



LET THE WOMEN VOTE

BY BILLIE BARNES JENSEN

The woman suffrage movement in Colorado was important because it was the second successful attempt in the United States, and further because it placed Colorado in the limelight when the movement was being seriously considered on a national scale in the early part of the twentieth century.

It was against a frontier background that the women of Colorado asked for equal suffrage. In pioneer days, some women were allowed to vote in mining camp governments, but when a regular governmental organization was set up, the traditional view of limiting the electorate to male citizens was followed. Attempts to pass a woman suffrage bill through the territorial legislature in 1868 and 1870 were unsuccessful. When the state constitution was framed in 1876, an effort was made to have woman suffrage included in the document, but the members of the convention considered the risk of having the constitution rejected too great to include so radical a measure. However, as a compromise, women were granted suffrage in school elections and a provision was included in the constitution which provided for submitting the question to the voters of the state for approval. It was under this provision that a woman suffrage law was defeated by the voters of the state in 1877. The law was applied for the second time in 1893.

1893 was a Populist year in Colorado, and with the advent of the People's Party on the political scene, the Colorado women were to achieve victory at last. The Populists were not the only supporters of woman suffrage in the state by 1893, but woman suffrage was a reform closely identified with Populism, and the members of that party were quite influential in getting through the ninth session of the General Assembly the bill which referred the question to the people of Colorado.

The woman suffrage bill which was finally passed, House Bill 118, was introduced into the House on January 16, 1893 by Representative J. T. Heath of Montrose and Delta counties. The

bill was entitled: "A bill for an act to extend the suffrage to women of lawful age, and otherwise qualified, according to the provisions of article seven, section two, of the Constitution of Colorado."¹

Between January 16 and March 8, the bill was a frequent subject of debate both in committee and on the floor of the House. The opponents of suffrage tried various methods of derailing the bill, and the proponents of the reform confused the situation by introducing other suffrage measures.² Nevertheless, the bill was finally passed by a vote of 43 to 27.³

At about the same time, the Senate was also considering the woman suffrage question. Early in the session, a bill was introduced to extend the right of municipal suffrage to women,⁴ and on February 1 a bill was introduced which had a broader scope. This last was designated Senate Bill 105, and was entitled, "A bill for an act to extend the right of suffrage to the women of this state, and to provide for submitting the same to the qualified electors at the next general election."⁵

Since the House was moving ahead with its consideration of the suffrage matter, the Senate waited for the bill from the lower house before taking any serious action. The communication notifying the Senate that House Bill 118 had passed was received on March 8.⁶ After some debate the bill was read for the final time on April 3, and it passed. On that same day, the Senate was informed that the House concurred in the Senate amendments to the bill.⁷

The bill, as finally passed, would submit women to the same qualifications as required of male voters under the state constitution. The act was submitted to the voters of the state in the 1893 election. It was to be approved by a simple majority vote. The ballots were to be worded "Equal Suffrage Approved" and "Equal Suffrage Not Approved," and if the measure passed, the governor was to make a proclamation putting woman suffrage into effect.⁸ House Bill 118 was promptly signed into law by Governor Davis H. Waite, a Populist who had recommended

municipal suffrage for women in his message to the legislature.⁹

Interestingly enough, a vote for House Bill 118 was not necessarily a vote for woman suffrage. William McLeod Raine, the well-known western novelist, has commented on the passage of the measure: "The bill passed the legislature practically by default, since the members of the Assembly desired to shift the responsibility to the people."¹⁰

The woman suffrage advocates were, in this way, thrown again into a political campaign. The primary suffrage association in this battle was the Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association of Colorado. This group had previously had the phrase "woman suffrage" in its title, but they noted in 1893 that "in the word 'equal' there is an appeal to justice which does not seem to exist in the word 'woman'."¹¹ As the association entered the 1893 campaign, it had twenty-eight members and twenty-five dollars in the treasury.¹² The association members feared that they could not produce effective speakers for the coming campaign from among their own membership, and they also feared that they would have few friends from among the men, so they appealed to the National American Women's Suffrage Association for help.¹³ The national leaders of the movement had been generous in their aid during the 1877 campaign, so the women of Colorado hoped for cooperation in 1893.

The world's fair that was being held in Chicago in 1893 was the scene of a woman's congress that was to be attended by the leaders of the national woman suffrage movement. In view of this, the local association sent its vice-president to Chicago to confer with the national leaders.¹⁴ When she arrived there, the Colorado delegate found that two other state organizations had also sent representatives to seek help. Representing Kansas and New York, these women were considered by the Eastern leaders to have more hopeful campaigns in the offing than Colorado. The Colorado delegate was asked, "Why was your campaign precipitated when our hands are so full?" and Miss Susan

¹ State of Colorado, *House Journal of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado*, 9th Sess. (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1893), p. 195.

² House Bill 24 and House Bill 350, for example, were also suffrage measures introduced in this session.

³ There is extensive material on various woman suffrage debates in the *House Journal*, 9th Sess.

⁴ State of Colorado, *Senate Journal of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado*, 9th Sess. (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1893), pp. 226-27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 401.

⁶ There is extensive material on various woman suffrage debates in *ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1585, 1610. The vote on the bill was 20-10. *Ibid.*, 1587. The bill as printed in *Laws Passed at the Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado* (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1893), pp. 256-58, is slightly different from the bill as published in the *Senate Journal*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Leon Webber Fuller, "The Populist Regime in Colorado" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1933), p. 98. Also, see an article entitled "Women Recognized" in the *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1894.

¹⁰ William McLeod Raine, "The Truth About Woman-Suffrage in Colorado," *The Circle* (October, 1907), p. 220.

¹¹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al. (eds.), *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), IV, 513; cited hereafter as Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*.

¹² Joseph G. Brown, *The History of Equal Suffrage in Colorado*. (Denver: News Job Printing Co., 1898), p. 18; cited hereafter as Brown, *Equal Suffrage*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁴ There is some disagreement about who the Colorado delegate was. Brown, *Equal Suffrage*, 20, says it was Mrs. H. S. Stansbury. In Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, IV, 513, Mrs. Ellis Meredith is named as the delegate.

Anthony brought up the question of the Mexican vote in the southern counties. Many suffrage leaders felt that it had defeated the vote in the last referendum, and Miss Anthony wondered whether it had changed in any way.

The Colorado delegate pointed out to the national leaders that there were, in 1893, more favorable influences than there had been earlier. Labor unions allowed women members to vote, and thus organized labor was now inclined to approve woman

In the spring school board election crowds stormed one polling place. ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, May 2, 1893.



**INVADING ASHLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT
NO. 17.**

suffrage on a wider scale. Further, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was now well organized in the state, and it had become "a firm friend and advocate" of the woman suffrage cause. Perhaps most important of all, the party then in power in Colorado, the Populist, was in favor of woman suffrage and its state platform included a suffrage plank. "Clearly this was the time to strike."¹⁵

Although the aid the national group could promise was something less than that which had been sent in 1877, it proved to be highly effective. The group had no money to send, although individual members of it sent monetary contributions. What the group did send "was better than silver or gold, for they sent Carrie Chapman Catt."¹⁶ Mrs. Catt herself pointed out later that the campaign thus organized left something to be desired: "Although there were many women who labored long hours, hard and earnestly, and although the consecrated central committee was wise and alert, the campaign, as compared with those that came after, was neither elaborate nor thorough."¹⁷ Nevertheless, the part played by Mrs. Catt was thoroughly appreciated both by the Colorado women she had helped and by the national organization, and after the success of the Colorado vote, Mrs. Catt was placed in charge of the state-by-state campaigning of the national association.¹⁸

When Mrs. Catt arrived in the state, she found that some auxiliary clubs had already been formed; Longmont, Colorado Springs, Greeley, and Breckenridge had clubs begun by local women. Mrs. Catt traveled throughout the state and formed other clubs which were to aid in several ways in the campaign.¹⁹ They raised money for the state organization, and they influenced voters on the local level throughout the state. In Denver a city league was formed as an auxiliary of the state group, and many leading Denver women were members. In addition, a "Young Woman's League" was formed in the city.²⁰

One of the first blows the women struck in the 1893 campaign was aimed at the favorite anti-suffrage argument of 1877—that the women did not want the vote. In order to prove that women indeed wanted the vote, and were willing to exercise

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 513-14.

¹⁶ Ellis Meredith, "Women Citizens of Colorado," *Great Divide*, XI (February, 1894), 53.

¹⁷ Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics, the Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 118; cited hereafter as Catt, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*.

¹⁸ Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony, Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 265.

¹⁹ Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, IV, 514-15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 515; *Denver Republican*, October 15, 1893.

the franchise after they got it, the school district election of the spring of 1893 was used as an example. Knowing that their actions were being watched by the voters, the women nominated Mrs. Ione T. Hanna for school director, and since they were entitled to vote in school elections the women turned out to vote and elect Mrs. Hanna in the face of bitter opposition. On election day, hundreds of women could be seen standing in line to vote in Denver, and the women in other parts of the state followed the Denver example.²¹

The woman suffrage advocates reached the public through three means of communication. Leaflets and other campaign literature were distributed, with most of the material being sent out from the state headquarters in Denver to the various auxiliary organizations throughout the state. Nearly 150,000 leaflets were printed during the campaign and handed out by the woman suffrage advocates.²² The aid of the state's newspapers was also enlisted. Miss Minnie Reynolds, who was chairman of press work for the association, contacted the editors of the state, and was able to report that 75 per cent of them were willing to support the woman suffrage cause. The aid the newspapers extended was of two sorts. Some of the papers were willing to grant space in their columns for pro-suffrage arguments, while others were willing to extend, in addition, editorial aid to the suffrage cause.²³ The very influential Denver newspapers gave over columns to woman suffrage advocates, with Mrs. Patience Stapleton writing in the *Denver Republican* and Miss Reynolds and Mrs. Stansbury contributing to the *Rocky Mountain News*.²⁴

The third means by which the woman suffrage advocates reached the public was through lectures and speeches. Carrie Chapman Catt made many speeches throughout the state while she was touring to organize woman suffrage clubs, and other effective speeches were made by prominent lawyers and politicians. Some women who had little previous experience also mounted the lecture platform and became popular speakers. Late in the fall, added impetus was given to the campaign by the arrival of Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant of London.²⁵ Among other speakers who came to Denver were Mrs. Therese Jenkins from Wyoming and Mrs. Leonora Barry Lake of St. Louis, who was sent by the Knights of Labor. Mrs. Mary Jewett Telford, who had served as president of the W.C.T.U. in Colorado, under-

²¹ Meredith, "Women Citizens," *Great Diode*, XI (February, 1894), 53.

²² Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, IV, 515.

²³ *Ibid.*, 516.

²⁴ Brown, *Equal Suffrage*, 22.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

took a five-month speaking tour in behalf of woman suffrage.²⁶

In August the state association set up regular offices in the Tabor opera house building in rooms donated for that purpose by Mrs. Elizabeth Tabor. One of these rooms was an office for the corresponding secretary of the group, and the other was a room large enough for a meeting place since it would hold several hundred persons.²⁷

Since there were no state issues to be considered in the campaign, aside from the woman suffrage question, the state political machines were not in operation, and county nominating conventions were without orders from the state level. During the months preceding the election in most counties at least one party convention endorsed woman suffrage, and in some counties more endorsements were obtained. Of the party conventions, the Populists all favored suffrage, while many Republican conventions also endorsed it. In addition to this many individual Democratic and Republican politicians openly espoused the reform.²⁸

The opponents of woman suffrage were never very well organized in this campaign. When the bill which provided for the ballot on the question was pending in the General Assembly, the *Remonstrance*, an organ of an anti-suffrage society in Boston, appeared on the desks of the legislators, and some lobbying was done against the bill by liquor interests.²⁹ Fortunately for the advocates of the woman suffrage cause, the liquor interests did not regard the movement as threatening until a few days before the election. At that time dodgers were issued, and the first few of these were identified as issued by the Denver Brewers' Association. This imprint was removed from most of the copies of the hand bill which were printed later. However, one of the newspapers received a copy with the name of the Brewers' Association on it, and "revealed the character of this eleventh hour attempt."³⁰

Another group that appeared late in the campaign and opposed the passage of the woman suffrage measure was composed of women who "had all the rights they wanted." Heard mostly through the editorial columns of the newspapers, these women protested that the passage of woman suffrage would thrust upon them unwanted and unsought responsibilities.³¹

²⁶ Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, IV, 516.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 515.

²⁸ Catt, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, p. 118.

²⁹ Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, p. 512.

³⁰ Catt, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, p. 118.

³¹ Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, p. 512.

For the most part, however, the anti-suffrage statements were almost buried in the mass of pro-suffrage literature that was printed in the last few weeks before the vote. Probably the most interesting aspect of the last weeks of the campaign was the attempt made by the supporters of woman suffrage to tie it to the very popular silver issue. The *Denver Republican*, for example, printed a letter which included this statement: "Is it possible for any man who believes in the free and unlimited coinage of silver to cast a ballot to exclude 50,000 voters for the white metal from the polls." Logically enough, the letter was signed by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association.³² In addition to the silver appeal, the miners were urged to vote for woman suffrage for another reason. It was pointed out that women lacked the education to manage any claim they might inherit, but if they were allowed woman suffrage, the argument ran, they would cure their other ills, such as the lack of education, and they would soon be able to inherit a claim without the possibility of being cheated out of it.³³

Attempts were also made to reach the Negro voters. One such appeal ran: "Can those who for so short a time have enjoyed equality with other races in the United States ever, as a race, object to giving the brave women who share their joys and troubles the same elevating and educating rights?"³⁴

Another appeal was made to the ministers of the state. They were reminded: "Their largest following and most faithful assistants are women. Why should not the church be a factor in politics as well as the saloon?"³⁵

In case they had missed any segment of the population with their earlier appeals, the writers of the *Denver Republican* issued a final argument which was directed to any person with any state pride: "Colorado today is in the eyes of the world; one of her chief industries has been stricken down and the views of her statesmen are questioned and derided. It would be a brave and noble action if she in her darkest hour dared fling down the gauntlet to all prejudice and opposition and give the right to vote to the women within her boundaries."³⁶

The seventh of November was election day. Although there were some suffragists who opposed working at the polls because they had been criticized for doing that in 1877, most of them decided that it would be better to show an interest in the

DON'T FORGET THE WOMEN WHEN YOU VOTE ON TUESDAY.



