

John Williams Gunnison
Centenary of His Survey and Tragic Death
(1853-1953)

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The many landmarks bearing the name Gunnison should be of interest to residents of Colorado and Utah, for they are associated with an exploration and a survey carried out a century ago through the heart of the Rocky Mountains to Lake Sevier by a man of sterling qualities, well suited for leadership; one who met a tragic death, leaving many memorials through two states of that fatal expedition from the Mississippi into the Territory of Utah.

John Williams Gunnison was born November 11, 1812, at Goshen, New Hampshire, a small village in the Sunape Mountains; he was the eldest son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Williams) Gunnison. The family lineage dates back to 1631, when Hugh Gunnison came from Sweden to America with an English colony and settled in Dover Neck, New England.¹

John W. Gunnison taught school in his native village, and during that time prepared for a military career by studying for the entrance examination to West Point Military Academy. He was accepted as a Cadet on July 1, 1833; graduated from that institution, second in a class of fifty, on July 1, 1837; and received the appointment of the grade of Second Lieutenant.² He was ordered to Florida as an ordnance officer to help subdue the Seminole Indians who were waging a hard struggle against the rule of the white man.

In 1838, Lieutenant Gunnison was engaged in helping to remove the Cherokee Indians from Georgia to the present state of Oklahoma. His assignment as an engineer on the St. Mary's and St. John's rivers project was an important one, for he met Martha Delony of St. Mary's, Georgia, and was married to her on April 15, 1841.³

His next assignment was to survey the boundary between Wisconsin and Michigan. In 1842 he was ordered to make a survey of Lake Michigan, a task which required several years.

*Address delivered December 8, 1953, at the Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado. Dr. Mumey, outstanding Denver physician and surgeon, has long devoted himself to the writing and publishing of history.—Ed.

¹Dumas Malone (Ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), VIII, 52.

²*Registry of the Graduates and Former Cadets of U. S. Military Academy* (Corrected to June 30, 1946), Published by the West Point Alumni Foundation, New York, page 130.

³*Genealogy of the Gunnison Family* (Boston, 1876), 139.

Lt. Gunnison's most important military assignment was on May 31, 1849, when he accompanied Captain Howard Stansbury of the Topographical Engineers on an expedition into the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah.⁴ During the winter months in Salt Lake City he accumulated enough material for a small book on the Mormons and their religion, which was published after his return home.⁵ The treatise, a very valuable contribution to the history of the Mormons, is an impartial and true account of the doctrines as practiced at that time. The text leaned toward the praise of the accomplishments of the Latter Day Saints in creating a fertile valley from a barren waste land.

The end of the Mexican War and the settlement of the Oregon boundary caused Congress to take action to survey the country for the purpose of transportation and communication. Emigrants were settling the newly acquired territories of California and Oregon in large numbers. The need for a transcontinental railroad had been advocated and Congress had discussed the making of surveys as early as 1852.⁶ Jefferson Davis, who was Secretary of War, ordered such explorations on March 3, 1853.⁷

The survey to be conducted by Captain Gunnison was to go through the Rocky Mountains by way of the Huerfano River, through the Cochetopa or any other accessible pass. It was to go into the region of the Grand and Green rivers, then west to the Sevier River. On the return journey the expedition was to go north into the region of Utah Lake, through the passes and canyons of the Wasatch range of mountains, and through South Pass to Fort Laramie.

The geographical position of this route through the central portion of our country made it desirable, for it was on a line between St. Louis and San Francisco. It was a short route between the waters of the Mississippi River and those of the Pacific Ocean, midway between the boundaries of the United States from north to south.

Gunnison, who had been promoted to the rank of Captain on March 3, 1853, had been ordered to Milwaukee to superintend harbor improvement in that region.⁸ Two months later he was

⁴Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, etc.* (Washington, 1853), 14, 30.

⁵J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia, 1852).

⁶Amendment to the Army Appropriation bill introduced by Senator William M. Gwin of California in December, 1852, with an appropriation of \$150,000.

⁷Jefferson Davis became President of the Confederate States of America 1861-65; he was born in 1808, and died in 1889.

⁸Records of the War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, "Letters Sent, Topographical Bureau, Vol 15," General Services Administration, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

ordered to make a railroad survey, as shown by orders signed by Colonel J. J. Abert:

(per telegraph)
Captain J. W. Gunnison
Topogl Engs.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

"War Department
Bureau of Topogl Engs.
May 3, 1853

You are detailed to take charge of one of the parties on Survey of Pacific Road route and will repair immediately to Washington.

J. J. Abert."

Captain Gunnison was elated over his assignment for the Survey, as evidenced by a letter to his mother:

I am to go again to the Mormon country by the head waters of the Rio del Norte to the Great Basin and Salt Lake, and back again by the old path to Fort Laramie home. I had hoped and most earnestly desired to see you and all the family before starting so long a journey, but I must not lose a day, but hasten to fit out the expedition for the season is so far advanced. I hurry everyone from the *President* down, or rather all the officials that have anything to do with my operations that I may be off on this route as soon as possible,⁹ lest the snow storms in Autumn should cause me to stay out in the mountains all winter.¹⁰

A great deal of political pressure had been brought by Senator Benton to have his son-in-law, John Charles Fremont, appointed to this important assignment.¹² However, Fremont's anti-slavery tendencies and his previous court-martial were partially responsible for his not being appointed despite his qualifications.¹³ A short time later, in that same year, Fremont organized and led a privately financed expedition, and made an attempt to complete his survey ahead of the one ordered by the government.

Captain Gunnison received necessary instructions and selected some of his assistants, then left Washington for St. Louis, arriving there on June 4th, where he obtained supplies and part of his equipment. His staff was made up of the following personnel: Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith, who was to be second in command; R. H. Kern, topographer and artist; Sheppard Homans, astrono-

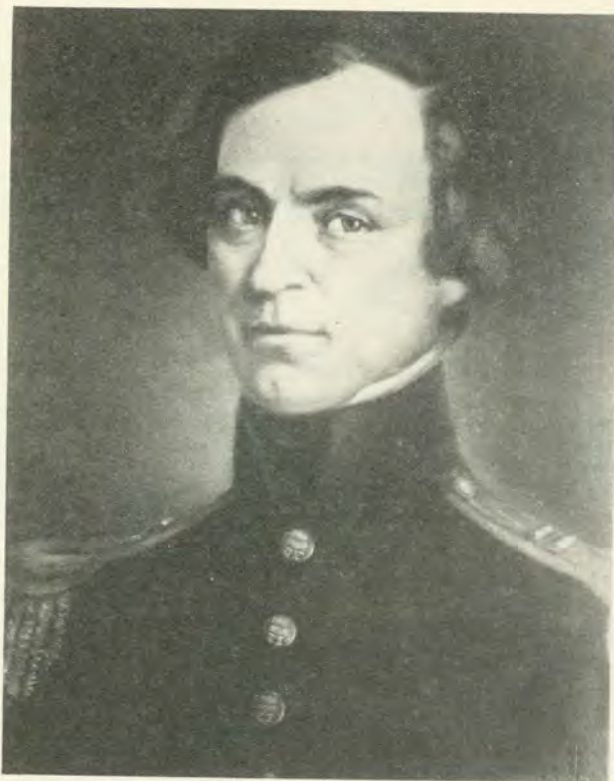
⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. 16.

¹⁰Captain Gunnison sent a requisition, dated May 20, 1853, to the Topographical Engineers for funds for the prosecution of the Pacific R. R. Survey, Registry No. 979, "Register of Letters Received, Topographical Bureau, Vol. 5," Records of the War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D. C. On May 23, 1853, he made a requisition for the survey of the Pacific Rail Road route—Registry No. 993.

¹¹Andrew G. Booth, "Notes on Biography of Captain John W. Gunnison," type-written manuscript written at Goshen, New Hampshire, 1860. Mr. Booth was a nephew of Captain Gunnison. Manuscript used through the courtesy of Miss Genevieve D. O'Neill, a granddaughter of Captain Gunnison.

¹²Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri 1820-1841, was born in 1782 and died in 1858.

¹³Allan Nevins, *Fremont* (New York, 1928), 367-387. Fremont was accused of mutiny, disobedience of orders and conduct prejudicial to discipline in a quarrel with General Kearny during the conquest of California in 1847. His trial began November 2, 1847, and ended January 31, 1848. He was found guilty on all three charges and was dismissed from the service. Six members of the Court recommended clemency. President Polk believed him innocent of mutiny, cancelled the punishment, and ordered him to report for duty. Fremont resigned from the Army and his resignation was accepted March 15, 1848, when he was 34 years old.



CAPTAIN JOHN W. GUNNISON

mer, F. Creutzfeldt, botanist; J. A. Snyder, assistant topographer; Dr. James Schiel, surgeon and geologist; and Charles Taplin, wagon-master.

They established an outfitting camp just below the mouth of the Kansas River about five miles from Westport. Several days were required in recruiting the necessary civilian personnel, such as laborers and teamsters, as well as obtaining mules and horses. The expedition was joined by a military escort of thirty non-commissioned officers and men, commanded by Brevet Captain R. M. Morris.¹⁴

On June 23rd, they left their encampment and began their journey along the Santa Fe Trail for a distance of thirty-five miles. The train was made up of eighteen wagons, sixteen of which were six-mule vehicles; an ambulance drawn by two horses, which

¹⁴Captain Gunnison sent a letter to the Bureau of Topographical Engineers June 21, 1853, inclosing a letter to the Secretary of War, reporting the organization of his party and submitting the names of persons and assistants on the survey. Registry No. 1303, "Register of Letters Received, Topographical Bureau, Vol. 5," General Services Administration, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

were replaced by four mules when they reached the mountains; and a carriage for the instruments, pulled by four mules.¹⁵

On the 26th of June, Captain Gunnison divided the group; Lieutenant Beckwith was ordered to proceed, with the wagon train, on the Santa Fe Trail to Walnut Creek, where the two sections were to meet. Captain Gunnison, with Kern, Homans, Captain Morris, a teamster, packer, and a few men for an escort took the Smoky Hill route for Fort Riley, arriving there on July 4th.¹⁶ He obtained information about the country and plains from government scouts. On July 12, he made contact with Lieutenant Beckwith and the main command at Walnut Creek where it empties into the Arkansas River, approximately at the present site of the town of Great Bend, Kansas. The men had been waiting there since July 9th. The mosquitoes were so bad the sentinels were doubled to keep the animals from running away to escape their bites.

The entire force moved on July 13th, passing Pawnee Rock and Pawnee Fork. Many Kansas and Osage Indians were encountered; they were on their annual buffalo hunt, for bison were numerous in that district.

The expedition continued along the Santa Fe Trail, arriving at Fort Atkinson on July 16th and camping a mile west of the fort, where they found about 280 lodges of the Comanches.¹⁷ They remained there for two days making necessary repairs and obtaining more supplies, before traveling on to Big Timber,¹⁸ arriving there July 26. The next day they passed two or three abandoned log houses which had been occupied by William Bent as a trading post during the winter of 1852-53.¹⁹ The expedition passed the mouth of Purgatoire River and made camp three miles below Bent's Old Fort.

Lieutenant Beckwith, in his report, comments that the site of Bent's Fort would be an ideal location for a military post, for it occupied a central position from Santa Fe, from Fort Laramie, and from Taos through the Sangre de Cristo Pass. Turkey, deer and antelope were seen, and there was good grass.

¹⁵*Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean . . . 1853-54*, II, 12. (Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session).

¹⁶Fort Riley, located at the junction of the Pawnee River (Republican Fork) with the Kansas River, was under construction. It was being built out of white limestone; the soldiers' barracks were half finished.

¹⁷The Comanche Indians were waiting for Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian Agent, to arrive with presents for them after having made a treaty.

¹⁸Big Timber was a section along the Arkansas River about twenty-four miles long, with a comparatively heavy growth of large cottonwood trees on the islands and along the banks.

¹⁹Bent's Log Houses; not to be confused with Bent's Fort.

Lieutenant Beckwith stated that Bent had destroyed his fort about four years earlier, which would make the date 1849; part of the adobe walls were still standing with an occasional tower or chimney.²⁰

A few miles beyond the fort, traveling on the north side of the Arkansas River, Gunnison's party passed the mouth of Timpas Creek which flows into the Arkansas from the south. The party continued up the Arkansas, intending to reach and follow the Huerfano River.²¹ Captain Gunnison and Lieutenant Beckwith searched for, and found, the mouth of a river flowing into the Arkansas from the south. They assumed they were at the Huerfano; actually they were at the mouth of Apishapa River, about three miles northwest of the present town of Manzanola, Colorado. On August 1st, they crossed to the south bank of the Arkansas by using a raft to lighten the loads of the wagons. That evening they had a clear view of the Spanish Peaks, which they had seen faintly through the haze two days earlier. They could also see the Greenhorn Mountains.

Thinking they were on the Huerfano River, they traveled up the valley of the Apishapa for several miles, until they came to the mouth of a small canon, known today as the Canyon of the Apishapa, where they camped on the night of August 3rd. The next morning, Captain Gunnison explored the region and found numerous Indian hieroglyphics on the walls.²² He proceeded up the canon, eventually joining the main party, which had found it impossible to follow the creek and had traveled up first one ravine and then another, turning and winding, until at last they found a pass over the first canon, and once more resumed their course up the creek.²³

It was now apparent to Captain Gunnison and Lieutenant Beckwith that they were not following the Huerfano. On August 5th, the entire party continued up the stream, passing the head of several dry canons to the south, then descended to a broad valley in which were two yellow sandstone buttes.²⁴

Lieutenant Beckwith and Captain Morris ascended one of the buttes and from its summit could see a line of cottonwoods to the northwest. Upon reaching the trees they found a stream, which was a fork of the Huerfano River.

In the meantime, Captain Gunnison, with a small party, had continued to explore the canon of Apishapa River; then rejoined Lieutenant Beckwith and the remainder of the expedition on the branch of the Huerfano.²⁵

On August 6th, the entire party traveled west from this creek and struck a wagon trail leading from Raton Pass to the Pueblo on the Arkansas. They turned on this road and followed it to the crossing of the Cucharas River, a few miles northeast of the present town of Walsenburg, the ford being two feet deep and forty feet wide.

Two miles above this point, Captain Gunnison climbed a butte (not Huerfano Butte) and wrote the following in his Journal:

Pike's Peak to the north,²⁶ the Spanish Peaks to the south, the Sierra Mojada²⁷ to the west, and the plains from the Arkansas—undulating with hills along the route we have come, but sweeping up in a gentle rise where we should have come [via Huerfano]—with the valleys of the Cuchara and Huerfano, make the finest prospect it has ever fallen my lot to have seen.²⁸

The next morning, Lieutenant Beckwith took five men and went in search of the Greenhorn settlement on the Greenhorn branch of the St. Charles River. Ten miles from the Cucharas they descended into the Huerfano Valley and passed the butte from which the stream receives its name.²⁹

After crossing Apache Creek, which flows down from Greenhorn Mountain, they encountered the Taos trail and followed it to the valley of Greenhorn Creek. Here they found six Mexican families who made their homes beside the creek and were raising corn, wheat, beans and melons. The houses were of adobe, without windows; the only opening was a door. In front of each house was an enclosed space of ground twenty yards in width with picketed poles lashed with thongs of rawhide for protection against the Indians.

Beckwith engaged a guide by the name of Massalino to take the expedition to Fort Massachusetts. He was a man about forty-five years old, of Spanish descent, a trapper, hunter and one who was familiar with the country.

²⁰ *Reports of Explorations and Surveys*, etc., II, 33.

²¹ Gunnison may have been looking at Greenhorn Mountain, about twenty miles northwest of Walsenburg, Colorado. From where Gunnison was, Greenhorn Mountain bears a striking resemblance to Pike's Peak.

²² The Sierra Mojada were also known as the Wet Mountains from the amount of rain falling upon them. They are a broken range of mountains southwest of the Arkansas River, and south of Canon City, Colorado. They are referred to by some early writers as the Greenhorn Mountains.

²³ *Reports of Explorations*, etc., II, 34.

²⁴ The Butte—El Huerfano (The Orphan)—can be seen on the east side of Highways 85 and 87 ten miles north of Walsenburg, Colorado. It is a mass of volcanic rock about 150 feet high, and was a landmark on the old Taos trail.

²⁰ Construction of Bent's Fort is said to have been started in 1829 and completed in 1832. The post, known also as Fort William in honor of William Bent, stood on the left (north) bank of the Arkansas River, about midway between the present towns of Las Animas and La Junta, Colorado. According to George Bent, son of William Bent, the post was destroyed by William Bent in 1852.

²¹ The word "huerfano" is Spanish for "orphan." This river received its name from the butte which looked like an orphan in the prairie.

²² There are numerous petroglyphs on sandstone cliffs and boulders on both sides of Apishapa River, 31 miles southwest of Fowler, Colorado. See: E. B. Renaud, "Petroglyphs of Southeastern Colorado," *Archeological Survey of Eastern Colorado* (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, June, 1931), 71.

²³ The upper waters of the Apishapa are crossed by a bridge just south of the town of Aguilar, Colorado, on Highways 85 and 87.

²⁴ There are two buttes located between the Apishapa and Huerfano rivers in Colorado, known as North Rattlesnake Butte and South Rattlesnake Butte. From Lt. Beckwith's description of the country and his mention of finding a rattlesnake at the base of one of the buttes, it is safe to assume this is actually where the exploring party was at this time.

On the morning of the 8th the entire party left their camp on the Cucharas, crossed to and encamped beside the Huerfano Butte. The next morning they moved up the valley of the Huerfano River, crossing and recrossing the stream several times. They traveled 14½ miles up the valley and traversed the canyon between the Greenhorn mountains on the north and spurs of the Sierra Blanca on the south. Now leaving the Huerfano River, they turned south up Oak Creek Valley on the 10th. The next day they ascended a ridge, followed along the top to the south, descended into an adjoining valley, hand ropes being used to hold the wagons from overturning. They cut a road through a dense aspen forest and struggled on, most of the party reaching the summit of Sangre de Cristo Pass the night of the 12th.

