A Naturalist in the Colorado Rockies, 1876

BY MICHAEL J. BRODHEAD

On 3 July 1876 good news came to Captain Elliott Coues, assistant surgeon, United States Army. Special Order Number 134 of the Adjutant General's Office relieved him from his duties as surgeon and naturalist of the United States Northern Boundary Commission and directed him to report to the secretary of the interior for a new and most desirable position as secretary and naturalist for Ferdinand V. Hayden's United States Geological Survey of the Territories.[1]

Coues (pronounced "cows") was no ordinary army "sawbones." He was then recognized as one of the preeminent ornithologists of the day. Since childhood in his native New Hampshire and during his adolescence in Washington, D. C., he was an avid student of nature. Under the tutelage of Spencer Fullerton Baird, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Coues developed into a full-fledged naturalist. He began writing his incredibly large number of publications on birds and other animals while still in his teens. Shortly after receiving a medical degree at Columbian College, Washington, D.C., in 1863, he was made an assistant surgeon in the army and was sent to Fort Whipple, Arizona Territory. For sixteen months, in 1864 and 1865, he performed his risky medical duties in Apache country while simultaneously observing and reporting upon the territory's natural history. Between 1866 and 1872 he served as a surgeon in various military posts in the Carolinas and Maryland. In 1872, not long after the publication of his monumental *Key to North American Birds*, he was sent to Fort Randall in Dakota Territory. In the following year he began his

[1] Elliott Coues, "Book of Dates in the Life of Elliott Coues." This notebook, which Coues prepared in 1896, is a chronology of the significant events of his career. The original is in the possession of William Pearce Coues of Prouts Neck, Maine, who kindly loaned it to Paul R. Cutright for transcription. Professor Cutright provided me with a copy of the transcription.

*At the time of his first visit to the Southwest in 1864, Coues described himself as "a slender, pale-faced, lantern-jawed, girlish-looking youth, without a hair on lip or chin and hardly dry behind the ears" (**Forty Years a Fur Trader,** 2: 227n).*

stint with the boundary commission. While in the field he traveled, observed, and collected specimens along the northern borders of present-day North Dakota and Montana. Between 1874 and 1876 Coues and his family (a wife and four children) resided in Washington, D.C., where he compiled the scientific results of his work with the commission.[2] Several of his articles and monographs on the birds, mammals, and reptiles of the trans-Mississippi West were published in the reports and bulletins of the federal government's western surveys headed by John Wesley Powell, George M. Wheeler, and Hayden.[3] For example, his *Birds of the Northwest* (1874) was Miscellaneous Publication Number 3 of the Hayden Survey.[4]

[2] No book-length biography of Coues has yet been published. The following sketches of his life are useful: Michael J. Brodhead, *A Soldier-Scientist in the American Southwest: Being a Narrative of the Travels of . . . Elliott Coues, Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A., . . . with his Observations upon the Natural History . . ., 1864-1865,* Historical Monograph No. 1 (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1973); Edgar Erskine Hume, *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), pp. 52-89; D. G. Elliot, "In Memoriam: Elliott Coues," *Auk* 18 (January 1901): 1-11; J. A. Allen, "Biographical Memoir of Elliott Coues, 1842-1899," *National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoirs* 6 (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, June 1909): 397-446; E. S. Lawton, "Elliott Coues, Scientist," *Kansas City Scientist* 5 (August 1891): 119-24; W. L. McAtee, "Elliott Coues," *Nature Magazine* 47 (October 1954): 431-32, 442.

[3] George Montague Wheeler (1842-1905) headed the U.S. Geographical and Geological Surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, 1871-1879; a West Pointer, he retired from the army with the rank of major in 1888. Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden (1829-87), a physician by training and a geologist by profession, was the father of the federal government's western surveys, beginning with his geological survey of Nebraska in 1867. From this evolved his U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories, which survived until 1879. John Welsey Powell (1834-1902) organized and led natural history expeditions in the West in the 1860s and early 1870s. He made his epic journey down the Colorado River in 1869. From 1875 to 1879 he directed the Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. In 1879 the Hayden, Wheeler, and Powell surveys, along with Clarence King's Fortieth Parallel Survey, were consolidated into the U.S. Geological Survey, with King serving, briefly, as its first director. Powell became director in 1880 and remained in this post until 1894.

[4] Two excellent works on the federal government's role in the scientific exploration of the West are: Richard A. Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); and William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966). For a good historical understanding of the work by naturalists in the region visited by Coues in 1876, see Joseph Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1950).

The transfer of Coues to the Hayden Survey was, therefore, a logical move. And it came as no surprise to the naturalist. He and Hayden had pursuaded the secretary of the interior to apply to the secretary of war for Coues's services. All went well until Coues's superiors in the Office of the Surgeon General balked. Coues then "had with [Colonel Charles Henry Crane, assistant surgeon general] my *first* square frank talk, the gist of which was the recognition by him of the fact, that I *had* claims upon the Surgeon General's Office, in view of my scientific career, upon which special consideration in the matter of details might be based." Such blunt talk, so characteristic of Coues, along with the intervention of his friend Senator James A. Logan of Illinois, brought about the desired result. Logan, a powerful congressional supporter of the Hayden Survey, had made a "personal request" that the transfer be effected.[5] It was agreed that Coues was to receive "his pay proper from the Army, the survey paying his commutation for quarters and fuel."[6]

For Coues the new assignment promised to be a splendid opportunity. Now he felt certain of being able to remain in Washington, D.C., with its great museum and library facilities, "for two or three years longer."[7] Just as welcome was the continued freedom from military life and discipline. His associates in scientific circles believed it was "a matter of congratulation that Dr. Coues's time will as heretofore be devoted to zoological pursuits."[8]

Since 1873 the Hayden Survey had been concerned mainly with the topographical and geological mapping of Colorado Territory and had deemphasized its previous attention to natural history. Scientists and sportsmen rejoiced that, with the appointment of Coues, the survey would once again show proper concern for zoology.

Immediately after accepting his new duty, Coues, perhaps at his own request, was directed by Hayden to organize a natural history party for the purpose of exploring any portion of the Colorado Rocky Mountains that he wished. His group was designated as the fourth or zoological party. The other three parties sent by Hayden to Colorado that year were occupied with

[5] Coues to Baird, 11 July 1876, Incoming Correspondence, 1850-77, Unit 52, Archives of the Smithsonian Institution (hereinafter cited as Smithsonian Archives).

[6] U.S., Congress, House, "Geological and Geographical Surveys," 45th Cong., 2d sess., 1877, H. Ex. Doc. 81, 17:5.

[7] Coues to Baird, 11 July 1876, Smithsonian Archives.

[8] "Scientific News," *American Naturalist* 10 (August 1876): 504.

geological and topographical explorations of the southwestern and northwestern areas of the territory and the Sierra la Sal region. The rendezvous for all the parties was to be at Cheyenne (Wyoming).[9]

One major consideration bothered Coues as he made his preparations for taking to the field. In 1875 Indians had attacked a Hayden party in the Sierra la Sal country. Even more sobering for Coues were the events of 25 June 1876 at Little Big Horn. He had become acquainted with many officers and men of the Seventh Cavalry when a contingent of that famous regiment had served as an escort for the boundary commission's field work. He expressed his anxiety, as light-heartedly as possible, in a letter to the editors and the readers of *Rod and Gun*, dated 31 July:

> Ten or twelve years ago, in Arizona, I used to cut Apache arrowheads out of some of my friends, and not seldom buried others; while at intervals since, the noble red man has caused me to exercise by turns whatever of sagacity, prudence or determination I could muster for the several occasions. In earlier and more heedless, if not more enthusiastic years, I have rather courted risks I would now only take when necessary; for I used to wander about with mustard-seed in my gun, and in my heart a youngster's reckless conviction that I was not to be one of the Indian's "elect." But years mellow us all. To know how the Custer disaster came home to me, you should learn that I lost more than one true-hearted and manly friend, with whom in '73 and '74 I campaigned—with whom I marched and hunted, and ate,drank and slept, and told stories and sang songs, and chaffed, with all the blunt abandon of soldiers' life in camp, when we measured together our hundreds of miles in the "lone land" of Dakota and Montana. They are gone over to the majority! For myself, having lost no Indians, I shall hunt for none. I suppose it makes no difference to a man who is killed whether the message came when he was standing or when he was running; but my impression has grown into a conviction that somehow he owes it to his friends to receive his summons from the front, not from the rear.
>
> "From grave to gay," yet still on this matter: Some graceless wag has taken an atrocious liberty with my name, and the joke is current here. He said that Hayden wisely takes Coues along this year to pacify Sitting Bull! To which I modestly but firmly reply, that as I value my scalp, S.B. shall do no carving, if I can help it.[10]

It turned out that an Indian scare did not materialize in the Rockies during Coues's western jaunt that year. The lateness of the season, however, presented a definite problem. An anonymous writer in *Forest and Stream* (Coues believed it was Ernest Ingersoll) explained exactly why it was "an unfortunate time of the year" for ornithology in the Rockies: "the weather is

warm, the activity and joy of their nuptial season has abated, their first songs are hushed, their brightest feathers faded." The same writer closed his remarks with the wish that Coues would spend more time observing the region's fauna than in collecting specimens: "We want to know the social life and personal characteristics, so to speak, of the denizens of the Colorado Mountains and valleys. . . . Let us have from Dr. Coues (for no one is better able to begin this new departure) more of the life of the birds of the Rocky Mountains, and less of their death."[11]

Coues heartily agreed: "I stick a pin in that sound and pithy remark as one well worth heeding. . . . What we need most, in the present stage of the natural history of our country is good-trained observers, as distinguished from the mere collectors, whose names are unremembered; and such observers must furthermore be capable of recounting their observations. A specimen is a fact, no doubt; but an original observation is also a fact, and a more valuable one." Coues also agreed that he was going into his field work at the wrong time of the year. "If, therefore, my friends expect little or nothing from me, they will doubtless not be disappointed."[12] Although he did not announce it publicly, the main object of his Colorado trip was the observation of the mammalian life of the area. At this point in his career he was more involved with mammals than with birds.

