

# A Humanist of the Deepest and Widest Tradition

BY STEPHEN H. HART

*Serving both as president and then as chairman of the Board of Directors of the State Historical Society of Colorado, James Grafton Rogers had a marked impact on the development and growth of the Society as he did in the fields of education, diplomacy, and law. After his death in April 1971 his son-in-law Stephen H. Hart, for many years also a Society director and now chairman and president of the board, wrote this biography of Dr. Rogers at the request of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Because of Dr. Rogers' long and fruitful association with the Society, we thought that the readers of The Colorado Magazine would enjoy it as well.*

James Grafton Rogers, who had one of the most varied series of careers of any American of his generation, died April 23, 1971, in Denver, Colorado, at the age of eighty-eight. Until the day of his death he was self-sufficient, enthusiastic, zestful, and optimistic. He was still thinking creatively, visiting and stimulating members of his family, following avidly the course of local, national, and world events, corresponding with many friends (then mostly of younger generations), studying scholarly materials, and working, though more slowly than in his prime, on projects illustrative of his broad interests.

Among these projects were (1) indexing all the mountain passes in Colorado, a work he considered important because of his conviction that they were determinative, not only of the history but also of the economics and social structure of his native state; (2) drafting a work tentatively called "Law and Lawyers, a Conversation," which was a Socratic approach to the philosophy, teaching, and practice of law in the form of a discussion between law teacher and prospective law student; (3) guiding, as chairman of the board, the complex affairs of the

State Historical Society of Colorado; and (4) telephoning, corresponding, and traveling frequently to New York as a consultant for the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council and attending its meetings, at which he always insisted on his constitutional right to two manhattans before lunch.

These activities illustrate the broad variety of James Rogers, for he was in truth a man for all interests, knowledge, and action. On the occasion of an award to him by the Colorado Council on the Arts and Humanities, Governor Love stated that

I, John A. Love, Governor of Colorado, hereby proclaim: James Grafton Rogers Humanist of the deepest and widest tradition. Your involvement in world, national, state, and local affairs is sadly lacking with your passing. To the arts and humanities you generously shared your wisdom as lawyer, teacher, educational administrator, statesman, mountaineer, historian, writer, and poet; for the rich memory you leave, the State of Colorado confers upon you, posthumously, this, the highest award of the State in the Arts and Humanities.

Not through coincidence but because they were true, similar appellations had been enumerated forty-three years before by Rogers' good friend Robert L. Stearns, his successor at the University of Colorado Law School and later president of the University of Colorado. At the convocation when Rogers was installed as dean of that law school, Stearns said that

Mr. Rogers is genuinely loved by a multitude of friends and enthusiastically admired by a host of persons who have not been privileged to know him intimately. He is respected and honored by the legal profession, not only of the state of Colorado, but of the United States.

He is at once a scholar, teacher, executive, author, poet, and an intensely human being. We have been told on excellent authority that wisdom is the principal thing—therefore, get wisdom. And with all thy getting, get understanding. Dean Rogers has been diligent in the pursuit of wisdom. . . . But with all his getting he has got understanding. He is endowed with a broad human sympathy and a balanced appreciation of relative values.

During his eighty-eight years Rogers reached the step just next to the summit in a multitude of careers. Then, seemingly satisfied that the highest success in those fields was within his grasp, he casually stopped, waved goodbye to those careers, and moved on to others, time after time. Why did he not take the final step to these actual summits? Perhaps when total success was available without further effort, he felt that he had conquered that world, and with his exceeding vitality and universal interest, he reached out for other worlds to conquer. As he said in his play *The Fire of Romance*, "We scale the summits only to unmask still loftier summits for another's task."



Graduation from  
the class of  
1905 at Yale.

James Grafton Rogers was born January 13, 1883, in Denver, Colorado, the son of Edmund James Armstrong Rogers, a pioneer Colorado physician born in Canada, and Georgina D. Burrell Rogers, also a native Canadian. (The Rogers ancestry had produced Robert and James Rogers of "Rogers Rangers" in the French and Indian wars.) His early education was in the Denver public schools and Saint Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire. He graduated from Yale with a B.A. in 1905, where he was class poet and editor of three college periodicals. He was a reporter on the *New York Sun* during 1905-6; then, returning to Denver, he graduated from the University of Denver Law School and was admitted to the Colorado Bar in 1908. In 1910 he married Cora May Peabody, the lovely daughter of Colorado's former Governor James H. Peabody.

He was Colorado assistant attorney general during 1909 and 1910. Then he moved into private practice with the law firms, in turn, of Rogers (Platt Rogers, no relation, but the man probably who influenced him the most during his early years), Shafroth and Rogers, Rogers and Rogers, as a sole practitioner, and finally with Hodges, Wilson, and Rogers. During this period he specialized particularly in water law, constitutional law, litigation, and railroad and utility reorganization. He reached the top of his profession within twenty years, became president of the Colorado Bar Association (1925-26), was on the nine-man Executive Committee of the American Bar Association (1927-28), was one of the editors of the *American Bar Association Journal*, and presided for Colorado at the joint meeting in Denver of the American and Colorado Bar associations in 1926. In 1932 he published a monumental work, *American Bar Leaders:*

*Biographies of the Presidents of the American Bar Association 1878-1928* in commemoration of the American Bar Association's semicentennial. In 1946 he was admitted to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and served on its International Law Committee, part of the time as chairman.

Throughout this period he demonstrated his broad interests and dedication to public service by founding or acting as president of the City Club, the Civic League, the Colorado Mountain



An outing of the Colorado Mountain Club in 1914.

Club, the Denver Council of Boy Scouts, the University Club, the Cactus Club, the Colorado Geographic Society, the Colorado Geographic Board, the Mayor's Advisory Council, the Denver Liberty Loan Committee, and many other organizations. He wrote and published three plays, which were performed by the Cactus Club in its outdoor theatre, *The Fire of Romance* 1919, *The Golden Rod Lode* 1920, and *The Third Day* 1922. He wrote the lyrics for two songs, which are now classics in the western folklore tradition, "The Santa Fe Trail" and "Old Dolores." Many of his other songs, and always his closing chorus, are sung at the University Club's annual "Twelfth Night" celebration in a similar tradition to the San Francisco Bohemian Grove and the Washington Gridiron.

Stretch me Thy Hand.

Stretch me Thy hand! I seek to climb,  
Stretch me Thy hand!

Lord of the Distance, grant me time  
That I may stand,

That I may hear the promise words,  
On a climb, and unconfined  
May face the silence and the shade!  
Stretch me Thy hand!

Stretch me Thy hand! The tongues

● Stretch me Thy hand! <sup>can face -</sup>  
Swept in the strong, mine eyes meet  
The promised land;

lost in the tumult, exist a bar,  
Dazed in the glare of things that

are -  
Set me a nearer, surer star,  
Stretch me Thy hand!

Simultaneously, he was embarking upon an equally successful career in the field of education. He was a part-time professor in the University of Denver Law School from 1910 to 1927, teaching corporations and jurisprudence. In 1927 he became dean of that school, and in 1928 moved to Boulder as dean of the University of Colorado Law School. Both institutions he boosted toward their present national reputation of high quality.

At the University of Colorado Law School one of his first acts was to found the *Rocky Mountain Law Review* (now the *University of Colorado Law Review*) for which he wrote in the first issue an article on "Bacon and Coke," an imaginative subject for a pioneer publication but typical of Rogers. He foresaw the growth of a strong centralized national government, the relaxation of constitutional restraints on it, and developments in the teaching and the practice of administrative law. His address delivered to the Association of American Law Schools in 1935 predicted that "the bar is year by year more involved in administrative law. The jury is day by day less significant in civil causes. We are rapidly abandoning issue pleading and resorting to notice pleading. Real property law has receded from the center of the lawyers' stage. The Constitution is losing its sharpness of focus. No reaction seems likely to restore its earlier definition. We are ceasing to fear authoritarian government and are welcoming its intervention. Sir Edward Coke, William Blackstone, James Wilson, Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall must stir uneasily if death has not brought them more tolerance than they wore in life." He was deeply beloved by students and faculty alike at both the Denver and the Colorado law schools, and he inspired many of the present day leaders of the Colorado Bar.

During this period he and his wife Cora's love of friends and interest in conversation flourished. A little group called the Saturday Afternoon Drinking Society, whose motto was Why Wait Until Saturday, met regularly even during prohibition, and while following their announced purpose, conversed wittily and learnedly on whatever literary, scientific, governmental, or philosophical subject came to mind, always with encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other references at hand. Hours of similar conversations over coffee with his fellow faculty members followed the classes at the law school.

Another informal group of companions called themselves (parodying the Hudson's Bay Charter) The Company of Gentlemen Adventurers Traveling into Perry Park. They would start out about 2 A.M., provided with adequate whiskey, a side of bacon, some flour, beans, and a frying pan, drive to a then re-

mote spot south of Denver, build a fire as dawn was breaking, cook breakfast, and consume their refreshment like the early pioneers.

His term at the University of Colorado Law School was interrupted from 1931 to 1933 by service as assistant secretary of state in Washington under Henry L. Stimson, then secretary of state, and Herbert Hoover, then president. In this position he was in charge of negotiations with Canada over the Saint Lawrence Seaway and of confidential assignments with respect to Russia. He was a member of the "medicine ball cabinet" of the president and became the intimate friend of many top-ranking members of the cabinet and members of the United States Supreme Court. With Washington's judicial, governmental, legal, and intellectual leaders he was a regular guest and wood-chopper, then and later, at Edward B. Burling's stimulating and relaxing Sunday parties at "the cabin" above the Potomac.

On the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (there was no mutual liking between him and Rogers) he returned to his deanship at the University of Colorado for a brief interval, and then called to New Haven, he took over the mastership of Timothy Dwight College and a professorship teaching international law and government in both the law and undergraduate schools. As stated posthumously in a resolution by the Yale Corporation, "he returned to his alma mater to assist in the formation and development of the Residential College system, leaving the stamp of his vigorous personality on that system and especially on his own College. . . . Recorded together in Yale's annals are his loyalty and devotion and her deep gratitude."

His stay at Timothy Dwight College from 1935 to 1942 was probably one of the happiest and most productive periods in his life. He was warmly admired by his students and he developed for his college a popularity and preeminence that was the example or envy, as the case might be, of the other colleges in the Yale residential system. His personal magnetism at the college parties would delight hundreds of undergraduates and their dates into a singleness of enthusiasm through his extroverted rendition of western songs like "Ragtime Cowboy Joe," his booming rhythmic voice, brilliant blue eyes, and slightly crooked smile. In another mood the Sunday afternoon teas presided over by his lovely wife Cora or sometimes by his equally attractive and talented daughter Lorna were a mecca for undergraduates, their guests, and the dozens of parents who filled the master's house on football and other weekends. The students who attended Timothy Dwight or his lectures and semi-

nars were profoundly influenced by his encouragement, and he was always available in his study for sympathetic conversations with students who had problems, ambitions, or enthusiasms. His informal evenings when students would gather in his study with a distinguished former associate or friend were exciting elements of Timothy Dwight life—the outside guests from the ranks of political, business, and military circles from America and abroad ranged from Harold Laski and Robert Frost to former prime ministers and cabinet members.

During this period his scholarly interests and studies continued and he wrote a little classic under the sponsorship of the World Peace Foundation of Boston called *World Policing and the Constitution: An Inquiry into the Powers of the President and Congress, Nine Wars and a Hundred Military Operations, 1789 to 1945*, a pertinent subject then and more so recently in the face of the national dissension over the Vietnam conflict. His book was recently quoted in congressional debates on this subject, and it contains two passages worthy of quotation here.

Five times has Congress declared war. As we have seen, there are at least four more conflicts at arms which amount to war in the eyes of historians. In these four . . . the President carried on the conflicts without a declaration at all on our part. These cases do not begin to indicate how long the list is of the occasions when American guns and men have been employed against another people, in large affairs or small.

The Executive has used force abroad at least a hundred times to accomplish national purposes without reference to Congress. . . .

In brief our history shows that our fortunes in foreign affairs are committed into the hands of the President we elect. The checks retained rest in a majority of the two Houses of Congress, which have some powers but have exercised them little.

But life at Timothy Dwight College also brought its disappointments and frustrations. He stood firmly for the development of the resident colleges along the lines of those in Oxford and Cambridge with their individualistic characters, their separate endowments, and their teaching specialties, competing among themselves for greater excellence. On the retirement of President Angell the Yale Corporation remained deadlocked for months as to his successor in the presidency, the issue being chiefly whether the philosophy of Dr. Rogers or that of Dr. Charles Seymour, with respect to the college system, should prevail. Such an impasse and the politics and atmosphere that resulted were intolerable to Rogers and he withdrew with sorrow.

World War II was at a crisis and in 1942 Rogers went again to Washington with the encouragement of his old friend Henry L. Stimson, now secretary of war, to become deputy director and chairman of the Planning Group of the Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor of the present CIA. His function there, according to his autobiographical sketch in the fiftieth reunion book of Yale's class of 1905 was, "managing espionage, sabotage, and guerrilla affairs in enemy areas. I also inspected and partly revised our system of officers schools for Gen. Marshall, being lent by OSS to him at his request." This was a period of intense activity, with many crossings of the Atlantic for strategic meetings concerning underground activities behind the German lines and landings and invasions. In Washington he stayed for a time with his friend John C. Wiley of the United States Foreign Service and Mrs. Wiley, and his interest in friends, clubs, and conversation were satisfied by his ever-increasing circle of companions and his membership in the Cosmos Club.

While still at Yale, Rogers had maintained his interest in mountaineering, and he served as president of the elite American Alpine Club, the first in that capacity from the Rocky Mountain region. At one time (of course not acting alone, but paralleling the efforts of others) he was influential through Secretary Stimson and General Marshall in involving the Tenth Mountain Division in the magnificent drive up the chain of the Apennines under terrible conditions, which resulted in its bursting through the German defense into the Valley of the Po.

In 1944 "feeling that the war work was finished in Washington," he resigned from the OSS, moved to New York, and took over the presidency of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, "an independent, self-supporting, non-profit public service organization, negotiating settlements of foreign governmental bonds"—bonds issued or guaranteed by foreign governments, payable in dollars, and publicly offered in the United States. He served as president until 1953 and remained a member of the executive committee until 1959, serving as chairman for two years and as a consultant from 1959 until the time of his death. During this period he negotiated, or assisted in, the settlement of debts owed by Brazil, Salvador, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Costa Rica, Germany, Japan, Yugoslavia, and other countries, amounting to a total well in excess of one billion dollars. He presided over a conference in London with respect to financial claims against Germany, which lasted many months and involved many creditor countries, including our allies Great Britain and France. He played his cards with a firm hand on behalf of the American bondholders,

and at one point walked away from the meetings—which had the result of providing equitable treatment to the Americans. In the course of these negotiations he developed interesting friendships that involved continuing correspondence with, for instance, Sir Otto Niemeyer, then director of the Bank of England and the Bank for International Settlements, and Takashi Ihara, now president and chairman of the Bank of Yokohama. His settlement with Japan, resulting in the restoration of that country's international credit, was deeply appreciated, and as a result Rogers was posthumously awarded by the emperor of Japan the high honor of First Class of the Order of the Sacred Treasure. During this New York period, despite endless traveling, he was able to "stay put" long enough for Cora and him to reestablish a home in a nice apartment on Seventy-second Street, east of Central Park.

In 1945, working directly for the federal government with a rank of minister of the United States, he spent four months in Greece as part of a tripartite commission (U.S.A., France, and Great Britain) supervising the Greek elections, which involved the crucial issue of whether the postwar government of Greece would be communist or royalist. Also, from 1947 to 1949 he was a member of the Task Force on Foreign Affairs of the Hoover Commission. At one time or another he was also active in the World Peace Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association (director in executive charge—1946), Authors League, a trustee of Saint Paul's School (1941-45), and a trustee of Connecticut College (1939-43). During the course of his careers, he acquired many honorary degrees: LL.D.'s from the University of Denver, the University of Colorado, and the University of Pennsylvania; Litt.D. from Colorado College; and an M.A. from Yale.

