

The Morey Mercantile Company

The Home of Solitaire

By WILLIAM L. MYATT

William L. Myatt, a native of Colorado, a member of the State Historical Society of Colorado and of the editorial staff of *Trail and Timberline*, and an employee of the Morey Mercantile Company for more than fifty years, recently retired as Assistant General Manager of the company. Mr. Myatt has obtained for the State Historical Society from Mrs. John A. Ferguson, Jr., of Denver, granddaughter of C. S. Morey, her grandfather's desk, more than eighty photographs of Mr. Morey's business friends, and other mementoes. From Mr. John Rogers of Monarch Foods, Mr. Myatt obtained for the Society the large, framed, hand-colored photograph of "Morey's Cabinet." From his first-hand knowledge and through a year of research, Mr. Myatt has prepared the following account of the Morey Mercantile Company. His article on "Cotillion Hall," which appeared in the October, 1960, issue of *The Colorado Magazine*, proved very popular.—*Editor*.

Emerson said that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man" and this is certainly exemplified in the Morey companies—The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company, which owed its origin and success to C. S. Morey; and The Morey Mercantile Company (a change in name only, made in 1910), to J. W. Morey, son of the founder, who succeeded his father to the presidency of the company on January 14, 1913. Throughout its 75-year corporate life the company was controlled by the Morey family with only two presidents, C. S. and J. W. Morey. These men guided the firm to the position of the largest wholesale grocery in the Rocky Mountain region. It enjoyed financial success, prestige, and respect.

Sprague, Warner & Co., an honored name in the food business and a highly successful wholesale grocer, distributors of the Richelieu and Batavia lines, fathered The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company of Denver by selecting C. S. Morey¹ as its

¹Chester Stephen Morey was born on a farm in Dane County, Wisconsin, March 3, 1847. His early education was in district schools. Before he was seventeen he enlisted in Co. I, 36th Wisconsin Infantry and took part in several Civil War battles. He was wounded and hospitalized but returned to the field. After being discharged from the army he assisted his widowed mother with her farm, obtaining what schooling he could. With a natural inclination for commercial pursuits instead of for farming, C. S. Morey attended Eastman's Business College in Chicago in 1867. He obtained work in the retail grocery of Cobb & Thorne. In 1873, he became a western representative for Sprague, Warner & Co. On December 12, 1876, Mr. Morey married Miss Anna L. Clough, daughter of John A. Clough, Denver businessman. They were the parents of a son, John W., and a daughter, Mary Louise. Mrs. Morey died on February 27, 1890. C. S. Morey continued successful in business, and in addition to establishing a grocery empire in the Rocky Mountain region, became associated with Charles Boettcher, M. D. Thatcher, and others in establishing what became the Great Western Sugar Company, about 1905. For a time he was President and General Manager of the Company. Mr. Morey was always interested in education and philanthropic projects, being one of the leaders in establishing Organized Charities in Denver. He died on January 22, 1922.—*Editor*.

western representative in 1879. Mr. Morey came to a cattle ranch in 1872 in New Mexico, for his health, and while riding the range undoubtedly sensed the potentialities of this vast western region.

Beginning in 1873 as agent for Sprague, Warner & Co., C. S. Morey covered a wide territory. He soon became their top salesman, and when he decided to launch his own business the company was glad to help him get established. In 1879, it was "C. S. Morey, Agent," located at 1809 Blake Street, Denver, where he handled the sales, and, with the assistance of a fifteen-year-old boy, Tim Ryan,² ran the office, too.

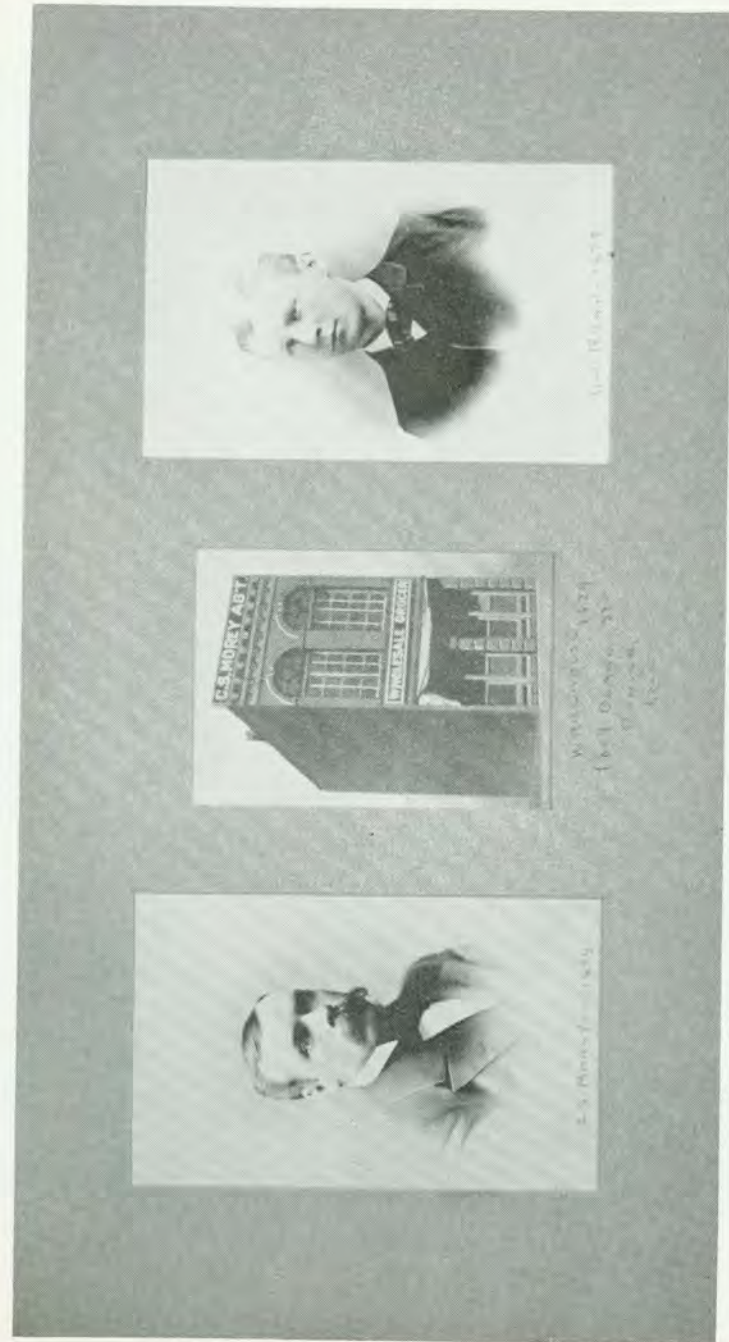
Two years later, C. S. Morey was admitted to partnership in the Sprague, Warner & Company firm. The transition from "C. A. Morey, Agent" to The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company in 1884 was a natural one. Through the superb salesmanship and business acumen of the founder, the company soon outgrew the small building on Blake and moved to 1537 Market Street. As it continued to flourish with the growth of the community, the company moved again, this time to Wazee and Nineteenth Streets, into much larger quarters. Before the turn of the century, Mr. Morey decided it was time to own a company home. In 1896 he contracted with Brown and Schrepferman (now Brown-Schrepferman & Co.) to construct a five-story building from plans drawn by Gove & Walsh, architects, at the corner of Wynkoop and Sixteenth Streets. In 1902, an additional floor was added. Mr. C. S. Morey owned the lots and the building and rented to The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company. This building on five lots, included a "mill" with a twenty-five foot frontage that housed the roasting plant, spice grinding department, extract laboratory, and print shop.

By 1907, this building was too small, so property 125 feet wide across the alley facing on Wazee Street, was acquired by C. S. Morey. A bridge was constructed over the alley and part of the building was rented to The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company; part, to The Bowman-Hall Candy Co.; and the balance, to The Brecht Butchers Supply Company.

It was not long before more space was needed for Morey operations, and in 1907, the "mill," including the roasters, was moved to these buildings. The word "mill" was dropped and this operation became the "factory." The Morey Mercantile bought all buildings from C. S. Morey in 1919. In a few years the factory occupied 72,400 square feet of floor space. Other buildings on Wynkoop Street were acquired at various times so by 1925, a total of 253,000 square feet in Denver were in use by the company.

The first board of directors meeting of The C. S. Morey

² Tim Ryan served faithfully for many years and on his fiftieth anniversary with the company in 1929, Mr. J. W. Morey recognized this loyalty with appropriate remarks, a bouquet of fifty roses, and fifty \$10.00 gold pieces (gold then being legal tender.)—W. L. M.



Tim Ryan

1879

C. S. Morey



Painting of C. S. Morey, father
J. W. Morey, son
Both served Morey Mercantile Co., as President

Mercantile Company was held in March, 1884. In the comparatively short span of 50 years the company grew to an organization employing some 500 persons in Denver and in its eighteen branches in Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Nebraska.

In the 1890's private label merchandise appeared, and in 1902, Morey started the Solitaire brand, which became the company's largest seller in top-quality canned goods. Canned fruits, vegetables, and coffee started the line. Items were added from time to time, including such varied products as matches, cigars, writing tablets, brooms, jar rings, and, of course, a complete assortment of food products such as cereals, fish, cheese, macaroni, and the like.

J. W. Morey Works His Way Up

A heritage of integrity sat naturally in the business philosophy of John W. Morey,³ son of C. S. Morey, as he was schooled in honesty and fairness through close association with his father during his formative years. His many sterling qualities were manifest throughout his business and private life. Born on December 22, 1878, in Denver, a graduate of Yale University, J. W. Morey entered the employ of the company January 2, 1901, at a wage of \$5.00 per week. He literally started at the bottom by working in the boiler room. From there he went to the grocery division in the warehouse, later covering all territories as a salesman "on the road," then back into the office in the coffee roasting plant. There he acquired a thorough knowledge of coffee testing and buying. He maintained his interest in this exacting occupation until the very last of his activity in the business, personally passing on the Solitaire coffee blend by testing it before the blend was sent to the trade.

At this point it might be interesting to enlarge on expert coffee testing. While green (raw) coffees are graded on the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, this grading is entirely physical, based on appearance, size, and number of defects in the green bean, so even though a coffee may grade well, it could be of poor drinking quality, therefore a buyer usually

³J. W. Morey was regional chairman of the American Red Cross during World War I, devoting his entire business hours to this worthy cause, while his grocery business was managed by J. G. Duncan, vice president of the company. Mr. Duncan was a shrewd, capable, and experienced grocery executive. In 1922-1923, Mr. Morey was president of the Denver Community Chest (later to become the United Fund). From 1924 through 1926, he was president of the National Wholesale Grocers Association, now the National-American Wholesale Grocers Association. As vice president of that organization, he was instrumental in bringing its national convention to the Broadmoor in Colorado Springs in June, 1920.

In World War II, J. W. Morey's patriotic activity was as an industry member of The War Labor Board, on which he served faithfully. For many years he was a board member of St. Luke's Hospital, The Great Western Sugar Company, the Denver Tramway Company, The First National Bank, the reorganized Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, and was a trustee of the Denver Museum of Natural History. He was an ardent golfer and in earlier years was State Amateur tennis champion. His interest in football, which he acquired at Yale, was legendary, and the annual Yale-Harvard game was a "must" for him for years. Local football was one of his hobbies. His death occurred at the finish of the Oklahoma-Boulder football game in Boulder, on November 3, 1956.—W. L. M.



The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company
19th and Wazee Streets, Denver
1892

had small samples of the proposed buys roasted in a sample roaster and these were "cupped," that is, tested for drinking qualities. In cupping a small sample, usually the weight of a five-cent piece of ground coffee is placed in a 4-ounce porcelain cup and bubbling, boiling water poured on it. The tester then judges it by smell and taste. No coffee is swallowed. The tester's knowledge of coffee determines its value for the purpose intended and after finding a particular lot he makes an offer, buying it at as low a price as possible. The quality, however, comes first, and price is not discussed until the selection has been made. Needless to say, a keen sense of taste and smell was a must for a successful coffee tester. This was possessed in high degree by Mr. Morey. High-grade branded coffees on the market are blends of two or more kinds or grades of green (raw) coffee, and consist of Brazilian, Columbian, Mexican, Central American, and others, depending on the quality result desired. In earlier days Mocha from Arabia and Java from Dutch East Indies made a desirable blend, although the product, if genuine Mocha and Java were used, was quite costly. This is rarely found in today's market.

On February 7, 1905, J. W. Morey and Mable Feldhauser, daughter of Phillip Feldhauser, a prominent Denver merchant, were married, thus uniting two leading, pioneer families. Their only child, Katherine Laura, married John A. Ferguson, Jr., son of another pioneer, Denver family. Today their three sons are active in business: Donald and John A., III, in Denver; and Morey, in Seattle. In 1913, J. W. Morey succeeded his father as president of the Morey Mercantile.

William L. Myatt Joins the Firm

About seven months after John W. Morey went to work for the company, C. S. Morey, on July 8, 1901, hired as third office boy, the author of this article. The company was 17 years old and so was the boy. The wage was \$3.00 per week, the going rate for office boys in Denver, and each boy had to own a bicycle. The hours were 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with an hour for lunch, which was a break for me, as I had left a summer job driving a retail grocery wagon, hours 7:00 to 7:00 with thirty minutes for lunch, although the wage there was \$7.00 per week. At that time eggs were 10¢ per dozen; pork chops, 10¢ per pound; and milk, 21 quarts for \$1.00, delivered to your door if you put out your pail so that the milkman could ladle milk into it from his ten-gallon can. Trolley and cablecar fare was 5¢, including a transfer.

Duties of the office boys included taking to and picking up the mail from the post office then at Arapahoe and Sixteenth Streets, and carrying bank deposits to the First National Bank in the new Equitable Building at Stout and Seventeenth

Streets. The boys also answered the three phones,⁴ Main 140, Main 160, and Main 161, and called the party wanted, by a buzzer system. Too, the boys filed the correspondence, filled the inkwells, dusted the desks, and, in the afternoons, copied the letters by putting them through a copying press, the copies being taken in a tissue-paper book by the use of a moistened cloth under pressure.



W. L. Myatt
1900

If a boy was diligent and seemed to have promise he was advanced to second office boy and raised to \$4.00 per week, usually in three to four months. And if he could stick it out and continued to make good, he became head office boy at \$5.00 per week.

A senior clerk sent a new office boy to Burt Davis Cigar Store, then in the Tabor Opera House Block at 1006 Sixteenth Street, to get the key to the elevator. It was, of course, a fruitless search,

as the boy was sent from the first address to others, the practical jokers being in on the hoax. The boy, after two hours, returned empty handed, certain that he'd be fired. Instead, the manager called the senior clerk "on the carpet" and dressed him down for fair. This trick was on a par with such others as sending someone for a left-handed monkey wrench, or, as bank tellers did, send the boy for a check-stretcher, and as the boys at the Broadway Theatre sent a new usher down to the Tabor Grand for the key to the curtain.

Good Fellowship Among Salesmen

In the early years when the Morey Company was a small, closely knit group, a spirit of friendliness and cooperation percolated from the top down through the organization, including the warehouse and delivery departments. Some of the younger salesmen would gather at the office on Sunday mornings to prepare their samples and price sheets for that week's trip. Before the enactment of the Robinson-Patman price discrimination bill on June 19, 1936, salesmen were allowed discretion in prices, and good customers (or more likely, shrewd buyers) obtained a concession in price, so salesmen had not only the regular price list, but also the cost in code. Codes are used today in pricing but not for the purpose of shading prices. Morey for many years used *Cumberland* as the cost mark. *Blacksmith* was also a commonly used code. The customers soon learned the code so Morey changed to *Msolytaire*, and then when the Robinson-Patman bill became law this was abandoned, as one price for all, depending upon quantity purchased, prevailed.

⁴In earlier days boys manned switchboards at the Colorado Telephone Company, predecessor of The Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Co.

In the Sunday morning sessions the boys would spin yarns and swap stories and do a little barbershop harmonizing in a fine spirit of camaraderie. One group had an unusually good bass and a couple of tenors, one of whom sang with the Apollo Club, a local group which gave paid entertainments, under the direction of Henry Housely, at the First Baptist Church, then on Stout near Eighteenth Street.

On Sunday nights salesmen left on trains in order to reach their territories for business on Monday mornings. The territories which in those days were far away from Denver, were covered by salesmen living on their territories. Such points as those in New Mexico were covered by a representative living in Trinidad; what was known as Routt County, by a man living in Steamboat Springs; and Western Slope towns, by men living in Delta, Grand Junction, and Durango. Those representatives came to Denver two or three times a year. Even as late as 1915, there was a hardware salesman who covered a territory from Gallup, New Mexico, to and including Walla Walla, Washington, with parts of Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Utah. He was usually away from three to four months. His strong selling argument was his slogan, "Norton Nelson pays the freight," thus saving the merchant the tedious task of figuring his laid in cost on the many, many small hardware items. This is a common practice today, but in earlier days, with few exceptions, goods were sold f.o.b. seller's warehouse.

The boys in the store had a baseball team and each Saturday would play a rival grocery team, among others, the J. S. Brown & Brother Mercantile, Spratlen & Anderson, and The Struby-Estabrook Mercantile, at River Front Park, an area along the Platte River between Sixteenth and Eighteenth Streets. This tract was used for circuses, fireworks displays, and other outdoor entertainments.

Douglas and Jack Fairbanks Work for Morey

One of the bat boys was Douglas Fairbanks, then sixteen, an office boy at Morey's at the time. Doug's agility and histrionic leanings finally cost him his \$3.00 a week job, one of those blessings in disguise. In taking customer orders to the warehouse the office boy would start on the second floor, finish at the fifth floor (the building now has six floors) and come back to the office. Doug just couldn't walk downstairs—he would slide down the freight elevator cable to the top of the elevator at whatever floor it chanced to be, and climb off there. Freight elevator shafts then were merely protected with a hinged 2 x 4. The story goes that one day Mr. C. S. happened to be on one of the upper floors and saw "something" fall down the shaft, but couldn't find anything on the top of the elevator. The boys downstairs couldn't enlighten him, but he may have had his suspicions.

Doug became a pupil of Margaret Fealy, the mother of actress Maude Fealy (now living in Denver), appeared in local productions at Elitch's and the old Manhattan Beach Theatre, made his initial appearance on Broadway with Effie Shannon in "Her Lord and Master," and then appeared a number of times with other stars, including Amelia Bingham and William H. Crane, before going on to make screen history.