While organizing his expedition, Coues seemed certain that he would be able to secure the services of Dr. Jerome Henry Kidder, a naval surgeon and an accomplished naturalist.[13] For some reason Kidder was unable to join the expedition; but two men were selected to assist Coues in the field: L. M. Cuthbert of Washington, D.C., and W. W. Karr of Memphis, Tennessee.[14] It is not known how many persons accompanied Coues, Cuthbert,

[9] Coues, "Au Revoir (?)," *Rod and Gun* 8 (5 August 1876): 299.

[10] Ibid. Despite his generally sympathetic views of the American Indian, Coues had no use for Sitting Bull: "In the course of his long career of professional scoundrelism and criminality, he probably made more mischief and did more damage than any other contemporary Indian" (Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur*, 2 vols. [New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898], 2:430n).

[11] "Dr. Hayden and Ornithology," *Forest and Stream* 6 (20 July 1876): 390. Ernest Ingersoll (1852-1946) was a well-known writer of popular articles and books on natural history. He had earlier been employed by the Hayden Survey and by 1876 was the natural history editor of *Forest and Stream*.

[12] Coues, "Au Revoir (?)," p. 299.

[13] Coues to Baird, 11 July 1876, Smithsonian Archives. Kidder (1842-89) was a medical officer for the Transit of Venus Expedition (1874-75) and in this capacity made valuable natural history collections at Kerguelen Island. Coues contributed to the ornithological portions of his published reports on the expedition. Kidder is now chiefly remembered as the founder of the Navel Museum of Hygiene.

[14] No biographical data on these men have been found. At the conclusion of the expedition Coues expressed his gratitude for their "zealous and efficient services" ("Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," *Forest and Stream* 7 [2 November 1876]: 200).

and Karr into the West. The party appears to have been quite small; Coues mentioned later that they had at least one teamster, and it is not unlikely that they had a cook. Nor is it known exactly when Coues and the others left Washington, D.C. On 4 August he notified Baird that he would begin the journey "in a day or two."[15] His exact itinerary from Washington, D.C., to the West is not clear either. It is probable that he traveled on the Union Pacific railway, for en route he made note of the Ferruginous hawk *(Buteo regalis),* which he found "common on the prairies" of Nebraska and Wyoming.[16]

Coues's memory was likewise hazy when, in later years, he tried to recall the date of his arrival at Cheyenne. According to his "Book of Dates," it was *"about Aug. 13."* Coues began his observations at once. Quite soon after his arrival he recorded a fascinating phenomenon, namely the existence of a village of black-tailed prairie dogs *(Cynomys ludovicianus)* in which these rodents "were not only tamed, but domesticated." The animals inhabited the yard of Julia S. Gilliss (who might well have been the wife of Coues's friend, Captain James Gilliss of nearby Camp Carlin).[17] Coues "was so much pleased to see what kindness could do with these timid creatures, that I begged the amiable and accomplished lady . . . to give me some history of her pets." Mrs. Gilliss complied and wrote a brief article, dated 14 August, on her "funny little creatures," which Coues forwarded to *Rod and Gun.*[18]

On 17 August Coues and his party reached Camp Carlin. The post was a supply depot situated on the Fort D. A. Russell military reservation. The fort was located three miles west of Cheyenne, and the camp was midway between the fort and the town.[19] Coues remained at Carlin until 19 August, at which time he and his party traveled westward across the Laramie plains. He recorded the streams and ranches along the way: "Davis Ranch on Owl Cr[eek], Aug. 20; Rogers Ranch, Duck Cr., 22-23-24th Deadman's Cr. 25; Fish cr. 26th." On 27 August they

[15] Coues to Baird, 4 August 1876, Smithsonian Archives.

[16] Coues, "Eastward Range of the Ferruginous Buzzard," *Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club* 2 (January 1877): 26.

[17] A year before his death, in 1898, Gilliss was elevated to the position of assistant quartermaster general, with the rank of colonel.

[18] Julia S. Gilliss, "Prairie Dogs as Pets," *Rod and Gun* 8 (2 September 1876): 362 (introduction by Coues).

[19] Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 70; Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts, Commonly called Forts West of the Mississippi River, to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 184-85.

arrived at the Big Laramie River, at a point near the town of Laramie and about fifty miles out of Cheyenne. They then turned southward and moved up the river on "a road available for wagons." They crossed through the Medicine Bow Mountains and entered Colorado's North Park on 31 August, "by an easy road from the north."[20]

Here they remained for three weeks. Coues had decided that North Park was to be the party's principal stopping-place because he believed that "this portion of Colorado [was] the one least frequented, and therefore likely to offer the greatest attractions to the naturalist and hunter." The park had a forbidding reputation because of "the massacre of some white men by Indians a few years since." Coues "found it entirely uninhabited, except by a few miners who had gulch claims."

North Park did indeed have advantages for Coues's purposes: "Large game was more abundant than I have seen it elsewhere in the west; the Park was fairly filled with antelopes [pronghorn, *Antilocapra americana*], which furnished the principal subsistence of my party during the whole season; while bear, elk [American elk or Wapiti, *Cervus canadensis*], black-tailed deer [mule deer, *Dama hemionus*] and mountain sheep [bighorn, *Ovis canadensis*] were numerous in the surrounding mountains." Regarding the pronghorn, Coues commented that he had "nowhere else found antelope so abundant as they were in North Park during the summer of 1876. They were almost continually in view, and thousands must breed in that locality." The mule deer was "the most abundant of the Cervidae in Colorado." Bears in the area were represented by the grizzly *(Ursus horribilis),* the black *(Ursus americanus),* and the cinnamon *(Euarctos americanus cinnamomum),* now generally regarded as a subspecies of the black bear.

A special treat for Coues was the sighting of a small herd of buffalo, in this case "the woodland buffalo, known to the hunters as 'mountain bison [*Bison bison athabascae*],' " which, he explained, was only a variety of the more familiar plains buffalo *(Bison bison bison),* and not a separate species, even though the woodland buffalo was "decidedly darker and more uniformly colored" than the plains variety.[21] Shortly after entering Colo-

[20] Coues, "Book of Dates"; "Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," p. 200; Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark . . .*, 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1893), 2:485n (hereinafter cited as *Lewis and Clark*).

[21] "Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," p. 200; Coues, "Notice of Mrs. Maxwell's Exhibit of Colorado Mammals," in Mary Dartt, *On the Plains and among the Peaks* (2d ed., Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1879), pp. 221-22.

rado, he shot a "still ungrown" western badger *(Taxidea taxus)*.[22] Also present were beaver *(Castor canadensis)*, which Coues "nowhere found . . . more abundant than on the various mountain-streams which unite to form the heads of the North Platte River, in North Park . . . where some of the rivulets are choked for miles with successive dams."[23] Although he directed his attention largely to mammals, birds of course were noticed: "Wild geese, several kinds of ducks, and no less than four species of grouse, were found in abundance."[24]

Many of the party's specimens were collected on and near Rabbit Ears Mountain, in the southwestern corner of North Park. Apparently Coues and his companions roamed this vicinity from about 21 to 27 September.[25] It was here that they crossed the Continental Divide—with surprisingly little difficulty—and entered Middle Park.

> We crossed to the foot of this mountain, where we discovered that a way could be found or made into Middle Park, practicable for our wagons. One of the ultimate sources of the North Platte comes down from the Rabbit-ears; but on skirting around the base of this mountain we found ourselves on a head of Muddy creek, one of the side-sources of Grand river. It was but a step from one to the other, and perfectly practicable for a wagon-road, though we had one upset from carelessness of the driver. There was, however, no sign of a road by the way we came for several miles, and probably no wagon had before passed over the ground there. The actual divide was imperceptible, and we only became aware that we had crossed it when we noticed a tiny streamlet running in the opposite direction from that taken by the rivulet on which we had broken camp at daylight.

Although the route they traveled was "scarcely known to be available for wagons," it presented "no obstacle whatever—in fact, the crossing of the Divide between the Atlantic and Pacific watersheds was decidedly easier traveling than some of the journeys made inside [Middle] Park itself."[26] Coues recollected that their stay in Middle and Egeria parks was from 27 September to "about Oct. 5." Going in a generally southeasterly direction, they "crossed Middle Park by [way of] Hot Sulphur Springs" and "Made Berthoud's Pass on the 7th."[27]

[22] Coues, *Fur-Bearing Animals: A Monograph of North American Mustelidae* . . (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 285.

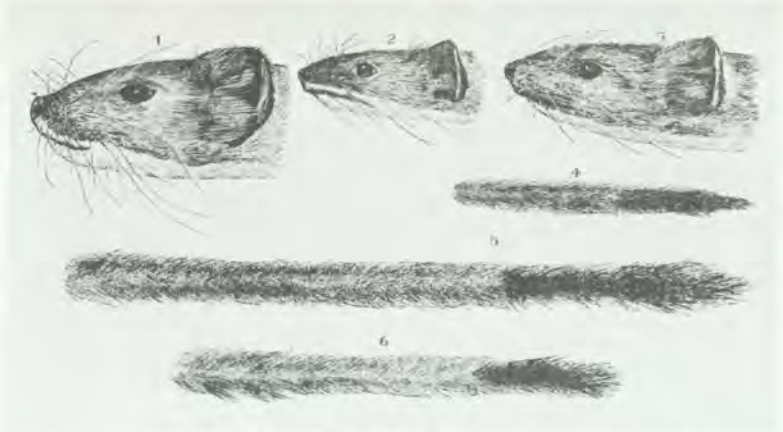
[23] Coues and Allen, *Monographs of North American Rodentia: Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories*, vol. 11 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 446.