Finally, in 1953 at the age of seventy he returned to his beloved mountains in Colorado and retired in quaint, Victorian, Georgetown, which in 1870 had some five thousand people but only four hundred when he arrived. The town was governed by a unique miners' law, created through common consent by its first settlers under which the "police judge" exercised the powers of mayor in other towns. To this position he was elected in 1953, unanimously (a unique vote of respect and confidence, as any one who knows the factionalism of small isolated towns will attest), serving until 1955 and then another term from 1957 to 1959. He lived with his books, his tools, his printing press (with which he was quite proficient). He was visited continuously by friends, and he corresponded with them, ran the affairs of the town, and excited his grandchildren. But, public



*"Yet of all the subjects that people, human beings, ponder and study none compares with mankind itself in depth and breadth and constancy of interest."*  
My Rocky Mountain Valley.

affairs still called him frequently to New York and Washington, and in New York it was his practice to stay at the Yale Club and to go to the Century Club for lunch and dinner. He could expect to find there a number of old friends, and in the East Room and at the Long Table he was always in the center of the animated conversations.

He served as president of the State Historical Society of Colorado from 1949 until 1959 and as its chairman from 1959 until his death. Also, from 1952 to 1957 he served as chairman of the American Fund for Free Jurists, a branch of the International Commission of Jurists, an agency designed to support the concept of the Rule of Law, protect the individual against arbitrary governmental action, and strengthen the administration of justice, not only in the developing countries of the free world but also in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. With other directors of the fund—Dudley B. Bonsal, then chairman of the Executive Committee of the ICJ, Ernest Angell, Eli Whitney Debevoise, Benjamin R. Shute, and Bethuel Webster—he attended the 1955 world-wide conference of the commission in Athens. In addition to active participation in all the business of the conference, he is remembered especially for a speech from the floor—eloquently recalling the "Glory That Was Greece"—that saved the conference from a filibuster staged by Cypriot patriots.



Cora Peabody  
Rogers about  
1935 during the  
Rogers' stay at  
Timothy Dwight  
College, Yale  
University.

Throughout his adult life he was supported, comforted, and advised by his dear wife Cora. A beauty in her youth and a woman of great charm, attraction, animation, and wisdom throughout her life, she subordinated herself always to him and his careers. She lived her life for him, denying herself any personal ambitions or independence, except insofar as she could aid him and their children. She began to fail about five years before his death, and he reciprocated by faithful attention and loving care until her passing in 1969. She was a woman whose personal and intellectual stature was comparable to his.

During the years in Georgetown he wrote another book, *My Rocky Mountain Valley*, a charming volume relating his daily observations concerning the seasons, history, geology, flora, and fauna of Clear Creek Valley, where Georgetown nestles. It was published in 1968, when he was eighty-five years old. Among other interests, he was a naturalist at heart, continuously reading and keenly observing and remembering the many facets of nature.

Surviving him are three children, Ranger, Lorna (Mrs. Stephen Hart), and Hamilton—also twelve grandchildren and two great grandchildren. After his death his younger brother and close companion, Edmund B. Rogers, also died, for many

years superintendent of Yellowstone National Park and before that Rocky Mountain National Park.

Long though this memorial is, it cannot do justice to the infinite variety and accomplishments of James Grafton Rogers. A proper biography of him would cover the gamut of important activities throughout the course of American life from 1905 to 1971. Materials to support such a biography are available—some twenty cubic feet of papers in the manuscript files of the State Historical Society of Colorado, voluminous pamphlets, scrapbooks, and diaries in the hands of family, friends, various organizations with which he was associated, and in his estate, which is being administered by his son Ranger Rogers, who helpfully sorted and commented on various sources on which this memorial is based.

If, in the twentieth century of American life, there could be a “Universal man” in the Renaissance, Elizabethan, or Sturm und Drang tradition of, say Leonardo, Bacon, or Goethe, certainly James Grafton Rogers came close to it.

## An Early Colorado Gondola

BY JEAN M. GREINER

The bright yellow buckets moving steadily upward over a system of cables and trestlework from the southwest side of town to the top of the mountain and filled with exuberant, gaily dressed tourists were a familiar sight to the townspeople. Every day from 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. the gondola carried hundreds of Coloradoans and visitors from every part of the country to the summit of Sunrise Peak. Sunrise Peak? An old ski area? No, this gondola was in the mining town of Silver Plume and preceded those at the Colorado ski areas by over one-half century.<sup>1</sup>

Insofar as it applied to transportation on a mountain, the word gondola was unknown in 1906, the year several Denver and Chicago businessmen organized the Colorado Mines and Aerial Tramway Company. Constructed at a cost of over one hundred thousand dollars, an aerial railroad, or tramway as it was called, in the mountains west of Denver would be an excellent investment—they believed.<sup>2</sup> The world-famous, four and one-half mile Georgetown Loop had been bringing tourists into Silver Plume since 1885. Certainly the three-hour and forty-minute trip on the Colorado and Southern Railway from Denver to Golden—then through Clear Creek Canyon with its spectacular scenery and rich ore-producing mines at Idaho Springs, Fall River, Dumont, Lawson, Empire, and Georgetown, capped by the breathtaking ride into Silver Plume—was an attraction that few Denverites or visitors to Colorado could afford to miss.<sup>3</sup> Each summer thousands of tourists poured from the daily trains into the mining town of eight hundred. A ready-made market existed for their time and dollar.

<sup>1</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972, a resident of Silver Plume since 1891; Cornelius W. Hauck, *A Journal of Railroad History in the Rocky Mountain West: Narrow-gauge to Central and Silver Plume*, Colorado Railroad Annual no. 10 (Golden: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1972), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972; *Denver Times*, July 9, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Hauck, *A Journal of Railroad History*, pp. 76-80; timetables and promotional literature in Argentine Central Railway, Argentine and Gray's Peak Railway, and Sunrise Peak Aerial Railway files, Railroad Collection, Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.





Already proposing to tap this market was the Argentine Central Railway Company, whose road had been under construction since 1905. Built both to serve the numerous mines in the East Argentine district, south of Silver Plume, and to carry passengers on an exciting, sightseeing journey to the wind-swept mining town of Waldorf and beyond to the top of Mount McClellan, the Argentine Central would not be running on Sundays due to the uncompromising religious convictions of its founder, a mine owner from Massachusetts and a Methodist minister as well.<sup>4</sup> Understandably, the Colorado Mines and Aerial Tramway Company was optimistic about its venture.

The tramway line was surveyed to the top of Pendleton Mountain in the spring of 1906 and the owners named the 12,275 foot summit Sunrise Peak.<sup>5</sup> The mountain itself had been named for the 1864 Democratic vice-presidential candidate George H. Pendleton. A higher mountain to the south, where the Argentine Central tracks were being laid, had been named in honor of the party's presidential candidate General George B. McClellan.<sup>6</sup>

Construction began in May under the supervision of Manager G. W. Skouland. The company was unduly optimistic, expecting the tramway to be in operation by mid-summer. By June the foundation of the lower terminal had been completed



"Where You Start Up," the base station of the Sunrise Peak Aerial Railway.



and the work crew was digging holes for the towers, which ranged in height from twenty to sixty feet. Still hopeful of a mid-summer opening the company put on a double shift in July, one working from 4:00 A.M. to noon and the other from noon to 8:00 P.M., with the result that by the end of the month all but the uppermost towers had been installed. Despite this almost around-the-clock activity, it became obvious that the tramway would not be able to capture even the September trade. Rocky terrain and bad weather caused more difficulties and delays than had been anticipated.<sup>7</sup>

Resigned to not opening until the next summer, the owners did want as much of the line as possible completed before winter set in, and the crew worked well into fall. Construction was expedited with the installation of one of the large cables that

<sup>4</sup> Frank R. Hollenback, *The Argentine Central: A Colorado Narrow-Gauge* (Denver: Sage Books, 1959), pp. 9-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Silver Plume Silver Standard* (weekly), April 21, 1906.

<sup>6</sup> Hollenback, *The Argentine Central*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>7</sup> *Silver Plume Silver Standard*, April 21, June 2, July 7, 28, 1906.

connected the lower and upper parts of the mountain. A cage was then used to carry men and materials to the top to finish building the terminal and power station.<sup>8</sup>

The *Silver Plume Silver Standard*, Silver Plume's weekly newspaper, had greeted the announcement of a tramway in its backyard with typical enthusiasm, calling it "another wonderful piece of work in this vicinity that will prove to be a great attraction to tourists and help to make Silver Plume famous throughout the country." The *Silver Standard* followed the construction of the line with detailed reports and unabashed boosterism. The tramway, declared the paper, would be a much greater novelty than the cog railroad at Colorado Springs. The view was certainly as magnificent as that from Pikes Peak but not so high that the tourist would experience the unpleasant effects that were so common on the attraction to the south! The *Silver Standard* also assured readers, lest anyone be afraid of heights, that tramway cars definitely would be deep enough to prevent passengers from falling out.<sup>9</sup>

The officers of the tramway company had a second idea in mind, one that they hoped to begin implementing as soon as construction was under way. Why not build a hotel and dancing pavilion on the top of Pendleton Mountain? The tramway would thus provide access to a truly unique summer resort.<sup>10</sup> This was a grand dream but the realities involved in actually building the line caused the proponents to reevaluate the idea. By the spring of 1907 they had decided that a new hotel in Silver Plume would be more practical and would serve the same purpose. Tourists could travel on the Colorado and Southern in the afternoon, could spend a comfortable night at the hotel, and could ride the tramway at dawn the next day to see the sunrise. An important factor in this new plan was to induce the railroad to sell tickets good for the return trip to Denver on the second day as well as on the same day, which was current practice.<sup>11</sup>

The *Silver Standard* naturally supported the idea of a new hotel in town, stressing the need to accommodate the masses of tourists who would be descending on Silver Plume during the summer. Besides the Georgetown Loop, which was a proven popular attraction, 1907 would mark the first full summer of operation for the Argentine Central. With the tramway due to open, "a nerve-trying experience which will no doubt prove

very attractive to . . . thousands of people," and with mining activities at a peak as well, Silver Plume was in for a banner year.<sup>12</sup>

As if all this were not enough, the *Silver Standard* suggested another profit-maker. A tunnel connecting the well-known Seven Thirty and Burleigh mines would enable tourists to see mining operations firsthand. Though an underground ride was the one kind of trip that Silver Plume did not have, the paper raised an objection—the mine owners might not want to mix tourism and mining.<sup>13</sup>

For whatever reasons nothing further was heard of the underground sightseeing proposal. The tramway company, too, canceled plans for a hotel, perhaps thinking that the three existing hotels in town, the Windsor, the LaVeta, and the City, were sufficient.<sup>14</sup>

After four months of work in the spring and early summer of 1907, the tramway was ready for the final, thorough testing. Each car was loaded with eight hundred pounds of rock and the line ran for several hours at full speed. Then, half the load was left on the cars, which remained suspended overnight. When no adverse effects were noted on the cables and towers, Manager Skouland pronounced the tramway ready for public use. First, however, an inaugural ride was arranged for company officials and their wives and guests on August 12, 1907, and later that week the populations of Silver Plume and Georgetown were invited to be the special guests of the company. A number of residents did not hesitate to take advantage of the free rides, and those who at first were reluctant to get in a bucket had second thoughts after seeing their friends safely making the round trip and after hearing their impressions of the ride.<sup>15</sup>

On August 20, 1907, "The World's Greatest Scenic Route" with a total of twenty-three steel buckets, each seating four people and exposed except for a slightly curved, raised metal covering, opened to the general public. Photographer George Dalglish was on hand to record the festivities as crowds milled around the base station and awaited their turns in the buckets.<sup>16</sup>

The crew of eighteen required to operate the tramway safely was responsible for locking and unlocking the door on the side of each bucket. While one bucket was loaded at the bottom an-

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., April 6, May 18, 1907.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., May 18, 1907.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>11</sup> *Silver Plume Silver Standard*, April 6, August 17, 1907; *Georgetown Courier* (weekly), August 24, 1907.

<sup>12</sup> *Silver Plume Silver Standard*, August 17, 1907; interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., September 29, 1906.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., April 21, 1906.

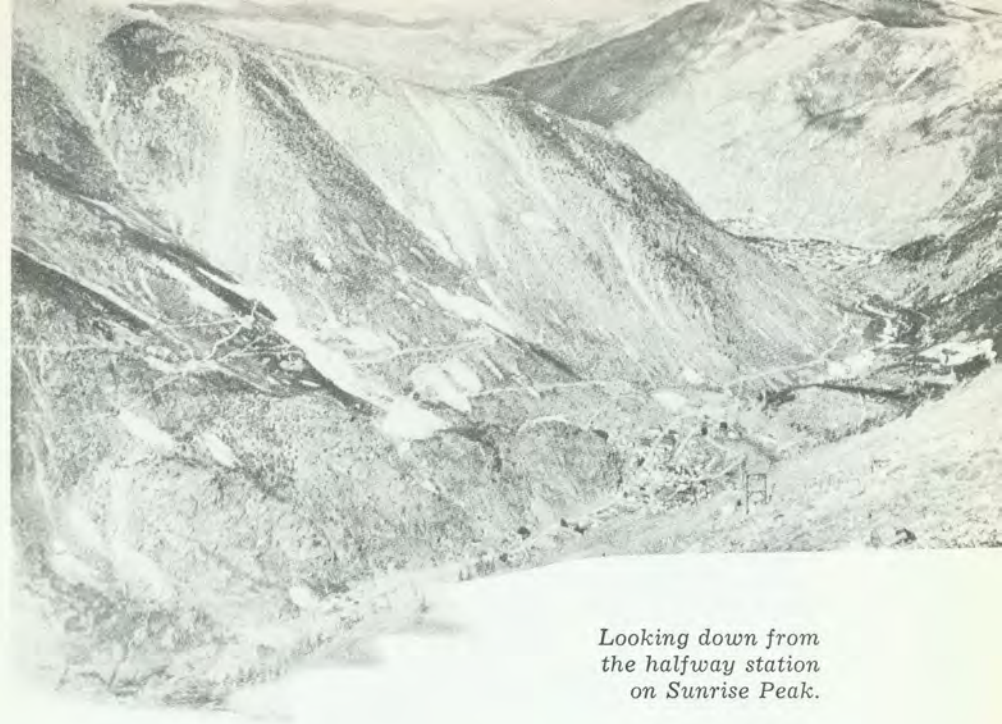
<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., March 30, 1907.

other was unloaded at the upper terminal. The two stations were connected by telephone and three tension stations were placed between them at strategic intervals. Here employees checked the equipment and the tension of the cables, designed to support 175 tons, and then rang a bell to signal that all was well.<sup>17</sup> Not the least of their duties was reassuring nervous passengers as they rode by. To calm the more anxious, the company often would solicit the youth of Silver Plume to stand in the buckets.<sup>18</sup>

Sitting in an open bucket, which rose more than three thousand vertical feet in one and one-fourth miles and was at times several hundred feet above deep abysses, required an adventurous spirit. Thunder storms occurred regularly, snow was not uncommon, and power failures were frequent. The two by three foot metal covering above each bucket was designed for protection from oil drips, not weather!<sup>19</sup> Judging from the num-

*"On their way," an open bucket descending from Sunrise Peak to Silver Plume far below.*



*Looking down from the halfway station on Sunrise Peak.*

ber of tourists who queued up at the station, however, the novelty of the ride and the prospect of magnificent vistas overcame most apprehensions. The twenty-five minute ride up the side of Pendleton Mountain not only delighted but also surprised most of the tourists who found, to their relief, that the buckets did not swing and sway. A Colorado and Southern tourist pamphlet stated that the tramway ascended as "softly as ribbon is drawn from a spool."<sup>20</sup>