In descending, it required four days to make a road for the wagons to travel twelve miles. Then turning westward for five miles they reached Fort Massachusetts³⁰ in the San Luis Valley.³¹

From this camp, Gunnison made a wide excursion to the mountains south of the Spanish Peaks, but was convinced the area did not offer a suitable route for a railroad. He returned to the main camp near Fort Massachusetts, and while there obtained information as to snowfall and other data about winter conditions in the valley. It was decided that they needed a guide who was familiar with the country, so Lieutenant Beckwith and Lieutenant Baker traveled to Taos and procured the services of Antoine Leroux, a well known and experienced guide.³² They returned to their camp near Fort Massachusetts on August 19th.

There was some delay in making repairs and in obtaining supplies at Fort Massachusetts. On August 23rd, the expedition once more resumed their westward trek. They traveled down Utah Creek for three and one-half miles, crossed it to the foot of the Sierra Blanca, and camped at White Mountain spring, seven miles from Utah Creek. On August 24th they followed along the base of the Sierra Blanca to a point opposite Robidoux, or Mosca Pass.³³ Gunnison made an inspection of this pass for the purpose of determining a direct route from the Huerfano River. It was found to have an elevation of 9,772 feet, and an ascent of 281 feet per mile. Gunnison thought it impracticable for a railroad. With

³⁰ Fort Massachusetts was built in 1852 under the jurisdiction of New Mexico. It was abandoned in 1858, and was replaced by Fort Garland, six and one-half miles to the south. Fort Garland was occupied by United States troops from 1858 to 1878.

³¹ San Luis, oldest town in Colorado, had been founded in this valley in 1851. It is the Spanish name for "Saint Louis," a patron saint.

³² Antoine Leroux, a guide for the Loring Expedition across Colorado in 1858, lived in the mountains for forty years. Leroux's Pass at the head of the Rio Grande is shown on a map of the Territory of New Mexico. There is a Mount Leroux in the valley of the Green River in Utah.

³³ "Mosca" is the Spanish name for "fly." This region was noted for its many flies. The ending "ito" on Spanish words denotes "small" or "little"—thus the word "mosquito" means little fly.

Captain Morris and Lieutenant Beckwith, Gunnison examined Williams Pass, which is north of Robidoux (Mosca) Pass.³⁴ They found this to be worse than Mosca Pass, for the western approach from the San Luis Valley was full of sand hills. They turned back to rejoin the main party, and then proceeded up the valley, over a sandy plain, to the north of Sand Creek. They camped on Chatillon's Creek, and on August 27th they traveled along the base of the mountains. Two days later their course was west in a direct line with Cochetopa Pass.

On the morning of August 29th, Captain Gunnison instructed the main command to follow westward to Cochetopa Pass, while he and Mr. Homans, accompanied by the guide and four or five men, went up the San Luis Valley for fourteen miles. The next day they reached the summit of what is now known as Poncha Pass, which divides the waters of the Arkansas River from those of the Rio Grande del Norte. They descended to the plains of the Arkansas River, near the present site of Salida, Colorado. Here they found distinct trails used by the Indians going to South Park, to the Wet Mountain Valley and Hardscrabble, and to the Cochetopa regions. This pass, today known as Poncha Pass, was at that time given the name of Gunnison Pass. Lieutenant Beckwith wrote in his official report: "As a testimonial of respect to the memory of the officer who explored it [Captain Gunnison], I have given his name to this pass."³⁵

Gunnison and his party retraced their steps and, on the night of August 31st, joined the main expedition which was camped near the eastern foot of Cochetopa Pass. The ascent was gradual from the San Luis Valley to the top of Cochetopa Pass, with an elevation of 10,032 feet. Several side trips were made to explore the various canyons and streams around the pass. The expedition then proceeded downward through the valley of Pass Creek in a northerly direction until they reached Tomichi Creek.

The identification of the rivers in this part of Gunnison's trek is confusing. What we know as Tomichi Creek, he called Cochetopa Creek; the present day Gunnison,³⁶ he called Grand River; and the Grand or Colorado³⁷ of today, he called the Nah-un-kah-rea, or Blue River.³⁸

³⁴ Named for Antoine Robidoux who was active in the fur trade in Colorado from 1824 to 1855. He established Fort Robidoux on the Uintah River, and another Fort Robidoux on the Gunnison River. A creek is also named for him. Robidoux was a guide and interpreter for Kearny on his march to California in 1846.

³⁵ *Report of Explorations and Surveys*, etc., II, 46.

³⁶ The Gunnison River was called the Tomichi by the Ute Indians; Escalante called it Rio de San Javier; Beckwith called it the Grand River.

³⁷ The part of the Colorado River above present Grand Junction was formerly called the Grand River. The name was changed by Acts of the Colorado legislature and the United States Congress.

³⁸ This should not be confused with the present day Blue River whose headwaters are on the northern slopes of Hoosier Pass, near Breckenridge, and which flows into the Colorado River near Kremmling, Colorado.

On September 6, 1853, the expedition was camped on the Gunnison River, near the present town of Gunnison, Colorado. They followed westward down this stream,³⁹ and on September 9th reached the Rio de la Laguna. They built a road to cross the stream, which is also known as Lake Fork, but they first had to ascend and descend several steep mesas. One descent was a little over four thousand feet. The wheels of the vehicles were locked, and ropes were attached to the wagons, which the men held to prevent their overturning. A great part of the day was spent in getting across Lake Fork. After laboriously ascending and descending ravines and mesas, the expedition on September 12th, finally reached the first branch of what they called Cebolla Creek.⁴⁰ Here they encountered several Indians who came to their camp; Captain Gunnison gave them all presents.

Shortly after crossing Cimarron Creek, the party left the Gunnison River in a southwesterly direction in order to by-pass the Black Canyon.⁴¹ During this part of the journey, they were kept under surveillance by the Indians, who followed the expedition and camped near by. The red men were always yelling and making a great deal of noise. Gunnison and his men had trouble moving the wagons over the rough mountain country; roads had to be built, and temporary crossings made. They continued to travel west, reaching the Uncompahgre River on September 15th.

The next day Beckwith wrote: "We traveled 18.25 miles down the Uncompahgra today . . . before encamping this evening a short distance above its junction with Grand [Gunnison] river . . ."⁴² The expedition passed through the sites of the present towns of Montrose, Olathe, and Delta, Colorado.

Near the site of Delta,⁴³ they crossed the point of land between the Uncompahgre and Gunnison rivers, reaching the latter at "Roubideau's old trading fort," which they found in ruins. They continued to follow the Gunnison River to its junction with the Colorado.

They followed westward along the Colorado River below Grand Junction, and Beckwith was so impressed by the barrenness of the country through which they had traveled that he wrote: "No part of the route thus far from San Luis valley, therefore offers a spot of any considerable extent suitable for settlement."⁴⁴

³⁹ Part of Highway 50 follows approximately the route taken by Gunnison and his party.

⁴⁰ Cebolla is Spanish for Onion. The stream is now called the Cimarron. Cebolla Creek of today enters the Gunnison farther east.

⁴¹ Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument was established by proclamation of President Herbert Hoover, March 2, 1933.

⁴² *Reports of Explorations and Surveys*, etc., II, 55.

⁴³ The name Uncompahgre was first given to the town, but was later changed to Delta because it occupies a delta of land formed by the confluence of the Uncompahgre and Gunnison rivers.

⁴⁴ *Reports of Explorations and Surveys*, etc., II, 59.

Leaving the Colorado River⁴⁵ they traveled along the Roan Mountains and crossed the dry plateau to the Green River, arriving there on September 30th, near the site of Green River, Utah.

At this point, Gunnison tried to obtain an Indian guide to accompany them to Wasatch Pass, but was not successful. They traveled west, reaching and crossing the San Rafael River on October 8th, then turned southwest until they reached the Old Spanish Trail, which they followed toward the Wasatch Mountains.

On October 12th, Tewip Narrienta, a Utah Indian, offered to accompany the expedition for a few days as a guide. He led them to the summit of Wasatch Pass, where they turned south, reaching a ravine from which Salt Creek flows toward the Sevier River. The Indian guide told them it was impossible to follow down Salt Creek because it entered a large canon, and there was only a horse trail through it.

The expedition turned south and crossed several ravines, creeks and small valleys; then turned north and west again until they reached Salt Creek, having by-passed the deep canyon. They descended Salt Creek to its confluence with the Sevier River,⁴⁶ turned north and encamped on its eastern bank on October 17th. Captain Gunnison, elated at his success, wrote:

On reaching this plain a stage is attained which I have so long desired to accomplish: the great mountains have been passed and a new wagon road opened across the continent—a work which was almost unanimously pronounced impossible, by the men who know the mountains and this route over them.

The result is, a new mail and military road to Taos, in New Mexico, by way of Fort Massachusetts; which, with a little work on Gunnison's creek and a hill near Taos, will be very direct and easy, with excellent feed and water all the way.

2d. A road for the southern States to California, and for emigrants who are late in starting from the States.

3d. A military road to, and command of, the Utah country, passing into the centre of the territory of that people at Grand [Colorado] river, from whence radiate trails to all points of the compass.

4th. It is demonstrated that, for a railroad route, it is far inferior to the Middle Central, by Medicine Bow river, and Laramie plains. It passes some thousands of feet higher, and also lower, and is much longer from St. Louis.

To the energy, zeal, and ability of Lieutenant Beckwith, and Brevet Captain Morris, in superintending the working parties and conducting the train, the expedition is greatly indebted. That a road for nearly seven hundred miles should have been made over an untrodden track, (except in some places by pack-mules and footmen), through a wilderness all the way, and across five Mountain ranges, (the Sierra Blanca, San Juan, Uncompahgra,

⁴⁵ Beckwith gave the name of "Grand River" to the Colorado River below its junction with the Gunnison, since "Grand" was his name for the Gunnison River which flowed into it.

⁴⁶ The Sevier River was called the Santa Isabel by Escalante.

Sandstone, and Wahsatch), and a dry desert of seventy miles between Grand [Colorado] and Green rivers, without deserting one of our nineteen wagons, and leaving but one animal from sickness and one from straying, and this in two and a half months, must be my excuse for speaking highly of all the assistants of this survey.⁴⁷

They descended the Sevier River to the southern end of the San Pete valley,⁴⁸ and continued along the river until they reached the road leading to California. They camped here while Captain Gunnison proceeded up the San Pete valley about eighteen miles to the settlement of Manti, Utah, arriving there on October 20th. Gunnison secured necessary supplies and two guides, G. G. Potter and William Potter, brothers, who were to accompany the expedition to Sevier Lake.

The expedition turned southward, along the California Road, and encamped at Cedar Springs, about ten miles from Fillmore, Utah.⁴⁹ Gunnison visited Fillmore on October 22nd, returning to camp that evening.

The next day they continued northwestward across the valley toward the Sevier River, which they reached at ten o'clock on the morning of October 24th, about sixteen to eighteen miles from where it empties into Lake Sevier. The entire command was put at rest, giving the animals a chance to recuperate after their hard struggles through the mountains.

Captain Gunnison thought he should investigate the region around Sevier Lake, for winter weather was fast approaching, when all explorations would have to cease until summer. He divided the command and took a selected group with him on an ill-fated venture, which ended in a most tragic manner.

On the morning of October 25th, a small detachment, which included Kern, Creutzfeldt, a group of enlisted personnel, and a Mormon guide, William Potter, accompanied Captain Gunnison on a reconnaissance of the region around the border of Lake Sevier. They saw several flashes of signal fires made by the Indians during their journey, but were careful and alert. They made camp on the Sevier River, partially hidden by a growth of tall willows. A guard was kept on duty throughout the night; each man, including the commander, taking a watch.

Nothing happened during the night, but in the early dawn of the morning of October 26th the command was surprised by rifle fire and a volley of arrows from near-by willows. The Indians had carried out a well planned attack without being observed or detected. The entire camp was in confusion; one man was killed by

⁴⁷ *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, etc.*, II, 70.

⁴⁸ Fort Gunnison was established there in 1860. It is the site of the present town of Gunnison, Utah.

⁴⁹ Named for Millard Fillmore, the 13th President of the United States, 1850-1853. The town of Fillmore was the first capital of Utah.



MONUMENT AT SITE OF GUNNISON MASSACRE

the first fire. Captain Gunnison rushed from his tent unarmed, in a gesture of friendship, talking to the Indians and telling them to hold their fire for he was their friend.⁵⁰ The reply was a volley of arrows which pierced his body. He slumped to the ground. Four of the men succeeded in making their escape, but they were pursued for a long distance before eluding the Indians.

News of the disaster was taken to the main camp late in the afternoon by one of the survivors. Captain Morris and Lieutenant Beckwith left immediately with the entire command, for the scene of disaster. Darkness overtook them before they reached the tragic place. A huge bonfire was built, hoping that other survivors would see it and come in.

The next morning they proceeded to the site and found the disfigured bodies of Captain Gunnison, Kern, Creutzfeldt, Potter,

⁵⁰ The Indians were members of the Pah Vants tribe. There are many versions of the name of the tribe, such as: Parvanto, Parvante, Pah Vant, Pi-Ute, Pah-Ute. The Pah Vants occupied the region at that time.

Privates Caulfield, Liptoote, and Mehreens, and John Bellows, a camp employee. There had been a twenty-four hour delay in arriving at the scene of the massacre and it was difficult to identify the remains because of the mutilation made by the Indians and the wolves. Parts of the bodies of Captain Gunnison and William Potter, the Mormon guide, were identified and Captain Gunnison's remains were taken to Fillmore, where they were interred. William Potter was interred at Manti, Utah.

The report of the horrible deed was carried by dispatch and by individuals, and soon found its way into the newspapers of the country. They gave a divergence of opinion, some placing the blame on the Mormons, some on the Indians, while others blamed them both for the crimes. Many voiced the opinion that the Mormons, disguised as Indians, committed the foul act. The evidence later submitted showed that the Indians alone carried out the massacre, and the Mormons did not have any part in the tragic affair.

Anson Call at Fillmore related his conversation with Captain Gunnison the day before the massacre. He told the Captain that some of the Indians were on the warpath seeking revenge for the unwarranted killing of one of their tribe by emigrants who were passing through the country.

Many of the effects of Captain Gunnison were later recovered. Some of the Indians were brought to trial and were convicted; years later a few confessed their part in the well-carried-out plot to murder Gunnison and his party.

A century has passed since this survey was made and the tragic event took place. The few identified remains of Captain Gunnison are in an unmarked grave at Fillmore, Utah. A modern highway now traverses some of the old trails; vista-domed railway cars afford a scenic view of the surrounding country, and super air liners glide over the majestic mountain peaks, traveling through some of the country surveyed by Captain Gunnison and his command one hundred years ago.

The people of Colorado were celebrating the return of prosperity. The gold bonanza at Cripple Creek had rescued them from the Silver Panic slump of '93; millionaires like W. S. Stratton, Verner Z. Reed and Horace W. Bennett were making headlines.

Newspapers recording these events include: *The Rocky Mountain News*, *The Denver Times*, *The Denver Republican*, and *The Denver Post*, bought in 1895 by the colorful F. G. Bonfils and Harry Tammen.

Amid the excitement of these stirring events, another newsworthy item appeared in *The Denver Republican*, October 10, 1897, as follows:

THE ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

OPENING OF THE DENVER BRANCH

Notwithstanding all that has been said and done underhand by a few individuals who, actuated by personal motives, easy to understand, have tried their best to bar the progress of the preliminary work for the establishment of a Denver Branch of the renowned "Alliance Francaise," its complete organization is now an accomplished fact. A score of our most influential women, known to be ardent promoters of higher education, have kindly consented to become lady patronesses; a local board of high-minded gentlemen has been appointed and a cable has been received from Paris to the effect that the Central Board of France has confirmed the Denver organization. Consul Mignolet has been appointed a Commissioner for the State of Colorado, and the French consul in Chicago, who has for correspondent here Mr. Chartier, becomes by right the honorary president.

The Board of Directors is as follows: Messrs. T. D. Boal, General J. W. Browning, G. Chartier, Superintendent A. Gove, Superintendent L. C. Greenlee, E. L. Johnson, Rev. C. R. Marshall, Consul J. Mignolet, L. M. Petitdidier, Rev. F. A. Phillips, E. Ring, F. Steinhauer, Superintendent J. W. Van Sickle and Superintendent W. J. Wise.

It is said that hundreds of applications, coming from all classes of society, have been received and that the success of the school is already assured.

Classes will be held at different hours of the day, twice a week, at McPhee building, and those intending to join are respectfully invited to register their names at the class room where all information will gladly be given. The fee is simply nominal \$1.00 a month and special evening sessions will also be held for those busy during the day. A musical and literary soiree will probably be given as an opening on Friday or Saturday next, and all those interested will be welcomed.

The following day, October 11, *The Denver Times* came out with the same story, but with the added information that "The board will meet tomorrow evening to elect a vice-president, treasurer and secretary."

Franco-American Friendship in Colorado, 1897-1953

LENORE FITZELL*

Denver, in October, 1897, was celebrating its third annual "Festival of Mountain and Plain." *Harpers Weekly* had sent a reporter to cover the event. Fifty thousand tourists mingled with a hundred thousand Denverites to watch the "Grand Allegorical Parade by the Slaves of the Silver Serpent." There was a balloon ascension and parachute jump; fireworks at City Park; a street fair and rodeo.

* Mrs. Fitzell of Denver is a member of the *Alliance Francaise*.—Ed.