[24] "Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," p. 200.

[25] Coues, "Book of Dates."

[26] *Lewis and Clark*, 2:485-86n; "Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," p. 200.

[27] Coues, "Book of Dates"; *Lewis and Clark*, 2:486n.



In ***Fur-Bearing Animals,*** *Coues noted that the weasel (Figs. 2, 4) was smaller than the ermine (Figs. 1, 3, 5, 6) with a more cylindrical, slender, and shorter tail (p. 103).*

Through the mountainous portion of the journey, Coues had taken special note of the rodents: the long-tailed weasel *(Mustela frenata)*, which, he explained, was the prevalent species of weasel in the Rockies; the porcupine *(Erethizon dorsatum)*, which he found "extremely abundant in the wooded mountainous portions of Colorado" where, according to "reports given him on the spot, it sometimes becomes a considerable article of diet"; "Say's Chipmunk" (golden-mantled ground squirrel, *Spermophilus lateralis)*, a "very common" animal "in the pine-belt of the mountains of Northern Colorado"; and Abert's squirrel *(Sciurus aberti)*.[28]

From Berthoud Pass, Coues and his associates pressed eastward until, on 9 October, they reached a point which Coues recorded simply as "near Denver." From there, at the rate of about three-miles-per-hour, they moved northward over the "open prairie" east of the Front Range and crossed "a few affluents of the South Platte." Going through Boulder, they were somewhere "opp[osite] Long's Peak the 10th."[29] Evidently it was in this vicinity that Coues found the striped skunk *(Mephitis mephitis)* both irksome and amusing: "This animal is far too numerous in Colorado, especially about the settlements in the foot-hills and on the prairie." It seemed strange to him that, in Colorado, the skunk preferred to reside in the populated areas rather than the relatively uninhabited mountainous areas.

[28] Coues, *Fur-Bearing Animals*, p. 141; Coues and Allen, *Monographs of North American Rodentia*, pp. 394, 735n, 816.

[29] Coues, "Book of Dates"; *Lewis and Clark*, 2:486n; Coues, "The Destruction of Birds by Telegraph Wire," *American Naturalist* 10 (December 1876): 734.

> This propensity to seek retreats in human habitations is strikingly at variance with the disposition of other Musteline quadrupeds, which instinctively shun man's abodes, except when, in foraging for food, the poultry-yard tempts their appetite and their courage. In travelling in some portions of the West, it *did* seem as if I never could approach a ranch without being aware of the visit, past or present, of some prying Skunk: and the outhouses I entered were almost invariably scented.

Although Coues had read that skunks "may habitually spare their favors when accustomed to the presence of man," he felt sure "that their companionship would give rise to a certain sense of insecurity, unfavorable to peace of mind. To depend upon the good will of so irritable and so formidable a beast, whose temper may be ruffled in a moment, is hazardous—like the enjoyment of a cigar in a powder-magazine."[30]

Along this stretch of country Coues became aware of an appalling fact. The party was traveling over a road that paralled a telegraph wire; and he began noticing that an alarmingly large

number of birds, mostly horned larks *(Eremophila alpestris)*, met death or terrible injury by flying into the wire. He discovered that within a distance of three miles about one hundred birds had thus been killed, and he estimated that during a year the "murderous net-work over the greater part of the country" destroyed *"many hundred thousand birds."* For this problem he had no acceptable remedy: "Since we cannot conveniently abolish the telegraph, we must be content with fewer birds. The

only moral I can discern is that larks must not fly against telegraph wires."[31] Even to the present day the conflict between "progress" and the preservation of wildlife has not resulted in any better solutions than Coues's "moral."

Coues and his men rolled into Cheyenne, the starting and ending point of the expedition, on 12 October.[32] While there his "friend and genial host," Captain Gilliss, informed him of a group of "wild dogs" about one mile from town. The information excited Coues because for some years he had been fascinated by the relationship of wolves, foxes, and coyotes to domestic dogs.[33] Immediately, he and Gilliss rode out to the spot and Coues was amazed to find a female dog and her three pups living "on the open prairie in a burrow in the ground indistinguishable from any one of the thousands of wolves' or foxes' burrows which dot the plains of the West."

> Here, then, was a case pure and simple of reversion of the domestic dog to a feral or wild state. The mother was an ordinary cur, without the slightest trace of wolf lineage, and though the father was not seen, there was nothing whatever in the appearance of the pups to indicate immediate cross with a coyote. Obviously the mother, a domestic dog, became pregnant by another domestic dog, had forsaken human society, constructed, or at least refitted a burrow in the ground of the prairie, and there reared her progeny, the whole family finding their subsistence as any other wild animals might do. They were "wild" in this sense; yet their very fearlessness at the approach of man was additional evidence, however unnecessary, that they belonged to domestic stock. In a word here was a family of domestic dogs living exactly like a family of coyotes; the reversion, even if temporary, was complete.[34]

Since Coues's report on the dogs was dated "Cheyenne, Wyoming, Oct. 16, 1876," we may assume that he boarded an eastbound train shortly after that date. A letter to Baird from Coues, written in Washington, D.C., on 21 October, indicates that he had just returned from the West. The letter also gave a brief résumé of the results of the expedition. He had made "fair collections, considering the limited time, but nothing novel or very startling. I have among things a good many small fish, which may number some interesting specimens." Coues further in-

[30] Coues, "Notice of Mrs. Maxwell's Exhibit," p. 220; Coues, *Fur-Bearing Animals*, pp. 215-16, 218, 247-48.

[31] Coues, "The Destruction of Birds by Telegraph Wire," pp. 734-36.

[32] Coues, "Book of Dates."

[33] Coues, "The Prairie Wolf, or Coyote: *Canis latrans*," *American Naturalist* 7 (July 1873): 385-89.

[34] Coues, "Reversion of the Dog to the Feral State," *Forest and Stream* 7 (9 November 1876): 213.

formed Baird that he had obtained "a good deal of interesting information, especially regarding large mammals."

In a published account of the journey he mentioned that he had been "unexpectedly embarrassed by sickness in camp on several occasions, but no serious mishap occurred"; yet he told Baird that he had "made the acquaintance of the noted *mountain bison,* nearly losing my life in the attempt to make a specimen of him." Perhaps with reference to a local hunter, Coues said that he knew "exactly to whom to write to get one [for the Smithsonian], if you will tell me how much to offer."[35] Coues deposited the Rocky Mountain faunal specimens he had collected in the Smithsonian's United States National Museum, except for the osteological items, which were given over to the Army Medical Museum.[36]

The failure to obtain the buffalo was not his only disappointment. Since 1874 he had advertised for a specimen of the black-footed ferret *(Mustela nigripes),* an animal "who seems determined to give me the slip."[37] He had hoped to bag one in Colorado, yet he had no luck. Fortunately, the "remarkably fine" collection of stuffed animals of the Rocky Mountains, prepared by Martha Ann Maxwell, a talented naturalist and taxidermist of Boulder, had been taken east as part of the Colorado exhibit for the nation's Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.[38] In the winter of 1876-77 the collection was displayed in Washington, D.C.; and Coues was a fascinated visitor. Not only did Mrs. Maxwell have specimens of the elusive ferret, she was also able to pass on to a most appreciative Coues much information as to its habits. Among the other Colorado mammals that had eluded his eye or gun during his expedition, but which were represented in Mrs. Maxwell's collection, was the river otter *(Lutra canadensis).*[39]

Coues was so delighted with the exhibit that he gladly prepared a list of the mammals of the collection, with annotations based partly upon his own observations and partly upon information supplied him by the astute "lady naturalist." The list appeared as an appendix to a book about Mrs. Maxwell's life and adventures, written by her sister, Mary Dartt. This brief (nine-page) contribution was the only work by Coues devoted exclusively to Rocky Mountain mammalia. He was, however, able to squeeze some of the information gathered from his work in Colorado and Wyoming into *Fur-Bearing Animals* and (in collaboration with J. A. Allen) *Monographs of North American Rodentia,* both of which were published in 1877 by the Hayden Survey.

[35] Coues to Baird, 21 October 1876, Smithsonian Archives; "Dr. Coues' Colorado Expedition," p. 200.

[36] *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . 1876* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 57.

[37] Coues, "Wanted!," *American Sportsman* (28 November 1874): 129.

[38] Martha Ann Dartt Maxwell (1831-1881) kept the collection in Boulder for many years. Later in her life it was removed to Denver.

[39] Coues, *Fur-Bearing Animals,* pp. 151-52, 312; Coues, "Notice of Mrs. Maxwell's Exhibit," pp. 217, 220, 221.

While Coues had been in the field in August 1876, the American Association for the Advancement of Science made him a fellow of the association. An even greater accolade (and one he had been hoping for) came on 17 April 1877, when the National Academy of Sciences elected him to its ranks, thus making him, at age thirty-four, the youngest member of the prestigious organization. That spring he received yet another honor: election to a lectureship in anatomy at the National Medical College, Washington, D.C. As if teaching, writing, and performing his editorial duties for Hayden were not enough to keep his mind and schedule full, he was also writing poetry.

The year 1878 brought further awards and accomplishments: election to honorary membership in the Nuttall Ornithological Club (4 February); election to membership in the American Philosophical Society (20 September); and, later in the year, publication of his important work, *Birds of the Colorado Valley* (that included the first of four installments of his magnificent "Bibliography of Ornithology").

An American dipper, sketched by Coues, from ***Birds of the Colorado Valley.***

Another noteworthy event of 1878 was a vacation in the same areas of the Rocky Mountains that he had treked through two years earlier. This is significant, for at last he found a part of the West appealing. He had acquired a good deal of professional satisfaction in his tours of duty in Arizona, Dakota, and Montana, yet he had no fondness for these areas because he found the landscapes too harsh, and because his scientific work was interrupted by his duties as a military doctor. He chose to vacation in the Rockies because he found the scenery of Wyoming and Colorado enjoyable, and because his trip there in 1876 had provided him with the freedom to pursue science unhindered.