Passengers alighted at an elevation of 12,000 feet. Walking a few hundred feet to the summit, admiring the view of Clear Creek and Silver Plume far below and the mountains on all sides, enjoying the profusion of wild flowers, and spreading the contents of picnic baskets caused the time to go quickly. By mid-afternoon a line began forming. With everyone descending the company again called on Silver Plume boys, who were always eager for a free ride. The boys balanced the line by riding

<sup>17</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972; *Picturesque Colorado: A Story of the Attractions of the Wonderful Rocky Mountain Region Told in Pictures and Words* (Denver: Smith-Brooks Press, 1910), a Colorado and Southern Railway pamphlet.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Picturesque Colorado.*



to the top while the tourists, ready to catch the train back to Denver, came down en masse.<sup>21</sup>

Vigorous promotion in Denver and just plain hucksterism in Silver Plume soon made the aerial railroad a viable competitor. "No dust, no dirt, no smoke, no cinders, no noise," shouted young men with megaphones as passengers alighted at the Colorado and Southern terminal.<sup>22</sup> The tramway base station, which housed the ticket office and repair shop, was only a few hundred feet from the terminal. The employees spared no effort in trying to attract tourists, much to the dismay of the Argentine Central partisans who continually tried to hush the competition.<sup>23</sup> The base station sold tickets for \$1.00 a ride as opposed to \$1.50 for passage on the Argentine Central; but those with foresight usually took advantage of the advertising at Denver's Union Station and purchased a special Colorado and Southern round trip ticket, which included a ride on the tramway, for \$4.00 during the week or \$3.00 on the weekends.<sup>24</sup> Not hesitating to resort to gimmickry, the tramway company installed fences on the mountain in the fall of 1907 to catch large accumulations of snow, which, hopefully, would stay on the ground during the



summer. A telescope also was placed on the summit. Photographs of tourists peering through the scope at 12,275 feet were good publicity, but the telescope was, in fact, an imitation.<sup>25</sup>

For three months every summer during its short existence the tramway provided Coloradoans and visitors with a thrilling, memorable experience. Business was slow, however, during the final years of operation. Like so many other ventures of the time, the tramway, even in its early years, was never the sound investment predicted by its backers. A growing public apathy toward the novelty coupled with the general fear that the wooden towers were weakening; but, more important, interest in the train trip to Silver Plume began to wane.<sup>26</sup> The introduction of the automobile and the passing of mining's peak years were primary factors in the declining use of the Colorado and

<sup>21</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>22</sup> Argentine Central, Argentine and Gray's Peak, and Sunrise Peak Aerial Railway files, Railroad Collection.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>24</sup> Argentine Central, Argentine and Gray's Peak, and Sunrise Peak Aerial Railway files, Railroad Collection.

<sup>25</sup> *Silver Plume Silver Standard*, November 16, 1907; *Picturesque Colorado*; interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with George Rowe, October 1972.

Southern. Although the railroad continued service to Silver Plume on a modified basis until 1927, the tramway stopped running in 1914, followed by the Argentine Central three years later.<sup>27</sup>

Today, the base station is gone except for the hand-laid rocks that mark its foundation. But, the terminal on Sunrise Peak still stands, weathered yet sturdy, and three of the wooden towers remain upright high on Pendleton Mountain, visible as stark, vestigial silhouettes from the town and the valley below.

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<sup>27</sup> Hauck, *A Journal of Railroad History*, pp. 106-9; Hollenback, *The Argentine Central*, pp. 63-70. The Argentine Central was sold in 1909 and again in 1913. At the time of dissolution, it was known as the Argentine and Gray's Peak Railway.

# Boom State and Boom City: Stages in Denver's Growth

BY CARL ABBOTT

Historians of Denver have customarily divided the growth of the city into three periods. The dozen years following its first settlement in 1858 constitute the "old" times, an era in which the community was little more than a frontier outpost. Following the completion of the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads in 1870, "the proudest year in the whole history of Denver," the city rapidly discarded its pioneer aspects and entered a thirty-year surge of growth and industrial development.<sup>1</sup> Around the turn of the century, with the decline of mining in Colorado, Denver entered a third phase as a commercial and an administrative center. In this stage Denver has grown without the wild fluctuations of the 1880s and 1890s, building on "broader and sounder foundations" as a mature metropolitan center of the Rocky Mountain West.<sup>2</sup>

This accepted chronological framework for viewing Denver's growth closely matches phases found in the evolution of Kansas City and Indianapolis, two Mississippi Valley cities similar to Denver in economic functions and social characteristics.<sup>3</sup> Indianapolis before 1860, for example, was little more than a country town serving surrounding farm lands. The Civil War, however, ushered in a forty-year boom, which in turn led to the establishment of a mature industrial city around 1900. In

<sup>1</sup> Quotation from *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and the State of Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1880), pp. 221-23. See also Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver, with Outlines of the Earlier History of the Rocky Mountain Country* (Denver: Denver Times, 1901), pp. 369, 442, 938; Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963), pp. 125-26; Constance M. Green, *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Quotation from Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 938. See also Green, *American Cities*, pp. 147-48.

<sup>3</sup> Denver, Kansas City, and Indianapolis in 1890 were the three important American cities with the smallest proportion of foreign-born citizens. All three cities have long been primarily commercial, administrative, and financial centers. See Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," *Economic Geography* 31 (July 1955):189-210, and Green, *American Cities*, p. 143.

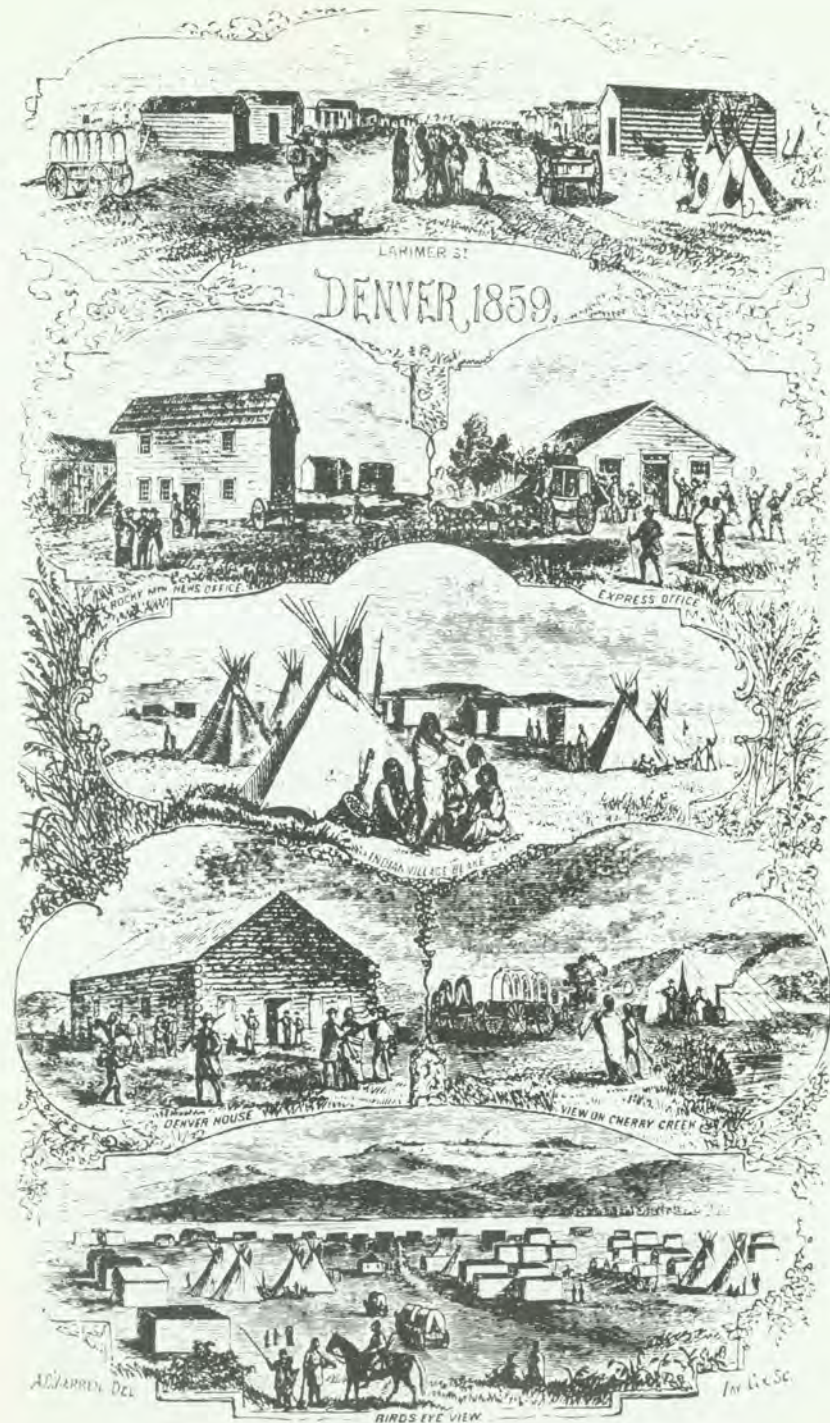
Kansas City historians have found a premetropolitan era from 1850 to 1870 in which the city fought off local rivals, a stage of rapid growth at the end of the nineteenth century, and a modern phase of maturation and consolidation during which bosses, planners, and reformers have imposed regularity and order on the city.<sup>4</sup> Taken together, growth patterns described for the three cities suggest important regularities in the often confusing patterns of urban growth in the American interior.

The standard periodization of Denver, however, is based on a limited number of factors. In particular this periodization recognizes the importance of alterations in basic economic activities and in the rate of growth but neglects to consider how Denver developed as an environment for its inhabitants. If the historian shifts his focus from growth rates to various internal patterns—demographic characteristics, land uses, residential arrangements, social structure, and provision of services—he can discern a different set of stages in the evolution of Denver: (1) frontier town, 1858-early 1860s (2) small city, middle 1860s-late 1870s (3) large city, late 1870s-early 1940s (4) conurbation, early 1940s-present. These several phases do not coincide directly with the obvious turning points in the population growth curve. Rather, the development of Denver as a place to live has, in some measure, been an independent process. Although the transition from one stage to another has been triggered by changes in the Colorado economy arising from the rise and decline of local bonanzas, the direction of change has been determined by economic, physical, and social needs internal to the city itself.

Denver was the creation of the Colorado gold rush of 1858-60. The discovery of traces of gold along the South Platte River and the magnification of the finds in reports and rumors attracted hundreds of fortune hunters to the region in the fall of 1858.<sup>5</sup> As on all American frontiers, speculative town sites were immediately laid out to profit from the expected influx of settlers. Although the future site of Denver was initially di-

<sup>4</sup> Frederick D. Kershner, Jr., "From Country Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern in Indianapolis," *Indiana Magazine of History* 45 (December 1949):327-38; Charles N. Glaab, "The Historian and the American City: A Bibliographical Survey," in *The Study of Urbanization*, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo P. Schmore (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), pp. 61-62.

<sup>5</sup> In the description of the gold rush, figures differ from author to author on the number of fortune hunters who were attracted to the region in 1858-60. See LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Colorado and Its People: A Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State*, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), 1, chaps. 10-11; William S. Grever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 157-68; Agnes Wright Spring, "Rush to the Rockies, 1859," *The Colorado Magazine* 36 (April 1959):83-120; Paul, *Mining Frontiers*, pp. 111-16.



vided among rival companies, Auraria to the west of Cherry Creek and Denver City to the east developed effectively as a single unit with a single street system even before their consolidation in the spring of 1860.<sup>6</sup> With the great migrations of 1859 and 1860 the new community became a great hotel and store house, "the commercial center of the gold regions." It provided personal services to miners and businessmen traveling to the diggings, sold goods to the miners, and furnished vital professional and commercial services. By January 1860 the new town claimed over two dozen stores and one dozen wholesalers, close to thirty eating and drinking establishments, and over two dozen doctors and lawyers.<sup>7</sup> Denver's population reached two thousand in 1859 and over forty-five hundred the next year.<sup>8</sup>

Physically, Denver in the early sixties was a "walking city" whose settled area had a maximum radius of three-quarters of a mile.<sup>9</sup> In such a compact settlement there was little distinction among neighborhoods and sections, the heart of the business district lying within a block of the finest residences. Stores, workshops, and homes were jumbled together on every major street.<sup>10</sup> Many of the initial buildings were crude and temporary, businessmen accepting log and canvas walls and dirt floors in their haste to set up business before the boom faded. As in other new towns of Colorado, sawed lumber was a luxury in the first year and a two-story structure a rarity. Only twenty of its four hundred-odd buildings were made of brick after a year and one-half of settlement.<sup>11</sup>

During its first four or five years, Denver also shared the disorder and the disorganization associated with frontier boom towns. Since one of its chief businesses was the entertainment

A crowd watching Mme. Carolista, a tightrope walker, on Larimer Street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth, in April 1861.



of men in transit to and from the mines, saloons and gambling halls "shouldered each other in rows, and . . . night and day, their doors were never closed."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the town's best known landmark was a hotel-saloon-casino combination called the Denver House. The city had to rely on its own resources to cope with organized thievery and with endemic personal violence, which produced twelve homicides in the summer of 1860 alone. Prior to the organization of the Territory of Colorado and the establishment of a judicial system, ad hoc peoples' courts executed five murderers in 1859 and 1860, while vigilance committees harassed horse thieves and rustlers.<sup>13</sup> The fact that seven out of eight inhabitants were males did nothing to promote peace and quiet.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of stability was also impeded by the constant turnover of the population. It has been conservatively estimated that during the 1860s in Colorado two fortune hunters came and went for every one who stayed. The turnover in Denver was even greater, since many immigrants who remained Coloradans shifted residence frequently within the state. Only two out of three Denverites were permanently

<sup>6</sup> For details on the founding of Denver see Smiley, *History of Denver*.

<sup>7</sup> *Denver City and Auraria: The Commercial Emporium of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions in 1859* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 11, 14. A similar list is in Silas W. Burt and Edward L. Berthoud, *The Rocky Mountain Gold Regions: Containing Sketches of Its History, Geography, Botany, Geology, Mineralogy, and Gold Mines . . . Now Operating* (Denver: Rocky Mountain News Printing Co., 1861), pp. 67-69. See also Paul, *Mining Frontiers*, p. 126, and Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 332.

<sup>8</sup> A memorial to Congress in January 1860 claimed 2100 inhabitants for Auraria and Denver. The United States census in 1860 recorded 4749 citizens, while boosters in 1861 claimed 6000 or 7000. Colin B. Goodykoontz, "The Settlement of Colorado," in *History of Colorado*, ed. James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen, 5 vols. (Denver: Linderman Co., 1927), 2:435-36; U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, Territory of Colorado, table 3, p. 548; Burt and Berthoud, *The Rocky Mountain Gold Regions*, p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> Junius E. Wharton, *History of the City of Denver* (Denver: Byers & Dailey, 1866), p. 53; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 370.

<sup>10</sup> Wharton, *History of the City of Denver*, pp. 53-63; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 370.

<sup>11</sup> Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1867), pp. 279, 297-98; *Denver City and Auraria*, p. 12; Samuel S. Wallihan and T. O. Bigney, eds., *The Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer for 1871: Comprising a Brief History of Colorado. . . with a Complete and Accurate Directory of Denver, . . . Trinidad, Etc.* (Denver: S. S. Wallihan & Co., 1870), p. 257; Hafen, ed., *Colorado and Its People*, 1:231-36; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 252, 332, 369. For a comparison of Denver with other Colorado towns, see Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), pp. 75-76.

<sup>12</sup> Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 293, 336, 368.