On October 24, *The Denver Republican* printed the following:
 "ALLIANCE FRANCAISE"

More Than 400 Pupils Enrolled As
 Members of the Association

President and Directors Gratified
 by Their Unexpected Success

The first four classes of the Alliance Francaise were held at the McPhee building on last Friday. Already more than 400 enthusiasts, including the most enlightened people of this city, have enrolled themselves as students of the French language. So great, indeed, has been the success of this association and so crowded have been the classes, that in order to accommodate this unlooked for number of students, the directors have found it imperative to double the number of classes and add Mondays and Tuesdays to the days already adopted.

Prof. Muzzarelli, the director who has been much complimented upon his success as an educator, has been importuned by a number of ladies to organize a kindergarten class, which would be placed in charge of a French lady teacher, thus affording the young an opportunity of acquiring the genuine Parisian accent while in tender years.

It was the vision of Jean Mignolet to establish a branch of the Alliance Francaise in Denver, and, with the courage and persistence characteristic of the French, he succeeded.

Mignolet arrived in New York from Belgium in 1874. Throat trouble brought him west to Lake City, Colorado, in 1884, where he was employed as cashier in the Miners and Merchants Bank. That same year, he was appointed Belgian Consul for Colorado. Although born in Antwerp, his parents were French and that was his native tongue. When he moved from Lake City to Denver in 1888, to become a cashier at the Federal National Bank near 19th and Larimer Streets, he joined a group of French and Belgian musicians, as music was his avocation and his favorite instrument the flute. In this musical gathering, French was the language they spoke among themselves and soon they became the nucleus of a French-speaking group. In 1896, he was appointed Honorary French Consul for Denver.

It was then Mignolet wrote to Pierre Foncin in Paris, who had founded the Alliance Francaise in France in 1882, and asked for official ways and means of establishing a branch in Denver. Foncin conferred upon him the title "Delegate for Colorado for the Alliance Francaise." Mignolet then formed the first board of the Alliance Francaise of Denver and set up headquarters in the McPhee building. This board met October 12, 1897, and elected Mignolet president. The members at this meeting were: Henry Charpiot, Edward Ring, L. M. Petitdidier, the Rev. Charles



JEAN B. MIGNOLET

Marshall and Oscar Reuter. Before the first year was over, they had enrolled 800 pupils for the French lessons in the Alliance Francaise.

In 1898, Mignolet was awarded the *Palmes Academiques* as founder and first president of the Denver branch. Many years later, in 1933, he was made an Officer of the Legion of Honor of France in recognition of his contribution of \$35,000 to the French and Belgian orphans of World War I. He raised this large sum of money from the sale of a small pin, representing the six allied flags, which he had designed and patented.

In October 1935, the newspapers had another headline for Jean Baptiste Mignolet. "Dean of Denver Consuls and Leader in Franco-American Friendship passes away at his home at 2549 Birch Street at the age of 77." He had earned these titles through years of devotion to French and Belgian affairs.

If he had taken time, in his busy life, to write the history of the Alliance Francaise from 1897 to 1935, such a document would be of value and interest now. As it is, there is not much data available on Alliance activities in Denver from 1900 to 1917. Dr. Bourquin was French Consular Agent during those years,

and when the affairs of the Alliance were entrusted to his leadership, they languished during that period.

But in 1917, American soldiers were going to France and there was a demand for French classes, so that "our boys" could understand more than *parlez-vous* when they reached Paris.

The Alliance Francaise began a new and vigorous life. It sponsored teachers for twelve classes a week, without charge, at the Denver Public Library, and, by 1918, over a thousand members were enrolled. The New York Headquarters of the Alliance Francaise gave due recognition to the Denver branch with this statement in the official magazine, "The Alliance Francaise of Denver is the banner group in the United States."

Mme. Marie de Mare Stein and Mrs. Horace Bennett were the leaders in this revival. Mrs. Bennett was elected president of the Alliance and Mme. Stein was made editor of *Le Semeur*, a magazine in French which went to press monthly for the membership.

The activities of the Alliance have been flourishing since 1917.

The Soirees were revived; dinners were given for distinguished lecturers, brought from France by the New York headquarters; French plays were produced at the Broadway Theatre and International programs were presented. There were French Musicales at Chappell House and annual garden fetes on the 14th of July to celebrate French Independence.

In 1934, the Alliance presented a chair to the Central City Opera House Association, dedicated to Sarah Bernhardt. In 1937, French classes for children were set up at Chappell House.

The presidents who followed Jean Mignolet have built upon the foundation he laid for Franco-American friendship. They are Mmes. Horace W. Bennett, Paul Maltby Clark, Blanche La Fontaine Scott, Harry Bellamy, Mrs. Odette Combs, Alfred de Blaquiére, and Mr. Henry Outland.

Mrs. Chase Doster, president since 1947, has established monthly meetings at the A. A. U. W. Club House, with programs in French, followed by a social hour when French conversation is the diversion. She has undertaken, with Mrs. Charles Bonfils as chairman, annual fashion shows at Daniels and Fisher, featuring French styles and imports; the French classes have been continued under the tutelage of two of Denver's finest teachers in that language.

The Alliance recognizes and appreciates the honor that has come to Denver by the appointment of its first Consul General for France, Rene Chalon, who arrived with his family in July, 1952, to take up his official duties.

There are many other less-tangible but far-reaching effects of this organization, not to be found in the newspaper files or the Alliance records. French War Brides join the Alliance for the joy of speaking their mother-tongue and making new friends. The French group of soldiers at Lowry Air Force Base, during World War II and at the present time, find entertainment at Alliance meetings and in the homes of members. Frenchmen on tour of the United States, who stop in Denver briefly, know they have entree in Denver homes through the Alliance Francaise.

To recall again the "gay nineties," that decade to which so many of us owe so much, another Frenchman, Jean Jacques Reclus, wrote in 1892: "Thanks to the increasing knowledge men are gaining of themselves and others, they are arriving by degrees at the discovery of the common ground upon which we all resemble each other."

Perhaps, that is the vision Jean Baptiste Mignolet had in mind when he fostered Franco-American friendship in Denver by establishing the Alliance Francaise.†

History of the State Historical Society of Colorado

III. 1925-50

LEROY R. HAFEN

Early in 1925 the State Historical Society undertook the preparation of a comprehensive history of Colorado, to be published in commemoration of the semi-centennial of statehood (1926). Dr. James H. Baker, President Emeritus of the University of Colorado, was induced to serve as Editor, with LeRoy R. Hafen as Associate Editor. Twenty-four selected contributors were to write chapters on special phases of the state's development.¹

The officers of the Society in 1925 were: E. M. Ammons, President; John Evans and A. J. Fynn, Vice Presidents; E. A. Kenyon, Secretary; and F. S. Byers, Treasurer.²

[†]Sources for this material came from: The files of the Alliance Francaise of Denver, Denver newspapers, and the Scrapbook of Mr. Jean Mignolet.

¹As finally published the authors and chapters were: James H. Baker, Introductory Outline; R. D. George, Geology; James Grafton Rogers, Geography and Natural Features; T. D. A. Cockerell, Natural History; J. A. Jeancon, Ancient Inhabitants; LeRoy R. Hafen, Coming of the White Man—Exploration and Acquisition; A. J. Fynn, The Indians; C. B. Goodykoontz, Settlement of Colorado; A. B. Sanford, Organization and Development of Colorado Territory; C. W. Henderson, Mining; D. W. Working, Agriculture; A. T. Steinel, Livestock; F. E. Shepard, Industrial Development; W. J. Morrill, Forestry; Arthur Ridgway, Transportation; Henry Swan and Allan Herrick, Banking; C. S. Thomas, Fifty Years of Political History; M. D. Ormes, Colorado in the Nation's Wars; H. J. Hersey, The Bench and the Bar; C. S. Elder, Medicine; Anna Wolcott Vaile and Ellis Meredith, Woman's Contribution; T. J. Mahan, Education; W. F. Steele, Religious Bodies; E. C. McMechen, Literature and the Arts.

²The other Board Members were: Ellsworth Bethel, Ernest Morris, Lou D. Sweet, and Roger W. Toll.

With the January, 1925, issue of the *Colorado Magazine* Dr. Hafen became the editor. He was to continue this assignment for nearly thirty years.

This magazine recorded and embodied the progress of the Society. Much of its record—the valuable historical articles, pioneer interviews and recollections, reports of acquisitions—cannot all be mentioned in this abbreviated history. The *Colorado Magazine* must be looked upon, for the years it covers (since 1923), as an extended history of the Society, a supplement and an elaboration of this historical sketch.

The state legislature appropriated \$28,000 for operation of the Society during the biennium, 1925-27. Three Curators—of History, Natural History, and Archaeology and Ethnology—were provided for; and an Assistant Curator of History and a Librarian completed the staff. Archaeological research was allotted \$5500 for the two-year period.³

An act was also passed for the purchase of the Pike Memorial Park—site of Zebulon M. Pike's stockade of 1807 on the Conejos River—for \$3000. This area, of 120 acres, was put under the jurisdiction of the State Historical Society.⁴

Losses by death and financial difficulties plagued the Society in 1925. On May 20, the President of the Society and former Governor, E. M. Ammons, died in Denver; Ellsworth Bethel, a Board member and Director of the Department of Natural History, suffered a fatal heart attack on September 8; and two days later Dr. James H. Baker, Editor of the *Colorado History* (under preparation), passed away.

Henry A. Dubbs, prominent lawyer and student of history, was elected to the presidency of the Society on June 24, 1925. Immediately he was faced with an appalling situation. Although the legislature had voted money for operations of the Society, state revenues were insufficient to cover all the appropriations made. Under such conditions, the Society, not being in a preferred classification, received no funds. Mr. Dubbs, with persuasive arguments and re-enforced with influential endorsements, presented the Society's predicament to the city of Denver, and induced the Council to vote money for operation of the State Historical Society.⁵

A Hay Fever Research Project, directed and financed by Dr. J. J. Waring of Denver but sponsored and assisted by the Natural

³The Curators were: LeRoy R. Hafen, History; Hazel M. Schmoll, Natural History; and Jean A. Jeancon, Archaeology and Ethnology. Albert B. Sanford was Assistant Curator of History, and Elisabeth M. Galbreath, Librarian. The biennial appropriation included \$1000 for publications, \$1000 for purchase of books and relics, and \$2400 for incidental and contingent expenses (*Session Laws of 1925*, p. 71).

⁴*Session Laws of 1925*, 101-102.

⁵See the editorial by Ernest Morris in the *Colorado Magazine*, III, 30-31.

History Department of the State Historical Society, which was begun in 1924, was completed in 1925. The survey covered a rectangular area extending from Grand Lake to Greeley and from Loveland to Pueblo. Six hundred plants were gathered, mounted, and filed, and the pollen studied. The final report, published as a seventy-six-page pamphlet in 1926, listed offending plants in the various areas and presented the results of the thorough study.⁶

The officers who served the Society in 1926 were: Henry A. Dubbs, President; Ernest Morris and A. J. Fynn, Vice Presidents; E. R. Harper, Secretary, and E. W. Robinson, Treasurer.⁷ Staff members remained the same, except that Lou D. Sweet was made acting curator of the Natural History Department, and at the end of the year Mrs. Evelyn Lloyd became librarian.

During the summer of 1926 Mr. Jeancon made a trip through New Mexico and Arizona, purchasing archaeological and ethnological objects for the State Historical Society museum.⁸

The semi-centennial of Colorado statehood came and went without any general or notable commemoration. However, the Society did devote a special issue of its *Colorado Magazine* (August, 1926) to the anniversary.⁹

In January, 1927, the board of directors sent a letter to the members of this Society to obtain their views as to whether the natural history work of the Society should be given up. An advisory ballot was enclosed. The vote on the question was the largest ever cast by the Society. Over five hundred ballots were cast, and by a vote of approximately nine to one the members expressed themselves in favor of discontinuing natural history and concentrating the efforts of the Society upon history, including archaeology.

The matter was submitted to the legislature which promptly passed an act to change the name of the Society to The State Historical Society of Colorado, to discontinue the natural history work, and to authorize the disposition of such natural history material as the Society possesses, according to the judgment of the board of directors, but only to public institutions within the state of Colorado. Governor Adams signed the act and it is now the law.¹⁰

⁶James J. Waring, *Report of the Hay Fever Research Committee of the State Historical and Natural History of Colorado* (Denver, 1926).

⁷Other members of the Board were: F. S. Byers, Ralph Hartzell, E. A. Kenyon, and Lou D. Sweet.

⁸The list of objects purchased and receipts totaling \$664.87 are preserved in the Society's library vault, "Old Reports, Envelope No. 2."

⁹The articles included: "The Colorado Constitution," by H. J. Hersey; "Fifty Years of Colorado's Development," by Governor Oliver H. Shoup; "John L. Routt, First State Governor of Colorado," by A. B. Sanford; "Views on the Admission of Colorado in 1876," by T. F. Van Wagenen; "The Miracle of a Half-Century," by E. D. Foster; and "The Statehood Celebration of 1876," and "Steps to Statehood in Colorado," by L. R. Hafen. Four issues of the *Colorado Magazine* were published in 1926.

¹⁰*Colorado Magazine*, IV (1927), 78. The law was approved February 28, 1927.

In pursuance of this decision and legislation, the natural history materials in the Society's possession were presented to the University of Colorado, the State College of Agriculture, and the Natural History Museum of Denver.

The *History of Colorado* sponsored by the State Historical Society was published in January, 1927. It comprised three volumes of history, and in addition included two volumes of biographical sketches prepared by the publishers.¹¹ The reviews were complimentary and the work was well received by the general public.

The legislative appropriation for the Society in 1927 amounted to \$27,000 for the biennium. Four staff members were provided for.¹² Archaeological research was allotted \$5000; publications and binding, \$3000; and incidental and contingent expenses, \$2400.

With the *History* safely between covers, the Curator of History was free to make more trips out into the state to gather historical and museum material and interview pioneers. Research work on particular topics of Colorado history was also pursued and the results were published in a series of articles in the *Colorado Magazine*.¹³ He prepared a descriptive booklet on the Society and its work, the museum, and the collections. This was published in 1927.

At the end of the year a "Prize Historical Essay Contest," for High School students of Colorado was announced by the Society. Twelve prizes, ranging from \$5 to \$50, were offered. The essay subjects were to be the founding or history of a town or section of Colorado, the history of an industry, or the experiences of a pioneer. There was wide participation in the contest and several of the essays were subsequently published in the *Colorado Magazine*.¹⁴

Mr. Jeancon, who since 1921 had served the Society as Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology, resigned in the spring of 1927, on account of ill health. Mr. Paul S. Martin, trained in archaeology and who had done excavation work in Yucatan, was chosen for the place. During the summer of 1928 he conducted an archaeological

¹¹ Before his death on September 10, 1925, Dr. Baker had assigned the topical chapters to particular writers and had finished his own "Introductory Outline." Dr. Hafén thereupon assumed the editorial duties and carried the work to completion.

¹² The staff members were: L. R. Hafén, Historian and Curator; A. B. Sanford, Assistant Curator; J. A. Jeancon (succeeded by P. S. Martin), Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology; and Evelyn Lloyd, Librarian.

¹³ At the January, 1927, Board meeting the officers of the Society were all re-elected for another year.

¹⁴ Dr. Hafén's articles published in this magazine in 1927-28 included: "A Winter Rescue March Across the Rockies," "The Fort Pueblo Massacre and the Punitive Expedition Against the Utes," "Mexican Land Grants in Colorado," "Supplies and Market Prices in Pioneer Denver," "Fort Jackson and the Early Fur Trade of the South Platte," "The Last Years of James P. Beckwourth;" in addition to published interviews, editorials and the editing of the magazine.

¹⁵ The announcement of the prize winners was given in the *Colorado Magazine*, V, 78-79.

expedition into Montezuma County. Further data were obtained upon the prehistoric inhabitants of the region, and some fine specimens of their handiwork were collected. An illustrated Report of the Expedition was published in the January issue of the *Colorado Magazine*.

Dr. J. N. Hall, a distinguished pioneer physician of Colorado, established in February, 1928, the "Mrs. J. N. Hall Foundation" for marking historic sites in the state.¹⁵ In addition to the income from the trust fund of \$5000, Dr. Hall provided additional money for the immediate placement of markers on all the principal mountain passes of the state. Subsequently another \$5000 was added to the Foundation.

During the 1927-28 biennium the Society's collections were enlarged by some notable acquisitions. John M. Kuykendall, prominent in the early cattle industry of the West, gave his large and excellent collection of cowboy equipment to the Society. The May Farnam Woodward Basketry Collection, comprising about 175 choice specimens of the work of American Indians was presented. Mrs. Verner Z. Reed gave her Indian collection, including a baby cradle, pottery, bead work, arrows, and other interesting items of Indian handiwork. There were received the historic plow that indirectly precipitated the Meeker Massacre, the military saddle used throughout the Civil War by General James W. Denver, for whom our capital city is named; an arrastre muller from South Park, Colorow's saddle blanket, and cross sections of Denver and Rio Grande rails from the 30¢ one of 1871 to the 1928 rail of 110¢. The Curator of History gathered relics at the sites of Bent's Fort, and Forts Reynolds, Sedgwick, and Wicked, and collected an ox yoke, branding irons, revolvers and miscellaneous museum relics, as well as photographs, maps and newspapers. The Daniel Witter papers, including a diary of 1859, were obtained.¹⁶

E. R. Harper, Secretary of the Society, died in April, 1927. His position was filled by the election of Ralph Hartzell, Denver attorney. Following the Annual Meeting of December 13, 1927, the officers of the Society were re-elected for another year.¹⁷ In January, 1929, the officers were again re-elected, and all Board members continued to serve.

Monthly meetings of the Society, devoted to addresses on a variety of historical and archaeological topics, were held rather regularly during this period.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 33.