In Hollywood, Doug eventually married America's Sweetheart, Mary Pickford, his second wife. He returned to Denver now and then and usually visited the Morey office. Probably his last visit to the office was on November 24, 1926, when he and Mary came to Denver for the funeral of his brother John, whom we knew as Jack. Jack, who worked at Morey's twenty years, was secretary of the company, when he left to go to Hollywood to manage Doug's finances in 1916. Six of Jack's former Morey associates (four of whom have since passed on) were his pallbearers. In spite of efforts to keep the services private, a crowd of mourners appeared at the graveside in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

Office Boys to the Top

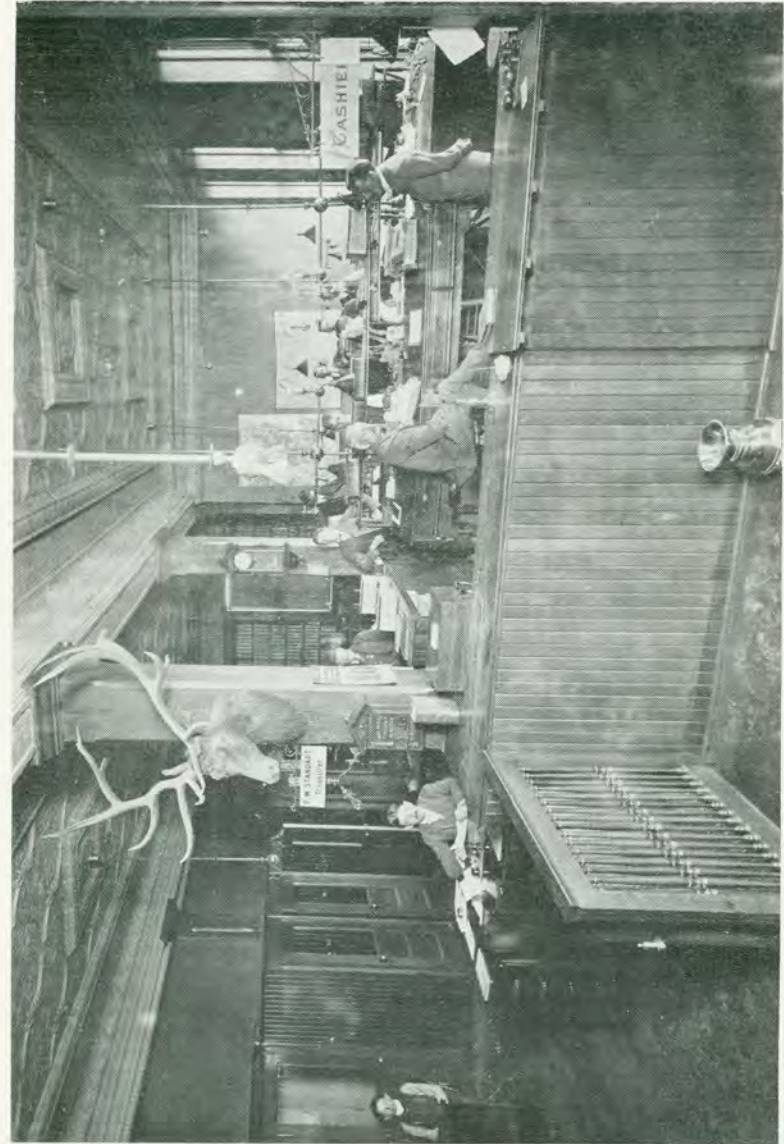
Mr. C. S. Morey had a penchant for helping worthy boys get started on a business career and although Douglas Fairbanks wasn't destined to become a merchant, he did merchandise his acrobatic abilities in climbing to the top of the silent movie profession.

Other office boys went to the top outside of the grocery business, including Aksel Nielsen (1916), who left his Morey job as cigar salesman in 1923, to enter the real estate business. In 1925, he joined the Title Guaranty Company, of which he is now chairman of the board. He holds other offices and serves on many boards. His friendship with Dwight D. Eisenhower is legendary.

Then there is Earl F. Shepard, who came as office boy November 21, 1901, and left in February, 1903, to go with Mr. C. S. Morey who, with Charles Boettcher and others was forming what later became The Great Western Sugar Company. Earl remained to become the oldest employee in point of service and first employee to serve the Great Western fifty years, retiring June 30, 1953.

Mention should be made, too, of J. Donald Lutz (1903), another Morey office boy, who left his job as cigar salesman to enter the insurance business and is now president of Stough-Vincent Co., a successful Denver insurance agency. There are many others whose names do not come to mind at the moment.

In 1910, a group of employees formed The Solitaire Club, an organization which met once a month for study purposes. The company furnished supper and an assembly room and after the dishes were cleared away, a paper giving a history



Morey Mercantile Company, 1628 Sixteenth St., 1902
Left to right: Shepard, Standart, Nelson, Gale, Hamrick, Flammer, Sisty, Oakey, Sullivan, Flickinger, Thomas, Rett

and description of some food product, prepared by a member, was read and discussed.

A Savings Association was also formed, the forerunner of a Credit Union, and employees could make deposits or have money deducted from pay checks for deposit. How the "deduct" idea has expanded! The account was handled by The International Trust Company (merged with The First National Bank of Denver in August, 1958). The company provided tellers at the Morey offices on paydays for the convenience of employees in cashing or depositing pay checks.

The forty-hour week wasn't even on the drawing boards in Morey's earlier years. Firms usually operated nine to ten hours a day, six days a week, some closing at noon on Saturdays during the summer months. In the fall of 1901, Morey adopted the noon closing on Saturdays the year around. With the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, which included the forty-hour week for employees in certain industries in interstate commerce, went on the forty-hour week by closing all day Saturday.

Employees had the usual holidays and two weeks vacation each year. On the Fourth of July and Labor Day each received two silver dollars; on Thanksgiving, a turkey or box of cigars; and at Christmas, a \$10.00 gold piece. As the company grew there were many part-time employees and these gratuities, with the exception of the Christmas money, were discontinued. In 1933, the gold piece, no longer being legal tender, was replaced by a check, which seemed a pity after all those golden years. The \$10.00 gold piece gift idea was suggested by Mrs. C. S. Morey just before she passed away in 1890. In addition, employees were permitted to buy groceries and hardware at wholesale, ordering once a week, and for 20¢ could have the order delivered anywhere in Denver. To protect the retailer, this privilege was limited to employees' immediate families, but abuses which crept in could not be controlled, and this boon to large families had to be discontinued. Other privileges, too, had to be abandoned because some thoughtless employee took undue advantage, thus penalizing all employees.

Throughout the years of progress the policy could be summed up in the statement, which from early years appeared in the employees' handbook—"fairness to our customers, our employees, and ourselves." That policy was rigidly followed. Fair play, a slogan in itself, irrespective of its soundness, cannot run a business but its diligent and intelligent application, coupled with adherence to sound policy, can go a long ways toward the goal on the uphill path to success.

The food business within the memory of this writer has always been a close margin and highly competitive one, particularly at the wholesale and retail levels and is so at the present time. In fact, some contemporaries contend it's more

so than ever and is most severe on the small dealer. The battle always seems worse when you're in the action. The food business is not unique in the competitive situation.

In the early days in this region the mining industry was dependent on the wholesaler for food and certain supplies, which were brought in in large lots, usually by wagon trains and later by rail. These were distributed to retailers over a large area, and the "drummer" or salesman covered a wide territory by stage, rail, and buggy, and in some remote regions by horseback. The appearance of the automobile gave the salesman greater flexibility and enabled him to cover more territory. In late years, one enterprising Morey salesman relied on his airplane for parts of his territory. As the prospecting and mining increased, the consequent population expansion prompted the establishment of jobbers, and Denver became the natural distributing point.

Many Grocery Businesses in Colorado

The C. S. Morey Mercantile Company was not the first wholesale grocery to open in Colorado, but eventually became the largest in sales, territory, and number of employees. John S. Brown established a grocery business in Denver in 1861. His place was destroyed by the big fire in 1863, but he opened as soon as he could get merchandise. Again, in 1864, he was wiped out by the Cherry Creek flood. A third time Mr. Brown began business, this time with his brother, Junius F., as The J. S. Brown & Brother Mercantile Company. The company prospered and enjoyed the honor and respect of the expanding West. After seventy-six years of successful operation the business was sold to Morey.

Another large, prosperous wholesaler was The Struby-Estabrook Mercantile Company, established in 1883, just before the Morey company was incorporated, was located at Wynkoop and Seventeenth Streets, where for many years the "Welcome Arch" spanned Seventeenth Street. One of Struby's private brands was "Welcome Arch." The company was acquired by Morey in 1913, who prophetically abandoned the brand. The arch came down in 1931.

In the 1890's and early 1900's wholesalers sprang up at Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Trinidad (with Denver, the railroad "common points" of Colorado), and later at Grand Junction, Durango, Greeley, Boulder, Fort Collins, Sterling, and Canon City. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operated the Colorado Supply Company as supplier for its chain of company stores at various points. This operation, too, was absorbed by Morey in April, 1931.

Because the press of competition was severe on smaller jobbers, many gave up. Morey acquired several of them, and in most cases got desirable personnel, particularly some top-notch salesmen. In this manner Morey expanded and eventually

absorbed some twenty-five establishments, large and small, in a period of thirty-five years, the final one being The J. S. Brown and Brother Mercantile Company in 1937. These twenty-five companies were not all grocers—one, The Hardesty Manufacturing Company (1911), made baking powder, bakers' extracts, soda fountain fruits, and the like; another, The Foster Honey and Mercantile Company, of Boulder (1925), handled honey and beekeepers' supplies.

Morey served many of the largest retailers in the area, including the general stores which dotted the rural towns: the oldest store in the state, Salazar's at San Luis, and the second oldest, in fact, the oldest store operating under the same name and family ownership, the oldest account on Morey's books, Kneisel & Anderson, Georgetown, were customers through the years. Others included A. Oldland & Co., Meeker, the J. W. Hugus & Co., stores, Russell Gates Mercantile Co., with stores in eastern Colorado, Stark Bros., St. Elmo, Frazier and Burke, Cripple Creek and Victor; the Harder-Moser Merc. Co., Cripple Creek; Pete Lege, Dillon; The Tin Cup Mdse. Co. (shipped via St. Elmo and hauled over Tin Cup Pass); Hart-Zaitz Merc. Co., Leadville; R. R. Williams & Co., Pitkin; Sunnyside Mining Commissary, Sunnyside; Hawley Mdse. Co., and Sauer-McShane Merc. Co., of Central City; and flourishing stores in many other mining camps such as Aspen, Telluride, Ouray, Alma, Fairplay, and Breckenridge. These are only a very few of the many large accounts served by Morey in the early 1900's. Some of these establishments are operating today, a few with members of the families that started them.

Immense quantities of merchandise were shipped to Hitchcock and Tinkler when they were constructing the Moffat Tunnel from 1924 to 1927. And it is interesting to note that Morey had a car of sugar from California on the first train through the tunnel via the Dotsero Cutoff in June, 1934. This cutoff connected the tunnel with the main line of the D. & R. G. W. R. R.

Salesmen Call on Customers

Territories were covered, that is, customers were called on by salesmen regularly; in Denver, once a week, except downtown where the larger stores were, every day. These downtown stores included Wolfe Londoner, John Thompson Grocery, Hurlbut's, The Golden Eagle, Grand Grocery, Humphrey & Brinker, among others. A salesman well-versed in restaurant techniques called on The Brown Palace and other hotels, clubs, including The Denver Club, and restaurants and well-known eating houses of the day. Among the latter were The Royal at 1641 Curtis Street, Clarke's at 1546 Curtis, the Tortoni, 1541 Arapahoe, and The Manhattan, on Larimer Street. The Manhattan, famous from coast to coast for its steaks, was

the largest restaurant coffee account in Colorado. Established in 1896, The Manhattan was owned and managed by Richard Pinhorn, a stolid, taciturn perfectionist from London. It was open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and there was no key to the front door. This eating house at 1635 Larimer Street had a counter, tables, and dining booths. The counter and tables were stacked high with sliced white and graham bread to which customers could help themselves even though the order was only a 5¢ bowl of soup. Every salad was made fresh as ordered, and the combination salad—lettuce and tomato—was served in a generous-sized bowl. No waiter ever asked a customer with a forced smile, "Is everything all right?" Mr. Pinhorn, when on duty, would personally circulate amongst the diners and see if everything was all right, and woe to the waiter who served a sloppy meal!⁵

Other large dining-room coffee users supplied for years by Morey included The Antlers Hotel, Colorado Springs, the dining cars and eating houses of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, the Brown Palace Hotel, Daniels & Fisher's Tea Room (originally on the fourth floor of the Lawrence building), then managed by Mrs. Helen Miller.

Morey's largest selling package coffee in the 1890's and early 1900's was Capitol Coffee, a three-pound pail labeled with a picture of Colorado's new state Capitol, and containing an atrocious German pattern cup and saucer or cereal dish. It was sold on a delivered-to-customer basis to any point on the territory and was priced to retail at \$1.00 for the three-pound pail. At some points, such as Telluride and Silverton, the freight rate was so high it ate up the gross profit. The cups and saucers and dishes arrived direct from Germany in enormous casks and were so skillfully packed there was rarely a broken or cracked piece. Later, encouraged by the success of Capitol Coffee, Morey marketed a one-pound pail of Capitol Tea, containing a dainty Japanese cup and saucer. This sold well. Competition soon imitated Capitol Coffee but none sold as did the original. The decline of mining, plus the introduction of the vacuum can for coffee, put the skids under this popular three-pounder. Long after its demise, however, these cups and saucers and rusty pails, too, could be found in deserted cabins in ghost towns, mute reminders of a bygone era of Colorado.

Two large outlets for roasted coffee were the United States Government, before the government-operated roasting plants

⁵ Mr. Pinhorn died May 30, 1922, and in 1924, a fountain was erected at the curb in front of The Manhattan, with funds provided by grateful citizens who had enjoyed his hospitality. This fountain was moved October 23, 1959, to the corner of Wynkoop and Seventeenth Streets, across from the Union Station. After Richard Pinhorn's death, the restaurant was run by some of the employees for a few years, but it lacked the magic touch of the master. After trusteeships and management changes, the place finally closed ignominiously on April 20, 1941. It reopened at a later date but only the name was the same. This venture closed in 1952.—W. L. M.

were established,⁶ and the Indian traders in New Mexico and Southern Colorado.

Pioneers in Radio Advertising

At a time when radio was recognized as a coming advertising medium, a group of singers was formed in 1928, known as "The Solitaire Cowboys." Their aim was to promote Solitaire Coffee sales. They became an immediate success on KOA, not only as entertainment but as a sales factor, booming Solitaire Coffee sales—in modern terms they were "an artistic and box-office success." Ball and Davidson, a Denver advertising agency, still operating in Denver, although with different owners, was at that time handling Solitaire advertising. Craig Davidson of the firm and now vice president in charge of sales of The Purex Company of California, was the genius to whom credit goes for originating the program. Mr. Davidson says, "It was in the early days of radio advertising. You may recall the battle we had with the radio officials to get permission to mention the name of the advertiser who was buying the time and putting on the show. For a time they were so adamant about permitting the mention of the advertiser that we had to resort to the subterfuge of working in 'Solitaire Kitchens' as the sponsor. Eventually, of course, this silly station policy broke down. But it was an amazing fact in the history of the development of radio broadcast sponsorship.

"This was one of the very first of the 'Westerns' or cowboy shows. It was purely a local show, but with a huge audience in the West, since KOA in those days reached from Canada to the Gulf. It was the most popular program on KOA with the single exception of Amos and Andy, according to the crude audience checks of that time. Because of this popularity, NBC put the Solitaire Cowboys on its coast-to-coast network as an unsponsored show. So it evidently was one of the first Western cowboy shows on the networks. 'Death Valley Days' came in about the same time."

The Solitaire Cowboys zoomed the sales of Solitaire Coffee and also Solitaire sales in general as other items were mentioned on the air. A shift from the tall, slip-cover-labelled can to the now universally used flat, lithographed vacuum can also boosted coffee sales.

Solitaire advertising continued, minus the Cowboys, and on May 24, 1951, the Advertising Club of Denver presented its Fame and Fortune Award to Mr. J. W. Morey, for "outstanding achievement in the building of one of Colorado's most

⁶The latter was a low-priced coffee but of large tonnage. Government issue coffee was a medium grade, good-drinking Brazilian bean and business was secured on a bid basis. Some ten years ago the government abandoned the roasting plants and today again buys coffee from commercial roasters.



successful businesses through the medium of sound merchandising, advertising, and selling of a high quality commodity."⁷

Cigars Were Ordered by the Carload

Three Morey salesmen in Denver devoted their full time to the cigar and tobacco trade, including the saloons among their buyers. Among customers were John D. Ross at Fifteenth and Lawrence, Burt Davis, 1006 Sixteenth Street, and many others. A cigar was "the smoke" early in the century, and Morey enjoyed a very large distribution throughout the territory. The 1905 Morey catalogue boasted a "perfectly constructed vault with a capacity of 3,000,000 cigars. It is equipped with every modern improvement that will assist in keeping cigars in perfect condition." At that time only two and one-half pages in the catalogue were devoted to cigarettes. Cigars had four pages; plug (chewing) tobacco, two pages; while smoking tobacco required nine pages. Among other brands, Bull Durham, now a product of the American Tobacco Company, was listed, a brand on the market today after ninety years of sales for the pipe smoker.

In Havana cigars, La Confesion, made by Benito Roviro Co., was the large seller in the 10¢ and up smokes. By far the largest selling good 5¢ cigar in the region was "Morey's Cabinet," made by W. K. Gresh & Sons, Norristown, Pennsylvania, a company now out of business. The sale was tremendous. At times cigars were delivered to Morey in full carload lots, not because the freight rate was lower, but to supply the ever-increasing demand. Such delivery was good publicity, too. It gave the salesmen something to talk about. The rate on cigars from the Atlantic Seaboard in 1900, was 2.72 per cwt. and the rate today, 6.21. The cigars were packed fifty to the box, with two hundred boxes in large wooden cases which were sealed, corded, and strapped to minimize theft in transit.

The individual cigar boxes carried photos of the Morey salesmen on the inside of the cover and originally had ten pictures, including John Fairbanks, then a salesman. In 1907, there were twenty photos; and in 1914, thirty-eight. Each year, as the sales force grew, more photos were added until the cover was pretty well filled, hence the photos became smaller and smaller. Morey reached a total of eighty-five salesmen, but this was after "Cabinets" ceased to exist—anyway, how could eighty-five photos appear on one cigar box lid? Cigar smoking reached such a low ebb that "Morey's Cabinet" was abandoned, as were many other popular brands.

⁷ Since Consolidated Foods, which bought the Morey Company in 1956, already had ample facilities for coffee roasting and kitchens for producing the other items, this division was sold in 1957, to two Texas food companies and, except in isolated cases, Solitaire coffee and many other Solitaire products have disappeared from this market. The brand has been replaced by Monarch, a very fine line of private label goods, distributed by Consolidated Foods. This line was originated by Reil-Murdock of Chicago, another company acquired by Consolidated prior to the Morey purchase.