<sup>13</sup> Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 178, 186-88, 300-1; Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860), p. 159; Ovando J. Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co., 1867), pp. 96-97; Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 290-91; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 338-50; Francis S. Williams, "Trials and Judgments of the Peoples' Courts of Denver," *The Colorado Magazine* 27 (October 1950):294-302; Donald W. Hensel, "The Beginnings of Government in Colorado," in *Readings in Colorado Government and Politics*, ed. Curtis Martin and Wallace Stealey (Boulder: University of Colorado, Bureau of Governmental Research & Service, 1967), pp. 29-31.

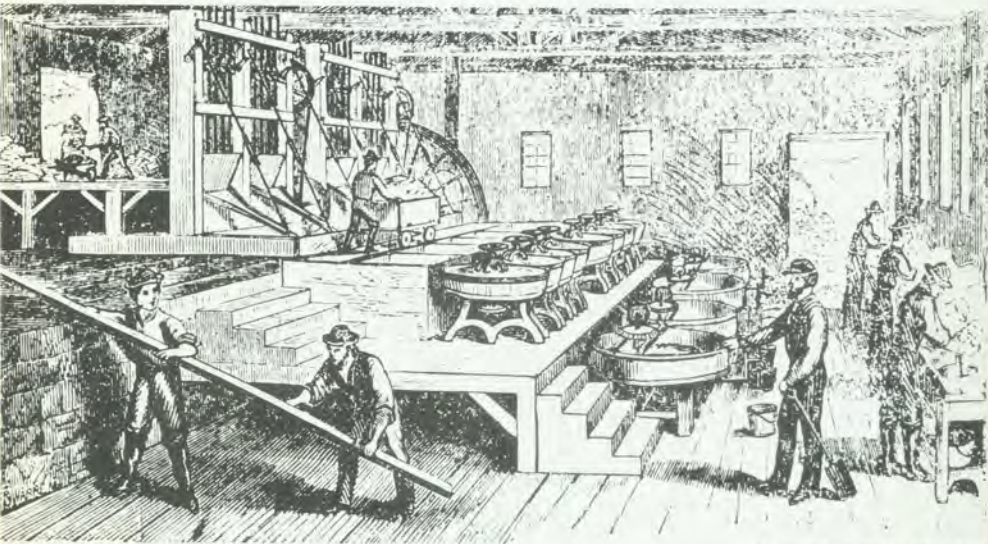
<sup>14</sup> *Population of the United States in 1860*, Territory of Colorado, table 3, p. 548.





settled, the rest consisting of men heading for and leaving the mountains.<sup>15</sup>

In the early sixties mining in Colorado began a slow evolution from an adventure to a business. Three years of stable pro-



A quartz mill in 1867.

duction and population were followed by a depression, as the failure of speculations inhibited the flow of capital and refractory ores proved unamenable to known refining techniques. The nadir was reached in 1866 and 1867, when the population of the state was less than in 1860. Over the course of the next decade, however, new mining techniques were adopted, new skills were

brought by European immigrants, new companies were organized, and new deposits of silver were exploited. By 1877, according to Rodman Paul, "Colorado had experienced all . . . stages of recovery except the final one, the discovery of a true bonanza."<sup>16</sup>

The economy of Denver stagnated with the depression in the mountains, its problems accentuated by the lack of adequate railroad connections. The population plunged to a low of three thousand after the outbreak of the Civil War and recovered only slowly; the census of 1870 counted only 4759 citizens.<sup>17</sup> The completion of the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific railroads, however, confirmed Denver's commercial importance and signaled a renewal of prosperity. Mercantile business tripled between 1867 and 1872.<sup>18</sup> Newcomers thronged the city, pushing the population to fourteen thousand in 1874 and to over thirty-five thousand by the end of the decade. According to the standards of the time, the latter figure was adequate to make Denver a small city rather than a town.<sup>19</sup>

As the frenzy of the gold rush gave way to a calmer economic growth in the mid-sixties, Denverites found time and money to consider the improvement of the town as a place to live. With numerous demographic, physical, and social changes, the city began to "assume metropolitan airs."<sup>20</sup> Distinct commercial and residential sections emerged with a central business district around Blake, Larimer, Market, and Fifteenth streets and a stylish residential area southeast from Fourteenth

<sup>15</sup> Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado*, pp. 115, 131-40; Fossett, *Colorado*, pp. 131-36; Charles W. Henderson, "Mining in Colorado," in *History of Colorado*, ed. Baker and Hafen, 2:531-32; Paul, *Mining Frontiers*, pp. 116-25, 127; Greever, *The Bonanza West*, pp. 179-82.

<sup>16</sup> Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 366, 441, dates the decline in Denver from 1861. The territorial census of 1861 counted 3000 people in Denver (Hafen, ed., *Colorado and Its People*, 1:283); U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Ninth Census*, vol. 1, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States*, table 25, p. 641. See also Bayard Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867), p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> George W. Pine, *Beyond the West: Containing an Account of Two Years' Travel in that Other Half of Our Great Continent Far Beyond the Old West, on the Plains, in the Rocky Mountains, and Picturesque Parks of Colorado* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, 1871), pp. 56-57; Isabella Lucy Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1879), p. 161; Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip*, p. 38; Fossett, *Colorado*, pp. 33-35; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 457, 481, 872; Wallihan and Bigney, eds., *The Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer for 1871*, p. 260; Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado: Embracing Accounts . . . from 1858 to 1890*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1890), 2:465-67. Figures on the volume of business come from Clyde L. King, *The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to Its Relations with Public Service Corporations* (Denver: Fisher Book Co., 1911), pp. 45-46, 70.

<sup>18</sup> *History of the City of Denver*, p. 230; U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*, pt. 1, table 24, p. 380. According to the scheme in John R. Borchert, "American Metropolitan Evolution," *Geographical Review* 57 (July 1967):310, Denver by the late 1870s had the population required to be considered a fifth-level metropolis, a local retail-wholesale center.

<sup>19</sup> *History of the City of Denver*, p. 267.

<sup>15</sup> Frank Fossett, *Colorado: Its Gold and Silver Mines, Farms and Stock Ranges, and Health and Pleasure Resorts* (New York: C. G. Crawford, 1879), pp. 131-36, 147; Wharton, *History of the City of Denver*, p. 169; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 333.



The freighting business on Blake Street in 1864.



The residential section on Fifteenth and Arapahoe streets in 1860.

and Arapahoe streets, inhabited by merchants, promoters, and land speculators who had profited from the boom.<sup>21</sup> Following a serious fire in April 1863 the city was rebuilt in an improved style. In the business area two- and three-story brick structures replaced frame boxes, the municipality having forbidden further wooden construction downtown. Residential areas blos-

<sup>21</sup> Sandra Dallas, *Cherry Creek Gothic: Victorian Architecture in Denver* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 25-28; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 430.

somed with two-story houses in Victorian styles, while the completion of an irrigation ditch in 1865 made possible the planting of trees and lawns.<sup>22</sup> The whole effect delighted most visitors, who found the city an oasis of architectural quality in the dreary West.<sup>23</sup>

The physical maturation of the young city was accompanied by the establishment of a wide range of urban services. A volunteer fire department was created in 1865. The Denver Gas Company was organized in 1869 and the Denver City Water Company in 1870; both began supplying the city's needs in 1871. Street railroad service was opened in January 1872 by the Denver City Railway Company, and the company expanded steadily throughout the decade. The years 1873 to 1875 saw the first public high school, the first uniformed police force, and the first sewer system.<sup>24</sup> The investment in such social capital was, of course, an indication of confidence in the permanence of Denver and the mining industries, on which Denver depended. Together the services stood as outward signs of the urban status achieved by the former frontier town.<sup>25</sup>

The tone of life in Denver also improved. Confident of their future, workers and businessmen married or sent for their families, making the city about 40 percent female in the 1870s.<sup>26</sup> Established Denverites of both sexes tried hard to ignore their not so distant past, growing deeply offended when visitors brought up the crude gold rush years.<sup>27</sup> As early as 1865 Denver had developed a clear distinction between the ice cream socials and the balls that entertained the middle and upper classes and the gambling and drinking indulged in by the lower orders. In 1866 the territory suppressed open gambling, and the next year a local writer, Ovando J. Hollister, announced that the entire Rocky Mountain region was close behind the East in the social

<sup>22</sup> Dallas, *Cherry Creek Gothic*, pp. 14-15, 24; Wharton, *History of the City of Denver*, p. 97; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 427, 435, 440, 464-65, 480.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Bowles, *Our New West: Records of Travel Between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Publishing Co., 1869), pp. 88-90; Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip*, p. 37; Pine, *Beyond the West*, pp. 56-57; Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 38; anonymous travelers quoted in Green, *American Cities*, p. 138, and Paul, *Mining Frontiers*, p. 126.

<sup>24</sup> *History of the City of Denver*, pp. 223, 234, 267; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 795, 853-54; King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, pp. 63-65, 79-85.

<sup>25</sup> Fossett, *Colorado*, p. 35; *History of the City of Denver*, p. 267. For a comparison, see Carl Abbott, "Civic Pride in Chicago, 1844-1860," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 63 (Winter 1970):394-421.

<sup>26</sup> *Ninth Census*, vol. 1, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States*, table 25, p. 641.

<sup>27</sup> Denverites reacted very strongly when William H. Dixon in *New America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1867), 1:125-34, described the Denver of 1866 as if it were the Denver of 1860 and 1861. See also Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, pp. 38-40, 45, and Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado*, p. 94.

"graces" and "frivolities." Refinement and sophistication were promoted by the city's numerous churches, the three newspapers, the Methodist seminary, the social clubs, and the frequent visits of distinguished literary men, artists, and public figures.<sup>28</sup> Travelers were surprised to find the streets safe, the stores full of luxuries, the Sabbath peaceful, and the hotels tolerable.<sup>29</sup> By the end of the seventies, one Coloradoan could boast that the city had "a dash and animation . . . along with a finish and elegance that suggests prosperity, wealth, and Eastern stability."<sup>30</sup>

With the mining rush to Leadville in 1878 and the ensuing fifteen-year boom that it initiated in Colorado, these suggestions became realities. In a direct response to the recurring discovery of silver throughout the mountains, the construction of three large smelters and the expansion of several firms special-



The Grant Smelter, built in 1883 on the South Platte River in north Denver.

izing in mining equipment made Denver a manufacturing center for the first time.<sup>31</sup> The cattle boom of the 1880s, the growth of efficient ranching in the 1890s, and the spread of irrigated agriculture in the same years were similarly reflected in the development of Denver as an important grain and livestock

<sup>28</sup> Wharton, *History of the City of Denver*, pp. 165-67; Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado*, pp. 448-49; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 428, 431; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, December 26, 1865; Green, *American Cities*, p. 137.

<sup>29</sup> Alexander K. McClure, *Three Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869), pp. 80-82; Bowles, *Our New West*, pp. 88-90; Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 161-63; Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, pp. 40-42; *History of the City of Denver*, p. 218.

<sup>30</sup> Fossett, *Colorado*, p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> Frank E. Shepard, "Industrial Development in Colorado," in *History of Colorado*, ed. Baker and Hafen, 2:702-7, 712-18; Ellsworth C. Mitick, "A History of Mining Machinery Manufacture in Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine* 24 (November 1947):230-36.

market in the nineties and later decades.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, the city remained a convenient break-of-bulk point for goods shipped from the East, developing extensive warehouse and wholesaling facilities. As railroads spread through the Rockies, Denver extended its trading sphere to cover all of Colorado and parts of New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah.<sup>33</sup> The city also served as a banking and insurance center that channeled outside investment capital into the Colorado bonanzas. This role was officially recognized in 1900 with Denver's designation as the depository for the reserve funds of the Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming banks.<sup>34</sup>

Denver's population exploded in response to its economic boom. The initial impulse was felt in 1878 and 1879, with "unexampled activity" in real estate and trade and a gain of several thousand inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> The city added 20,000 citizens in



the first half of the eighties and 50,000 more in the second half for a total of 106,713 in 1890.<sup>36</sup> The increasing business activity

<sup>32</sup> Maurice Frink, W. Turrentine Jackson, and Agnes Wright Spring, *When Grass Was King* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956), pp. 5-131; Donald B. Cole, "Transmountain Water Diversion in Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine* 24 (March 1948):51-53; Wilbur F. Stone, ed., *History of Colorado*, 4 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), 1:525-26; Denver Chamber of Commerce, *Denver: A Glimpse of the City and State* (1898), pp. 6, 44-46; *Illustrated Denver: The Queen City of the Plains* (Denver: Phoenix Publishing Co., 1892), pp. 70-71; George L. Anderson, "Banking and Monetary Problems," in *Colorado and Its People*, ed. Hafen, 2:306-10.

<sup>33</sup> Of 30 wholesalers, 16 manufacturers, and 7 produce and stock dealers listed in *Illustrated Denver*, all 53 traded with Colorado, 32 with New Mexico, 29 with Wyoming, and 26 with Utah. See also Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 886, and speech of Congressman Thomas M. Patterson, quoted in *Colorado and Its People*, ed. Hafen, 2:305.

<sup>34</sup> The city made a strong effort to receive designation as a Federal Reserve city, Anderson, "Banking and Monetary Problems," in *Colorado and Its People*, ed. Hafen, 2:306-10; Green, *American Cities*, p. 142; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 845.

<sup>35</sup> *History of the City of Denver*, pp. 239-40; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 464, 481.

<sup>36</sup> Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 481-83; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, pt. 1, *Population*, table 5, p. 444.

and a tripled population placed strong pressures on the supply of buildings and land. Indicative of the land and building boom in the latter eighties, the volume of real estate transactions in Arapahoe County rose from \$5 million in 1880 to \$29 million in 1887 and \$65 million in 1890. The market softened somewhat in 1891 and 1892 but did not break until 1893 and 1894, when drought damaged Colorado farming, national political changes hurt the silver industry, and a national depression impeded trade.<sup>37</sup>

As a result of the real estate and building boom, the settled area of Denver more than tripled in the 1880s.<sup>38</sup> The influx of new money, created by the Colorado boom and attracted to Denver because of its relative importance as an urban center, helped to change the location and the character of the elite neighborhood. Abandoning the downtown, the upper class turned to the Brown's Bluff area east of the future Capitol. No longer content with sedate Victorian frame houses, mining and railroad kings built Tudor, Moorish, Medieval, Italianate, and Romanesque palaces as tokens of their own importance, while professional and business men constructed rambling brick

*Fashionable homes on Capitol Hill, beyond Fourteenth Avenue and Grant Street, around 1890.*



piles.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, the central business district began a slow migration uptown. In the 1880s Sixteenth and Larimer became the chief business streets. By the nineties Larimer was in decline and the most imposing buildings were found on Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, where four- and six-story business blocks were erected to provide adequate floor space for retailing and office space for finance and wholesaling.<sup>40</sup> The same period saw the construction of numerous civic monuments: the Union Station, the Tabor Opera House, the Albany, the Windsor, and the Brown Palace hotels, and the Capitol. As Denver's historian Jerome Smiley put it in 1901, the city got its first "modern" buildings during the boom of 1885-93.<sup>41</sup>

The new jobs offered by the expansion of manufacturing attracted new groups to the city. Although the proportion of foreign born declined by about one percentage point in the 1880s, large numbers of Scandinavians, Italians, and Eastern Europeans settled in Denver for the first time.<sup>42</sup> Several ethnic neighborhoods, which appeared in the years 1880 to 1910, survived for several decades into the twentieth century. Germans, Welsh, Irish, and Cornishmen congregated in Elyria near the Argo smelter. Slavic immigrants filled Globeville, adjacent to the Globe smelter, and Italians moved into Highlands, north of the South Platte River. The five thousand Blacks who contributed to Denver's population lived in Five Points, northeast of the downtown area, early established as a Black ghetto.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 482-87; King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, p. 100. In pattern this boom in Denver follows closely that described in Homer Hoyt, "One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1933), pp. 368-403.

<sup>38</sup> Boundaries of the settled area in 1879 from Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 465. Boundaries of the settled area in 1887 from Elisha Robinson, George E. Ryan, and R. H. Pidgeon, *Robinson's Atlas of the City of Denver, Colorado: Embracing All Territory within the Corporate Limits from Official Records, Private Plans, and Actual Surveys* (New York: Elisha Robinson, 1887).