¹⁶ Reports of these acquisitions are found in various issues of the *Colorado Magazine*, under "Editorial Notes."

¹⁷ *Colorado Magazine*, V, 40. The other members of the Board were: F. S. Byers, Theron R. Field, George W. Skinner, Jr., and Lou D. Sweet.

For the biennium 1929-31 the legislature again appropriated \$27,000 for the Society's work—the identical amount voted for the preceding biennial period.¹⁸

Dr. Paul S. Martin, in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution, continued his archaeological work for the Society in the area north of Cortez, Colorado, during the summer of 1929.¹⁹ The results of the productive year's work were presented in an extended illustrated Report in the *Colorado Magazine* of January, 1930.

At the end of the 1929 season Dr. Martin resigned his position with the Society to accept a place at the Field Museum in Chicago. Dr. George Woodbury, with a Ph. D. from the University of Vienna and with archaeological experience in Europe and Palestine, was chosen as Dr. Martin's successor.²⁰

Notable additions of 1929 to the Society's collections included: nine different examples of the rare Pike's Peak whiskey flasks especially manufactured for the gold rush of 1859, presented by former President of the Society, E. B. Morgan; the Bent Bible, containing a genealogical record of the Bent Family, a rare photograph of William Bent, and the unique promissory note of Old Bill Williams (1843), given by Mrs. H. L. Lubers, granddaughter of William Bent; mining relics from Gilpin County; two oil paintings by the pioneer artist, J. D. Howland, given by G. W. Skinner; a collection of railroad photographs and documents, Spanish-American War papers, manuscript relating to early Pueblo, and a file of *Camp and Plant*, published by the C. F. & I., given by Congressman Lawrence Lewis; the 500-volume military library and a collection of pictures from the Loyal Legion; the Mayor George T. Clark collection of books, pamphlets, programs, and photographs, including the rare 1861 Proclamation by Governor R. W. Steele terminating Jefferson Territory, from Mr. Clark's daughter, Mrs. W. G. Wigginton of Denver; a collection of 75 maps and 25 atlases of the 17th to 19th centuries, published in various nations and pertaining to Western America (purchased); and pioneer home relics of Boulder County, from Mrs. Augusta H. Block.

During the year legends were prepared and bronze plaques were attached to monuments on thirteen mountain passes of Colorado, the State Highway cooperating in the erection of the markers. On his vacation trip to the Northwest Coast, the Curator of History

¹⁸ *Session Laws* of 1929, pp. 74-75. At this session the fiscal year was changed to end on July 1, instead of on November 30.

¹⁹ Dr. Martin received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago in June, 1928. His thesis, drawn largely from his Colorado field work, was entitled, "The Kiva: A Survival of an Ancient House Type."

²⁰ *Colorado Magazine*, VII, 41-42.

found at Arcata, California, a granddaughter of Lieutenant Lancaster P. Lupton and from her obtained a photograph, letters and papers of her famous grandfather, the founder of the fur-trade post of Fort Lupton. Thus was solved the mystery of the identity of Lupton, and the fictitious Madiero Gonzales Lupton was put to rest.

During 1929 the *Colorado Magazine* was regularly published as a bi-monthly;²¹ it was to continue with six issues a year until the close of 1948, when it would be enlarged and be made a quarterly.

Henry Swan, Lawrence Lewis, and Frank L. Woodward were elected to the Board of Directors at the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 10, 1929. At the next Board Meeting, on the 19th, Henry A. Dubbs was re-elected President; Ernest Morris and A. J. Fynn were retained as Vice Presidents; Lawrence Lewis was chosen Secretary; and Henry Swan, Treasurer.²²

The Society's lecture program was interrupted early in 1930 when the third floor auditorium in the State Museum was taken over by the state for its cooperative work with the United States Census Bureau. What was expected to be a temporary interruption was to continue for years, with one agency after another occupying the space.

Dr. J. N. Vroom, Denver physician, who died August 30, 1930, left a \$1000 bequest to the Society.²³

The Society's newspaper holdings were greatly augmented in 1930 by the gift of 50 volumes of the *Denver Express* and the *Denver Times* given by the *Rocky Mountain News*; a file of the *Colorado Transcript* of Golden, from Mrs. Vera W. Parsons; and volumes of the *Georgetown Courier* from its editor, J. S. Randall.

The Board of Directors and the Society suffered regrettable losses in the death of Frank L. Woodward on November 10, 1930, and of Dr. A. J. Fynn on December 30 following. Subsequently the Society was the recipient of valued collections of books from the estates of these men. More than 500 books were received from each. Mr. Woodward's collection especially contained some exceedingly rare items of Western Americana.

The state legislature at its biennial session of 1931 appropriated \$27,400 for the Society's work, approximately the same amount as voted for the two preceding bienniums. Four staff members continued to serve the Society.²⁴

²¹ For the years prior to 1929 the magazine was issued as follows: volume I (1923-24), 7 numbers; volume II (1925), 2 numbers; III (1926), 4 numbers; V (1927), 5 numbers; and volume VI (1928), 5 numbers.

²² *Colorado Magazine*, VII, 242.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII, 242.

²⁴ These were: L. R. Hafen, Historian and Curator of History; A. B. Sanford, Assistant Curator; George Woodbury, Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology; and Evelyn Lloyd, Librarian.

On March 11, 1931, Dr. J. N. Hall was elected to one of the vacancies on the Board; Theron R. Field was chosen as Second Vice President; the other officers of the Society remained the same. George W. Skinner, Junior, died June 28, 1931. His place on the Board remained vacant until the Annual Meeting in December.

Dr. and Mrs. George Woodbury conducted the Society's archaeological expedition in the Paradox Valley of western Colorado during the summer of 1931. An illustrated report of the undertaking was published in the *Colorado Magazine* of January, 1932. They also carried on a scholarly study on Indian hair.²⁵

Outstanding among the acquisitions of 1931-32 were: the E. L. Berthoud papers, Bible, and scrapbooks; J. D. Howland's excellent collection of Indian and pioneer dress and equipment; the W. S. Workman collection of longhorns, and an exhibit case built for it; and the Dr. Swerdfeger gun collection, gathered, identified, and classified by Chauncey Thomas. The Society's Historian made trips through the state gathering historical materials, especially early newspapers. He obtained a file of Leadville papers, 1879-97; one of Aspen papers, 1881-97; Gunnison County and Custer County papers; and Central City, Loveland, Fort Collins, Alamosa, Del Norte and Salida newspapers. At Aspen he procured from Mrs. Davis H. Waite a collection of the Populist Governor's papers, including copies of *Waite's Magazine*. Photographs and other items were gathered from a number of old mining towns.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 8, 1931, the following members were elected to the Board of Directors: Henry A. Dubbs, Frank E. Gove, and Dr. J. N. Hall, for three-year terms; E. B. Morgan, for two years; and Caldwell Martin for one year. The officers chosen at the meeting of January 27, 1932, were: Ernest Morris, President; Theron R. Field and J. N. Hall, Vice Presidents; Lawrence Lewis, Secretary; and Henry Swan, Treasurer. Mr. Dubbs had declined re-election as President, but continued on the Board.

New locked oak bookcases were purchased and installed in the Society's library in 1932. The extended shelf space afforded better care and arrangements for the growing book collections.²⁶

Following the stock market crash of October, 1929, and the consequent business collapse which caused widespread unemployment, state, federal, and private agencies endeavored to alleviate the situation. The Governor's Committee on Unemployment was

²⁵ Their preliminary report is in the *Colorado Magazine*, VIII, 47-48; editorial comment in X, 39-40. The complete report was published as a separate pamphlet.

²⁶ "President's Report, December, 1932," in the *Colorado Magazine*, X, 1.

housed in the State Museum in 1932, taking over the office of the Curator of Archaeology and most of the East, or Cliffdweller, Hall of the Museum. The next year the basement rooms, previously used for the display of war relics, and the archaeological laboratory were requisitioned for housing the Civil Works Administration.

The unemployment and the business depression of 1932 steadily worsened, and when the legislature convened in January, 1933, it faced financial emergencies. On January 30, 1933, it passed an Act empowering the governor to suspend any department of state government for three months. In the face of strong intimations that the Society would be suspended, the officers consulted wisdom and concluded to curtail expenditures and refund money to the state treasury. Accordingly, the Society's employees accepted a ten per cent reduction of salary, the Curatorship of Archaeology (vacated by the resignation of Dr. Woodbury on March 1, 1933) was left vacant, and \$3386.67 of the Society's appropriation for the fiscal year was thus left unexpended.

The legislature of 1933 also enacted an Administrative Code. As originally introduced the Bill provided for abolition of the State Historical Society. But at Committee hearings the legislators were enlightened and when the bill finally emerged it placed the Society in the Educational Department of the State, but with a stipulation that the "Society shall continue as now organized and existing."²⁷

The Society's appropriation for the biennium was reduced by the legislature some 36 per cent under that of the preceding period, and amounted to but \$17,600.²⁸

But there were equating compensations. As federally-aided work programs were introduced, the Society became the recipient of assistance. In fact, the State Historical Society of Colorado was the first in the nation to propose a plan and have established a program for employment in historical work.²⁹ By this project thirty-two persons were engaged in historical research. Most of these were employed in twenty-four counties gathering historical data, interviewing pioneers, and writing histories of towns, industries and institutions. Some did indexing of material they gathered

²⁷ President Morris in his Annual Report at the end of the year asserted: "The past year has been characterized by a crisis in the conduct of the affairs of our Society because its very existence was seriously threatened. The Society was first confronted with the possibility of being abolished, then with the probability of being suspended and, finally, with the probability of being starved to death. The fact that we have been able to surmount each of these direful situations leads to the conclusion that this Society rests upon an impregnable foundation and that the people of Colorado desire to preserve its worth and existence."—*Colorado Magazine*, XI, 1.

²⁸ *Session Laws of 1933*, pp. 108-109, 140.

²⁹ Dr. Theodore C. Belgen discussed "Some Aspects of Historical Work under the New Deal" before the historical society conference of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on April 28, 1934. He described Colorado's State Historical Society Project, begun on December 1, 1933, and advocated the establishment of

from newspapers, pamphlets, and books.³⁰ This Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.) Project No. 5 was begun December 1, 1933, and closed April 1, 1934. The federal government expended \$10,177.05 on the project and the Society received a large and excellent collection of historical material.³¹

The officers of the Society elected in January, 1932, continued to serve through 1933 and 1934.

A one-volume state history, *Colorado, the Story of a Western Commonwealth*, written by the Society's State Historian, was published in 1933.

Mrs. Evelyn Lloyd, librarian of the Society since 1926, died of a heart attack on November 27, 1933. Her place was filled by the appointment of Miss Mildred Vincent Tapp.³²

Nine historical markers were elected during the biennium.³³ Back files of newspapers from Glenwood Springs, Meeker, Ouray, Steamboat Springs and Pagosa Springs were gathered by the Historian, who also wrote a series of Mountain Man sketches and other articles for the *Colorado Magazine*.³⁴ The outstanding acquisition, in addition to the extensive gatherings under the C.W.A., was the collection of paintings, Indian relics, and manuscript from the estate of the pioneer artist, Charles S. Stobie.³⁵ Mrs. Elizabeth Quereau was employed, in 1934, as membership representative and succeeded in increasing the membership of the Society to 1000 by the end of 1936.

a central agency to serve the various State Societies. "We ought to capitalize the ideas of the most aggressive and original members of the historical society fraternity. Probably a news letter would not bring a dead society to life or make a lethargic society enterprising, but short of such objectives it might do some good. When Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen launches some new enterprise and gets a start of a month or two on us, he should be impressed with the fact that we like mountain ideas as well as mountain music. Let him send off an item of news to the secretariat of the League of Historical Societies, which in turn will pass it on to us. In a word, let us have more coordination in this day when rugged individualism has turned ragged and when coordination and cooperation offer salvation."

³⁰In setting up this Project the State Historian wrote to the various County C.W.A. Chairmen, describing the type of work contemplated and asking for recommendation of qualified local persons on their unemployment rolls. Appointments were accordingly made and directions were issued to each. Dr. Hafen sent out circulars of instruction on the gathering of information, interviewing pioneers, and the compiling of data assembled.

The Project started with the payroll period beginning December 1, 1933 (see payroll lists in Box 7, State Historical Society Archives). The State Historian reviewed the material sent in weekly and responded to each worker, giving suggestions and commendations.

³¹See the monthly report of the State Historian dated April 6, 1934. Most of the workers were well educated and competent. The material they gathered, now preserved in 23 bound volumes in the Historical Society library, is a very valuable collection on local history of Colorado.

³²*Colorado Magazine*, XI, 35-37, 38-39.

³³These were to: the Platte River Trail, Camp Weld, and Rocky Mountain News (all in Denver); Tarryall Diggings and Kenosha Pass (South Park); Rysby Church (West of Longmont); Valley Station (near Sterling); Battle Springs (south of Sterling); and Bergen Park.

³⁴The Mountain Man articles were on Louis Vasquez, John D. Albert, George Nidiver, Andrew Sublette, and William Craig.

³⁵See "The Charles S. Stobie Collection" in the *Colorado Magazine*, X, 234-35; and XI, 40. Dr. Hafen went to Chicago and made arrangements to obtain the collection.

Reports about the Society's C.W.A. project of 1933-34 were so favorable that the Relief Administration asked the Society to propose and plan similar employment for professional workers during the ensuing fall and winter. The State Historian drafted a plan that was accepted and put into operation under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (F.E.R.A.) in October, 1934. In addition to historical research workers and cataloguers, it called for artists, sculptors, draftsmen, and architects to make models and exhibits for the State Museum. The first such projects were the making of a model of pioneer Denver (11x12 feet in size), a series of models depicting the evolution of transportation in Colorado, and models of early mining devices. Historical paintings and pictorial maps also were to be made.³⁶ Mr. Edgar C. McMechen was employed as Assistant Supervisor of this new F.E.R.A. work. The Project was renewed in April and continued through the summer.³⁷

The legislature of 1935 voted only \$18,000 for the Historical Society's work for the biennium.³⁸ Officers of the Society, with Mr. Morris as President, continued to serve throughout the biennial period. Mr. E. B. Morgan, former President of the Society, and later a member of the Board, died on September 6, 1935. His place was filled by the election of Judge Francis E. Bouck.³⁹

The Tabor Collection was the outstanding gift received by the Society during the biennium. Following the death of "Baby Doe" Tabor about the first of March, 1935,⁴⁰ the Historical Society, through President Ernest Morris, intervened with the Court and obtained the appointment of Edgar C. McMechen as Administrator of the estate. Inasmuch as there were monetary claims against the estate, and to prevent the dissipation of the valuable historical items, a Tabor Association, composed of prominent historically-minded citizens of Denver and Colorado Springs, purchased the collection and presented it to the State Historical Society.⁴¹

The Tabor relics, reflecting the glamour and the tragedy of the silver era, included the Baby Doe wedding dress and other dresses and hats; exquisite dresses of the babies; silverware and

³⁰State Historian's monthly reports to the Board of Directors, October 19, and November 16, 1934.

³⁷There were employed on the Project in July, 1935, 8 architects, 10 artists, 1 draftsman, 6 sculptors, 1 photographer, 3 research workers, 3 librarians, 4 tabulators, and 2 typists. See list in C.W.A. records in Box 7, State Historical Society Archives.

³⁸*Session Laws* of 1935, pp. 197-198. By the law the Historical Society allotment was relegated to a "Class B" appropriation.

³⁹*Colorado Magazine*, XII, 214-15, 238.

⁴⁰Mrs. Tabor died in her board shack beside the Matchless Mine near Leadville. She was last seen on February 20 and her frozen body was found on March 7, 1935. See Edgar C. McMechen, *The Tabor Story* (Denver, 1951), and Caroline Bancroft, *Silver Queen; the Fabulous Story of Baby Doe Tabor* (Denver, 1950).

⁴¹The Association, organized by Peter Wood, included Lawrence C. Phipps, Henry C. Van Schaack, and Mrs. John G. Lowe of Denver; and Mrs. Spencer Penrose, Mrs. F. M. P. Taylor, and Charles L. Tutt of Colorado Springs.

jewelry; scrapbooks and clippings, and numerous photographs, souvenirs, and mementoes of the "elegant eighties" and "gay nineties." The collection was arranged into a striking exhibit on the third floor of the Museum.

Other items obtained during the biennium were: the Mrs. J. M. Kuykendall collection of cowboy materials, whips and Mountain and Plain Festival relics; some David H. Moffat pictures and mementoes from Moffat's granddaughter, Mrs. Frances McClurg; volumes of Delta and Montrose newspapers and the diary of George A. Crawford (founder of Grand Junction and Delta) obtained by Dr. Hafen on the Western Slope; a large iron kettle used in the salt manufactory in South Park and an ox-yoke from Saguache brought in by Mr. Sanford, and the Legault and the Otis Rooney collections and other pioneer relics gathered by James Rose Harvey.

During the summer of 1935 the space on the first and third floors of the Museum building, that for months had been occupied by the federal and state relief agencies, was restored to the Historical Society. Eight historical markers were erected during the biennial period,⁴² and the *Historical Sketch of Colorado and a Map of Historic Sites*, prepared by the State Historian, was published in 1935.