Photographs of Salesmen Were Used on Inside of Cigar Box Lids for "Morey's Cabinet." Top: William Dobler, Fred Ruble, Charles Platfoot, J. W. Lowerre, and J. Fairbanks. Bottom: H. F. Ware, J. A. Grant, Charles Hatfield, C. W. Dix, and W. W. Harris.

The zooming popularity of cigarettes wrought havoc with cigar sales and, in a few short years, almost annihilated them from the United States market. In the last four or five years, however, cigars have staged a mild comeback, but today cigarettes are "the smoke."

Morey's cigar and tobacco department also carried snuff and, yes, snuff boxes. Eight brands of snuff were listed, Copenhagen at that time being the popular snuffer. Plug (chewing) tobacco was a tremendous seller. Pipes constituted a large volume of business, as did smoking tobacco and cigarette papers, for rolling your own.

The department carried a fine selection of pipes, including

high grade briars and meerschaums, also corncobs which sold readily at \$2.50 per gross, to retail at a nickel each.

In 1900, Denver's population was 133,859 and the city directory listed in its business section, fifty-five cigar makers. Deliveries were made by horse-drawn vehicles. Morey's catalogue listed three pages of buggy whips and horse brushes. The same city directory listed thirty-four horseshoers. Denver's population in 1960 was 489,217, yet there are no cigar makers or horseshoers listed in the 1960 business directory. There are some individual horseshoers in the yellow pages of the telephone directory, mostly in the suburbs. With the gradual decline in the cigar business, the department discontinued cigars and merged the cigarette and tobacco business with the grocery department.⁸

Selling, Importing, and Manufacturing

From a small beginning in selling tinware, cutlery, woodenware, and miners' candlesticks (now collector's items), as well as sheet metal campstoves used by miners and prospectors, the hardware department grew to be not only a favorable factor in sales and gross profits of the Morey company, but an important distributing unit in the Rocky Mountain West.⁹ It eventually carried such items as Sunbeam electrical appliances, Pyrex ware, guns and ammunition, fishing tackle, and at times, radios, refrigerators, auto tires, linoleum, and numerous other things. The campstoves were made by Goldberg whose sons are still in the metal manufacturing business in Denver, making, among other things, motion picture reels.

Morey was a large importer: cigars from Cuba, sardines and canned vegetables from France, cheese from Switzerland and Holland, coffee from Brazil, Columbia, and Mexico, and tea from the Orient. A large import item was the Crosse & Blackwell line from London, including marmalade, black currant jam, pickled walnuts, fish pastes, and other delicacies relished by the Cousin Jacks (Cornishmen) of Gilpin County as well as other Anglos. For United States sale this line is now made in Baltimore, but the imported goods invoice imposed a task in figuring costs. The bill was written in Spenserian hand and, of course, priced in pounds and pence requiring translation into dollars and cents, a simple task compared with calculating marine freight and insurance, ad valorem and, on some items, specific duty, too, glass bottle duty, net pounds duty, land freight from New York, stamp tax, customs entry fee, customs storage charges and broker's fee. Too, the costs applied to each item and size, some invoices carrying fifty separate items. Today, presumably, a punch-card machine would do the

⁸ Consolidated Foods, which purchased the Morey company, in 1956, abandoned these items entirely.

⁹ Soon after the sale of the business to Consolidated Foods, this department was closed out.

job in a matter of minutes, but then it was an all-day job for a high-type clerk.

Lipton's Tea, another import from London, arrived in carloads, as Morey was, for years, the sales agent for it in Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico. It was distributed to jobbers on arrival. After 1915, the tea was packed in New York and today Lipton has other packing plants in the United States. During the fine relationship with this product, on one of his many trips to the United States in pursuit of a yachting cup, Sir Thomas, himself, paid a visit to the Morey office. All hands stood in awe as he strode down the aisle, but he was just a hearty, friendly salesman-type of fellow. He dashed in to see Mr. J. W. Morey and later sent a signed plaque which read, "There's no fun like work." Mr. Morey displayed this in his private office until the last.

The company survived many ups and downs in sales and earnings, and some years the earnings were slim, but in its seventy-five years of corporate life the Moreys, father and son, could be proud of the record that in all those years the business was never in the red, even in the panic of the early 1890's, nor later in the panic of 1907, when script was used in business.

While primarily groceries constituted the main business, in the late 1890's C. S. Morey acquired a coffee-roasting plant and with it extract, spice, and baking powder units. This plant expanded over the years into a large factory producing in addition to those items: peanut butter, salad oil, jelly, preserves, salad dressings, gelatin dessert, maple syrup, and other items.

Unusual care was the watchword in food production, and quality was the keynote. It's an interesting commentary on the high standards set, to note that when the national pure food law was enacted in 1906, through the untiring efforts of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, not a single formula of Morey items required changing. Labels were changed to include the number assigned the company. Morey's number was 5602 and labels bore the legend, "Guaranteed under the Food and Drug Act of June 30, 1906, No. 5602." This labelling method was discontinued some years later by the F.D.A. As an illustration of the Morey quality, the government standard for pure vanilla extract called for a minimum of 10% solids of true vanilla bean in the finished product. Solitaire vanilla contained 12.5% solids. Lemon extract required a minimum of 5% lemon oil, whereas Solitaire contained 15%. These standards are in effect today, although the Food and Drug Department is conducting meetings to clarify and strengthen these standards. The Colorado State Pure Food Law followed the national law in text, and changes in the national law are adopted by state law.

Vanilla extract was produced by aging, from one year to eighteen months, top-grade vanilla beans in a solution of high test grain spirits (alcohol) and distilled water, the solution

being placed in 50-gallon oak barrels, rolled occasionally, and finished as trade demanded. The vanilla is a genus of climbing orchids and the flavor comes from the dried and cured capsule of such plants. Prime vanillas were then \$5.00 to \$7.00 per pound. As each barrel contained fifty pounds of beans, and there were usually forty to fifty of them aging in the extract department, the investment was large.

Whole spices were imported and ground fresh. In the early days pepper, black and white, was ground on a stone mill



Some Employees of Food Factory
1910

similar to the old grist mills. Other spices were ground on a high-powered steel rotary mill, built for spice-milling purposes. Some twenty spices were ground and packed in large boxes or barrels for bakery and bulk trade and in the familiar 2-ounce can for household use. Whole pepper in 1908, cost 5¢ per pound.

A large selling item added to the line in 1909, was peanut butter, a product made with roasted peanuts, from which the skin was removed, and dairy salt added, ground in a special steel burr mill. The shelled Spanish style peanut, the nut which grows underground, at that time could be bought from the grower at 5¢ to 6½¢ per pound, and peanut butter could be sold at retail for 10¢ per pound if packed in light cardboard containers known as oyster pails. This seems incredible when a one-pound jar of peanut butter today retails at 55¢ to 60¢. Some enterprising merchants installed small mills, bought roasted and blanched peanuts from Morey and ground the

peanut butter to order while the customer waited, and seemed to make a profit at 10¢ per pound. The addition of the salt lowered the cost a trifle, but when the shrinkage in roasting and blanching (some 12% to 14%) is taken into consideration, it's a wonder any profit remained.

The expansion of the factory proceeded at a rapid rate, requiring more space, so the building at Wazee and Sixteenth Street, mentioned previously, was acquired in 1907. As this property had no rail spur, a bridge was constructed across the alley, connecting the building to the Wynkoop property which did have a D. & R. G. R. R. spur. While this was some distance to truck goods from cars, it was still more economical than loading and unloading wagons or trucks and hauling around the block. Later, of course, mechanical lift trucks simplified this laborious operation.

With more floor space available, other food items were added to the manufactured line, including jelly, preserves, salad dressings, gelatin desserts, soluble drink flavors, and several smaller items. A line of soda fountain fruits and syrups was launched when the business of the R. Hardesty Manufacturing Company was acquired in 1911. These were made from the fresh fruits purchased from local growers. The fruits were packed in half-gallon jars, and the syrups, in one-gallon jugs.

From this, the step to manufacture of pure jellies and preserves was a natural. The first item was currant jelly. About 1912, Frank S. Clark, manager of the fancy grocery department, and this author obtained a two-burner gas plate, and using a recipe obtained from J. G. Duncan's sister, made the first Solitaire currant jelly. Gradually other varieties were added—plum, grape, crabapple, and mint. Tons of Sunset plums, also some gooseberries and currants, were bought from the orchard of Dr. Curtis Mogg (Cherryhurst) near Fort Collins, and from Archer T. Spring, husband of Agnes Wright Spring, now Colorado State Historian, who acquired the Mogg property in 1930. The expansion in this division was such that the jelly could not all be processed in the short growing season so the juices were pressed from the fruit and packed in hermetically sealed two-gallon jars until needed, when the sugar was added and cooking completed.

Preserves were added to the line, made from berries and fruits frozen in season, sugar added, and processed as needed. These were not the same as present-day, deep-frozen berries and fruits, as they were frozen just sufficiently to hold them until needed, although they were carried under refrigeration at 8° to 12° F. The old bugaboo that jelly could not be made with beet sugar was dispelled in the Morey plant. All jelly, preserves, and soda fountain fruits were made with Great Western sugar, a beet product.

The start of a large salad-dressing operation was made with the manufacture of mayonnaise in a small hand machine. This grew to be one of the largest selling items of the factory, including mayonnaise, salad dressing, French dressing, Russian dressing, and sandwich spread.

Honey grading and packing was another large operation. Extracted honey was purchased under contract from local apiarists, received in five-gallon square cans, and stored until needed for packing in various sized jars for the grocery trade. The acquisition of the Foster Honey & Mercantile Company of Boulder, in 1925, augmented the honey business and brought to Morey many large accounts including the individual honey for Fred Harvey serving the Santa Fe diners. Honey produced from white clover blossoms has a delicate flavor and a clear water-white appearance. This came from Utah and some parts of Wyoming. During World War I, on a bid from England, two carloads (60,000 pounds) were shipped to London, on the premise that only the finest should be sent. The shipment managed to get through but was refused because it was too pure in appearance and the buyers couldn't believe it to be honey, they being accustomed to the dark buckwheat shade in honey. After some correspondence and examination by chemists, it was acknowledged to be pure honey and a remittance was forthcoming.

Among the smaller sales volume items prepared in the factory were salted nuts, peanut brittle, maple syrup, spiced and brandied peaches, mincemeat, and at one period, bluing, ammonia, and sal soda.

In December, 1929, fifteen Morey executives formed the Solitaire Investment Company, organized to deal in Morey Mercantile Company's common and preferred stocks, as a number of employees indicated a desire to own part of the company. Since the stock was closely held it was difficult to obtain, and there was no market in case one wished to sell. Some stock was held outside of the Morey family, this having been purchased from them, and the widow of a former employee wishing to sell a block, provided a nucleus from which the Investment Company grew. Both common and preferred shares could then be provided for purchase by employees. Many employees took advantage of this as the Investment Company made arrangements to sell on installments.¹⁰

The Morey company was administered by a Board of Directors, originally six in number, then in 1920, increased to nine. On November 7, 1927, Barry Morey Sullivan, a nephew of J. W. Morey, joined the company, was elected to the Board of Directors and later was made vice president and treasurer. On April 24, 1934, John A. Ferguson, Jr., son-in-law of J. W.

¹⁰ This stock, at the time of the sale to Consolidated in 1956, was exchanged for Consolidated Foods, Inc. common stock.



Branch Managers' Meeting, Morey Mercantile Co., Jan. 11, 1947

Standing: C. B. Hiestor, Denver; A. Pousma, Denver; Homer Jones, Craig; H. T. Cruveleton, Pueblo; Don Tee-garlon, Albuquerque; Pete Stall, Durango; H. M. Leas, Laramie; Wayne Stiecke, Trinidad; P. M. Bockfinger, Denver; Ed Joyce, Scottsbluff; C. L. Paul, Grand Junction.
Seated: T. C. Stillwell, Greeley; C. J. Dawe, J. W. Morey, Wm. L. Myatt, E. M. Sullivan, J. A. Ferguson, Jr., Denver.

Morey, also became affiliated as director and secretary of the company, thus strengthening the Morey interests. Both were absent for some time, serving in World War II, but upon returning, they remained with the company.

In 1956, the Board of Directors comprised: J. W. Morey, President and General Manager; Barry Morey Sullivan, Vice President and Treasurer; John A. Ferguson, Jr., Vice President-Secretary; C. J. Dawe, Sales Manager; P. N. Bockfinger, Manager Grocery Division; C. B. Hiester, Manager Hardware Division; Katherine Morey Ferguson; W. W. Taylor, Jr., Assistant Sales Manager; and William L. Myatt, Assistant General Manager. The election of Mrs. Ferguson to the Board gave the company the value of the woman's viewpoint, so essential to the food business. With the exception of Mrs. Ferguson, all of the directors had been with the company more than twenty years. Five had fifty years' continuous service. The board members met for luncheon once a week and usually some product was tried out at these gatherings, such as a new blend of coffee, a salad dressing from the factory, or a new canned goods item. Mr. Morey was an excellent executive and had an uncanny eye for detail, and through these meetings knew what was going on in the "store." Mr. Sullivan supervised the credits and financial structure; and Mr. Ferguson, the important factory division, in addition to their duties as officers.

The Board of Directors met on July 9, 1956, and discussed arrangements regarding the sale of the company to Consolidated Foods Corporation, a national grocery company of Chicago, Illinois, home of Sprague-Warner & Co., the company from which sprang the C. S. Morey Mercantile Co., and which was one of the early acquisitions of Consolidated Foods. On October 26, 1956, the Board met again and ratified the sale of all assets, including real estate, by the exchange of Morey stock for Consolidated Foods stock.

Thus ended the corporate life of The Morey Mercantile Company. It lives on in the memory of many, many persons who were associated with it in one form or another.¹¹

Just eight days after he had sold his company, J. W. Morey passed away, among friends, at the conclusion of a football game in Boulder, Colorado, on November 3, 1956.

"The C. S. Morey Mercantile Co." is cut in enduring stone above the Sixteenth Street door, but Consolidated Foods abandoned the Morey name in August, 1960, and operates the Denver branch of Monarch Foods.

¹¹ Generally, Morey employees remained with the company many years, making the mercantile business their life work, and at the time of the sale in 1956, to Consolidated Foods, there were six men associated with the firm, each of whom had completed more than fifty years of service. Some, both men and women, have records of forty years; and many, twenty-five years. Some of these folks are with Consolidated today.

First Ladies of Colorado-- Julia Pratte Gilpin

(Governor William Gilpin, 1861-1862)

By HELEN CANNON*

On Monday evening, May 27, 1861, the Tremont House in the city of Denver was a blaze of lights, a fine band was playing and a shiny cannon belched forth its thirty-four thundering peals for the thirty-four states of the Union and one for the new Territory of Colorado whose recently appointed first governor had arrived late that afternoon by stagecoach. The *Rocky Mountain News* reminded its readers the next morning that Colonel William Gilpin was a distinguished and cultured gentleman and that "the committee of our people appointed some weeks ago should now conclude the arrangements to give the Governor a warm, sensible, hospitable and high-tone reception." It could not refrain, however, from adding a bit of gossip—"there was much persiflage about his being an eligible bachelor." And, an eligible bachelor he remained until the age of fifty-nine when he returned to Missouri in 1874, and married Julia Pratte Dickerson of St. Louis, the sweetheart of his youth.

Julia Pratte was born March 6, 1836, in St. Louis, Missouri, the daughter of Bernard Pratte, Jr. and Marie Louise Chenie. The Prattes and the Chenies were and are wealthy and prominent Creole families in St. Louis who date their ancestry back to Marie Therese Bourgeois Chouteau,¹ the wife of Pierre de Laclède Ligeste, called the Founder of St. Louis, both of whom arrived at that site on February 15, 1764, on a barge from New Orleans. Marie Louise Chenie's grandmother was Marie Louise Chouteau, and Bernard Pratte, Jr.'s grandmother was Pelagie Chouteau, both daughters of Marie Therese Bourgeois Chouteau. Thus "old Grandma Chouteau," as Marie Therese Bourgeois Chouteau was affectionately known in the founding days

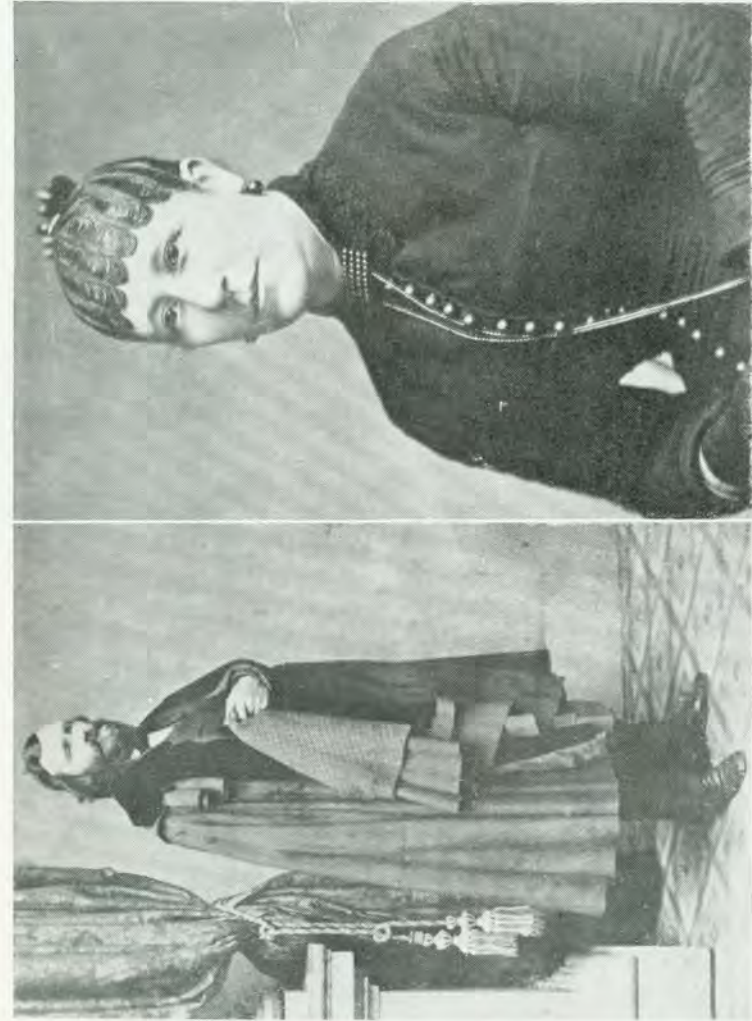
*Miss Helen Cannon, Associate Professor of Home Economics, University of Colorado, received a B.S. degree from the University of Arkansas, and an M.S. degree from Iowa State University. In making a study of the gowns worn by the wives of various Colorado governors, Miss Cannon became intensely interested in the stories of the women themselves. Especially was she intrigued when she discovered that very little had been written about many of these wives. She here presents the biography of Julia Pratte Gilpin, who, although she did not marry William Gilpin until after he was Governor of Colorado Territory, was, through the years, known as "the governor's wife." Miss Cannon is at work on a monumental task—that of preparing a biography of each first lady of Colorado, with a view to combining them into a book.—*Editor. Copyright, by Helen Cannon, 1961.*

¹ Marie Therese Bourgeois Chouteau was divorced and according to the rules of the Roman Catholic Church and French law her children bore the name Chouteau instead of Ligeste.

of St. Louis, was both paternal and maternal great-great-grandmother of Julia Pratte. And, Bernard Pratte, Jr., her father, has been described by the chroniclers of his native city as a genial gentleman of commanding presence with suave and courtly manners, prominent in the social life of early St. Louis, as well as an efficient and faithful public servant. He was elected to the General Assembly of Missouri in 1838, and served as the city's popular mayor from 1844-1846. Having amassed a personal fortune early in life, he retired from active business and political pursuits and purchased a farm in Montgomery County, Missouri, where he spent the remainder of his life devoting his time to literature and the comforts of home.

