

COLORADO PROGRESSIVES and the BULL MOOSE CAMPAIGN

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In the early years of the twentieth century there developed in the state of Colorado, as in other areas of the nation, a reform movement within the Republican party. Encouraged by the progressive achievements of Theodore Roosevelt and Robert M. La Follette, and inspired by the insurgent revolt in Congress during the Taft administration, the Republican progressives in Colorado desired "to convert their party to progressive principles and to make it an effective agency for achieving needed political and social reforms."¹ The Colorado Republican progressives' task was difficult because for many years the party's upper echelons had been under the influence of big business or "special interests." As a result of this "interest" control, Colorado had fallen behind other states in the progressive movement.²

The rise of insurgency in the national Republican party during the Taft administration moved the Colorado Republican progressives to organization and action. On June 16, 1910, they held a meeting in Denver for the purpose of seeing what could be done to save the Republican party as an expression of the popular will. William Allen White was the guest of honor. The Emporia, Kansas, journalist noted on this occasion that the Republican party had always been the reform party and that its history served as an example of successful insurgency. It

¹ Colin B. Goodykoontz (ed.), *Papers of Edward P. Costigan Relating to the Progressive Movement in Colorado, 1902-1917*. (Boulder: University of Colorado, 1941), p. 143.

² *Ibid.*

was quite obvious to White that the Republicans were the true progressives.

On July 30, 1910, the Republican progressives met in Colorado Springs for the purpose of formulating policies and planning strategy to secure control of the state party organization. They adopted a "Declaration of Principles" and circulated this document in printed form. The declaration included the endorsement of the usual progressive state and local governmental reforms: a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative, referendum and recall; a direct primary law, a public utilities law and a corrupt practices law; and on the national level, a scientific tariff commission, the divorce of corporations from interference with governmental activities, and a statement of opposition to "Cannonism." Last but by no means least, the declaration stated that "we hold that the party should be in the future, as it was in the past, the champion of the people against the encroachment of the special interests."³ In a statement to the press with reference to the Colorado Springs gathering, the Republican progressives' major spokesman, Edward P. Costigan said: "We feel confident that our movement will accomplish good. The people of Colorado are tired of machine rule and corporation dictation. . . . We hope to be a factor in the naming of good honest men for office."⁴

The Progressive Republican Club of Denver adopted a similar declaration on September 16, and at the same time selected a contesting delegation to the Republican state convention. One day previous to this, the Republican progressives had refused to participate in the Republican primaries in Denver "on the grounds that the party was under corporation control and that its official acts consequently did not represent the wishes of the majority of the members."⁵

On September 21, the insurgent Republican delegates went to Colorado Springs to claim seats in the Republican state convention. The insurgents' train ride to the Springs was of significance since they refused the usual railroad passes and paid their fare. The convention was a far cry from being progressive in spirit, and the insurgents, mainly because they had not even participated in the primaries, were denied seats. The platform adopted did not endorse the initiative or referendum, the main

³ *Ibid.*, 143-46. Insurgent Republicans followed the lead of Senator Robert M. La Follette in opposing the policies of President Taft, particularly with regard to the tariff. Representative George W. Norris led the fight against "Cannonism," which culminated in the resolution depriving House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of his power to appoint members of the Rules Committee.

⁴ *Denver Post*, August 1, 1910, p. 1.

⁵ Goodykoontz, *Papers of Costigan Relating to Progressive Movement*, 147.



*Republican progressive
Merle D. Vincent
polled 36 out of 1,000 votes
in the 1910
state convention.*

issue for the people's vote in November; Merle D. Vincent, the Republican progressives' gubernatorial candidate, received only thirty-six out of one thousand votes.⁶

Even though the Republican progressives were not making much headway within the party, there were indications that the people desired political reform. Two indications in Colorado in 1910 were the re-election of Governor John F. Shafroth, Democratic incumbent who had sponsored progressive legislation, and the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and the referendum.⁷

In the early months of 1911, the Colorado Republican progressives became interested in the organization of the National Progressive Republican League. The purpose of this organization was "to work for the simplification of the agencies of government and the purification of its working so it will reflect and be responsible to the public will."⁸ While it is known that Costigan, the leader of the Republican progressives, corresponded with Senator Jonathan Bourne, the league's president, there is no evidence of a direct tie between the Colorado Republican progressives and the National Progressive Republican League.

On June 3, 1911, the Republican progressives of Denver issued their "Declaration of Principles." Most of the statements in this declaration reiterate typical progressive legislative and governmental reforms. One paragraph, however, is of unusual significance. Paragraph three stipulated:

If this purification of the Republican party should fail of success, a third party will inevitably come into existence which

⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 150-51.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

will attract to itself the discontented, the indignant and the outraged members of the old parties and will sweep into power over the ruins of both.⁹

In less than a year with the failure of "purification," a third party was in the field. This June 3 meeting also saw the formation of a permanent Denver organization with Costigan as chairman.

The Republican progressives in the three western counties of Colorado—Delta, Montrose, and Mesa—also participated in the new insurgency, although, as Chairman Costigan pointed out in a speech at the Progressive Republican convention in Montrose on September 4, their political problems were relatively simple compared to Denver's. In Costigan's opinion, the machine did not dominate politics on the Western Slope. The resolutions passed at Montrose resembled the previous June 3 declaration of the Denver Republican progressives.¹⁰

In October, 1911, President William Howard Taft visited Denver. This visit gave the Republican progressives a golden

President Taft told Denver University students in 1911 that he had "found other things more comfortable than holding down the President's chair."



opportunity to issue statements regarding their opposition to the chief executive. Costigan and the other GOP insurgents used an open letter to the President, an interview in the *Rocky Mountain News*, and a circular letter to the editors of Republican newspapers in the state to announce their principles.¹¹

On the national scene, the Colorado Republican progressives supported the presidential aspirations of Senator Robert M. La Follette throughout 1911. Costigan attended the National Progressive Conference held in Chicago in October, 1911, and served as a member of the platform committee. When Costigan returned to Colorado, he took the lead in promoting La Follette's cause. The Colorado Republican insurgents endorsed the resolutions passed at the Chicago conference and, on November 9 at a state conference, gave La Follette official support for the presidency.¹² They also formed a state organization with Merle D. Vincent as president and J. S. Temple as secretary.¹³

By January, 1912, the Republican progressives in Colorado, though ostensibly committed to the La Follette candidacy, began turning to Theodore Roosevelt "as the candidate most likely to be successful in breaking President Taft's control over the Republican party."¹⁴ This feeling is particularly evident in a January 3 letter written by J. S. Temple to Gifford Pinchot. Temple stated that little enthusiasm had been aroused in La Follette's behalf in Colorado. Temple went on to point out that if Roosevelt would announce his candidacy, "he could easily capture the Colorado delegation to the Republican National Convention." But if the contest was between La Follette and Taft, the Wisconsin senator would not stand a chance because of the strength of the President's party machine.¹⁵ Pinchot's reply urged a "wait and see" policy in regard to the Roosevelt candidacy. The Colorado GOP progressives in a January 16 meeting responded with a modification of their previous resolution endorsing La Follette and now included Roosevelt as well.¹⁶

La Follette's address at the annual banquet of the Periodical Publisher's Association in Philadelphia on February 2 cost him any strength he retained in Colorado. The Wisconsin senator's performance on this occasion gave rise to the feeling that he

⁹ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 160-70.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 171-74.

¹² *Ibid.*, 176-77.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 182.

was a nervous wreck who would be unable to carry the progressive banner in the 1912 election.¹⁷

In mid-February Costigan, a firm friend of La Follette's, returned to Colorado from a Washington business trip convinced that "Fighting Bob" would not be available in 1912. Costigan also met with Roosevelt while in the East. On February 28 the Colorado Republican progressives unequivocally endorsed Roosevelt as their presidential choice.¹⁸ The GOP progressive statement pointed out that "the entrance of Colonel Roosevelt into the field as a presidential candidate on a comprehensive progressive platform . . . has given strength and impetus beyond estimate to our cause."¹⁹

The months of February and March, 1912, were periods of great activity for the Colorado Republican progressives. They directed all efforts toward securing a delegation to the Republican National Convention favorable to Roosevelt and the progressive cause. They also demanded presidential primaries on the assumption that the vast majority of Republicans in the state favored the Roosevelt candidacy.

The regular Republican organization had a ready answer for the Republican progressives' demand. Since there were no laws in Colorado requiring such primaries, the Republican State Central Committee merely refused to authorize them. The Republican progressives did succeed, however, in obtaining presidential primaries in five counties—Delta, Montrose, and Mesa on the Western Slope, and Weld and El Paso on the Eastern Slope—and in other scattered precincts. In all of these areas the voters expressed a preference for Roosevelt. The results strongly favored the GOP progressive claim that Taft would have been defeated if presidential primaries had been held on a state-wide basis.²⁰

On March 27, 1912, the state convention met at Colorado Springs to choose the delegates to the Republican National Convention. In spite of a poor primary showing and "other obvious signs of weakness as a candidate," Taft received 656 votes to Roosevelt's 242. The Republican progressives now demanded that the delegation to the National Convention be divided to give Roosevelt his proportional share of the votes. With this in mind the progressives prepared to send a protest-

¹⁷ La Follette's interpretation of this incident and its results appears in his *Autobiography* (Madison, Wisconsin: R. M. La Follette Co., 1913), Chapter XII.

¹⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, February 28, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Goodykoontz, *Papers of Costigan Relating to Progressive Movement*, 201.

ing, but not contesting, delegation to Chicago.²¹ Because they fully realized that they had no claim to replace the regular Republican delegation, they did not present their case to the credentials committee. The protesting delegation's main hope was to call attention to the fact that Taft was not the unanimous choice of the party, although Taft would receive the entire Colorado vote in the convention.²²

Before leaving for the national convention, however, the Colorado Republican progressives had to deal with a split in their ranks. Led by Philip B. Stewart, a prominent Colorado Springs businessman, a group of El Paso County Republican insurgents refused to support the protesting delegation. On June 7 Stewart and Judge Ben Lindsey clashed in debate before the El Paso County Republican progressives. Stewart came out against the recall of judicial decisions and other planks in the GOP progressive platform. Lindsey attacked Stewart's stand and according to the *Rocky Mountain News* the applause favored Lindsey.²³ The Stewart split became even more pronounced following the national convention.

In mid-June the Colorado protest delegation left for Chicago. Many realized that a progressive bolt of the regular Republican ticket might take place. Two of the Denver newspapers expressed opinions regarding a third party. The *Rocky Mountain News* felt that a bolt was the only open course for the progressives,²⁴ while the *Denver Republican* stated that all Republicans would stand by the party and back whomever the convention might choose. In the *Republican's* opinion bolters were deserters.²⁵

Led by Lindsey, the "protesters" established headquarters in Chicago's La Salle Hotel. For the benefit of the Chicago and national press, Lindsey commented extensively on the political situation in Colorado. He pictured "Big Steve" (Archie M. Stevenson) and "Boss" Simon Guggenheim as strangling the state in general and the Republican party in particular.²⁶

With most of the contesting Roosevelt delegations excluded, Taft was renominated on the first ballot. This result was expected, but one day previous to the balloting (June 21) Roosevelt had endorsed a progressive bolt. The Colorado "protesters" backed the colonel, for as Lindsey pointed out, the

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 202, and *Rocky Mountain News*, June 6, 1912, p. 4.

²³ *Rocky Mountain News*, June 7, 1912, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1912, p. 3.

²⁵ *Denver Republican*, June 11, 1912, p. 1; June 12, 1912, p. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1912, p. 1.



"Big Steve" Stevenson and "Boss" Guggenheim had a stranglehold on the state and the Republican party, according to some progressives.

people wanted Roosevelt. "If this National Convention doesn't nominate him, a convention of the progressive Republican party in Denver in August would nominate him. . . . If you ask nine of ten men they will say 'give us Teddy.'" ²⁷

A third party in the field for the November elections was now a reality. Denver was mentioned as the best place to hold the new party's August convention. Denver commercial and business men approved this proposal which was never to become reality, much to the chagrin of at least this element of the Denver populace. ²⁸

As the regular and protesting delegates filtered back to Colorado following the national convention, the *Denver Republican* began a policy of editorial criticism of the new party that was not to subside until the ballots had been cast in November. The *Republican* felt that there was no national issue which called for the birth of a new political organization. Why was a new party needed when the Republicans "had always been the driving force in the country and the Democrats the reactionary opposition?" All Republicans should stay with the party. ²⁹

On June 25 the Republican progressives drew up their plans for placing a party in the field in Colorado and for a conference to be held representing every county in the state. Costigan

spoke at this meeting regarding the "steamroller" treatment the protest delegation had received at the national convention. Three days later the official formation of the Progressive party took place with the filing of papers of incorporation. ³⁰ The expressed purpose of the party was the promotion of the candidacy of Roosevelt. ³¹

It was not long, however, before Philip Stewart and his supporters announced their position. At a conference of Republican progressives held at the Antlers Hotel in Colorado Springs on July 4, Stewart maintained a desire to stay in the Republican party until after the September primaries, in order to make one more effort to capture the regular Republican organization for Roosevelt. Operating under the assumption that Roosevelt was fraudulently denied the nomination at Chicago, Stewart wanted to bring about the selection of Colorado electors for Roosevelt, and to base the state campaign on strictly state issues. ³² Stewart also announced his own candidacy for the Republican gubernatorial nomination to be decided in the September 10 primaries.