Under the Works Project Administration (W.P.A.), which replaced the C.W.A. and the F.E.R.A., the Historical Society proposed a project for continuation of historical and museum work. As inaugurated on October 21, 1935, this project provided for forty persons to work full time for one year, at a total expenditure of \$42,210.⁴³

Under this program in 1936 the Indian Life Series of models was begun and two cases completed; the Uses of Water Series was started; the model of Balcony House of Mesa Verde was begun; a Graphic Arts series of large woodcuts depicting various phases of cultural and industrial life in Colorado was started; the series of ten Transportation Models was completed; models of Bent's Fort and Pike's Stockade were made; the painting of important portraits continued; the model of pioneer Denver was completed; gathering of historical material continued, including the work of Elmer R. Burkey, who searched the libraries and

⁴²These were for Virginia Dale (near the Colorado-Wyoming border), the Elephant Corral in Denver, the Georgetown Mining District, the E. B. Morgan book collection in the State Historical Society Library, the Smoky Hill Trail (at the Pioneer Monument in Denver), the Old Fort at Colorado City, the Loveland Building in Golden (where the state legislature met), and the Pike Stockade on the Conejos River.

⁴³State Historian's monthly reports of September 12, and October 18, 1935; and the *Colorado Magazine*, XIII, 39.

newspapers in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Georgia for early data pertaining to Colorado.⁴⁴

On January 27, 1937, President Ernest Morris died suddenly.⁴⁵ For five years he had devoted his energy to the leadership of the Society. Judge Francis E. Bouck was elected his successor. The other officers remained the same. At the end of the year Peter H. Holme was elected to the vacancy on the Board.

The legislature of 1937 voted \$25,000 to the Historical Society for its work during the biennium, including an allotment for resumption of archaeological work.⁴⁶ Victor F. Lotrich was chosen in the autumn of this year to head the archaeological department.⁴⁷

The Society's W.P.A. Project, renewed from time to time, was continued with some modifications through the biennial period. By July, 1938, "33 exhibition cases had been completed, including 1046 sculptured figures, 971 buildings, structures, vehicles or machines, and 29 painted backgrounds." Artists had painted 36 historical portraits, 8 battlefields and other scenes, 2 murals, 11 Indian pictographs, and maps, lantern slides, illustrations, etc. Extensive work in indexing newspapers, books and documents had been accomplished.⁴⁸

Notable acquisitions of the biennium included 215 bound volumes of Colorado newspapers given by the *Rocky Mountain News*; 15 volumes of Denver Theater and special events programs, from the Peerless Press; a collection of pioneer utensils from George Burbridge of Platteville; the Bromwell collection of books, musical instruments, and pioneer relics and furniture; mementoes of the bicycle era, from E. C. Bennett; the Andy Adams manuscript writings; 28 bank books of Warren Hussey and Company, and the First National Bank of Central City; the William Benson collection of 200 arrowheads; the Verdeckburg documents and photographs on Colorado labor troubles; and miscellaneous Indian and pioneer relics.

Stephen H. Hart was elected to the Board of Directors at the Annual Meeting of December, 1938, filling the vacancy caused,

⁴⁴Mr. Burkey was away for a year. The Project paid his wages; the Society paid for the gas to carry him from one historical library to another. He visited 39 cities, copied 1000 articles, and traveled 8,000 miles (*Colorado Magazine*, XV, 133).

⁴⁵See sketch, tribute, and portrait in the *Colorado Magazine*, XIV, 40-43. Mr. Morris left a bequest of \$500 to the Society.

⁴⁶*Session Laws of 1937*, pp. 189-90.

⁴⁷"The New Curator of Archaeology," in the *Colorado Magazine*, XIV, 219-20.

⁴⁸E. C. McMechen, "Federal Project Work at the State Museum," in the *Colorado Magazine*, XV, 129-34.

about two months before, by the death of Frank E. Gove.⁴⁹ The same officers continued to serve the Society through the next year.⁵⁰

The legislative appropriation to the Society in 1939 was \$22,403 for the biennial fiscal period beginning July 1, 1939.⁵¹ The preceding legislature had failed to provide for the raising of sufficient money to meet its appropriations, and, as a consequence, the salaries of the Society's employees went unpaid, March through June, 1939, and other bills also accumulated.⁵² These obligations were finally to be satisfied late in 1941 by payments from the Society's cash fund.

The Society sustained great losses in the deaths of three members of the Board of Directors. Henry A. Dubbs, President of the Society from 1925-32, suffered a fatal heart attack November 11, 1939. Dr. J. N. Hall, Vice President and donor of the Mrs. J. N. Hall Foundation for marking historic sites, died on December 17, 1939. Vice President Theron R. Field's career closed on July 22, 1940.⁵³ The vacancies on the Board were filled at the Annual Meeting of December 10, 1940, by the election of L. R. Kendrick, Robert H. Sayre, and George B. Berger, Junior. The officers were: Francis E. Bouck, President; Lawrence Lewis, Secretary; and Henry Swan, Treasurer. The two Vice President positions were left vacant.

During the biennium historical markers were erected to the Smoky Hill Trail (near Cheyenne Wells), Fort Junction (on Boulder Creek), the second school in Colorado (at Golden), and to Colorado City, first capital of Colorado.

The Society's W.P.A. projects were continued. The series of five handsome dioramas portraying phases of the life of the fur traders was completed. Work on other dioramas, paintings, block prints, etc., was continued. Extensive research work was devoted to the making of a topical file of historical information gathered from newspapers, manuscripts, and books.⁵⁴

Classes of school children came in ever increasing numbers to the State Museum, attracted especially by the new dioramas

⁴⁹ *Colorado Magazine*, XVI, 39.

⁵⁰ The officers of the Society were: Francis E. Bouck, President; Theron R. Field, First Vice President; J. N. Hall, Second Vice President; Lawrence Lewis, Secretary; and Henry Swan, Treasurer. The other members of the Board were Henry A. Dubbs, Stephen H. Hart, Peter H. Holme, and Caldwell Martin. The staff were: L. R. Hafen, Historian and Curator of History; Albert B. Sanford (succeeded by James R. Harvey), Assistant Curator; Victor F. Lotrich, Curator of Archaeology; and Mildred Rex, Librarian.

⁵¹ *Session Laws of 1939*, p. 118.

⁵² Letter of February 3, 1941, from staff members to the Board of Directors, and in State Historian's monthly reports of April 24, and September 11, 1941. The Society, in February, 1941, had on hand a cash fund of \$5,833.15, and the outstanding debts for salaries and bills amounted to \$3,475.

⁵³ For articles on these men and their service to the Society see the *Colorado Magazine*, XVII, 17, 51, 211. Mr. Dobbs left a bequest of \$1,000 to the Society.

⁵⁴ The federal government expended \$43,126 on the project during the year ending June 30, 1940. See State Historian's monthly report of June 21, 1940.

on display. Mr. Harvey, Assistant Historian, escorted most of these groups on their tours and explained the exhibits.

The State Historian did research on the Pike's Peak gold rush, and edited documents that were published (1941-42) as three volumes of source materials, on the history of that famous and important feature of Colorado history.

The Colorado Writers' Project under the W.P.A. undertook research upon the origin of place names in Colorado. The State Historical Society gave assistance and direction to the work and then published the compiled findings in a series of articles in the *Colorado Magazine*, January, 1940, to May, 1943.

With plans formulated by the Superintendent of State Buildings to complete the heating plant in the Capitol Annex and to remove the heating plant from the sub-basement of the State Museum, plans were proposed for using this vacated space for "newspaper files and document archives."⁵⁵ In his monthly report of December 13, 1940, to the Board of Directors, the State Historian and Curator of History made this recommendation:

"I suggest for your consideration the advisability of having a law introduced in the coming legislature making this Society the Archives Department of the State. State Archives work is becoming increasingly important, and many of the states have made special arrangements for the selection of State documents worthy of preservation, and for the care of the same. In such a law the Society might be declared one of the Executive Departments and thus be assured designation in the first-class, so far as appropriations are concerned." Effective action was to be delayed two years.

The thirty-third General Assembly appropriated \$21,000 to the Historical Society for the biennium, 1941-43. The same four staff members were provided for: LeRoy R. Hafen, Historian and Curator of History; James Rose Harvey, Assistant Curator; Victor F. Lotrich, Curator of Archaeology; and Mildred T. Rex, Librarian.

On July 3, 1941, the Society's W.P.A. Project was discontinued.⁵⁶ The war in Europe and the Defense Program in the United States had reduced unemployment and enabled the federal government to curtail its relief expenditures.

Although the Depression was a period of general economic distress for the state and nation, it had proved a golden age of achievement for the State Historical Society. The Society's Project, the first one set up in the United States with federal funds,

⁵⁵ State Historian's monthly report of November 22, 1940.

⁵⁶ State Historian's monthly report of July 11, 1941.

ran continuously for almost eight years. An average of 35 employes were regularly engaged, and approximately one-fourth million dollars of federal funds was expended upon the museum and Historical Society program.⁵⁷ An inventory of work and materials turned over to the Society in 1941 included the following: Fifty-one dioramas and life models dramatically portrayed phases of Colorado history—series on transportation, trapper life, Indian life, water utilization, and miscellaneous models, including one of pioneer Denver (11x12 feet in size). Oil portraits of military men, governors, and other historic characters numbered 51; ink and crayon portraits of Indians and others totaled 30; hand-carved picture frames, 88. Photographic negatives of pioneers, Indians, the Denver business district (628), etc., numbered 3992. Four pictorial, historical maps and six oil paintings of historic forts, battles and scenes were made. Exhibition cases, book shelves, and card files were constructed. Four hundred volumes of newspapers and books were bound. From 33 counties 1,259 interviews obtained from pioneers were recorded. The results of research work and indexing of historical material, although not pictorially impressive, were of tremendous importance. Historical data were gathered from newspapers, manuscripts, documents, and books and were classified and filed under subject headings to make the information readily accessible. Over 158,000 such cards were made and filed.⁵⁸

The annual trek of the American Pioneer Trails Association brought that organization to Colorado in August, 1941. The State Historical Society acted as host. Representatives met the caravan at the state line and brought the visitors to a luncheon and inspection of the local museum at Julesburg. Historic sites were visited and celebrations held en route to Denver—a buffalo steak dinner and a meeting in Sterling, a breakfast and re-dedication of the monument at Fort Morgan, a visit to the Meeker Museum at Greeley, luncheon and museum tour at Fort Collins. Following the sessions at Denver the caravan dedicated the Ralston Creek gold discovery monument on Inspiration Point, toured the Central City region, held a luncheon meeting at Idaho Springs, and had a chuck wagon dinner at the Park of the Red Rocks.

The Native Daughters of Colorado made a collection of pioneer dresses, relics, etc., which were placed in a third-floor room of the Museum. About the same time the Daughters of the American Revolution in Colorado began a collection of early American relics for display in the Museum.

⁵⁷ Summary statement by Supervisor E. C. McMechen, accompanying the State Historian's monthly report of December 13, 1940.

⁵⁸ Inventory of work turned over to the State Historical Society, and receipted for, on June 18, 1941. In Society records in State Archives, Box No. 7.

Among other items acquired by the Society during the year were E. N. Davis' large collection of railroad and stagecoach passes originally presented to Colonel J. L. Sanderson, "Colorado Stagecoach King"; the L. R. Ogden pioneer relics; negatives and pictures of Buffalo Bill; and the collection of manuscripts and papers of Chauncey Thomas, outstanding Colorado writer.

Judge Francis E. Bouck, President of the Society since 1937, died on November 24, 1941. His place was filled by the election on December 5, 1941, of Mr. John Evans.⁵⁹ The effects of Mr. Evans' influence and energy were soon to be apparent in the enlargement of the Society's program, the winning of more adequate legislative support, the establishment of house museums, etc.

Following a preliminary Board Meeting on January 23, 1942, a regular meeting was held on the 28th. The Curator of History was invited to be present and to submit proposals relative to the work of the Society. Most of his eighteen specific recommendations were adopted. It was decided that an Executive Director be appointed to manage the affairs of the Society and be responsible to the Board of Directors. Dr. L. R. Hafen was appointed to the position, and was made Secretary to the Board and was also to continue as Historian and Curator of History. The Board decided that "the expenditure of time and money on archaeological work should be reduced or eliminated and a corresponding emphasis be placed on historical aspects of work and activities."⁶⁰

In conformity with the suggestion of President Evans a program was launched for gathering biographical data. A questionnaire was prepared and a systematic solicitation for biographical data was started, beginning with the current state legislators and other officials.

The altered conditions caused by the recent outbreak of World War II induced President Evans to issue a message to the members of the Society and citizens of the State:

In the days of total war which lie ahead, every effort must be bent primarily toward a victorious termination of the conflict. Faced with grave threats to our national life and institutions the value of every activity not directly aiding in the prosecution of the war should be critically examined, waste and duplication eliminated, every economy practiced, and all non-essentials relegated to their proper place.

While we place the war effort above all else and fight to preserve our democracy, let us neither neglect nor weaken worthwhile elements of its internal structure. Work of enduring value must be carried on through this period as through all periods of

⁵⁹ Minutes of Board of Directors Meetings. Beginning with the meeting of December 5, 1941, the Minutes are preserved. The records of Board meetings prior to that date, except for the few mentioned in the first article of this historical review, have not been found.

⁶⁰ Minutes of the Board Meeting of January 28, 1942.

stress and strain. Those responsible for the direction of schools, churches, and similar institutions must face their problems with broad vision and work harder and longer hours to preserve within their institutions a sound and essential core. While we devote first and foremost our energies to the great physical and material job that confronts us we must protect and conserve the records of our



JOHN EVANS

past and draw from them faith and courage to meet the future.

The spirit of a country and the traditions of a people are not built in a day. We must conserve some of these less tangible but none-the-less important values in our national life. A heritage has come to us from many peoples and many lands. Not least among our national endowments is the heritage of the frontier—the hardihood, self-reliance and courage of American pioneers—that heritage is of much import to Colorado. The record of the

past is a great inspiration and is often a guide to the future. Historical materials must be preserved, their value to the present and to the future is often incalculable. To such a high mission our State Historical Society is dedicated. . . .⁶¹

The Curator of Archaeology and the Librarian having resigned, the Board appointed Edgar C. McMechen and Frances Shea, respectively to the positions, effective May 1, 1942.⁶²

Three new members were elected to the Board of Directors—Robert S. Ellison of Manitou Springs, Levette J. Davidson of Denver University, and Colin B. Goodykoontz of the University of Colorado.⁶³ Committees of the Board to oversee and assist specific activities of the Society were appointed for Budget, Library, Museum Exhibits, Publications, etc.

An appeal for gifts of appropriate papers, documents, and relics pertaining to the history of Colorado and a form of bequest for such, was approved for regular publication on the inside cover of the *Colorado Magazine*.⁶⁴

To encourage state-wide interest and support the state was divided into fifteen districts and a Regional Vice President of the Society was chosen for each.⁶⁵

A program was launched for collecting photographs and biographical data of men serving in the military forces of the nation. Governor Ralph Carr issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens of Colorado to cooperate with the Society in the project.⁶⁶

An inventory of the property of the State Historical Society on June 30, 1942, showed a total estimated value of \$322,425.00.⁶⁷

Among the acquisitions in 1942 were a Washington hand press and an early linotype machine, given by Channing Law; Congressman E. T. Taylor's collection of 69 gavels; a complete bedroom set of 1850 and a collection of pioneer items of dress from the S. H. Franks; and mementoes of range cattle days of the Swan Brothers cattle company and 121 railroad passes from Henry Swan.

As a gesture of good will and to promote acquaintance with the exhibitions in the State Museum, the Historical Society entertained the Colorado Press Association at a luncheon in the Museum

⁶¹ *Colorado Magazine*, XIX, 41.

⁶² Mrs. Mildred Rex, who was moving from Colorado, resigned as Librarian, effective March 1. Mr. McMechen was elected to the position. Mr. Lotrich's resignation of April 7 took effect May 1. Thereupon Mr. McMechen was chosen to this position and Miss Shea was made Librarian.

⁶³ At the Board Meeting of April 15, 1942, they filled the places of Robert H. Sayre, who had moved to California; George B. Berger, in military service; and Peter H. Holme, resigned.

⁶⁴ Minutes of Board Meetings of May 13 and June 17, 1942.

⁶⁵ The Districts and appointees are listed in the Minutes of August 12, 1942.

⁶⁶ Governor's Proclamation in *Colorado Magazine*, XIX, 121.

⁶⁷ The itemized list accompanying the Minutes of November 18, 1942, gave the following totals: Archaeology and Ethnology, \$25,298; historical relics, \$32,975; Life Models, \$66,550; cases, equipment, etc., \$33,575; Paintings and drawings, \$26,225; Library, \$127,622; miscellaneous, \$10,180.

on January 23, and the state legislators and wives at a buffet supper on the 27th. These guests saw the Society's collections, and were impressed with the work, achievements, and needs of the Society.⁶⁸ As a result of this and other public relations work by the officers and the Regional Vice Presidents, the Society's proposals before the legislature were given a sympathetic hearing. The Archives Bill, designating the State Historical Society as the official records agency of the state, was introduced by five prominent senators and by 61 members of the House of Representatives. It passed unanimously and was signed by Governor Vivian February 23, 1943. It carried no appropriation, but in Section I this provision was written: "For the purpose of determining the order of payment of its appropriations, the State Historical Society of Colorado is hereby declared to be part of the Executive Department of the State Government."⁶⁹ Thus was removed the ever-present threat that heretofore had plagued the Society, that appropriations might not be paid even after being made by the legislature.

The regular appropriation to the Society also was considerably increased by the legislature, the amount being raised from the previous \$21,000, to \$37,000 for the biennium beginning in 1943. This included \$500 for the protection of the Pike Stockade site from floods, and \$200 for a marker at the grave of Governor McIntire.⁷⁰

The Society was now enabled to set up an archives department. Herbert O. Brayer, archivist for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, was chosen State Archivist and assumed his duties on September 15, 1943.⁷¹

An illustrated leaflet, "Programs and Progress" of the Society was published in 1943 and was distributed free in publicizing the Society and gaining new members. The membership was increased by ninety during the year. A group of colored postcards of exhibits in the museum also was issued. More than 9000 of these were sold in 1943.⁷²

⁶⁸ The luncheon and supper, served to about 300 guests, was prepared and served by the Society's staff and their wives. The cost of the food (\$101.00) was paid by members of the Board of Directors. Minutes of the Board Meeting of February 10, 1943, and the *Colorado Magazine* of March, 1943, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁹ Thus was fulfilled the Historian's suggestion of December 13, 1940, mentioned previously. At the Board Meeting of June 17, 1942, a committee was appointed to draft an Archives law. The matter was discussed at the meeting of September 9 and Mr. Hart presented the proposed law to the Board on November 18. Copies were sent to the Regional Vice Presidents and to various state officers, who lent the measure support.