Very few facts are known about Julia Pratte's childhood and girlhood in St. Louis. One can only reconstruct what it might have been from the position of her family and the life and customs in that city from 1836-1860. J. Thomas Scharf, a voluminous and accurate historian of the period, says that during those days the old French element was still dominant and the ancestors of the first settlers had preserved in colonial isolation many of the best features of the old regime before the Revolution. It was a society of good breeding and careful training mixed with grace, courtesy, and a love of pleasure. The Chouteaus, the Chenies, the Prattes, and their relatives the Labbadies, the Gratiots, and the Papins are described as erudite and accomplished people who would have felt at ease in the gay salons of Paris. In fact, they maintained intimate commercial and social relations with France. They wore for their better clothes goods of French importation and they followed French fashion at a much shorter interval than did the people on the east coast. Their salons were beautifully and tastefully decorated in French style, and French works of art could be found in their homes as well as in their churches. A rather important and formative element in this society was the officers of the United States Army stationed at Jefferson Barracks whose commissions gave them entree into the best society everywhere.

It was in this gay and charming Creole society of old St. Louis that William Gilpin met, courted, and loved Julia Pratte. He was a friend of the family and a frequent visitor in the Bernard Pratte, Jr. home from the time of his first residence in St. Louis in 1838. He spent the winter of 1856 in the city recuperating from an illness and seeking relaxation after his strenuous military service in the Mexican and Indian wars. It was on this visit that he first met and proposed marriage to Julia who had recently returned home after completing her schooling in Saint Joseph Academy in Emmitsburg, Maryland. But Julia Pratte did not love William Gilpin, and when time came to marry she chose instead, Captain John H. Dickerson of the United States Army. They were married in St. Louis



State Historical Society of Colorado
 Mrs. William Gilpin
 This photograph of William Gilpin was given to the Historical Society by John H. Dalrymple, a great-grandson of Julia Pratte Gilpin.
 Colonel William Gilpin

Sent from
 January 12th '74.

General Bernard Pratte
 My dear General
 Your charming
 daughter, Julia, and myself have made the
 interesting discovery that we have long mutually
 and absolutely loved one another. Having
 no doubt of the entire fidelity of each to the
 other we resolve to marry.

We hope for and ask the parental
 consent and benediction of yourself and
 madame.

We have discussed together, very soberly,
 my ability and determination to take
 generous care for life, of Julia and her
 good little children; and she expresses
 herself satisfied.

It will be a great happiness to us to see

you in person, if it is agreeable to you
 to visit St. Louis. We beg and hope
 for an early and an auspicious reply.

You have resolved to see
 your early betrothed, a cordial and sincere
 wish is granted. I beg my grateful
 appreciation of this, and approve of my
 resolution now to make this agreeable
 relation complete and perpetual?
 As truly and cordially
 William Gilpin.

Governor Gilpin's Letter to General Bernard Pratte Asking Permission to Marry His Daughter, Julia. Given to the State Historical Society of Colorado by John H. Dalrymple.

on March 27, 1860, at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis Xavier. The first part of their short married life was spent in Cincinnati, Ohio, where Captain Dickerson was stationed during the Civil War years of 1861-1864. He resigned from the army on March 31, 1864, but remained in Cincinnati as a commission agent for Quartermaster supplies for the army.

According to family accounts, Julia was a strong-minded and stern woman, and her husband's resignation from the army was prompted by a number of embarrassing incidents caused by her openly acknowledged dislike for President Lincoln and her lack of sympathy for the Union cause. At the close of the war, they returned to St. Louis to live, and here John Dickerson died on March 2, 1872, in St. Vincent's Hospital of a mental illness at the age of fifty, leaving Julia in straitened financial circumstances and with the care of their four small children: Louise, born February 15, 1865; Sidney, on November 20, 1866; Julia, in September of 1868; and Elizabeth, on April 12, 1871. At the time of his illness and death, he and Julia were separated and she and the children were living in New York City. However, he was buried on the Pratte family lot in Calvary Cemetery in St. Louis.

Shortly after Julia Pratte Dickerson became a widow, former Governor Gilpin persistently renewed his courtship, earnestly assuring her of his willingness and ability to support and educate her children. Julia, convinced of his sincerity and respecting and admiring him as an intelligent, cultured gentleman and a suitable father for her children, accepted his second proposal of marriage. They were married in St. Louis on February 16, 1874,² by Bishop Patrick John Ryan of the Roman Catholic Church at the home of her uncle by marriage, United States Senator Louis Bogy, and took a honeymoon trip to Denver and California accompanied by Louise, the oldest Dickerson child and her nurse. On their return to Denver to live, Governor Gilpin purchased as a gift for Mrs. Gilpin the attractive home at 443 Champa Street (later 1743 Champa), and they sent for the other Dickerson children, Sidney, Julia, and Elizabeth. To this ready-made family were added on May 12, 1875, the Gilpin twins, William and Marie Louise (Mary or "Polly"), and on July 10, 1877, another son, Louis Vidal ("Bogy"). Another important and beloved member of the household was the children's nurse, Julia Greeley, an ex-slave who was brought to Denver along with the Dickerson children. She was called "One-Eyed Julia" because one eye had been shot out by an infuriated master. She was so loved and revered by the citizens of Denver for her many acts of charity that after her death she became known as the "Colored Angel of Charity."

At No. 443 Champa Street for the next thirteen years, the Gilpin family from all outward appearances led a happy and rather gay life. Mrs. Gilpin pursued her home and social life in the manner to which she was born and according to the accepted standards of Denver's first families. The social columns of the local papers during the years 1874-1887, contain many glowing accounts of entertainments given for Denver friends and St. Louis relatives. Mrs. Gilpin is always described as a handsome woman, beautifully gowned, with particular note of her antique jewelry. On many of these occasions she received the guests alone as Governor Gilpin's many business and intellectual interests took him East and abroad on extended stays. However, his biographers have presented him as a man with strong domestic tastes and exceedingly devoted to his children, and there is much evidence to show that he carefully directed their education. One of Mrs. Gilpin's life-long interests, almost to the point of an obsession, was her church. St. Joseph's Hospital in Denver was built on land given to the Sisters of Charity by Governor and Mrs. Gilpin. She was for many years a member of St. Mary's Cathedral Choir.

² Several often-quoted biographical sketches of Governor Gilpin give the date of his marriage as February 12, 1874. The marriage register of the Roman Catholic Church of The Basilica of St. John The Apostle and Evangelist in St. Louis, Missouri, gives the date as February 16, 1874.

But things were not what they appeared at the Gilpin home. The conflict started on the honeymoon as the divorce proceedings later revealed, and seemed to center around differences in belief on such questions as religion, politics, money management, and child-rearing. Governor Gilpin was an Anglo-Saxon, a Quaker, and a Yankee; Mrs. Gilpin was French, a Roman Catholic, and a Rebel. Governor Gilpin started the divorce proceedings on March 17, 1887, charging extravagance, alienation of the affections of his children, violent outbursts of temper, the use of harsh and offensive language, conspiracy against his life, and attempts to rob him of his property. Mrs. Gilpin filed a cross-complaint denying the charges, averring them to be the creation of a frenzied and disturbed imagination, and asking only for maintenance and the custody of the Gilpin children. Being a devout and orthodox Roman Catholic, she did not ask for a divorce. The long and tedious and unpleasant hearings were held behind closed doors. The verdict was in favor of Governor Gilpin, and the final decree issued on December 8, 1887, gave him custody of the Gilpin children. On that day he purchased a home at 1321 South Fourteenth Street, and took the children there by force with the aid of a court officer, his attorney, and the two detectives, who had been his constant companions since the start of the proceedings. Later that eve-



State Historical Society Library
Residence of Governor William Gilpin,
Denver, Colo.

ning, however, hectic things might have been at the 1321 South Fourteenth Street Gilpin residence as the Governor assumed his new role of nursemaid, everything was quiet at the 443 Champa Street Gilpin residence where Mrs. Gilpin, calm and poised, met a reporter from the *Republican*. Among other comments, she said: "I do not hate Governor Gilpin, because I do not believe that he is sane. Did I believe that he possessed all his faculties, I should certainly hate him with an awful intensity. As it is I bear him little malice."

Mrs. Gilpin later took the case to the Supreme Court of Colorado on writ of error. The case was tried in April, 1889, and the decision of the Superior Court of Denver was reversed and the cause remanded. Governor Gilpin again took his case to the Superior Court of Denver in September, 1890. This time the jury disagreed and there was a call for a new trial which was never held. Finally, on May 28, 1891, both parties signed a stipulation order that the original complaint and the cross-complaint on file be dismissed of record.

So the Gilpins were never legally divorced. The family was reunited and after 1891 the *Denver Directory* lists the family residence as No. 1321 South Fourteenth Street. The Dickerson children were now grown, married, or gone their separate ways. Governor Gilpin had according to his promise in his proposal-of-marriage letter to Julia and General Pratte taken generous care of her children. They were all educated as she wished in excellent Catholic schools. Louis spent four years at Eden Hall in Philadelphia; Sidney graduated from Notre Dame in 1885, with a distinguished record; and Julia and Elizabeth were educated in St. Mary's Academy in Denver, and after graduation given an extensive European tour. The Gilpin children were almost grown and were being educated in the Denver public schools according to their father's wishes. Marie³ was showing promising musical ability and William was developing into a handsome young man, studiously preparing for Annapolis under the careful guidance of his adoring father. Then a tragedy touched the family. On July 16, 1892, William, now seventeen, was killed by a fall in Platte Canyon.

During the next few years the Governor's mind seemed distressed over financial matters, and his time was occupied with getting the remains of his once large fortune in better shape for the benefit of his family. On the evening of January 19, 1894, Marie and her father played a game of backgammon. The next morning at seven o'clock, Mrs. Gilpin found that the Governor had died in his sleep. After his death, Mrs. Gilpin spent most of her time with the children though she called Denver her home. The home at 1321 South Fourteenth Street

³ Marie Gilpin later did some acting in a touring stock company and married an English actor, John Dodson, in 1907. She died October 24, 1960, and is buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery, Montclair, New Jersey.

was sold in December, 1900, and after that date when Mrs. Gilpin was in Denver she occupied temporary residences.

Julia Pratte Gilpin died at the age of seventy-six in St. Louis, on December 21, 1912, after a year's illness at the home of her daughter, Julia Dickerson (Mrs. Lee Allen). Also with their mother at the time of her death were Louise Dickerson (Mrs. Frank Sherwin), Elizabeth Dickerson (Mrs. Otis B. Spencer, later Mrs. Edward B. Southworth, Jr.), Sidney Dickerson, Marie Gilpin (Mrs. E. J. Dodson), and Louis Gilpin. It was Marie Gilpin who brought her mother back to Denver for burial. High Mass was sung at the Immaculate Conception Cathedral, and she was buried on December 24, 1912, in Mount Olivet Cemetery alongside Governor Gilpin⁴ and their son William. There are no descendants of Colorado's first territorial governor. As already noted, the oldest son, William, was killed in his youth; Louis, the second son, was a bachelor; and Marie Gilpin Dodson had no children.

⁴The marker on Governor Gilpin's grave gives the date of his death as January 20, 1893. This is an error. He died January 20, 1894. The record in the office of the cemetery is correct.

The "Bloodless Third" Regiment, Colorado Volunteer Cavalry

By RAYMOND G. CAREY*

The engagement at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864, has been, for nearly a century, the subject of more acrimonious dispute than of sober study. The controversy has centered so persistently on the superlative or the satanic qualities of Colonel John M. Chivington that other critical elements have been largely ignored. That has been the fate of the 3rd Colorado Volunteer Cavalry—the regiment of one-hundred-day volunteers whose attitudes and behavior may have been decisive in the bloody encounter at Sand Creek.

That regiment was created to meet a desperate need after all other remedies had been denied. When the storm of Indian attacks burst upon the trails, settlements, and ranches along the South Platte and Arkansas Rivers, and their tributaries in the late spring of 1864, the meager and scattered military forces in Colorado Territory were unequal to the tasks of defense. That dangerous condition had been foreseen and feared. Throughout the preceding year, Governor John Evans and Colonel John M. Chivington, Commander of the Military District of Colorado, had bombarded the Secretary of War, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Commander of the Military Department with warnings of the gathering storm and with urgent requests for stronger defenses for the Territory. However, viewed from Washington through the smoke of the Civil War, Colorado's troubles doubtless appeared distant and relatively inconsequential.

Far from any effective forces being sent to the Territory in response to the Governor's appeals, the four remaining companies of the 2nd and 3rd Colorado Infantry left behind in the Territory were moved to Missouri in late 1863. There the two regiments were consolidated in the 2nd Colorado Cavalry, which was then put to work fighting guerillas along the Kansas Missouri border. In May (1864), when the Indian depredations began in earnest, Governor Evans pleaded with Major General S. E. Curtis, Commander of the Department of Kansas and Colonel Chivington's immediate superior: "In the name of humanity, I ask that our troops now on the border of Kansas . . . may not be taken away from us just at the time of

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our greatest need."¹ But the 2nd Colorado was not returned. Instead, McLain's Independent Battery was shortly ordered to Fort Leavenworth, and, during the following, bloody, summer months, four companies of the 1st Colorado Cavalry were moved to Forts Larned and Zarah in Kansas.² Equally frustrated were the Governor's efforts to strengthen his weak and poorly-equipped militia by getting it mustered into Federal service. General Curtis was unhelpful; the War Department was uninterested.³

In mid-June, 1864, after the people of Denver had stared in horror at the mutilated bodies of the Hungate family, when the mail and supply trains arrived with growing infrequency, and prices of commodities mounted, the desperate Governor began appealing to the Secretary of War for authority to raise a regiment of volunteers for one-hundred days of service.⁴ For two months, Washington was silent, while Colorado was torn by bitter controversy over the statehood issue, shocked by continued massacres, practically isolated from the States by repeated attacks along the supply routes, and disheartened by the small response to Governor Evans' efforts to isolate friendly Indians from the hostile bands. In early August, the ravages of Reynolds' guerillas along the upper Arkansas filled the beleaguered Territory's cup of woe. After firing at Washington more requests for the hundred-days regiment,⁵ the hard-pressed Governor, on August 10 and 11, called upon all citizens of the Territory to organize in defense of their homes and families, "to go in pursuit of the hostiles, to kill and destroy them wherever found; and to capture and hold to their private use all the [Indian] property they can take."⁶

Those frantic appeals had just been published when the War Department finally found its voice and authorized the enlistment of a regiment of *infantry* for a hundred days of service. A remarkably restrained message from Evans pointed out the uselessness of infantry in pursuing and fighting mounted Indians, and won the War Department's telegraphed concession that the regiment might be cavalry or infantry.⁷

The Governor swung into action on August 13. An Execu-

¹ U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1902), Series 1, Vol. XXXIV, Part IV, Page 99 (hereafter cited as *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XXXIV, Pt. 4, 99).

² *Ibid.*, 595; XLI, Pt. 2, 981, 984.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, Pt. 2, 531; Pt. 4, 353; Colorado State Archives and Record Service, Records of the Office of the Governor: John Evans, 1862-1865. *Indian Affairs, Letter Press Book, 1863-64* (hereafter cited as: Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1863-64"), Evans to Stanton, Dec. 14, 1863, June 14, 1864; Evans to Curtis, June 16, 1864 (Atrs. Nos. 115, 248, 256).

⁴ *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XXXIV, Pt. 4, 381, 421-23; Evans to Stanton and H. P. Bennett, June 14, 24, Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1863-64" (Atrs. Nos. 256, 277).

⁵ Evans to Dole and Stanton, Aug. 9, 10, Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1863-64" (teleg. Nos. 351, 354); *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 2, 644.

⁶ *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver) (hereafter cited as *DRMN*), Aug. 11, 12; *Central City Daily Miners' Register* (hereafter: *Central City Register*), Aug. 12, 13, 1864.

⁷ *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 2, 695; *DRMN*, Aug. 12, 13; Evans to Fry, Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1863-64" (teleg. No. 371).

tive Proclamation announced authorization of the mounted regiment and called upon "all who can do so [to] enlist at once." The Governor's appeal continued:

Let him who would oppose a barrier in the way of our defenses against the most horrid danger, be scouted as unworthy of citizenship among a brave and patriotic people. . . . Let this regiment be filled at once and in cooperation with the large force from the States asked for, pursue, kill, and destroy all hostile Indians that infest the plains, for thus only can we secure a permanent and lasting peace.⁸

On that day, the Governor commissioned the first five of the nearly thirty recruiting officers who would be appointed during a two-week period,⁹ and dispatched a flurry of letters to militia officers and other citizens asking for recommendations of desirable recruiters and for estimates of the numbers of probable enlistments in their communities.¹⁰ Likewise, two major newspapers gave immediate and loyal support. The *Rocky Mountain News* of that day carried the Governor's Proclamation, a rousing editorial urging enlistments, a call of Captain T. G. Cree for a special meeting of the Governor's Guards (a militia unit) that evening, and an appeal for enlistments in the company of which the Governor's Guards would be the base. Likewise, the *Central City Daily Miners' Register* backed the Proclamation with a spirited editorial and announced a meeting at the Montana theatre that afternoon "where Hal Sayr [later spelled Sayre] and others authorized to raise companies" would be present.