Equal Rights! Equal Responsibilities! Equal Suffrage!

Newspapers like the *DENVER REPUBLICAN* were ardent supporters of the woman suffrage movement (November 5, 1893).

election. In Denver the suffrage association divided the city and directed the disposition of the working force at the polls. At the polls the women distributed election literature and used personal appeals to the voters.³⁷ During the day, the leaders of the movement toured the city in their carriages to check progress at the several voting places. The *Republican* reported that activity varied in the different sections of Denver. In some areas there was little electioneering while "down in Colfax the women were more aggressive. They evinced the earnestness of campaigners and worked energetically all day."³⁸

³² *Denver Republican*, October 6, 1893.

³³ *Denver Republican*, October 21, 1893.

³⁴ *Denver Republican*, October 26, 1893.

³⁵ *Denver Republican*, October 30, 1893.

³⁶ *Denver Republican*, November 5, 1893.

³⁷ Brown, *Equal Suffrage*, p. 23.

³⁸ *Denver Republican*, November 8, 1893.

The next day when the returns began to come in, the women rejoiced in victory. Even from the incomplete results that were available, it was obvious that the women had won. A spontaneous celebration was held at the woman suffrage headquarters in the Tabor Building on the evening of November 8. By eight o'clock the hall was crowded with well-wishers,³⁹ and "congratulations poured in from all sides, proving conclusively that nobody voted against the equal suffrage proposition."⁴⁰ The meeting held that evening was largely dedicated to expressing appreciation for the various contributions individuals had made to the success of the campaign. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt received recognition as the "noble woman, to whom more than any one other person we owe the glorious fact of our citizenship."⁴¹ Among the other expressions of thanks was this one: "[To] the anonymous authors of the anti-suffrage leaflets, whose kind and gentlemanly attacks upon women in general and our association in particular won us many friends."⁴² The women also paused in their merriment to pay tribute to those who had actually granted them the ballot: "In closing, we thank the men of Colorado who showed to the world yesterday that they were neither afraid nor ashamed to give their women equal rights with themselves." The praise continued by ignoring the Wyoming precedent: "Words fail us when we try to speak of this glorious result, which chronicles for the first time in history the fact that a class in power enfranchised a class not in power, without being forced to do it."⁴³

It is difficult to assess the reasons for the victory of the women in 1893. There was obviously a change in the public viewpoint between 1877 and 1893, and William McLeod Raine was one of the writers who attempted to explain the men's vote: "Some voted for it out of gallantry, others from a sense of justice. A small minority believed in it as a principle, but very many more gave a dubious support on account of dissatisfaction with existing conditions. The impulse rather than the conviction of voters decided the issue."⁴⁴ Certainly the women had found the proper time to bring the matter forward. There was a great deal of discontent in the state in 1893. The silver miners indeed felt that they were being crucified on a cross of gold, and as a result, the Populist party had gained control of the administra-

³⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, November 9, 1893.

⁴⁰ *Denver Republican*, November 9, 1893.

⁴¹ *Denver Republican*, November 9, 1893.

⁴² *Denver Republican*, November 9, 1893.

⁴³ *Denver Republican*, November 9, 1893.

⁴⁴ Raine, "Truth About Woman-Suffrage," *The Circle* (October, 1907), 226.

tion in Colorado. "The great Populist victory of the previous year had accustomed men to the idea of breaking away from established precedent."⁴⁵ This new party was unafraid to back the idea of woman suffrage, and the old established parties followed the Populist example in Colorado. That woman suffrage was a Populist victory becomes obvious when one examines the vote on the woman suffrage issue. When the bill was before the General Assembly, twenty-two Populists, eleven Republicans and one Democrat had voted for the measure while the opposition had included twenty-one Republicans, three Democrats and three Populists. In the Senate twelve Populists had supported the measure along with eight Republicans and no Democrats. Opposing woman suffrage had been five Democrats, four Republicans, and one Populist.⁴⁶

When the matter was taken before the people, thirty counties that had been Populist in the previous election gave majorities for woman suffrage while only one Populist county did not approve it. Of the counties that had been Republican in 1892, ten voted for woman suffrage and eleven voted against it. There were two Democratic counties in favor of woman suffrage and two opposed to it. The combined Republican and Democratic counties gave a total majority of 471 votes against woman suffrage, while the combined Populist counties gave a majority of 6,818 for it.⁴⁷

Closely allied with the rise of the Populist party in Colorado was the feeling of discontent with economic and political conditions. This developed into an attitude of disillusionment, and a Denver newspaper reported that this statement was frequently heard before the woman suffrage ballot: "Let the women vote; they can't do any worse than men have."⁴⁸

Another element in the women's success was the backing they received from organized labor. Throughout the state, labor unions came to be counted on the side of woman suffrage, and "every labor organization of Colorado was pledged to equal suffrage, and their members very largely stood by their pledge."⁴⁹

No analysis of the granting of woman suffrage would be complete without recognizing it as a frontier movement. The

⁴⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1894.

⁴⁶ Brown, *Equal Suffrage*, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁷ "To the Women of Colorado; The Record of the Parties on the Equal Suffrage Amendment, To What Party are the Women Indebted for the Privilege of the Ballot." Leaflet, Pamphlet File, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

⁴⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1894.

⁴⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1894.



REGISTRATION SCENES.

One cartoonist thought something like this might occur when the county clerk asked the women registrants for age, marital status, and place of residence. ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, November 10, 1893.

men have more than others of that spirit of chivalry of which the world has heard so much and seen so little." They continued, "The human mind inclines to justice, except when turned aside by prejudice, and there is less prejudice against . . . equal rights in the newer communities."⁵⁰ Appeals frequently had been made during the campaign to the frontiersman to consider that the women of the state had earned the right to vote. The men of Colorado had responded, so that Coloradans might still boast that "the air of Colorado, since it was first breathed by the white man, has seemed conducive to liberality. . . ."⁵¹

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eastern leaders of the woman suffrage movement called the frontier attitude chivalry. "It will be claimed that Western

⁵⁰ Stanton, *Woman Suffrage*, IV, 518.
⁵¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1894.



First Ladies of Colorado Mary Goodell Grant

BY HELEN CANNON

On January 9, 1883, Colorado inaugurated its first Democratic—and to this date its youngest—governor. The thirty-five-year-old James Benton Grant was an Alabamian by birth and a metallurgical engineer by profession who had only a year before come to Denver from Leadville, Colorado, to open the Omaha and Grant Smelter. His young wife, Mary Goodell Grant, only twenty-five and a bride of two years, was one of the five “famous Goodell sisters” of Leadville, noted in Colorado social history for their handsome and fashionable appearance, social and civic leadership, and as the wives and capable and talented helpmates of five prominent Colorado business and professional men.¹

Mary Matteson Goodell, the next eldest of the Goodell sisters, was born in Joliet, Illinois, on July 9, 1857. Her father, Roswell Eaton Goodell, was born in Abington, Connecticut, and came to Illinois in 1834 at the age of nine with his parents who settled on a farm in La Salle County near Ottawa. Abington was part of the original land grant to Pomfret, Connecticut, where Roswell Goodell's great-great-grandfather, Thomas Goodell, settled in 1699. He was one of the early settlers and signed the petition of May, 1713, to the general assembly requesting that the town be incorporated. Her mother, Mary Jane Matteson Goodell, came as a babe in arms to Illinois in 1836 from Watertown, New York, with her parents, Joel Aldrich Matteson and Mary Fish Matteson, who likewise settled on a farm near Joliet. Joel Aldrich Matteson later became the ninth governor of Illinois (1853-1857). It is through the lineage of her maternal grandmother, Mary Fish Matteson, that Mary Goodell Grant could claim Mayflower descent, for Mary Fish Matteson

¹ Annie (Mrs. James D. Whitmore), 1855-1936; Mary (Mrs. James Benton Grant), 1857-1941; Jennie (Mrs. Albert A. Blow), 1860-?; Clara (Mrs. John Clark Mitchell), 1865-1944; Olive (Mrs. Zeph Turner Hill), 1867-1891.

(1811-1894) was the great-granddaughter of Mary Pabodie (1712-?) of Duxbury, Massachusetts, who in turn was the great-granddaughter of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins of Mayflower fame.²

Even the childhood and girlhood life of Mary Goodell was a full and eventful one. While her parents' home in her childhood was in Joliet, the family seem to have lived from time to time in the Springfield mansion of her former-governor grandfather, Joel Aldrich Matteson, particularly during and immediately following the Civil War. From 1870 to 1873 the entire family lived abroad in France and Dresden, Germany. On their return to the states, they made their home in Chicago. Though Protestant, all five of the Goodell sisters were educated in the Georgetown Academy of the Visitation in Washington, D. C. Mary was there during the four academic years of 1873-1877.³ The present generation of Grants jokingly say that Roswell Eaton Goodell, panicked by the prospect of finding eligible husbands for five daughters, moved the family to Leadville, Colorado, in 1879, where bachelors were more plentiful. A more likely explanation would be that he moved west like many other men during that period to replenish a fortune severely damaged by the Chicago Fire of 1871 and the financial panic of 1873.

The mining town of Leadville, Colorado, was founded in 1878, the year Roswell Eaton Goodell arrived, and it was incorporated as a town in 1879, the year his wife and family arrived from Chicago. They made the trip from Denver to Leadville either by stagecoach or covered wagon, for those were the means of transportation until 1880 with the opening of the Rio Grande Railroad. The log house that Roswell Goodell had ready on their arrival was a far cry from the elegance of the Springfield mansion of Governor Joel Aldrich Matteson, but it soon won the same reputation for hospitality and gracious living, and its personable inmates, both parents and daughters, did indeed attract the eligible bachelors.

One of the eligible bachelors attracted to the "Goodell sisters" and to Mary in particular was James Benton Grant, a metallurgical engineer and owner and operator of the Grant Smelter, who had been educated for his profession at Iowa State College and Cornell University. In 1878, the year of his arrival in Leadville, he was a recent graduate of the Freiburg School



Lester E. Grant

*Paris, 1871: Roswell Eaton Goodell and his five daughters
Left to right, back row: Mary, Annie;
front row: Clara, Olive, Jennie*

of Mines in Germany. He and Mary Goodell were married in Leadville on January 19, 1881, in St. George's Episcopal Church, by Reverend Thomas J. Mackay.⁴ Besides being a gala social event, it was the first wedding to be held in the recently opened church, a replica of St. George's in New York City. Its Gothic arches were hewn by hand from native lumber, and the pipe organ was hauled over the mountains by ox cart. After the ceremony, there was a small reception at the Goodell residence, followed by a larger one the next day in Denver at the Windsor

² *Colorado Genealogist*, XVI (January, 1965), 9-12.

³ Archives of the Georgetown Academy of the Visitation, Washington, D. C.

⁴ *Leadville Daily Herald*, January 16, 20, and 23, 1881.

Hotel for the couple's many friends, before leaving for San Francisco. The next year, 1882, the Grant Smelter burned, and James and Mary Grant moved to Denver for him to rebuild the smelter under the name of the Omaha and Grant and probably with an eye toward greater opportunities such as the governorship of Colorado.

The inaugural ceremony for Governor Grant was conducted in the Opera House in Denver on the afternoon of January 9, 1883. Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Walter Frederick Pitkin, the wife of the outgoing governor, sat with a group of friends in the lower left box. One of the newspapers the next day commented that: "Mrs. Grant could not conceal her feelings. Her countenance showed very plainly that she was the happiest and proudest woman in the Opera House." The inaugural reception was held some weeks later on February 6, 1883, at Governor and Mrs. Grant's new home at 265 Grant Avenue and Olive Street.⁵ It was a cold, snowy Colorado night, but the tapestried reception rooms of the Old English style house were warm and friendly and glowed from the open fires in the ornate fireplaces. Mrs. Grant received the guests dressed in a black and gold



State Historical Society of Colorado

Colorado's Executive Mansion, 1883-1885
The Grant home at 265 Grant Avenue and Olive Street

brocaded velvet gown, *entraine*, trimmed with plain black velvet and point lace, and wearing diamond earrings and a diamond comb. This reception might be called Mary Goodell Grant's debut into the life she loved best and into a role she was destined to play in Denver society for the next fifty years. Her activities, however, during the time she was first-lady, were curtailed by the birth of their first son, Lester Eames, on March 21, 1884. Their second son and last child, James Benton, Jr., was born four years later on May 6, 1888.