⁷⁰ Through the appropriation and with the aid of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (arranged for by Mr. Swan) a new channel was cut for the Conejos River and the site of Pike's Stockade was thus safeguarded. A monument was erected at Governor McIntire's grave in the La Jara cemetery.

⁷¹ The salary was \$2,500 per year. Mrs. Irma Harvey also was employed, as an assistant in the Society's library.—Minutes of Board Meeting of May 12, 1943.

⁷² Minutes of meetings of December 8, 1943, and January 12, 1944. Leaflets sent out during the year numbered 6,500.

An illustrated textbook, *Colorado, a Story of the State and Its People*, written by Dr. and Mrs. L. R. Hafen for use in the school, was published in 1943.

The project for gathering biographical data resulted in bringing to the Society during the year 550 filled-in questionnaires and many supplementary manuscripts and letters with additional biographical and historical information.

Under direction of the Library Committee of the Board (Dr. Levette J. Davidson, Chairman), duplicate books owned by the Society were listed and by exchange or sale of these, needed volumes were added to the library.

Among acquisitions of 1943 were a large collection of pre-Territorial records of Mining Districts from Lake and Park Counties, mementoes from Wolfe Hall, six volumes of the *Fairplay* Flume, photographs and manuscripts of the Georgia Colony near Walsenburg, chairs from the Leadville and Aspen opera houses, and photographs and papers of the Governor Hunt family. Six D.A.R. exhibit cases, purchased by various chapters of this organization, were installed on the third floor of the museum and were filled with early American relics.

Lawrence Lewis, who had been Secretary of the Society for fourteen years, died on December 9, 1943. In addition to his official services to the Society, he had gathered and presented to the library rare books, maps and documents. His place on the Board was filled by the election of William S. Jackson, Justice of the Colorado Supreme Court.

The officers elected to direct the Society for 1944 were: John Evans, President; Henry Swan, First Vice President; Robert S. Ellison, Second Vice President; Stephen H. Hart, Secretary; and L. R. Kendrick, Treasurer.⁷³

A proposal for a Western Range Cattle Industry study, inaugurated by Mr. Swan in the autumn of 1943, resulted in an allotment from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Historical Society on January 21, 1944, of "a Research Grant of \$64,500 for a five-year study of the development of the range cattle industry in the Rocky Mountain region from 1850 to 1900."⁷⁴ Mr. Brayer was named Director of the project and was given leave of absence from archivist duties. However, he was to retain "the title of State Archivist" and "when not in conflict with his other duties, he will give every possible aid to the assistant archivist."⁷⁵

⁷³ The first three were named at the Board meeting of January 12, and the last two at the meeting of February 9, 1944. See minutes of these Meetings.

⁷⁴ Official announcement by the Board of Directors, published in the *Colorado Magazine* of March, 1944, p. 79.

⁷⁵ "Resolutions of the Board of Directors" attached to the Minutes of February 9, 1944.

A sub-committee of the Board, consisting of Messrs. Swan, Ellison, and Goodykooztz, was named an "advisory committee to whom Mr. Brayer shall report on the progress of the study."⁷⁶ Mr. Virgil V. Peterson, who previously had been associated with Mr. Brayer in records work in New Mexico, was employed by the Board as Associate Archivist.⁷⁷

Edgar C. McMechen, Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology, reported valuable acquisitions by his department during 1944. From James Mellinger of Longmont came four mummies of prehistoric Pueblo Indians from southwestern Colorado, with a collection of associated artifacts and relics. A large collection of Osage beadwork, necklaces, articles of dress, and miscellaneous items were given by Dr. and Mrs. S. Julian Lamme of Walsenburg. Ethnological items from the Philippines, China, and Africa, gathered by Hugh Adams, were presented. Pueblo Indian pottery came from the North High School class of 1902. The important Joseph A. Smith collection of Ute material, containing personal relics of Chief Ignacio, was purchased in Durango.⁷⁸ Mr. Evans advanced the money for the Curator's trip and for the purchase. Members of the Society were then invited to make contributions toward the acquisition. Most of the purchase price was thus raised. A microfilming project was begun in the archives department. The microfilm machine of the University of Colorado was borrowed, then a new one was purchased (\$3200). The 92 volumes of the *Pueblo Chieftain*, 1868-1898, were borrowed and photographed. Other Society newspapers and records from various state departments were microfilmed. Much space was saved in state buildings by the authorized destruction of useless records.

The Society, conscious of the need for work in gathering and preserving war history materials, contacted the State Council of Defense and obtained the assignment of a person to work at the State Museum and devote full time to a war records program.⁷⁹ Material was gathered on Colorado men and women in the armed forces. Questionnaires were sent to manufacturers and others to gather specific data on the activities and contributions of business firms, manufacturers, and civic organizations.

Study was given to the physical requirements of the Society and to the best utilization of the space in the Museum. President Evans urged the need for a master plan of development. It was

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Colorado Magazine* of March, 1944, p. 79. Mr. Brayer began attending the meetings of the Board of Directors on February 9, 1944; he was joined in attendance by Mr. Peterson on and after May 10, 1944. See Minutes of the meetings.

⁷⁸ Annual Report of Mr. McMechen for 1944, accompanying the Minutes of Board meetings. Mr. McMechen began attending the Board Meetings in September, 1944.

⁷⁹ Mrs. Helen O'Donnell was employed in this work.

decided to ask Dr. Laurence V. Coleman, Director of the American Association of Museums, to come to Denver, study the Museum and the Society's needs, and make recommendations. This project was carried through, President Evans generously paying the costs involved. Elaborate drawings and plans were prepared and submitted.⁸⁰

At the same time architect's plans were being drawn, studied and modified for sub-basement vaults to occupy the museum building space being vacated by the removal of the heating plant that had served the capitol group of buildings. The plans and estimates were readied for presentation to the State Planning Commission and to the next session of the legislature.⁸¹

The same officers of the Society continued to serve in 1945. A buffet supper and a tour of the museum were tendered the members of the legislature and their wives on January 30, 1945. Special exhibits displayed on this occasion included the silver spike used in completing the first railroad to Denver, a complete set (eight) of the unique Clark & Gruber gold coins, the handsome watch fob presented to H. A. W. Tabor upon the opening of the Tabor Grand Opera House in Denver, a set of the famous Otto Mears railroad passes, and some of the rare treasures of the library. Costs of the supper were paid by Messrs. Evans, Swan, and Martin.⁸²

The regular needs of the Society and the requirements for an archives and library vault were effectively presented to the Budget Commissioner and the legislature. The biennial appropriation by the General Assembly in 1945 for the Society's work was \$58,742. An added allotment of \$46,000 was voted for building a two-floor vault in the area formerly occupied by the heating plant.⁸³

During the year work was begun for modernization of the interior of the museum. The main floor was transformed by installation of indirect lighting, blocking of windows and the placing of window exhibit cases, and the painting of walls and cases to a uniform color scheme.⁸⁴ James Merrick, Superintendent of Buildings, assisted by tiling the floors and supplying labor for work on this floor and also in the sub-basement vault construction.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Board meetings of August 16, September 13, and October 11, 1944. Dr. Coleman came to Denver in late August, 1944.

⁸¹ At the Board Meeting of December 13, 1944, it was reported that the following cash contributions to the Society's work by Board Members had been made during the year: John Evans, \$982.74; Henry Swan, \$283.34; R. S. Ellison, \$237.33; and Caldwell Martin, \$50.

⁸² *Colorado Magazine*, XXII, 92; and Minutes of the Board Meeting of February 14, 1945.

⁸³ *Session Laws* of 1945, 198.

⁸⁴ Part of this work extended into the following year. The artist, C. Waldo Love of Denver, made a survey of the Museum and offered recommendations, most of which were incorporated in the re-decorating scheme. His report accompanies the Minutes of the Meeting of May 9, 1945.

The Society embarked upon an important historic house museum program. The remaining buildings of Fort Garland, together with forty acres of the old military reservation, were given to the Society by the Fort Garland Memorial Fair Association. The plan announced by the Society contemplated preservation and restoration of buildings, and the development of a museum representing military activities, Indian wars, early Spanish settlement, and the fur trade.⁸⁵

Ouray Memorial Park, near Montrose, was transferred to the Society by the Uncompahgre Chapter of the D.A.R. Mr. Evans donated funds to purchase two additional tracts needed in the landscaping and protection work, and which enlarged the park to five acres. Negotiations were also begun for acquisition of the Healy House and the Dexter Cabin in Leadville.

The Denver Post Company made a gift to the Society of \$17,500 to finance the microfilming of the entire file of the *Denver Post*. Gifts from members of the Board of Directors of the Society totaled approximately \$2000 for the year 1945.⁸⁶

The newspaper files in Rooms 6 and 8 of the Museum Building were moved to Rooms 7 and 13 in the Capitol Annex, and the museum space thus cleared was devoted to museum work rooms and microfilm space.⁸⁷

The Archives Department undertook a project of compiling a check list of all state documents, and obtained contributions from various state educational institutions toward the expense involved.

In a reorganization of Society functions in June, 1945, the museum (with Edgar C. McMechen as Curator) and the Archives (Virgil V. Peterson, Associate Archivist), were each placed under the direction of a three-man Committee of the Board of Directors.

Robert S. Ellison, a Vice President of the Society, died on August 16, 1945. His place was filled by the election, on November 14, of James C. Peabody of Pueblo, son of a former governor of Colorado.

The officers, Directors and staff members of 1945, continuing to serve through the following year, vigorously furthered improvements and Society activities. Modernization of museum exhibits continued, President Evans contributing \$2000 of the \$5000 expended in this work. An architect was employed, also at the President's expense, to draw specific plans for major alterations in the museum structure. These plans, calling for improvements at an estimated cost of \$103,740, were submitted to and approved

⁸⁵ President's Annual Report of December, 1945, in *Colorado Magazine*, XXIII, 1-7.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁷ Minutes of Board Meeting of September 12, 1945.

by the Governor, Superintendent of Buildings, and the State Planning Commission.⁸⁸ Healy House and the Dexter Cabin were given to and operated by the Society.

A historical motion picture, "The Story of Colorado," with color and sound, was completed in 1946. This 16mm movie, written and directed by the State Historian, comprised two half-hour reels: Part I, the Exploration Period; Part II, the Settlement Period. The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, the State Publicity Department, and other friends of the Society contributed the \$2500 cost of photographic work and film. This comprehensive and colorful portrayal of the history of Colorado was the first such documentary film of a state's development produced by any historical society in the nation. Its primacy and effectiveness were to be recognized by a special Award from the American Association for State and Local History.⁸⁹

Dr. Hafen and Mr. Harvey also directed a very active historical marker program during the year. Legends were prepared, plaques cast, and monuments erected to the following: Twenty-mile House at Parker, Arapahoe City, Boggsville, Franktown, Royal Gorge, Fairplay, Mormon Battalion location at Pueblo, and the Escalante Trail near Durango. There was enthusiastic local cooperation in erecting the monuments and wide school and community participation in dedicatory ceremonies.

The Archives Department continued active, cleaning, sorting, and preserving important records, destroying useless ones to conserve space, and carrying on the microfilming program. The *Denver Post* made an additional gift of \$5300 for completion of the microfilming of that paper. Work was continued on the checklist of State Documents.

Mr. and Mrs. Brayer, under the Rockefeller Grant to the Society, went to Britain to spend a year there in collecting data on British investments in Western cattle ranching.

New and important additions to the library were obtained by gift, exchange, and purchase. Most of the numerous accessions to the Society's collections were listed in the various issues of the *Colorado Magazine*.

The storage vaults, provided for by the legislature of 1945, were completed in 1946. This excellent, fireproof structure in the sub-basement, was air-conditioned and was provided with a fumigation chamber and all modern facilities for the cleaning and

⁸⁸ President's Annual Report of December, 1946 (in *Colorado Magazine*, XXIV, 3); plans and descriptions accompanying the Board Meeting Minutes of October 16, 1946.

⁸⁹ *Colorado Magazine*, XXV, 96.

care of precious records. The procuring of steel shelving was delayed because of shortages of strategic metals.

The Annual Meeting of the Society, postponed from December on account of the strike and coal shortage, was held on January 30, 1947. The new colored movie was shown to a large and enthusiastic audience, including County Superintendents of Schools and representatives of clubs, and associations.⁹⁰ Three Board members were reelected and the same officers continued to serve.

Soon after the legislature convened in January, 1947, the members and their wives were entertained at a buffet supper in the State Museum. The Society's staff and wives prepared and served the supper—the cost of food and incidentals being paid for by members of the Board of Directors. The new "Story of Colorado" film was shown to the legislators.

The General Assembly of 1947 voted \$124,000 for the Society's work during the ensuing biennium. This was more than double the preceding appropriation, and nearly six times the amount voted six years before. In addition, \$67,000 was appropriated for development of the Society's house museums out in the state. The Bill carrying a mill levy for state institutions failed of passage and thus the hoped-for major improvements in the State Museum Building were not provided for. A law was passed relating to the Society's cash fund. It provided that all moneys received through gifts or from sales of any kind should be held by the State Treasurer as a separate fund and be at the disposal of the proper officials of the Society.⁹¹

Mr. William A. Braiden gave the Society \$1000 for the marking of historic sites in the state. He also provided the money for purchase of 840 acres of land for extension of the Pike Memorial Park in the San Luis Valley.⁹²

The "Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of Colorado" decided to disband its organization. An agreement was made with the State Historical Society whereby the latter would receive the former's records and its United States bonds (face value of \$767), and would agree to conduct the annual Flag Day ceremonies—the Sons of the Revolution having inaugurated the observance of this day (June 14).

The American Association for State and Local History and the Association of American Archivists held their joint meeting at Glenwood Springs and Denver in September, 1947. The State Historical Society served as host. The Society's color and sound

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 95.

⁹¹ *Session Laws of 1947*, p. 820; and Minutes of the Board Meeting of April 17, 1947.

⁹² Minutes of Board Meeting of February 26, 1947; and the *Colorado Magazine*, XXIV, 272.

movie was shown at the meeting; a visit to the State Museum and a tour of historic places in the mountains were conducted. The Society was given a special Award of Merit by the State and Local History Association for the historical movie, the outstanding State Museum display, and for the Society's gathering of Western Americana under the Rockefeller Grant.

A leave of absence as Executive Director and State Historian was granted to Dr. Hafen while he accepted an appointment as Lecturer on American History at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, October 1, 1947, to July 1, 1948. Mr. McMechen was chosen Executive Director to serve during his absence. Dr. Goodykoontz, of the University of Colorado and the Board of Directors, was asked to edit the *Colorado Magazine* during the Editor's absence, and generously did this without compensation.

Before leaving for Scotland Dr. Hafen completed copy for a large two-volume history, *Colorado and Its People*, a Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State, which was published in 1948, along with two volumes of biography prepared by the publisher.⁹³

During the biennium of 1947-48 the Healy House was repapered with original-design wallpaper and re-wired, and a central heating plant was installed. The formal opening occurred June 7, 1948.

Considerable work was done toward reconstruction of the buildings at Fort Garland. A well was sunk and a pump and plumbing and sanitary accommodations installed; 250 logs were delivered and adobes were made. When appropriated funds were found inadequate, personal contributions of \$2500 each were given by President Evans and by Alfred Collins and Albert Sims of the San Luis Valley.

The Ouray Memorial Park was landscaped, a pump and sprinkler system installed, and plans drawn for a museum. The outstanding Thomas McKee collection of over 300 pieces of early Ute handiwork was purchased for ultimate exhibition in this museum near Montrose.

⁹³ Volume I, the "Narrative," was written by Dr. Hafen; volume II, the "Topical" treatment comprised the following: A. L. Bailey, *The Natural History of Colorado*; F. H. H. Roberts, Jr., *Prehistoric Peoples*; E. C. McMechen, *The Indians*; C. B. Goodykoontz, *The People of Colorado*; R. G. Dunbar, *History of Agriculture*; Inez J. Lewis, *Progress of Education in Colorado*; M. J. Rist, *History of Religion in Colorado*; L. J. Davidson, *The Literature of Colorado*; E. A. Bemis, *Journalism in Colorado*; G. L. Anderson, *Banking and Monetary Problems*; O. M. Dickerson, *The Labor Movement*; E. N. Grigg, *Social Legislation and the Welfare Program*; W. H. Robinson, Jr., *The Growth of the Judicial System in Colorado*; C. S. Elder, *Medicine, Public Health and Hospitals*; Caroline Bancroft, *Dentistry in Colorado*; E. C. McMechen, *Art, Drama, and Music*; G. W. Frasier and W. Hartman, *History of Higher Education in Colorado*; P. S. Fritz, *Mining in Colorado*; Arthur Ridgway, *Engineering*; M. G. Wyer, *Colorado Libraries*; Eudochia B. Smith, *Women*; El Roy Nelson, *Manufacturing History of Colorado*; V. V. Peterson, *Penal, Correctional and Eleemosynary Institutions in Colorado*; and H. O. Brayer, *History of Colorado Railroads*.

The Archives division continued its work. The procurement and installation of shelving and vault equipment made it possible to receive, rehabilitate, and file for permanent preservation valuable early records of various state departments. The Archives Department completed its checklist of Territorial and State Documents.