Ovando J. Hollister and Frank Hall, editors and proprietors of the *Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal*, bitter opponents of the Statehood movement and gadflies of the "charlatans in power"—"Granny" Evans, "Elder" Chivington, and the rest of the "Methodist ranters"—waited two days before giving rather frosty support to the cause.¹¹ "We recommend the 100-day service . . . as an expedient," their readers were informed; but the editors considered that "something further must be done . . . as the Territorial authorities confess their inability to do anything." However, the ice was broken, and, thereafter, the *Journal* (without modifying by one whit its vitriolic contributions to the statehood controversy) carried almost daily reports of the progress of recruiting in Black Hawk, Nevada (Nevadaville), Central City, and Denver, and, on August 20, a remarkable editorial. "The prospect not only of absolute cessation of business, but also of utter starvation" made the hundred-day regiment absolutely necessary for restoring and

⁸ *DRMN*, Aug. 13, 1864.

⁹ "Records of Commissions, Colorado Volunteers, 1861-65" (MS in Adjutant General's Office, Colorado Military Department), Vol. 8, 180-81.

¹⁰ Evans to Shelden, Autabee, Teller, Aug. 13, Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1863-64" (Atrs. Nos. 357, 364, 370).

¹¹ *Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal* (hereafter: *Black Hawk Journal*) Aug. 15. That issue also announced that most of the *Journal* printers had enlisted and that "the supply of paper in Colorado is quite exhausted." For sometime, the *Journal* and *Rocky Mountain News* printed on varieties of paper, were little larger than handbills.

protecting communications "until troops, which are already moving out from the States, can arrive," the editors stated, with groundless optimism. The demands imposed by the crisis must have paramount consideration. The editorial continued: "We do not like to see men holding back from political suspicions or petty local jealousies. We are all Americans, Coloradians, whether State or anti-State, whether living in Gilpin,

ATTENTION! INDIAN FIGHTERS

Having been authorized by the Governor to raise a
Company of 100 day

U. S. VOL CAVALRY!

For immediate service against hostile Indians. I call upon all who wish to engage in such service to call at my office and enroll their names immediately.

Pay and Rations the same as other U. S.
Volunteer Cavalry.

Parties furnishing their own horses will receive 40c per day, and rations for the same, while in the service.

The Company will also be entitled to all horses and other plunder taken from the Indians.

Office first door East of Recorder's Office.

HAL SAYR.

Central City, Aug. 13, '64.

Arapahoe, or Clear Creek." The appeal continued: "Let everyone exert himself to fill up this regiment immediately, and a general enrollment of all able-bodied men may yet be avoided."

The possibility of such a general registration became a reality only in Arapahoe County, which included Denver. Although Cree's Denver company, Hal Sayr's in Central City, and D. H. Nichol's in Boulder (each with the nucleus of a militia unit) were rapidly filled, enlistments were sluggish in Denver—and that major center of population would have to contribute a considerable proportion of the 1,200 men needed for a full regiment of cavalry. Recruiting activities were varied and energetic, in spite of the unusually oppressive heat. Colonel Chivington, Territorial Secretary S. H. Elbert, and other dignitaries addressed mass meetings. Recruiting offices were opened by Captain S. M. Logan ("the Soldier Blacksmith"), veteran of the 1st Colorado and the battle of Glorieta Pass; by Martin Wall, of the Provost Marshal's force; by Alfred Sayre, erstwhile miner and rising Denver lawyer; even by the prominent gambler, Ed Chase, and by Joseph A. Foy, proprietor of the Diana Saloon. The *Rocky Mountain News* beat its editorial drums daily to encourage enlistments and satirized the "cowardly chaps around town" who were "heavy on the talk," but shied away from signing up because "one has a sick wife and another has a wife that is likely to get sick at any moment."¹²

Finally, the authorities decided to give Denver what the *Rocky Mountain News* had advocated early in August: "a touch of military law . . . something that would yank those fellows out of their holes and off their front steps."¹³ On August 17, Colonel Chivington declared Arapahoe County under martial law, severely restricted the operation of businesses, and ordered the District Provost Marshal to conduct an enrollment of all able-bodied males in some type of military service.¹⁴

After a few days under that regime, marked by "excitement, enlistment, preparations, home-guard entrenchments, closed stores, crowded streets and hotels, hourly reports and rumors,"¹⁵ the *Rocky Mountain News* reported:

Denver is thoroughly military in every respect. Every able-bodied citizen over 16 years is enrolled. Those who have not gone into the Hundred Day service or enrolled themselves in the volunteer militia companies are gobbled [sic] up by the provost guard. The Hundred Day men are rapidly preparing for the field, and fatigue parties of the militia men are employed in the construction of defenses around the city. Business is suspended except for two hours each day—from eleven to one—and nearly all work has ceased.¹⁶

A week later, Chivington announced that, since the enroll-

¹² *DRMN*, Aug. 16, 1864.

¹³ Editorial: "Fall In! or Dry Up," *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1864.

¹⁴ Headquarters, Military District of Colorado, General Order No. 10, Special Order No. 68, Aug. 17, 1864. Record Group 98, National Archives (microfilm) Colorado State Archives); *DRMN*, Aug. 23, 1864.

¹⁵ *DRMN*, Aug. 22, 1864.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1864.

ment had been completed, all business could be resumed to 4:00 P.M. He ordered all organized independent and militia companies to drill three times weekly, while awaiting further orders.¹⁷

During the week of registration, recruiting for the hundred-day regiment was carried on with vigor—how vigorously may be inferred from the prompt discharge of five recruits who had been “forced to enlist under threats from the Provost Guard.”¹⁸ Three more Denver companies (C, E, and F) were filled by the end of August and marched out to Camp Evans, north of Denver, to join Cree’s, Sayr’s, and Nichols’ companies (A, B, and D). Shortly thereafter, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported: “Camp Evans, a couple of miles down the Platte, is about the liveliest spot in Colorado. There must be six or seven hundred ‘bold sojer boys’ at present in its tented streets, awaiting orders, arms and equine equipments to start on the savage war path.”¹⁹

Six hundred “sojer boys” were, however, only half a regiment, and time dragged before the other half was encamped. On September 12, Company G arrived from Pueblo and Colorado City and was “mustered in the Servis of the U. S. army,” as Private John Wolfe noted in his diary.²⁰ Five days later, Companies H, I, and K, formed by consolidation of groups recruited largely in Gilpin, Clear Creek, Lake and Summit Counties, were completed. Shortly thereafter, Company L (Gilpin County’s third company) and the composite Company M were sworn in,²¹ and Governor Evans informed Secretary Stanton in mid-September, with approximate accuracy, that the regiment was full.²² On October 7, the *Rocky Mountain News* stated that “the regiment now numbers eleven hundred men, rank and file.” The muster-out rolls carry 1,149 names.

Although a full cavalry regiment of 1,200 men had not exactly leapt to arms upon publication of the Governor’s proclamation of August 13, it was no small feat for the thinly-populated Territory, which had previously put two regiments in the field, to produce a third. Some communities and businesses immediately felt the shortage of labor. The junior partner of the Central City *Daily Miners’ Register*, George A. Wells, and three of the “printer boys” enlisted; and it was reported that numerous companies in Central City were “compelled to suspend labor on account of lack of help.”²³ The enlistment

¹⁷ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S. O. No. 72, Aug. 24, 1864; *DRMN*, Aug. 24, 1864.

¹⁸ Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S. O. No. 4, Aug. 22, 1864, “Records Third Colorado Cavalry” (MS in Adj. Gen. Office, Colo. Mil. Dept.), 6.

¹⁹ *DRMN*, Sept. 5, 1864.

²⁰ “John Wolfe’s Diary” (MS in the Pioneers’ Museum, Colorado Springs).
²¹ “Transcript of Records of the Colorado Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion,” 111-76 and “Muster-out Rolls, Civil War Volunteers,” Vol. O, pp. 8-76 (MSS in Adj. Gen. Office, Colo. Mil. Dept.); Hdqtrs. 3rd. Col. Cav., S. O. Nos. 20, 22, 23, Sept. 12, 16, 17, 1864, “Records, Third Colorado Cavalry,” 19-23.

²² Evans to Stanton, Sept. 19, Evans, “Letter Press Book, 1864-64” (teleg. No. 406).

²³ Central City *Register*, Aug. 18, Sept. 1, 1864.

of John L. Dailey, W. N. Byers’ partner, and a dozen printers left the *Rocky Mountain News* exceedingly short handed; some of the men were promptly ordered to report to Byers on temporary duty “for military printing.”²⁴ Company D was ordered, before marching to Denver, to “render all assistance possible to farmers” near Boulder in harvesting their crops.²⁵

The payment of bounties apparently had little part in the raising of the regiment. Although Captain S. M. Logan’s recruiting advertisement of August 15 announced that enlistees would “receive all Pay and Bounties which are allowed by the United States to similar Regiments now being formed in the States,”²⁶ the advertisement failed to note that, under the Enrollment Act of July 4, 1864, Federal bounties were paid only to recruits who enlisted for at least one year.²⁷ Bounties had been paid in Colorado only when, as in the spring of 1863, public-spirited individuals and business firms had contributed to a bounty-fund to stimulate enlistments in the 3rd Colorado Infantry.²⁸ No indications of a public subscription to provide bounties for Denver recruits of the hundred-day regiment have been found. The question was raised in Central City; but the *Miners’ Register* was lukewarm, expressed greater confidence in “those who go because duty and patriotism demand it . . . than in those who refuse to go without a reward beforehand,” and the suggestion of a popular subscription appears to have come to nothing.²⁹ The citizens of Nevada (Nevadaville) were reported, however, as having “raised over twelve hundred dollars to be divided among those who shall enlist in the Hundred Day regiment.”³⁰

Under such conditions, Colorado was saved from a local performance of the “carnival of corruption” that so generally characterized recruitment for the Union forces throughout most of the Civil War.³¹ But as a unit of volunteers, recruited in a frontier area for a brief period of service, the hundred-day regiment was vulnerable to the fatal weaknesses that had rendered similar units so ineffectual in the “improvised war” back East in 1861 and 1862. A primary problem was that of securing officers who could and would lead, train, and discipline men. Equally critical were the characters, attitudes, and military abilities of the non-commissioned officers and privates

²⁴ Order of Provost Marshal, Aug. 22, “Records of Company A” (MS in Adj. Gen. Office, Colo. Mil. Dept.), 29; Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S. O. Nos. 74, 75 (Aug. 26, 27); Robert L. Perkin, *The First Hundred Years* (Garden City; Doubleday, 1959), 266.

²⁵ Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S. O. No. 1, Aug. 19, “Records—Third Colorado Cavalry,” 3.

²⁶ *DRMN*, Aug. 15, 1864.

²⁷ U. S. Statutes at Large, XIII, 371; O. R., Ser. 3, V, 798-99.

²⁸ John H. Nankivell, *History of the Military Organizations of the State of Colorado, 1860-1935* (Denver: W. H. Kistler Co., 1935), 21, n. 3. This refers to the Third Regiment of Colorado Infantry Volunteers, which was consolidated with the Second Regiment and designated the 2nd Regiment of Colorado Cavalry Volunteers—Editor.

²⁹ Central City *Register*, Aug. 17, 19, 1864.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1864.

³¹ Fred A. Shannon, “The Mercenary Factor,” *Organization and Administration of the Union Army* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1928), 11, 49-59.

—and many of them, in this instance, were men whom the hard school of frontier existence had taught pronounced independence, self-reliance, brutality, and rowdiness. Perennial problems of arming, mounting, and equipping a military force were accentuated in Colorado by the great distances between Denver and the sources of supply, and the insecurity of supply routes.

Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington must be credited with serious effort to secure as many officers as possible who had had some sort of military experience.³² They succeeded in supplying twenty-three such officers, or one-half of the necessary forty-six, for the regimental staff and company commands. Four of them had fought, or have been credited with fighting, in the war with Mexico: Major S. M. Logan,³³ Captain D. H. Nichols (Company D),³⁴ Captain Presley Talbot (Company M),³⁵ Lieutenant A. J. Templeton (Company G).³⁶ Three had seen action in the Civil War until discharged because of ill health: Captain T. G. Cree³⁷ and Lieutenant C. L. Cass³⁸ (Company A), Lieutenant (later Captain) J. A. Foy³⁹ (Company F). Twelve had been captains, lieutenants, non-commissioned officers, or privates in the 1st and 2nd Colorado Infantry or Cavalry, or in McLain's Independent Battery;⁴⁰ Colonel George L. Shoup (later Governor of Idaho and U. S. Senator), Majors W. F. Wilder and S. M. Logan (both veterans of the battle of Glorieta Pass), Assistant Surgeon C. P. Yates, Lieutenant J. T. Boyd (regimental commissary), Captain W. H. Morgan (Company C), Captain Jay J. Johnson (Company E), Captain T. E. McDonald (Company H), Lieutenants J. F. Wymond and Martin Wall (Company C), and Lieutenants S. H. Gilson and Obed Edson (Company E). Seven, at least, had been officers in the militia of Colorado Territory:⁴¹ Major Hal Sayr; Captain Cree, Lieutenants Cass and Sopris (Company A); Captain Harper M. Orahoad (Company B); and Lieutenants A. J. Pennock and L. H. Dickson (Company D). About half of those individuals were appointed as recruiting officers by Governor Evans between August 13 and August

³² The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of a number of his students in locating information about some of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in newspapers, histories, and biographical compendia of the region.

³³ *RMN*, Aug. 9, 1883 (obit.); Frank Hall (ed.), *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Blakely Co., 1889), IV, 506.

³⁴ *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1880), 668-69.

³⁵ Statement of Alvah G. Talbot (son) in interview with Mrs. Laura Allyn Ekstrom and J. L. Frazier, March 17, 1961 (tape-recording, State Historical Society of Colorado); *Central City Register*, Aug. 19, 1864.

³⁶ Andrew J. Templeton, "Life and Reminiscences" (MS in the Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs) 1.

³⁷ T. G. Cree, Service Record; Pension appl. 226,896, certf. 149,241 (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l Arch.).

³⁸ C. L. Cass, Service Record; Pension appl. i.154-880, certf. 1,091,026 (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l Arch.).

³⁹ J. A. Foy, Service Record; Pension appl. 854,491, certf. 620,526 (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l Arch.); *Elkhart (Indiana) Truth*, Aug. 12, 1910 (obit.).

⁴⁰ Service verified, in all cases, by Service Records and, in most cases, by Pension applications and certificates (Record Grp. 94, National Archives).

⁴¹ For Sayr, Orahoad, Pennock, and Dickson, see Nankivell, *Military Organizations of Colorado*, 445-46; for Cree, Cass, Sopris, *DRMN*, Aug. 2, 1864.

30,⁴² and owed their commissions, in part at least, to their effectiveness in that capacity.

A few of the other officers had reputations as vigorous fighters. John MacCannon⁴³ (Captain, Company I) had known vicious encounters with "slave-staters" in "Bleeding Kansas" in the late 1850's. In Colorado, he was a successful miner in California Gulch, an influential politician in Lake County, and the crack-shot leader of the vigilantes (George L. Shoup among them) who pursued the Espinosa gang in late 1863. His 2nd Lieutenant, Henry H. Hewitt,⁴⁴ Lake County miner, druggist, Deputy U. S. Marshal, and Deputy Provost Marshal, was the bane of horse-thieves, deserters, and bushwackers. Among those who knew the horrors of Indian raids through personal and recent experience, was Swain J. Graham⁴⁵ (1st Lieutenant, Company G), keeper of a mail station at Spring Bottom in the Arkansas valley.

Some of the other recruiters who became company officers were of the traditional type: men of some prominence and drawing-power in their communities. Oliver H. P. Baxter⁴⁶ (Captain, Company G) was an important landholder and political figure in Pueblo County. Adam L. Shock⁴⁷ (Captain, Company K) was a miner and fairly effective recruiter in Summit County; and J. Freeman Phillips⁴⁸ (Captain, Company L), a miner, and most energetic recruiter in Gilpin County. Ed Chase,⁴⁹ one of Denver's leading gamblers, doubtless owed his recruiting commission and his titular captaincy of Company F (Lieutenant Joseph A. Foy was functional commander for weeks before Chase resigned and Foy was made Captain) to his opportunities and presumed capacities for making friends and influencing males of military age. Mariano Autabee⁵⁰ (2nd Lieutenant, Company H), son of Charles Autabee—trapper, trader, and rancher on the lower Huerfano—brought fifteen Mexicans of dubious military quality into Company H.

Politics (of some variety or other) probably reared its ugly head in more instances than can be clearly discerned in the inadequate records. Why David H. Moffat, Jr., who did no recruiting, was commissioned Captain on August 20, and resigned in early September, why Alfred Sayre and Henry D. Williams, both effective recruiters, resigned their captain-

⁴² "Transcripts of Records of Commissions," Vol. S, 180-81.

⁴³ Service Record and Pension Application, June 23, 1891 (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l Arch.); *Leadville Herald-Democrat*, Nov. 14, 1903 (obit.).

⁴⁴ *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin, 1881), 345-46.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 863-64.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 782-83.

⁴⁷ Service Record and pension applications of widow (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l Arch.); *Summit County Journal*, July 1, 1899 (obit.).

⁴⁸ Hall, *History of Colorado*, IV, 545.

⁴⁹ *The Trail*, XIV (Oct. 1921), 32 (obit.); Forbes Parkhill, *The Wildest of the West* (Denver: Sage Books, 1957), 64-69.

⁵⁰ "Muster-out Rolls, Civil War Volunteers," Vol. O, p. 58; Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. No. 22, Sept. 16, 1864.

cies after about a month, are subjects for conjecture.⁵¹ Possibly Leavitt L. Bowen, Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, had qualifications that were of greater pertinence than his reputed legal ability and his position as alderman for the First Ward on Denver's City Council. But those qualifications, whatever their nature, appear to have been thoroughly diluted by copious amounts of alcohol.⁵² In one instance, the bitter statehood issue may have influenced the selection of officers, although the fact cannot be conclusively established. In mid-September, when incomplete companies were combined to form full companies, Dr. T. D. Worrall of Central City—a most energetic recruiter, but one of the leaders of the anti-State movement (which triumphed in the election of September 13)—was squeezed out. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported, with unconcealed satisfaction, on September 19:

Capt. MacCannon is now in command of the company formed from the men recruited by himself and those recruited by Capt. Worrall of Central. At a company election on Saturday, Mr. MacCannon was chosen Captain, and Mr. Davis and Dr. Hewitt, Lieutenants. This makes Capt. Worrall again Doctor Worrall.