Probably the next important landmark in the life of Mary Goodell Grant was the completion and occupancy of her beautiful southern colonial home at 770 Pennsylvania Avenue in Denver. It had been planned and even the foundation laid in the late 1880's, but the construction had been delayed because of the growing uneasiness in the inner financial circles of Colorado over the "silver question," which culminated in the Panic of 1893. When finally opened to their host of friends in 1902 with a large reception, it was hailed as the "White House of Denver," "Mrs. Grant's House Beautiful," and "A Glimpse into Fairyland." The house—a three-story buff brick, ornamented with white porticos, porches, and a bannistered roof—occupied part of a city block and could be entered from two streets. The interior design and furnishings repeated, throughout, the southern colonial style. Mrs. Grant searched the shops from Boston to New Orleans for beautiful and rare pieces of furniture and decor.⁶ Historically, the drawing room is of particular note. The Victorian rosewood furniture in this room was in the Springfield, Illinois, mansion of Mrs. Grant's grandfather, Governor Joel Aldrich Matteson. It may be seen, even to the original upholstery of rose-beige brocade, in the Governor's Room of the Teller House in Central City, Colorado.⁷

The house was specifically designed for formal entertaining and as a gathering place for large groups of people, even to the inclusion in the basement of a combination ballroom and auditorium complete with a stage and dressing rooms. When Mrs. Grant became its mistress, she was a handsome woman of forty-five with a superb figure, flashing blue eyes, a gay sense of humor, innate dignity and courtesy, and an easy, gracious manner toward all. A devotee of clothes, she was always fash-

⁵ In 1886, Olive Street was changed to Thirteenth Avenue, and the address became 1280 Grant Street.

⁶ *Denver Times*, January 3, 1903; and *Rocky Mountain News*, January 11, 1903.

⁷ A gift from Mary Grant Coors (Mrs. Adolph Coors, III), a granddaughter of Governor and Mrs. James Benton Grant.



Lester E. Grant

Drawing room of the Grant home at 770 Pennsylvania Avenue

ionably dressed with a stunning new costume for each important occasion. As great success came to Governor Grant and he became one of the dominant figures in industry and finance in the West, Mrs. Grant kept pace with him. It has been said of her that she could talk the language of such Denver industrialists and philanthropists of her era as John Francis Campion, William Byrd Page, Dennis Sullivan, Samuel Danforth Nicholson, and Joseph Addison Thatcher.

The residence at 770 Pennsylvania Avenue was as well known for its fine cuisine as for its elegance, its hospitality, and the charm of its host and hostess. For this, credit and mention should be given to Nellie Murphy, the Grants' cook, housekeeper, and loyal friend for forty years, dating back to the Governor's bachelor days in Leadville.⁸

But Mrs. Grant was not only a social leader in Denver for fifty years. She was also during this period a prominent club woman and civic leader, a role she played with equal enjoyment and with the same touch of imagination. An able executive and organizer as well as a perfectionist, she liked to have the authority to direct plans through to a successful conclusion. These

leadership characteristics, coupled with a manner and personality that inspired admiration and confidence, made the women of Denver pleased to have her act for them in a representative capacity. In 1894 she was instrumental in founding, and a charter member of, the Woman's Club of Denver, which was organized on the plan of the Chicago Woman's Club. Proud of her ancestry, it was only natural that she would be an active participant in organizations of a genealogical nature. She was a charter member of the Colorado Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, organized in 1904, and she served as regent from 1904-1909. She was Vice-President-General of the national society from 1917-1920.⁹ Also, she was a charter member of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Colorado, organized May 25, 1896, and incorporated July 2, 1896. In addition, she was a member of the following national organizations: Society of Mayflower Descendants, Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America, Descendants of Colonial Governors, and the Daughters of 1812.¹⁰

Governor Grant suffered a heart attack in 1902, the same year they moved into the 770 Pennsylvania Avenue residence, and it was necessary for him to curtail his business and social activities. He spent a large part of his remaining life—until his death on November 1, 1911—in the outdoors, hunting, fishing, and supervising his ranch in Littleton, Colorado. Mrs. Grant sold the 770 Pennsylvania Avenue residence in 1917. It still stands and is known in the history of Denver's old mansions as the Ira B. Humphrey home. Mrs. Grant continued to live in Denver and died in her 100 South Franklin Street residence on April 12, 1941. At the time of her death, her two sons were with her. James Benton, Jr., was at that time an attorney in Denver; he died in Denver on May 20, 1947. Lester Eames, who followed his father's profession of engineering, lived in foreign countries for twenty-seven consecutive years. He is now retired and lives in New York City. Governor and Mrs. Grant are buried in Fairmount Cemetery, Denver.

HELEN CANNON, associate professor of home economics at the University of Colorado, is writing a series of short biographies of the wives of Colorado governors.

⁹ Membership Files, Daughters of the American Revolution, Office of the Secretary-General, Washington, 6, D. C.

¹⁰ Frederick Virkus, *The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1925), I, 302.

⁸ *Denver Post*, December 4, 1917.

PIONEERS OF THE UNCOMPAHGRE PLATEAU

BY HOMER HASTINGS

One cold winter evening my grandmother and I were sitting comfortably in front of a fireplace which sent out a welcome glow.

"Grandma," I said, "how did it happen that you came out West so many years ago?"

"My gracious," she answered, pretending to be irritated, "you are always wanting me to tell you a story, but I guess I have never told you about the time when grandpa and I came out West. If I tell you the real reason for our coming, I will have to tell you grandpa's part of the story first, but I guess you won't mind that."

"Oh no," I answered, "please do."

"As I remember," began grandma, "it was along about 1859 when grandpa started freighting across the plains. I knew nothing of him then, but I have heard him tell the story many times. He used to go to St. Joe [St. Joseph, Missouri] and buy a number of mule teams and wagons, counting four mules to a wagon. Then he would hire a driver for each wagon and start across the plains to Denver, Blackhawk, or Central City with loads of farm machinery, food, clothing, or any other merchandise that would find a ready market among the early pioneers. Once he bought a load of apples late in the fall. In order to keep the fruit from freezing, he had to line his wagon boxes with bedding and canvas. This seems as if it would be a lot of trouble, but considering that he got forty or fifty cents a pound for the apples, he was well paid for his work.

"Grandpa continued freighting until about 1868 when he purchased what was called the American House in Denver. In 1869 it was sold, and he returned to his old home town, Quincy, Michigan, the winter of that year. Here he met me, and in the summer of 1870 we were married. We had previously planned

to make our home in the West, so in the spring of 1871 we took the train to Denver.

"Shortly after reaching our destination grandpa took a contract to drive a bunch of sheep to the flourishing little mining camp of Georgetown. After delivering the sheep, he found work in one of the mines, so we prepared to remain in Georgetown. However, in a few months he was forced to quit on account of his health and we returned to Denver. About a year and a half later we went to Loma which was situated on the Rio Grande directly opposite the town of Del Norte, a rival town. Grandpa soon became interested in a company that was selling stock for the construction of a toll road to Silverton. It was in the spring of the year and before long the water in the river became so high that it washed out part of the road and stopped all further work. Then some men in Del Norte took advantage of the Loma company's misfortune and bought them out, paying seventeen cents on a dollar. Preparations were soon under way for building the toll road on the Del Norte side of the river where it would not be bothered by high water. Work progressed rapidly, and Del Norte soon became the point of interest. Loma immediately started going down, and I doubt whether there is anything left of it now.

"Next we moved to Del Norte, as did many of the others. From our door I could look up on the mountain and see a great many men prospecting and staking out claims, although I believe very little if any gold was found. On account of the gold excitement in Silverton, Del Norte was known as the 'Golden Gateway to Silverton.'

"At this time hay sold for one hundred dollars per ton, and nearly everyone relied on pasture as feed for their stock. We had about ten head in all, and since the pasture was getting scanty around Del Norte, we decided to move to Wagonwheel Gap where there was known to be good pasture. We also heard that a stopping house for the stage was needed, it being about twenty miles distant from Del Norte. Upon reaching Wagonwheel Gap, we found an abundance of wild hay, affording excellent pasture for the cattle. The location selected for the stopping house was on top of a small steep hill. Grandpa hired a couple of men, and in less than two months they had a fine log building nearing completion. About this time a man came and started a toll road around the foot of the hill. When this was finished, the stage, rather than make the steep climb, went around. From then on our station was practically abandoned."



Placerville, near the Hastings ranch, 1887

"I'll bet you felt like going back to Quincy after this hard luck, didn't you?" I asked.

"Not at all," answered grandma, with a firmness so plain that I could imagine how they had their minds made up to succeed in spite of all obstacles. "We still had our cattle and had added a few more to the herd since we came to Wagonwheel Gap, so we decided to stay where we were and make butter to sell. Of course there were no creameries and there was very little sale for butter in the immediate vicinity, so grandpa would take a pack train loaded with butter to Silverton at regular intervals. He was returning from one of these trips when he came upon a section of the country that he especially liked. Wild hay and bunch grass were abundant and unmolested except by a few deer. The place was outside the Ute Indian reservation, so there need be no fear of the Indians. Upon grandpa's return I soon learned of his plan to make a home here and start raising cattle. Soon after our plans were made known, two men came to us with a proposition that we take their cattle with ours and deliver them to the Uncompahgre Indian agency. Believing that the larger herd would be just as easy to handle, we accepted a contract, and before long we were leaving Wagonwheel Gap, our wagon loaded with such things as we would find necessary in our new home. A small cast iron stove and a carpet were among these.

"As we left our old home grandpa was in the lead with the wagon, and I followed on horseback driving the stock before me. There was about thirty head of cattle and eighteen horses. The road we took was hardly more than a trail and had recently been constructed by Otto Mears, the builder of nearly all the early roads in western Colorado. One of our stops was at Lake City where we ate dinner. The city then consisted of a hotel or stage station, a store, and a blacksmith shop.

"After we left Lake City, we traveled over some of the worst road I have ever seen. Only the trees, stumps, and rocks which would make the road absolutely impassable had been removed, but no thought had been given to the comfort of the traveler.

In some places we experienced great difficulty in keeping the wagon from tipping over, and in other places we encountered mud holes that, once in them, we wondered if we would ever get out. In some places there were bridges, but in many there were none. At one place we had to cross the Gunnison River where there was no bridge, and I came very near to being swept into a large whirlpool just below the ford. Grandpa had crossed safely with the wagon, and I was driving the cattle across. Some of them were carried into the whirlpool, but all managed to swim out and reach the other side. I was so interested in the cattle that I did not keep my horse up stream as I should, and if grandpa had not given me warning just when he did, I probably would have been swept into the whirlpool, and the horse, because of its extra burden, would not have been able to swim out. About a week later we heard that a man lost his entire outfit and his life at the same place where we crossed.

"Our hearts were gladdened when we reached Capt. Cline's Agency where Cimarron station now stands. We had passed over the worst of the road, and there was fairly good traveling ahead of us. When we reached the top of Squaw Hill, now Cerro Summit, we were able to look down on the beautiful Uncompahgre Valley. It was like stumbling through a dark tunnel and suddenly coming out in the sunshine. Next we went through what is now Montrose and crossed the Uncompahgre River near where the Main Street bridges now stand. Then we went up the valley west of the river, passed Chief Ouray's house, and reached the Mears Indian Agency about twelve miles from where we crossed the river. The next place was Cow Creek where quite a lot of prospecting was going on. All the prospectors had to live in tents because the Indians would not let them build houses.

"On the 29th of September, 1876 we reached our journey's end, it having taken us just four weeks to complete the trip. We never made more than ten miles per day, and sometimes when the roads were especially bad, we made only four. As I look back on it now, I believe those were the hardest days in my life—those days when I would drive the cattle until I was so tired I could scarcely sit on the horse any longer. Then grandpa would drive the cattle, and I would get in the wagon and drive the four horse team in order that we might get a little farther.

"Our new home was all that grandpa had represented it to be. The place had previously been homesteaded, but grandpa was able to buy it for a small sum. The former owner had constructed a tiny cabin, and as there was no lumber, he had cut

slabs from logs for a door. There were no windows—just some holes cut in the walls to admit lights. Grandpa soon went to work, and before the snow came, we had a substantial three room cabin. He purchased some windows in Ouray, and with a few boards we had brought from Wagonwheel Gap, we had enough lumber to make some doors. However, there was not enough to make a floor, so Grandpa hewed some logs and spaced them about two feet apart across the room. Then he hauled in some fine gravel and tamped it firmly between the logs. A layer of hay was placed over this and our carpet placed on top and tacked down to the logs. The other two rooms just had dirt floors. We soon learned that our stove and carpet were things which very few early settlers in our part of the country were fortunate enough to have. Most of them had to cook in Dutch ovens or open fireplaces.

“The Indians used to think the stove was quite a curiosity, and sometimes a number of them would come to look at it. The squaws always carried their babies in a kind of sack on their back. On entering the house, they would leave their babies outside. The men would sit in a semicircle around the stove, and the squaws would stand up. They knew only a few English words, but usually they could ask for sugar and biscuits. If we were liberal with these, they would probably return in a day or two with a nice piece of venison.

“The Uncompahgre Indians never were very bad. Sometimes they stole the white men’s horses and pretended they had found them so they could collect the reward offered for their return, but they never stole any of ours.”

The fire in the fireplace had now died down and I knew grandma had finished her story so I said, “I believe there ought to be a memorial erected in every city to the early pioneers, don’t you, grandma?”

“No I don’t think so,” she answered. “I believe they would rather let the West be a living memorial to their courage and to the daring spirit which caused them to leave comfortable homes in the East and brave the dangers and hardships of pioneer life.”

HOMER HASTINGS is superintendent of Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico. This story is based on his own transcription of a conversation which he had with his grandmother, Mary Jane Hastings Matlock, in 1927 and which he presents here “essentially as written” at that time.

HELL ON HARMONY

BY WILLIAM E. DAVIS

On a cold, drizzly January evening in 1874, Captain David Nichols hurriedly left the Capitol Building in Denver, saddled his horse, and headed north out of the city on the wagon road toward the little town of Boulder some thirty miles away. The ride was to become a milestone in the history of one of the great educational institutions of the state of Colorado, but it was only one of many dramatic events in the life of this doughty pioneer.