The librarian, Miss Shea, moved her more valuable manuscripts, books, newspapers, and documents to the new vault, placing the rarest items in the Treasure Room. The vault also provided a room for the safekeeping of the Society's valuable ethnological collections.

The third floor of the museum was re-decorated in the same color scheme as the first floor, and cases and exhibits were re-arranged and beautifully displayed.

Mr. Harvey traveled widely exhibiting the colored movie. He gave it 167 showings, to 45,000 people in 1947, and the next year traveled over 3000 miles throughout the state presenting the picture. He also conducted tours through the museum and gathered relics and library material for the Society.⁹⁴

The numerous acquisitions by the Society during the period were regularly reported in the *Colorado Magazine*.

Beginning with the January, 1949, issue the *Colorado Magazine* was enlarged to eighty pages and was made a quarterly. A comprehensive index to the first twenty-five volumes was prepared under direction of the Editor in 1949, and was published the next year.

On February 15, 1949, the Society entertained the legislature at a buffet supper and program, as had been done at the two preceding sessions.

The appropriations voted by the General Assembly in 1949 for the ensuing biennium were \$140,000 for the general work of the Society, and \$40,000 for construction and maintenance of the house museums and parks.

During the year 1949 the floor space in the museum sub-basement (2500 square feet) formerly occupied by the power plant and machinery, was cleared and made available to the Society. This welcome space was devoted to museum shops and storage, newspaper stacks, and a microfilm room.

Reconstruction of buildings and installation of some dioramas were effected at Fort Garland; improvements were made at Healy House; the moving and re-decorating of Dexter Cabin

⁹⁴ Annual Reports of the President for 1947 and 1948, in the *Colorado Magazine*, XXV, 1-10; XXVI, 1-12; and Minutes of monthly meetings of the Board of Directors.

were accomplished. R. G. Parvin, son-in-law of J. V. Dexter, bequeathed \$5000 to the Society. Much of this fund was devoted to the moving of the cabin to the Healy House site and to the restoration and furnishing of the cabin for exhibition.

The large collection of original glass negatives made by the famous pioneer photographer, William Henry Jackson, was made available to the Society, largely through the efforts of Mr. Swan, Mr. Brayer, and Clarence S. Jackson, and the courtesy of the Ford Foundation trustees of Dearborn, Michigan. The Society received all the negatives relating to the region west of the Mississippi and released to the Library of Congress those plates pertaining to eastern United States and foreign countries. For this consideration, the Library of Congress paid the cost of sorting and of the shipment of the Society's negatives to Denver. The Jackson Camera Club of Denver and other friends of the Society contributed several hundred dollars for the purchase of suitable cabinets for storing these priceless early pictorial records.⁹⁵

Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Hughes of Denver gave a collection of over 450 volumes of fine western books for the Society's library. The library in this year reported the possession of 1539 rolls of microfilm (mostly of newspapers), and 4800 volumes of bound newspapers, the latter recently moved to and arranged in the newly acquired sub-basement space.

The pictorial, historical map of Colorado, beautifully done in water color by C. Waldo Love, was reproduced in full color through the generosity of the Title Guaranty Company and the Landon Abstract Company of Denver, and was made available to schools and the public generally.

A 56-page booklet, *The Colorado State Museum*, was prepared by the State Historian and published in 1949. This "Guide to the Exhibits, Collections, and Activities of the State Historical Society" was illustrated with sixty selected pictures of dioramas and other objects in the museum.

During the year historical markers were erected: to the Arapahoe School, first school building in Denver; Jarvis Hall and the founding of the School of Mines at Golden; the founding of the town of Meeker; and Jimmy's Camp, famous site near Colorado Springs.

The Society's movie, "The Story of Colorado," was shown to 17,000 persons by Mr. Harvey in his travels throughout the state, and four duplicate reels were circulated to schools for showing with their own equipment.

⁹⁵ *Colorado Magazine*, XXVI, 157-158.

Mr. H. O. Brayer resigned as State Archivist in August, 1949, to accept a position at Northwestern University. His place was filled by the appointment of Dolores C. Renze, experienced in records work and other government agency activities.

Mr. H. R. Antle, of the Wolaroc Museum of Oklahoma, came to the Society as Deputy Curator, and was placed in charge of restoration work at Fort Garland.

Dr. Goodykoontz retired from the Board of Directors at the end of 1949, the pressure of his University duties preventing his serving further.

At the organization meeting of the Board of Directors on December 15, 1949, the Board, with great reluctance accepted the resignation which John Evans had previously tendered as President of the Society. Conscious of the very great service Mr. Evans had rendered and was rendering, the Board had urged him to continue to head the organization. Realizing, however, the extent of other demands upon his time they acquiesced to his wishes. A resolution was adopted expressing deep and sincere appreciation for his years of outstanding service to the Society and State. Under his leadership from 1941 to 1949, the Society had a period of achievement and expansion unequalled in its seventy years of existence. Mr. Evans remained on the Board.

For President of the Society the Board chose James Grafton Rogers, outstanding Coloradan, with a distinguished career in the State and Nation.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY WITH THEIR TERMS*

<i>Presidents</i>		<i>Secretaries</i>	
Dr. F. J. Bancroft.....	1879-1896	LeRoy R. Hafen (Acting Secretary)	1925-1926
William N. Byers.....	1896-1903	E. R. Harper.....	1926-1927
Edward B. Morgan.....	1903-1914	Ralph Hartzell.....	1927-1929
William D. Todd, Jan. 1915-Dec. 1915		Lawrence Lewis.....	1929-1943
George L. Cannon.....	1915-1916	Stephen H. Hart.....	1944-
L. G. Carpenter.....	1916-1920	<i>Treasurers</i>	
William N. Beggs.....	1920-1922	W. D. Todd.....	1879-1915
E. M. Ammons.....	1922-1925	Frank E. Gove.....	1915-1916
Henry A. Dubbs.....	1925-1932	A. J. Fynn.....	1916-1918
Ernest Morris.....	1932-1937	Elmer A. Kenyon.....	1918-1920 and 1922-1926
Francis E. Bouck.....	1937-1941	Harry V. Kepner.....	1920 to Dec. 1920
John Evans.....	1941-1949	I. W. Clokey.....	1921-1922
James Grafton Rogers.....	1949-	E. W. Robinson.....	1926-1929
<i>Secretaries</i>		Henry Swan.....	1929-1944
W. B. Vickers.....	1879-1880	L. R. Kendrick.....	1944-
Thomas F. Dawson.....	1881-1887	<i>Directors</i>	
Charles R. Dudley.....	1887-1915	Nathan A. Baker.....	1897-1915
John Parsons.....	1915-1919	William N. Byers.....	1897-1903
George L. Cannon.....	1919-1920	Charles R. Dudley.....	1897-1915
Elmer A. Kenyon.....	1920-1922		
William N. Beggs.....	1922-1924		

*Compiled by Miss Thelma Chisholm.

Aaron Gove.....	1897-1909?	I. W. Clokey.....	1920-1922
Horace G. Lunt.....	1897-1899	Benjamin Griffith.....	1920-1921
William M. Maguire.....	1897-1898?	Ernest Morris.....	1921-1937
Edward B. Morgan.....	1897-1914 and 1931-1935	E. M. Ammons.....	1921-1925
William T. Todd.....	1897-1915	William G. Evans.....	1922-1924
Roger D. Woodbury.....	1897-1903	Frank S. Byers.....	1922-1929?
Granville Malcolm.....	1899-1911?	Lou D. Sweet.....	1923-1929?
Robert S. Roeschlaub.....	1903-1914	John Evans.....	1924-1925 and 1941-
George L. Cannon.....	1903-1922	Roger W. Toll.....	1924-1925
William S. Ward.....	1903-1915	Ralph Hartzell.....	1925-1931
Ellsworth Bethel.....	1909?-1925	Edward R. Harper.....	1925-1927
Frank E. Gove.....	1909?-1915? and 1931-1938	E. W. Robinson.....	1925-1929
J. Clarence Hersey.....	1911?-1915?	Henry A. Dubbs.....	1925-1939
Enos A. Mills.....	Jan. to Dec. 1915	Theron R. Field.....	1927-1940
James Grafton Rogers.....	Jan. to Dec. 1915 and 1949-	George W. Skinner, Jr.....	1927-1931
Frank L. Woodward.....	Jan. to Dec. 1915 and 1929-1930	Henry Swan.....	1929-
W. D. Engle.....	1915-1917	Lawrence Lewis.....	1929-1943
A. J. Fynn.....	1915-1930	Dr. J. N. Hall.....	1931-1939
E. A. Kenyon.....	1916-1927	Caldwell Martin.....	1931-
L. G. Carpenter.....	1916-1921	Judge Francis E. Bouck.....	1935-1942
H. C. Parmelee.....	1916-1918?	Peter H. Holme.....	1937-1942
John Parsons.....	1916-1919	Stephen H. Hart.....	1938-
Hugh R. Steele.....	1916-1923	George B. Berger, Jr.....	1940-1942
William N. Beggs.....	1916-1924	L. R. Kendrick.....	1940-
Platt Rogers.....	1917-1920	Robert H. Sayre.....	1940-1942
Harry V. Kepner.....	1920-?	Colin B. Goodykoontz.....	1942-1949
		Robert S. Ellison.....	1942-1945
		Levette J. Davidson.....	1942-
		Judge William S. Jackson.....	1944-
		James C. Peabody.....	1945-

SPEAKERS AND SUBJECTS AT ANNUAL MEETINGS

1924.	James H. Baker, "The Development of Education in Colorado."
1925.	No record of address.
1926.	LeRoy R. Hafen, "The Pony Express."
1927.	Paul H. Martin, "Recent Developments in Archaeology."
1928.	Edward W. Milligan, "The Picturesque Mining Camps of Early Colorado."
1929.	Eben G. Fine, "Our Southwest Wonderland."
1930.	George Woodbury, "Who is the American Indian?"
1931.	Archer B. Hulbert, "The Place of the California Gold Rush in American History."
1932.	Julius C. Gunter, "Governor John Evans, Second Governor of Colorado."
1933.	James Grafton Rogers, "The Trend of Modern History."
1934.	James F. Willard, "Sidelights on the Pike's Peak Gold Rush, 1858-59."
1935.	W. W. Grant, "History Tells Us—"
1936.	David Shaw Duncan, "Higher Education in Colorado."
1937.	Carl Melzer, "The Tops of America."
1938.	Robert L. Stearns, "Who Have the Power?"
1939.	Colin B. Goodykoontz, "Some Controversial Questions Before the Constitutional Convention of 1876."
1940.	Levette J. Davidson, "Colorado Folklore."
1941.	C. H. Hanington, "Early Days of Central City."
1942.	Joseph Emerson Smith, "Personal Recollections of Early Denver."
1943.	Herbert O. Brayer, "Historian with a Camera."

1944. George L. Anderson, "General William J. Palmer, Anti-Imperialist, 1895-1905."
1945. William S. Jackson, "Railroad Conflicts in Colorado in the Eighties."
1946. Colored Movie, "The Story of Colorado."
1947. Ralph Carr, "Private Land Grants in Colorado."
1948. Richard C. Overton, "The Colorado and Southern Railway; Its Heritage and Its History."
1949. Muriel Sibell Wolle, "Adventure Into the Past, a Search for Colorado's Mining Camps."
1950. Period songs; the Society's colored movie, "The Story of Fur"; pictures of Fort Garland, with comments by Edgar C. McMechen; costume tableaux of gowns belonging to Society's collections; with descriptions by Dolores C. Renze.
1951. Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park."
1952. LeRoy R. Hafen, "Colorado Mountain Men."
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Experiences in Southern Colorado*

DONALD BROWN

At the close of the Civil War, I returned to the State of New York from the South, only to find that it was not easy to resume a quiet life. Those three years on the battlefields had destroyed my peace of mind. It is not strange, therefore, that, being still very young and with a heart craving adventure, I answered the call of the West. Many young men were doing the same thing at this time, not only from the various states of the Union, but also from the British Isles, and even from the continent of Europe. . . .

Taking train to Omaha and thence to Cheyenne, I stopped in the latter place for a few days to supply myself with provisions and then plunged into prospecting. My very first search rewarded me with a bag of heavy, glittering stones. Like any tenderfoot, believing myself already in possession of a fortune, I resolved to return at once to Cheyenne to convert my precious metals into money. Bearing my burden, and it was a burden of from seventy-five to a hundred pounds, I made my way to a jeweler's shop in the city and cautiously emptied my bag on his counter. The jeweler, after one swift, appraising glance at my stones, pushed them from him with a dry, thin smile. "Agates!" he murmured, "I can get all I want of those for thirty cents a bushel." Quietly bagging the worthless gems, I removed them from the shop, and after depositing them somewhere beyond the town limits, set out with the determination to re-enter those hills and find something worthwhile. . . .

*This reminiscient account was originally written by Mr. Brown in 1879. It was later abbreviated somewhat by his daughter, Miss Clarice M. Brown, who sent it to the State Historical Society. The full manuscript runs to 165 typed pages. We publish here some extracts only.—Ed.

[After some prospecting experiences west and southwest of Cheyenne, Mr. Brown and another would-be miner traveled south along the Colorado foothills.]

We reached Pueblo, which at this time consisted of only a few straggling houses and Mexican cabins. During the two days we remained there, I was considerably disappointed to discover in my companion an addiction to drink and general bad principles. From Pueblo, we made our way to the Sangre de Cristo Range where a fearful sandstorm overtook us. Crossing by the old government road, we descended into a long, winding valley, where we spent the night with a very hospitable white man, a small cattle farmer, who had his hair braided like a Ute Indian. After breakfast the next morning, we set forth again, at length reaching Fort Garland, where, since we were both old soldiers, we were kindly received. As it was now the middle of winter and very cold, we remained quartered in the barracks here for several months.

During this time, I saw my companion crossing the parade ground one day, trying to hide something under his arm. Having my suspicions of the man, I called him to me and charged him with smuggling whiskey to the soldiers. I perceived moreover that he was under the influence of drink himself and told him that if he kept this up, we would most likely both be turned out shortly among the wolves. But with a drunken swagger, he replied: "What's the use of harping? I know what I'm about."

Three days later, we were both summoned to the commanding officer's headquarters. While my companion, now visibly worried, groped in his pockets for his discharge papers from the army, the General, who received us, said: "You are drunk, sir!" And, without listening to an explanation on my part, he turned to his guards and said: "Put these men in irons at once, and feed them on bread and water!"

In the guardhouse, by the light of a blazing fire, I wrote a few lines in pencil in self-defense, sending the note to the commanding officer by way of the sergeant of the guard. In a matter of a few minutes I was told that I was at liberty, but as I had no desire to enter the desert alone at this time of year, I sent the commanding officer another note, as a result of which I was permitted to remain at the barracks, going out and coming in as I pleased, using the guardhouse as my home. My companion was ordered to leave the reservation at once or carry a post and chain. Being well aware that to carry the post and chain in his reduced condition would be his death, he chose to take his departure. He had looked on at the proceedings in my behalf with an "Eldr'tch grin," but kept his counsel, knowing full well that I was no party

to his smuggling. A few days later, while helping to reload a wagon-load of hay that had tipped over in a creek near the barracks, I caught a glimpse of him huddled in the sagebrush, apparently almost frozen to death. Afterward, I heard that he was creeping up nightly to the kitchen for scraps, but after another week or so, we saw no more of him.

All this time, I was hearing good reports of the great San Juan from miners coming in to the nearby stores for provisions, the distance from the mining center now being around 175 miles. Therefore, at the first sign of spring, I eagerly made plans to continue my journey in that direction. Buying a jack, I loaded it with provisions, and taking with me for company a little black and tan dog to which I gave the name "Topsy," I set forth across the sand and sagebrush of the San Luis Desert toward the waters of the Rio Grande.



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As this was my first encounter with this section of the country, I found my journey both tedious and long. Rumor had it that the Utes were in the vicinity. At any rate, wolves were plentiful and I had also my first experience with the alkali lakes whose waters are supposed to be poisonous to man and beast. However, I finally reached Del Norte, which I found at that time to be a straggling little place, much like Pueblo, consisting mostly of miners' cabins.

After a brief rest here, I pushed on up the Rio Grande. In attempting to cross the river one day at a point deeper than I had estimated, I found that my jack, with my three months' provisions on his back, was being carried swiftly beyond his depth. As his head disappeared under the water, I leaped in up to my own neck and with considerable difficulty managed to pull his head above water and cut the lash rope. Then throwing the provisions to safety on the opposite bank, I scrambled up after them, trying my best to drag the donkey up at the same time. But judging from the effort on his part, he must have preferred suicide to going any further with me. After a couple of hours' hard struggle, I succeeded in my task, but we were both so exhausted that I decided I would not try to go farther that day. In spreading out my clothing and provisions to dry, I discovered that much of the latter was ruined.

The next day, hoping to avoid difficulty with my jack, I kept along the river-side, but at length found myself compelled to cross. This time, I mounted behind my pack and with a strong stake in my hand made a business-like effort to cross in safety. The stream, in spite of its rapidity, had not seemed very deep, but no sooner had we reached the middle than I found myself up to the armpits in water, with the jack executing a complete somersault beneath me. Narrowly escaping his rolling over me and thus causing a total wreck, I got hold of him before the stream had a chance to carry him bodily away and dragged him out again. Now the only thing I could do was to build a good fire, which I did, and soon had much of the damage repaired. Early in the day little Topsy had disappeared, but toward sunset to my joy I saw her trotting into camp, though looking, like myself and the donkey, very much discouraged. . . .