The journey of 1878 seems to have been purely for pleasure. He left Washington on 17 August and arrived in Chicago on the twentieth. There he picked up two of his nephews, E. C. and G. H. Flower (the sons of his adopted sister Lucy). The boys and their Uncle Elliott then set out for the West by rail. They arrived in Omaha on the twenty-first and reached Cheyenne on the following day. Coues and his young companions remained there, with Captain Gilliss, preparing for their excursion into the Rockies. While there, Coues helped Lieutenant George O. Eaton of the Fifth Cavalry embalm the remains of Captain Calbraith Perry Rodgers, an officer who had been killed on the Fort Fetterman road by lightning.[40]

Coues and the boys left Cheyenne on 2 September; for the next three days they were "at or near" Sherman, Wyoming. On the sixth they made it to the Big Laramie River. During the following two days they crossed over the Medicine Bow Range. From the thirteenth to nineteenth they "occupied my former camp of 1876 . . . near Rabbit Ear mt." The return to Cheyenne, from the twentieth to the twenty-third, was over the same route.[41] Sometime around the beginning of October Coues arrived back in Washington.

Whatever favorable attitudes Coues may have developed for the West as a result of his trips of 1876 and 1878 soon evaporated. In 1879 the Hayden Survey was absorbed into the new United States Geological Survey. In the following year the army dispatched Coues to Arizona where he spent a loathsome tour of routine medical duty in a succession of isolated military posts. After several desperate pleas for a transfer to the East, Coues resigned his commission.

[40] Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, 2:265n; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, 24, 25, 27 August 1878.

[41] Coues, "Book of Dates"; Coues to Hayden, 16 October 1876 (transcription), J. V. Howell Collection, Box 20, Archive of Contemporary History, Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

During the 1880s he resumed his teaching position at the National Medical College, served as natural history editor for the *Century Dictionary*, and delved into theosophy, spiritualism, and various branches of the occult. During the 1890s he experienced a dramatic rekindling of his love for the American West. In this decade he published new or original editions of the accounts of a number of western explorers and travelers: Lewis and Clark, Pike, Alexander Henry, Charles Larpenteur, Jacob Fowler, and Father Francisco Garcés. In retracing their footsteps he crossed over thousands of miles between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. During his travels in the summer of 1898 he visited Denver, and in the company of Governor Alva Adams and others, he toured the ruins of three fur-trading posts along the South Platte River: Forts St. Vrain, Vasquez, and Lupton.[42]

By the time of his death in 1899 Coues had achieved a reputation as a distinguished historian of frontier America. It is safe to assume that his early trips to the Colorado Rockies played at least a small part in the kindling of his later fascination with all of western America.

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[42] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 30 June 1898.

Literary Boosterism!

BY M. JAMES KEDRO

In 1893 William Dean Howells applauded a popular Colorado magazine as deserving of "the gratitude of the reading world—that portion of it, at least, that is fortunate enough to read the *Great Divide*. It is one of the most interesting of the American monthlies. Having a field entirely its own, it is intensely American in cast and character."[1] The renowned novelist's reference to the earnest Americanism of the *Great Divide* was perhaps a polite comment on the promotional zeal of the periodical. By the late nineteenth century, economic and technological advances went hand in hand with the triumph of American culture, and the *Great Divide's* employment of the literary arts as a supportive device for the West demonstrates the close ties that existed between regional culture and local promotional enterprise. A synthesized and refined booster credo emerged from this intriguing monthly's literature, making it a valuable contributory force in the advertising campaigns of Colorado.[2]

The format of the *Great Divide* was considered unique for its time, but the idea behind the "original, illustrated" journal was not totally new. Some of the first English settlers to reach the

[1] *Great Divide* 11 (January 1894):14.

[2] The *Great Divide* has largely been ignored by historians. When mentioned, as in 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), 1:478, 2:223, or as in Irene Pettit McKeehan, "Colorado in Literature," in *Colorado: Short Studies of Its Past and Present*, eds. Junius Henderson et al. (Boulder: University of Colorado, 1927), pp. 177-78, its importance as booster literature has been overlooked. Gene Fowler, *Timber Line: A Story of Bonfils and Tammen* (New York: Covici, Friede Publishers, 1933), p. 61, completely misinterprets the *Great Divide* as a "pamphlet" and a "catalog" of Tammen's curios. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), 4:103, fails to consider the promotional dimension of the *Great Divide*.

Short accounts of less successful Colorado predecessors to the *Great Divide* are found in Levette J. Davidson, "The Colorado Monthly," *The Colorado Magazine* 16 (July 1939):137-42; Davidson, "*Out West*, a Pioneer Weekly and Monthly," ibid. 14 (July 1937):135-42.

For brief comments on Howell's literary career "as a direct product of western boosterism" and the development of western culture "through the efforts of promoters," see William D. Andrews, "William T. Coggeshall: 'Booster' of Western Literature," *Ohio History* 81 (Summer 1972):210-20.

North American continent in the early 1600s had their spirits fired by the Virginia Company's poetic propaganda to aid in a venture where "profite doth with pleasure joyne, / and bids each cheareful heart, / To this high praysed enterprise, / performe a Christian part."[3] Two and three-quarter centuries later and two thousand miles to the west, William N. Byers, editor of the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, voiced his approval of an established American promotional tradition, when in 1875 he pleaded for a distinct Colorado literature that would be "natural and easy in style" and would deal with "the plain facts of every day rather than artificial life." The development of such a regional literature, thought Byers, would be closely "allied with the prosper[i]ty of the state" and would shine as an "advertisement" for the "finest climate and the grandest scenery on the continent."[4] Within another fifteen years just such a literary concept achieved formalization in the *Great Divide*. Featuring local-color fiction, poetry, booster essays, and biographies of prominent Coloradoans, the magazine began publication in Denver in the spring of 1889 under the editorial direction of Stanley Wood, a former literary chief of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway and an 1875 graduate of Oberlin College, Ohio.[5]

Echoing Byers's pronouncements on Colorado literature, Wood, an exemplar of nineteenth-century gentility, noted that the fiction in his periodical was of a "peculiar nature, . . . written by people who do not draw as much on their imagination as is the custom of writers in general, but rather present homely pictures of scenes that actually exist and of events that really occurred."[6] In his attempt to communicate a positivistic Rocky Mountain culture to the world, the Oberlin journalist and poet had an easier time than most aspiring literary editors of his day, for the *Great Divide* was partly financed by Harry H. Tammen,

[3] "London's Lotterie," *William and Mary Quarterly* 5 (3d ser., 1948):259-64, cited in Sigmund Diamond, "From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," in *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, ed. Stanley N. Katz (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971), p. 7.

[4] "The Literature of Colorado," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 18 April 1875.

[5] *Great Divide* 11 (March 1894):66; *Cheyenne* [*Wyo.*] *Daily Leader*, 4 March 1889; James MacCarthy, "Colorado Journalists: An Interesting Sketch of Mr. Stanley Wood, a Former Editor of the *Gazette*," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 19 July 1884; *Legislative Historical and Biographical Compendium of Colorado* (Denver: C. F. Coleman's Publishing House, 1887), p. 94; *Two Reunions of Oberlin '75, 1915-1920* (n.p., 1920), p. 67; Miss Hazel Wood (Stanley Wood's daughter), Chicago, Ill., tape recorded telephone interview, 27 December 1974 (in M. James Kedro's possession); M. James Kedro, "Stanley Wood, the Literary Artist as Western Promoter," read at the Eighteenth Annual Missouri Valley History Conference in March 1975 at Omaha, Nebraska.

[6] *Great Divide* 11 (July 1894):168; for an outline of the magazine's themes and style, see the *Woman Voter* (February 1894):full-page, illustrated advertisement on back cover, Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver (SHSC).

Looking east down Arapahoe Street from the corner of Fifteenth in Denver, 1893, the Tammen Curio Company and the ***Great Divide*** *offices were at 1516-18 Arapahoe.*

owner of the prosperous Tammen Curio Company in Denver and later coowner and coeditor of the *Denver Post.*[7] Tammen guaranteed an initial edition of twenty thousand copies of the magazine, and this, coupled with foresighted advertising policies and innovative circulation premiums, skyrocketed the boisterous periodical to a national reputation within a year after its founding. The early part of 1891 witnessed monthly sales ranging from thirty thousand to forty thousand copies; in January 1892 the magazine's paid-in-advance subscriptions numbered twenty-five thousand; by 1893, with circulation offices in Denver, Saint Louis, Chicago, Boston, New York, and London, the international list of subscribers had grown to thirty-two thousand, not counting those issues sold at newsstands and on trains. With "marvelous inducements" in the form of Tammen mineral cabinets and other gifts, Wood predicted that he would increase the circulation of his digest to one hundred thousand subscribers. The depression that began in 1893, followed by a check on his free hand in editorial policies, made it impossible for him to reach his goal. But before these setbacks, this enterprising editor's creative promotionalism had enlisted thousands of loyal subscriber-members who instituted *Great Divide* clubs across the nation from Brooklyn to Los Angeles and from New Orleans to Chicago. "The *Great Divide* for all the

[7] James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen, eds., *History of Colorado,* 5 vols. (Denver: Linderman Co., 1927), 5:254-55; Colorado, Secretary of State, Certificate of Incorporation of the Great Divide Publishing Co., filed 25 June 1890, #10866; Great Divide Publishing Co., Certificate of Paid up Stock, filed 21 March 1891, #11858; ibid., filed 9 August 1894, #17386; Colorado State Archives and Records Center, Denver. Before moving to Chicago, Wood sold his interest in the *Great Divide* to Charles E. Aiken, Colorado Springs ornithologist and taxidermist (information on Aiken is found in "Aiken's Well Known Museum," *Facts Illustrated* 8 [3, 10 August 1901]:51).

world," the motto of the magazine, grandiosely reflected its literary direction as well as its continuous drive for additional readers.[8]

In one of his prophetic and romantic moods, Wood observed that historians would later find a valuable source awaiting them in his journal's literature. "Many of the customs that are there described," he said, "will have become entirely extinct; many of the facts that are there recorded will have become entirely forgotten; therefore, we hold that while entertainment may be obtained by reading these stories and legends, information of the greatest value is also presented, and the knowledge of what our great country is, in all its phases, thus preserved for future generations."[9] In one respect, at least, Wood accurately assessed the historical import of his magazine, for his editorial bent toward booster literature had far-reaching effects upon a wide following.