The Costigan-Lindsey forces would have nothing to do with Stewart's ideas. The difference of opinion between the two factions deepened when Costigan stated on July 7 that the Progressives did not expect to hold any primaries for presidential electors, and would proceed with the third party movement under Roosevelt regardless of what happened within the regular Republican party. ³³

The provisional state central committee met at the Denver Auditorium on July 10 to strengthen the organizational structure of the Colorado Progressive party. State Chairman Costigan issued a call for a state assembly to be held in Denver on August 1 to nominate six presidential electors, a complete state legislative slate, and twelve delegates to the national convention of the Progressive party to be held in Chicago on August 5. ³⁴

Provisional Committeeman Philip Stewart did not attend the meeting, choosing to spend the day in private talks with the leaders of the regular Republicans regarding his candidacy for governor on a straight Republican ticket. At a meeting with regular Republican State Chairman Jesse F. McDonald, Stewart demanded that McDonald tell him whether or not the Progressives were to be read out of the party. McDonald replied

²⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, June 22, 1912, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1912, p. 6.

²⁹ *Denver Republican*, June 24, 1912, p. 4.

³⁰ Lindsey, Costigan, and Judge Van Cise were listed as the incorporators.

³¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, June 26, 1912, p. 1; June 29, 1912, p. 1.

³² *Denver Republican*, July 4, 1912, p. 3; *Denver Post*, July 4, 1912, p. 1.

³³ *Rocky Mountain News*, July 7, 1912, p. 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1912, p. 1.

that since Taft was the regular nominee of the party, Roosevelt could only be on another ticket and his supporters members of that party, not the Republican. In addition, the *Rocky Mountain News* pointed out that Stewart had, "to all intents and purposes [also] cut loose from the Costigan-Lindsey movement."³⁵ Stewart and his supporters now decided to fight in the primaries with a complete antimachine ticket. On July 23 they began a state-wide automobile campaign.

The Denver County Progressives met at the Albany Hotel on July 30. Six days earlier they had been read out of the party by the regular Republican committee. The convention gave Roosevelt an unqualified endorsement for the presidency of the United States under the Progressive standard. Costigan, introduced as the "patron saint of the Progressives," made a brief speech in which he stated that "the Progressive party means as much to the white man of today as the act of emancipation by Abraham Lincoln did to the South."³⁶ Costigan went on to say that all third-party sympathizers should head their ballot with Theodore Roosevelt's name.³⁷

The Denver Progressives had scarcely stopped waving their red bandanna handkerchiefs (the Progressive symbol) when the state Progressive assembly met on August 1 in Denver. For the occasion the Progressives placed a standard bearing the words "Thou Shalt Not Steal" on the speaker's platform. Pictures of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt bedecked the auditorium walls. Attendance at the assembly was not as good as expected with only twenty-three of the state's sixty-two counties represented. The entire assembly declared for freedom and purity in politics and to further this end nominated Roosevelt for president, Costigan for governor, and Isaac N. Stevens for U.S. senator, short term.³⁸ The convention adopted no platform at this time because the majority of the delegates preferred to wait until after the national convention to announce the Colorado planks. Both Costigan and Stevens made speeches extolling the virtues of progressivism. When Costigan took the platform, three cheers and a Bull Moose howl greeted him, prompting the gubernatorial candidate to remark: "This sounds like the true noise of the north woods."³⁹



Colorado Progressives nominated Edward P. Costigan for governor and Isaac N. Stevens for United States senator in 1912.

The national convention of the Progressive party met on August 5 in Chicago. Party leaders offered Ben Lindsey the permanent chairmanship, but he declined in favor of Senator Albert Beveridge. Roosevelt received the presidential nomination, and Hiram Johnson of California was selected as his running mate.⁴⁰ Of significance for the Colorado Progressive party at Chicago was the decision to offer a full Colorado state ticket.⁴¹ It was also decided at Chicago that Denver should be one of the key Bull Moose cities and that Roosevelt would speak in Denver in mid-September.

While the Colorado Progressives attended their national convention, the Stewart Republican progressives announced their state primary ticket. Stewart stated that he felt Roosevelt would recognize his organization as the official state organization, and that in the end the Progressives would be forced to support his ticket.⁴² There were now two offshoots of the Republican party in the field in Colorado, each at the time aggressively independent of the other.

By August 13 all of the Progressive leaders had returned to Colorado. From this date until Roosevelt's Colorado visit on September 19 and 20 the main topic in the Progressive campaign—and Stewart's as well—was whether or not a fusion of these two progressive elements would take place.

The *Rocky Mountain News* reported that Stewart was going to unite with the Progressives and become their long-term

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1912, p. 5; July 12, 1912, p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1912, p. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ To fill the Senate vacancy caused by the death of Senator Charles J. Hughes, Jr., in 1911.

³⁹ *Denver Republican*, August 2, 1912, p. 3.

⁴⁰ See George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), pp. 262-273, for a description of the Bull Moose National Convention.

⁴¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, August 5, 1912, p. 6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, August 9, 1912, p. 1.

senatorial candidate. With this idea in mind Stewart came to Denver for a conference with Costigan. Stewart now realized, the *News* reported, that he would hurt Roosevelt if he stayed out of the Bull Moose herd. As for the Progressives, they would welcome Stewart into the party. This fusion attempt lasted exactly one day. On the afternoon of August 14 a telegram from Roosevelt to Lindsey stopped the fusion. Roosevelt ordered



the Colorado Progressives to disregard the state Republican primaries and to prepare a completely independent state ticket. Stewart, quite disappointed by this action on the colonel's part, nevertheless reaffirmed his allegiance to Roosevelt and left Denver determined to fight in the primaries and to remain in the Republican party.⁴³

In late August, while the Bull Moose and Stewart factions campaigned separately throughout the state, there was another attempt to combine the two groups. On August 28 William Allen White passed through Denver on his way to see Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. White, according to the *Rocky Mountain News*, placed his stamp of approval on the Stewart forces and called for a reconciliation.⁴⁴ One day later Senator Joseph M. Dixon

⁴³ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1912, p. 4. For a discussion of the Stewart-Roosevelt relationship see Charles J. Bayard, "Theodore Roosevelt and Colorado Politics: The Roosevelt-Stewart Alliance," *The Colorado Magazine*, XLII (Fall, 1965), 311-326.

⁴⁴ *Rocky Mountain News*, August 29, 1912, p. 1.

of Montana, Roosevelt's campaign manager, arrived in Denver to meet with Progressive vice-presidential candidate Hiram Johnson. The two national leaders hoped that together they could bring about fusion. The Progressive leaders believed that all who favored Roosevelt and what he represented should join the new party and make it a permanent organization rather than attempt to reform the Republican cause.⁴⁵ Stewart, however, had seen one major fusion attempt fail, and he did not take the meeting with Dixon and Johnson seriously.

There is no exact record of the matters discussed at the conference between Stewart, Johnson, and Dixon. Dixon stated that he offered Stewart, Merle D. Vincent, and Griffith places on the Bull Moose ticket but that those three gentlemen felt they could not consistently withdraw their names from the Republican primary ticket at this late date. In addition, Dixon reportedly asked Stewart to instruct his followers to stay away from the primaries. He also added that the situation in such states as Kansas, Pennsylvania, and Nebraska was not the same as Colorado since the Colorado state ticket would not go on the ballot with the Republican electors pledged to Roosevelt and Johnson, but to Taft and Sherman. Neither Johnson nor Stewart made any further statement and the second major fusion attempt ended in failure.⁴⁶ The two Republican progressive elements now proceeded independently with their campaigns, the Stewart followers for the September 10 primaries and the Progressives for the November 4 national and state elections.

With fusion no longer an immediate issue, Johnson and Dixon returned to the campaign trail. Both men spoke in Denver and at the Platteville Pickle Festival. Johnson told of progressive experiences in California and of the current presidential race. In Johnson's opinion, "the most humiliating spectacle this country has ever seen is the spectacle of President Taft in his official capacity."⁴⁷ Dixon agreed with Johnson's statements, stated that November would see a "T. R. landslide," and predicted that Taft would not carry one state.⁴⁸

While the Progressives' one-thousand-voice chorus rehearsed "Roosevelt, Our Roosevelt"—to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland"—in preparation for the colonel's September 20 visit, the Colorado Republican party held its state-wide primaries.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 30, 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, September 1, 1912, p. 1; *Denver Republican*, September 1, 1912, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Denver Republican*, September 2, 1912, pp. 1, 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The Stewart Republican progressives, with the exception of attorney-general candidate Griffith, met defeat in all of the major contests.⁴⁹ The question now arose as to what course the defeated Stewart elements would follow. The *Rocky Mountain News* in a September 13 editorial stated that Stewart, if he remained in the regular Republican organization, "would be weighted by a party that had lost all semblance of democracy."⁵⁰

The Progressives again considered fusion, but this time with the Denver Citizens party, a non-partisan group with progressive principles. This attempt failed because the ardent Progressives, Lindsey excluded, could not see a Wilson or Taft supporter, regardless of his political ideas, on their ticket. The same was true for Wilson and Taft electors.⁵¹

Despite the failure of several fusion attempts, joy reigned in the Progressive camp on the eve of Roosevelt's visit, for on September 18 Stewart officially severed his connection with the Republican party, saying "the Republicans had rejected his position," and joined the Progressives. When told of Stewart's decision, Roosevelt shouted: "That clinches Colorado for us."⁵² In regard to Stewart's adherents, state Bull Moose headquarters reported that "thousands were going over to the Bull Moose," although many were expected to remain in the regular Republican fold.⁵³

On September 19, Roosevelt entered Colorado to embark on a two-day whirlwind speaking tour. The keynote of his speeches in five southern Colorado cities affords a lesson in effective political rhetoric. At Trinidad, Roosevelt stated that "the interests are willing to have Mr. Wilson or Mr. Taft come into power, but not me and doesn't that show that I am fighting the battle of the people,"⁵⁴ Moving on to La Junta, the colonel remarked before thirty-seven thousand that "the sugar beet grower who wants to ruin his own industry should vote the Democratic or Republican ticket." "I want the women of Colorado to register and vote," he said, "otherwise they are not

⁴⁹ See James B. Pearce (comp.), *State of Colorado, Abstract of Votes Cast at the Primary Election (September 10, 1912) and at the State Election (November 5, 1912)*, (Denver: Smith and Brooks Printing Company, 1913), pp. 42-43, for the complete primary vote.

⁵⁰ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 13, 1912, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, and *Denver Republican*, September 14, 1912, p. 5.

⁵² *Denver Post*, September 19, 1912, p. 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, September 20, 1912, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 20, 1912, p. 1.