Continuing thus for several days, I stopped occasionally to rest and kill small game. One day, while cutting fire wood with my hatchet, I had the misfortune to lay open my knee. Binding it carefully in a soft towel, I resumed my journey, reaching towards evening a place called Wagon Wheel Gap. Here I found two men struggling with a raft in an effort to get around a point of rocks where the river was deep and dangerous. "Pile on your stuff, Cap, if you want to get 'round this canyon," said one of them to me. Taking in the situation at a glance, I threw my belongings upon the raft, tied the lashrope around my burro's neck, keeping the end of it in my hand, stepped on the raft and was dragged around against an awful current. As soon as I reached the other side, the men shouted: "All ready!" and pushed the burro into the river. I hauled him up successfully by the neck and when the men had got their stuff around the current, we cut the ropes

and let the raft go. After repacking, we set forth together, but their animals were stouter and more used to this sort of thing than mine, so I soon found myself in the rear. Being still weak from the effects of my injured knee, I was glad to make an early halt. . . .

About midnight, I awakened to find my donkey standing directly over me fast asleep. Before turning in, I had led him into the bunchgrass where he had seemed glad to lie down. Between sleeping and waking myself, it was some time before I could make out what he was, but when he drew a long breath, I gave him a slap on the nose and he turned slowly around. While he stood gazing into the dying embers of the fire, I fell asleep again. Daylight awakened me and I found Topsy at my feet. Raising myself on my elbow to throw my blanket over her, I threw a glance toward my provisions. What was my dismay to see the donkey with his nose in my flour bag. Leaping up regardless of my knee, I drove him away, but found to add to my discouragement that he had also spoiled the looks of my bacon. Being anxious to leave this scene of disaster, I packed up at once. . . .

Towards evening, a man crossing the ford at this point with a horse brought over my provisions for me from the other side, and as he had the hind quarters of an antelope with him, we had a good supper together and set camp for the night. Before it got dark, I made a search for my little dog which had disappeared during the day. I found her lying in the willows, about three hundred yards below the point where we had attempted to cross. As she seemed almost dead, I warmed her at the fire and gave her food, which attention soon revived her. When I related to my new friend the calamities that had recently befallen me and showed him my knee, he said it looked very bad and that if I didn't rest the injury and get the cold out of it, he believed I would lose my leg.

Preparing therefore for what might be a long halt, I cut down a spruce tree and with the branches made a little hut. Finding that I still had some soap and sugar left, I made a poultice for my knee, binding it on with wool from my pillow. For two weeks I lay there, amusing myself by gazing off at the hills and watching blacktailed deer and antelope around me. Grouse and jack rabbits were so plentiful that I could shoot them through the branches of my hut. Fortunately, I was able to hobble out and bring in my game. During all this time I did not see a living soul. Therefore, I was delighted when at last three prospectors, attracted by my fire, approached the camp. These men were on the way to the San Juan too, and after the usual salutations, unpacked their

jacks, drove them up the canyon and set to work baking bread and frying bacon. After a hearty supper, we chatted until midnight. In the morning, they were so kind as to bake a stock of bread for me, after which they got in a supply of wood, for which I was truly grateful. While repacking and completing preparations for leaving, they expressed the cheery hope that I would soon be able to follow them to the great San Juan. "Go on, boys!" I said, "if there is anything in those hills for me, you won't find it."

I stayed on in the camp for about another fortnight. During this time, my little dog and the donkey became fast friends. Every morning, after breakfast, I used to notice that Topsy would go up the canyon and disappear. Being able to travel now with the help of a stick, I followed her one day and found her sitting in the bunchgrass, close to the donkey's head. . . .

Reaching Timber Hill with some difficulty, we camped for the night and, the following day arrived at Pole Creek, the headwaters of the Rio Grande. Although it was now the month of June, there was an abundance of snow on the mountains through which herds of wild sheep were roaming. Every preparation was made to scale the Range on the morrow and late in the afternoon, after laboring all day cutting trenches through deep bodies of snow, we reached the summit. The next day, sweeping down the western slope, following the Cunningham River and the Animas into which it flows, we arrived in the heart of the great San Juan.

As the reader will recall, this San Juan district had been the goal of my prospecting intentions for many months and it was with considerable satisfaction that I now found myself on the spot. Before commencing business, however, I saw it would be necessary to take time to replenish my stock of provisions which had almost run out. Thus, I was out one day in search of game and had just concealed myself to get a shot at a wild sheep, when I came suddenly upon a most interesting vein in the rock. The vein was about twenty feet in width, with a thin slab of galena sticking out above the surface between the quartz. Kicking the rock with my foot, I broke off a portion and examined it. It was as bright as silver. Forgetting all about the sheep, I examined the whole vein more closely. I could see the quartz was coated with carbonate of copper, with fluorspar in the float. Selecting some specimens weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds to take with me, I hastened to stake my claim, for I could see that this vein bore the indisputable marks of a great silver mine.

This was my first experience in the great San Juan, so I was soon busy sinking my first shaft and dreaming that my fortune was made. The mountain on which I had made this discovery was

known as Galena Mountain and the altitude of the mine, to which I gave the name "St. Lawrence," was 12,500 feet above sea level. As I write, the same mine is being worked under the name of "Hawk Eye."

Prospectors and miners, scattered throughout the San Juan district, were beginning to feel more and more the need of protection through some sort of mining laws. So, one day, a group of from sixteen to twenty of us assembled under the shade of the cottonwood trees in Rastic *Gulch, close to what was called the "Little Giant" gold mine, and drew up the first mining laws of the great San Juan.

Having put an assessment on the "St. Lawrence," I now treated myself to a week's sport, by going back over the Range to the Rio Grande where I could find trout in abundance. To my astonishment, in passing down Lost Trail, I met the three prospectors who had kindly renewed my food and wood supplies while I was laid up with my injured knee at Bear Creek. They were just entering the San Juan, having lost their way and gone fifty miles in the wrong direction. They were considerably surprised when I told them I had already been into the district and discovered a mine, a specimen of which I was able to show them.

During the summer I made two discoveries. By this time, my boots had passed away and I had my feet tied up in gunnysacks. I was also out of provisions, so, when I learned that Mr. E. L. Hamilton was approaching the Range with machinery to work "The Little Giant," I decided to go over the Range and volunteer my services. A few other prospectors, hearing of it, joined me and together we reached Timber Line Hill where we found the company struggling with an engine and crusher, terrible things to handle over such a country. Night after night, we camped far above timber line, until we reached at length the friendly timber of the western slope. Here we had to lower the engine with ropes snubbed to the trees down a depth of three hundred feet with a square pitch. At the beginning of the work, Mr. Hamilton, noticing the plight of my feet, gave me a pair of bluchers, which made me feel like a new man. A short time after the job was done, he sent for me at the Lindal Hotel in Pueblo and to my astonishment asked me what my bill was. I had not expected compensation for helping him, but felt that my lucky star was with me when he insisted on giving me forty-five dollars.

With the intention of disposing of my mine and going East for the winter, I now left the mining district, and taking a good

*Elsewhere in his writing, our father has referred to this as Roster Gulch.—R. E. B.

supply of my specimens with me, recrossed the Range with little Topsy and my jack. The leaves were by this time fast changing color and we had already experienced several flurries of snow. With a light heart, I dashed forward to Del Norte where I managed to dispose of my jack for several dollars. Leaving Topsy with a friend to be taken care of until my return, I made a bargain with some men going to Pueblo with wagons to take me with them in return for my heavy Colts navy pistol which I now gave them. These men, like everyone else at this time, talked endlessly of the future of the San Juan as a great mining country. Arriving in Pueblo, I met a purchasing party to whom I stated my price for a half-interest in "The St. Lawrence" and closed the sale.

From Pueblo I left by train for Denver, thence on to New York City. Thus, after four years of rambling in the wild mountains of the West, I eventually found myself again in St. Lawrence County in the State of New York, from whence I had enlisted in the American Civil War just seven years before.

After spending an enjoyable winter in the East, I returned in the spring to Pueblo where I bought myself a horse and recovered my little dog which had been well looked after. She knew me at once. Then, fortifying myself with provisions in the old manner, I made my way again toward the San Juan.

Journeying south toward the Spanish Peaks, I crossed the old Sangre de Cristo Range, passing through the San Luis Desert to Del Norte. There seemed little improvement here, except for a few stores that had been added since I left. Miners were gathering in from all directions, evidently preparing for a big prospecting expedition of some sort, but I continued on my way, finding some very good trails, also temporary bridges of logs over the most rapid streams, so in due course of time I reached safely the San Juan district.

The purchasing party to whom I had sold a half interest in the St. Lawrence mine now came on and commenced operations, completing the assessments according to law. Again October approached and I was making preparations to go out of the mountains along with a miner who called himself Pat O'Brien, when there appeared at our camp at the head of the Cunningham River a young man clad in Buckskin and carrying a large rifle. This young man, it seems, was known as "The Ute." He told us that he was a native of Colorado and had followed hunting all his life. "I'm a center shot," he boasted, "just show me a mountain sheep and I'll kill it." Having borrowed some flour and bacon of us, he started out with us over the range.

On the second day, we made our camp in the cottonwoods, at the foot of Sheep Mountain, and here the Ute prepared his rifle for business. Taking a Colts pistol in hand, I bade him follow me. We hadn't gone far before sheep tracks became plentiful, and suddenly, without warning, a flock of them numbering possibly fifteen plunged in front of us. The Ute fired and immediately all was confusion. I raised my pistol on a buck, but the weapon failed to go off. In my excitement I now threw it at the animal's head, but he escaped it. Looking around to see what the Center Shot had done, I could perceive nothing as yet, but he pointed out to me three sheep which we could see hurrying up the opposite side of the ravine. Bidding me follow them, he said he would keep along on this side.

Still dubious in my mind as to the skill of which he had boasted, I nevertheless followed the sheep and soon I heard bang! bang! bang! Glancing across the ravine, I now saw the Ute sitting down tranquilly to smoke his pipe. He pointed casually to a spot ahead of me. Here I found a large ewe with its back broken. Finishing it by shooting it through the head, I rolled it over the rocks down into the ravine. The Ute, refilling his pipe, called out, "Another one farther up!" And here I found a fine young buck. This too I sent down into the ravine where I could hear its horns crashing against the rocks below. Looking again toward my companion, I saw him indicate a spot still farther up. When I found here a first-class lamb, I decided the Ute was as good as his word. Throwing it over with the others, I rejoined him and together we descended the mountain and located our victims. Drawing his hunting knife, the young man now cleaned and severed each; then, taking a quarter of the lamb and the plucks of the other two, we returned to camp where we found Pat frying some rusty bacon, having long since despaired of seeing any game.

After supper, we slapped the saddle on Pat's jack and fetched the three carcasses from the ravine into camp. At this point, we found our hunter to be an expert also in skinning and dressing the sheep. He now expressed his surprise in having missed at the first shot, but said he had never been more confused in his life. He told us that he had lived for fifteen years on the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. As a boy he had learned to tame and rear the young elk; he had also chained a young lynx to his cabin and brought it up like a dog. He had killed mountain lion, had been treed by wolves and was even once pursued by a bear with cubs. Many other

interesting and exciting experiences he related to us during the ten days we spent here, feasting on our mutton and the speckled trout which abound in the head waters of the Rio Grande.

But as Burns says,

Pleasures are like poppies spread,
You seize the flower—the bloom is shed;
Or like the snowflake in the river
A moment white, then melts forever.

Taking up the trail again, we pushed on down the river toward Del Norte. The Ute had presented me with the skins of the animals he had killed, but as I had no materials with me for their care, I was obliged to throw them away. Before reaching Del Norte, we overtook some Swedes with whom I had been acquainted in the mountains for years. They joined me in following the Ute Indian trail which I knew would bring us a couple of miles farther down the mountain than by way of the river, while Pat and the Center Shot went down the Rio Grande.

Topsy had eagerly pushed ahead. Suddenly, I heard her barking furiously. Hastening to the spot, I saw that she had treed a large lynx. I shot it and it fell to the ground in a heap. No sooner was it down than the little dog had it by the hind leg, thinking no doubt that she had done the work all by herself. The lynx made a snap at her, and would have killed her instantly had its back not been broken. As I approached, it turned and growled at me, but I put the poor thing out of its misery at once with the butt end of my gun. The lynx was a male and one of the largest of its kind, its head being at least five times the size of a tomcat's and not unlike it in shape, but the lynx had black tassels on its ears. As snow was falling and the wind was piercingly cold, I decided not to try to skin it. Carrying it on my back to the top of the hill where the trail intersected the wagon road, I stood the animal up on all fours, as it was stiff by this time, and hearing the sound of approaching wagons, inclined his head in their direction. We hurried on, but upon hearing the barking of dogs in the rear, surmised that the wagons had reached the lynx. A little later, I heard that Judge Jones of Del Norte, who happened to be a member of this party, had taken my lynx to town with him and had published an article concerning it in *The San Juan Prospector*.

Towards evening, we fell in again with Pat and the Ute who were busily engaged over a fire, frying some speckled trout they had caught in the river, so we all enjoyed a hearty meal before encamping for the night.

Upon reaching Del Norte again, I found that the town had now gained some importance. Additions had been made and lots were bringing a fair price. Newcomers were rolling in all the time and the town had a flourishing air. I did not stay here long this time but set forth on my now familiar journey across the sand and sagebrush of the San Luis Desert. The Mexicans say that the sandhills, which are 800 feet above the level of the desert, were blown up during a storm from the Southwest many years ago, and that a Mexican, with a great drove of sheep, was buried alive here. . . .

Eventually, I reached Pueblo again, this time being rich in silver mines, but with only a dollar or two in my pocket. Being desirous of remaining in town for the winter, yet not being able to afford a hotel, I hunted around to see what I could find. The only accommodation available and which I secured at length was a small house which I was permitted to occupy rent-free until spring, due to the fact that the late occupant had hanged himself there a few weeks previously. Finding another poor prospector, whose wealth was still in the bowels of the earth, I invited him to become a free tenant with me, and together we entered upon a strict diet of oatmeal and milk.

My plan was to strain every nerve towards attracting the attention of capital in the direction of the San Juan mines. A poor man can discover and locate a mine and legally stake his claim, but to open it properly and keep it a profitable enterprise requires capital and plenty of it. Moreover, an idea was now taking shape in my mind. I was planning to select a site somewhere in the center of the great San Juan, perhaps near the mouth of the Cunningham River, suitable for the laying out of a town, nay, a great mining city. This city would be called Bullion City, because of the amount of gold already extracted from the mountains in that vicinity. I could see in my mind's eye its very spires and lo, I would be the founder of it! The desire to achieve this dream was at times a little more than I could bear and I would have to pace to and fro under the stars to cool off.

Having drawn up a rough plan of the mirage city on a large plaque which I had constructed by tacking down some cardboard on a slab of wood, I selected for my financial agent a man in whose integrity and business ability I had so far had no reason not to believe, a man, in fact who claimed to have great influence, in a business way, with some of the mighty men of Denver. Meeting this man one evening at one of the local inns frequented by miners, I not only announced to him my scheme but, placing the plaque of it in his hands, bade him carry it with all speed to Denver and

there to make every effort to enlist the sympathy of capital in that growing metropolis.

This power-among-monied-men was such a little man, even against my own small stature, that the tails of his great coat rested on the floor beside him as he drew his chair closer for the inspection of the plaque. His interest, however, was at once captivated in the cause of Bullion City and the part that he would play in the founding of it. Pausing for a moment, he slipped his thumb and forefinger into his vest pocket, drew forth a powerful looking magnifying glass which he carefully adjusted to the bridge of his nose, just beneath a pair of exceptionally bushy, auburn eyebrows, then, taking up the plaque again, made a long and thorough survey of it. At length, curbing the excitement which I could see mounting in his face, he pointed to a spot in the middle of the plan. "Is this all smooth ground?" he asked.

"No," I replied, "that particular spot is a swamp."

"A swamp! Ah, well, we can easily overcome such things as that," said he, "the swamp is a small matter; we can fill it up with slag from the smelters and other works." Fearing in my heart lest the slag from a thousand smelters couldn't fill the swamp, I watched him, fascinated, as he drew a little comb from his vest pocket and daintily arranged his moustache with it. "Yes," he continued, in a musing tone, "This will be one of the greatest enterprises in the history of Colorado. Through me the great San Juan will be developed. I shall immediately call to my aid all the capital that will be necessary for the complete success of the undertaking." After which outburst of power and monopoly, he shouted: "Landlord, bring two beers!" And in a moment we were drinking a toast to the prosperity of the new city about to rise on the other side of the highest mountain range of the American continent.

Carefully rolling up the parchment and tying it with a piece of string, the little man rose to leave. As the landlord approached, he nonchalantly announced to the latter that he would pay for the beers at another time, at which the landlord hung his head but said nothing. As I wended my way toward my lodgings, I pondered deeply how anyone who hadn't the price of a couple of beers in his pocket could hope to reach Denver, to say nothing of accomplishing his mission there, but the little man had seemed undaunted, so I was forced to conclude that he must have a brain more fertile in resources than my own. . . .

There was no light shining from the window for me, but I soon had a good fire going in the sheetiron stove, and after a fearful gorge of porridge and milk, threw my body down to rest. . . . In the morning, I hurried up-town to see the little man off for Denver,

with his satchel, his eyeglass and his little comb. Weeks passed without a word from him. Then came a telegram, urging me to prepare for business. He had secured, he said, ample financial backing for our enterprise, and would himself be with me shortly.

Arriving at length, glass adjusted and greatcoat trailing with the breeze, he extended both hands to me, as a politician does to his friends before election day, and announced with triumph that he had not only raised a company in Denver to back the founding of our city, but that he had twenty-five hundred dollars in the hand with which to go ahead.

[A long account details the terrible difficulties encountered in effecting a crossing of the high San Juans during the fall and winter to the site of Bullion City. Though the dream metropolis did not materialize, Mr. Brown engaged in mining in the region for several years.—Ed.]