If officers were elected by the other companies—and the records are generally unhelpful on this point—local popularity might account for some of the junior officers who apparently had seen no previous military service and had not earned their billets by enlisting recruits. For example, we can only wonder what qualifications Harry Richmond (2nd Lieutenant, Company B) had, aside from his popularity as an actor in Langrishe and Dougherty's theatrical company.⁵³

The qualifications of the regimental medical staff, which doubtless reflected the scarcity of trained physicians on the frontier, left much to be desired. Sidney B. Morrison⁵⁴ had had experience in lumbering, mercantile business, farming, stock-raising, and quartz-milling; since, however, he had a brother who was a graduate of Rush Medical College, it may have been assumed, or hoped, that the Regimental Surgeon had acquired adequate medical skill—by association. The first Assistant Surgeon, Christopher P. Yates, had at least been a non-commissioned Hospital Steward in the 1st Colorado Cavalry. Caleb S. Burdsal,⁵⁵ second Assistant Surgeon (appointed in place of a regimental chaplain), a persistent experimenter in methods of ore reduction since his arrival in Colorado in 1859, had previously been a wholesale druggist in Cincinnati. No clues have been found to the specific qualifications of Sergeant

⁵¹ "Records of Commissions, Colorado Volunteers, 1861-65," Vol. 8, 193, 198, 201.

⁵² *History of the Arkansas Valley*, 771-72; "Editorial Notes," *The Colorado Magazine*, XX (May, 1943), 120.

⁵³ William M. Breakenridge, *Heldorado* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 22. Breakenridge, a private in Company B, recalled that the men of the company elected their officers.

⁵⁴ *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin Co., 1880), 519-20.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 323.

Thaddeus P. Bell⁵⁶ (Company M), "miner," detailed as Acting Assistant Surgeon on the eve of Sand Creek, or of Private Thomas Wanless⁵⁷ (Bugler, Company G), who was assigned the duties of Veterinary Surgeon. That only seven men of the regiment died from illness, as compared with (possibly) nine killed in action, when the Union armies lost five men from disease for every two battle casualties,⁵⁸ probably emphasizes the hardiness of the frontier-toughened men rather than the skill of the medical staff.

In the rapid improvisation of a military force on the frontier, there could be no more certainty than there had been in the States that a man with some previous military or militia experience, or with some capabilities in business, farming, mining, or recruiting would be an able and conscientious officer. The authorities could only use what materials were at hand, and hope for the best.

The fact that a great majority of non-commissioned officers and privates of the hundred-day regiment are, at the present time, merely names that defy identification, gives point to Wharton's statement in 1866, that "recruiting for the service against Indians absorbed most of the floating population of the city [Denver] and country."⁵⁹ An incomplete study of the personnel of the regiment, now in process, indicates that the more stable and permanent elements of the population contributed a larger proportion of men to the first company recruited in Denver (A), the Boulder company (D), and to Company G (El Paso and Pueblo Counties), and even to Company B, the first Gilpin County company, than to the other Denver companies and those recruited later in the mining counties. Fairly substantial numbers of the non-commissioned officers and privates of those four companies (especially A, D, and G) continued to live in Colorado after 1864 as "solid citizens," to engage in agriculture, business, politics, and other community activities, and, in numerous instances, to attain considerable prominence. Only a few men from the other companies raised in Denver and in the mountain counties have been similarly identified.

Some correlation between the relative stability or instability of the men in their communities and the incident of desertion appears to be evident—although it must be recognized that many factors doubtless affected morale. However, Captain Nichols' Company D (Boulder) and Captain Baxter's Company G (Pueblo and El Paso Counties) had no desertions. Captain Cree's Company A and Captain Morgan's Company C,

⁵⁶ Hdqrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. No. 62, Nov. 25, 1864.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, S.O. No. 32, Oct. 3, 1864.

⁵⁸ *O.R.*, Ser. 3, V, 664-68; Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-65* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957) (reprint of edition of 1900), 47-48.

⁵⁹ J. E. Wharton, *History of the City of Denver* (Denver: Byers and Dailey, 1866), 155.

the first and second units raised in Denver, had one and two desertions, respectively. In contrast, Captain Johnson's Company E (the third Denver company) had eight deserters, and Captain Ed Chase's Company F, probably filled largely with recruits swept up in Denver's gambling halls and saloons, set the record with sixteen desertions. Again, Company B, the first Gilpin County unit recruited, lost only two men by desertion, but Companies H and L, recruited later, had eleven and eight deserters, respectively; while Company M lost four deserters, all Gilpin County recruits. On the other hand, the dynamic Captain MacCannon's Company I from Lake County, and Captain Shock's Company K from Summit County, both composed largely of miners, had only one deserter each.⁶⁰ The total of fifty-four desertions was unquestionably serious; however, that loss of about 4.7 per cent fell considerably short of the estimated 6.25 per cent of loss by desertion from all volunteer regiments in the Union armies.⁶¹ On the other hand, the hundred-days men, in comparison with the one-year, two-year, and three-year volunteers, had limited time in which to desert, and did so at a relatively faster rate.

Vocational listings which are available for the personnel of nine of the twelve companies⁶² indicate that the regiment represented a fair cross-section of the population of a frontier community that was engaged largely with agriculture, mining, business, and freighting. In those nine companies that included slightly more than eight hundred men, there were 279 farmers, 235 miners, 51 laborers, 38 clerks, 33 teamsters and freighters, 23 carpenters, 21 mechanics and engineers, 21 printers, 17 merchants, 15 blacksmiths, 7 stone cutters and masons, and small numbers of bakers, brewers, millers, painters, plasterers, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, saddlers, wagon makers and similar craftsmen and tradesmen. The professions and arts contributed a small handful—two lawyers, one dubious "M.D.," one teacher, one architect, one artist, one actor. The vocational designations were undoubtedly applied loosely and must be accepted with great reserve. A "farmer" was more likely than not a farmhand or herder, rather than a landowner; few businessmen of any prominence were to be found among the "merchants"; some of the "clerks" may well have been bartenders or carddealers, for two known gamblers were listed as "speculator" and "silver maker."

Whether the somewhat more stable farmers and tradesmen from the beleaguered valleys and settlements of the plains were any more determined to defend their stakes in their communities and were any more or any less blood-thirsty in

⁶⁰ "Mustering-out Rolls, Civil War Volunteers," Vol. O, pp. 8-76.

⁶¹ *O.R.*, Ser. 3, V, 668-69; Ella Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War* (N. Y.: Century Co., 1928), 149, 151-154, 226.

⁶² "Transcript of Records of the Colorado Volunteers" (Adj. Gen. Office, Colo. Mil. Dept.), 111-176.

their attitudes toward the Indian than were the more foot-loose miners from the less vulnerable mountain counties, cannot be determined, in view of the paucity of revealing personal records. But there was little in the bombardment of publicity during the months of recruitment that would have encouraged any man to distinguish between "friendly" and "hostile" Indians, as Governor Evans had in his proclamations of August 10 and 11. The newspapers, in addition to recording bloody massacres near and far, urged on enlistments with highly belligerent appeals. A characteristic editorial, "Carthago Delenda Est," appeared in the Black Hawk *Daily Mining Journal* on August 30: "If there be one idea that should become an axiom in American politics it is THAT THE RED MAN SHOULD BE DESTROYED. His existence is a curse to himself and to us. . . ." It is unlikely that the exhortations delivered in the "camp meeting" atmosphere of the recruiting mass-meetings were less restrained. The prevailing attitude was reflected by an eastern visitor, Nathaniel P. Hill, professor of chemistry at Brown University, who wrote from Denver to his wife in Rhode Island on August 11:

There is no sentimentality here on the frontier respecting Indians. Cooper and Longfellow are regarded with disgust. Indians are all the same, a treacherous and villanous set. I would rejoice, as would every man in Colorado, to see them exterminated.⁶³

Another theme that ran through the recruiting publicity was that the campaign against the Indians would be short, effective, and, in fact, a rather jaunty excursion. On August 14, the Central City *Register* exuded optimism: "There is scarce doubt but that . . . we shall be enabled to drive the Indians from our plains and restore communications in a few days." On August 23, the Black Hawk *Journal* was confident that the regiment would be "full and ready for service in ten days," and offered an inviting prospect to recruits: "Those who would like a most delightful little 'out', learn something new, and stand a good show for a bit of a fight, should turn in their names immediately." Days passed and enlistments lagged, but the Central City *Register* was still hopeful on September 11: "The 3rd Colorado will be ready to march in a day or two, when Mr. Indian will have to get up and skedaddle."

Although recruits had been assured, as early as August 13, that "there will be no lying around in camp, but sharp, active work . . ." ⁶⁴ the time-honored military condition of "hurry up and wait" prevailed at Camp Evans for weeks. The slow arrival of recruits, the shortage of arms and horses, meant dreary waiting and unrealistic drill. The delayed grouping of batches of recruits into companies, the confused shuffling and re-

⁶³ "Nathaniel P. Hill Inspects Colorado: Letters Written in 1864." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXIV (Jan., 1957), 35-36.

⁶⁴ Central City *Register*, Aug. 13, 1864.

shuffling of officers, doubtless affected discipline badly in that rendezvous of restless frontiersmen. Majors Wilder and Logan, who successively commanded the growing regiment and Camp Evans until Colonel Shoup took charge on September 21, found it necessary to provide a sizeable detail to guard the Denver jail, and to issue rigorous orders to prevent even the officers, as well as the men, from leaving and staying away from camp without authorized permission, to protect horses from abuse and neglect, to prevent horse-racing and unauthorized discharge of firearms in camp.⁶⁵ Even so, Denver was subjected



Colonel George L. Shoup
Commander

to plagues of "jayhawking" and riotous drunkenness that were reminiscent of the predatory and boisterous activities of the 1st Colorado Regiment three years before. Although the *Rocky Mountain News*, on September 5, complimented the "hundred-daysters" as a "splendid set of men, whose demeanor and discipline thus far exceeds any similar body of 'raw recruits' that one can find . . ." it complained, two days later, that "the pet lambs [1st Colorado Regiment], after their return from Apache Pass, were not a circumstance to some few of our 'mounted infantry' at present around town."

The necessity of relieving the pressure on Denver and of giving settlements and stage stations along the Arkansas,

Fountain, and South Platte the benefit of whatever protection largely unmounted companies could provide, led to the deployment of six companies in early September.⁶⁶ Captain Cree's Company A moved to Camp Cass on the Fountain, with a detachment under 2nd Lieutenant Eldridge B. Sopris stationed across the Arkansas from Pueblo.⁶⁷ Baxter's Company G marched to Denver to be sworn in and outfitted, after a fashion, with uniforms and ancient muskets, and then footed it back to Camp Baxter, east of Pueblo.⁶⁸ Company B, partially mounted,

⁶⁵ Hdqtrs. 3rd Colo. Cav., S.O. No. 8 (Aug. 27), No. 10 (Aug. 29), No. 11 (Sept. 1).

⁶⁶ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 76 (Aug. 29), No. 78 (Aug. 31), No. 83 (Sept. 7); Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. No. 18 (Sept. 10), "Records, Third Colorado Cavalry," 16.

⁶⁷ "Journal of John L. Dailey, 1864" (MS in Western History Department, Denver Public Library), entries Sept. 2-15.

⁶⁸ Wolfe, "Diary," entries "Monday [September] 12" to "Thursday [September] 29."

took its station at old Fort Lupton, which was filled with families gathered there for protection.⁶⁹ Companies C, F, and D were transported in wagons to Latham,⁷⁰ Junction Station, and Valley Station, respectively, farther down the Platte.

By early October, when the shuffling of commands was finally completed,⁷¹ Major Logan was at Valley Station, supervising the disposition of detachments along the Overland Stage route from Valley Station eastward toward Julesburg; Major Sayr was in over-all command of the forces between Camp Evans and Junction Station;⁷² Lieutenant Colonel Bowen was officially, but unsteadily,⁷³ supervising the companies on the Fountain and upper Arkansas. Major Wilder was in charge at Camp Evans where six companies were restlessly congregated, while Colonel Shoup was busily engaged in supporting Governor Evans' and Colonel Chivington's efforts to secure arms, supplies, and horses. That month, from mid-September to mid-October, was a depressing period of endless waiting. During that period, Major Edward Wynkoop brought a group of Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs from Fort Lyon to Camp Weld for a council with Evans and Chivington, and a mutiny almost broke out at Camp Evans, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported (September 29), when the rumor got around that a treaty had been made and there would be no fighting.

It was probably during that period of "phony war" that annoyed Denverites began calling the 3rd Colorado the "Bloodless Third."⁷⁴

The regiment was inactive because it was not equipped to fight. Lack of adequate arms, horses, and supplies of almost every sort, dominates the history of the 3rd Colorado Cavalry. The sorry story cannot be recounted in full detail until the day comes when the District and Regiment Ordnance and Quartermaster records may finally be resurrected in the National Archives. However, some insight into the state of affairs can be gained from the incomplete records that are available.

Sky-blue uniforms of the U. S. Cavalry were issued to some, and possibly all, of the personnel of the regiment. However inadequate they might be as protection against the bitter

⁶⁹ "Major Hal Sayr's Diary of the Sand Creek Campaign," Lynn I. Perriero (ed.), *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (March, 1938), 49-50 (hereafter cited as "Hal Sayr's Diary").

⁷⁰ Frank A. Root and W. E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka: Root and Connelley, 1901), 333-42; description by Root (mail agent at Latham) of the gathering of ranch families and stage coach passengers at Latham for protection and the relief afforded by arrival of Captain Morgan and Company C. See also, F. A. Root, "Early Days in Weld County," *The Trail*, VI (Dec. 1913), 7-13.

⁷¹ Hdqtrs. Colo. Mil. Dist., S.O. 93 (Sept. 22), 95 (Sept. 26); Colonel Geo. L. Shoup, deposition, *Report of the Secretary of War, communicating . . . the evidence taken . . . by a military commission ordered to inquire into the Sand Creek Massacre . . .* (Senate Executive Document, No. 26, 39th Congress, 2nd session), 175. (Hereafter cited as *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 26*).

⁷² "Hal Sayr's Diary," *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (Mar., 1938), 50 (entries Sept. 23-Oct. 6).

⁷³ Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Sept. 28, Oct. 1, 3, 5, 19; Albert B. Sanford, "How Prospectors of '59 Lived," *The Trail*, XVIII (Dec., 1925), 17.

⁷⁴ *DRMN*, Dec. 13, 1864; *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 1, 957.

weather that awaited the "hundred-daysters," the outfits were splendid enough, when issued, to make "the boys put on ares."⁷⁵ Stocks of other necessities were soon exhausted, and on August 26, with only five companies mustered in, Chivington ordered Captain Loudon Mullen, Acting Quartermaster, to purchase blankets and camp equipment in the open market.⁷⁶ On September 1, because of the "exhaustion of stores and funds of the Quartermaster Department," Captain Mullen was ordered to proceed immediately to Fort Leavenworth to acquire supplies and facilitate their shipment to Denver.⁷⁷ The difficulties of supply were compounded a week later, when a building at Camp Weld which housed the District's quartermaster and commissary stores was destroyed by fire.⁷⁸

The regiment was armed, largely, with antiquated Austrian and Belgian muzzle-loaders—the worst of the European trash which the War Department had acquired in amazing quantities, and the most detested by the Union troops upon which they had been inflicted—and with old-model Harper's Ferry muskets. It was a struggle to obtain even enough of those rejects of the armies of the East. The Ordnance Department of the District was poorly stocked in mid-August,⁷⁹ but had enough Austrian and Belgian antiques to arm two of the first companies organized (B and D).⁸⁰ About August 30, an ordnance train arrived; others were later reported on the road and presumably got through.⁸¹ Some .54 calibre ammunition and a few weapons were scabbled from Forts Garland and Lyon,⁸² and Evans and Chivington attempted (with unknown results) to get authorization to take supplies from an ordnance train, bound for New Mexico, but stalled at Fort Lyon by the loss of its mules to the Indians.⁸³ However, enough weapons of some sort were apparently secured to arm most of the men of the regiment by late September.⁸⁴ Although a few Sharps' and Starr's carbines were secured at some time, most of the men used their ancient weapons throughout their period of service.

Some understanding of the armament of the regiment can be gleaned from the testimony of Lt. C. C. Hawley, Acting Ordnance Officer on February 24, 1864, before the Military Commission.⁸⁵ He stated that he issued to the regiment 772 (.54 calibre) rifles and 58 Starr's carbines, presumably the .54

⁷⁵ Wolfe, "Diary," entry for "Saturday [September] 17"; *DRMN*, Sept. 17, 1864.

⁷⁶ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 74, Aug. 26, 1864.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, S.O. No. 79, Sept. 1, 1864.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, S.O. No. 85, Sept. 10, 1864.

⁷⁹ Evans to Curtis, Aug. 11, 1864; *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 2, 661.

⁸⁰ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 70, Aug. 20, 1864.

⁸¹ Central City Register, Sept. 1; Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 98, Sept. 30, 1864.

⁸² Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 77, Aug. 30, 1864; Chivington to Wynkoop, Oct. 16; *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 4, 23.

⁸³ Evans to Stanton, Sept. 19, Evans, "Letter Press Book, 1864" (teleg. No. 406); Chivington to Curtis, Sept. 19; *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 3, 261.

⁸⁴ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. Nos. 79, 78, 81, 82, 84, 89, 90, 92-92, Aug. 20 to Sept. 24, 1864.

⁸⁵ *Senate Exec. Doc.* Nov. 26, 34-38.

calibre, breech-loading, percussion model.⁸⁶ The 772 rifles included the Austrian and Belgian relics and whatever number of "Mississippi Rifles" (Harper's Ferry Percussion Rifle, 1841 model) were provided the regiment.⁸⁷ Hawley also issued 224 Harper's Ferry muskets (.69 calibre) which, at best, would have been the U. S. Percussion Musket, Model 1842, but could have been flintlocks of the 1835 model, converted into percussion-type weapons.⁸⁸ He also stated that he issued 16 muskets (.71 calibre), 28 Sharp's carbines (calibre unstated), 5 Colt's repeating rifles (.44 calibre), 2 Colt's army revolvers (.44 calibre), 29 Starr's revolvers (which could have been either .44 or .36 calibre) and 72 Whitney revolvers (presumably the .36 calibre Navy percussion model).⁸⁹ The regiment's armament was rounded out by the issue of two mountain howitzers to Captain Morgan's Company C.

It is instructive to note that Lieutenant Hawley testified that, out of 65,000 cartridges (.54 calibre) issued, 64,000 were expended, and out of 9,000 cartridges (.69 calibre) issued, 8,000 were expended. Those figures, if accurate, indicate that for each of the .54 calibre weapons only about eighty cartridges were available, and only forty cartridges were issued for each .69 calibre weapon. Those facts may explain why training in the regiment apparently involved so little target practice, and also why eight hundred pounds of lead, eight kegs of powder, and fifteen quires of cartridge paper were used up by the regiment. Lieutenant Hawley stated that the regiment expended 11,000 cartridges (.58 calibre); since no weapons of that calibre were issued, those cartridges may have been remoulded to fit the weapons which the men had in hand.