Strengthening Wood's booster endeavors was the fact that late-nineteenth-century promotional sentiment in Colorado remained strongly in favor of independent action. One historian has claimed that until the early 1900s the only effective, official, state propaganda was the Bureau of Immigration and Statistics 1889 report on natural resources and industrial development.[10]

[8] *Great Divide* 11 (March 1894):66; 4 (January 1891):79-80; 4 (February 1891):100; 6 (January 1892):92, 95; 8 (December 1892):208, where Wood comments that the "*Great Divide* uses more book paper than any newspaper, book or job printing office west of the Missouri river"; 10 (December 1893):76, which notes that the November and December issues numbered 50,000 each and that the *Great Divide* has "withstood the financial depression successfully"; 11 (November 1894):258, claimed that the circulation was over 50,000 for each issue. See also *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1890), p. 69, where the circulation is listed as 20,000 for 1890 and the purpose of the magazine is noted as "immigration"; *Remington Brothers' Newspaper Manual* (Pittsburgh: Remington Brothers' Newspaper Advertising, 1893), p. 30, lists the circulation as 32,000 for 1893 and notes that the magazine has become a "literary" monthly, containing about twenty-pages-per-issue.

[9] *Great Divide* 11 (July 1894):168; see also 9 (July 1893):102.

[10] David M. Emmons, *Garden in the Grasslands: Boomer Literature of the Central Great Plains* (Lin-

While an accurate determination, this limited governmental view ignores the *Great Divide* as a capable booster medium in the private sector. Certainly it would be difficult to weigh the force of the magazine in promoting the flow of investment and immigration into Colorado. Nevertheless, an examination of its fiction and poetry is essential, for it enumerates what the less prestigious western writer considered to be the special virtues of his region. Even though evidence from literature is probably less significant when questions of myths and values give way to discussions of social and economic development, in an interpretive sense it remains beneficial to note how firmly an optimistic and opportunistic picture of the West was implanted in the typical *Great Divide* author's attitude.[11]

When viewed from a national perspective, popular literature in the 1890s witnessed an increasing veneration of American business tenets, and this development led to a variety of success stories and formulas.[12] To an extent, a Horatio Alger *Strive and Succeed* mentality was osmotically transferred from an eastern, urban-oriented society to a western, adolescent, cultural milieu that was grasping for respectability as it grew out of its exuberant frontier childhood. The success-myth literature of the *Great Divide,* then, was inspired by national literary trends as well as by a desire to promote Colorado, and these tendencies, perhaps, made its booster impact doubly effective. But there was more than a "striking it rich" literary theme in Wood's magazine. Taken as a whole, his periodical helped to create and disseminate an abstract meaning of Colorado in American life, while simultaneously preserving, reshaping, and integrating traditional Victorian humanistic values within a western promotional ideal. This was especially true of the material that was published between March 1889 and August 1894, before the magazine moved from Denver to Chicago, where it gradually lost much of its regional literary flavor to tawdry romance and occultism, light comic sketches, and Populist political editorializing.[13]

coln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), p. 63; see Ralph E. Blodgett, "The Colorado Territorial Board of Immigration," *The Colorado Magazine* 46 (Summer 1969):245-56, for a discussion of earlier promotional efforts.

[11] An examination of myths and values in poetry is found in Robert H. Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (March 1961):619-35. See also Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), see book 3, "The Garden of the World," pp. 138-305.

[12] James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 189-81.

[13] From September 1894 to February 1895, the new editor of the magazine was Wesley Sisson. Between March 1895 and March 1896, no name appeared as editor. In April 1896 Wood's name

In contrast to the Chicago issues three, major, booster topics permeated the Denver-published numbers of the *Great Divide.* While categorizations are never wholely adequate, these themes may be defined as laudation of the natural beauty of Colorado; pride in the growth of towns, commerce, and industry; and approbation of the pioneer spirit of the West, which encompassed an idealized image of the western agriculturalist. At least one-half of the poems in the magazine were devoted to the awe-inspiring scenery or the health-inducing climate of the Centennial State. "Mountains are beautiful / Shadows are grand, / Prairies are wonderful, / Showing God's hand," dominated the poetic descriptive phraseology. Usually short stories played upon the grandeur of pioneer life and character, but on occasion the natural beauty theme also surfaced in the fiction. Traveling on a stage from Denver to a mining camp, a young heroine "so admired the scenery" that she asked to ride in the open. "I took her up beside me on the box," the stage driver remarked, "and you never heard a girl go on about the color of the sky, and the trees and rocks, and the wild flowers bloomin' on the mountainside."[14]

Setting the stage for this unabashed "wild flower" promotionalism, Wood devised a poetry contest in the late summer of 1890 with parameters requiring participating poets to extol one of twenty-two selected topics, taken primarily from Colorado. Characteristic of the approximately four hundred entries, "Pike's Peak," written by a resident of Leadville, received first prize and praised that "rugged monarch of 'The Great Divide!' " as a "royal peak," a "Child of Eternity!," and a "friend of the stars." Illustrating the general primary effects and tonal qualities inherent in western booster verse, the only eastern talent among the ten contest-winning poems was that of an Amherst, Massachusetts, minister who submitted an entry entitled "Colorado":

> Transcendent Goddess! On thy matchless throne
> With treasure, all uncounted at command,
> What is there that thou canst not call thine own?
> What state so favored in a favored land?

reappeared as editor until the magazine ceased publication in July 1896. The Chicago issues published through the summer of 1895 contain chromolithographic cartoon covers by Frank Beard; it discontinued the expensive covers during its final year of publication. The Chicago issues became less promotional and more antiforeign, antiimmigration, and pro-American Protective Association in response to the West's economic plight (see *Great Divide* 11 [October 1894]:234; 11 [November 1894]:258). A complete run of the *Great Divide* is held by the Western History Department, Denver Public Library.

[14] Virginia Pen, "Colorado," *Great Divide* 5 (June 1891):65; Richard Linthicum, "The Love Making of 'Chihuahua' Brown," ibid. 6 (January 1892):79.

. . . . . .

Thy rugged slopes, thy mountains clad in snow;
Thy solitudes no foot of man hath trod;
Thy shining valleys, and rich plains below,
Lift man from nature up to nature's God.

In addition to the guaranteed opportunities in Colorado to commune with nature, his final stanza displayed a synthesized booster proposition, blending a commerce and industry theme with that of natural purity:

Fair Colorado! Men, for love of thee,
Shall rear homes fairer still than man has made.
Proud cities shall arise in majesty,
And merchant princes throng thy marts of trade.[15]

More typically the climate rather than urbanization was glorified in conjunction with the splendor of the mountains: "Home of the sun god / Glorious and bright; / Home of the invalids, / Giving them light."[16] "Colorado Sunshine," a poem by Wild-Bird, the pen name for Denver poetess Almira Louisa Frink, perhaps best exemplifies this style. To most poets it was either "In the morn, when the sunlight / First flashes its rays o'er the range," or else "Over the Range the Sun [was] setting, / Lending the hills a ruddy glow."[17] But sunshine had other qualities than merely the poetic to Wild-Bird. Unconsciously or not, she provided a melodic advertisement directed at the health seekers of the nation. More important to her than "exhaustless mines," "hidden jewel-veins," "countless quarries," and "wondrous land" was the state's sunshine:

Sunshine for the pale and palsied,
Sunshine for the chilled and weak,
Giving pallid lips the rubies
And the rose to Pallor's cheek.
Praise God for the floods of sunshine,
Free as e'en the mountain air!
This is Colorado's glory,
Poured like rivers everywhere.[18]

In the realm of nature verse, *Great Divide* poets expressed some inner calling, a tenuous motivating force that drew them to the mountains or plains but generally remained inexplicable, and thus, for the most part, their poetry merely described the

[15] George S. Phelps, "Pike's Peak," ibid. 4 (January 1891):81; William James Tilley, "Colorado," ibid.

[16] Pen, "Colorado," p. 65.

[17] Cy Warman, "Go Visit the Hills," *Great Divide* 5 (June 1891):66; Richard Linthicum, "Maverick Bill," ibid., p. 67.