<sup>39</sup> Dallas, *Cherry Creek Gothic*, pp. 48-51; Green, *American Cities*, p. 142; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 507, 613.

<sup>40</sup> James I. Day, comp., *Our Architecture and Scenes of Denver, Colorado: F. E. Edbrooke Architect Co.* (Denver, 1906); Dallas, *Cherry Creek Gothic*, pp. 137, 160; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 478.

<sup>41</sup> William M. Thayer, *Marvels of the New West: A Vivid Portrayal of the Stupendous Marvels in the Vast Wonderland West of the Missouri River* (Norwich, Conn.: Henry Bill Publishing Co., 1887), pp. 358-63; *Illustrated Denver*, pp. 42-45; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 482-85, 972.

<sup>42</sup> In 1880 there were over 800 Italians, Scandinavians, and Eastern Europeans in Denver; in 1890 there were 4389 Scandinavians, 608 Italians, and 700 Eastern Europeans; and in 1900 there were 999 Italians and 1914 Eastern Europeans (*Compendium of the Tenth Census [June 1, 1880]*, pt. 1, table 33, pp. 546-51; *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, pt. 2, table 2, pp. 605-6; U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, . . . 1900*, vol. 1, *Population*, pt. 1, table 35, pp. 796-99). See also *Illustrated Denver*, p. 45.

<sup>43</sup> U.S., Work Projects Administration, Colorado Writers' Project, comps., *Colorado: A Guide to the Highest State*, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), pp. 125-26; Denver Commission on Human Relations, "The Police and Human Relations," reprinted in Kenneth E. Gray, "A Report on Politics in Denver, Colorado," mimeographed (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1959).

A city of increased size, Denver needed new or improved services. Its first telephones were installed in 1879 as an aid to the increasing pace of business. The provision of electric lights for streets and businesses, the establishment of the first substantial free library, and the replacement of volunteer firemen with a paid and uniformed department all date from the early eighties. Between 1887 and 1894 the city acquired land for City and Washington parks and began to develop the future Cheesman Park.<sup>44</sup> The improvement of other services was more complex. Horse-drawn street railroads proved inadequate by the 1880s. Two corporations in the latter part of the decade tried to remedy the situation by building thirty-eight miles of cable car line. The Denver Tramway Corporation, the more successful of



An electric car at Fifteenth and Lawrence in 1887.

the competitors, began to convert to overhead electric power in 1891 and finally absorbed its rival in 1900.<sup>45</sup> The first water pumping station, constructed along the South Platte in 1871, was joined by a new station and the Archer Lake storage reservoir in 1880. In 1889 the Citizens' Water Company was organized

<sup>44</sup> Frank S. Woodbury, *Tourists' Guide Book to Denver, 1882* (Denver: Times Steam Printing House & Blank Book Manufactory, 1882), pp. 44-48; Robert L. Perkin, *The First Hundred Years: An Informal History of Denver and the Rocky Mountain News* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959), p. 350; King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, pp. 101, 154-57; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 474-75, 641-46, 766-67.  
<sup>45</sup> George W. Hilton, "Denver's Cable Railways," *The Colorado Magazine* 44 (Winter 1967):35-52; King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, pp. 193-200; Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 856-70.

to compete with the Denver City Water Company, tapping the mouth of Platte Canyon and developing Marston Lake. Five years later the rivals were consolidated as the Denver Union Water Company, which in 1898 started work on Cheesman Dam. Finished in 1905, the new mountain reservoir was a major source of water for the city until the 1930s.<sup>46</sup>



Sixteenth Street in 1901, looking north from Arapahoe Street.

By 1900 natives could boast that Denver had successfully completed a transition from small to large city.<sup>47</sup> Despite the depression of the 1890s, the city's economy had diversified, its public services had been improved and expanded, and its internal structure had grown more complex. In one indication of this maturity the census of 1900 reported that women for the first time outnumbered men in Denver.<sup>48</sup> Denver's business-

<sup>46</sup> Edgar C. McMechen, *Walter Scott Cheesman: A Pioneer Builder of Colorado* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 24-35; George T. Prince, *Cheesman Dam: A Paper Presented at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Water Works Association* (Denver: Smith-Brooks Printing Co., n.d.); Smiley, *History of Denver*, pp. 795-803; King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, pp. 201-6.

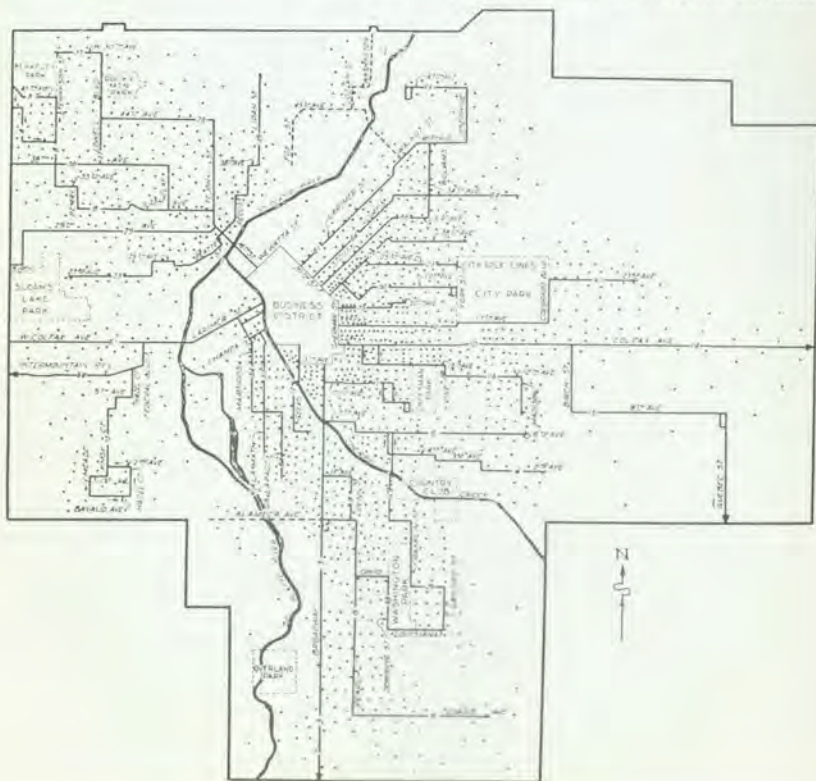
<sup>47</sup> Stephen J. Leonard, "The Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade from 1884 to 1900" (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1966), pp. 107-15; Denver Chamber of Commerce, *Denver: A Glimpse; Illustrated Denver*; Green, *American Cities*, p. 142.

<sup>48</sup> *Twelfth Census of the United States, . . . 1900*, vol. 2, *Population*, pt. 2, table 9, p. 128.

men shared the values of their compeers all over the country and its citizens could choose among scores of fraternal societies, ethnic organizations, literary groups, religious and charitable associations, and the like. Visitors, indeed, could find little to complain about in the 1880s and 1890s and little except its setting to differentiate Denver from other American cities.<sup>49</sup>

After tripling its area with the annexation of 41.73 square miles between 1893 and 1902, the city was set for the next four decades. The economic and social stagnation of Colorado after 1918 deprived Denver of an external stimulus for change.<sup>50</sup> The growth of its population slowed, especially after 1910, and the increase from 140,500 in 1900 to 322,412 in 1940 took place within the physical framework established in the previous two decades. Although the question of their legal control preoccupied local politics, the public services available remained the same. Street car lines still controlled the shape of the city and supplied most of its internal transportation through the 1920s.<sup>51</sup> Commerce re-

Street car tracks are indicated by the heavy solid lines; bus routes are shown by the heavy broken lines. One dot denotes fifty families as of April 15, 1927.



mained the core of its economy and the extent of its hinterland was unchanged. The locations of the ethnic neighborhoods and of the business district were likewise stable.<sup>52</sup> Middle-class-Anglo-residential areas grew outward into the Park Hill, Montclair, Cherry Creek, and Denver Country Club districts but remained within the quarter of the city marked out for elite residences in the 1880s.<sup>53</sup> Apart from the Civic Center, even the items of local pride were the same in the 1920s as thirty years earlier.<sup>54</sup>

In 1900 or 1920 most of the people who participated in the daily economic life of Denver lived within the boundaries of the municipality. Since World War II, however, a new definition of the city has been necessary. Data on daily commuting patterns show that by 1960 Denver, Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, and Jefferson counties functioned as a single metropolitan unit. The census of 1970 found Denver County to be totally urbanized and the four surrounding counties to be over 90 percent urban. Together the heavily settled sections of the metropolitan area form a starfish pattern with arms defined by major highways and with a focus at the center of the old city.<sup>55</sup>

The growth of this urban complex has dominated the entire state in recent decades, and major trends within the state's economy have been hard to distinguish from developments in Denver. The five counties contained only 40 percent of Colorado's population in 1940 but accounted for 56 percent in 1970. In the latter year they also held 65 percent of Colorado's non-

<sup>49</sup> Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, pp. 43-47; *Denver Tribune*, July 1, 1881; Thayer, *Marvels of the New West*, p. 357.

<sup>50</sup> Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, *A Colorado History*, rev. ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 285-87, 294-95, 297-99, 307-8; Perkin, *The First Hundred Years*, p. 571; Denver annexation data from the Denver Planning Office, *City and County Annex*.

<sup>51</sup> City Club of Denver, *The Tramway Problem in Denver*, pamphlet no. 16 (1929); Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 870; Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Denver Facts: Business Planning Key to the Denver Market," mimeographed (updated), population.

<sup>52</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 225; Colorado Writers' Project, comps., *Colorado: A Guide*, pp. 125-26; Denver Commission on Human Relations, "The Police and Human Relations."

<sup>53</sup> Perkin, *The First Hundred Years*, pp. 531-32; Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan*, p. 225; Colorado Writers' Project, comps., *Colorado: A Guide*, p. 125; Smiley, *History of Denver*, p. 651.

<sup>54</sup> Compare Denver Chamber of Commerce, *Denver: A Glimpse*, and Denver Chamber of Commerce, *Distinctive Denver* (1926).

<sup>55</sup> After the census of 1950 the Bureau of the Budget established a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, defined by several criteria, one of which was the amount of daily commuting between counties. The census of 1960 defined the Denver SMSA as including Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties (U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, Colorado, p. xviii, tables 10, 11). For percent urbanized see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, Colorado, tables 13, 14. For the starfish pattern see Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, *Population, Denver Metro Area: Current Estimates and Projections of Future Population*, 3rd. ed. (1965).

agricultural labor force.<sup>56</sup> As in other parts of the Southwest, growth has been based largely on the amenities offered by the environment. Where previous booms depended on the exploitation of minerals and soil, the current prosperity is founded on the more abstract resources of climate, scenery, and centrality.<sup>57</sup>

These several attractions have brought an eight-fold expansion of the tourist business and have strongly influenced the location of a wide array of military installations in the state and metropolitan area. Numerous scientific research establishments and defense-oriented businesses have also located in Denver because the pleasures of life in Colorado help to attract the highly trained personnel who constitute their major factor of production.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, Denver remains a white collar city. Its continuing development as a regional center for federal administrative agencies is well known, while the downtown building boom and the shift of the business district toward the Capitol signal its parallel growth as a regional headquarters for private businesses.<sup>59</sup> The city has remained a banking and commercial center, dominating all of Colorado and Wyoming and parts of New Mexico, Utah, Montana, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. According to a nationwide classification, postwar Denver stands out among American cities for its disproportionate activity in wholesaling, finance, and insurance.<sup>60</sup> As of 1970 the Denver metropolitan area had 68 percent of its non-agricultural workers in retail and wholesale trade, services, fi-

*Downtown Denver in the 1960s, showing the Denver Hilton Hotel (center), the state government buildings (foreground), and the United Bank, the First National Bank, and the Daniels and Fisher Tower (right background).*



nance, and government as compared with 61 percent in the nation as a whole.<sup>61</sup>

A major result of Denver's expansion since 1940 has been decentralization. Most of the new inhabitants have settled in the independent municipalities that ring the city rather than within Denver itself. As early as 1941 this suburban trend was of concern to the Denver Planning Commission, and the bulk of the new postwar housing lies within Aurora, Englewood, Littleton, Arvada, Wheat Ridge, Westminster, and other peripheral communities.<sup>62</sup> The lagging of Denver's growth relative to that of the surrounding metropolitan communities can be seen in Table 1:

**TABLE 1**  
POPULATION GROWTH IN THE DENVER METROPOLITAN AREA

Decades	Denver		Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, and Jefferson Counties	
	Population	Increase	Population	Increase
1940	322,000		123,000	
1950	416,000	29%	196,000	60%
1960	494,000	19%	435,000	122%
1970	515,000	4%	713,000	64%

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950*, vol. 2, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 6, Colorado, tables 6, 9; *Census of Population: 1960*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, Colorado, pt. A, Number of Inhabitants, tables 5, 7; 1970 *Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, Colorado, table 9.

The dispersal of population has been accompanied by a decentralization of business activity. Most of the new factories and research facilities have been located in outlying cities, such as Littleton and Boulder, rather than in Denver itself. The central shopping district has declined relative to other retail centers. In

<sup>56</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 12, 19, 218, 836; Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Denver Facts," population.

<sup>57</sup> Edward L. Ullman, "Amenities as a Factor in Regional Growth," *Geographical Review* 44 (January 1954):119-32.

<sup>58</sup> Denver Research Institute, *Economic Forces behind Colorado's Growth, 1870-1962, with Projections to 1970* (Denver: Colorado State Department of Employment, 1963), pp. 44-47, 111-17. There was a rise of 400 percent between 1950 and 1962 in the production of defense-related industries in the Denver area—ordnance, fabricated metal goods, transportation, and electrical and nonelectrical equipment (*ibid.*).

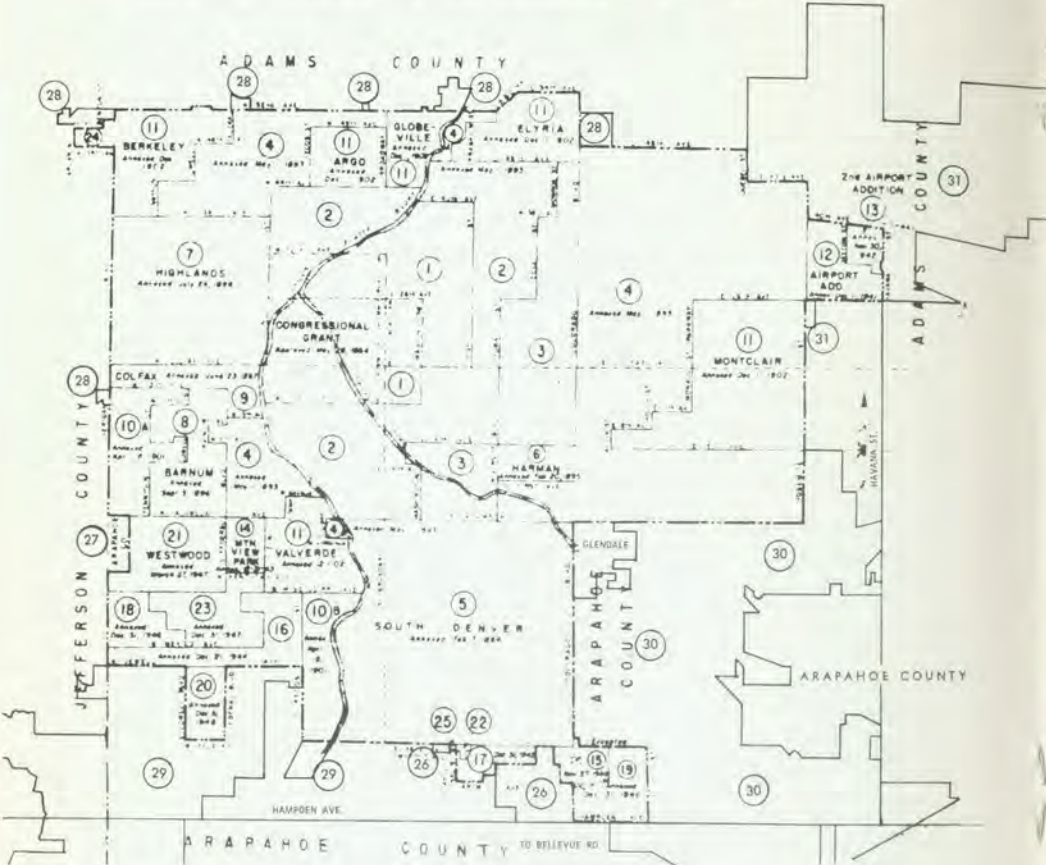
<sup>59</sup> Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, *Economic Areas of the United States* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 202, 581-82; Denver Planning Commission, *The Denver Plan*: vol. 5, *Regional Center for Federal Activities (1937)*; Green, *American Cities*, p. 147; Perkin, *The First Hundred Years*, pp. 579-80.