Although excellent discipline and good arms are essential to any effective military force, a cavalry unit must also have horses—preferably good ones. When Ovando J. Hollister, that salty editor and old campaigner, expressed his opinion on September 22, that "the hundred days will pass and little be accomplished" because "equipments are as hard to raise as the wind,"⁹⁰ he touched on distressingly hard fact. Enough horses, of whatever quality, to mount anywhere near all of the men and haul its supply trains, were never obtained by the 3rd Colorado. For months, Governor Evans had fruitlessly urged the War Department to relieve the severe shortage of military supplies and equipment in Colorado, and immediately after the regiment was authorized, he appealed to Secretary

⁸⁶ Arcaði Gluckman, *United States Muskets, Rifles and Carbines* (Buffalo: Otto Ulbrich Co., 1948), 400-401, 424-25. Hawley's testimony about the Starr's carbines was confusing in that he stated 58 weapons were issued, 169 were returned.

⁸⁷ "Mississippi Rifles" were specified in Hdqtrs. 3rd. Col. Cav. S.O. No. 60, Nov. 22, 1864, "Records, Third Colorado Cavalry," 51. See: Gluckman, *Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines*, 215.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-62, 167-69, 221.

⁸⁹ Arcaði Gluckman, *United States Martial Pistols and Revolvers* (Buffalo: Otto Ulbrich Co., 1939), 173-83, 201-2, 209-10.

⁹⁰ Black Hawk Register, Sept. 24, 1864.

Stanton to order the purchase locally of horses and "horse equipments."⁹¹ Even after the constricting red tape of army regulations and procedures had been cut through, and local purchase of those necessities became legally possible, few enough serviceable horses and practically no saddles could be obtained from local sources.

How great the deficiency of horses was, can be gathered from Colonel Shoup's deposition submitted to the Military Commission early in 1865. When he assumed command on September 21, Shoup stated, the regiment of about 1,040 men had between 350 and 400 horses and subsequently received about 400 more.⁹² Since a fair number of those had to be used for hauling supplies, it is not surprising that Shoup estimated that only between 550 and 600 men of the regiment actually participated in the Sand Creek engagement⁹³—numbers which, incidentally, compared favorably with the average regimental strength, "present for duty," at the major battles fought by the Union Army.⁹⁴ The quality of many of the horses supplied the 3rd Colorado, as well as the timing of their distribution in some instances, left much to be desired. Company G received its mounts ("awful mean ones," wrote John Wolfe) one day before it joined the regiment and set out for Sand Creek. Irving Howbert, of the same company, later described the mounts as "a motley-looking group composed of every kind of equine animal from pony to plowhorse." He drew a "raw-boned, squarely-built, old plowhorse," upon which he spent "many uncomfortable hours."⁹⁵ William M. Breakenridge, a young telegraph operator from Central City, was luckier: he was detailed to carry mail and dispatches, had his pick of the horses assigned Company B, and considered himself "the best-mounted soldier in the regiment."⁹⁶

Saddles and other "horse equipments" posed an even greater problem than horses, since few saddles could be purchased, and few were manufactured, locally. Governor Evans' appeal to Secretary Stanton on August 22, emphasized that saddles would have to be supplied from a distance of seven hundred miles, and Chivington followed with an urgent request to General Curtis that horse-equipments, as well as ordnance, be hurried along.⁹⁷ A few days later, Private Herman Wagner, a shoemaker, was ordered to duty in a Denver tannery to help replenish the exhausted supply of harness leather.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Evans to Stanton, Aug. 22; Halleck to Evans, Aug. 23, *O.R.* Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 2, 809, 828.

⁹² *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 26*, 175; see also testimony of Captain Cyrus L. Gorton, Asst. Quartermaster, regarding number and quality of horses; *ibid.*, 160-61.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 176; Chivington estimated that only 450 men of the 3rd Colorado Cavalry participated; *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 1, 949.

⁹⁴ Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, 68.

⁹⁵ Irving Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike's Peak Region* (N. Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 120.

⁹⁶ Breakenridge, *Helldorado*, 24-29.

⁹⁷ *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 2, 809, 946.

⁹⁸ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 81, Rept. 3, 1864.

Colonel Shoup informed the Military Commission that there were only two hundred horse-equipments in the regiment on September 21, and Lieutenant Hawley testified that he issued a total of 527 saddles and curb-bridles to the regiment.⁹⁹

That the lack of saddles and other equestrian equipment was chiefly responsible for the inactivity of the regiment between mid-September and mid-October is demonstrated by the fact that, within two days after 250 saddles and bridles arrived on October 15, Chivington ordered Shoup to move all mounted companies into rendezvous, preparatory to action in the field.¹⁰⁰

The scanty records yield little information about the activities of most of the companies during that month of weary waiting. Under the demanding pressure of Ben Holladay, who was getting his Overland Stage Line into operation again, Chivington ordered the troops stationed along that route to be especially vigilant and to "kill all Indians you come across," and Captain Nichols and forty men of Company D at Valley Station had the unique distinction, during that month, of engaging a band of Indians and killing ten of them.¹⁰¹ Captain Morgan's Company C at Latham expended some of its energies in building an adobe corral for its horses,¹⁰² and at Fort Lupton, Private Zalmon Rouse of Company B was killed "while forcing the guard."¹⁰³

Thanks to the diaries of Sergeant John L. Dailey of Company A and of Private John Wolfe of Company G, much more is to be known about the two units stationed on the Arkansas during that month: Lieutenant Sopris' detachment at Pueblo and Captain Baxter's Company G at Camp Baxter. Dailey's account forces the conclusion that the month could have produced little development in Sopris' detachment as a disciplined fighting force, except as the Denver printers and clerks became hardened to the saddle. Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, who had "oversight" of the forces on the Arkansas and Fountain, was so consistently in his cups that Dailey made special note, on October 3, that "Col. Bowen was sober all day yesterday." Second Lieutenant Obed Edson of Company E, in command of Bowen's fourteen man escort, steadfastly continued his rake's progress toward dishonorable discharge by the Adjutant General on November 26, for "disobedience of orders, drunkenness, dishonesty, and utter worthlessness as an officer."¹⁰⁴ Lieutenant Sopris was a gay blade who spent much of his time visiting the ladies of the neighborhood and taking them on

⁹⁹ *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 26*, pp. 35, 178.

¹⁰⁰ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. Nos. 105, 108, 109, October 11-17, 1864; *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 26*, p. 178.

¹⁰¹ *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 1, 883; Pt. 3, 799, 876-77; *DRMN*, Oct. 10, 1864.

¹⁰² Captain William H. Morgan, Service Record (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l. Arch.), Letter to Col. Shoup (?), Oct. 10, 1864.

¹⁰³ "Muster-out Rolls, Civil War Volunteers," Book O, p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Second Lieutenant Obed Edson, Service Record (Record Grp. 94, Nat'l. Arch.): dishonorable discharge by Adjutant-General S.O. 419, 26 Nov. 1864.

cross-country expeditions under the protection of a sergeant and six men.

Taking the cue from such officers and gentlemen, the non-coms and privates wandered off on unauthorized jaunts to Zan Hicklin's ranch on the Greenhorn, and broke out of camp to attend fandangoes, to "indulge to excess in the ardent" in Pueblo, Fountain City and elsewhere, and return late, noisy, and "considerably mellow." On September 28, with no apparent authorization except, possibly, from Colonel Bowen, Lieutenant Sopris set out with his detachment on a three weeks' jaunt, via Fort Garland, to Conejos where Governor Evans and Indian Agent Lafayette Head held a council with the Utes. Shortly after the detachment took up its station at Pueblo, several of the men took jobs with farmers in the neighborhood, until some bristling orders came down through the line of command and stopped such extra-curricular activities. Henceforth no more than four officers and men could be absent from any camp or post at any time, and drill was required twice daily at all stations.¹⁰⁵

Prior to receipt of those orders, Dailey mentioned no drills in Sopris' camp, and only occasional drill once a day thereafter. John Wolfe's record indicated a generally tauter regime at Camp Baxter, with more frequent drill and, on one day, target practice. Wood-hauling, hay-cutting, beef-butchering, and guarding mail coaches, kept some of the men occupied some of the time, but the oppressive boredom of inactive camp life is reflected in both diaries. Relief was sought in letter-writing, reading *Harper's Weekly* and newspapers, visiting with travelers, singing and dancing around the campfire, rough horseplay, a fight now and then, cardplaying, and an occasional game of ball. Life was doubtless brightened at Camp Baxter on October 10, when, as Wolfe recorded the event, "some of Fountain girls came heare with straw on a grape excursion"; on the following day, "we got . . . lot of wine and the girls staid in the camp," and left for home the next morning. Neither diary contains any reference whatsoever to religious services, except Wolfe's statement that "sum of the boys went to church," when Company G was in Denver in mid-September.

Both diaries indicate continual efforts in both camps to relieve and augment the monotonous fare provided by the official ration of bread (orhardtack), meat, beans, rice (or hominy), vinegar, and coffee. Almost daily expeditions, authorized or not, went to find plums, grapes, currants, melons, squash, corn, and milk; to catch or club fish; and to hunt rabbits and antelope. The erratic and inadequate supply of rations from Denver roused "any amount of growling" in both camps, and Sopris' detachment vented its spleen by petitioning that the

¹⁰⁵ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 96, Sept. 28, 1864; Hdqtrs. 3rd Colo. Cav., S.O. No. 29, Sept. 28, 1864.

Quartermaster and Commissary Sergeants at Camp Cass be cashiered.

Whether conditions in those isolated units on the Arkansas were better or worse than in the other companies, cannot be established. Furthermore, the records are too scanty to determine whether any of the other officers in the regiment were as irresponsible as Lieutenant Sopris, as deplorable as Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, or as reprehensible as Lieutenant Obed Edson.

With the arrival of the long-awaited saddles at Denver on October 15, the regiment came to life. Within forty-eight hours, Company B from Fort Lupton and six companies (E, H, I, K, L, M) from Denver, were moving—on horseback, on foot, and in wagons—toward the great bowl of the Bijou Basin, some seventy miles southeast of Denver.¹⁰⁶ On the 26th, Company A topped the sharp Divide and dropped down into the Basin, past the Holden ranchhouse, in the first snowstorm of the season.¹⁰⁷ Colonel Shoup had already dispatched a party of scouts eastward to the headwaters of the Republican to look for Indians,¹⁰⁸ had started Captain Shock (Company K) and fifty unmounted men in wagons northward across the prairie to relieve Captain Nichols and his mounted Company D at Valley Station, and had also ordered Captain Phillips and his unmounted Company L to go by wagon to replace a detachment of Company H of the 1st Colorado Cavalry at Living Springs and Lieutenant Foy and the mounted part of Company F at Junction Station.¹⁰⁹ A large consignment of rations was ordered from Denver, and a detail was dispatched to escort an ordnance train to the Basin.¹¹⁰

Notwithstanding such evidences of forthcoming action, morale in the Bijou encampment (Camp Elbert) was exceedingly low. Numerous men took off for Denver without leave; some were apprehended and brought back, but eleven men of Company H and one of Company M (all from Central City) apparently made good their escape with their horses and equipment. Colonel Shoup issued rigorous orders in the effort to protect ranchers of the Basin from theft and "jayhawking," and to prevent sentinels leaving their posts. Dailey noted that "a general bad feeling seemed to prevail," and he heard "any amount of 'growling' about treatment of the regiment at headquarters" and "plenty of the old mutinous talk."¹¹¹

Then the storms came. Heavy snow began falling during the night of October 29-30, continued for almost three days,

¹⁰⁶ "Hal Sayr's Diary," *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (March, 1938), 50-51.

¹⁰⁷ Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Oct. 22-26, 1864.

¹⁰⁸ Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., Camp Elbert, S.O. No. 42, Oct. 22, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ Hdqtrs. Mil. Dist. Colo., S.O. No. 109, Oct. 17; Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. Nos. 44, 45, Oct. 24, 25, 1864.

¹¹⁰ Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. Nos. 42, 47, Oct. 22, 27, 1864.

¹¹¹ Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Oct. 22-29; Hdqtrs. 3rd Col. Cav., S.O. No. 43, Oct. 23, 1864; "Muster-out Rolls, Civil War Volunteers," Book O, pp. 58-76.

and left Camp Elbert under two feet of snow. The intense cold caused "great suffering among stock and even men" and roused "almost a universal howl of discontent among the men."¹¹² The storm caught John Wolfe with a detachment some five miles below Camp Baxter and with little food at hand.



Raymond G. Carey, Jr.
Bijou Basin Where Two Feet of Snow Made Camp Life Miserable

His entry for November 2, summarized neatly the activities and attitudes of his detachment: "this is a cold morning som of the boys went a hunting kill antelope and som rabbits cold as hel grub is scarce boys is mad cursin and hollowin and playing cards."

After the storm abated, a deserter was returned to Camp Elbert with both feet badly frozen, and one of Lieutenant Autabee's Mexican soldiers was buried with "nothing but a handkerchief tied over his face."¹¹³ During the brief interval of moderate weather, Colonel Shoup hurried down the Platte to get Companies C, D, and F moving toward Denver, and ordered that all horses be shod, issued full rations of grain, and prepared for active duty. Then another terrific blizzard struck on November 7. The horses at Camp Elbert had to be herded on the wooded hillsides of the Basin for protection,¹¹⁴ while Wolfe's group on the Arkansas continued to "grout," hunt antelope, play poker; and moved into a house for shelter.¹¹⁵ When that storm slackened, preparations "for a move"

¹¹² Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Oct. 29-Nov. 1; "Hal Sayr's Diary," *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (March, 1938), 52.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53; Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Nov. 7-8.

¹¹⁵ Wolfe, "Diary," entries for Nov. 7-10.

were resumed at Camp Elbert in an atmosphere heavy with "uneasy feeling and discontent."¹¹⁶

Finally, orders were received, and on Monday, November 14, Companies A, B, E, I, and M started on the move from the Bijou encampment to the Arkansas. Major Sayr, who was in command at Camp Elbert at the time, wrote in his diary:

After a vast am't of work got Reg't started, leaving in camp two loads of Commissary stores—All the Q. M. stores—the sick & Hospital Stores and Company "H"—also part of Co "Bs" tents for want of transportation—Marched 12 miles through snow about one foot deep—which in many places had drifted into gulches to unknown depths & into which the horses and riders would go nearly out of sight—Camped on Squirrel Creek, snow abt 2 feet deep & very cold—troops camped about 7 P. M.—Transportation commenced coming in about two hours later and continued coming all night. A number of animals died and some few abandoned.

That was the story for the following three days and nights, with the men tearing down fences for firewood and raiding ranchers' haystacks to make the bitter nights endurable for themselves and their mounts, with the hard-pressed teamsters and their exhausted horses (daily reduced in numbers) catching up with the companies late at night, then shuttling back to bring forward Company H, the sick, and the supplies left in the Bijou Basin. Finally, on the 18th, after a night devoted, by a number of men, to drunken brawling with Mexicans in Pueblo, the column reached "Boon's" Ranch.¹¹⁷

Within the next two or three days, Colonel Shoup arrived, followed by Companies C and D, the mounted part of Company F, and a detachment of Company H of the 1st Colorado Cavalry. On the 23rd, Company G, mounted on its fearful and wonderful assortment of horses, which had been assigned the day before, came down from Camp Baxter to join the "ridgment." That evening, Colonel Chivington arrived, held an inspection in the gathering darkness, and took command—"which gives pretty general dissatisfaction," Sayr noted. The combined forces were composed of Companies A, B, C, D, E, H, I and parts of Companies F, K, and M of the hundred-day regiment, and a battalion of about 125 men made up of detachments from Companies C, E, and H of the 1st Colorado Cavalry.¹¹⁸

On the following day, the column set out, down the Arkansas, on the march that brought the hundred-days men to the Indian encampment in the bend of the Big Sandy five dawns later. In those closing moments of their existence as the "Bloodless Third," it may be doubted that many of them were any more seasoned soldiers, responsive to discipline and

¹¹⁶ Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Nov. 10-13.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, entries for Nov. 14-18; "Major Hal Sayr's Diary," *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (March, 1938), 53-54.

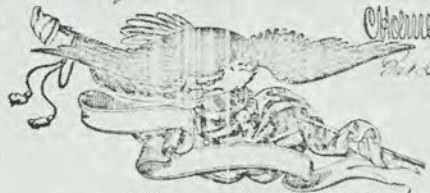
¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54; Dailey, "Journal, 1864," entries for Nov. 20-23; Wolfe's "Diary," entries for Nov. 22-23; Shoup's account: *Senate Exec. Doc.*, No. 26, pp. 175-76; Chivington's account: *O.R.*, Ser. 1, XLI, Pt. 1, 948.

command, than they had been when they enlisted. They were more likely still frontier farmers and miners, clerks and blacksmiths, congealed in filthy and shoddy uniforms, galled and aching from the long night's ride on their nondescript horses. Instead of "sharp, active work" on a "delightful little 'out,'" they had endured weeks of deadening inactivity, meaningless drill, insufficient and tiresome food, the misery of blizzards

*From full form Sept. 21 to Dec. 29, 1864 = 174.39
 25.73
 98.66*

Product for...

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN



Know ye, That *Damecare W. Ruth* ^{is}
Sergeant of Captain *Thomas E. McDevall's*
 Company, (7th) Third Regiment of Colorado Cavalry, one hundred day
 volunteers who was enrolled on the *fifth* day of *September*
 one thousand eight hundred and sixty four, to serve for the period of one
 hundred days, is hereby **Discharged** from the service of the United States,
 this *29* day of *December*, 1864, at Denver, Col-
 orado Territory by reason of expiration of term of service.
 (No objection to his being re-enlisted is known to exist.)
 Said *Damecare W. Ruth* was born in
 the State of *Ohio* *York* is *twenty seven* years of age
five feet *seven* inches high, *light* complexion, *green* eyes,
dark hair, and by occupation, when enrolled, a *farmer*
 Given at Denver, Colorado Territory, this *29* day of
December 1864.

Thos. McDonald
 Captain Co. 7th
 3rd Col. Cav

SD* This sentence will be erased should there be anything in the conduct or physical condition of the soldier warranting him unfit for the Army

1 A. G. No. 101

Jas. Anderson
 Captain Co. Cavalry
 Adjt. Com. Muster

on the plains, the distress of illness in makeshift camp hospitals. They had known the enraging frustration of utter dependence on a defective organization, of subjection to officers who, at best, were helpless in the web of circumstances. During the weeks that lay behind them, one man had been blinded, one had become insane, two had been killed, at least seven had died of disease, fifty-four had deserted.