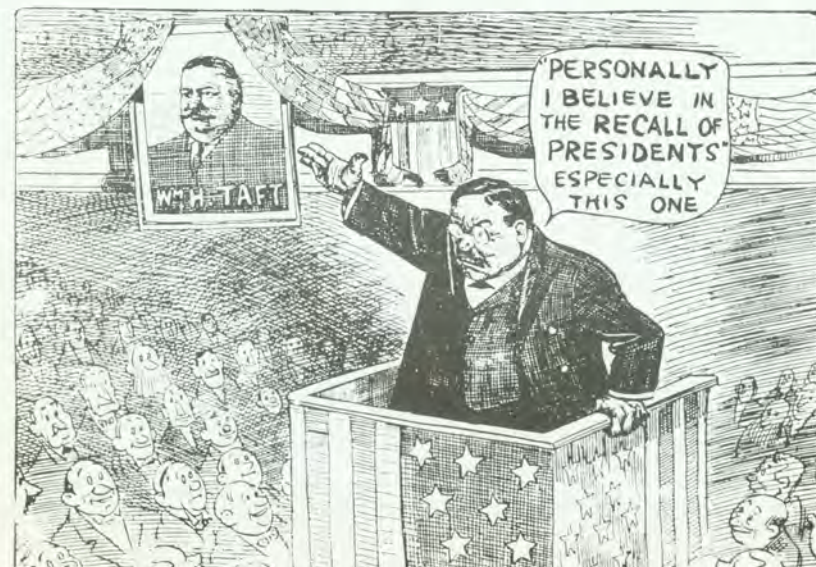
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1912, pp. 1-2.

true to themselves or to suffrage."⁵⁵ In Rocky Ford the chief Bull Moose reached to Denver for his main subject matter: "The man who believes a water company in Denver has the right to charge the people any price it wants is not with us."⁵⁶ And in Pueblo he appealed to the working classes of that steel city:

Mr. Wilson declares that our plan of governmental regulation of trusts would eliminate competition and the laboring man would suffer. Here in Pueblo you have this competition in the steel industry and nowhere else in the United States are conditions worse in a steel plant for the laboring man than here.⁵⁷

Before moving on to the Denver rally, Roosevelt paused long enough in Colorado Springs for a parting shot at the Colorado machine: "Four years ago Colorado went for Bryan and enthroned his side partners, the Guggenheim-Evans machine in power and we Progressives propose to dethrone them."⁵⁸

Roosevelt entered Denver on September 20 to a gala Bull Moose demonstration and a "rousing reception at the Brown Palace Hotel."⁵⁹ That evening the colonel spoke before fourteen thousand in the Denver Auditorium. Roosevelt answered the charges that he had stolen the Democrats' platform planks for the Bull Moose platform: "There is not one single issue of the Progressive platform which was borrowed from that absurd instrument adopted in Baltimore." Regarding the controversy over a third term Roosevelt said: "Any reference to a third term, in order to be a sane reference must mean third consecutive term. I have not had that."⁶⁰ The colonel declared for the initiative, referendum, and the recall of presidents, although he stated that the latter had not been written into the Progress-



sive platform. The recall-of-presidents remark took the leading Denver Progressives, including Costigan and Lindsey, by complete surprise. According to a *Rocky Mountain News* editorial of the following day, which condemned Roosevelt's desire to "grasp any straw," Costigan and Lindsey were "stunned" by the colonel's advocacy of the recall of presidents. With some element of political insight the *News* editorial concluded that "since Roosevelt lacks the necessary record, it is necessary for him to make up in words whatever may be wanting in deeds."⁶¹ Despite the *News's* criticism, Roosevelt's Colorado tour did a great deal to lift Progressive spirits.

The Progressive state campaign began in earnest following Roosevelt's departure, but a lack of adequate campaign funds hampered its efforts. In addition, prosperity in the agricultural areas meant small crowds, since the farmers and fruit growers were too busy to attend the political rallies. Because of this many of the Progressive leaders favored stopping rural campaigning altogether and concentrating on the towns. Automobile campaigning, however, in which candidates went directly to the farms to say a word to the farmers, somewhat alleviated the problem. The Progressives also had Spanish-speaking John B. Stephen campaigning in areas of the state where he would be most effective. John Benson, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, was working among the miners.⁶²

During the last week of September and early part of October fusion once again entered the picture. This time the regular Republican organization expressed some desire for reconciliation. The machine Republicans wanted to divide the state ticket between the two organizations.⁶³ In the opinion of the *Rocky Mountain News* the Republicans desired fusion because many of their party regulars were convinced that their party would be a thing of the past after the election.⁶⁴ The Progressives were in a unique position while listening to the Republican proposals, since they had previously, at Roosevelt's insistence, refused to acknowledge the existence of the Grand Old Party. After considering the representations of Republican State Chairman McDonald, the Progressives refused to combine on the congressional or state tickets.⁶⁵ They did, however, cooperate on many county slates.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Denver Post*, September 24, 1912, pp. 1-2.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1912, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 28, 1912, pp. 1, 4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1912, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁶ See *Denver Post*, September 29, 1912, p. 3, for a complete list of these counties.

On October 1 the Progressive platform committee announced the state platform. A committee of five had been working on this document with the candidates since mid-September. The Colorado Progressives endorsed Roosevelt and Johnson and the national Progressive platform.⁶⁷ In regard to Colorado they declared for constitutional amendments to allow the recall of all elective officers, including judges, and the recall of judicial decisions on constitutional questions. The platform also demanded the creation of a public utilities commission with regulatory and supervisory powers, a short ballot, a presidential primary law, eight-hour laws, and a corrupt practices act. They supported state guarantees against idleness and infirmity and the elimination of the middleman's profit on necessities, the direct election of U.S. senators, the dissolution of the food trust, the protection of Colorado's natural streams, state supervision of corporate stock and bond issues, the creation of a state printing plant, and the publication of all initiated and referred laws.⁶⁸

Without any major Denver newspaper support the Progressives continued their state-wide campaign. The *Rocky Mountain News* by this time was openly backing Woodrow Wilson and featuring front page lists of big business financial gifts to Roosevelt. The *Denver Republican* was steadfast in its support of Taft, whom they pictured as "a man of integrity and ability . . . [and] one of the best Presidents the country has ever had."⁶⁹ The *Republican* was, however, ready to accept such Progressive leaders as Costigan back into the party. The *Denver Post* was not too concerned with the state or national elections because during much of this period (June-November, 1912) they were faced with a large libel suit. Still, when the *Post* did choose to mention something political, it was usually of a progressive nature.

During the month of October and early November several national political figures spoke in Denver. On October 7 Wilson addressed a capacity house in the Denver Auditorium. On October 23 Champ Clark reiterated what Wilson had said two weeks before. On November 1 Jane Addams, whom the *Republican* pictured as the "Chief Moosette," praised Roosevelt and the Bull Moose movement as having appeal for social workers everywhere.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, pp. 264-266.

⁶⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, October 1, 1912, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹ *Denver Republican*, October 3, 1912, p. 4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1912, p. 9.



Denver took time out from the campaign to host the final Festival of Mountain and Plain.

In mid-October, with the exception of the news of the October 14 assassination attempt on Roosevelt at Milwaukee, the people of Colorado took a week-long break from the hectic pace set by the political campaigners of all three parties. Denver played host to the Festival of Mountain and Plain, a sort of westernized Mardi Gras, complete with giant fireworks displays, parades, a rodeo, and other types of amusement.

At the end of the six days of merriment, however, the realities of practical politics still existed—the regular Republicans again urged a complete fusion with the Progressives. The national Republican organization announced that Colorado would receive no campaign funds unless fusion was accomplished; the announcement had prompted this fusion attempt. The price involved was \$25,000,⁷¹ but Progressives spurned the Republican offer.⁷² This was the final attempt at fusion on the part of any of the parties in Colorado.

The political highlight of the latter part of October was the debate between Democratic gubernatorial candidate Elias M. Ammons and Progressive candidate Edward P. Costigan on “The Rooseveltian Policy of Conservation as Affecting Colorado’s Public Lands.” The debate took place before fifteen

⁷¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, October 24, 1912, pp. 2, 4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, October 28, 1912, p. 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1912, p. 1; see also Goodykoontz, *Papers of Costigan Relating to Progressive Movement*, pp. 226-46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, November 3, 1912, pp. 1-2.

hundred people in the Denver Auditorium on the evening of October 30. For several years Ammons had been an outspoken critic of both Roosevelt and his Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot and their policy of national control of public resources. This criticism formed the main point of his attack. Costigan defended the Rooseveltian policy, but had to admit that Colorado had received very little help from the government. The *Rocky Mountain News*, a pro-Ammons paper, declared the Democrat the winner.⁷³

The Progressives ended their election campaign on the night of November 2 with a Denver speaking tour. All of the leading Progressives including Lindsey and Costigan spoke in various parts of the city. The Roosevelt supporters were particularly elated over the news that their electors would appear on the ballot under three party headings—Roosevelt, Bull Moose, and Progressive. Even though the voter could select only one, the speakers treated this news as if it were some type of moral victory.⁷⁴

On the eve of election day the various Denver papers reaffirmed their choices and gave their predictions of the state and national election results. The *Rocky Mountain News*, which backed Wilson and the Democrats in the state race, predicted a Democratic landslide. The *Denver Republican* reported that “Taft has the best chance to win,” backed the Republican state ticket, and published a 1908 letter from Roosevelt extolling the virtues of William Howard Taft.⁷⁵ The *Denver Post* supported candidates on all three tickets.

Election day dawned fair and clear. Denver residents kept a sharp eye on the Daniels and Fisher tower because the tower



Signal lights on the D&F Tower told the voters that Wilson had won.

lights would signify which candidate and party was victorious. A green light would signify a Progressive and Roosevelt victory in the state; a red light would denote a Democratic and Wilson victory; and a white light would tell of a Republican and Taft victory.⁷⁶ The red light flashed on early in the evening of November 5 and remained lighted even though the long Colorado ballot delayed the final tabulations.

By November 7 it was clear that Wilson and the Democrats had swept Denver, Colorado, and the nation. Most of the Progressive candidates ran a strong second in the state balloting;⁷⁷ but four Denver Progressives were elected to the District court,⁷⁸ and one Denver man captured a seat in the state legislature. As expected, Lindsey retained his position as juvenile judge.

The question that arose now was whether or not the Bull Moose would survive in Colorado. State Chairman Allison Stocker answered this query in a November 7 press statement. According to Stocker the Progressives were

going to complete the state organization and get ready for the next campaign. We are every bit as enthusiastic as we were before the election. People have been telephoning me today from all parts of the state assuring their support. The fighting spirit is just as dominant now as it ever was. . . . The Progressives will sweep the nation at the next presidential election. The Republican party must cease to exist after last Tuesday's results.⁷⁹

The Progressive party failed in Colorado in 1912 for the same reasons that it failed in most other areas of the nation. First, there was no real organization. In many areas of Colorado the Progressives did not even enter a local ticket. Second, the Roosevelt conservation policies alienated many Colorado residents. Third, the Wilson nomination precluded any great migration of progressives from the Democratic party. Roosevelt supporters had to depend upon the backing of Republican progressives, and there were simply not enough of them in Colorado.⁸⁰ Finally, the Colorado Progressives' intra-party difficulties, ostensibly solved by the end of September, 1912, contributed to the party's defeat at the polls.

In 1914, with Costigan once again at the helm as the party's

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; *Denver Republican*, November 4, 1912, p. 4; *Denver Post*, November 4, 1912, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Denver Republican*, November 5, 1912, pp. 1, 3.

⁷⁷ See Pearce (comp.) *Colorado Abstract of Votes Cast in the 1912 Election*, pp. 124-50, for the final election statistics.

⁷⁸ *Denver Post*, November 6, 1912, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, November 7, 1912, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, p. 280.

gubernatorial candidate, the Progressives filed a complete state ticket. Their campaign made extensive use of the automobile and women speakers, but the final tabulation of ballots in November showed a loss over the party's 1912 totals.⁸¹

In 1916 the Progressives once again planned to place a complete state ticket in the field and to enter the national race, but they soon discovered there was little support for a third party. With the exception of a few die-hards they proceeded to join the regular Republicans in promoting Charles Evans Hughes for the presidency, and the Colorado Progressive party officially passed from the state political scene.⁸²

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⁸¹ *Denver Post*, November 1, 1914, pp. 1, 3.

⁸² Leah M. Bird, "The History of Third Parties in Colorado" (unpublished Master's thesis, History Department, University of Denver, 1942), p. 94.

FOUNTAIN QUI BOUILLE

BY C. ARTHUR HOCHMUTH

No one has ever definitely determined who first called the mineral waters at Manitou Springs *Fontaine qui bouille*, the name from which present Fountain Creek is derived. Historians believe it could have been any of the French traders or trappers who strayed into the Pikes Peak area during the 1700's. It seems likely that, inasmuch as the soda spring was the most active of several in the vicinity, *Fontaine qui bouille* was first applied to that spring and with constant repetition over the years became the accepted name for all of the springs.

Some authorities give the credit to Auguste P. Chouteau, a St. Louis fur trader, or one of his forty-five men. Along with another Frenchman, Jules De Mun, Chouteau journeyed into the region in 1815. De Mun did not mention the springs in his journals, but he did write that Chouteau and his men ranged about the country between the South Platte and the Arkansas in 1816. Another trader, Joseph Philibert, accompanied them a good part of the time, and he was often referred to by De Mun.¹

Whether or not Chouteau or some one of his traders or trappers actually did originate the term, *Fontaine qui bouille*, they probably were an important factor in establishing it as a permanent name for the spring. An indication of this lies in the fact that one of the men, Joseph Bijou, acted as guide for Major Stephen H. Long a few years later.² Dr. Edwin James,



Edwin James

historian of Long's expedition whom the guide Bijou assisted at times, called it "the boiling spring," and the creek was called "Boiling-spring creek."³ The similarity of names, reaching the same end in different languages, could hardly have been a coincidence.

Because of constant harassment by the Spaniards only a few Americans of note ventured into the region for several years following the Louisiana Purchase. Zebulon Pike came in 1806, followed by Ezekiel Williams in 1811 and 1814, Joseph Philibert in 1814, and Chouteau and De Mun in 1815-1817.⁴ After the Adams-Onis Treaty established the Arkansas River as the definite boundary between United States and Mexican territory in 1819, Americans began entering in increasing numbers.