<sup>60</sup> Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," pp. 189-210; Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Survey of Denver," mimeographed (1944), p. 120; Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Denver Facts," population.

<sup>61</sup> *Statistical Abstract, 1971*, p. 836; in 1940 comparable figures were 64 percent and 52 percent for Denver (Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Survey of Denver," p. 120).

<sup>62</sup> Denver Planning Commission, *The Denver Plan*: vol. 7, *The Problem of Decentralization and Disintegration in Cities (1941)*.

### AN ANNEXATION MAP OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER TO JANUARY 1973



Number Key	Dates of Annexation	Acres
14	December 1943	239
15	November 1944	261
16	December 1944	694
17	December 1945	216
18-20	December 1946	1,128
21	March 1947	838
22	April 1948	15
23	December 1947	621
24-25	June 1948	95
26	(8) October 1948-September 1955	462
27	April 1949	120
28	(12) April 1949-November 1971	451
29	(42) December 1950-January 1973	6,062
30	(108) February 1951-July 1972	10,172
31	(11) October 1951-June 1972	6,792

SOURCES: Annexation data courtesy of the Denver Planning Office; base map to 1948, Documentary Resources Department, and art work by Sara Skeen, Exhibits Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.

the late fifties two-fifths of Denver area residents regularly shopped downtown. By the end of the sixties the figure was one-fifth. The central business district accounted for only 9 percent of the total retail trade of the metropolitan area—the outlying shopping centers, convenient to suburban residents, took up the slack.<sup>63</sup>

The postwar growth has also loosened Denver's residential fabric. As in other American towns the availability of automobile transportation has meant that housing for middle- and upper-class Denverites is no longer limited to locations near radial streetcar lines.<sup>64</sup> The area of settled land has thus increased five or six times as the population of the metropolitan area has roughly tripled.<sup>65</sup> Many newcomers find that suburban living allows the greatest enjoyment of the amenities of space and climate, which originally attracted them to Colorado. At the same time employees of many of the new industries find that residence in one of the suburbs, which are three-fourths of the way around the city, places them closer to work than would a more central location.

Number Key	Dates of Annexation	Acres
Congressional grant		
1	May 1864	2,253
2	February 1874	1,638
3	February 1883	4,602
4	March 1889	2,400
5	May 1893	9,722
6	February 1894	5,766
7	February 1895	320
8	July 1896	2,560
9	September 1896	922
10-A and 10-B	June 1897	486
11	April 1901	1,235
12	December 1902	5,696
13	December 1941	468
14	November 1942	161

<sup>63</sup> Denver Post; Consumer Analysis of the Denver Metropolitan Market (Denver, 1957-70); U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1967 Census of Business; Major Retail Centers in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas: Colorado, Denver, tables 1-5.

<sup>64</sup> Homer Hoyt, "Recent Distortions of the Classical Models of Urban Structure," Land Economics 40 (May 1964):199-212; Borchert, "American Metropolitan Evolution," pp. 328-30.

<sup>65</sup> Between 1927 and 1965 the settled area of Denver increased by at least six times. Settled area for 1927 taken from City Club of Denver, The Tramway Problem in Denver, p. 3. Settled area for 1965 taken from Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, Population, Denver Metro Area.



A corollary of this suburbanization of the Anglo middle class has been the breaking up of ghetto boundaries. Spanish-Americans, for example, confined to a recognizable community near the central business district in 1940, are now scattered much more widely throughout the city.<sup>66</sup> Even more obviously, Denver's Blacks have forced their way out of the Five Points region, where 80 percent lived as late as 1950. During the fifties, Blacks moved eastward into a wide section north of City Park and in the next decade spread through Park Hill to the city's eastern boundary.<sup>67</sup> It should be noted, however, that less than 0.5 percent of the population of the four other counties was Black and less than 8 percent was Spanish-American as late as 1970, a pattern reflecting, at least in part, the location of the jobs readily available to minority groups.<sup>68</sup> The ongoing conflict over the de facto segregation of Denver schools is an obvious expression of the social tensions produced by these changes in residential patterns.

The four periods suggested bear little resemblance to the common framework for American development based on the interpretation of national politics. Although some historians do try to organize material on the growth of cities according to periods accepted in standard histories, it seems clear to many scholars that "the stages of an individual city's history do not really reflect the received divisions of national history."<sup>69</sup> For one example, the best "urban biographies" are divided by dates meaningful only in relation to unique sequences of growth: 1848 and 1871 for Chicago; 1870 for Kansas City; 1878 for Washington; 1854, 1890, and 1925 for Rochester.<sup>70</sup>

At the same time, the development of a city need not be studied as a process isolated from simultaneous trends in other

<sup>66</sup> Colorado Writers' Project, comps., *Colorado: A Guide*, p. 126.

<sup>67</sup> George E. Bardwell, *Characteristics of Negro Residences in Park Hill Area of Denver, Colorado, 1966* (Denver: Commission on Community Relations, 1966), pp. 5-6, 11.

<sup>68</sup> 1970 *Census of Population*, vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 7, Colorado, tables 125, 130. Comparable figures for Denver County were 9 percent and 17 percent.

<sup>69</sup> Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, *A History of Urban America* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), preface; Eric E. Lampard, "Urbanization and Social Change: On Broadening the Scope and Relevance of Urban History," in *The Historian and the City*, ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press and Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 226; Glaab, "The Historian and the American City," in *The Study of Urbanization*, ed. Hauser and Schnore, p. 63.

<sup>70</sup> Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago*: vol. 1, *The Beginning of a City, 1673-1848*; vol. 2, *From Town to City, 1848-1871*; vol. 3, *The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937-57); A. Theodore Brown, *Frontier Community: A History of Kansas City to 1870* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964); Constance M. Green, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800-1878*; *Washington: Capital City, 1878-1950* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962-63); Blake McKelvey, *Rochester*: vol. 1, *The Water Power City, 1812-1854*; vol. 2, *The Flower City, 1855-1890*; vol. 3, *The Quest for Quality, 1890-1925*; vol. 4, *An Emerging Metropolis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945-61).

parts of the nation. In one approach a framework of periods can be constructed by discovering social or physical changes that occurred concurrently in all or most American cities.<sup>71</sup> Alternatively, a city can be regarded as fundamentally an economic institution. A vast machine for the efficient production and distribution of goods and services, its primary function is to mediate among different parts of its hinterland and the outside world.<sup>72</sup> Its economy is therefore directly related to the evolution of larger geographical units with which it maintains close functional relations. Many internal changes can similarly be considered as modifications of the machine, resulting from alterations in its particular activities.<sup>73</sup>

In the case of Denver national economic patterns and business cycles have had little influence on the stages of growth. Instead, the town has responded directly to the rise and decline of local booms within Colorado. Each has been based on the discovery and the frenzied exploitation of one or more local resources—gold, silver, grass, water, wheat lands, climate, coal, scenery, uranium—and has followed a course independent of the vicissitudes of the national economic cycle.<sup>74</sup> As a retail center for early mining rushes, a manufacturing center during the silver era, a commercial center for agricultural booms around the turn of the century, and an administrative center for twentieth century bonanzas, Denver's growth has been a direct function of Colorado's. In turn, alterations in the size and the activities of Denver have transformed the city internally. There have been changes in the groups included within the city and their interactions, in the arrangement of residential neighborhoods and places of work, and in the physical and cultural facilities that have held the city together as a single unit. Al-

<sup>71</sup> Blake McKelvey, "American Urban History Today," *American Historical Review* 57 (July 1952):919-29; Christopher Tunnard and Henry H. Reed, *American Skyline: The Growth and Form of Our Cities and Towns* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955); Borchert, "American Metropolitan Evolution," pp. 301-32.

<sup>72</sup> See N. S. B. Gras, *Introduction to Economic History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1922); Roderick D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933); Robert E. Dickinson, *City and Region: A Geographical Interpretation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

<sup>73</sup> Although less systematic, the procedures in this paper are not unlike those in Sam B. Warner, Jr., "If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930," *American Historical Review* 74 (October 1968):26-43. Warner analyzes the "succession of urban environments" in Philadelphia in terms of population, distribution of occupations, residential patterns, and the group organization of work. He then relates these patterns to nationwide changes in business organization, transportation, and the technology of production.

<sup>74</sup> For example, the gold rush of 1858-59 and the Cripple Creek boom came during national depressions. During the late 1860s and 1920s, in contrast, the state was relatively stagnant despite national prosperity because it lacked new resources available for exploitation. For a discussion of the general pattern of local booms see Charles M. Gates, "Boom Stages in American Expansion," *Business History Review* 33 (Spring 1959):32-42.

though the pattern is far from precise, these internal changes have fallen together in such a way as to produce distinct phases in the growth of Denver as a place to live.

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# James H. Crawford's Winter in Burns Hole, 1880

EDITED BY LULITA C. PRITCHETT

Burns Hole, at the eastern end of the Flat Tops on the Grand River, now the Colorado River, was a wintering place for wild game and was well known to the Ute Indians.<sup>1</sup> Protected from storms by natural barriers, this green valley in the 1870s became a shelter for domestic stock as cattle growers followed the trappers and prospectors to the rich grasslands of Middle Park and beyond. No matter how deep the snow in the surrounding mountains, cattle could graze the year around in the protected coves along the river and on the flats, where Kremmling now is, or so it was believed until the severe winter of 1879-80. That winter my grandfather, James Harvey Crawford, had a small herd in Burns Hole—perhaps two hundred cattle and thirty or forty horses.

My grandfather's primary interest was not in stock raising but in developing a town at Steamboat Springs, where he staked his claim in June 1874.<sup>2</sup> That spring he had moved his

<sup>1</sup> Burns Hole was named for Jack Burns, an early trapper, who built his cabin there (U.S., Work Projects Administration, Colorado Writers' Project, "Place Names in Colorado [B]," *The Colorado Magazine* 17 [May 1940]:91). Burns Hole was the site of the Carbonate mining camp and much mining speculation during the 1880s (David Taylor, "To the Bear River Country in 1883: Reminiscences of a Routt County Pioneer," *The Colorado Magazine* 31 [April 1954]:121-22).

<sup>2</sup> An autobiographical account of James Harvey Crawford's explorations in Middle Park can be found in the Documentary Resources Department of the State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver. The manuscript appears to be a transcript of an interview with Crawford by Thomas F. Dawson for the Society in 1923. A biography of Crawford appeared in the *Steamboat Springs Pilot* on May 26, 1915. "By unanimous consent," the article read, "he is conceded to have been the foremost and most influential private citizen of Northwestern Colorado for many years." Governor John L. Routt appointed Crawford as the first judge of Routt County in 1877; an appointment as postmaster of Steamboat Springs followed the next year. Crawford served two terms as a Democrat in the 1881 and 1887 general assemblies. He was also the first mayor of Steamboat Springs, the first superintendent of schools, and the first president of the Routt County Pioneer Society (*Steamboat Springs Pilot*, May 26, 1915; June 27, July 4, 1930; July 30, 1959; July 30, 1964). See also Charles H. Leckenby, "The Founding of Steamboat Springs and of Hahns Peak," *The Colorado Magazine* 6 (May 1929):92-98; Charles H. Leckenby, comp., *The Tread of Pioneers: Some Highlights in the Dramatic and Colorful History of Northwestern Colorado* (Steamboat Springs, Colo.: Pilot Press, 1964), pp. 6-20.



Margaret Brown  
Crawford



James Harvey  
Crawford

family by wagon over John Q. A. Rollins' unfinished toll road<sup>3</sup> and had built a temporary cabin at Hot Sulphur Springs, which is still standing. He wintered a few head of cattle at the mouth of Big Muddy Creek in 1874, and as far as he knew, these were the only cattle in the park. Though he had put up a little natural hay by hand, he had no need to feed it to his cattle. Each week he would walk twenty miles through Byers Canyon to Hot Sulphur Springs carrying two one-gallon molasses cans of cream to his family, which consisted of his wife "Maggie" and three children—Lulie, Logan, and John—ages seven, five, and two years.<sup>4</sup> As soon as they could, they moved on to the Yampa Valley and located the town site of Steamboat Springs.<sup>5</sup>

*Steamboat Springs in the 1880s.*



From Steamboat Springs the closest wintering ground for cattle was Burns Hole, about fifty miles south by easy drive. Doubtless the Utes or some wandering mountain man had told my grandfather of this "hole."



*The Crawford cabin on the corner of Twelfth and Lincoln in Steamboat Springs.*

This winter of 1879-80 Henry Crawford, brother of James, stayed with the cattle.<sup>6</sup> He probably had a few cattle of his own there. Helping him were Jim Ferguson, a brother-in-law, and

<sup>3</sup> John Quincy Adams Rollins, mining investor, billiards player, and road builder, began the construction of his Rollinsville and Middle Park Wagon Road in 1873. In November 1874 this enterprise merged with the Georgetown, Empire, and Middle Park Wagon Road, which had built a superior route into Middle Park over the Berthoud Pass (Robert C. Black III, *Island in the Rockies: The History of Grand County, Colorado, to 1930* [Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1969], pp. 80-99; John Q. A. Rollins, Jr., "John Q. A. Rollins, Colorado Builder," *The Colorado Magazine* 16 [May 1939]:110-18).

<sup>4</sup> Crawford's wife, Margaret Emerine Brown, gave talks about her experiences homesteading, and a collection of excerpts from her talks was published in "Recollections of a Pioneer Woman," Leckenby, comp., *The Tread of Pioneers*, pp. 77-82. Excerpts from her talk at the Routt County Pioneer Society were printed in the *Steamboat Springs Pilot* on July 4, 1930, and her obituary appeared in the *Pilot* on June 15, 1939.

The Crawfords' sons, Logan and John, settled in Steamboat Springs. By John's death in 1945, Logan had left for California (*Steamboat Springs Pilot*, March 22, 1945). Lulie (Mrs. Carr W. Pritchett) settled in Denver. A fourth child, Mary (Mrs. Elmer King), stayed in Steamboat Springs (*ibid.*, June 27, 1930).

<sup>5</sup> In 1875 five cabins were erected and a town site was entered under the preemption laws. Crawford's cabin was built on what is now the corner of Twelfth and Lincoln streets in Steamboat Springs (*Steamboat Springs Pilot*, May 26, 1915; July 30, 1964).

<sup>6</sup> Henry Crawford, younger brother of James, took charge of a hotel at Hahns Peak in 1879 (Mrs. James H. Crawford, "Experiences in Steamboat Springs at the Time of the Meeker Massacre in 1879," *Trail* 18 [March 1926]:14). David S. Gray, "The First Settlers in Egeria Park," in Leckenby, comp., *The Tread of Pioneers*, pp. 120-21, reports that Henry settled three miles south of the present town of Yampa in 1881; he was killed the next year.