But unkempt, resentful, miserable as they doubtless were, they were men of the conquering race, caught up in the pitiless march of empire. The Indian was, to most of them, nothing but a murderous animal who mutilated his victims atrociously, as many of them had seen with their own eyes, or subjected his white captives to unspeakable horrors, as all of them had heard. There, before them, were the first Indians that most of the men had encountered since they enlisted for the purpose of destroying the despised race, and their hundred days were nearly gone. So, the men of the "Bloodless Third" exploded on the encampment "like so many wild fellows,"¹¹⁹ and in their bloody onslaught, lightened their long-borne burdens of frustration, resentment, misery, and blind hatred.

In the bitter aftermath, Colonel John M. Chivington, as commanding officer, was accused of all manner of atrocious crimes, and was destroyed as a public figure and, practically, as a human being. Doubtless the most critical, and most controversial, questions still remain: whether or not the Indians at Sand Creek were "friendly" or "hostile," whether or not they had assurance of immunity from responsible authorities. But once Chivington's decision had been made and the "Bloodless Third" had been led to the encampment, it may be soberly doubted that the blood-letting at Sand Creek would have been appreciably different, no matter who was in command.

**OFFICERS OF THIRD REGIMENT,
 COLORADO CAVALRY VOLUNTEERS***

Field and Staff

George L. Shoup, Colonel (date of commission: September 21, 1864)
 Leavitt L. Bowen, Lieutenant Colonel (August 27, 1864)
 William F. Wilder, First Major (August 17, 1864)
 Hal Sayr, Second Major (September 17, 1864)
 Samuel M. Logan, Third Major (September 21, 1864)
 Sidney B. Morrison, Surgeon (August 25, 1864)
 Christopher P. Yates, 1st Assistant Surgeon (August 29, 1864)
 Caleb S. Burdsal (1), 2nd Assistant Surgeon (August 27, 1864)
 Samuel I. Lorah, 1st Lieutenant, Adjutant (September 23, 1864)
vice Jay J. Johnson, promoted Captain, Company E.
 D. Perry Elliott, 1st Lieutenant, Quartermaster (August 20, 1864)
 Joseph T. Boyd, 1st Lieutenant, Commissary of Subsistence (September 17, 1864)
vice Harper M. Orahood, promoted Captain, Company B.
 Regimental Chaplain: not appointed.

¹¹⁹ Templeton, "Life and Reminiscences," 6.

*Records of Commissions, Colorado Volunteers, 1861-65" (MS in Adj. Gen. Office, Colo. Mil. Dept.), Book S, 190-205.

Company A

Theodore G. Cree, Captain (August 19, 1864)
 Charles L. Cass, 1st Lieutenant (August 19, 1864)
 Eldridge B. Sopris, 2nd Lieutenant (August 19, 1864)

Company B

Hal Sayr, Captain (August 19, promoted to Major, September 17, 1864)
 Harper M. Oranhood, Captain (September 17, 1864)
vice Sayr.
 Charles H. Hawley, 1st Lieutenant (August 19, 1864)
 Harry Richmond, 2nd Lieutenant (August 19, 1864)

Company C

William H. Morgan, Captain (August 24, 1864)
 Martin Wall, 1st Lieutenant (August 24, 1864)
 John F. Wymond, 2nd Lieutenant (August 24, 1864)

Company D

David H. Nichols, Captain (August 25, 1864)
 Andrew J. Pennock, 1st Lieutenant (August 25, 1864)
 Lewis H. Dickson, 2nd Lieutenant (August 25, 1864)

Company E

Alfred Sayre, Captain (August 25, resigned September 23, 1864)
 Jay J. Johnson, Captain (September 23, 1864)
vice Sayre.
 Samuel H. Gilson, 1st Lieutenant (August 25, 1864)
 Obed Edson, 2nd Lieutenant (August 25, dismissed November 26, 1864)
 Edwin L. Parker, 2nd Lieutenant (December 16, 1864)
vice Edson.

Company F

Edward Chase, Captain (August 26, 1864)
honorably discharged November 29.
 Joseph A. Foy, 1st Lieutenant (August 26, 1864)
 Captain, December 16, *vice Chase.*
 Charles Haines, 2nd Lieutenant (August 26, 1864)
 1st Lieutenant, December 16, *vice Foy.*
 John L. Dailey, 2nd Lieutenant (December 16, 1864)
vice Haines.

Company G

Oliver H. P. Baxter, Captain (September 12, 1864)
 Swain J. Graham, 1st Lieutenant (September 12, 1864)
 Andrew J. Templeton, 2nd Lieutenant (September 12, 1864)

Company H

Henry D. Williams, Captain (September 17, resigned October 11, 1864)
 Thomas E. McDonald, Captain (October 11, 1864)
vice Williams.
 Thomas E. McDonald, 1st Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)
 Mariano Autabee(s), 2nd Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)

Company I

John MacCannon (McCannon), Captain (September 17, 1864)
 Thomas J. Davis, 1st Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)
 Henry H. Hewitt, 2nd Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)

Company K

Adam L. Shock, Captain (September 17, 1864)
 William E. Grinnell, 1st Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)
 William R. Newkirk, 2nd Lieutenant (September 17, 1864)

Company L

J. Freeman Phillips, Captain (September 19, 1864)
 Oliver M. Albro, 1st Lieutenant (September 19, 1864)
 Maxwell D. Baslinger (Balsinger?), 2nd Lieutenant (September 19, 1864)

Company M

Presley Talbot, Captain (September 19, 1864)
 Frank DeLamar, 1st Lieutenant (September 19, 1864)
 Thomas Peck, 2nd Lieutenant (September 19, 1864)

Quartermastering For The 2nd Colorado Volunteers

C. C. & G. E. Clothing, Camp & Garrison Equipage

By CHARLOTTE A. BARBOUR*

George West was a New Englander, born in Claremont, New Hampshire, November 6, 1826. As a boy he discovered that the most fascinating place for a youngster was the office of the town newspaper, so he became a "printer's devil."

He spent some years in Boston with the *Boston Transcript*, but the news of fabulous riches to be found in the Pikes Peak region led him to Auraria (Denver) in June, 1859. He established a connection with William N. Byers of *The Rocky Mountain News* and their friendship became lifelong.

West and others soon decided that Golden City was the location they were looking for. In the spring of 1860, West went back to Boston and invested his capital in new printing equipment to be shipped to Golden. His first venture there, the *Western Mountaineer*, was discouraging, so he sold his presses to a newspaper in the boom town of Canon City.

In 1862, George West was commissioned a captain in Colonel J. H. Leavenworth's 2nd Regiment, Colorado Volunteer Infantry. The following article deals with his military role from 1862-1865.

In September, 1863, he married Eliza Boyd. The young bride was at his side for the rest of the Civil War, rendering service to the sick and wounded. After being mustered out in the fall of 1865, Captain West returned to his interrupted newspaper career. He became City Editor of *The Rocky Mountain News*, and the following year started the *Colorado Transcript* in Golden which he ran "as a family affair" until his death on Nov. 15, 1907.

George West consistently refused to run for public office but participated in many activities. He prompted the establishment of the School of Mines at Golden, and devoted much time to organizing the G.A.R. Department of Colorado and Wyoming. A highlight of his G.A.R. work was the Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic held in Denver in 1897. Close to his heart was a state-supported home for old soldiers. He headed a campaign for the building of the Soldiers and Sailors Home at Home Lake.

As a cavalryman and titled "General," he loved parades and the gatherings of his old cronies in Golden, Denver, and other parts of the country whither he went with, or without, his family, on those "free railroad passes," with which the railways paid for advertising!

A clever, genial, and jovial man, beloved by all, George West was one of our great pioneers.—C.B.

Captain George West, Company H, 2nd Colorado Volunteer Infantry, and later Company F, 2nd Colorado Cavalry, fought gallantly at Cabin Creek, Honey Springs, and in the campaign against Rebel General Sterling Price during the summer and autumn of 1863, in Missouri and Indian Territory. In addition, he was also engaged in the continuing strife and responsi-

*Mrs. Alexander Barbour of Denver, Colo., is a granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel P. Hill, Colorado pioneers. As a member of the Volunteers of the State Historical Society of Colorado Mrs. Barbour contributed an article entitled, "A Vanished Neighborhood," to *The Colorado Magazine*, October, 1960. In this article on Quartermaster George West, prepared from source materials made available to the Society, she has proven that an interesting story can be extracted from what may appear to be just a conglomeration of statistics.—*Editor.*

bility of handling quartermaster and ordnance stores from 1862-1865. Although Lieut. James Burrell was appointed Quartermaster at Camp Weld,¹ Colorado, for the regiment then in the process of recruitment, Captain West was involved from July, 1862, at Denver City, and subsequently at all the forts in the field along the march of the 2nd Colorado Infantry and 2nd Colorado Cavalry during their more than two years of service, covering a distance of 2,000 miles.

Hundreds of documents, preserved by descendants, and made available to the State Historical Society of Colorado, containing accountings, receipts, and invoices, all written in long-hand, attest to George West's conscientious record keeping. It was his duty to issue stores and equipment at the requests of the officers of the regiment and his more difficult duty to reclaim them or account for them at many times and places. Then, of the reports, all made in duplicate or triplicate, one or two had to be sent to Washington, D. C.

The first entries made during October through December, 1862, when the regiment was setting up in business at Camp Weld, show that on October 16, nine horses were transferred to Capt. George West by Capt. D. L. Handy, 2nd Colorado Volunteers. One cooking stove and pipe were purchased with recruiting funds which Captain West certifies "on his honor" were turned over to him by Captain Alley. In November, Capt. L. H. Moor turned in an invoice of carpentry tools: 2 squares, 6 planes, 2 saws, 2 hatchets, 6 saw files, 1 chisel. By December, there was the added complication of cavalry demands which entailed ordnance stores. Sixteen saddles, 3 bridles, 2 lauriatts [sic] were transferred to Lieut. George H. Richardson. By March, 1863, the cooking stove and pipe as well as one horse (unserviceable) were turned over by Captain West to John C. Anderson, 1st Lieutenant of Cavalry. In February, 1863, John C. Anderson turned over to Captain West one complete "Drum Outfit," including the drum, a sling, a cord, a pair of drumsticks, a drum head batter, and a drum head snare. On April 1, 1863, Captain West reported that he found and took up in "quarters" at Camp Weld—"1 Drawing knife, 2 Augur bits, 1 Bit brace, 2 Trowells [sic] 2 boxes glass, 1 Hoe, 1 Steel bar." These small quantities on the receipts and invoices indicate the humble beginnings at Camp Weld, insofar as the 2nd Colorado Volunteers were concerned. However, Lieut. James Burrell in his history of the regiment, written years later, declared that "at Camp Weld there was an 'arsenal of arms'

¹Relative to Camp Weld, the *Rocky Mountain News* said on October 24, 1861: "The camp is situated on the south or east bank of the Platte about two miles from the center of the city [Denver] and on a spread of tableland some thirty feet above the level of the river. The enclosure embraces about thirty acres. . . . The buildings, which consist of officers' headquarters, quarters for soldiers, mess rooms, guard-house, hospital, etc., occupy four sides of what is nearly a square, and are built in the most substantial and comfortable manner. . . ." The camp was named in honor of Lewis Ledyard Weld, Secretary of Colorado Territory. The camp is said to have been abandoned in 1865.



Capt. George West
1862

bought up by Gov. Gilpin at high prices from all over the territory . . . every conceivable fire arm and weapon that might equip or adorn a mountebank or a hunter; styles from all over the union, some dateing [sic] back to the Revolutionary War."

By January, 1863, the regiment was evidently increasing in number as Captain West received into his stores at Denver City a considerable amount of clothing and equipage: "100 pr. Infantry Trowsers [sic], 50 Sack Coats, 100 Forage caps with covers, 50 pr. Drawers, 50 Shirts, 50 pr. Bootees, 15 Bed socks double, 20 Blankets, 30 Bugles. Later came in 18 Dress Coats, 8 Blouses and 7 Shirtz [sic]"—all transferred by Lieut. J. C. Anderson. Although the regiment was never completely mustered in, it was sent out of Camp Weld in detachments early in 1863, on the first stage of its long trek. By April it had reached Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory.

Captain West was still attending to his duties of issuing and receiving stores. On April 3, 1st Lieut. Edward L. Berthoud received from Captain West a large invoice of working tools, including 5 pick axes with handles (one broken). The preceding day Captain West took in from Lieut. G. C. Manville, an invoice of actual camping equipment: Tents, both Sibley and wall, tent poles and pins, knapsacks, and mess pans. Also came in from Captain Hall—60 knapsacks, 57 canteens, one large camp kettle. The 2nd Colorado Volunteers were getting ready for the field. On this same busy day, Lieut. James Burrell made out his receipt for 28 Horse Blankets and on it pasted a written comment by George West, which read, "I certify in honor that the horse blankets specified in the foregoing receipt were invoiced by Capt. S. N. Moer on the 12th day of September, 1862, as Blankets 'wollen' [sic] and that I turned the same over to Lieut. James Burrell as Horse Blankets as per above receipt."

Some of these invoices and receipts were on forms made

for the purpose. Others were on bits of paper torn from lined foolscap sheets. All were written in elegant script, even to flourishes. The signatures of the officers on the receiving end in most cases were in quite different handwriting so it is indicated that Captain West did personally this vast amount of paper work. The names of the officers to whom West issued their needs in C.C. & G.E. recur frequently: James Burrell, Albert Clark, F. A. Spencer, Capt. Nelson Smith, J. C. Anderson, George H. Richardson, all of 2nd Colorado Volunteers. A stranger in their midst was Cyrus H. Johnson, Captain 9th Battery, Wisconsin Volunteers, who received at Fort Lyon, April 6, 1863, of Capt. George West, the following invoice of C.C. & G.E.—“One Bugle (without any mouthpiece).”

Other forts besides Fort Lyon were serviced. In May, 1863, Nelson Smith (now a major) signed for one bugle, this one with cord and tassel, at Fort Blunt, Indian Territory; and in July, Lieut. Alex W. Robb transferred to Captain West “3 prs Boottees (new)” at Fort Union, N. M.

This same meticulous checking on all United States Government property called for affidavits when any of the stores were lost, stolen, or damaged. These affidavits, very formal in tone, were made for Captain West in many places between 1862-1865. They usually began, “personally appeared before me,” followed by the signature of an officer. Then came the account of the event. Invariably the affidavit ended with, “Capt. George West of 2nd Col Vols is in no way responsible or to blame.”

One private in Company F at Fort Larned, Kansas, admitted that while he was out at muster, “1 common tent and 1 common tent pole and pins caught fire and were burned up.” Another swore that while on the way between Fort Larned and Fort Lyon they had an engagement with Indians and that one soldier was killed and one cavalry horse was captured. At another time at Fort Larned two horses were stolen from the herd. Due diligence was taken to recover said horses, but without success. In Missouri, Thomas Houston (his X mark) testified that while on a march with the advance guard he encountered some bushwhackers and lost his horse to them. A better fate met the horse of Private William H. Kimble who stated that his horse threw him, got away from him, and ran across the plains. “All due diligence at recovery had no effect.”

A more serious loss happened to W. B. Gillespie, Sergeant of Company F. “. . . being in command of my company which was ordered with my regiment to meet the enemy under Gen. Price,” he declared, “I left my unserviceable C.C. & G.E. at Independence, Mo. We were repulsed and driven back beyond Independence and I was compelled to leave stored at Independence said Camp and Garrison Equipage for want of transportation.” All worn out but faithfully recorded. Even Captain

West himself was not immune to these military occurrences. Over his own signature he certified that during the campaign against “the Rebel Gen. Price” he was relieved of the command of his company and placed in command of a battalion. Thus compelled to be away from his stores for many months, he found missing on his return and “for which loss he is not to blame” one Camp Kettle and 13 canteens with straps. Battle and sudden death were minor matters to Quartermasters!

During the year of 1864, Captain West was transferred from Company H, 2nd Colorado Infantry to Company F, 2nd Colorado Cavalry, but he continued to issue, receive, and account for the government stores at Independence, Mo., Fort Riley, Kansas, and Benton Barracks, Missouri, as the volunteers changed locations. The emphasis in the records and invoices now became largely equine, pertaining to taking care of the needs of horses and their riders. One invoice received at Benton Barracks included “37 Cavalry Great Coats, 27 Cavalry Hats, 27 Eagles, 27 Cross Sabres, 27 Feathers.” Very few invoices showed prices but it was evident that cavalry horses in good condition ranged in value from \$125 to \$160.

Another change and probable improvement was in the forms supplied to Captain West by the Quartermaster General’s Office. They were double paged and bore printed lists to be checked. Items ran not only up and down the page but also across, with columns for stores received, stores issued, and stores remaining on hand. Every month two copies had to be sent to Washington, and one retained. The retained copy, for some reason, Captain West still wrote in longhand. In one month he certified on honor that he “expended 12 steel pens, 1 bot ink, 75 envelopes and 2 lead pencils.”

The horses required much special equipment and at every location the invoices covered head halters, water buckets, blankets, blacksmith tools, ropes, forks, shovels, and the like. In January, 1865, at both Forts Larned and Riley, George West certified that “50 lbs of horse shoes and 7 lbs horse shoe nails have been expended in the public service at the stations stated, as indicated by the marginal remarks annexed [*sic*] to them respectively.” The remarks were not given.

Only one gap in these daily, weekly, and monthly records occurred to bother Captain West. While he was fighting with his battalion near Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, and moving on to St. Louis, his company chest was broken into. Many receipts and invoices, covering the time between July 1, 1862 and April 30, 1864, were lost or destroyed. He nevertheless, by some means, made out a long list of the missing articles which he signed:

“Geo West Co F, 2nd Col Vols Cav
Late Co H, 2nd Col Vols Inf”

Captain West knew full well that he was financially responsible for all government stores and undoubtedly anticipated the accounting at the war's end. Sure enough! A circular, undated, from the Second Auditor's Office of the U. S. Treasury Department, arrived and stated: "Officers are notified that it is useless to apply for a Certificate of Non Indebtedness until *all* returns of C.C. & G.E. and Ordnance Stores have been forwarded to the Quartermaster General's and Ordnance Offices and letters obtained acknowledging the receipt and transmittal of said returns to this Office." Later duplicates of all this had to be sent to the Second Auditor's Office with a request for settlement of the account. The officer must give his name, rank, regiment, company, address in full, also the period of responsibility and for what kind of property the responsibility was incurred. This must have been a hard and harrowing task for Quartermaster George West, who had been responsible for thousands of articles for more than two years.

Evidently, however, the correspondence and the records must have proven satisfactory to the Ordnance Office, as a yellowed document, dated March 27, 1865, and signed by Maj. R. M. McGinnis was sent to Captain West, Company F, 2nd Colorado Cavalry at Fort Riley, Kansas.

If one reads the fine print at the bottom of page one of this document he will learn that "this letter is the evidence that the property return referred to above has passed the administrative scrutiny of the Ordnance Bureau and has been found correct. It should be carefully preserved by the Receiver." It was.

Charlotte A. Barbour, *Denver*