hering, himself a successful and nationally known sculptor, did much to halt her creative work for she spent her later years in assisting him.

ARCHITECTURE

In a record of Colorado art it is perhaps more important to trace influences, than to record individual records. From this standpoint, the influence and encouragement of Arthur A. Fisher, a member of the architectural firm of Fisher & Fisher of Denver, cannot be overlooked. Within the last few years he has been instrumental in developing the use of painting and sculpture in public and semi-public buildings by designing his buildings to carry sculptural adornment or mural painting, and by insisting that his



1. "THE COVERED WAGON," BY ROBERT GARRISON (Romanesque relief on Midland Savings Bank, Denver)
2. "THE COMMERCE OF THE PRAIRIES," BY ALLEN TRUE

employers make financial provision for such work. The South Denver High School, the Morey Junior High, the Midland Bank Building, the Denver Polo Club are some examples of this combination which have given Denver much of its reputation as a center of creative art. As his efforts were individual efforts, based upon the same principles that shed such glory upon Greece, Rome and the Renaissance cities, the credit due him is great, and his stand will become of historical importance in future records of art in Colorado. Only an architect may fully understand the difficulties he has faced.

The history of Colorado architecture has been much the same as that in other American cities. During the '90s a great vogue in Romanesque buildings swept the country, and some of the old homes of Denver, built from thirty to forty years ago are as fine examples of this period as may be found in America. The style was developed by H. H. Richardson, frequently cited as "the father of American architecture." In Denver such architects as H. T. E. Wendel, John Humphreys, Fred Sterner, who designed the beautiful Grace Church at Thirteenth and Bannock, were outstanding representatives of the period mentioned. It is only within the last fifteen or twenty years that notable public edifices have been erected. The Denver Post Office, a magnificent achievement, was designed by Tracy and Swarthout of New York. The classical Cheesman Memorial Pavilion in Cheesman Park, by Marean & Norton, has been admired as an example of public monumental work.

Of late years several designers of great brilliance have been developed, whose work indicates that certain Denver architects are moving forward, in accord with creative artists of the West, in producing a distinguished native architecture.

Fisher & Fisher's South Denver High School and Burnham Hoyt's tremendously impressive Lake Junior High School, are brilliant examples of the new trend. J. B. Benedict has shown great genius as a designer, and his development of a type of mountain home that is indigenous to the soil, has been a noteworthy achievement. Harry J. Manning, Varian & Varian and Maurice B. Biscoe are other designers who rank high, while William N. Bowman stands

at the top as an engineer-architect. The outlook for a typical and distinctive western architecture has never been so high as at present.

MUSIC

The ox-drawn emigrant trains of the Colorado pioneers, defiling across the desolate American Desert in the latter days of 1859 and during the early sixties, moved to the strains of the homely fiddle, pouring forth such melodies as "O, Suzanna." The spirit of music, even thus represented, made it possible for the pioneers to bear the bitter hardships of the journey. For more than a decade after the discovery of gold in Colorado the musical situation was but little bettered. Local amateurs and a few professionals furnished such musical interest as there was. The first efforts toward professional entertainment were of the variety hall type, and the *Rocky Mountain News* of October 24, 1859 records the earliest attempt when the Cibola Minstrels opened Reed's Theater in Denver.

With the coming of railroad transportation a better class of musicians appeared. Fritz Thies began his efforts in the sixties to raise the standard of musical culture, and was joined by Frank Rose and the Gilman family. Two singers were produced at an early stage, who won fame both in Europe and America. Hattie Louise Sims of Central City and Denver attracted local attention, went east to study, and later sang three seasons of opera and concert in Italy, and starred with the Boston and New York symphonies. Mrs. Belle Cole, who came to Denver in 1873, afterward went on concert tour with the Theodore Thomas orchestra in Europe, South Africa, Australia and India. She was known as the "Denver contralto."⁶

The first Choral Society was organized in Denver in 1868, followed by the Denver Choral Union, of which C. W. Sanborn was director. It held a musical convention under

⁶ For most of the information concerning musical development in Denver the writer is indebted to the unpublished manuscript in the Denver Public Library, soon to be issued by Malcolm Glenn Wyer, Librarian; and to Dr. Edwin J. Stringham, whose research work, extending over several years, is exhaustive and authoritative.