The first of these was Major Stephen H. Long, who arrived in the vicinity of Pikes Peak with his exploring party in July, 1820. John R. Bell, Long's official journalist, gave a detailed description of the springs:

At the foot of the mountain of the high Peake, where are two remarkable medicinal springs, the waters of which are boiling and bubbling, like water boiling over a fire—the basons in which these waters rise are of lime stone rock, one about 3 feet diameter, the other 26 or 30 inches—the temperature of the largest 62° of the other 75°—the first a strong soda and pleasant to drink—latter a sulphur impregnation—they are on the margin of a small rivulet & near a trace leading into the mountains. It is a custom with the wandering bands of Indians, that travell this region of country to make offerings to the Great Spirit, by casting ornaments of beads, shells etc. into them, attended with a sort of ceremony or religious form. . . . Bijou informs us, that french traders when in this country, examine these springs & take from [them] the articles thus religiously deposited by the nations and trade them off to the same people again for their skins.⁵

Dr. James's description paralleled that of Bell to a great extent but added a number of additional details. James seemed chiefly interested in the soda spring:

The boiling spring is a large and beautiful fountain of water, cool and transparent, and aerated with carbonic acid. It rises on

¹ Thomas Maitland Marshall, "The Journals of Jules De Mun," trans. Nettie Harney Beauregard, *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, V (February, 1923), 167-208, and (June, 1923), 311-26.

² Joseph Bijou and Joseph Bissonet were one and the same. See Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen (eds.), *The Journal of John R. Bell, Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1957), pp. 122-23, 166.

³ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1823), II, 223, 228.

⁴ Raymond E. Calhoun, "The Age of Exploration: 1806-1858," *The Pikes Peak Region, a Sesquicentennial History*, ed. Harvey L. Carter (Colorado Springs: Historical Society of the Pikes Peak Region, 1956), pp. 3-5.

⁵ The Indians continued to leave presents at the spring until 1870; see Fuller and Hafen (eds.), *Journal of John R. Bell*, 166n, 167.

the brink of a small stream, which here descends from the mountain. . . . The water of the spring deposits a copious concretion of carbonate of lime, which has accumulated on every side, until it has formed a large basin overhanging the stream. This basin is of a snowy whiteness, and large enough to contain three or four hundred gallons, and is constantly overflowing. The spring rises from the bottom of the basin, with a rumbling noise, discharging about equal volumes of air and water, probably about fifty gallons per minute; the whole kept in constant agitation. The water is beautifully transparent. . . . Distant a few rods from this is another spring of the same kind, which discharges no water, its basin remaining constantly full, and air only escaping from it.⁶

Some of the subsequent visitors to the region were sufficiently impressed by the *Fontaine qui bouille* to devote considerable space to it in books they wrote. While their stories agreed pretty much with those of Bell and James, occasionally one or another of them would come up with some detail not previously mentioned. The sulphur spring was quite neglected, but a fairly comprehensive description of the soda spring was available to the outside world by the time the settlements began to appear thereabouts in the 1860's.

The French had associated the nearby stream with the spring by calling it the *Riviere de la Fontaine qui Bouille*, which in English means River of the Boiling Spring. John C. Fremont was familiar with that name when he arrived at the springs in July, 1843: "Our direction was up the Boiling spring river, it being my ambition to visit the celebrated springs from which the river takes its name." In other references Fremont spoke of the stream as the "*Fontaine-qui-bouit* river."⁷

Fremont was headed for the Far West on his second expedition when he diverged from the direct route through Wyoming and traveled south into Colorado as far as the Arkansas River. Upon his return northward he stopped for two days at the springs. Fremont concurred with practically everything Bell and James had written about the soda spring and also included some observations of his own:

The water has a very agreeable taste, which Mr. Preuss found very much to resemble that of the famous Selter Spring in the grand duchy of Nassau, a country famous for wine and mineral waters.⁸

After drinking the water, the ensuing burps must have made it evident to Fremont that it was loaded with carbonic gas.

⁶ James, *Account of an Expedition*, II, 212-13.

⁷ John C. Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44* (Washington: Blair & Rives, 1845), p. 116.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.



John C. Fremont

Nevertheless, following his custom in regard to water of unusual origin, the Pathfinder made a complete analysis of it. Taking some residue from a piece of wood which lay beside the spring, he found it to contain as its chief constituent 92.25 percent lime carbonate.⁹ For some time thereafter the springs were occasionally called Fremont Soda Springs, a name for which he was not responsible because he referred to them as *Fontaine-qui-bouit*.¹⁰

Rufus B. Sage visited the springs late in 1842 and wrote about the experience a dozen or so years later. He called the soda spring *Fountain qui Bouit*, or "the Boiling Fountain." His description of it was quite like Fremont's, and in all probability he had a copy of the latter's book when he wrote his own, since he included Fremont's analysis of the residue in his own book. Possibly influenced by the name of the spring, he made one statement that was quite out of step with the facts: "This spring, though at present cool, is said to have been formerly quite the reverse. Some twenty years since, the heat was sufficient to cook flesh in a half hour's time, if submerged in the water."¹¹ Unfortunately he did not supply the source of that bit of misinformation. Bell, James, and Fremont had reported

⁹ The complete results of Fremont's analysis (see *Ibid.*) were:

Carbonate of lime	92.25%
Carbonate of magnesia	1.21
Sulphate of lime	
Chloride of calcium	.23
Chloride of magnesia	
Silica	1.50
Vegetable matter	.20
Moisture and loss	4.61

¹⁰ *Colorado: A Guide to the Highest State* ("American Guide Series"; New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 229; Fremont, *Report of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 115-17.

¹¹ Rufus B. Sage, *Rocky Mountain Life; or, Startling Scenes and Perilous Adventures in the Far West During an Expedition of Three Years* (Boston: Wentworth & Co., 1857), pp. 219-20.

the temperature of the water to be about the same as that of the atmosphere.

Sage elaborated somewhat upon the Indian reverence for the spring and identified the tribe which in his opinion seemed most concerned about it: "The Arapahoes regard that phenomenon with awe and venerate it as the manifestation of the immediate presence of the Great Spirit. They call it the Medicine Fountain, and seldom neglect to bestow their gifts upon it whenever an opportunity is presented." He also upped the ante from Bell's list of offerings to include robes, blankets, arrows, bows, knives, beads, and moccasins, and said they were either cast into the water or hung on nearby trees.¹²



A. D. Richardson, who visited the FONTAINE QUI BOUILLE in 1859, recounted an Indian tale that "a spirit troubles the waters and causes the bubbling by breathing in them."

During the spring of 1858, Captain Randolph B. Marcy camped at the springs for a month while on his way north from Taos. He was in command of a supply train that had stopped to await additional men and supplies for delivery to General A. S. Johnston in Wyoming. In his book Marcy included an extensive account of the spring: "The most remarkable feature . . . in the *Fontaine-qui-bouille* is the peculiar taste of the water. It is pungent and sparkling, and somewhat similar in taste to the water from the Congress Springs at Saratoga. . . . The men

¹² *Ibid.*, 220.

made use of it instead of yeast in raising their bread, which induced the belief that it contained soda, or some other alkali."¹³

Marcy admitted he did not fully comprehend the Indian superstitions about the spring. "The Indians believe it to possess some mysterious powers, the purport of which I could not learn; but there were articles that were deposited by the spring, probably as offerings to the 'big medicine' genius that presided over it."¹⁴

From Marcy's account it may be assumed that by the time he arrived, the name *Fontaine qui Bouille* had shifted from the spring to the creek through general usage. The stream then continued to be known by that title until it became anglicized



William H. Jackson took this view of the springs in 1870.

to Fountain Creek, apparently in the 1870's. A reference to it in 1871 used the French term, while later maps called it Fountain Creek.¹⁵

More recent writers assert that the Indians applied the name of their Great Spirit, Manitou, to the spring. That title, however, is of much more recent origin. William Jackson Palmer had called the soda spring site "La Font," but the English financier

¹³ Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1866), pp. 252-53. Augustus Voorhees, in his "Diary of the Lawrence Party's Trip to Pike's Peak in 1858," also "found three soda fountains or boiling fountains. They are quite sour and resemble Congress water." *The Colorado Magazine*, XII (March, 1935), 49.

¹⁴ Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life*, 252-53.

¹⁵ Susan R. Ashley, "Reminiscences of Early Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, XIV (March, 1937), 68.

William Blackmore suggested a change. According to Marshall Sprague, Blackmore noticed a few Ute Indians at the spring when he visited the place in 1871. "He urged that the name 'La Font' be changed to 'Manitou,' the Algonquin Indian spirit



After the turn of the century the name of the town was changed once again to Manitou Springs.

of Longfellow's epic." And so it was that *Fontaine qui bouille*, Boiling Spring, and La Font were discarded, and both the springs and the town were called Manitou.¹⁶

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¹⁶ Marshall Sprague, *Newport in the Rockies: The Life and Good Times of Colorado Springs* (Denver: Sage Books, 1961), pp. 34-35.

First Ladies of Colorado: Ella Nye Adams

BY HELEN CANNON

A writer viewing the life of Ella Nye Adams in retrospect made this comment:

Had not fate marked her for close identification with Colorado's political life, Mrs. Adams would have been placed among those gentle home-loving women who have no history other than that of loving service. For the modesty of her nature, her disinclination even to stand in the outer circles of the social spotlight, set her apart with the quiet ones of earth.¹

Two men determined the fate that marked Ella Nye Adams for close identification with Colorado's political history: her husband Alva Adams, three times governor of Colorado, and her son Alva Blanchard Adams, twice a United States senator. Mrs. Adams turned this fate into a way of life. During the fifty years of their marriage, her life was completely absorbed in her husband; the official and social roles as the wife of a prominent public man provided her activities. Her principal personal characteristics were her devotion to Governor Adams and her conscientious attitude toward her home and official life. She showed abounding pride in her husband's success, and restrainedly enjoyed her social position and wealth.²

The first American ancestor of Ella Nye Adams, Benjamin Nye (1620-1676), was born in Bidlenden, Kent, England. He came to America as a youth of fifteen years on the ship *Abigail* to Lynn, Massachusetts, in July, 1635, and was settled by April 3, 1637, in Sandwich, Massachusetts, on land granted to the Plymouth colony. He was not, according to family history, a great man, but he was a man possessed of great energy and

¹ *Denver Post*, May 6, 1931, p. 35.

² Letters from Laura Ambler Fredericksen (Mrs. Paul Fredericksen), February 4, February 23, and June 13, 1965. Mrs. Fredericksen is a grandniece of Mrs. Alva Adams.

that integrity of purpose that brought him success and prominence among the men of the colonies. Records at Sandwich show that he owned a gristmill and a fulling mill, was a builder, and bore arms against the Indians. His name appears on the subscription list for the first parish church, still standing on the original site. He married in Sandwich, October 19, 1640, Katherine Tupper, the daughter of Rev. Thomas Tupper, who likewise came over from England on the same ship. Later he went to Plymouth and joined the army that was raised to serve during King Philip's War. He was mortally wounded at Rehoboth on March 26, 1676, and was buried there.³

Benjamin and Katherine Nye had a large family, and soon their children and grandchildren spread from Sandwich to Maine and all over New England. It was from the Maine branch of the family that Ella Charlotte Nye descended. Her father, Elisha Nye of the eighth generation of the Nyes in America, was born in Fairfield, Maine, on March 14, 1817.⁴ He married on October 29, 1844, in Brownville, Maine, Charlotte Crosby Thomas,⁵ born in Brownsville on August 13, 1824.⁶ His bride was the daughter of Jonah and Sally W. Thomas.⁷ Jonah Thomas was a native of Maine, a farmer, and a deacon in the Congregational church.⁸ Ella's grandmother, Eliza Freeman Nye, wife of Alden Nye, was likewise born in Fairfield on January 27, 1800.⁹ It is through this grandmother that she could claim Mayflower descentance from three Pilgrim Fathers: William Mullins, William Brewster, and Stephen Hopkins.¹⁰ At the time Ella's father and mother were married, he was living in Bangor, Maine,¹¹ following the carpenter's trade.¹² Ella was born in Bangor on April 3, 1851,¹³ as were her three brothers, Willard

³ *The Nye Family in America, 1637-1903* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: E. Anthony & Sons, Inc., 1903), *passim*.

⁴ Obituary of Elisha Nye, *Silver World* (Lake City), June 23, 1877, p. 3.

⁵ Marriage license of Elisha Nye and Charlotte Crosby Thomas, Office of the Town Clerk, Brownville, Maine.

⁶ Certificate of birth of Charlotte Crosby Thomas, Office of the Town Clerk, Brownville, Maine.

⁷ The "W" in the name of Sally W. Thomas probably stands for her surname, Wilkins. Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey (Mrs. Myron E. Humphrey), February 23, 1965. Mrs. Humphrey is the daughter of Dr. Willard Wheeler Nye.

⁸ Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine* (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg, Donham, 1880), p. 242; 1850 census, Piscataquis County, Maine.

⁹ Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, January 10, 1965. Eliza Freeman Nye came west after her husband's death. She died in Jasper, Colorado, February 14, 1890, and was buried there.