[18] Wild-Bird [Almira Louisa Frink], "Colorado Sunshine," ibid. 4 (January 1891):81.

beauty of the landscape. Colorado poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril has criticized such descriptive verse as unrealistic in its unmanageable and overwhelming subservience to the natural terrain, and he and others have since attempted to integrate themselves with the unique influences of Rocky Mountain scenery, a task largely unachieved by the lesser poets of the *Great Divide* era.[19] Nevertheless, a certain positive mood of regional attachment emerges in the booster verse examined here. "Though a palace door stood waiting," one poet would pass "its golden grating / With a smile":

For the forests, with their shadows, hidden springs,
and sunny meadows,
And the mountains, in their glory, all I own.
. . . . . .
Life is freer here and fuller, all beside the
earth grows duller,
And the one whose soul this strong enchantment fills
Leaves all other things when dying, and, like bird
to home-nest flying,
Hurries back to breathe the odor of the hills.[20]

The juxtaposition of the "odor of the hills" or nature theme with a literary emphasis on rapid western urbanization and industrialization was another facet of the promotionalism of the *Great Divide*. An important link to modernization and progress, the railroad received considerable attention in fiction, poems, and feature stories. With "Lungs of copper, and breath of steam," the railroad engine of "Hammered iron and tempered steel— / Perfect in beam, and rod and wheel," moved "Up the steeps of the great divide, / Over the chasms deep and wide," and was an unquestioned representative of civilization.[21] Aside from the considerable quantity of advertising that the railroads provided for the magazine, the editor found it expedient to include them in several of his subscription campaigns. A contest between December 1892 and August 1893 offered a grand prize of $100 in cash, a first-class railroad ticket from the winner's home to the World's Fair in Chicago, a ticket from Chicago to Denver,

[19] Thomas Hornsby Ferril, "Writing in the Rockies," in *Rocky Mountain Reader*, ed. Ray B. West, Jr. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1946), pp. 395-403; see also Ferril's review of the third edition of Francis S. Kinder and F. Clarence Spencer, eds. and comps., *Evenings with Colorado Poets: A Compilation of Selections from Colorado Poets and Verse-Writers* (Denver: World Press, 1926), in *The Colorado Magazine* 5 (February 1928):35-37, where Ferril commented: "The day I wrote this review a man, well read in literature of many periods, told me that Stanley Wood's poem 'Homes of the Cliff Dwellers' was the greatest poem ever written in Colorado. Yet it seems one of the worst to me" (p. 35).

[20] Sharlot M. Hall, "A Song from the Hills," *Great Divide* 8 (November 1892):179.

[21] L. W. Canady, "On the Summit," ibid. 10 (November 1893):61.

and a 1,000-mile circle trip through the Rockies on rail before transportation back home—all this if the lucky contestant could cajole 498 paying readers to subscribe, each of whom would receive a surprise gift himself.[22]

Wood's promotional spirit, as evidenced in his contests and boomer essays, was a manifestation of Victorian genteel cultural boosterism endemic to the generation of western writers who submitted manuscripts to him. Perspective authors probably realized that a work consumed by overt regional positivism rather than literary symbolism would surely make a sale. But many writers were also sincere in their lauditory style. A poet who extolled the glory of the West's "unrivaled city," Denver, seriously praised the victory of the metropolis of Colorado over competing regional towns:

> Through her veins the rich blood flowing,
> Sits the queen of all the land,
> Strength and beauty at her hand.
> .....
> All her enemies withstood,
> From her trials deep and dire,
> Rises she with youth renewed,
> Phoenix-like, from out the fire:
> Yet triumphant shall she stand
> Queenliest city of our land![23]

With less poetic verve, Cy Warman, dubbed the "Poet of the Rockies" by the *New York Sun* but discovered earlier by the *Great Divide,* lauded Colorado Springs, where "Broad boulevards trend toward the hills."

> Above the city sours the lark,
> And wakes the earth with joyous sounds;
> Glad children playing in the park,
> And lovers loitering through the grounds[24]
> .....

The cities of Colorado rose up within a garden-like setting that made eastern "city beautiful" concepts seem pitiful by comparison. Close to the mountains and thus to God, booster poets envisioned their towns as providing the best of both urban and natural rewards.

[22] Ibid., 8 (January 1893):223.

[23] Mary G. Crocker, "Denver," ibid. 11 (January 1894):21.

[24] Cy Warman, "Colorado Springs," ibid. 11 (February 1894):56. The best, yet incomplete, biography of Warman is Nolie Mumey, "The 'Hogmaster' Poet of the Rockies: A Newspaper Man and Novelist Who Immortalized an Era of Railroading through Verse and Prose," in *The 1961 Brand Book, Volume Seventeen of the Denver Posse of the Westerners,* ed. Don L. Griswold (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 123-41.

Stanley Wood

Cy Warman

In conjunction with poetic plaudits for almost any of the growing cities in the state, the broader concept of western town building was encapsulated in several passages found in the short stories of the *Great Divide.* One storyteller remarked that "Pyrites was a typical mining town or 'camp,' far up in the Rocky Mountains. It had grown in six months from one log cabin to a town of a thousand inhabitants."[25] In another piece of booster fiction, Mabel Lavyduck and Jim Johnson, an elderly, unmarried couple living on the plains, were introduced by the writer as having a town project, a universal concept that seemed to hold true for any of nineteenth-century America's unexploited regions. Developing this theme, the author wrote that "the frontier is a land of hope, where people who have nothing else can have a town of their own." Relating her opportunistic dream to a friend, Mabel enthusiastically proclaimed that "the railroad . . . would cross the Brimstone [creek] at that point, necessitating a bridge. The bridge would of course be the nucleus of a town. . . ."

> "There must be a newspaper started . . . to herald abroad the great opportunities for profitable investment and induce emigration. . . .
> "You see . . . ," broke in the prospective editress, "it may turn out to be the metropolis of the West. There ain't no use of

[25] Linthicum, "The Love Making of 'Chihuahua' Brown," p. 79.

> of [*sic*] sitting down and giving up with such a chance as that before us—I tell Johnson so. There is a chance for everybody in this world, and here I say is the chance for Johnson and me. And we're going to get married, too; you see . . . it would just give room for talk and be against the town if we didn't."

As fate would have it, Mabel and Johnson went their separate ways, but the heroine was as optimistic as ever as she departed for the mountains with her share of the profits from the sale of a cattle herd: "But if I have luck in Leadville, [she said]—and they say the place is booming, so I'm pretty sure to have luck; you most always do when the flush strikes a place like that—I'll hunt Johnse up and go back East and buy a little farm."[26]

A "flush" was always striking somewhere in Colorado. Mining was the biggest enterprise in the state and much of the literature in the *Great Divide* emphasized economic opportunities in mineral exploitation. Poets rejoiced in the precious metals as attested to in "The Goldseekers," who thought "life, without wealth at our command / . . . a useless waste and a barren stretch." Every mountain gulch across the state had its "cabin rude / [where] The lone prospector nightly dreams / Of a pay-streak hiding in the seams / Of the rifted rocks."[27]

Many short stories also concentrated on mining towns and the life of the prospector, usually with the underlying theme that upward social and economic mobility were pronounced parts of the Colorado frontier. In "The Rainbow's End," a young hero was prospecting in Sorrento Gulch "with a determination to strike a competency for himself, in return for his labors, and for his brother Gilmer in Denver, in return for his tools, the bacon, [and] the flour, he supplied him in the work." Fatigued by fortune hunting, Rudy fell asleep and dreamed that he tunneled into the mountainside where he discovered silver-covered cavern walls worked by friendly, bearded dwarfs who tended the "goose that lays the silver eggs." As the dream unfolded, Rudy became rich to the tune of six hundred thousand silver dollars, only to be awakened by the arrival of his brother and set to work to seek his real fortune.[28] The intimation here and in other mining stories, dealing first with silver and later with gold, was that the spirit of youth was a good accoutrement for striking it rich in the West.

[26] Fitz-Mac [James MacCarthy], "The Flare Up," *Great Divide* 4 (February 1891):98-99.

[27] O. W. Kinne, "The Goldseekers," ibid. 10 (September 1893):7; Cy Warman, "Cripple Creek," ibid. 10 (December 1893):85.

[28] Lute H. Johnson, "The Rainbow's End," ibid. 4 (January 1891):77-78.

Rudy in the silver-covered cavern, from "The Rainbow's End."

When stories such as these were followed in other issues by autobiographical accounts, like that of Nicholas C. Creede who commented that "I do not see how any young man can content himself working for ordinary wages, knowing at the same time that Colorado abounds with good mines yet unfound," the seeds of mining fever were sown in the dreams of many young readers.[29] In the same vein, subscribers could write to the *Great Divide* for a free mining booklet, "Wildcat Schemes Exposed, Legitimate Enterprises Endorsed," or they were encouraged to visit Denver and stop by the Arapahoe Street office, where Stanley Wood was waiting "cheerfully" to "give information of value" pertaining to "the whole West."[30]

[29] Nicholas C. Creede, "How I Discovered Creede," ibid. 8 (January 1893):237; see also H. A. W. Tabor, "Gold Hunting in California Gulch, And How I Found the Little Pittsburg," ibid. 6 (January 1892):84-85.

[30] Ibid., 10 (December 1893):88.

On the other hand, the growth of mining in Colorado created urban-industrial advancement, leading to a deterioration of the natural beauty of the state. Evidence exists that some *Great Divide* contributors regretted the ever mounting encroachments of civilization on their unspoiled mountains. One poet's anti-growth sentiment employed a lamenting "Rocky Mountain canary" to decry early tourism:

> A lone burro stood near a dark pine wood,
> Where the trail was icy and steep,
> And sang loud his praise of those stormy days
> When the mountains are wrapped in sleep,
> When mantles of snow the north wind doth throw
> Over canon and mountain dome,
> When his heart is glad and his mien not sad,
> For the tourists have all gone home.[31]

In several instances, too, poets abhorred "the cities . . . dusty and dry," favoring the "pure air of the mountains" instead.[32] Flaunting her freedom at eastern and western urban dweller alike, one writer crowed that "The forest shades are green and fair, / The land is wide and free. / Starve in your crowded workshops there— / The wild west woods for me."[33] While this style of nineteenth-century verse that opposed the city was almost as extensive as that praising urbanization, examples of literary material that found disfavor with urban life because it contrasted unfavorably with rural virtues rarely appeared in the *Great Divide*.[34] Achieving an unusual degree of success in attenuating antiurban philosophies, Wood wove into his magazine a colorful pattern of the confident aspects from all segments of western life.

Easily ninety percent of the authors in the *Great Divide* exhibited a hope that urban-industrial development would bring some chance for a better existence. This more optimistic attitude was alluded to in Emma Ghent Curtis's poem "Storm

Born in Frankfort, Indiana, Emma Ghent Curtis came to Colorado for reasons of health when she was twenty-one. She married a Canon City farmer, published two novels, and was active in social and industrial reform.