direction of Professor Perkins of Chicago and produced choruses from Mozart's *Twelfth Mass*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, with Mrs. Cole as queen. This organization became the Haydn and Handel Association in 1874, directed by Frank Rose. In the later seventies the state was visited by such artists as Carl Beck, De Murska, Adelina Patti, Weiniaska and Camilla Urso. The old Clio Club prepared programs of high artistic merit, and for two decades several homes of musical culture held sway. These included the homes of Judge and Mrs. Owen Le Fevre, Judge and Mrs. Luther M. Goddard, Dr. and Mrs. John Elsner, Mr. and Mrs. Fritz Thies, Misses Wanda and Hilda Gottesleben and Emil Zietz.

It is significant that the first telling advance in musical culture occurred simultaneously with equally important movements in literature and art. Undoubtedly, the great gold discoveries at Leadville were responsible, for they brought cultured and brilliant people to the state; the wealth that poured from the mines created its own demand for a finer and more intellectual civilization.

A great impetus was given in musical circles by the advent of Dean H. Martyn Hart of St. John's Episcopal Cathedral, who had his church equipped with what was then the best organ west of the Mississippi. Highly educated and cultured, possessed of one of the keenest minds that Colorado has had, and a dominant personality, Dean Hart insisted upon good music, with the result that he brought to the state such gifted musicians as Arthur Marchant, Frederick Stevenson, Dr. John H. Gower, and Professor Henry Houseley. Inevitably, a strong English influence became the controlling factor in Denver musical circles and had its influence in Colorado Springs and neighboring towns. Frank Damrosch came to Denver at this time, July 1, 1879 (*Mss. Frank Damrosch*, Denver Public Library) and took part in the establishment of high standards. He was organist and choir director of the First Congregational Church in 1879, and in 1882 invited all church singers to form an organization for the study of choral work. The Denver Chorus Club was the result, an organization that functioned successfully until 1885, when the leader returned to New York. This chorus gave Handel's

Messiah, Gounod's *Redemption*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. When Haydn's *Creation* was presented, the orchestra was composed of eleven men from the Tabor orchestra, ten from the Palace Theater, eleven women from a ladies' orchestra that played in a beer hall beneath the Tabor Opera House, as well as about twenty-five amateurs. The leader of the ladies' orchestra afterward married J. Weber, first clarinet in the combined orchestra, now President of the National Federation of Musical Unions. In the spring of 1884 Damrosch became Director of Music in the Denver Public Schools, a position to which he ascribed much of his success later when he taught eleven thousand teachers and six hundred thousand school children in New York. After the dispersal of the Denver Chorus Club, which occurred in 1880, the Concert Choir was organized, under the directorship of Frederick Stevenson, and this latter, with the Select Choir of Doctor Gower and the Church Oratorio Club, united to form the Denver Oratorio Club. This organization gave many concerts. Organization of the Apollo Club, still actively in service, followed with Herbert Griggs serving as director until Henry Houseley took charge in 1904.

There were other musical societies operating during the eighties besides those mentioned. German musicians organized the Denver Maennerchor in 1870, having as soloists Belle Cole, Lilla Bearce, Fritz Thies, A. Friese and Mme. De Murska. The stage kept pace with these developments, for the Denver Opera Club was formed under A. Kaufman and E. J. Passmore, and presented: *Pirates of Penzance*, *Pinafore*, *Mascotte*, and *Brittle Silver*, Colorado's first home-talent opera, the libretto of which was by Stanley Wood, the musical score by W. H. Hunt of Leadville. It was produced very successfully January 22, 1882. A few years later the Broad Opera company presented at several points throughout the state *The Mikado*, *Patience*, *Pirates of Penzance*, and *Fantinitza*.

During the middle eighties series of lectures on music were given by a Professor Pfefferkorn of Chicago, Doctor Gower, the Rev. Van Ness and Mrs. Pabor-Pathorne. Noteworthy concerts included the Blanpied piano recitals, Damrosch's "Services of Song," and concerts by Carlos and

Madame Sobrino. Sunday evening concerts were presented at the Tabor Grand by Dion de Romandy and his Hungarian orchestra. One of the most noted Colorado singers during this period was Della Rogers, a Denver-born girl, whose parents took her to Paris for study in 1889 (*Denver Times*, December 3, 1897). She made her debut at the Grand Opera House, St. Petersburg, later becoming prima donna at La Scala, Milan, where she sang the initial performance as "Marguerite" in Mascagni's *Ratcliffe* upon six hours' preparation. Afterward she appeared in all European capitals.