Dave White, a young Black from Missouri.<sup>7</sup> They lived in a cabin on Cabin Creek in the "hole." My grandfather had moved his family to Boulder for the winter. He had done this for two reasons: he had no provisions left after the settlers had fortified at Steamboat Springs during the Meeker massacre, and he wanted his children to go to school.<sup>8</sup>

Early in January 1880 word reached Boulder that heavy storms on the other side of the range had brought snow that was so deep that the cattle were having trouble pawing for feed and some were dying. My grandfather decided to ride over and see what could be done. On January 15, 1880, he left Boulder, penciling a day by day record in some extra pages of an old bank book.<sup>9</sup>

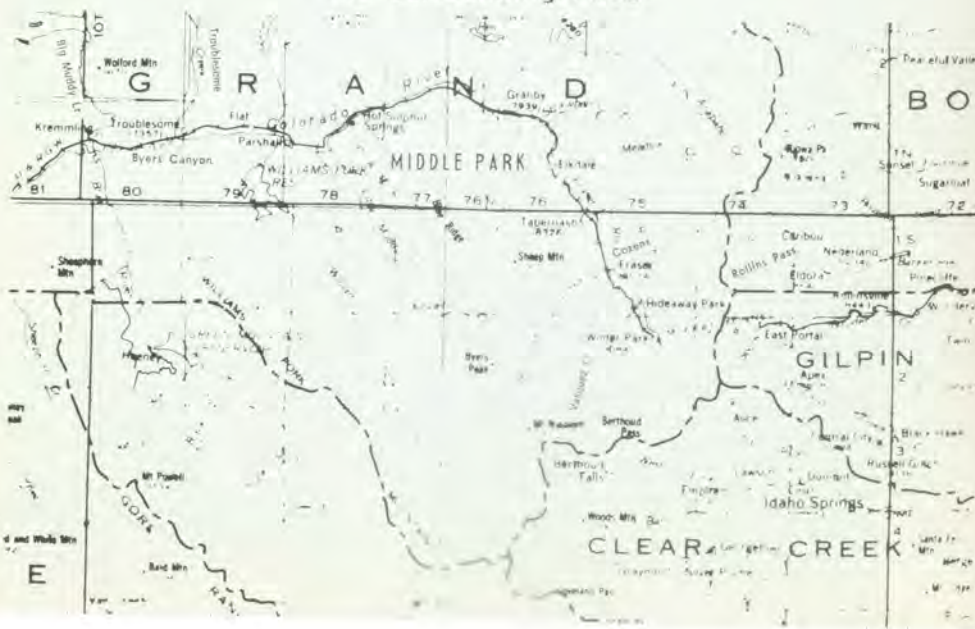
Jan. 15th [1880]. Left Boulder on horseback for cow camp.

Jan. 16th. Stayed all night at Jones' ranche 3 miles south of Central City.<sup>10</sup> Got to head of M[id]dle Park and put up at Cozens'.<sup>11</sup>

Jan. 17. Got to Hot Sul[phur] Sp[ri]ngs. Found Henry. Stayed at Kinney House.<sup>12</sup> Wrote home.

Jan. 18th. Went to Tyler's ranche and put up for the night.<sup>13</sup>

### Middle Park and the Surrounding Area



Jan. 19. Went to Harris' ranche.<sup>14</sup> Left horse and made snow shoes.

Jan. 20. We left at 9 A.M. and passed through Grand Canon [Gore] to Utter's cabin.<sup>15</sup> Stayed all night in cabin.

Jan. 21. Storming. We went on to Sheep Cr[ee]k to Hiden's camp.<sup>16</sup> Got there at 10 A.M. Conclude to stay till morning.

<sup>7</sup> No biographical information has been found concerning Ferguson. Entries in Crawford's diary of 1879-80 indicate that the full name of his brother-in-law was James J. Ferguson. According to Mrs. James Crawford, Dave White was a hired hand "who had been in my father's home in Missouri" ("Experiences in Steamboat Springs . . . in 1879," p. 14).

<sup>8</sup> Crawford's autobiographical account of his adventures in Middle Park includes a narrative of his family's response to the massacre (Dawson's interview, 1923). See also Mrs. James H. Crawford, "Experiences in Steamboat Springs . . . in 1879," pp. 14-15.

A contemporary account of the 1879 Meeker massacre is Thomas F. Dawson and Frederick J. V. Skiff, *The Ute War: A History of the White River Massacre and the Privations and Hardships of the Captive White Women among the Hostiles on Grand River* (Denver: Tribune Publishing Co., 1879). Marshall Sprague's *Massacre: The Tragedy at White River* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1957) is based on historical documents. For the relationships between settlers and Indians in Middle Park see Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 116-31, and Lela McQueary, *Widening Trails* (Denver: World Press, 1962), pp. 47-76.

<sup>9</sup> Our editorial practice was to reproduce Crawford's words and writing style exactly, as long as the meaning was reasonably clear. Grammatical usage and spelling were faithfully preserved, although ampersands were spelled out. "Sic" does not appear, and barring human error, a reader should assume that any unusual spelling is a faithful transcription of the original. A few revisions, however, were made in the interest of clarity. To facilitate reading, phrases were started with capital letters and were ended with the appropriate punctuation. Where meaning was unclear, editorial insertions were made in square brackets [ ]. To provide historical background and identification, editorial annotations were added and numbered consecutively throughout the diary.

<sup>10</sup> The full name of the owner of the Jones' ranch has not been identified.

<sup>11</sup> William Z. Cozens, pioneer sheriff of Central City who moved to Middle Park in 1876, had a ranch in "the valley just below where the Vasquez empties into the Fraser River" (Mayme G. Sturm, "Mary York [Cozens], Pioneer Woman in Gregory Diggings," *The Colorado Magazine* 22 [May 1945]:111). Some of Cozens' yarns may be found in Lafayette Hanchett, *The Old Sheriff and Other True Tales* (New York: Margent Press, 1937), pp. 1-32. See also Caroline Bancroft, *Gulch of Gold: A History of Central City, Colorado* (Denver: Sage Books, 1958), pp. 94-108, 356-57.

<sup>12</sup> The Kinney House was a hotel owned by Calvin Kinney of Hot Sulphur Springs. For information concerning the Kinney family and the hotel, see Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 106-7, 222, 334.

<sup>13</sup> Tracy C. Tyler ranched near Kremmling. An associate of William N. Byers, Tyler settled in Middle Park in 1874 and later opened a store in Kremmling (Edward T. Bollinger, "Middle Park Stage Driving," *The Colorado Magazine* 28 [October 1951]:270; Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 89-90).

<sup>14</sup> Hilery "Doc" Harris settled in the Gore foothills on Big Muddy Creek in 1874. A rancher, Harris had a practical bent for medicine, veterinary in particular (McQueary, *Widening Trails*, p. 44).

<sup>15</sup> Utter's cabin was the abandoned cabin built by Charles H. (Charlie) Utter, the legendary friend of James B. (Wild Bill) Hickok. Utter established a deer hunting camp on the Gore Range about 1875 and hired men to hunt for market. He also operated a billiard hall and bar in Empire city. In 1876 he left for Deadwood, South Dakota, and adventures with "Wild Bill" (Louise C. Harrison, *Empire and the Berthoud Pass* [Denver: Big Mountain Press, 1964], pp. 125-27). Samuel Bowles encountered Utter on his trip into the Rocky Mountains during the summer of 1868. He described Utter as "a famous mountaineer, trapper, Indian scout, rover, such a character as only the American border can breed, small and tough, wiry and witty, intelligent and handsome,—alike at home in your parlor or an Indian hut,—and to whom all these mountains and parks are as familiar as your own paternal acres are to yourself" (Samuel Bowles, *The Switzerland of America: A Summer Vacation in the Parks and Mountains of Colorado* [Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co., 1869], p. 55). See also Black, *Island in the Rockies*, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Jim Hiden, otherwise unidentified, is also referred to later in the diary.

Jan. 22. Storming so that we will stay till morning.

Jan. 23. We left camp at 9 o'clock A.M. Traveled on ice all day and got to Rock Creek cabin at 7:30 P.M. Found no one at cabin.<sup>17</sup> Suppose they are all gone to Egeria Park. Plenty of grub and bedding however.

Jan. 24th. Will stay here today and rest and we think some of the boys from upper camp will be here.

Jan. 25. Gibson and Lewis came last eve. Did not bring Puss.<sup>18</sup> Henry is too lame to travel and I will stay today and if he is not better in the morning I will go on by myself. Cloudy and looks like storm.

[Jan.] 26th. I left Rock Creek at 7 A.M. on foot for our camp. Gibson came with me several miles. We found some of our cattle on the river and followed the river to mouth of Derby Cr. Snowed hard. Could not cross the big flat. Went to Ranche Cr. Found cow trails. Blowing furiously. Got to camp about 7 o'clock. Found all well and very glad to see me. Very tired. Eat supper and went to bed early.

Jan. 27. Went out and killed two deer. I forgot to mention in yesterday's memo that I killed a deer and a bear. Brought the [ear] skin and lard to camp.

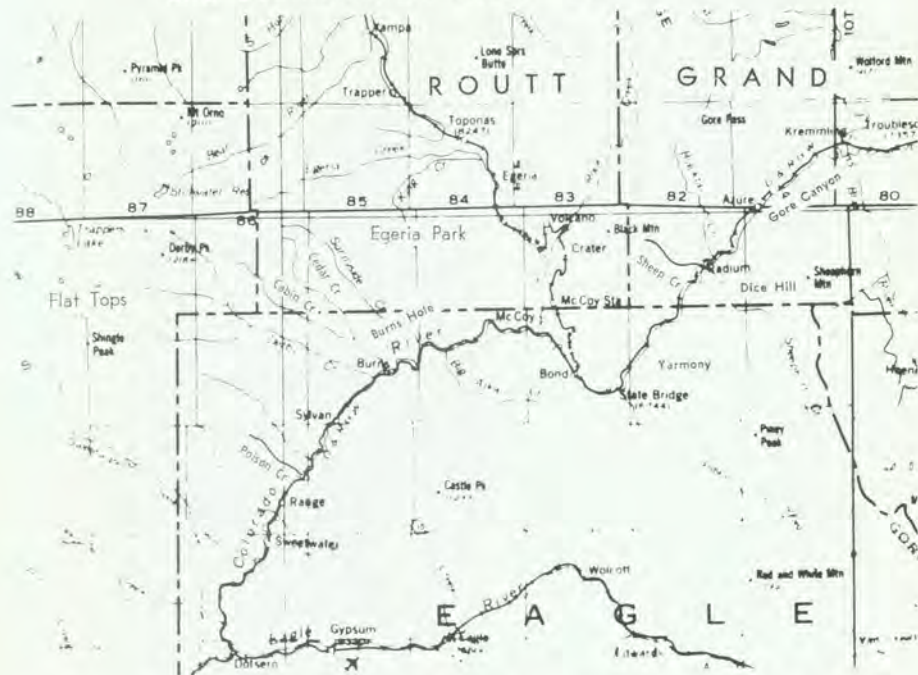
Jan. 28th. Aimed to go to see cattle today but snowed. Went and seen the colts and got cedar and made snow shoes. The snow is deep but if we can have an early spring I think will save the stock. The colts I have seen look pretty well.

Jan. 29. Still snowing. I will try and see all the stock that is in the near neighborhood today. Saw all the horses. Poor little Monte is but a shadow of his former self. I think that he may with all the others pull through.

<sup>17</sup> Crawford is probably referring to the Coberly brothers, William D. and Joseph G., who were wintering their cattle on Rock Creek and the Grand River in 1879-80 (Leckenby, comp., *The Tread of Pioneers*, p. 62). Carroll H. Coberly's *Early Colorado*, a privately published account of the pioneer days, contains a brief sketch of the Coberly family (pp. 8-10). See also a copy of a letter from Carroll H. Coberly to Raymond G. Carey of the University of Denver, October 10, 1961, Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.

<sup>18</sup> The 1880 census records for Grand County list John Gibson, age thirty-nine, a herder (U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, "10th Census, 1880: Colorado, vol. 3: Douglas - Huerfano County," Microfilm Collection, Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver). Gibson was the Coberly brothers' headman. Puss was a buckskin mare. Lewis has not been identified.

## Northern Eagle, Southern Routt, and Southwestern Grand Counties



Jan. 30th. I took J. J. F. and Dave and ponies and went up the river to look for cattle.<sup>19</sup> Did not find all. Found 4 dead ones and saw others that will die. I think though that the bulk of the stock will get through if we can have an early spring. Kill 3 deer.

Jan. 31st. Henry came in at night with Puss. We are now all here.

Feb. 1st. Sunday and no church bell. The wolves and coyotes howw [?] at the rising sun each morning. Set up a yell in all directions and such a concert.

Feb. 2nd. Stormed and we did not get out much. Made web shoes.

Feb. 3rd. Henry and I took blankets and grub and went up the river to look after cattle. Camped on island no. 2. Kill a deer.

<sup>19</sup> "Up the river" is probably a reference to the Grand (Colorado) River.

Found cattle. Most of them look well considering. Bossy down and will die. Went on to upper cattle.

Feb'y 4th. Storming some and we conclude to go to cabin. Got there at 7 o'clock P.M.

Feb'y 5. Clear and warm. Snow melted some on s[outh] hill sides. If we can have a week of such weather there will be bare ground and stock will do better. If bad weather continues for 3 weeks will lose many cattle. We all devoutly pray for the good weather. Clouding up tonight. The Lord be with us.

Feb'y 6th. The best day we have had. I was going to go down the river to try to see if there was any chance for the stock that were there but we concluded to tear down and rebuild the chimney as it smoked badly. The job is done and we are entirely free from smoke. The signs are favorable for good weather now which if we can have it will be our salvation as far as stock are concerned. May the Lord let us have a warm week at least.

Feb. 7th, Saturday. I went over to Derby Creek and killed two mountain rams. Packed one qu[arter] on my back to camp. Fine day and snow melting some in canons. Seen elk but didn't get to kill any.

Sunday, Feb'y 8th. All rest and read and wish for late papers. Weather good but snow not melting as I would wish. The evening and night is warmer I think than usual and tomorrow will doubtless be the best day yet.

Monday, 9th Feb'y. Jim, Henry, and I went to canon of Derby to get the sheep I killed there. Saw elk and I shot a lynx that was eating one of the sheep, but it got into a hole in the rocks before it died and we could not get it. Got the mutton and heads in and cooked some for supper. Pretty good day.

Tuesday, Feb'y 10th. 18 years ago today I was sworn into the U.S. service at Sedalia, Mo., by Capt. O. D. Haverly.<sup>20</sup> Since then my lines have been cast in many places. I was out to see the stock that are on the creek. Found all right but little Monte.

I can't find him and I fear he is dead. Will look again in the morrow. The stock are looking better.

Wednesday, Feb. 11th. Looked for Monte today but could not find him. I fear he is dead, but will look in cedars tomorrow. Jim caught a lynx. I skinned a calf to make a whip. This has been the most spring like day we have had. Snowed a little but everything looks like spring was near. I am waiting to hear a robin sing though. As soon as the weather is settled some of us will go after mail. All but me are lame now. Jim and Dave with frosted feet and Henry a sprained ankle.

Thursday, Feb'y 12. The morning was cloudy and cool. I looked all day for Monte but could not find him. Killed 3 deer and a sage hen. Very pretty night. I will hunt for the pony again in the morning. I think he must be dead in some hole but he may have gone off to hunt better feed. Henry killed 2 deer.

Friday, Feb'y 13th. I went over to Dry Creek and crossed over through the cedars to the top of hill at the pines then across the ridges to Cedar Creek down the cr. to cabin. Was out 5 hours and did not see any signs of Monte. Stormed in the afternoon and turned cold in the night.

Sat. Feb'y 14th. I reloaded my shells this morning and cleaned my gun. Cold today. Not thawing. Been 30 days since I left Boulder. Henry and Jim talk of going to Rock Cr. and one of them will go on to Troublesome after mail and to mail letters. We expect to get mail by Coberly's folks.