Spectres." Describing a deluge of rain on the mountainside, the last stanza symbolically pointed to the necessary cost of progress:

> But they know in their innermost hearts—
> The rent pines and the rudely swept hills—
> That every scar left by those fingers uncouth
> Some law of advancement fulfills;
> They know that their loud shrieking guests
> Left blessings harsh seeming, but rare,
> Just as the much chastened souls of mankind
> Acknowledge the benefits born of despair.[35]

Not simply content to "scar" the landscape, "those fingers uncouth" went so far as to adopt the bard's style in advertising their exploitation of the mineral wealth of Colorado. A *Great Divide* poem for a Denver broker in mining stocks is ripe for comparison with the Virginia Company's English verse of the early seventeenth century:

> If thou wouldst riche and weightie bee,
> But delve in deepes of deepest sea
> The wolf shall haunt thy door.
> Go, search the clefts of mountain rocks,
> Or buy advancing mining stocks
> And vast shall be thy store.

"This poet rhymes with reason," the advertisement continued. "If you want a safe investment with probabilities of large profits, send for particulars."[36]

Congruent with mining opportunities, another intense display of literary boosterism in the *Great Divide* was the extollation of the western pioneer, who "won his way with fearless strength / O'er mountain range and plain, / Enduring storms, defeating foes, / His strife his country's gain."[37] Literature praising pioneer life centered on mining, lumbering, ranching, and farming communities, and always the Turnerian frontier traits of an independent, democratic spirit coupled with community fellowship shone through the Rocky Mountain settler. As an example, one poet reminisced about a pioneer cabin "Built of

[31] "E.L.S.", "When the Tourists Have Gone. A Burro's Rhapsody," ibid. 11 (April 1894):104.

[32] Cy Warman, "Go Visit the Hills," ibid. 5 (June 1891):66.

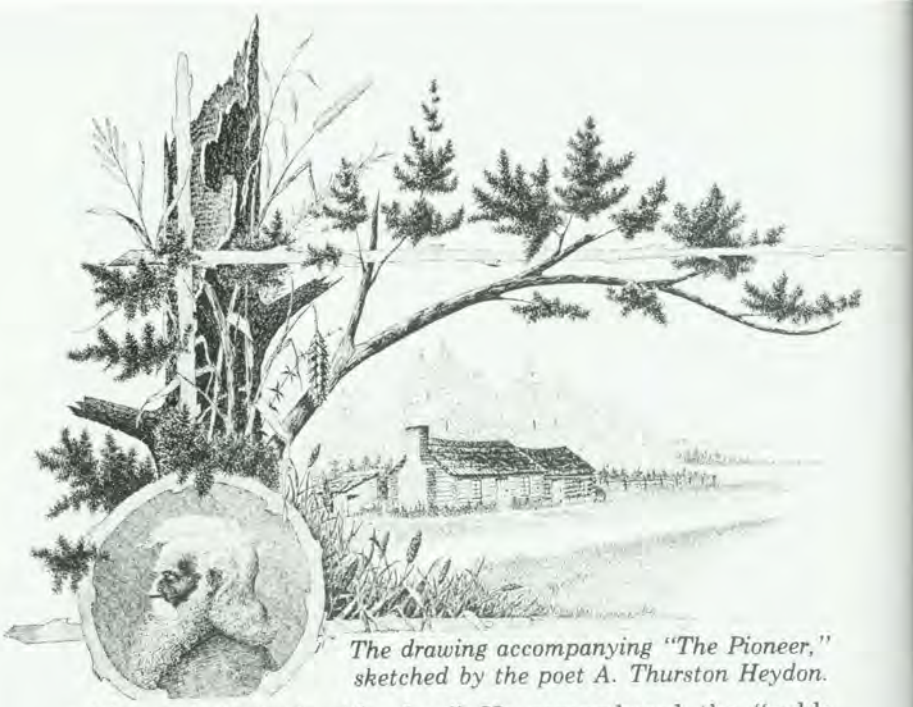
[33] M[ary] S[ylvester] Paden, "May-Blosom: A Ballad of Pioneer Life," ibid. 5 (March 1891):7.

[34] Robert H. Walker, "The Poet and the Rise of the City," in *American Urban History: An Interpretive Reader with Commentaries*, ed. Alexander B. Callow, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 364.

[35] Emma Ghent Curtis, "Storm Spectres," *Great Divide* 6 (January 1892):82.

[36] Advertisement for R. H. Buck, ibid. 4 (January 1891):94.

[37] A. Thurston Heydon, "The Pioneer," ibid. 9 (April 1893):23; see also E. A. Willoughby, "The Men of Fifty-Eight," ibid. 12 (September 1895):213.



The drawing accompanying "The Pioneer," sketched by the poet A. Thurston Heydon.

sticks and daubed with clay." He remembered the "noble lessons / Taught by those who felled the trees," whose cabin door was always unlatched in "honest welcome greeting." The poem romaticized frontier egalitarian comradeship and expressed appreciation for the pioneers' martyr lives:

> Luxury demoralizes
> Many things the fathers wrung
> With manly, patient striving,
> From the days when we were young.
> And the choicest of these lessons,
> Large of heart and strong and stout,
> Was the hearty soulful welcome,
> With the latch-string always out.[38]

Romanticization of the pioneer was not unique to the *Great Divide*. Nevertheless, the magazine's positivism concerning agrarian life did not constitute a literary trait of the times, which again reveals the booster tone of Wood's periodical. Generally speaking, in the works of late-nineteenth-century poets "the myth of the western garden violently and dramatically gave place to the myth of the western desert."[39] But in the propagandizing of the *Great Divide*, poet and storyteller alike refused to strike the consistent note of failure found in agrarian verse from this period. On the contrary, pre-1895 *Great Divide* authors most

[38] Ebenerzer Greeg Danforth Holden, "A Reminiscence," ibid. 5 (June 1891):67.

[39] Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," pp. 622, 624.

often pointed to the rewarding aspects of farming. Even after the tragic death of a child, one tiller of the soil could say "My toil is joy, my strength is love / For wife and children dear; / No master mine but God above— / No wrath but His I fear."[40] Adding strength to this theme were articles dealing specifically with Colorado as an agricultural paradise. A Denver writer claimed that "hundreds of farmers who to-day can hardly make a living further east, could become well-off or independent on a 40 or 80-acre farm in Colorado, without working a bit harder than they must do there." Another promoter boasted that "in no section of our broad land can be seen richer fields of waving grain—wheat, rye, oats, barley, corn—than in Colorado. Nowhere in the Union does the vegetable garden, throughout its entire line of products, surpass in yield, size and flavor the gardens of Colorado."[41]

Amazingly, this blatant agricultural boomer philosophy was broadcast by the *Great Divide* at a time when drought-stricken farmers in eastern Colorado were petitioning Governor John L. Routt for aid.[42] The West as a symbol of opportunity, then, did not end with the official closing of the American frontier nor with the economic chaos of the 1890s; indeed, the synthesized booster argument and the revitalized western ideal in the *Great Divide*, in many ways, were the beginnings of a new style of western cultural promotion that continued on into the twentieth century. The westward movement and its affixed energies became a directive force for the attempted creation and implementation of a new, vigorous national civilization. The late nineteenth century saw the emergence of a "unique, identifiable West" congruent with that West's sense of historical impact and importance within a broader national scope.[43] The *Great Divide* was one manifestation of this process, providing a journalistic, literary forum for its dissemination.

Communicating a vital cultural ideal, the farmer's compatriot, the miner, was eulogized even more extensively in Wood's magazine. In his frantic search for wealth, the miner-

[40] Paden, "May-Blosom," p. 7.

[41] C. B. Nelson, "Colorado, as a Home for Farmers," *Great Divide* 2 (February 1890):195; Hon. S. Allen Long, "Agriculture in Colorado," ibid. 6 (September 1891):6.

[42] Petition from the "Farmers of Yuma County" to Governor John L. Routt, 8 February 1891; Charles Nealley, John Goff, and Francis Goff to Routt, 1891, Routt Papers, Colorado State Archives and Records Center, Denver, cited in Emmons, *Garden in the Grasslands*, p. 173.

[43] Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), see "The Influence of the Twentieth-Century West on American Civilization"; G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 5; Edwin Fussell, *Frontier: American Literature and the American West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. viii, 12-13.

hero never neglected those less fortunate than himself. "A quiet, retiring sort of man," he often fell in love with and married a girl from the East who had come to the Rockies seeking a livelihood to support her ailing parents. Maxwell Brown, alias "Chihuahua," won the heart of Doris by sending money to her poor mother. After accepting "Chihuahua's" proposal of marriage, Doris and her betrothed discovered an eight-foot vein of gold in Brown's mine that ran "at least a thousand dollars to the ton." Other incidents found miners ready to pay the funeral expenses for a lad who died in a dangerous attempt to return stolen, gold-laden quartz to a mine, or like "Placer Jim," miners readily adopted children orphaned by their parents' untimely death. Jim swore off liquor for the child, and suddenly he struck it rich. Similarly, the theme of the civilized West was elaborated upon in stories that stressed mining town justice. Innocent, unjustly accused victims of circumstance were always freed, desperadoes always punished.[44] In their entertaining story "Silver Queen," *Great Divide* contributing and advisory editors Cy Warman and Fitz-Mac (James MacCarthy) noted the qualities of quick, effective frontier justice in league with the Colorado miners' chivalry: "It was manly in those vigilantes, who hustled Ketchum [the villain] out of camp so unceremoniously, to treat our little friend Polly so generously and so delicately—but it is characteristic of the West."[45]

Religion, as well as justice, penetrated the mining communities of Colorado. "Dan Muldoon's" saloon in Rustler's Gulch gave the frontier minister a less than inviting audience. But even the miner who threw "spit wads" at the preacher eventually decided to contribute toward a new church after he received a thrashing at the hands of the determined man of God.[46] Contrary to several eastern-published works that portrayed mining towns as the "Curse of Colorado," and where the prospector was "tinged with greed," *Great Divide* authors usually painted literary pictures of miners who possessed hearts of gold.[47]

[44] Linthicum, "The Love Making of 'Chihuahua' Brown," pp. 79-80; Emma Ghent Curtis, "One Little Beeson," *Great Divide* 8 (November 1892):78-79; Annie Bishard, "Placer Jim's Angel," ibid., p. 181; J. M. Hanks, "Where Was Brown?" ibid. 5 (June 1891):61-62; Fitz-Mac [James MacCarthy], "Dead Man's Canyon," ibid. 5 (March 1891):1-3.