Elitch's Gardens maintained a fine orchestra from about 1890 until 1910, directed for the most part by Raffaeallo Cavallo or Horace Tureman. The Tuesday Musical Club, still in existence, was organized in September, 1891, by a dozen ladies, with Hattie Louise Sims as director, and has brought many outstanding artists to the state during this time. The University of Denver performed its share in musical development, as it did in art, a pioneer teaching work at Fourteenth and Arapahoe, with Dean Blakeslee, Frederick W. Schweiker and Horace E. Tureman, and Anthony Carlson, successive directors. It later became the College of Fine Arts, a private institution. During the nineties was formed the Mendelssohn Male Quartet, composed of Robert Slack, Henry Martin, Robert Brown and Kale Schmidlap, perhaps the most famous of many Colorado quartets. The first named member turned impresario and for twenty-one years has brought to Denver the most noted concert artists, including Jan Kubelik, violin; Fannie Bloomfield, Zeisler and Teresa Carreno, pianists; Schuman-Heink, Mme. Calve, Enrico Caruso, Paderewski and other world celebrities. In later years, after the construction of the Municipal Auditorium, Arthur M. Oberfelder entered the same field, opening with a Municipal Artists' Series, on much the same plan as Mayor Speer worked out with the Shuberts in the dramatic field. Among notable opera companies to visit the state were: the Stewart Opera Company, the Boston English Opera Company, the Chicago Grand Opera Company and the San Carlos Grand Opera Company, the two latter in recent years. Chamber Music has been represented by the Baker String

Quartet, Horace Tureman, founder; Mansfeldt Quartet; Bezmann Quartet; Dawkins' Violin Quartet; Symphony Club, founded by Florence Taussig; Cavallo's Symphony Orchestra and the Saslavsky Chamber Music Orchestra.

Few musicians in Colorado history have exercised so inspirational an influence as Dr. John H. Gower and Professor Henry Houseley. Doctor Gower (*Groves Musical Dictionary of England*) was recognized as among the foremost musicians of England and America, and rated by Dean Hart as one of the six best organists in the world in his day. He was born in Ealing, England, May 25, 1855, and when eleven was made organist of the Princess Royal Chapel at Windsor by command of Queen Victoria. He won his bachelor and doctor degrees from Oxford at an age earlier than any aspirant for a century; held the licentiate degree from the Royal Academy; was Fellow of the Royal College of Organists; Examiner for the Royal Academy of Music and Guild Hall, London. Dean Hart influenced him to come to Denver, where he later became interested in mining and gave up active musical work. It was he who recommended Doctor Houseley.

Doctor Houseley's service in Denver was a monumental labor of love. Born in Sutton-in-Ashfield, England, in 1852, he was organist for Saint Thomas, Derby, organist and choir master of Saint Luke's, Nottingham. He became organist for Saint John's, Denver, in 1888, and, almost single-handed, made the city one of the leading musical centers of the West. For thirty-seven years, until his death in 1925, he remained at Saint John's, serving also as organist of the Temple Emanuel for thirty years, and as musical director of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Body of Masons for twenty-five years. He helped to organize the American Guild of Organists. While director of the Denver Choral Society this organization won first prize in the Eisteddfod three times, and carried off first prize for choral work at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904.

Professor Houseley was internationally known as a composer. Sacred Cantatas, Te Deums and anthems; orchestral pieces, organ and piano works, songs and operas were composed by him. Most of his librettos were written by his wife, S. Frances Houseley. His anthems included: "Cross-

ing the Bar," "Lead Kindly Light," "Nearer My God to Thee"; his songs, "Rock of Ages"; his cantatas, *The Nativity*; his operas (comic), *The Juggler*, *Love and Whist*, *Jeraby's Butler*; grand operas (one act) *Pygmalion and Galatea*, *Narcissus and Echo*; a three act fantasy *The Awakening*, presented during Music Week, 1922. His greatest work was *Omar Khayyam*, performed at three musical festivals in England, in Pennsylvania, Chicago, Denver, and by some of the great artists of America (*Mss. of Ruth Mary Williams*, Denver Public Library).