¹⁰ Quantille McClung, "Alva Adams and Wife, Ella Charlotte Nye," *Colorado Genealogist*, VIII (January, 1947), 10-11; Frederick Freeman, *Freeman Genealogy* (Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1875).

¹¹ Marriage license of Elisha Nye and Charlotte Crosby Thomas, Office of the Town Clerk, Brownville, Maine.

¹² 1850 census, Bangor, Penobscot County, Maine.

¹³ Certificate of death of Ella Nye Adams, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Pueblo, Colorado.

Wheeler (September 26, 1844),¹⁴ Artemas Francis (July 19, 1849),¹⁵ and Edward Freeman (November 9, 1853).¹⁶

The Nye wanderlust took the family west in 1855,¹⁷ when Ella was fourteen years old. Their new home was Geneseo, Illinois, a town of approximately five hundred inhabitants located on the recently complete Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. Even though Geneseo was in one of the state's richest agricultural areas, Elisha Nye continued in the building and carpentry trade.¹⁸ By 1865, Geneseo had grown to a town of three thousand with a graded school system, a small technical seminary, a local newspaper, and several churches, including the Congregational, the first to be established.¹⁹ This was the cultural environment of Ella Charlotte Nye during her childhood and girlhood. Tragedy came to her at the age of seven, when her mother died of tuberculosis on April 27, 1858.²⁰ By 1860, Elisha Nye was remarried to Hannah Hofland, a young Swedish woman.²¹ They had three children, born in Geneseo: Frederick Hamlin,²² Herbert Ellwood,²³ and Ada.²⁴

The family moved west again in 1870, when Elisha Nye and his son Artemas Francis Nye joined the Union Colony at Greeley during the first year of its organization.²⁵ The records of the organization show that Elisha continued to follow the building trade, being a painter and a carpenter.²⁶ A year later Elisha joined the Fountain Colony, founded at Colorado Springs by R. A. Cameron of Greeley, and the family moved there in August, 1871. Elisha opened the Nye Restaurant—later the El Paso—in the fall of that year.²⁷ The year 1872 found the family

¹⁴ Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, August 31, 1965. Willard Wheeler Nye died on October 19, 1933, in Hiawatha, Kansas, and is buried there.

¹⁵ Anna B. Nye, "Family History" (mimeographed), 1951, p. 61. Artemas Francis Nye died on January 19, 1933, in San Bernardino, California.

¹⁶ Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, August 31, 1965. Edward Freeman Nye died on October 27, 1893, in Arkansas.

¹⁷ Obituary of Elisha Nye, *Silver World* (Lake City), June 23, 1877, p. 3.

¹⁸ 1860 census, Henry County, Illinois.

¹⁹ *The History of Henry County, Illinois* (Chicago: H. F. Kett & Co., 1877), pp. 507-21.

²⁰ Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, August 31, 1965.

²¹ 1860 census, Henry County, Illinois. Hanna Hofland was nineteen years old in 1860; *ibid.* She died in Rosita, Colorado. Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, August 31, 1965.

²² Born on March 26, 1860; died and was buried in Golden, Colorado, September 17, 1933. Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, August 31, 1965.

²³ Born on December 1, 1865. *Ibid.*

²⁴ Born on May 20, 1869; her husband's name was "Itz." *Ibid.* The obituary of Frederick Hamlin Nye gives the married name of Ada Nye as Mrs. Henry Ertz. *Denver Post*, September 19, 1933, p. 4.

²⁵ David Boyd, *A History: Greeley and the Union Colony of Colorado* (Greeley, Colorado: Greeley Tribune Press, 1890), p. 437.

²⁶ James F. Willard (ed.), *Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-1871* (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1918), p. 369.

²⁷ Manley Dayton Ormes and Eleanor R. Ormes, *The Book of Colorado Springs* (Colorado Springs: Dentan Printing Company, 1933), pp. 29-32, 130.

located in Manitou, about six miles from Colorado Springs, with Elisha as proprietor of a rooming and boarding house called the "Rustic House."²⁸ For the family as a whole this was their last move, although in July, 1875, Elisha went to Lake City, Colorado, where he died on June 20, 1877.²⁹ Years later, his son, Artemas Francis ("Frank"), was unable to locate his father's grave.³⁰

In the spring of 1871, another family destined to play an important role in the continuing history of Colorado came west seeking a better climate for their children. John and Eliza Blanchard Adams had already lost three sons from tuberculosis. Another son, George, was critically ill with the dread disease, and still another, Alva, was very frail and a likely victim. They stopped briefly at Greeley but decided to push further south to Manitou. When it became evident that George would not recover, the discouraged and homesick parents returned to Wisconsin, leaving Alva and John behind with the teams and wagons and some ready cash. Alva got a job hauling ties for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, building south from Denver to Pueblo. By October he had established his credit and accumulated sufficient cash to purchase a thriving lumber and hardware store, a business he pursued throughout his life.

Once in answer to a query about her marriage, Mrs. Adams said: "I met Alva Adams at Colorado Springs, just how and where I do not remember, but it seems to me that I have always known him. That was the beginning of our lives."³¹ It was love at first sight between the smooth-shaven and somewhat hollow-cheeked young man and the slip of a girl a year his junior. They were married in the bride's home in Manitou on October 25, 1872.³² After a wedding breakfast to which all their close friends were invited, they departed for Denver to shop for furnishings for their home in Colorado Springs. This was the first of several homes Ella was to furnish in the next ten years.

The discovery of new mines and the building of new towns created a demand for hardware. The foresighted Alva Adams opened new hardware stores in Pueblo, Del Norte, Alamosa, and Creede. The initial move was to Pueblo in 1873. Here Edna,

²⁸ *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), August 19, 1873, p. 1.

²⁹ Obituary of Elisha Nye, *Silver World* (Lake City), June 23, 1877, p. 3.

³⁰ Nye, "Family History," 56.

³¹ Anonymous untitled manuscript, Library, State Historical Society of Colorado. Part of the manuscript is written on stationery bearing the letterhead of United States Senator Alva B. Adams. According to Laura Ambler Frederickson, it was probably written by Ellis Meredith (Mrs. H. H. Clement) in Washington, D.C., in 1923-24.

³² Certificate of Marriage, Book B, p. 8, Office of County Clerk, El Paso County, Colorado.



Governor and Mrs. Alva Adams with their son Alva Blanchard Adams.

their first child, was born. She lived only three weeks, dying on September 28, 1873.³³ When their second and last child, Alva Blanchard, was born on October 28, 1875, they were living in Del Norte. In the spring of 1883, for business and perhaps political reasons, they moved back to Pueblo and here made their permanent home.

"How Mr. Adams Waltzed In," was the title of a local newspaper's account of the ball held in the Tabor Grand Opera House on January 11, 1887, climaxing the flamboyant inauguration of Alva Adams as fifth state governor of Colorado. Two and one-half columns of fine print described the costumes of the ladies. Mrs. Adams wore a pale green gown, *en traine*, embroidered in pearls and pink beads, and decorated at the neck with ostrich tips. The satin covers on the programs, as colorful as the ladies' dresses, were hand-painted by two Denver artists.³⁴ During his first administration, the family lived at the Albany, at that time one of Denver's finest residential hotels. The social regime established by Mrs. Adams starting with the splendid inaugural ball set a standard that was discouraging rather than inspiring to those who came later.

But splendor was not the outstanding characteristic of the governorship of Alva Adams during his first term of office (1887-1889). More than one Colorado historian has referred to

³³ Born September 3, 1873. See the gravestone of Edna Adams, Roselawn Cemetery, Pueblo, Colorado.

³⁴ *Denver Republican*, January 12, 1887, p. 1.

it as one of general satisfaction, distinguished by businesslike and economical procedures. The voters returned him to office in 1897 for another two years. The state was recovering from the Panic of 1893, so economy was the keystone of his second administration. The inauguration on January 12, 1897, was conducted with the least possible ceremony and the biennial evil of the inauguration ball was eliminated. There was no parade. Mr. Adams walked from the Executive Mansion—the Charles E.



Dickinson residence at 1601 Logan Street—for the ceremony in the house chamber of the new capitol building. The men wore their business suits and the ladies avoided all display. Several days before the inauguration the *Rocky Mountain News* published a profile and group portrait of the incoming first family. Most of the article was devoted to the new first lady.

Mrs. Adams looks like a delicate little piece of bisque. She is dainty and sweet-voiced and aristocratically gowned. Time has sewn a few silver threads in her black locks, but they look out of place beside her youthful face and girlish figure. She is a pleasant little lady to meet, a ready and interesting talker, with all the tact of a woman used to society and of official life, in setting people at their ease. She knows how to dress as well as to talk, and she will undoubtedly demonstrate the fact that she can entertain as well as she can do either. It has been so

³⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 10, 1897, p. 18.

long since there was a pleasant gubernatorial mansion in Denver, where society felt itself at home, that society will undoubtedly enjoy the change, and show its appreciation. . . . Mrs. Adams's Mondays at Home, which begin a week from tomorrow, will undoubtedly be among the pleasantest reception days in the city.³⁵

But, this brief first-ladyship of Mrs. Adams (January 10, 1905, to March 16, 1905) was an unpleasant and disappointing experience. The campaign between Democrat Alva Adams and Republican James Peabody for the governorship in the fall of 1904 was one of the most bitterly fought elections in the history of the state. The victorious Adams was inaugurated as the fourteenth state governor with stark simplicity, as the political mood was not right for a jubilant celebration. Mrs. Adams, dressed in a beautiful afternoon costume of fawn-colored lace



and a large white hat trimmed with plumes, added a note of needed elegance to the assemblage. Immediately, the defeated Peabody filed a contest alleging frauds in the city precincts. A committee of the Republican legislature declared Peabody elected. At five o'clock on March 16, Governor Adams relinquished the office to return to his business and private life in Pueblo. Governor Peabody served but one day, resigning the office on March 17 to Republican Lieutenant-Governor Jesse F. McDonald.

Home in Pueblo to Alva and Ella Adams—and to Alva Blanchard Adams and his family who shared the parental home—was a comfortable frame house at 207 Broadway. In 1917, Alva Adams purchased the forty-room red sandstone mansion of former Governor James Bradley Orman, located at 103 West Orman Avenue. This was the joint family residence until after Alva Blanchard's death on December 1, 1941. In November, 1951, Mrs. Alva Blanchard Adams sold the house—now a landmark of the town—to the Pueblo Public Schools for an administration building. In both homes the distinguishing decorative feature was books—shelf after shelf of them scattered throughout the rooms. A few were collector's items, but on the whole they were purchased for the use and enjoyment of the family.

An atmosphere of formal dignity permeated the home as well as the personal living and entertaining of the family. Hospitality was a daily habit. There was no such thing as an unexpected guest; guests were always expected. During the years when Pueblo did not have adequate hotel facilities, it was assumed that visiting celebrities would be entertained at the Adamses. Interspersed with this daily entertaining were frequent large, elaborate, formal dinners, teas, and receptions. The household was meticulously managed by Ella Adams with the aid of several well-trained servants. Though afflicted with chronic headaches, very seldom did she fail to carry through with a home or official duty.³⁶ Her lovely personal appearance and her strength of character still remain as vivid pictures in the minds of her family:

My Aunt Ella was a pretty, dainty, little brunette, frail, but with a power of endurance. She was blessed with a sense of humor, and joined in the fun around her. She liked people. It was with the same personal charm, she acted as hostess in the Governor's mansion in Denver, during her husband's terms of office, as she served tea to her friends on her "Day at Home" afternoons in Pueblo.

³⁶ Interview with Mrs. Alva Blanchard Adams, Sr., Pueblo, Colorado, December 28, 1964.

She drove an "Electric" when they were first put on the market. She returned all social calls, and went in person to market, carefully selecting the meat she bought, and all the fruit and vegetables. Her table appointments were perfect. She was ready at anytime for a "surprise" guest.

There never was, to my knowledge, a sewing machine in her household establishment. Mending was done by hand. My aunt kept her fingers busy, however, as she tatted yards of fine thread on a small shuttle, and whipped her fine tating on small linen towels.

It would be over-looking a part of my image of Aunt Ella not to mention the beautiful dresses she wore.

On their extensive travels (and there were many) Governor Adams bought freely things of interest and beauty. Aunt Ella could make interesting conversational pieces of them.

She lived happily, surrounded by walls of books, paintings and works of art.³⁷

Ella Adams' social position did not permit her to avoid club activities, even though she might have preferred it that way. She believed that it was well to let those who have the time, strength, and taste for active effort to carry on the work. It was once said of her: "She is not of that throng of women whose heavenly crowns will be adorned with double rows of little yellow tickets, showing all they have sold for the church and charity here on earth."³⁸ Regardless, because of her numerous and varied social and club activities, she was chosen in 1911 as one of the representative women of Colorado. Among the organizations of which she was a member are the Wednesday Club (Pueblo's oldest and most exclusive literary club), the Woman's Club of Denver,³⁹ Colonial Dames of America, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Institute of American Genealogy.⁴⁰ Though she and Governor Adams regularly attended the First Congregational Church in Pueblo they were not members.⁴¹

Travel was an activity of mutual interest enthusiastically shared by Governor and Mrs. Adams. Sandwiched between his three terms as governor were a trip to Alaska in 1889, the fashionable "grand tour" of Europe in the spring of 1891, a

³⁷ Letter from Ella Nye Humphrey, January 10, 1965.

³⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 10, 1897, p. 18.

³⁹ *Representative Women of Colorado* (Denver: Alexander Art Publ. Co., 1911), p. 186.

⁴⁰ Frederick A. Virkus, *The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy* (Chicago: F. A. Virkus, 1928), III, 503.

⁴¹ Letter from Mrs. Lloyd Norman, Secretary of the First Congregational Church, Pueblo, Colorado, January 16, 1965.



*Ella Nye Adams was chosen in 1911 as one of the
"Representative Women of Colorado."*

winter vacation in Mexico in 1893, and a Mediterranean cruise in the spring of 1896. The opportunity to make a trip around the world came in the fall of 1913. President Woodrow Wilson appointed Governor Adams chairman of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Commission, the purpose of which was to procure the participation of Australia, Java, Siam, and China in the Panama-Pacific Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915. This voyage just missed being a tragedy. Their ship, the *Tasman*, was badly damaged during a storm off the coast of New Guinea. It was rapidly sinking when the passengers were rescued by a Japanese vessel.

Ella and Alva Adams observed their golden wedding anniversary in Battle Creek, Michigan, where he was hospitalized a week before his death on November 1, 1922. For the next nine years, Mrs. Adams lived an active and versatile life as the matriarch of the Adams household, which now included four grandchildren. A niece, Bertha Nye Ambler,⁴² joined the family as her companion and travel-mate. The highlight of this last period of her life was the winter of 1923-24 which the family spent in Washington during the senatorship of Alva Blanchard Adams. After a brief illness, Ella Adams died in the family residence at 103 West Orman Avenue on May 5, 1931.⁴³ The funeral service was likewise held at the residence and was conducted by Rev. Ellis V. Kuhns of the First Congregational Church. She is buried in Roselawn Cemetery with Governor Adams and their two children, Edna and Alva Blanchard.

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⁴² Bertha Nye Ambler (Mrs. Safford T. Ambler) was the daughter of Artemas Francis Nye.

⁴³ Certificate of death of Ella Nye Adams, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Pueblo, Colorado.

LIFE AT A FRONTIER POST: FORT GARLAND

BY DUANE VANDENBUSCHE

Near the eastern entrance of the San Luis Valley, eight thousand feet above sea level at the foot of majestic Blanca Peak stand the renovated remains of the oldest and most important military post in Colorado's past—historic Fort Garland.¹ The San Luis Valley was a favorite range of the dangerous and unpredictable Ute Indians. Difficult of access "from all directions, Fort Garland defended the valley and . . . was the protecting hope of many a small settlement and isolated ranch."²

Fort Garland was the headquarters of a wide region extending along the Sangre de Cristo Mountains for two hundred miles and into the valley of the Grand River. The fort was ideally located for military purposes, with an inaccessible mountain on one side and a great plain teeming with wild game and many cool streams on the other. Some eighty years have passed since Fort Garland was abandoned, and yet little imagination is needed to recall the excitement and drama that was part of the historic old post. Here one can bring back memories of John Gunnison, the infamous Espinosas, Randolph B. Marcy, Tom Tobin, and the famed frontier scout Kit Carson.

The predecessor to Fort Garland was Fort Massachusetts, commenced under the direction of Major George A. H. Blake, U.S. First Dragoons, in June, 1852.³ The fort was built for a number of reasons, all of which were traceable to significant



When John W. Gunnison visited Fort Massachusetts in 1853, the buildings looked something like this.

events that had taken place in the West since 1844. Most important among these events were the California Gold Rush, the Mexican War, and the intensified Indian threat.⁴

The first permanent settlements in the territory that is today Colorado were made by people who came north from New Mexico and settled on the Culebra and Conejos Rivers between 1851 and 1853. Here the cradle of Colorado history was formed, with many settlements antedating Denver by six or seven years. San Luis, La Loma, Guadalupe, San Acacio, Conejos and other settlements were established communities before the Pikes Peak Gold Rush. During the 1850's the Ute Indians also occupied the San Luis Valley in opposition to Navaho encroachments on the south and west and intrusions made by the Plains Indians in the east. The New Mexicans, who had suffered dreadfully from Navaho raids, harbored hopes that the Utes would be friendly. Unfortunately, they harbored false hopes. Soon after the settlers erected their homes and planted crops the Utes caused widespread destruction in the valley. To protect the northern New Mexican settlements, to enforce the Ute treaty of 1849, and to defend travelers on the old route from the Platte River to Santa Fe that served the territory over Sangre de Cristo Pass, the United States government established Fort Massachusetts in the eastern sector of the San Luis Valley in northern New Mexico Territory. From Fort Massachusetts the area east

¹ George Gwyther, "A Frontier Post and Country," *Overland Monthly*, V (December, 1870), 520; undated news clipping from the files of the Denver Public Library Western History Department; John H. Nankivell, "Fort Garland, Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (January, 1939), 13; Albert B. Sanford, "A Fort of Territorial Days," *The Colorado Magazine*, I (November, 1924), 331.

² Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 13.

³ Joseph K. F. Mansfield, Report of Inspection of the Department of New Mexico, 1853, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Miscellaneous File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; photostat in the Library, State Historical Society of Colorado.

⁴ Robert W. Frazer (ed.), *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. xliii.

to La Veta and west to the Continental Divide was patrolled by scouting parties from the post.⁵

The years 1853 and 1854 saw major aspects of United States military policy taking shape in the Far West. The annexation of Texas, the settlement of the Oregon question, and most important, the territory acquired from Mexico, led to a rapid change in United States military policy in the area beyond the Mississippi River. An important reason for the establishment of Fort Massachusetts, aside from Indian protection, was the necessity of providing an effective defense against a possible uprising in the newly acquired territory or an attempted reconquest by the Mexican government. DeWitt C. Peters, an army surgeon then stationed at the fort, commented on the already-bad relations: "The Mexicans dislike the Americans and did they dare show it, it would not be long forthcoming in the shape of a civil war."⁶ The discovery of gold in California complicated the problem by multiplying the routes of travel and stirring up more hostility between New Mexicans, Indians, and immigrants.⁷ Ominously, by terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States had promised to restrain Indians of its territory from entering Mexico.

The whole of New Mexico, including Fort Massachusetts, was viewed by certain elements in the United States government as a dangerous nuisance rather than a key to American expansion westward. A report made by the Secretary of War to Congress in 1853 declared: "That territory is so remote and holds out such little inducement to immigration, that the struggle between the two races is destined . . . to continue . . . long after it has ceased in every other portion of the continent." The report further stated that to protect only 61,000 people (the population of New Mexico) the government was compelled to maintain a large military force "at an annual expense nearly equal to half the value of the whole real estate of the territory." The report concluded: "Would it not be better to induce the inhabitants to abandon [the territory] which seems to be hardly fit for the habitation of civilized man, by remunerating them

⁵ Albert B. Sanford, "Colorado's Military Forts," *The Trail*, XX (March, 1928), 5; LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), I, 118. Edgar C. McMechen, "Historical Projects at Fort Garland and Pike's Stockade," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXII (September, 1946), 198. Sanford, *The Trail*, XX (1928), 5.

⁶ Letter, DeWitt C. Peters to sister, February 15, 1856, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (microfilm). Referred to hereafter as Peters Correspondence.

⁷ Frazer, *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts*, pp. xiii-xiv.

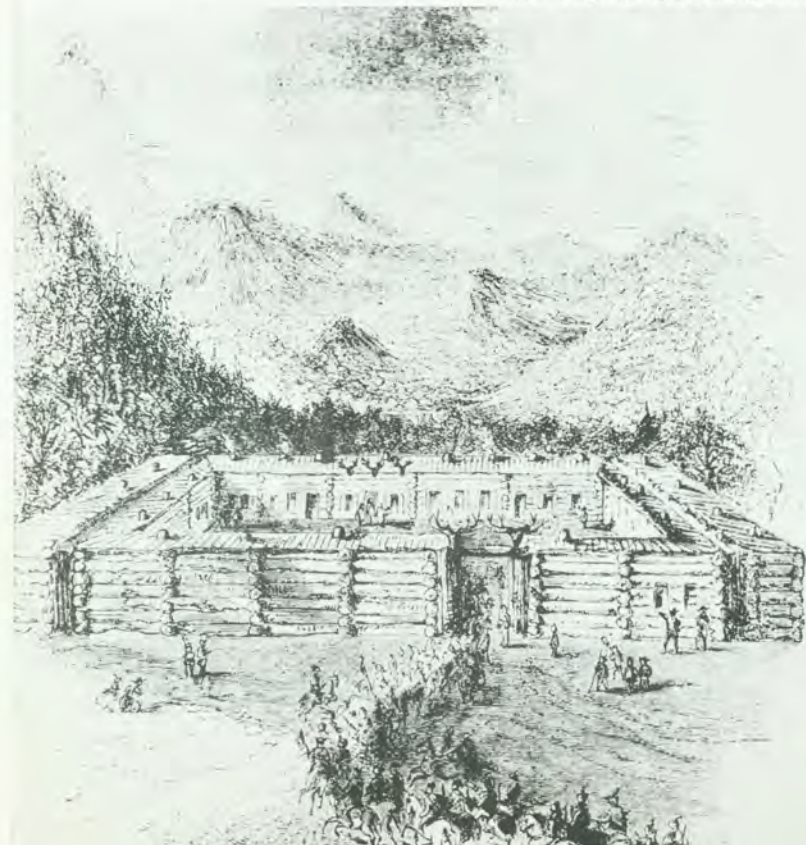
⁸ U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Secretary of War, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1852, Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, pp. 5-6.

⁹ Peters Correspondence, January 20, 1856.

for their property in money or in lands situated in more favored regions?"⁸

Despite this feeling on the part of the Secretary of War, by 1853 Fort Massachusetts was responsible for the protection of the isolated settlements in the valley. These settlements, which together totaled approximately two hundred families, were planted on the Culebra, Costilla, Colorado, and Rio Hondo rivers and at San Cristobal. By 1854, however, the inadequacy of the fort's location was becoming increasingly obvious. Located thirty miles away from the nearest settlement to the south, it was nearly impossible for the post's garrison to protect the settlers. DeWitt C. Peters pointed up the inadequate location of the fort, declaring that "communication with the neighboring town is so infrequent as to render a struggling Mexican who comes with eggs and chicken to sell a perfect wonder and not till he has been pumped do we desert him."⁹ Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield, who inspected Fort Massachusetts for the army in August, 1853, declared that the post was placed too near Blanca

DeWitt C. Peters published this view of Fort Massachusetts in his 1858 biography of Kit Carson.



Peak to be of much defensive value. He further pointed out that supplies for the post had to be brought in from Taos and Fort Union, more than a hundred miles away. Mansfield explained that the fort could have been better located on the Culebra River, near the northernmost settlement in New Mexico. Summing up his views, Mansfield emphasized the importance of the fort, declaring: "The home of the Utah Indians is here . . . a Post therefore is necessary . . . and is the best route of communication between New Mexico and the Great Salt Lake and northern California."¹⁰

Gwinn Harris Heap, an 1853 visitor, gave support to Mansfield's views, stating: "Mountains surround it on three sides; and although the situation may be suitable for a grazing farm on account of the pasturage, and the abundance of good timber may render this a convenient point for a military station, it is too far removed from the general track of Indians to be of much service in protecting the settlements in San Luis Valley." The army officer believed that a post at the head of the valley would be much more effective in checking the Indians because it could prevent their descent into the valley in large numbers and cut off their retreat.¹¹

The fort's location was poorly chosen from another standpoint. It stood near a swamp at the source of Ute Creek. The swamp polluted the water supply, and the men were constantly ill as a result. The fort had been built in the foothills on a narrow bench under the steep sides of "Old Baldy." Besides being threatened by dangerous snowslides, the post was also vulnerable to Indians who were able to shoot down into the fort from the surrounding hills. Periodically, warriors shot arrows into the enclosure, killing horses and mules, and then easily making their escape.¹²

Fort Massachusetts was unoccupied from November 3, 1853, to April 30, 1854, and open hostilities between whites and Indians soon followed the re-occupation. The years 1854 and 1855 marked the beginning of the end for the claims of the Ute Indians to southern Colorado. Fighting for these claims, they went on the warpath in March, 1854. On Christmas Day, 1854, the occupants of Fort Pueblo were wiped out by Chief Tierra Blanca and his

¹⁰ Mansfield, Report of Inspection of the Department of New Mexico, 1853, photostat in the Library, State Historical Society of Colorado.

¹¹ Gwinn Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1854), p. 32.