"Uncle Dave" Nichols, as he was called in his own time, was one of the rugged and unique characters which frontier life produced. Described as "rough in exterior," and "plain of speech," he was also regarded as a man who had both the moral and physical courage of his convictions under all circumstances. A sturdy, honest, outspoken man, "often bitter in denunciation," but "generous and warm-hearted,"¹ he adapted to the rough and ready ways of the Colorado Territory and responded with fiery, lambasting leadership.

He was the kind of a man who fought for what he wanted—a thing he was called upon to do on a number of occasions. His qualities as a "fighter" were aptly described in an anecdote pertaining to a meeting of the Silver Republicans and Democrats in a particularly stormy convention in Boulder. Some of the delegates had almost broken up the meeting when Captain Nichols jumped to his feet and shouted: "I'm hell on harmony. We're going to have harmony or fight for it!" And there was harmony.²

If versatility characterized the "man's man" on the Colorado frontier in those early days, then Captain Nichols certainly filled the bill. Farmer, lumberjack, student for the ministry, teacher, veteran of the Mexican War, miner, Indian fighter, merchant, blacksmith, hotel manager, rancher, sheriff, legislator,

¹ *Boulder News*, December 20, 1900.

² J. P. Maxwell, "A Paul Revere Saves Boulder College," *Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1927.



State Historical Society of Colorado

Captain David H. Nichols, Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry.

public servant, and lieutenant governor—he was all of these.

Born in Hardwick (Caledonia County), Vermont, in 1826, he was a descendant of Scotch and Germany ancestors. His father, a farmer by occupation, moved the family to Whiteside County in Illinois in 1836, where a year later he died. In another two years young Dave Nichols left home at the age of twelve, departing for the wild pine-tree country of Minnesota and Wisconsin. There he worked in the lumber business until the age of seventeen, when he returned to Illinois and entered the employ of a Baptist minister in Warren County. While working for the clergyman, Nichols became interested in revival meetings and united with the Baptist Church. Two years later, he entered Shurtleff College at Alton, Illinois, to prepare for the ministry.

After two years of study, he left the college (Nichols stated he graduated) and married Miss Sarah Adkinson of Warren County. For a time after his graduation he taught school and then entered the mercantile business. Some months later (according to one source), he joined the army to fight in the Mexican War. Nichols became a member of a group of independent mounted volunteers of Warren County, which was mustered into the service in Ohio in Colonel George B. Wright's Brigade. The unit left for Mexico in April, 1847. David Nichols served thirteen months before being discharged in June, 1848, as a second lieutenant.

Upon leaving the army, he went overland to California in the gold rush of 1849 and engaged in prospecting and mining until 1853.³

While engaged in mining, he later reported he managed to save \$37,000. All of this was lost, however, in an unsuccessful attempt to dam Feather River. He soon "made another raise," and concluded to return with what money he had to Illinois. He returned to Illinois in 1853, traveling by way of the Isthmus. Once more, he entered the mercantile business.

Nichols later reported that he was unsuccessful in this venture, and returned to teaching. In a short time he had made enough money to finance a trip to Colorado for the gold rush of 1859. He arrived at Boulder May 27, 1859, and set up in the blacksmith business. In the spring of 1860, he returned to Illinois to get his family.⁴ With his wife and two children, he started back across the plains for Colorado with two ox teams and two wagons.

³ Amos Bixby, "History of Boulder County," *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1880), pp. 668-69.

⁴ David H. Nichols, "Indian Troubles in Colorado," unpublished manuscript dated c. 1888, Bancroft Manuscript Collection, Western Historical Collections,

Some months before Nichols' arrival in the Boulder area, gold had been discovered about twelve miles back in the foothills at Gold Run. The fame of gold brought great numbers of prospectors and miners into the region, resulting in the organization of Boulder City in February, 1859. Within a few months there were about two thousand men in and about town—and seventeen women.

Glass, nails, and sawed boards appeared later in the year, but the settlement for some time consisted of tents along the creek and log cabins built on and about the public square (where the court house was to stand later). Roofs and doors of the dwellings were of pine splints, and the floors were of earth when the Nichols family first arrived.

It was in such an environment that Captain Nichols made his initial contribution to education in the Territory of Colorado. The settlers desired to establish a school and began plans to erect a building for that purpose. A sum of twelve hundred dollars was raised by subscription, and payments were to be made in labor, lumber, and other materials. When anything had to be purchased, a few chipped in cash. A particularly fine pine tree had been selected up Boulder Canyon for the lumber and marked for use in construction of the building. Plans were made to go after it on a Monday. "A smart fellow," thinking to appropriate the tree for his own purposes, started after it on the preceding Sunday. David Nichols, hearing of this scheme, got out his team, hurried up into the mountains, and met his adversary, who was coming down the canyon with the tree.⁵

According to one view, a dispute arose, and the Captain said: "Well, we'll fight it out. Whoever licks takes the log."⁶

Another version stated that a sharp "argument" with sled stakes resulted in a victory by the Captain, and the fighting philanthropist rolled the tree trunk onto his own rig and hauled it into Boulder.⁷

Both accounts agree that Captain Nichols was unquestionably the victor, and that the tree was used in the foundation for what was claimed to be the first school building erected in Colorado. Thus, with sled stakes and fists, what was undoubtedly one of the first battles for education in the area was waged and won.

University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder; cited hereafter as Nichols, "Indian Troubles."

⁵ J. Raymond Brackett, "In the Beginning," *The Coloradoan* (Boulder, 1904), pp. 14-15.

⁶ *Boulder County Herald*, December 19, 1900.

⁷ Brackett, *The Coloradoan*, p. 15.

After one year, the Captain and his family moved to Golden, where he managed the Simpson House, later a landmark in that city. Some eight months later, however, he returned to Boulder—this time for good. Exchanging his interest in the Tourtellote and Squires Saw Mill for 160 acres of land adjoining the town, he built a "neat residence, and added other improvements to beautify and make his home attractive."⁸

Nichols took an active interest in politics almost from the time he entered the region. His descriptions of the efforts of early settlers to establish a territorial government are related in a statement recorded in the unpublished Bancroft papers, which said:

Among other interesting incidents, he [Nichols] relates that they named the territory "Jefferson Territory," and being dissatisfied with the capital remaining at old Colorado City, a number of settlers and he and several others met in a log hut one night at Colorado City, slept on the ground with their blankets over them and during the night resolved to remove the capital to Denver—which was done.

The Bancroft manuscript went on to say that Captain Nichols became historic because of the prominent part he took in the early Indian troubles in Colorado.⁹

During the Indian uprising in 1864, he entered the hundred-day service, in Company D, 3rd Regiment, Colorado Cavalry. The Indians, according to Amos Bixby, editor of the *Boulder News*, were taking advantage of the Civil War which was then raging, and had broken out into what was described as "unrestrained hostility, plundering trains, taking women captive, killing teamsters and passengers, and carrying off goods to their encampments." The "murdering savages" were considered such a serious threat that there was constant fear that even the larger towns would be attacked. The apprehension was obvious in the town of Boulder, where trenches for defense were begun on Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. The settlers felt they were in real peril, and the people along Boulder Creek erected an adobe fortification near Valmont, called Fort Chambers. This was made the headquarters of recruits.

David Nichols was commissioned by Colonel Chivington to recruit a company of one hundred men into the service of the United States to open and defend the Platte River wagon road as far east as what is now Julesburg. The wagon road was considered at that time as one of the main "lifelines" of supplies

⁸ Bixby, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, p. 669.

⁹ Nichols, "Indian Troubles."

for the settlers. Raids by the hostile Cheyennes had made travel over this route extremely perilous.

The Boulder company was mustered into service on the 28th of August, 1874, and David Nichols was commissioned as its Captain by Governor Evans. After drilling at Fort Chambers until the middle of September, it marched to Valley Station, fifty miles above Julesburg. Here the unit met Captain C. M. Tyler (later one of the early Regents of the University of Colorado) commanding an independent company raised at Black Hawk.

A band of Cheyenne Indians was reported October 9 near the Wisconsin Rancho, looking for a place to cross the river with their stolen stock and other plunder. They were said to be heading north for the winter to "enjoy the fruits of the season's raiding."

Supposing the Cheyennes to be at Buffalo Springs, located in the Sand Hills, Captain Nichols took twenty-two men and overtook the Indians the following day. There, they killed eleven of the warriors, and Captain Nichols took the chief's shield and spear. The shield was decorated with five scalps, one said to be from a white woman and described as "newly taken, with the fresh blood on the soft, light hair." In addition it was reported that the "finely wrought clothing of murdered white women and children" was found in the camp along with piles of bedding and similar goods. This confirmed to Captain Nichols and his command that the band of Indians had been engaged in raiding emigrant trains attempting to cross the plains that perilous year.¹⁰

In his own account of the early days of the campaign against the Indians, Captain Nichols said:

The Indians [sic] had complete control of the whole Platte Country. In July of 1863 Gov. Jn. Evans called for volunteers. A company of 104 was organized at Boulder with D. H. Nichols as Captain. This company first built Fort Chambers (near Valmont). Their first expedition against the Indians was with "Big Wolf" and his party in which Big Wolf was killed. Capt. Nichols took from the person of Big Wolf three bills of lading and from his shield twenty-two scalps of white people; many of these scalps being quite fresh with blood. Three other scalps were also found. All the Indians, ten in number, were killed and their ponies and other property taken by the soldiers.¹¹

On November 4 Nichols and his men marched to Denver, arriving on the eleventh after a week of difficult marching in the cold November weather. After two days in Denver, the



company started on the march again—this time plowing its way through two feet of snow to join Colonel Chivington for the attack on the Indians at Sand Creek.

The Boulder company took a prominent part in this engagement on the 29th of November. In the hand to hand fighting which ensued, two members of the Boulder company were killed and several wounded. A Jack Maxwell was reported to have "received a ball through the breast, near the heart, but recovered from a wound which hardly one man in a thousand would have survived."

Whatever the later accounts of the battle at Sand Creek revealed, there was no doubt at the time in the minds of the members of the Boulder company that the attack was justified and the fighting costly. They reported "newly taken scalps of white men and white women—sixteen in one tent—boxes of cutlery, goods and guns, found to have been the spoils of trains plundered on the plains . . . too numerous to leave a shadow of doubt respecting the guilt of this large collection of Indians."¹²

Captain Nichols' version of the Sand Creek battle is interesting in light of the controversies that were later to arise. He reported that after the march from Julesburg to Denver, the troops were all collected at Boone's. He went on to relate:

¹⁰ Bixby, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, pp. 397-99.

¹¹ Nichols, "Indian Troubles."

¹² Bixby, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, p. 399.

There were about two troops altogether. Col. Geo. L. Shoup was then in command. Col. Chivington did not arrive until just before we made the attack on the indians. Being the senior officer Chivington took command. Chivington was justly unpopular with the soldiers, while Shoup was very popular. The great trouble with Chivington was that he was ambitious to be promoted. Just before arriving at Sand Creek, perhaps a half mile from the village of Sand Creek, we were ordered to halt and strip for battle. Col. Chivington said: "Boys, there is the enemy. Remember the women and children that have been butchered by these savages. Take no prisoners." The indians were not surprised. They had rifle pits prepared and were well armed. The manner of the attack was wrong. Had the attack been made from three sides instead of only from one side, the indians could have been driven out on the plain and not one of them would have escaped. Col. Shoup advised this plan, but Col. Chivington persisted in his own course of action. The battle was fierce; the indians fighting as bravely as did the soldiers. "I know there were just 37 of the soldiers killed." There were between 500 and 700 indians killed. Many fresh white scalps and much clothing and merchandise of every description were found in the camp. We found 300 sets of wagon tires, the wagons having been burnt by the indians. . . .¹³

Following the battle, pursuit was made of the "flying savages led by Little Raven." Captain Nichols reported he and his men pursued this band for some 450 miles, and said: "This was the most terrible march our soldiers ever had. It made a man want to see his mother." After a fruitless chase, when the men and horses were exhausted, the pursuit was abandoned. Upon their return to Denver the unit was mustered out "with honor."

Captain Nichols later was quite contemptuous of the investigations which followed the Battle of Sand Creek, and said:

No man of sense will doubt the necessity for the campaign against the indians. Had the Eastern Journalists who howl loudest about the campaign and the average sentimentalist been there at the time they would have had about nine tenths of their sentimentality knocked out of them. . . . The investigation committee headed by Schuyler Colfax sent out to adjust this matter was a farce.

¹³ Nichols, "Indian Troubles."



Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado

The midnight ride of Dave Nichols helped to put the University of Colorado in Boulder.

He also reported that "Colfax and party" tried to get Governor Evans to make him quit "talking so plainly to them on this subject" while he was a witness before them at Governor Evans' house, and that Evans had refused to do so.¹⁴

Whatever the later criticisms and results of the inquiries pertaining to what was to be referred to by some parties as the "Sand Creek Massacre," there was no doubt of its justification in the mind of Nichols. Amos Bixby, early editor of the *Boulder News*, who in 1880 wrote the "History of Boulder County," also reflected this attitude in his account of the Boulder Company's part in the action. These men, still in the throes of frontier life, very definitely felt the threat of the "hostile" Indian, and embraced the philosophy that the only good Indian was a dead one.

While absent on military duty, Nichols was elected to the territorial legislature, returning just in time to attend the session of 1864-65. In order to accept the legislative seat, he resigned as sheriff of Boulder County. He was re-elected to the legislature in 1866, and again in 1868.