Among the best-known Colorado composers of the present day may be included: Frederic Ayres, Cecil Burleigh, Rubin Goldmark, Edward B. Fleck, J. De Forest Cline, Francis Hendricks, Marguerite Lawrence Test, Alberta M. Yore, Caroline Holme Walker, Henry Sachs, Althea Jewel Rutherford, Estelle Philleo and J. Allard Jeancon.⁷ Perhaps the most famous living composer, who resided in Colorado for several seasons, is Charles Wakefield Cadman. He taught piano, wrote criticisms and played the organ in Pittsburgh until Indian music attracted his attention. Since he began to compose his Indian songs and operas he has rapidly advanced in popular favor. He has lately composed the score for a dramatic pageant on Colorado, written by Lillian White Spencer, which will be given at the next Music Week. (*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement*, Waldo Pratt, Editor.)

One of the most distinguished musicians and composers of Colorado is Francis Hendricks, a prolific composer of

⁷ Ayres and Goldmark performed important work in Colorado Springs. The latter was director of the Colorado College of Music from 1895 to 1901. He was influenced by the classical traditions of German music, his compositions being notable for their warmth of harmony and melody. His tone-poem "Sampson," was produced by the Boston Symphony in March 1914. (*The Art of Music.—Daniel Gregory Mason.*) Ayres blended the German, French and American spirit, though his melodies sometimes have a strong Indian cast. Edward Danforth Hale, Dean and Professor of the Theory of Music and Pianoforte in Colorado College since 1905, is an accomplished teacher and writer, and composer of chamber sketches, piano pieces and songs. Louise Persinger, born in Colorado Springs, and former Concert Master of the Berlin Philharmonic and the San Francisco Symphony, is another talented Colorado product. (*Denver Post*, September 10, 1922.)

international reputation. He composes for the piano, violin, and orchestra and has to his credit several exquisite songs.

Denver's "Jazz King," Paul Whiteman, born in Denver in 1890, is the son of Wilberforce J. Whiteman, for many years Director of Music in the Public Schools. This extraordinary personage has thirty-six orchestras playing nightly in eastern cities, besides a number on ocean-going boats. He is under contract with a phonograph company to produce forty-eight compositions a year. While he did not invent the saxophone, he taught it to moan and squeal.

J. Allard Jeancon, archaeologist and musician, has contributed in an important way to western music through his Pueblo Indian songs. He has preserved the original Indian melodies, and having lived among these primitive people, knows them as do few living white men.

There are a number of constructive musical institutions operating in Colorado at this writing from which the creative workers in the other arts might draw a useful moral. Among the associations devoted to the advancement of musical standards Pro Musica (formerly the Franco-American Musical Society), and the Colorado State Music Teachers' Association, stand forth. The latter association was organized in 1918 when Mrs. James M. Tracy was president of the Musical Society of Denver. Dr. and Mrs. Tracy are the directors of the Lizst School of Music, founded in 1906 by Doctor Tracy, a pupil of Franz Lizst. He came to Denver in 1898 as instructor for the Denver Conservatory of Music, founded in 1887, and has played an important part in the development of music in this state.

Of the many musical schools in the state, however, the Denver College of Music, founded upon the ideal of civic service and service to the artist at the same time, is the only one to reach the dignity of an endowed institution, not organized for financial profit. This institution was founded in 1920 by Mrs. Anna Wolcott Vaile, as the Wolcott Conservatory. Dean Edwin J. Stringham was then head of its theory department. The next year he became director, and has successfully upbuilt the school to its present enrollment of eight hundred pupils. On April 27, 1925, it was reincorporated as the Denver College of Music, com-

pletely absorbing the Wolcott School in the transformation. The financial founders are Mrs. Vaile, Horace W. Bennett, John W. Morey and Godfrey Schirmer. The purpose, as stated in the school prospectus, is "to provide training for the broadest and completest art and musicianship which only an endowed institution can give."