Sunday, Feb'y 15th. Henry and Jim started to Rock Cr. on horseback this A.M. at 9 o'clock. One or both of them will go on to Troublesome for the mail if satis[factory] arrangements cannot be made at the creek. I wrote to M and Mr. B.<sup>21</sup> Went with the boys as far as mouth of Beaver Cr. and left them at 12 o'clock and 40 min. P.M. Went to Buttercup Basin and found 20 cattle there. Some looking a no. 1 and two looking very shaky. Pink dead. Got to camp at dark. Killed eagle. I will move the cattle from B. Basin to Derby Cr. in a few days, driving them on the ice.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> An Owen D. Haverly is listed in the alphabetical register of officers in the Missouri Volunteers and Missouri State Militia (Colonel Samuel P. Simpson [Adjutant General], *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri for the Year Ending December 31, 1865* [Jefferson City, Mo.: Emory S. Foster, 1866], paper E, p. 735). Haverly inducted Crawford into Company E of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry. Promoted to second lieutenant and later to first

lieutenant, Crawford was discharged from the army on April 14, 1865. After his discharge, he was promoted to brevet colonel, and he remained active in the American Legion until his death (*Steamboat Springs Pilot*, May 26, 1915; June 27, 1930).

<sup>21</sup> "Mr. B." may refer to the note, "Due Brooks, \$3.60," written in Crawford's old bank book. "M" refers to his wife.

<sup>22</sup> "B. Basin" and "B.B." are references to Buttercup Basin.



Drifting before the Storm by Frederic Remington.

Monday, 16th Feby. Cloudy and snowing some all day. Will go down to river and camp if the weather will permit tomorrow and move cattle down. Shot two grouse and one hen and two rabbits today for a change. Looked up cr. for Monte and went to Poisen. Found nothing.

Tuesday, Feby 17th. Look for Monte up in cedars. No sign of him. Snow some. Jim comes home but brings no mail or news from the outside. Henry stay and will go out in day or two with Mr. Coberly.<sup>23</sup> I meant to have took Dave and gone to B. B. and moved the cattle to Derby Cr. but the day was so unfavorable did not. Will go tomorrow.

Wednesday, Feby 18. Took Dave and the dogs and Puss and John<sup>24</sup> and some grub and made camp on Rye Grass Bar and

<sup>23</sup> Mr. Coberly could refer to either William D. or Joseph G. Coberly. In addition to grazing stock in Middle Park and Egeria Park, the Coberlys ran stock on the plains, where they also owned land (James R. Harvey, "Cebert Alexander Trease, Engineer," *The Colorado Magazine* 16 [November 1939]: 225-26). Lynn I. Perrigo in "Major Hal Sayr's Diary of the Sand Creek Campaign," *The Colorado Magazine* 15 (March 1938): 57, n. 49, reports that one of the Coberly ranches was thirty-five miles south of Denver. Harvey's edition of Trease's recollections reports that the Coberlys participated in the Sand Creek campaign.

<sup>24</sup> John was a gray horse.

brought about 70 head of cattle from B. B. and vicinity to camp. Will go back in the morning and look for others that must be moved.

Thursday, the 19th. We went out this morning early and found 9 more cattle and moved all down on the ice to mouth of Derby Cr. Jim came from cabin and brought bread and coffee. We have camped under big spruce trees on Derby Cr. and the cattle find pretty good feed along the banks. In the morning I will continue down the river in search of a bunch or two of grass. And we will move the cattle up Derby Cr. and try to get back to cabin tomorrow night.

Friday, Feby 20th. I went early down the river for 7 miles but found no feed for stock so I killed a deer (the fattest one I have seen) and packed all I could up to camp. We moved the cattle up Derby Cr. The canon is very rough and it is with great difficulty that the poor brutes get along. We find some feed however. After dinner Jim went back to cabin to get more grub and Dave and I stay and move up cattle. Moved camp about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of mile up. Splendid camp under large spruce tree. This has been the warmest day of the season and the snow has melted on mountain sides nicely. We want many more such days though before we can see the stock get much.

Saturday, 21st Feby. We moved the cattle up the cr. and had a very hard time and finally got where we could move them no further on account of rough canon. So we turned them down and got them below our camp of last night. We camp at the old camp and will try and get them on the river in the morning and up to mouth of Ranche Creek when we will go home. Ferguson has not got in with grub and we have been all day on meat. The weather good, but this has been the hardest day's driving I ever experienced. We are hopeful that the morrow will be better.

Sunday the 22nd. We get the cattle out of Derby Cr. canon and move them up to the mouth of Ranche Cr. and go to cabin. Jim has gone across to find us and we miss each other. He gets back to cabin at 3 P.M. We find George the stallion has fallen in a deep ditch close to the cabin and he has laid so long I think best to kill him, which I did feeling like I had shot a man and friend. The day has been good and the snow is going some. A few days like the last 3 and we will feel much better. No Monte



yet. We will not go after cattle till day after tomorrow, when if all is right, will try and move some into this gulch. This Sunday Washington's birthday anniversary has been spent by us all at the hardest of toil, but upon a mission of mercy to the poor dumb animals. How could we spend the sabbath better. May the Lord be with us.

Monday, Feby 23. Jim and I went down to the river and got the cattle that was there up on Ranche Cr. Found a two year old heifer fast in the rocks with her hind leg broken. She is fat so I kill and [illegible] her and will bring her up for beef. This has been a pretty good day and the snow has melted though it looks a little stormy tonight. A few days more of soft weather and we will see stock filling up. May the Lord let us have it.

Tuesday, Feby 24th. I went up Cedar Cr. in the hope of seeing some sign of Monte but did not. Was rather cool and did not melt much snow.

Wednesday 25. Stormy. We stayed in camp all day. I look at all the horses and think they are looking better.

Thursday the 26th. Snowing some this morn but warmer. I go down to see the cattle and find one dead in the ditch. I get a wolf and fox.

Friday, Feby 27th, 1880. Snowed in the night about 2 inches. Wind blew all day and snow filled the air. One of the worst days I have seen. I think the stock can get shelter, but they cannot feed. Stayed in the cabin all day.

Sat. Feby 28th. Was clear in the forenoon. Jim went down the gulch to look at stock. Reports them looking very badly after the storm. Clouds up some in the afternoon and wind blew some, but not very cold. Had to lift up F's gray mare.

Sunday, the last day of February 1880. This has been a windy stormy day. Not snowing here but up on the mountains. Hard time on stock. I was up this creek today but seen nothing. Look for Henry back all the time now. Want the mail.

Monday, March 1st, 1880. Cloudy in the morning but sun came out and snow melted more than any day yet. I started up s[outh] fork of Ranche Creek on snow shoes to see what I could

to Cabin. Jim  
each other, he gets  
back to the Cabin at 5  
me. The first George  
the Station has  
fallen in a deep  
ditch close to the  
Cabin + he had laid  
along I think best  
to kill him, which I  
did, feeling like I  
had shot a man +  
friend - The day has  
goal + the  
day like the last 3  
+ we will get much  
better no more yet  
we will not go after  
cattle till day after  
tomorrow when if all  
is right - will try +  
move some into this  
gulch - This Sunday  
Washington's birth-  
day anniversary has  
been spent by us all  
at the hardest of  
toil, but upon a  
mission of mercy  
to the poor dumb  
animals. How could  
we spend  
better, more  
be with us

Crawford's entry for "Sunday the 22nd" of February.

see in that direction. Snow stuck so I could not travel. Left the shoes and wallowed across to n[orth] fork. Took bluff above canon and went up. Killed 2 deer near camp on my return.

Tuesday, March 2d. Quite cool last night and a little cloudy this morning. Went among cattle. Found 2 dead. Melted considerable.

Wednesday, M[ar]ch 3. Warm morning but cloudy. Snow did not melt much. Drove most of the cattle up to the cabin and I think they got pretty well filled. Stormed in the afternoon and night but not cold.

Thursday 4th. Snowing this morning. Snow and sunshine at intervals all day. Found Monte dead.

Friday the 5th. Went up to Beaver Creek. Seen the track of one cow. Jim and Dave brought up beef.

Saturday the 6th. A beautiful morning. I went up on the big mesa. Snow deep up there but melting in the afternoon on low places.

Sunday 7th. I started at sunrise for Rock Cr. Found 36 cattle on the way looking well. Got wet in river and got to Rock Cr. camp at 3 o'clock. Mr. Suits and Mr. Lewis there.<sup>25</sup> Lewis sick.

Monday the 8th. I got up wood today for this camp and conclude, if no one comes in from above, to go up to upper camp tomorrow.

Tuesday the 9th. I started on snow shoes for upper camp at 7 o'clock A.M. Went through Yarmonite Park. Shoeing very bad. Got to camp at 12 M. [noon]. Nobody in camp. Gibson and Suits came in and Gip and I went on up to Jim Hiden's camp. Hiden and Dice at home, but Mr. Wright had gone down with our mail in the morning and we missed him.<sup>26</sup> We stay all night.

Wednesday the 10th. I will retrace my steps. Got back to Gibson's camp and found Wright there with letters from home.

Thursday the 11th March. We went to Rock Cr. and stayed all night and will go on home in the morning.

Friday the 12th. Storming at daylight but Mr. Wright will accompany me and we started out and made good time and got into camp in a violent snow and wind storm. Found all well.

Saturday, 13th March. Morning clear and cold. Big sun dogs. Mended web shoes etc. etc. Cool all day.

Sunday 14th. I will start in the morning for Boulder and will try and get through in 7 days. I hope I may have good weather. Am busy today laying plans etc. and will try and get to Rock Creek tomorrow night, then to Hiden or Gibson's camp the next, and to D[oc] Harris next, H[ot Sulphur] Springs next. Head of the park next, Georgetown next, and to the bosom of my family the next Sunday.

Monday 15 Mch. I started at 8 A.M. for Boulder. Took lunch at Cedar Springs and got to Rock Creek camp at 4 P.M. Stayed all night.

<sup>25</sup> The 1880 census records for Grand County list a Lafayette Suits, age thirty-two, stockman. Suits probably worked for the Coberlys.

<sup>26</sup> Dice's full name has not been identified. The location of Dice Hill is shown on the map of the Sheephorn area. The identity of Mr. Wright has not been established. According to William D. Coberly, the mail to Hot Sulphur Springs came "three times a week on snow shoes and horse-back from Georgetown" during a normal winter (*Denver Rocky Mountain News*, December 31, 1880). During the winter of 1879-80, however, mail service into

Tuesday, 16th March. Started at 7 A.M. Passed through Yarmony Park and got to Gibson and Suits' camp at 11:30 A.M. Left that camp at 5 P.M. and went to Dice's camp and stayed all night.

Wednesday the 17th. Snowing some. Mr. Dice wants me to stay but I think best to go on. So I leave at ½ past 7 o'clock and get to Mr. Loback's at 10 minutes to 2 o'clock.<sup>27</sup> Mrs. L. busies herself and gets a splendid dinner and I enjoy it. After dinner I go to Dr. Harris and stay all night. Mrs. H. gets fine supper and the cream and butter and other good things—oh—

Thursday 18. Pretty morning. I left Dr. H's and met with Henry who had been to the post office. He goes back to Dr. H's. Commence blowing and snowing so that I stop in at Barney Day's and they prevail on me to stay all night.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Day gets splendid dinner and supper and breakfast.

Friday the 19th. I start out at ½ past 7 o'clock. Take dinner at Kinney House, H Springs, and go on to Mr. Chamberlin's.<sup>29</sup>

Sat. the 20th [March]. Start at ½ past 7 o'clock and take dinner at Junction House<sup>30</sup> and go to head of park. Stay at Cozzen's house. Start out on the morning of the 21st at ½ after 6 and take dinner at Gaskill's<sup>31</sup> and arrive at G[eorge]town at 3:30

the eastern part of Routt County was suspended (Leckenby, comp., *The Tread of Pioneers*, p. 62). Ensign S. Wright, owner of a drugstore in Georgetown, may have been involved in the delivery of the mail. Wright settled in Empire in 1866 and moved to Georgetown in 1868, opening a business on Taos Street (Harrison, *Empire and the Berthoud Pass*, pp. 236, 323).

<sup>27</sup> Lela McQueary in *Widening Trails*, p. 64, refers to Bill Lobach "from the Blue" River.

<sup>28</sup> Barney Day had a ranch on the Grand River below William's Fork, near the mouth of the Troublesome River (Harvey, "Cebert Alexander Trease, Engineer," p. 226). Later he became Grand County commissioner and he was killed in a fight over the location of the county seat (Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 177-219). Versions of the shooting may be found in Mary Lyons Cairns, *Grand Lake: The Pioneers* (Denver: World Press, 1946), pp. 221-37; Mary Lyons Cairns, *The Olden Days: A Companion Book to Grand Lake: The Pioneers* (Denver: World Press, 1954), pp. 63-72; and McQueary, *Widening Trails*, pp. 77-87.

<sup>29</sup> William S. Chamberlin owned a ranch on Eight Mile Creek, east of the Cottonwood Divide (Black, *Island in the Rockies*, p. 132). A character sketch of Chamberlin appears in John A. Himebaugh's account of Middle Park during the 1870s in the *Hot Sulphur Springs Middle Park Times*, September 9, 1926.

<sup>30</sup> Built by John Q. A. Rollins in 1874, Junction House was located at the intersection of the Berthoud and the Rollins roads at the present site of Tabernash. The facility was used by the Georgetown, Empire, and Middle Park Wagon Road Company as a tavern (Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 92, 94, 118, 169, 246).

<sup>31</sup> Lewis Dewitt Clinton Gaskill, Civil War veteran, surveyor, accountant, business college professor, and representative of an Auburn, New York, group of investors, came west in 1868. In addition to developing several successful mining operations, he promoted the Georgetown, Empire, and Middle Park Wagon Road Company and lived with his family on the top of Berthoud Pass in a company house. In 1885 Gaskill moved from the top of the pass to a cattle ranch near Cozzen's. The town of Gaskill, eight miles north of Grand Lake, was named for him (Black, *Island in the Rockies*, pp. 93, 115,

P.M. Had good soup and bed at Yates House<sup>32</sup> and got up in time to barely catch the train without breakfast. Will have to lay over at Golden until 5 P.M.

My grandfather listed twenty-five dead cattle on the last page of the old bank book. The final count probably showed many more. William D. and Joseph G. Coberly, who had about two thousand head in the Kremmling and Egeria Park area, lost practically their entire herd, but they were able to re-finance. According to William D. Coberly, there were "ten thousand cattle, two thousand horses, and four thousand sheep in the park" during the next winter.<sup>33</sup> My grandfather wintered stock in Burns Hole several other seasons with better luck. Eventually, he sold most of his cattle in Leadville and fed the remainder in Steamboat Springs.

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152-53). See Cairns, *Grand Lake: The Pioneers*, pp. 172-77, for a description of the abandoned town.

<sup>32</sup> Charles J. Yates, a Union soldier during the Civil War and an unsuccessful operator of a cracker factory in Nebraska City, Nebraska, during the 1860s, came to Georgetown in 1869. He built Yates House on the corner of Argentine and Alpine streets in 1871 (*History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* [Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1880], p. 546).

<sup>33</sup> *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, December 31, 1880. William D. Coberly reported to the *News* that "since the supposed location of the Denver, Utah and Pacific road hundreds of prospectors are hunting for ranch sites in the park. They hunt in vain. Desirable lands are all taken up. There is not a foot of grazing land in Middle Park that can now be had for less than ten dollars per acre. The only town is at Hot Sulpher Springs. Here about fifty persons are wintering. . . . Stock-raising, as per figures furnished, pays better than mining, but the new beginner must not come to Colorado. The field is more than full. A good many Colorado stockmen will seek Dakota and Montana with their herds in another season" (ibid.).