In 1873, he once more was elected to the lower house of the legislature, and was selected by that body as its speaker.¹⁵

J. P. Maxwell, a representative from Boulder County, in the previous legislative session of January, 1872, had introduced a bill providing for funds to build the university that had been established by an act of the first territorial legislature back in 1861. Maxwell later reported that little interest had been shown, and the mountain counties had opposed the proposal, loudly declaring that Colorado had no use for a university. In February, 1872, his bill had been rejected.

Two years passed. Maxwell, however, never gave up his interest in founding the university, and with the election of Nichols to the legislature, he had a fiery supporter.¹⁶

Thus it was that the stage was set for the dramatic "midnight ride" of Captain Nichols, which for some years was so little known that historians and old-timers who were questioned about it thought it nothing but legend.

In describing this event shortly after Nichols' death (in 1900), one account stated that in January, 1874, other towns and communities in Colorado were as eager as Boulder to be selected as the home of the university. Political deals, intrigues and local jealousies were rife, and the fate of Boulder as the site of the university hung lightly in the balance. The legislative committee

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Bixby, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, p. 669.

¹⁶ Maxwell, *Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1927.

pushing the university bill had asked for \$15,000 for construction of a building, and the sentiment of the legislature was favorable to such an appropriation if a like sum could be raised by donations.

At that time, Captain Nichols, as speaker of the house, was in a position which enabled him to realize the bitter rivalry that was developing and the danger that threatened to tear down all that had been done to secure the establishment of the state university in Boulder. His better judgment pointed out the remedy, and with what was regarded as characteristic promptness, he left his seat in the assembly, mounted his horse, and was soon speeding toward the little town thirty miles away.¹⁷

Fifty-one years later, J. P. Maxwell (a member of that 1874 legislative body) was still living, and gave his account of the events leading up to and including Nichols' ride. In 1927, he stated:

... in 1874 we put that bill before the legislature again. Hot debates followed. The mountain counties were still against the idea. But at last Captain Nichols got the assembly to approve a bill which said the territory would give \$15,000 toward a university on the condition that Boulder contribute an equal amount.

In those days, \$15,000 was a pretty sizeable sum. The legislature probably thought such a requirement would squelch the fervor of Boulder citizens for a university.

"If \$15,000 is what they want, we'll get it," Nichols said to me after the vote. He was the kind of man who fought for what he wanted. . . .

Well, on that rainy day back in '74, it was late January, Dave Nichols and I hurried straight from the capitol to the livery stable. At 6 p.m., Nichols was off for Boulder. He wore the clothes he had on when in the speaker's chair, and the only protection he had against the cold drizzle was a thin coat.

Just an hour before midnight, he arrived in Boulder and pounded on the door of Capt. Frank Tyler, a prominent Boulder citizen. He pounded until Tyler got out of bed and came to the door. He hurriedly told Tyler that unless Boulder could raise \$15,000 the university appropriation project would be tabled again.

Tyler promised Nichols that he would personally take the responsibility of raising subscriptions for the full amount, and Nichols rode on to lay the plan before other prominent residents.

His errand done, Nichols stopped only long enough to change his tired horse for another, then began the weary ride back to Denver.

At 10 a.m. the next day, Speaker of the House Nichols, occupying his usual seat in the legislature, announced that he had visited Boulder and had been assured that the \$15,000 would be raised.

"What evidence have you that Boulder will raise the money?" demanded a member from Gilpin county who had opposed the university bill since its first proposal.

"I have the evidence of Capt. Frank Tyler," responded Nichols quietly.

¹⁷ *Silver and Gold* (Boulder), February 26, 1901.

"The hell you say!" shouted the doubter from Gilpin county jumping to his feet. "I know Tyler—he used to live in Blackhawk. He's a square shooter. What Tyler says goes. I withdraw my objections."¹⁸

The appropriation bill that led to the construction of the first building of the University of Colorado at Boulder was passed.

Within two years, a naked, ill-constructed building, situated in a barren waste and removed from any sidewalk by nearly a mile of mud, was erected on the heights to the south of Boulder. The brick towers of Main silhouetted against the backdrop of mountains stood as a symbol that the University of Colorado was at last an established fact—a monument to the patience and persistence of those early pioneers. By 1877, the year after Colorado was admitted as a state, the university opened its doors to students. In a much later year (1962), the campus was to name a residence hall in honor of Captain David Nichols, who had played such a prominent role in its founding.

Captain Nichols went on in the waning years of the nineteenth century to serve the newly-established state of Colorado in a variety of ways. Appointed as a commissioner of the state penitentiary in 1878 by Governor Pitkin, he fulfilled his duties in that post for 19 years. When Governor Waite was elected in 1892 on the Populist ticket, Nichols was elected as his lieutenant governor. Finally, on December 16, 1900, at the age of 74, the colorful pioneer died in bed at his home in Boulder.

In the account of his death, the *Boulder County Herald* prefaced its remarks with the quote: "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well." It was appropriate. Described at that time of his death as one of the best known men in the state, Nichols' exploits and experiences had been so varied and dramatic that they were destined to pass into the realm of legend and history.¹⁹ But of all his adventures, that event in January, 1874, was to mark him for posterity.

Riding like Paul Revere through the dark night, spurring his tired horse on through a drizzling winter rain, reaching Boulder five hours after he had left Denver, and returning again by morning, Captain David H. Nichols won for Boulder the university which later was claimed as the pride of the town and the "crowning jewel" of the educational system of the state.

WILLIAM E. DAVIS was dean of men and football coach at the University of Colorado. He is now executive assistant to the president at the University of Wyoming.

¹⁸ Maxwell, *Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1927.

¹⁹ *Boulder County Herald*, December 19, 1900.

AMACHE

BY M. PAUL HOLSINGER

The 1942 evacuation by the federal government of over 110,000 persons of Japanese descent from the Pacific Coast was an act unprecedented in United States history.¹ Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, there was little antagonism toward the Japanese-Americans, but, as the Japanese forces emerged victorious in the Pacific, suspicion and fear grew. Under pressure from civilian leaders, President Franklin Roosevelt finally issued Executive Order 9066, establishing military areas from which any or all persons could be removed.² Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson immediately appointed Lt. General John DeWitt Military Commander of the Western Area. DeWitt, who believed a "Jap's a Jap, [and] it makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not,"³ within a few weeks issued Public Proclamation Number One, establishing sections of California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona as restricted areas.⁴ He then announced that within the next few months all Japanese in these areas would be moved. The stage was thus set for the evacuation of nearly ninety per cent of the Japanese population in the United States.⁵

In 1941 Colorado had more resident Japanese than any other inland western state.⁶ Friendly relations had existed, however, between the dominant white population and the Japanese for

¹ Professor E. S. Corwin, one of America's leading authorities on constitutional law, has called this "the most drastic invasion of the rights of citizens of the United States by their own government that has thus far occurred in the history of our nation." Edward S. Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 91.

² U. S., *Federal Register*, VII (February 25, 1942), 1407.

³ Bradford Smith, *Americans From Japan* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1948), p. 276.

⁴ U. S., War Department, Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, *Public Proclamation Number 1, March 2, 1942* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943).

⁵ There were altogether 126,947 Japanese in the country. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Vol. II, Part 1, p. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.* Colorado had a total of 2734 Japanese in all. The other states in descending order were: Utah, 2210; Idaho, 1191; Wyoming, 643; Arizona, 632; Montana, 508; Nevada, 470; New Mexico, 186.

years.⁷ Nevertheless, as fear and resentment spread on the West Coast, it also affected Colorado. Late in February, 1942, *The Denver Post* conducted a poll among civic leaders to ascertain their opinions concerning further movement of Japanese into Colorado. The overwhelming response was negative.⁸

Not everyone, however, was opposed to having more Japanese in Colorado. A leading advocate of such a move was Governor Ralph L. Carr, who, despite adverse political pressure, maintained the belief that "an American citizen of Japanese descent has the same rights as any citizen."⁹ When the War Relocation Authority, the federal unit organized to handle the relocation of the Japanese,¹⁰ called a meeting of western state leaders at Salt Lake City in April, 1942, Colorado, acting through Governor Carr, was the only state which volunteered to accept Japanese if they were moved from the West Coast.¹¹

The WRA, anxious to bring about relocations of the Japanese from the make-shift barracks in which they had been placed after their removal from the restricted areas, eagerly accepted Colorado's offer. In May, Milton Eisenhower, head of the WRA, asked Senator Edwin Johnson to help find a suitable location in the state. Johnson, though opposed to Japanese relocation in Colorado,¹² submitted the names of fourteen prospective sites, and the WRA immediately began to check out the list, which included locations near Durango (where residents had requested that a site be chosen),¹³ Las Animas,¹⁴ and Lamar.

After several weeks General DeWitt informed the governor that the WRA would build a relocation center, fully protected by the United States Army, near the town of Granada.¹⁵ Information soon showed that this project would in part be unlike those which were being established in other western states.¹⁶

⁷ Fumio Ozawa, "Japanese in Colorado, 1900-1910" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Denver, 1954); and, Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States. A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and their Children* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1932), pp. 169-170.

⁸ *The Denver Post*, March 1, 1942.

⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, August 7, 1942.

¹⁰ The War Relocation Authority, usually known as the WRA, was established by President Roosevelt through Executive Order 9102 on March 18, 1942. For a copy of the original plans of this group see *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1942 volume (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), pp. 174-176.

¹¹ U. S., Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 29.

¹² *Walsenburg World Independent*, April 10, 1942.

¹³ *Durango Herald Democrat*, May 7, 1942.

¹⁴ *Las Animas Democrat*, May 22, 1942.

¹⁵ Letter from General John L. DeWitt to Governor Ralph L. Carr, June 3, 1942 (Carr Papers, Colorado State Archives, Denver). Senator Johnson had unofficially broken the news three days earlier, *Lamar Daily News*, June 1, 1942.

¹⁶ Besides the Colorado center, the government built nine others located at Tule Lake, California; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rivers, Arizona; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Rohwer, Arkansas; and Topaz, Utah.

Instead of locating the center on government-owned land as originally planned, the WRA bought a total of over 8000 acres of privately owned land, largest piece of which was the 2500 acre XY Ranch.¹⁷

On June 19 Army engineers arrived in Lamar to begin the supervision and construction of the center. Ten days later actual work began on the center, the plans of which called for thirty blocks of barrack-type buildings to be completed by August 31, 1942.¹⁸ By July 22 about 500 men were engaged in building the center.¹⁹ The Army engineers, who took "pains to bulldoze out every tree and cut off every blade of grass,"²⁰ remained in constant supervision. To meet their deadline, they eliminated every form of luxury. When James G. Lindley, newly appointed director of the center,²¹ visited it in late July, he found much that he considered undesirable, but efforts to alter this "met with little or no response."²² By the middle of August, there were over one thousand men employed, but the project was still far from completion. Wells had been dug and cemented, but no pumps had been installed. Roads were still being graded. Neither the sewage or water systems, nor the electric installation, were anywhere near being finished. The Army engineers (who said later that their only job was to provide the bare necessities in the center) were satisfied, however, and gave their approval on August 20 for the center's occupation. Less than one week later, Lt. General DeWitt announced that, beginning immediately, the occupants of the Merced (California) Assembly Camp would be shifted to the Granada Relocation Center, as the area had been designated.

The first trainload of 212 heavily guarded evacuees left Merced on August 25, 1942. Military officials had chosen this

¹⁷ The XY Ranch had been organized in 1889 by Fred Harvey of the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe Railroad in order to grow beef cattle for his restaurants. Letter from C. V. Mills, editor, *The Lamar Tri-State Daily News*, October 11, 1963. See also *The Lamar Daily News*, July 17, 1942, and *The Lamar Tri-State Daily News*, May 11, 1963, and May 18, 1963.

¹⁸ A description of the center's facilities is found in James G. Lindley, "The Granada Relocation Center. A Narrative Report" (Amache, Colorado: Office of the Project Director, 1945), Appendix L (Typewritten Report prepared for the WRA. A copy is on file in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Another copy, retained by Mr. Lindley in his personal papers, was used in the preparation of this article.) Cited hereafter as Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center."

¹⁹ News item in the *Lamar Daily News*, July 22, 1942.

²⁰ Note from James G. Lindley, January 10, 1960.

²¹ Lindley had served in engineering positions nearly all his life. He had not, however, held a position of equal responsibility before. In the three-year period in which he served as director, Lindley was an efficient and able leader. He soon became highly sympathetic to the plight of the Japanese, and was discouraged at times with the government's handling of the situation. In October, 1945, when he had occasion to sum up the center's record, he called it simply "this piece of wartime folly." Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 7. This attitude, however, never hurt his ability as a leader and he carried out his position with full responsibility.

²² Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 1.

group because of their diversified skills, for among the passengers were stenographers, cooks, carpenters and others who could help in preparing the center for settlement. Two days later the evacuees arrived at the center,²³ to find only two blocks of barracks, one mess hall and one lavatory finished.²⁴

On September 1, the first regular contingent of evacuees left Merced for Granada, and for almost two weeks the movement continued, until the Merced camp had been emptied. The population of the Colorado center meanwhile skyrocketed from 212 to 4492.²⁵ The Army then began emptying the huge Santa Anita camp.²⁶ Several thousand of the more than 18,000 Japanese there were allotted to the Colorado center, and, on September 17, the first trainload left for Granada. By October 1, the Japanese population at the center was up to 7424. Within the month, however, the center hit a peak of 7567. After November 1, a population turnover began, and for the remaining years of the center, the number of internees never reached that high again.