The idea of training enters into conception of the Civic Symphony Orchestra, organized in 1923 by Horace Tureman and Mrs. Richard Hart. Not only does it serve as a training school for musicians, of such altruistic character that the musical union permits its members to play beside amateurs, but it is earnestly developing a broader musical culture among the people by offering symphony concerts at prices varying from ten to twenty-five cents per seat. Six programs, each played twice, are presented during the winter months at the Municipal Auditorium. Most of the cost is borne by private donations. This achievement was made possible, largely by the donation of the Auditorium by the city. This is only one instance of a far-sighted civic paternalism, instituted by Mayor Speer after the erection of the Auditorium. This great mayor's vision, which led to the installation of a Municipal Pipe Organ, the retention of Clarence Reynolds as city organist and the giving of free organ concerts at frequent intervals during the year, has been of incalculable benefit to many cultural institutions. But the City of Denver has long maintained a benevolent attitude in fostering musical development. As far back as 1890 the first municipal band was established, and the band masters of this organization have included: Herman Bellstedt, Pietro Satriano, Frederick Neil Inness, Oswald Rochter, Frederick Runkle, Fred F. Foreman, Enrico Garguilo, Rafeallo Cavallo and Henry Sacks. In 1920 the city also created the first municipal music commission in America, insofar as the writer's knowledge extends.

The great achievement in furthering musical culture has been the creation of Denver Music Week Association, made possible very largely by city support. This organization, in a thoroughly systematic and practical manner, has done more to carry the love of fine music into schools, business houses and homes of the state than any other single agency.

The first Music Week was held in 1920, professionals having been imported at that time as soloists. The following year, at the suggestion of Freeman H. Talbot, executive secretary, a group of men, including William Allen White, then Director of Music in the Public Schools; Edwin J. Stringham, J. C. Willcox, Director of the Municipal Chorus; Frank Darrow, Henry Sacks, and one woman, Mrs. Guy K. Brewster, reorganized the association "to develop local musicians and give them an opportunity to appear before larger audiences." This, it will be observed, combined the idea of encouraging artists and serving the public.

The organization has developed, year by year, until in 1926 thirty Colorado cities took part, sending orchestras, bands, glee clubs and choral societies. When Music Week was organized only a few cities outside of Denver had such organizations. For the last two years there have been state-wide senior and junior high school contests in vocal and instrumental music, quartets, orchestra and choral competitions, which have aroused keen competition and interest. The dance has been raised to a more idealistic and less commercial plane, the Denver Atelier, branch of the National Beaux Arts Institute, having coöperated in 1926 by costuming and presenting "The History of the Dance."

Music Week presents from five to six hundred events annually, the auditorium audiences last year alone totaling seventy-two thousand people, with eight thousand performers, of which four thousand were school children. In addition, community centers, churches, schools, factories, stores coöperate with programs on their own premises, and state-wide band concerts are held on the public streets. Last year more than one hundred thousand persons participated as performers. The following operas have been presented at the Auditorium: *Martha*, *The Bohemian Girl*, *Geisha*, *Pagliacci*, *Cavaleria Rusticana*, *Cadman's Shanewis*, and *Sunset Trail* (world premiere), *Rob Roy*, *Robin Hood*, and an operatic fantasy of the out-doors, *The Awakening*. The pageant-drama, *Colorado*, will be given in 1927. Christmas Carols are organized and conducted each winter by Music Week. The eleven directors and twenty chairmen

meet every Friday throughout the year, and the organization model has been copied by many American cities.

A dispassionate review of the history of literature and the arts in Colorado must lead to the conclusion that the art of music has been the most successful in winning popular support, due, largely, to a broad civic concept on the part of musical leaders. On the whole the artist is an extreme individualist without this communal consciousness, or ideal of reciprocity toward the public, but even the most superficial knowledge of Athenian history should impress the most self-centered individualist with the realization that communal consciousness is as necessary for supreme achievement in any art as it is in other lines of human endeavor. In Colorado, musicians have acknowledged this reciprocal duty before the workers in the other arts and, consequently, music has received a greater measure of public interest.

APPENDIX

GOVERNORS OF COLORADO.

Robert W. Steele, "Jefferson Territory," 1859-61.

Territorial.

William Gilpin, 1861-1862.

John Evans, 1862-1865.

Alexander Cummings, 1865-1867.

A. Cameron Hunt, 1867-1869.

Edward McCook, 1869-1873.

Samuel H. Elbert, 1873-1874.

Edward McCook, 1874-1875.

John L. Routt, 1875-1876.

State.

John L. Routt (R), 1876-1879.