¹² Undated clipping from the *Denver Republican*, Denver Public Library Western History Department; Edgar C. McMechen, "Acquisition of Old Fort Garland, the Healy House, and Pike's Stockade," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXIII (January, 1946), 25; Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific*, 32-33.

Muache Utes and on the following day a few peaceful Cherokees were killed. This was the climax to a long series of Indian troubles which had plagued the territory since its acquisition by the United States.¹³

When news of the massacre was received, General John Garland, commander of the New Mexico Military District, was convinced that a vigorous campaign was needed against the Utes. To conduct the campaign, Garland chose Colonel Thomas Fauntleroy, commander at Fort Union. The colonel immediately set out for Fort Massachusetts, which had been selected as the operational headquarters.¹⁴

The time that elapsed between the Fort Pueblo massacre and the arrival of the Fauntleroy expedition gave the Utes the opportunity to conduct many forays against settlers in the San Luis Valley. In the face of what seemed to be a dangerous general uprising, utmost precautions were taken against a possible attack on the post itself.¹⁵ Trees and brush around the fort were cut, haystacks were moved to a safe place, and breastworks were thrown up around the blockhouse attached to the post.¹⁶

Though the Indians did not attack the fort, the successful Ute campaign of 1855 served once again to emphasize its poor location. DeWitt C. Peters declared: "Our own Post was in imminent danger for the want of being built in a good place and not being well defended by fortifications."¹⁷ After repeated recommendations by high ranking officers the army decided to abandon Fort Massachusetts and build another fort in a more strategic location.¹⁸

So ended the brief but significant history of Fort Massachusetts. Abandoned and replaced by a new post in 1858, its six-year existence came to an end. Despite its short life, Fort Massachusetts retained many memories. John Gunnison, surveying a possible Pacific railroad route for the United States govern-

¹³ Francis T. Cheatham, "The Early Settlements of Southern Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, V (February, 1928), 7; unidentified news clipping (1880) in Dawson Scrapbook, X, 290, library of the State Historical Society of Colorado; LeRoy R. Hafen, "The Fort Pueblo Massacre and the Punitive Expedition Against the Utes," *The Colorado Magazine*, IV (March, 1927), 49-58.

¹⁴ U. S., Congress, House, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 1855, Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, p. 57. For a complete account of the campaign see Morris F. Taylor, "Action at Fort Massachusetts: The Indian Campaign of 1855," *The Colorado Magazine*, XLII (Fall, 1965), 292-310.

¹⁵ U. S., Congress, House, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 1855, Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, pp. 62-72.

¹⁶ DeWitt C. Peters, *The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson* (New York: W. R. C. Clark Co., 1859), p. 493; Hafen, *The Colorado Magazine*, IV (1927), 51-53.

¹⁷ Letter, DeWitt C. Peters to sister, February 3, 1855. (Microfilm), Bancroft Library.

¹⁸ "Fort Garland," *Overland News*, I (November, 1857), 4.

ment, was received and entertained at the post just before he was killed by Indians in 1853. The fort had also been involved in one of the most colorful and amazing exploits in the history of the West. During the winter of 1857-1858, the garrison at Fort Massachusetts came to the rescue of Captain Randolph B. Marcy and his men, trapped in the deep snow of the southern Rockies. Marcy had been sent from Fort Bridger by General Albert Sidney Johnston, who, after Mormon forays had destroyed most of his supply trains, desperately needed mounts and supplies to last him through the winter. Without assistance rendered by the post, it is highly probable that the courageous Marcy and his men would have perished.¹⁹

The year 1858 saw a new and more strategically located fort come into existence in the San Luis Valley. Fort Garland was named in honor of Brevet Brigadier General John Garland, a forty-two-year veteran of the army and commander of the Military District of New Mexico. The post was built by Company E, U.S. Mounted Riflemen and Company A, Third U.S. Infantry under the command of Captain Thomas Duncan of the Mounted Riflemen. The buildings were one story high and were made of sun-dried adobe brick. The bricks were plastered with mud to obtain a smooth finish and then whitewashed. Pine timbers covered with dirt made up the roofs. As originally established, the fort had accommodations for seven officers and a hundred enlisted men.²⁰

View of one of the Fort Garland structures taken during restoration.



The Fort Garland military reservation comprised a tract of land six miles square with the buildings in the center. The land was part of the Sangre de Cristo Grant, and had been leased to the United States government for twenty-five years. The location of the new post was superior to that of Fort Massachusetts. Fort Garland controlled the mouths of the canyons of Ute and Sangre de Cristo creeks and commanded the roads passing through the canyons. These roads joined each other eight miles northeast, continued over Sangre de Cristo Pass and then joined the main road on the east side of the mountains.²¹ Kit Carson, in a report to Major Roger Jones in 1866, emphasized the significance of the fort's location when he declared:

"From Garland these roads radiate to *New Mexico, Arizona and Salt Lake*, giving direct and uninterrupted means of communication to . . . those territories, suited as well for military as commercial purposes. They also prolong themselves to the great rivers and shores of the Pacific Coast. Fort Garland is upon the road from *Denver, C.T.* to *Santa Fe, N.M.* and to *Prescott, A.T.* and halfway between the two former cities, to all of which there are regular mails."²²

Fort Garland was established primarily to protect the settlers of northern New Mexico against the Ute, Apache, and other marauding, discontented Indians who periodically made forays through the San Luis Valley. An important key to this protection was the defense of the valley roads running south to Taos, New Mexico—especially the Old Spanish Trail and the Trappers' Trail from Fort Laramie, which were vital to transportation, communication, and supply.²³ After the fort had been established, the garrison found that another problem facing them was the constant friction between Spanish and American settlers in the valley.²⁴

Famed frontier scout Kit Carson, who was commandant of Fort Garland in 1866-1867, recognized the value of the post when he declared that it would be in the interest of the government to establish a series of military forts "adjacent with the mountain crest which bisects the continent." Carson explained that this military expansion was needed because of the example already set by Fort Garland, which was unusually well located.²⁵

¹⁹ LeRoy R. Hafen, "A Winter Rescue March across the Rockies," *The Colorado Magazine*, IV (January, 1927), 7-13; unidentified news clipping in Dawson Scrapbook, XXIX, 157, Library, State Historical Society of Colorado.

²⁰ "Fort Garland," *Overland News*, I (1857), 4; Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

²² Letter from Bvt. Brig. Gen. Christopher Carson to Maj. Roger Jones, June 10, 1866, photostatic copy in the Fort Garland Workbook, Library, State Historical Society of Colorado.

²³ Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 14.

²⁴ "Fort Garland," *Overland News*, I (1857), 4.

²⁵ Carson to Jones, June 10, 1866.

Much of Colorado's involvement in the Civil War concerned Fort Garland directly or indirectly. When the Civil War began in 1861, a portion of the post's garrison marched south to join Major E. R. S. Canby at Fort Craig, New Mexico. The purpose of the move was to bolster Canby's forces against Major H. H. Sibley and his 3,000 troops who were reportedly moving north into New Mexico with Denver as their destination, in order to capture the West for the Confederacy. Governor William Gilpin urgently requested volunteers to reinforce the fort, and by late December, 1861, Companies A and B of the Second Colorado Infantry, poorly trained and with little equipment, arrived. By the spring of 1862, Sibley had become a real threat to Fort Garland and the security of the West, and orders were received by the commandant to destroy the post if he believed it to be in danger of falling into enemy hands.²⁶ Fortunately, this was not necessary as Sibley was routed at Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass. Throughout the Civil War, Fort Garland was occupied by Colorado and New Mexico volunteers because the Regulars were serving elsewhere in the Union army. These men were supplemented by many noted and valuable frontiersmen who settled near the post and were hired as guides and scouts.²⁷

When the Civil War ended, several volunteer regiments at Fort Garland were retained for the period of readjustment pending return of the regular army. Heading one of these regiments, the New Mexico Volunteers, was legendary frontier scout Kit Carson who also assumed command of Fort Garland in May, 1866. The new commander liked the fort and surrounding area, and his report gives us one of the best early descriptions of the economic potential of the San Luis Valley. Carson stated that the valley was "of a high order of beauty." He declared that the valley was sufficiently irrigated as to provide enough vegetation for both cattle and sheep. "Enough timber and water power is available to warrant lumber mills and . . . wool is manufactured by hand. Mills for manufacture of flour are abundant though of an inferior quality. The striking characteristic of this country," wrote Carson, "is the wonderful amplitude of nature. . . . This is observable . . . in the excellence of the roads, the facility of trout . . . and the excellent quality of water in its mountain streams." Summing up his report, the Colonel stated: "The prominent feature of the . . . immense

²⁶ Martin H. Hall, *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960), pp. 23, 65-66; unidentified news clipping in Dawson Scrapbook, XXXII, 11.

²⁷ Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 20.



*Kit Carson
assumed command
of Fort Garland
in 1866.*

Sierras that surround . . . this fort is the abundance of mineral and metallic ore . . . and when properly worked, [they] will probably prove of great richness."²⁸

When Carson assumed command, the Indians were in a dangerously ugly mood because of poverty and what they considered to be an unfair treaty signed in 1864.²⁹ Though settlers in the San Luis Valley were in a critical position, no man was better qualified to handle the Utes than Kit Carson. Indeed, this seems to be the main reason for his appointment as commandant of Fort Garland. Wrote Major General John Pope in announcing the scout's appointment: "Carson is the best man in the country to control these Indians and prevent war. . . . He is personally known and liked by every Indian . . . likely to make trouble. . . . Peace with the Indians is of all things desirable, and no man is so certain to insure it as Kit Carson." General William T. Sherman, who visited Fort Garland in 1866 trying to procure a treaty with the Utes, concurred in this view. The general credited Carson with avoiding open warfare and saving lives and property in the San Luis Valley.³⁰

Carson commanded Fort Garland for just over a year and during that time did a masterful job in pacifying the Utes. Thoroughly familiar with the Ute character, he spoke the language and exercised great influence over one of their important chiefs, Ouray.³¹ In any dispute with the Utes when violence seemed certain, calm would come by offering to send for Carson. "It was a study to see him sitting, surrounded by them talking as kindly . . . as to his own children, rolling cigarettes and passing the tobacco around . . . laughing, joking, talking . . . the Ute tongue . . . with hand movements."³²

²⁸ Carson to Jones, June 10, 1866.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 22.

³⁰ Quoted in Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1935), II, 763.

³¹ Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 22.

³² Gwyther, *Overland Monthly*, V (December, 1870), 524.

The period from 1867, when Carson left Fort Garland, to the Meeker Massacre of 1879, was one of relative peace in the San Luis Valley. Carson's diplomacy, Chief Ouray's trip to Washington, and the absence of pressure on the Indians to move to reservations farther west appear to explain the quiet. Conditions were so peaceful that the *San Juan Prospector* in 1875 urged the abandonment of the post. The newspaper declared that hostile Indians no longer visited the valley and accordingly the fort had been reduced to two small companies. "Beyond affording a market to the settlers . . . it is of no use whatever," concluded the paper.³³

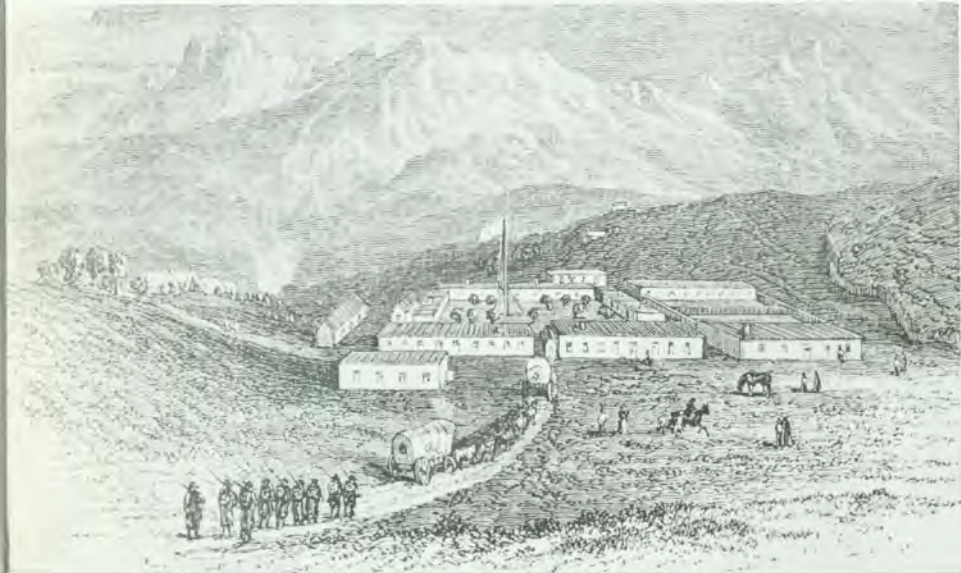
Though the Indians remained relatively peaceful during the twelve-year period 1867-1879, lingering tension continued to exist in the San Luis Valley.³⁴ This had long been a problem for Fort Garland and it now intensified as bitterness between the groups threatened to break out into open conflict. Though the whites had no love for the Indians in the valley, their hatred for the "Mexicans" was much more intense. The Secretary of War's report to Congress in 1853 declared: "Mexicans are thoroughly debased and totally incapable of self-government and there is no quality about them that can ever make respectable citizens."³⁵