The majority of the evacuees who arrived at the camp during the month of September faced many inconveniences. In his final report, Director Lindley left this picture:

Trains arrived, usually at night; lighting facilities were extremely sketchy, and families stumbled around in the dark, individuals often falling into excavations when being led to their quarters. Candles with their ever-present fire hazard in this city of cardboard homes, were their only light. Hot and cold water was provided in only a few blocks; mess hall installations lagged. The evacuees had to walk several blocks to find a bath house with water provided. One mess hall served as many as four blocks, 1000 to 1200 people, serving in three or four shifts. Water for drinking and washing dishes had to be hauled in truck tanks from Granada as the center water was impure and inadequate. The toilets in the wash rooms were used before the water connections were made and a clean up hose squad was necessary to clean up the attendant litter. Wooden privies were finally provided, neither sightly or sanitary . . . but [somehow] out of the chaos came order.²⁷

The final construction was not completed until early in November at a total cost of over \$4,200,000.²⁸

One of the first things necessary for the center's operation was the establishment of a separate post office. The problem of finding an appropriate name other than Granada was solved

²³ *Granada Journal*, August 27, 1942.

²⁴ *Pueblo Chieftain*, August 27, 1942.

²⁵ U. S. War Department, *Final Report, Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943) pp. 283-284.

²⁶ The Army had taken over the famous race track and for several months the evacuees had been housed in the horse stalls and other areas of the grounds. An excellent discussion of this phase can be found in Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

²⁷ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 2.

²⁸ U. S., Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *Second Quarterly Report, July 1 to September 30, 1942* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 78-79.

when WRA officials accepted the name *Amache*, in honor of the daughter of Cheyenne Chief One-Eye, who had been killed at Sand Creek in 1864.²⁹ Thereafter, as the town of Amache, the center quickly was recognized as the tenth largest city in the state.³⁰

The evacuees who made Amache their home were from different backgrounds. Many were farmers from central California, but there were also businessmen and professional workers from San Francisco and Los Angeles. Over two-thirds of the center members were American citizens.³¹ Almost immediately the evacuees began to establish a local government for themselves. Just four days after the arrival of the first group, a community council was selected to serve as a temporary liaison unit between the evacuees and the project director.³² As more evacuees arrived, this council, with the approval of the project officials, proposed a democratic government for the

Many of the buildings at Amache were put into use before they were finished.



Denver Public Library Western Collection. Photo by Tom Parker

center, the executive and legislative branch of which was to be a Community Council of twenty-nine members elected by the popular vote of everyone over eighteen years of age. This council was to make all ordinances, regulations, and laws governing community life within the center, while at the same time a judicial commission of eight members was established to interpret these laws. An arbitration commission of fifteen members was then set up to handle all civil disputes within the center.³³ After an election in October, 1942, the government was unofficially put into operation. It proved so successful that, on December 30, the main WRA office in Washington approved the Amache evacuees' request for self-government.³⁴

As the days passed, the WRA tried to develop programs and provide conveniences which would make life easier for the Japanese. Cultural and social activities were encouraged, with a community library being opened in October, and two more shortly thereafter. Adult night school classes were begun on October 28, and three days later college-credit extension courses were provided by the University of Colorado.³⁵ In November, a little theater was organized,³⁶ and then in January, 1943, the evacuees were allowed to set up a co-operative store.³⁷ There were also many social organizations established at the center ranging from a YMCA, a YWCA, and a Future Farmers of America chapter to a Ministerial Alliance and an American Legion Post.³⁸

Life at the center was strictly regimented and group oriented. Communal living, especially eating in mess halls, was

²⁹ Granada Relocation Center, *Bulletin*, October 17, 1942. Amache had later become the wife of one of the most important cattlemen in the 1870's, John Prowers, for whom the county in which the center was located had been named. The name was suggested to officials by R. L. Christy, the mayor of Lamar.

³⁰ The nine larger cities in order according to the 1940 Census were Denver, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Greeley, Trinidad, Boulder, Grand Junction, Fort Collins, and Englewood.

³¹ The majority of the population of the center were "Nisei": American-born members of Japanese ancestry. These younger men and women were all automatically citizens of the United States, and nearly all were loyal to the country. The majority of the older members were "Issei": born in Japan and thus aliens. The federal government, however, did not differentiate between the two groups in treatment or in relocation procedures.

³² Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," Appendix IV, p. 1.

³³ "Amache, Colorado" (Mimeographed bulletin printed at the Granada Relocation Center, 1943), p. 6. For the complete charter of local government in the center see the *Granada Pioneer*, December 30, 1942.

³⁴ *Granada Pioneer*, January 2, 1943.

³⁵ *Granada Pioneer*, November 4, 1942. The *Pioneer* was the local newspaper edited by the Japanese and published at the center. It acted as a link with the outside world for the evacuees and also as a means for the administration to inform the evacuees of anything of importance. Copies of the paper are rare; a complete file on microfilm, however, is available in the library of the State Historical Society of Colorado in Denver.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1942.

³⁷ "Amache, Colorado" (Mimeographed bulletin printed at the Granada Relocation Center, 1943), p. 9.

³⁸ "Welcome" (Mimeographed bulletin printed at the Granada Relocation Center, July 1, 1943), p. 2.

upsetting to the older people, who argued that parental authority had its foundations in the family meal. Because of this, they raised many bitter objections to the WRA officials at the center, though to no avail. The only chance that the evacuees had for complete individualism was inside their small apartments.³⁹ On arrival at the center, each person had been given an army cot, a mattress and two blankets. The rooms to which they were assigned were completely bare and had only tar papered walls and brick floors. It was not long, however, before the Japanese managed to add such personal touches as furniture fashioned from scrap lumber, handmade drapes and slip covers, and, in some cases, personal belongings from California. Japanese designs were arranged on the walls, and soon each family's apartment home had a differently styled interior.⁴⁰

It was officially decided in December, 1942, that resettling the Japanese should be the chief aim of all the centers.⁴¹ For the next two and one-half years the WRA officials at Amache made this their major goal. From the start they did quite well, and, when Davis McEntire, the head of the Washington WRA Employment Office, visited Amache in January, 1943, he noted that the Colorado center was far ahead of all others in its relocation plans.⁴²

Director Lindley and the administration officials of the center were not able to maintain this record without some difficulty. Within a few months after the opening of the center, public opinion within the state, which had generally been held in abeyance, turned against it; and the resulting bad publicity only served to hurt the evacuees' chances of relocation. Much of the criticism was at first centered on the building of a school complex by the federal authorities at a cost of over \$300,000. The seeming extravagance of this project cost the center and its residents much popular support, and from the beginning of 1943 onward, the possibility of reconciliation between the Japanese of Amache and other Coloradoans was immeasurably lessened.⁴³

Despite the adverse feeling, the local WRA officials continued to resettle the Japanese. By May 31, 1943, the population

³⁹ There were three sizes of apartments: 16 by 20 feet, 20 by 20 feet, and 20 by 24 feet, some of the latter housing families of five and six persons. See David S. Clark, "Japs at Amache," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, July 7, 1943.

⁴⁰ Lottie E. More and S. Clay Coy, "Homemaking in a Relocation Center," *Practical Home Economics* (July-August, 1943), 256-258, 276.

⁴¹ *Granada Pioneer*, December 9, 1942.

⁴² *Ibid.*, January 14, 1943.

⁴³ See, for instance, some of the editorial comments in such leading Colorado newspapers as *The Denver Post*, January 10, 1943; the *Pueblo Chieftain*, January 10, 1943; *Western Farm Life*, January 15, 1943; or the *Gunnison News-Champion*, January 28, 1943.

had been reduced to 6377, 1390 evacuees having left Amache for new homes in the East and Midwest.⁴⁴ In mid-1943, however, the process of relocation suffered a setback when national officials decided to segregate "loyal" Japanese from the "disloyal" ones. Registration blanks were given to all adults in the center asking them to state specifically whether or not they were loyal to the American government. As a result, 125 individuals were singled out as disloyal.⁴⁵ After some discussion, the government decided to use the Tule Lake center for the disloyal evacuees. The loyal residents of Tule Lake were then transferred to other centers; Amache received 1040 of these.⁴⁶

The effect of this move was decidedly detrimental. As Director Lindley noted several years later,

Although some good people were received from Tule Lake, the effect of transfer on center life was in general adverse. The Tuleans were about a year behind the other residents of the center in their thinking; they were still resentful and constantly harped on the wrongs of evacuation, which most of the other residents had come to treat as water over the dam. Some leadership was developed among this Tule Lake crowd, most of it bad.⁴⁷

The leaders of this new group soon managed to create a "decided rift" between the evacuees and the administration. The result was a slowing down of relocation for everyone.

It was also in 1943 that residents of the center first had the opportunity to participate in military service. Initially they had been classified as 4-C or undesirable aliens.⁴⁸ On January 28, 1943, however, Secretary of War Stimson released a plan whereby Japanese-Americans, while still not eligible for the draft, could volunteer for the armed forces. Those accepted were to be formed into a separate battalion unit made up solely of Japanese-Americans.⁴⁹ The efforts of the recruiting team which came to Amache in February, however, seemed doomed from the start, for out of 1200 eligible young men, only 31 volunteered. Officials immediately held mass meetings with the evacuees to show them how important it was to make a favorable impression on army leaders. After that the number of volunteers jumped to 124, a figure which compared favorably with the other nine centers. Gradually more Amacheans enlisted. Following their training, they were sent to become a part of the soon famous "Go For Broke" 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which, fighting throughout the Italian campaign of 1943-1944,

⁴⁴ *Granada Pioneer*, June 2, 1943.

⁴⁵ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Granada Pioneer*, November 17, 1943.

⁴⁷ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 6.

⁴⁸ David S. Clark, "Japs at Amache," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, July 7, 1943.

⁴⁹ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 5.

became the most decorated and honored unit in the United States Armed Forces during the war.⁵⁰ The government soon realized that keeping the majority of Japanese-Americans from the regular army was only hurting the war effort and therefore began to lower the barriers. The first woman from Amache was inducted into the WACS in December, 1943,⁵¹ and, on January 18, 1944, the War Department announced that all Japanese-American citizens in relocation centers would be eligible for the draft.

The idea of being drafted by the same army which was holding them "prisoners" did not appeal to many of the evacuees at Amache, and on several occasions mass protest meetings were held. Nevertheless, during the next few months the army drafted several hundred more young men from the center, with only a small minority refusing to serve.⁵² Under the influence of the Tule Lake group, many parents at first refused to be seen with their sons and daughters in uniform when they returned on furlough. This situation changed rapidly, however, as the Nisei troops in Europe won world-wide acclaim. On their subsequent returns, they were honored; parents now proudly showed themselves with the younger men and women. By 1945, the Amache Honor Roll contained a total of 953 names.⁵³ This record, more than any other single thing, helped to win friends for the evacuees and served to aid their relatives in relocating.

As the war drew to a close, the War Department, under pressure for some time to release those evacuees who had shown no signs of disloyalty, gradually began to give way. In December, 1944, Major General Henry C. Pratt, DeWitt's successor, announced that after midnight on January 2, 1945, Japanese evacuees from the West Coast would be allowed to return to all sections from which they had been previously excluded.⁵⁴ At Amache, officials began to work to bring this about.

At first few people left the center; on January 7, there were still 6179 evacuees in residence.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, plans were made to close down the center as quickly as possible. Services were gradually curtailed and then ended. When the schools closed in June, the number of evacuees relocating began to rise.

⁵⁰ John A. Rademaker, *These Are Americans* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1951), pp. 61-89.

⁵¹ *Granada Pioneer*, December 15, 1943.

⁵² Only 31 men refused to report for duty out of the many hundreds called.

⁵³ This list included the names of not only the soldiers but those of the WACS and Army Nurses who had enlisted after 1943.

⁵⁴ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 5. Officials of the relocation centers were, however, asked to keep all those persons suspected of disloyalty in the centers until the final outcome of the war was sure.

⁵⁵ *Granada Pioneer*, January 10, 1945.



Denver Public Library Western Collection. Photo by Joe McClelland

Housing area at Amache

By July 1, 1945, the population had decreased to 4169.⁵⁶ Eleven days later, Dillon Myer, then director of the WRA, announced a closing date for each center; Amache was designated as the first to close. To the administrative staff now fell the task of emptying a good-sized city by October 15, 1945—a period of just three months.⁵⁷

By mid-July, Amache was ranked second among the centers in the percentage of evacuees who had relocated,⁵⁸ but on August 1, 3409 Japanese still remained. Despite this number, Lindley made it clear to those remaining that the center was going to close on schedule regardless of their personal feelings.

On September 6, 1945, the Army Military Police who had guarded the center were relieved of all duties and the center ceased to be a military area.⁵⁹ Nine days later the *Granada*

⁵⁶ U. S., Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *Semi-Annual Report, January 1-June 30, 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 7.

⁵⁷ Letter from Dillon Myer to Project Directors, July 12, 1945.

⁵⁸ *Granada Pioneer*, July 14, 1945.

⁵⁹ Lindley, "Granada Relocation Center," p. 5.