Frederick W. Pitkin (R), 1879-1883.

James B. Grant (D), 1883-1885.

Benjamin H. Eaton (R), 1885-1887.

Alva Adams (D), 1887-1889.

Job A. Cooper (R), 1889-1891.

John L. Routt (R), 1891-1893.

Davis H. Waite (P), 1893-1895.

Albert W. McIntyre (R), 1895-1897.

Alva Adams (D), 1897-1899.

Charles S. Thomas (D), 1899-1901.

James B. Orman (D), 1901-1903.

James H. Peabody (R), 1903-1905.

Alva Adams (sixty-six days) (D), 1905.

James H. Peabody (one day) (R), 1905.

Jesse F. McDonald (R), 1905-1907.

Henry A. Buchtel (R), 1907-1909.

John F. Shafroth (D), 1909-1913.

Elias M. Ammons (D), 1913-1915.

George A. Carlson (R), 1915-1917.

Julius C. Gunter (D), 1917-1919.

Oliver H. Shoup (R), 1919-1923.

William E. Sweet (D), 1923-1925.

Clarence J. Morley (R), 1925-1927.

William H. Adams (D), 1927.

DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES TO CONGRESS.

Hiram J. Graham (Delegate for people of Pike's Peak), 1858-1859.
 Beverly D. Williams (Delegate from "Jefferson Territory"), 1859-1860.

Colorado Territory.

Hiram P. Bennet, 1861-1865.
 Allen A. Bradford, 1865-1867.
 George M. Chilcott, 1867-1869.
 Allen A. Bradford, 1869-1871.
 Jerome B. Chaffee, 1871-1875.
 Thomas M. Patterson, 1875-1876.

State of Colorado.

James B. Belford, (R) 1876-1877.
 Thomas M. Patterson, (D) 1877-1879.
 James B. Belford, (R) 1879-1885.
 George G. Symes, (R) 1885-1889.
 Hosea Townsend, (R) 1889-1893.
 John C. Bell, (R) 1893-1903.
 Lafe Pence, (P) 1893-1895.
 John F. Shafroth, (R) 1895-1903.
 Robert W. Bonyng, (R) 1903-1909.
 Herschel M. Hogg, (R) 1903-1907.
 Franklin E. Brooks, (R) 1903-1907.
 George W. Cook, (R) 1907-1909.
 Warren A. Haggot, (R) 1907-1909.
 Edward T. Taylor, (D) 1909-
 Atterson W. Rucker, (D) 1909-1913.
 John A. Martin, (D) 1909-1913.
 Edward Keating, (D) 1913-1919.
 George J. Kindel, (D) 1913-1915.
 H. H. Seldomridge, (D) 1913-1915.
 B. C. Hilliard, (D) 1915-1919.
 Charles B. Timberlake, (R) 1915-
 William N. Vaile, (R) 1919-
 Guy U. Hardy, (R) 1919-

UNITED STATES SENATORS OF COLORADO.

Henry M. Teller, (R) 1876-1882.
 Jerome B. Chaffee, (R) 1876-1879.
 Nathaniel P. Hill, (R) 1879-1885.
 George M. Chilcott, (R) 1882.
 Horace A. W. Tabor, (R) 1883.
 Thomas M. Bowen, (R) 1883-1889.
 Henry M. Teller, (R) and (D) 1885-1909.
 Edward O. Wolcott, (R) 1889-1901.
 Thomas M. Patterson (D) 1901-1907.
 Simon Guggenheim, (R) 1907-1913.
 Charles J. Hughes Jr., (D) 1909-1911.

Charles S. Thomas, (D) 1913-1921.
 John F. Shafroth, (D) 1913-1919.
 Lawrence C. Phipps, (R) 1919-
 S. D. Nicholson, (R) 1921-1923.
 Alva B. Adams, (D) 1923-1925.
 Rice W. Means, (R) 1925-1927.
 Charles W. Waterman, (R) 1927-

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, STATE OF COLORADO.