Colonel Carson echoed these sentiments, declaring: "It is here [the area around Fort Garland] that the last wave of Mexican semi-barbarism meets the advancing tide of American progressive civilization, producing as it may be, a clash of languages, laws, and customs, a diversity of mistrust and influence, which renders the presence of military surveillance and police both necessary and judicious." Carson declared that a Ute uprising in the San Luis Valley was inevitable because of the "undying hate and hostility, fostered by feelings of revenge engendered by years of warfare" between the Utes and the Spanish-speaking settlers.³⁶

The relationship of two settlers, John and Sarah Williams, to Fort Garland is typical of the relationship that existed between the fort and those who lived in the surrounding area. John Williams cut hay for the post and also butchered and furnished

some of its beef. Mrs. Williams did sewing for the men and officers. She was often called upon to "fox their pants with buckskin, that was to sew buckskin over the seat and over the knees." Mrs. Williams also made white shirts for the officers and buckskin gloves for all the men. In many cases the Williams family was taken into the fort for protection from marauding Indians. Her daughter Sarah later recalled: "The fort was ever a haven for those in need."³⁷

During the peaceful period from 1867-1879 the fort fell into semi-neglect through lack of funds and a feeling on the part of the War Department that the post was no longer important.³⁸ A first view of the fort did not give a favorable impression to travelers or newly assigned soldiers. The visitor saw a rectangular group of adobe buildings, flat-roofed, squat, and alto-



gether dispiriting in their ugliness. The walls were starting to crack and the clay plaster was torn off in many places by the violent winter winds. Even the flag that flew over the fort was a sorry remnant of shreds, rags, and tatters.³⁹

³³ Undated news clippings from the *Denver Daily Tribune* and the *San Juan Prospector* in the files of the Denver Public Library Western History Department.

³⁴ Carson to Jones, June 10, 1866; Carson to Maj. C. H. de Forrest, October 3, 1866, photostatic copy in the Fort Garland Workbook, Library, State Historical Society of Colorado; *Denver Daily Tribune*, January 13, 1878, p. 4.

³⁵ U.S., Congress, House, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1852, Ex. Doc. No. 1, Part II, p. 24.

³⁶ Carson to de Forrest, October 3, 1866.

³⁷ Sarah J. Moon, "Recollections of Fort Garland and Southern Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXIV (March, 1947), 76.

³⁸ *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), March 27, 1873, p. 1.

³⁹ William Rideing, "Life at a Frontier Post," *Appleton's Journal*, XV (April, 1876), 564; *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), March 27, 1873, p. 1; *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, October 18, 1877, p. 4.

Despite the beautiful mountains in the background, the immediate surroundings were desolate and uninviting. According to one visitor: "It [the area around the fort] is . . . distracting in its monotony. We wonder how a man can look upon it from day to day without yielding to the overwhelming sense of oppressiveness that it is prone to communicate. And when we are . . . inside the walls of the fort, we are struck with . . . commiseration for all the unfortunate officers and men condemned to live in so desolate a place."⁴⁰

Helen Hunt Jackson passed through Fort Garland on a trip through Colorado in 1878. She described it this way: "Surrounded by stretches of this dreary sagebrush stands Fort Garland. . . . It is not a fort which could resist a siege, not even an attack from a few mounted Indians; it must have been intended simply for barracks. . . . A quieter, more peaceful, less military post than was Fort Garland during the time we spent there would be hard to find."⁴¹

Chance travelers and a semi-weekly mail that usually came less frequently were the only links between the isolated fort and the familiar world. "Occasionally a lone prospector with his fortune on the back of a donkey would ride in," said one visitor. "A band of beggardly Utes, Apaches, or Navajos might straggle in; . . . a Mexican bull-team heavily loaded with wool rumbles . . . north; a pair of stockmen trot off toward some neighboring ranch, delaying a moment at the settler's store to try his whiskey; or an emigrant wagon . . . makes for the south."⁴²

In addition to the usual passers-by, an odd little society of mixed elements gathered about the fort from neighboring ranches. "The ruddy young Englishman; . . . the agent of some Eastern land company with . . . schemes of wealth; the broken down miner and the miner who has struck it rich; the Scotch nobleman who . . . prefers the adventurous life of the . . . mountains to the lazy elegances of his home"—all clustered about Fort Garland from time to time before moving on.⁴³

Despite the isolation, life went on at a normal pace. The post had a garden of six acres in which all the men took turns working. Though the soldiers attempted to grow everything, only vegetables and grains that would ripen in the short growing

⁴⁰ Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 564.

⁴¹ Helen Hunt Jackson, "A New Anvil Chorus," *Scribner's Monthly*, XV (January, 1878), 387-88.

⁴² Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 565.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

season were successful.⁴⁴ Guard was mounted and relieved by neatly dressed officers to the tune of inspiring music, and all who reached the gates of the fort were challenged by sentries.⁴⁵

General James Parker offers a kinder commentary on Fort Garland: "I remember that . . . life was not all drudgery. All my companions . . . found time for numerous diversions. There were deer and duck in the vicinity, horse racing was a favorite sport, foot races were indulged in. . . . At night it was cold . . . but in our fireplace, great pinion logs crackled throwing out an aromatic odor. There was much singing. . . . There was considerable card playing, while some of the officers . . . utilized the evenings to study."⁴⁶

William Rideing, a visitor to Fort Garland in the 1870's, added to Parker's brighter picture of the fort. He declared that the post was one of the pleasantest forts in Colorado and exclaimed: "Its officers are renowned for their hospitality to strangers." Rideing further related that the fort had an excellent band, "expert in playing the liveliest and latest of popular airs."⁴⁷

The Fort Garland garrison made its civilian purchases from the sutler's store on the post. The store was operated by Frederick W. Posthoff, whose store at Fort Garland was only one of many ventures which made him Colorado's first chain-store magnate. Posthoff's business increased with the growth of the surrounding country and soon included stores at Badito, San Luis, Costilla, Questa, Conejos, and a commissary for the cattle camps at La Loma.⁴⁸ Posthoff's Fort Garland store was similar to those at other posts in the West. He stocked a wide range of items from 'Wiltshire hams to Mexican spurs, patent medicines to buffalo robes, stationery to saddles, and ammunition to cosmetics." His customers were as varied as his stock. They included immigrants, Indians, ranchers, officers and men of the fort, and sultry *senoritas*, who were attracted by his "Philadelphia perfume and Birmingham jewelry."⁴⁹

Frederick Posthoff also ran the commissary, which was located outside the fort, until 1870 when he turned the job over to Ferdinand Meyer, a German immigrant whom he had made his partner years before. Few men in southeastern Colorado

⁴⁴ James T. Forrest, *Old Fort Garland* (Denver: State Historical Society of Colorado, 1954), 4.

⁴⁵ Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 564.

⁴⁶ James Parker, *The Old Army: Memories, 1872-1918* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1929), p. 126.

⁴⁷ Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 564.

⁴⁸ C. E. Gibson, Jr., "Early Days of the Posthoff-Meyers Stores," CWA Pam. 349/22, p. 1, MS in the Library, State Historical Society of Colorado; Interview with William Hoagland, curator at Old Fort Garland, May 27, 1964.

⁴⁹ Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 565.

achieved success under greater difficulties than did this native German who eventually became one of the leading businessmen in Costilla County. Meyer's early life was extremely colorful. He came to America in 1856 at the age of twenty, probably to evade the draft in his native Germany. Hearing tales of adventure and great wealth in the West, Meyer migrated to Santa Fe in 1857, where he first met Kit Carson who then was special agent to the Utes. Unable to obtain employment because of his inability to speak Spanish, he walked to Taos and became acquainted with a leading merchant, Samuel Brucher. Soon the two men were fast friends and Meyer became partner and then sole owner of Brucher's five stores in Costilla County. Meyer migrated to Fort Garland in 1862, where he became Posthoff's assistant and then partner and learned the techniques for running a commissary post.⁵⁰

The commissary sold to anyone who wished to buy, whether soldier or civilian. A majority of the purchases were made on credit, because the soldiers were not always paid on time and the farmers only had money after their crops were harvested or cattle sold. But Indians, unreliable settlers, and non-residents were forced to pay cash. Most of the sales were small, but a few big ranchers in the valley made purchases of \$1,500 to \$2,000 at one time. Articles most in demand were common frontier necessities such as tobacco, blankets, whiskey, boots, sugar, cartridges, coffee, wax candles, matches, soap, tableware, and buckskin. Tremendous quantities of whiskey and tobacco were sold, and weekends were usually characterized by dancing and frolic and the drinking of hard liquor.⁵¹ Occasionally, Ute Indians would obtain whiskey from soldiers in the fort—at black market prices, for it was against regulations to sell liquor to the red men.⁵²

Many of the recruits who were sent to Fort Garland were immigrants who came to America without a knowledge of English. Failing to obtain employment, they enlisted in the army where they hoped to learn the language. They were usually sent to some out-of-the-way fort, such as Fort Garland, where they could do the least harm. Their inability to understand

⁵⁰ Interview of Ferdinand Meyer at Fort Garland, Colorado, September 16, 1886, MS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (microfilm). Meyer states in the interview that his father provided the money for a substitute; but despite the fact that the father served in the German army during the Napoleonic War, Ferdinand Meyer had no stomach for fighting, and there are strong indications that he evaded the draft, which was a common practice in Germany at that time.

⁵¹ Commissary Ledgers of Fort Garland, 1861-1874, and Journals of F. W. Posthoff and Ferdinand Meyer, 1862-1874, MSS, Library, State Historical Society of Colorado.

⁵² Rideing, *Appleton's Journal*, XV (1876), 564.

English sometimes cost the young immigrants at Fort Garland their lives in fights with the Indians. At the very least it cost them their shirt, pants, watch, or gun, as they were constantly subjected to practical jokes by their English-speaking comrades.⁵³

The weather was a constant nuisance at the fort. The officers' houses, for instance, faced a pleasant green which served for croquet. Unfortunately, croquet was possible only on rare occa-



Fort Garland in 1883.

sions when the weather was agreeable. Major Jewitt, long an officer at the fort, when asked by a visitor if the post received much wind, replied: "No, not much. On three days of the week we may have a heavy gale but on the remaining four days it sinks to a fresh breeze." Dust storms were frequent. A visitor complained: "In a mild form it breaks over you in a sudden whirlwind with a shower of stones and in a tornado it blackens the air with suffocating clouds."⁵⁴

The twelve-year period of relative peace that had reigned in the valley surrounding Fort Garland was ended on September 29, 1879, by the Meeker Massacre. On that day at the White

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

River Agency in northwestern Colorado, Agent Nathan Meeker and eleven of his employees were killed and women residents were carried off. Major T. T. Thornburgh, marching from Fort Steele, Wyoming, with 180 men to assist Meeker in controlling the Indians, ran into an overwhelming Ute force, and Thornburgh himself was killed. Reports of these two incidents were interpreted to mean that a general Indian uprising might be in the offing.⁵⁵

During the critical period following the Meeker Massacre, Fort Garland was considerably strengthened. The garrison was enlarged to a force of fifteen hundred, and because of limited facilities at the fort, most of the troops camped outside in tents.⁵⁶ Fort Garland served for a time as a base for offensive operations against the marauding Utes. But with the end of the Ute uprising and the subsequent removal of these Indians to a reservation in Utah, the fort lost much of its significance and its main purpose for existing.⁵⁷ The troops at the post were reduced to a skeleton force after 1881. Because of the elimination of the Indian menace in southwestern Colorado, Major General John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri, recommended in his annual report to the War Department on October 2, 1883, that Fort Garland be abandoned.⁵⁸ Some two months later the last troops marched out of Fort Garland. On that day the fort was officially abandoned as an active United States military post and reverted to the Trinchera Estate from which it was leased in 1858. The old military cemetery, which had stood on a neighboring hillside for the previous twenty-five years, was moved to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.⁵⁹

The closing of Fort Garland marked the rise of southwestern Colorado. With the Indian menace ended more settlers, miners, and ranchers poured in, and new towns appeared out of nowhere. The fort that had once been regarded by the War Department as one of the most important on the frontier had served its purpose. Fort Garland had protected pioneers moving west, had kept routes of migration open, and had helped to keep the Indians in check during the settlement of southwestern Colorado.

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⁵⁵ Robert Athearn (ed.), "Major Hough's March into Southern Ute Country, 1879," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXV (May, 1948), 97.

⁵⁶ Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 23.

⁵⁷ Parker, *The Old Army*, 133; Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 23.

⁵⁸ U.S., War Department, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., I, 132.

⁵⁹ Nankivell, *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), 27.