Pioneer was discontinued. The remaining evacuees gradually began to put into practice their relocation plans. On October 15 the last officially scheduled day of operation, the final 126 evacuees left by train for the Sacramento area, and Amache became, for all practical purposes, another of Colorado's ghost towns.⁶⁰

Amache, however, was not allowed to decay slowly into oblivion. As soon as it was closed, the government began the procedure of disposing of the surplus property and material. Most of the land and the large dairy and swine herds were purchased by southeastern Colorado farmers. Many of the buildings were bought by schools, junior colleges, or private individuals and used intact as additions to their facilities or broken down for repair material.⁶¹ Just as Amache had been the first center to close for use, it was also the first to wind up official operations. On January 27, 1946, the government closed the center's books.⁶²

After nearly twenty years, Amache generally is forgotten by all except those persons connected with it. The 500 buildings which made up the city are gone, and the former home of over 7000 people has been returned to farmland. The division of the state's population into two hostile camps because of the building of the center has also now passed. The Japanese live and work as productive members of their communities, and today, despite Amache, or perhaps because of it, there are over 4400 Japanese-Americans living in the state, the sixth highest total in the country.⁶³

M. PAUL HOLSINGER, assistant professor of history at Oregon State University, wrote his master's thesis on Amache.

⁶⁰ The Japanese from Amache and the other centers spread out to nearly every state. U. S., Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946) shows that in 1946 there was new Japanese population in every state except South Carolina. Outside of California, Illinois showed the largest increase with 12,776 evacuees. Colorado, with a total of 6108, was third. Generally speaking, the Japanese were quite successful in their relocation to other areas. Excellent studies of the effects of resettlement on the Japanese after 1945 can be found in United States Department of Interior, Division of Budget and Administrative Management, *People in Motion, The Postwar Adjustment of the Japanese-Americans* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947); Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); and Leonard Broom and John Kitsuse, *The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).

⁶¹ The University of Denver, for instance, moved several of the buildings to its campus where today they still stand as the infirmary and speech clinic for the school. Personal interview with Glenn Davis, Director of Buildings, University of Denver, April 7, 1960. Also see the feature story in the *Pueblo Star-Journal*, November 2, 1947.

⁶² U. S., Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *Administrative Highlights of the W.R.A. Program* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 81.

⁶³ U. S., Bureau of the Census, *United States Summary Detailed Characteristics, 1961* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961).

COLLEGE MAN ON HORSEBACK

In 1881, eighteen-year-old Edward Hayes, who had been in Colorado for less than a year, took a trip by horseback to the Powder River in Wyoming and spent the summer on the Hallett and Brown ranch. Located near old Fort Reno, the ranch had been a Sioux hunting ground only three years earlier. Buffalo still wandered parts of the range.

A hazardous trip for any traveler, the ride was particularly strenuous for Edward Hayes. In early 1880 his father, Dr. Joseph Byron Hayes of Canandaigua, New York, had brought his ailing son to Colorado Springs in the hope that the dry climate would restore his health. A previous year in an Adirondack camp had apparently been unsuccessful, but life on Judge Robert Douglass' ranch north of Colorado Springs had just the healthy atmosphere young Hayes needed. Hayes' recovery was so rapid that he was able to enroll at Colorado College in the fall of 1880.

His letters home reflect a boyish reaction to the stories of fortunes to be made in the cattle business. They paint a graphic picture of early range life, as interpreted by an enthusiastic and alert young New Yorker.

Through the courtesy of his children, Mrs. George W. Goddard of Chevy Chase, Maryland, and George McGill Hayes of Canandaigua, New York, we are privileged to publish these letters. The originals are on deposit in the Charles Leaming Tutt Library at Colorado College in Colorado Springs.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COL.,
Sunday Mar. 13 '81

DEAR FATHER:

I have just recd. your two letters mentioning some objections to my Wyoming trip. As far as getting lost etc is concerned I do not anticipate much trouble there although it may happen.

Nearly the whole distance we will travel will be on a good wagon trail. As for desperate characters, I have heard from men who live there, that there are no more there than here. We will go well armed however. I have talked with gentlemen who own ranches in that country and who as tenderfeet when they first came out here took just such a trip, and they say they see no reason why we should not get through all right. My companions will return with me to the Springs in the fall.

As you say, I am too young to go in to the cattle business yet. But it is a business (and the manner of conducting it) that will not change. And even if I should never invest in it (and I do not expect to for two or three years yet) it will be as good a chance to investigate and look into it as I will ever have.

Pres. Tenney¹ said to me he thought it would be a very nice thing and that after taking such a trip I would be able to continue my studies in some eastern school. He is well acquainted with my companions and thinks I could not get any nicer young men to go with. Even if my expenses should be half again as much (\$300), it would not be such an expensive trip.

You will remember a good part of the outfit such as horses, saddles, tent and many other things would sell for nearly what they cost.

I will see Dr. Solly, Judge D.² and the other gentlemen you mentioned and report their opinions.

I wrote you a letter acknowledging the receipt of \$50 draft. The topazes were for George and Chester³ which they might not have understood. My mouth organ turned out to be a very poor one. I wish when George goes to Rochester he would select and send me two 1-2 concerts. I will send money when recd. I can play any tune on one.

Have not attended college for a week and a half on account of a cold. Am all right now Dr. Solly says.

With love

EDWARD

P.S. Tell G. to select organs that *blow easy*. If he should see any which are sweeter than a concert get them. Remember I want two, one for myself and one for a friend.

¹The Rev. Edward Payson Tenney had been president of Colorado College since 1876, and it was during his administration the original Palmer Hall (now Cutler Hall) was constructed. His ambitious plans seem to have outdistanced the financial resources of the college with the result that in 1884 he resigned the position. See Manly Dayton Ormes and Eleanor R. Ormes, *The Book of Colorado Springs* (Colorado Springs: Dentan Printing Company, 1933), pp. 164-66.

²Dr. Samuel Edwin Solly, the London-born vice-president of the first Antlers Hotel Company, wrote extensively on the influence of climate on health and was one of the early promoters of Colorado Springs as a center for the treatment of tuberculosis. See Ormes, *Book of Colorado Springs*, p. 243; William N. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado; History of Colorado* (Chicago: The Century

COLORADO SPRINGS
April Fool's Day
1881

DEAR FATHER:

I recd. today a letter from Mamma and a note from Chet. I was not aware how long it was since I wrote, but the time passes so fast since I returned to school that I hardly notice it.

You have not said yet whether I could take the trip or not. Every person I have spoken to thinks it will be a very nice thing. Saw Mr. Tuthill⁴ this morning and he could see no objections to it. I wish you would say *yes, and let me know as soon as possible* for I have not much time between this and the first of May to get ready in and horses are getting higher as the Summer comes on.

When you write send a draft for about \$70 so that I can get a horse as soon as I can find one. You said you would send money so that I could pay my board bill at the end of each month. . . .

Am getting along nicely at school now. All the friends send love. The Douglasses have not gone out on the ranch yet but are going soon. I took a long drive out to Monument Park⁵ and the ranch last Tuesday with one of the young men I am going with. Everything looked natural. Give my love to all the friends at home.

With much for you all.

Your affectionate son
EDWARD

COLORADO SPRINGS
April 25, '81

DEAR FATHER:

I write in haste to say that my arrangements are all made to start the first of May. I have purchased a nice gray mare for

Publishing and Engraving Co., 1901), pp. 353-54; and Amanda M. Ellis, *The Colorado Springs Story* (Colorado Springs: Dentan Printing Co., 1954), p. 24. Judge Douglass had been probate judge in Park County in 1863. He was a representative from El Paso County in the Constitutional Convention of 1876, and he represented El Paso County in the legislature from 1879 to 1881. His ranch was a few miles north of Colorado Springs, near Monument, Donald Wayne Hensel, "A History of the Colorado Constitution in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado, 1957), p. 410; Charlie Brown Hershey, *Colorado College, 1874-1949* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College, 1952), p. 22; and *Colorado Springs Gazette*, May 13, 1905.

³George and Chester were brothers of Edward Hayes.

⁴According to *The Denver Tribune*, January 21, 1874 Reverend E. P. Tuthill of Georgetown was a member of the first board of trustees of Colorado College. See also Hershey, *Colorado College*, p. 29.

⁵Monument Park is near the present site of the Air Force Academy. William J. Palmer originally planned to build a home for his intended bride, Queen Mellen, in Monument Park. She did not care to be isolated in what seemed to be a rugged wilderness, so the plan was dropped. Marshall Sprague, *Newport in the Rockies: The Life and Good Times of Colorado Springs* (Denver: Sage Books, 1961) pp. 23-25.

\$60. She is worth \$75. Have every thing ready. Chandler comes down this week from Denver. Am only waiting for the remainder of the \$300 which I hope you will send as soon as this reaches you.

With love for all.

Your loving son,
EDWARD

COLORADO SPRINGS
Tuesday, May 17- 81

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER—

This I think if nothing happens will be the last letter I will write from the Springs for some time. I expect to start day after tomorrow, the 19th. Chandler will be down from Denver on the night train. I have not yet got the plan of the route nor the directions for sending letters but will not send this letter off until I get them. Recd. draft for \$130 all safe, also the same for \$50 sent a short time before. You will see that \$10 a week for board which I did not make allowance for when I asked for money—made such a hole in what you sent me that I did not have the \$300, to make the trip on.

Since I wrote you last another young man has joined the party named Silsbee who was going to Wyoming on the same purpose as ourselves. He is from Salem, Mass., about eighteen and a very nice fellow indeed. We were quite fortunate in finding such an addition to our party.

You keep asking me to give our plans for the trip. I don't see what more I could say than I have said in previous letters. We will take two pack horses besides our riding horses and the necessary camp equipage including a tent. We will make from 20 to 30 miles a day, resting Sundays. Will cook two meals a day, breakfast and supper. Will cook enough in the morning to give us a lunch at noon.

It will take about a month to reach the round up when we will work for our board. You will find a better description of such work in the book you have on Colorado than I have space to give you here.

My friend's idea of such a trip is to look into the cattle business with a view of investing in it if it seems a good thing. We will do more or less hunting as there is an abundance of elk, deer, bear. In the way of clothing I will take with me two pair of pants, blue shirts and underclothes, six pair stockings, one over and one rubber coat, one pair shoes, corduroy

coat, sombrero, buckskin gloves and five pair blankets. Will take with me six-shooter, hunting knife and rifle.

Gave \$60 for a gray mare four years old. She is the envy of the town and a much better horse than the one you have at home. If she is in good condition next Spring she will bring between \$80 and \$100. She is a broncho with some American blood, spirited, gentle, easy rider and fast. She is the very ideal of a riding horse and I never made a better purchase in my life.

As it is half past ten I will say goodnight and will finish this when I have further particulars. With love for all

EDWARD

COLORADO SPRINGS
May 18th 11 P.M.

Chandler has returned from Denver. Will start tomorrow at about ten. The plan of our trip will be this, viz:— Colorado Springs to Denver to Collins to Fork's Hotel, Livermore to Virginia Dale to Tie Siding to Laramie to Rock creek stage road to La Bonte to La Prella to Fetterman to Powder River.⁶

My address will be

Edward G. Hayes
care Bradstreet Co.⁷
Denver, Col.

The letters will be forwarded from that address to me. I have everything I will need for the trip, thanks to you all. I now commence to realize how much you have done for me, and will endeavor to do better than I have done.

Remember me to all the friends at home.

So good by

Your loving son
EDWARD

DENVER, COLORADO
May 23, '81

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER—

We arrived here Saturday after three days out from the Springs. Had a very pleasant trip of it. We came by a mountain road or one along the mountains rather, up Plum Creek valley along which is the most beautiful views I ever saw—profusions of wild flowers and grass in splendid condition. This trip fully

⁶The plans were changed before the party passed Greeley. The revised itinerary went through Cheyenne.

⁷The Bradstreet Co. was one of the predecessors of Dun & Bradstreet, which was organized in 1931 when the Bradstreet Co. merged with R. G. Dun & Co.

demonstrated that we are able to take care of ourselves on our proposed trip.

We all stood it very well indeed. I was rather tired as I had to do most of the work such as cooking, etc., besides show the other fellows what they should do. I found that my past experience in camping came in very handy, although it was very unlike this.

You know . . . I went down the Fountain with some friends duck hunting. We took pack horses with us, so you see there is where I learned to cook and pack a horse.

We will rest up here until tomorrow morning when we will start for Wyoming. You will hear from me next at Cheyenne. We have bought a few things here which we found we would need from our experience on the way from the Springs. We are going over to the pound this afternoon and get some kind of a dog for 50¢. You can get some fine ones there sometimes for half a dollar.

Denver is looking very beautiful in its spring costume, so very unlike a year ago in Jan. when Father and I were here. What do you intend to do this summer? I have been asked a number of times whether you intended coming to Colorado or not. I said I hardly thought you would. I must close now as the other fellows are going over to the pound. So good by.

from your loving son

EDWARD

P.S. Remember my address is care Bradstreet Co., Denver, Col.

N. R. DAVIS & Co.
CATTLE BREEDERS
CHEYENNE
WYOMING TERRITORY.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER—

I am writing in the office of N. R. Davis,⁸ Cheyenne, as you will see. We arrived here this morning after a very pleasant trip from Denver. Our companion, Silsbee, leaves us here and will go on to Laramie City. We will continue our journey day after tomorrow when we have given ourselves and horses a little rest.

Our line of travel lay from Denver through Fort Weld, Greely, Pierce Station, Davises Ranch and Cheyenne. From

⁸ The 1882 brand book of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association showed the Davis range as "Hat Creek, Dakota, and Owl Creek, Colorado." See the *Cattle Brands Owned by Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association* (Chicago: J. M. W. Jones Stationery & Printing Co., 1882), p. 37, reprinted in Louis Pelzer, *The Cattleman's Frontier* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936). See also Maurice Frink, W. Turrentine Jackson, and Agnes Wright Spring, *When Grass Was King* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956), pp. 393-94.

Denver we followed the Platte through a beautiful country along the line of the U.P. Road to Evans, four miles south of Greeley, where we stopped over Sunday. Went to church in the evening. There we made the acquaintance of a family named McCutcheon who treated us with the greatest kindness—gave us all the milk we could drink, invited us to supper Sunday eve, etc.