Benjamin F. Hall, from Mar. 25th, 1861, to Dec. 31st, 1865.
 Chas. Lee Armour, from Mar. 28th, 1861, to Mar. 3rd, 1865.
 Allen A. Bradford, from June 6th, 1862, to Mar. 3rd, 1865.
 Stephen S. Harding, from July 10th, 1863, to Dec. 31st, 1865.
 Chas. F. Holly, from June 10th, 1865, to May 25th, 1866.
 Wm. H. Gale, from June 10th, 1865, to July 19th, 1866.
 Moses Hallett, from Apr. 10th, 1866, to _____, 1876.
 Wm. R. Gorsline, from June 18th, 1866, to June 18th, 1870.
 Christian S. Eyster, from Aug. 11th, 1866, to Mar. 2nd, 1871.
 James B. Belford, from June 17th, 1870, to Mar. 1st, 1875.
 Ebenezer T. Wells, from Feb. 8, 1871, to Mar. 1, 1875.
 Andrew W. Brazee, from Mar. 1st, 1875, to _____, 1876.
 Amherst W. Stone, from Mar. 1, 1875, to _____, 1876.
 Henry C. Thatcher, from 1877, to 1879.
 Samuel H. Elbert, from 1877, to 1879.
 Ebenezer T. Wells, from 1877, to 1877.
 Wilbur F. Stone, from 1877, to 1886.
 Samuel H. Elbert, from 1879, to 1883.
 Samuel H. Elbert, from 1883, to 1888.
 William E. Beck, from 1879, to 1889.
 Joseph C. Helm, from 1879, to 1892.
 Melville B. Gerry, from 1888, to 1889.
 Victor A. Elliott, from 1889, to 1895.
 Charles D. Hayt, from 1889, to 1898.
 Joseph C. Helm, from 1892, to 1892.
 Luther M. Goddard, from 1891, to 1901.
 John Campbell, from 1895, to 1905.
 William H. Gabbert, from 1897, to 1907.
 Robert W. Steele, from 1901, to 1911.
 John Campbell, from 1903, to 1913.
 Julius C. Gunter, from 1905, to 1907.
 Luther M. Goddard, from 1905, to 1909.
 John M. Maxwell, from 1905, to 1909.
 George W. Bailey, from 1905, to 1909.
 William H. Gabbert, from 1907, to 1917.
 Charles F. Caswell, from 1907, to 1907 (Died).
 Joseph C. Helm, from 1907, to 1909.
 Morton S. Bailey, from 1909, to 1917.
 William A. Hill, from 1909, to 1919.
 George W. Musser, from 1909, to 1915.

S. Harrison White, from 1909, to 1919.
 James E. Garrigues, from 1909, to 1919.
 Tully Scott, from 1913, to 1923.
 James H. Teller, from 1915, to 1925.
 George W. Allen, from 1917, to 1927.
 Haslett P. Burke, from 1919. Now in office.
 John H. Denison, from 1919. Now in office.
 Greeley W. Whitford, from 1921. Now in office.
 John W. Sheafor, from 1923. Now in office.
 John Campbell, from 1923, to 1927.
 John Adams, from 1925. Now in office.

Supreme Court Commission from 1879 to 1888.

Members,

Thomas Macon, (Resigned).
 Amos J. Rising.
 John C. Stallcup.
 Allison H. DeFrance.

Commission from 1889 to 1891 when the commission was abolished.

Gilbert B. Reed.
 George Q. Richmond.
 Albert E. Pattison, (Resigned 1890).
 Julius B. Bissell, (Appointed 1890).

JUSTICES OF COURT OF APPEALS, STATE OF COLORADO.

George Q. Richmond, from April 1891, to April 1893.
 Julius B. Bissell, from April 1891, to April 1893.
 Gilbert B. Reed, from April 1891, to April 1893.
 Charles I. Thompson, from April 1893, to April 1899.
 Adair Wilson, from 1896, to 1905.
 Julius C. Gunter, from 1901, to 1905.
 John M. Maxwell, from 1903, to 1905.
 Tully Scott, from 1912, to 1913.
 Edwin W. Hurlbut, from 1912, to 1915.
 Stuart W. Walling, from 1912, to 1915.
 Louis W. Cunningham, from 1912, to 1915.
 Alfred R. King, from 1912, to 1915.
 John C. Bell, from 1913, to 1915.
 William B. Morgan, from 1913, to 1915.

Colorado Development and Production by Decades

	1925	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
Population	1,019,286	939,029	799,024	539,700	413,249	194,327	39,864
Population per square mile.....	9.83	9.06	7.71	5.21	3.99	1.87	0.38
Total assessed value.....	\$1,540,732,000	\$1,590,268,000 ⁸	\$414,885,770	\$216,776,356	\$220,544,064	\$73,698,746	\$43,453,946 ¹
Miles of railroad.....	5,045	5,389	5,532	4,587	4,176	1,570	157
Bank deposits ²	\$321,063,000	\$296,209,000	\$491,471,806	\$161,045,101	\$117,439,558	\$41,991,650	\$5,223,563
Value of all farm property.....	\$712,439,922	\$1,076,794,749	46,170	24,700	16,380	4,506	1,738
Number of all farms.....	58,026	59,934	4,302,101	2,233,968	1,823,520	616,169	93,594
Improved land in all farm property per farm.....	\$12,278	\$17,933	\$10,645	\$6,520	\$7,166	\$9,319	\$8,006
Average value of all farm property per farm.....	.....³	28,756	25,857	17,613	8,227	.....³	.....³
Number of farms irrigated.....	.....³	3,318,385	2,792,032	1,611,271	890,733	.....³	.....³
Investment in irrigation works.....	.....³	\$88,312,442	\$56,636,443	\$11,758,703	\$6,368,755	.....³	.....³
Value of agricultural products.....	\$137,630,000	\$149,687,000	\$50,110,677	\$13,136,810	\$13,136,810	\$5,039,228	\$2,333,106
Value of livestock on farms.....	\$88,420,000	\$152,936,000	\$68,620,000	\$23,497,530,000	\$23,594,810	\$7,033,342	\$2,871,102
Value of stock on farms.....	\$5,196,000	29,462,000	17,648,322	13,837,973	9,980,172	2,157,495	.....⁴
Acres of patented land.....	7,464,000	8,985,820	21,726,192	39,650,247	.....⁴	.....⁴	.....⁴
Average of homesteading land.....	1,377	2,631	2,034	1,323	1,518	599	256
Number of manufacturing establishments.....	31,226	44,729	34,115	92,768	17,067	5,074	876
Number of persons engaged in manufacturing.....	.....⁵	\$243,827,000	\$162,668,000	\$58,173,000	\$26,651,840	\$4,311,714	\$2,853,605
Capital invested in manufacturing.....	.....⁵	\$275,622,000	\$30,044,000	\$89,008,000	\$42,480,205	\$14,260,159	\$2,822,820
Value of output of factories.....	\$255,190,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coal (long tons).....	10,440,387	12,514,693	12,104,887	5,495,734	3,073,781	375,000	69,974 ⁶
Gold, value.....	\$8,593,000	\$7,576,000	\$20,506,000	\$28,762,000	\$4,151,132	\$3,253,000	\$3,013,000 ⁷
Silver, value.....	\$2,180,000	\$5,896,000	\$4,595,000	\$12,609,000	\$19,740,000	\$16,537,000	\$666,000
Copper, value.....	\$355,000	\$744,000	\$1,062,000	\$1,299,000	\$559,000	\$184,000	\$39,000
Lead, value.....	\$3,805,000	\$3,730,000	\$3,347,000	\$7,228,000	\$4,914,000	\$3,567,000	\$15,000
Zinc, value.....	\$3,687,000	\$3,952,000	\$4,163,000	\$716,000	\$16,500	.....	.....
Petroleum, barrels.....	1,226,000	111,000	240,000	317,000	369,000	.....	.....

NOTE—In this compilation census figures have been used exclusively, where applicable, so that they may be comparable. Figures indicate only the amount or number reported for the census year, and do not indicate 10-year totals. Colorado was not a state until 1876, hence much of the information prior to that time is not available.

1. The figure shown here is the first state assessment, that for 1877.
2. Data concerning deposits of both state and national banks prior to 1920 are not available.
3. No census figure published for the year indicated.
4. Prior to 1900 much of the public domain in Colorado was unsurveyed, and there was no record of its approximate area.
5. Production for 1873, the first year of which there is a record.
6. Total value of the production of petroleum from beginning of the industry to 1870.
7. Prior to 1886 the production of petroleum from 1862 averaged about 15,000 barrels annually.
8. In 1913 Colorado's assessment system was changed from that of a valuation on a basis of one-third the actual value to full value, thus accounting for the large increase between 1910 and 1920.

(Prepared by the State Board of Immigration.)

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