From Greeley we passed through as dreary a track of prairie as I ever saw, for about forty miles. Not even a sage brush relieved the view but a line of snow capped mountains. The prairies were however covered with green grass about half a foot high and was a perfect garden of flowers of red, pink, white, blue, purple, yellow and every color you can think of.

We were talking to an old Irishman who lived there. We were speaking of our travels and Chandler spoke of having been in Europe and India. He thought Chandler must be well off and asked very earnestly how many millions he was worth. It tickled us very much.

Cheyenne is a very busy, dirty town of about four thousand, without a tree in the city to speak of. It is a government station and has about twelve companies stationed here. We are going out to see the fort which is about three miles from town, tomorrow morning.

We have not followed the course which I sent you, so far, and we don't intend to. Our new line of march will take us through Chugwater, Ft. Laramie, Ft. Fetterman, and Powder River P.O. After that we will join the round up where ever it may be. We expect to be back by the middle of Sept.

By the way a certain school in Penn. near Philadelphia has been recommended to me very highly by a reliable gentleman in Denver. The school is Hyatt's Military Academy, Chester, Penn.⁹ I wish you would send and get a circular of it and write me what you think of it.

We are as comfortable on our trip as could be expected and have everything we need.

Remember me to all the friends at home.

⁹ Hayes was referring to the Pennsylvania Military Academy at Chester, Pennsylvania. Col. Theodore Hyatt, the president of the school at one time called it Theodore Hyatt's Select School for Boys, and his name continued to be associated with the institution. The academy had both a college and a prep school. In 1876-77, 126 students were enrolled in the school under the guidance of the faculty members. In 1892 the name was changed to Pennsylvania Military College, the name by which it is known today. Henry Kiddle and Alexander J. Schem (eds.), "Pennsylvania Military Academy," *The Cyclopaedia of Education* (New York, E. Steiger, 1883), pp. 690-91; and *Pennsylvania Military College Bulletin, 1961, Series 99, Number 3* (January, February, March, 1961), 5-6.

Give my love to Grandma.
With much for you all, I am

Your loving son
EDWARD

Terms: \$1.50 to \$2.50 per Day;
Single Meals, 50 cents;
Rooms different prices.

METROPOLITAN HOTEL
J. E. Griffin, Proprietor
CHEYENNE, WYO.
June 2nd, 1881

DEAR FATHER—

I wrote you yesterday a rather long letter about our trip from the Springs. I have not read one from home in some time but will look for one at Ft. Fetterman which we will reach in about eight days. We start tomorrow early if nothing happens to detain us.

We will join the round up there and continue with it working for our board provided they will take us. We are in good condition having gained in flesh since starting.

Your affectionate son,
EDWARD

CHUGWATER, W.T.
June 9, '81

DEAR FATHER:

We have been laying over here about four days in the beautiful valley of the Chugwater waiting for my rifle which I had to send back to Cheyenne to have repaired. We are about 52 miles from Cheyenne and you can hardly think what a relief it was to set eyes on such a place after three days on the dreary prairies.

I expect my rifle this afternoon and we will start for Ft. Fetterman in the morning. We have not seen any large game so far but I hear there is plenty beyond Fetterman. I will tell you something about our Bill of Fare. The menu for yesterday was sow belly, a distant relative to bacon, in the words of the poet—salt pork. Bread, and very good bread too. But heavens! you should see the first batch I baked. There was about three inches of charcoal on either side. Chandler said it would be good to clean our teeth on. And the inside was like white lead. Coffee, and good strong coffee too, so strong that it makes our hair curl. We have prunes on Sundays. This is our fare when we are away from any town. A town consists of not more than three houses. When we are near any town we sometimes get milk, eggs, cans of fruit and beans. I tried to bake some cake last night by sweetening some bread. I can tell you it was very good.

Chandler's horse has been having a very sore back which has delayed us a great deal. We have missed the round up and so will keep on to Hallett and Brown's ranch¹⁰ where we will remain for a month or so and then go for a hunt on the Powder.

It would no doubt make you laugh to see us. I have not had a wash since I left Denver. We wash our faces and hands once in about three days. Our clothes are about torn to pieces, and all together we are a pretty rough looking set.

I have not yet had a letter from you but hope to hear from you at Fetterman. While I am writing my rifle came on the stage. Chandler, or the "Major" as he is called, sends his regards. Remember me to all the friends. With much love to all, I am

Your loving son
EDWARD

P.S. I wish you would send me a village paper or two when you write.

HORSESHOE CREEK
JUNE 15, '81

DEAR MOTHER:

We left Cottonwood yesterday with the intention of keeping on to Fetterman but we got up so late this morning and it is such a pretty place we determined to stop over a day.

Went fishing down the creek this morning with not much success. Killed a big rattlesnake coming home. Are twelve miles in one direction and twenty in another from a ranch and very wild country between. There are a few deer about here but have not killed any.

Had a delightful bath in the creek last evening, the first I have had in two years (that sounds funny—does it not? I mean a *swim*).

Chandler is much better I am glad to say.

Where is Cousin Will this summer?

I tried to draw a picture of a prickly pear for you to paint from, but could not. There are some here of a most beautiful tea rose color and also lemon striped with crimson. They make a great display on the green prairie.

I hope to hear in your next letter what plans Father has for me in the fall. I should like to go to school about two years more and would be ashamed to take my place with the young boys in the Academy. From all I can learn the school at Chester

¹⁰ William L. Hallett and James A. Brown later incorporated their cattle business as the Powder River Live Stock Company, maintaining a headquarters in Colorado Springs. Agnes Wright Spring, "Powder River Live Stock Company," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXVIII (January, 1951), 32-34.

would be just the thing. It is as near West Point as can be. You can think how it would be to go back, where you are known, to school after having been out of school two or three years and take your place among the "kids". I would not do it. So if it is possible please look around for some school I could go to.

EDWARD

FORT FETTERMAN

June 17, '81

DEAR MOTHER—

We arrived here this afternoon after a hard days ride through some of the roughest country I have ever seen. The bugles have sounded and the sun set gun has just been fired at the Fort under whose walls we are encamped.

Fort Fetterman comprises a sutler's station, post office, eating house, and the fort. It is the hardest looking place I ever saw. It is on the North branch of the Platte and surrounded by very rough country.

I recd. a letter from you here and also one from Fayette Moody my old guide in the Adirondacks.

We start in the morning for Old Fort Reno on the Powder. We have our horses up and expect to watch them tonight as the Indians and half breeds around here have an itching to get hold of good horses and try them. We are afraid they might not bring them back.

I am writing in a great hurry as you see, but will write a long letter describing the trip when I reach the Powder and have more leisure.

I hope you will write often and give me all the news. Tell Lizzie I will write her when I have time. Get the boys to write me if they will—they have not written since Christmas.

I must close now as it is getting dark.

With much love for you all, I am

Your affectionate son

EDWARD

POWDER RIVER

WYO. TER.

July 1 '81

DEAR MOTHER—

We have at last reached the Promised Land after it seems to me many years in the wilderness. Arrived Saturday evening June 26th. We have been a week or ten days longer than we expected on account of the Major's sickness on the road.

I wrote you last from Fetterman. Well, from there on was the hardest part of the road, with ranches few and far between, no water at noons and when we did get water it would physic you like Epsom Salts and would be as filthy as sewerage. Provisions on short allowance and my companion so sick he could hardly sit on horse back. You can imagine what that ninety miles was.

How we did feast our eyes on the Powder—an oasis in the desert. The ranch is on the banks of the river in some open meadow land, a very beautiful place indeed, surrounded by huge cottonwood trees as large as any eastern elm.

The house, or rather cabin, is built of logs containing a cuisine and sleeping or sitting room. Both have earth floors. The corrals and barn are behind the house. Everything is very rough.

There are four men and a cook on the place, also a small boy named Jim. About 4000 cattle belong to the ranch. The Big Horn Mountains are within sight about twenty or thirty miles off.

We live very well on the ranch. Have all the milk we can drink. Also cream in abundance. I am looking quite fat after trying Dr. Tanner's plan on our trip.¹¹ I am doing the cooking now for a few days while the men are away at a roundup. They left the Major and myself in charge of the ranch. I am getting to be quite expert in the line of cooking, having had so much to do lately.

There is lots of game such as deer, antelope, sage hens and curlew in the neighborhood and Buffalo about thirty-five miles away near Pumpkin Seed Buttes. I have killed three or four antelope since leaving Fetterman.

We will stay on this ranch most of the time this summer. Hope to hear from you soon giving your plans for the summer. We have been invited to remain here as long as we like, by our friend Hallett who is in Estes Park, Col., but who expects to come up here some time in the fall. All I lack now is some of the fresh fruit and vegetables you have so much of.

If you wish to find our exact position on the map you will look on the Powder River for Old Ft. Reno—which is now a deserted station or post—and four miles down the river you will see the place.

It hardly seems that I am so far away from a railroad. The time passes pretty slowly here. This is the order of the day:

¹¹ This probably refers to Dr. Henry S. Tanner of New York who made a celebrated forty-day fast in 1880.

Breakfast at between four and five. Then hunt, read, swim or ride until dark when we all retire.

I am sleeping in the tent, the Major in the house on account of asthma. Jim has gone to the post after letters. I will finish this when he returns—

Recd. a letter from you and Chester. Very glad to get it. Will answer Chester soon.

The weather has been very warm for the past week—reaching 110° in the shade.

I send in this a few sketches which I hope will please you. Will send more soon. I *now* see *my* error in not improving my talent in that direction.

With love for all.

I am Your loving son
EDWARD

POWDER RIVER
July 20, '81

DEAR MOTHER—

I have recd a letter from Father and also one from you and Chet. since writing last. The papers have come and are highly prized on account of local news, the other news being a week or two behind the times.

I hope you will have found a good school for me by the time I will have returned. In regard to that I would like to pursue a scientific course rather than any other. I do not think I shall embrace any profession but will settle in the West some where.

I have been inquiring into horse ranching in this country and find it would be a very paying business. We can however talk that over more fully when I return. I will leave here on the way back sometime in the middle of August.

We have been obliged to sell "Bent" (on account of some severe sores which appeared on his back) shortly after we came here, at a very low figure \$25. It was the best thing we could do however. I hated to part from him.

Only two or three days ago my mare came in very lame in her hind leg. It had been sprained by running over the sticks, etc., in the woods. She is a little better however now. I hope she will turn out all right. She runs with a herd of about 70 horses belonging to the ranch which are corraled twice a day. If she is not fit for use I will have to sell her for what I can get, and buy another or return by stage. The fare to Denver is about \$50.

If we return on horse back we will stop at ranches and feed our horses, as it will be pretty cold nights to camp out as we did coming up.

When I start I will telegraph you so you can send money to the Springs for me to return with. I will want enough to purchase ticket, and also to keep me in the Springs for a week or ten days to get my things together and also dispose of things which I will have after I am through the trip, such as saddle, horse, etc. You could have it deposited in the First National Bank. A draft of a hundred dollars would do, I think, and have some to spare.

I have been asked to go on a hunt with some Englishmen¹² in the Big Horn Mts. for a week or so. Think I may go. I did not see Pres. Tenney as I meant to, but had some reason for it. Will write him.

Am in good health.

Chandler sends his best regards.

Your affectionate son
EDWARD

P.S. I just thought that this is George's birthday. Give him my love and best wishes for many returns of the day.

POWDER RIVER, W.T.
Aug. 4, '81

DEAR FATHER—

I have just returned from a two weeks trip down the river about forty miles on a hunt after buffalo. I did not kill any however for a very good reason—that I did not see any. A large Bull was killed just in front of the cabin by one of the boys the day after I left.

I had very good success with the deer of which there are a great many on the river bottom.

I suppose you have received the telegram announcing my intention of returning soon.

I regret to say I am minus my mare. She has either wandered off or has been stolen. Three horses from the ranch went with her. A despatch was recd. at the post from below, warning them to look out for some horse thieves, but it is very doubtful

¹² Moreton and Dick Frewen, British investors, then owned the neighboring 78 Ranch. In 1882 Moreton Frewen reorganized the holdings as a joint-stock company called the Powder River Cattle Company. Frink, Jackson and Spring, *When Grass Was King*, 158-59; and Herbert O. Brayer, "Moreton Frewen, British Cattleman," *Western Live Stock*, XXXV (October, 1949), 13, 136.

whether they will catch them or not. We have searched the country high and low for them but have given them up. She may have wandered off with wild horses and may never be seen again. I have given the foreman of the ranch instructions to sell her should she ever be found for what he can get for her, giving him \$5 for his trouble and to forward the money to me. She had been lamed in some way by running through the timber and was not worth more than \$30. She may however recover in time and should she be found well of her lameness she would be worth much more.

I do not think it would be wise to buy another horse. Chandler has sold his and from Mother's letter I feel justified in returning in the stage to Rock Creek and thence by rail to Colorado Springs.

We will start next Monday and will reach Denver if nothing happens, in a week or ten days.

We have disposed of most of our things without much loss. Will have a little money left when I am through. But hope to find a draft in the Bank when I return with which to return home. You need not write after you receive this unless to Colorado Springs.

I hope George will have a pleasant time on the Lake. I wish he were here so I could give him a pretty shot at a deer or antelope. Little Chet would enjoy shooting sage hens and rabbits.

I have written to Pres. Tenney as I said I would, also have written to Dr. Kirkwood¹³ once or twice.

Have enjoyed this summer very much and am quite fat in the face, also much stronger. Had gained, two weeks ago, eight pounds since starting.

Chandler is much better and sends regards.

With much love for all the friends,

Your affectionate son
EDWARD

¹³Dr. T. C. Kirkwood was at that time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Colorado Springs. Ormes, *The Book of Colorado Springs*, p. 201.