[45] Cy Warman and Fitz-Mac [James MacCarthy], "Silver Queen," pt. 2 of a two part story, ibid. 10 (December 1893):61. This story was later republished in conjunction with Warman's biography of Nicholas C. Creede in *The Prospector: Story of the Life of Nicholas C. Creede* (Denver: Great Divide Publishing Co., 1894).

[46] P. Leon M'Kinnie, "Dan Muldoon," *Great Divide* 6 (September 1891):4.

[47] See Jacob K. Hoff, *Songs of the Desert* (Williamsport, Pa., 1895), pp. 56-57, cited in Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," p. 626. A good example of the romanticized miner is Stanley Wood, "Only a Doll," *Great Divide* 4 (February 1891): 110, a poem illustrated with a reminiscing miner holding his daughter's doll.

[48] P. Leon M'Kinnie, "Larriat Jim," *Great Divide* 5 (June 1891):77; see also Wm. H. T. Shade, "The Rancher's Daughter," ibid. 6 (January 1892):92.

[49] Maude Sutton, "Nancy's Dowry," ibid. 8 (November 1892):184-85; see Fitz-Mac [James MacCarthy], "The Flare-Up," ibid., p. 97, for comments on the "Plains" women; Don Carlino, "Dolly," ibid 8 (February 1893):226-29, for comments on the "cattle range" women; Roger G. Hershberger, "The Little 'Mexic Woman'," ibid. 9 (December 1893):74, for comments on the Mexican woman; C. H. Crandall, "A Lady in the West," ibid. (March 1893):13, views the West as a woman.

The journalistic literature of Wood's magazine made a special case for the female pioneer, too, and at the same time defended the western lady as a literary artist. The woman in *Great Divide* poems and short stories was at once both hardy and beautiful. A rancher's wife, with hair of "wine gold, wavin' down like the fall" and eyes with "that deep kind o'look / That you know allus comes from the squar' and the true," would not leave her husband, though continually enticed to do so by a duke, who remarked that "With her figger and face, she could jist be a queen—."[48] The pioneer woman had "a true heart [that] throbbed under her . . . dark calico." Female fortitude was essential on the frontier, where "a woman's character mature[d] rapidly for better or worse under the ripening frosts of adversity." The typical mountain girl displayed "a womanliness, a winsome grace and a sturdy self-reliance begot by her . . . struggle for existence."[49]

Naturally, there were also the less virtuous women of the West with whom *Great Divide* authors had to contend. One hero, a young Denver newspaper editor, died of a broken heart when his sweetheart, Lola Durand, became a variety stage actress and singer, billed as "Mademoiselle X." "That witch of a girl [had]

A "natural born coquette," Lola Durand was a beautiful, audacious, genius who espoused a career "fraught with all the conditions that lead to the destruction of womanhood."

upset him. She [had taken] possession of his soul." But even the "corrupted" western woman had a spark of good within her; when she died, Lola left a fortune "to support a home for homeless girls."[50] In another story a saloon girl, when querried about her fate, calmly replied: "I will marry a million." Exhibiting her own brand of frontier opportunism, Dolly married a millionaire miner, lived in his magnificent Denver home for a short time, divorced him for $400,000 in cash, and ultimately became a German countess.[51]

It was the *Great Divide* issue containing the story about Dolly, "A Denver Queen," that Wood publicized as "A Woman's Number," with leading articles all penned by western ladies. Praising the work of Emma Ghent Curtis in an editorial lead-in to the special issue, the poet-editor noted that "it is emphatically within the possibilities that we shall have, ere long, a woman writer who will gain a national reputation of deserved force and brilliancy which will be a positive gain in replacing the men writers of the Bret Harte and Mark Twain type, much of whose work possesses little, if any permanent value."[52] Not always an astute literary critic, Wood, nonetheless, desired to publish the work of aspiring western women writers, for a large body of material in the *Great Divide* was derived from the feminine imagination. Patience Stapleton (an advisory and contributing editor before her untimely death in 1893), Mary Sylvester Paden, Sharlot M. Hall, Callie Bonnie Marble, Alice Polk Hill, and Ellis Meredith, to name a few of the most noteworthy, all advanced their writing careers in the *Great Divide*. This is highly significant, for it accentuates an increasingly dominant women's value system, indigenous to the genteel tradition, undergoing transferal and infusion into a revitalized western credo.[53] Wood, then, through the *Great Divide,* was perhaps partially undertaking the defense of a declining nineteenth-century genteel ideal in a desperate attempt to increase its mass acceptance by restructuring it within a more palatable framework of popular, western literature.

Even more remarkable than his desire to promote the western woman's creativity and her strengthened frontier values, was his

[50] Fitz-Mac [James MacCarthy], "Lola Durand and Mr. Henry Blodgett," ibid. 8 (January 1893):226-29.

[51] Edith Montgomery, "A Denver Queen," ibid. 8 (November 1892):182.

[52] Ibid., p. 184.

[53] Stow Persons, *The Decline of American Gentility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), pp. 89, 91, 164. M. James Kedro is presently researching and writing a collective biographical

realization that the West was a culturally pluralistic society. It was common in the western literature of the era to portray the mining camp environment as a great melting pot with "an atmosphere determined by the westerner's easy inclination to take others at face value." At the same time, however, the Indian especially received a negative reaction from the verse makers who made it clear "that no part of the great western experience was due to the legacy of this noble savage."[54] But many *Great Divide* writers saw things differently and often pointed to favorable Indian character traits. Likewise, Wood and his magazine were among the first to take a stand on the need to protect and to preserve Mesa Verde. And while Blacks were rarely discussed, Wood's corps of authors also portrayed Hispanos and Orientals in heroic roles.[55]

Aside from articles on Indian customs and heritage, it is revealing that in June 1891, soon after the height of the Ghost Dance scare, the *Great Divide* contained a poem that sympathized with the Sioux and in tone expressed open hostility for the Anglo-American. A comment preceding "The Ghost Dance" explained that the refrain "Hu! Hu! hu-ah-huh!" was a phonetic expression chanted by the Indians:

. . . . . .
Mouths are many; deer are few—
Hu-ah-huh!
. . . . . .
Hu! Hu! hu-ah-huh!
Where the bison fed and grew,
Fence and furrows follow through—
Hu-ah-huh!
Far abroad the paleface strew;
And, to face the starving Sioux,
If he tarries, let him rue—
Hu-ah-huh!
. . . . . .
Let us scenes of blood review!
Come and lead the valiant Sioux!
We have done, and we can do!
Hu-ah-huh![56]

study of approximately twelve *Great Divide* poets and authors, women and men, to relate their backgrounds to the western ideal they were propagating.

[54] Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," p. 626.

[55] A somewhat positive characterization of a Black "mammy" is found in Callie Bonney Marble, "Chloe's 'Editor Man'," *Great Divide* 12 (September 1895):201; an uncompromising stereotype of the Black is found in a children's piece by Laura Edyth Blair, "Ed's Ride Down Hill," ibid. 14 (May 1896):95.

[56] Dan De Foe, "The Ghost Dance," ibid. 5 (June 1891):63; see also Richard McCloud, "Dancing the Ghost Dance: Southern Ute Indians of Colorado at Durango," ibid. 4 (February 1891):102; "How the Indians Pray," ibid. 9 (July 1893):101, where the editor remarks that "the Indian may be as religious as is the Presbyterian."

Even in malevolent Indian verse ("them thievin', sneakin' Apaches / Don't lay their plans like fools"), a degree of respect was accorded to the white settler's opponent.[57] One author wrote of a feud between a white trapper, "Old Ben," and an Indian, "Hungry Pete," and entitled his verse "A Man to Man." Trapped in a blizzard, Ben "thought of his foes, the red man, / Friends they were never quite— / Old grudges had stood too long to die / 'Tween the Indian and the white." Almost dead, Ben dragged himself to a "rude hut's door," only to find Hungry Pete inside. Here the poet produced a surprise ending that left the reader to ponder who was more civilized, the trapper or the Indian:

> A moment more two hands had sought
> Two knives of shining steel.
> Four eyes gleamed out their angry thoughts—
> Who'd be the first to fall?
> They met; a smile had Hungry Pete,
> While Trapper Ben stood dumb—
> With outstretched hand the Indian said,
> "'Tis Christmas eve, you're welcome."[58]

In describing another frontier minority, Wood's literary digest occasionally denigrated Mexican-Americans, those "Greaser thieves" who could be "very dirty—even for a Mexican."[59] It was unusual for the magazine to be so flagrantly racist, however, for praiseworthy comments about Hispanos were more frequent than negative ones. A poem dedicated to Don Facundo Malgares, who captured Zebulon Pike in 1807 and took him prisoner to Santa Fe, eulogized that "son of Spain" as one of the founding fathers of Colorado: "Sleep on, Malgares, of the dusky brow, / For other men have enter'd thro' thy gates, / And the golden glory of morning waits / To bid them welcome! Colorado, now, / Sends thee hail and farewell."[60]

Chinese, too, received criticism in the *Great Divide*. This included commentary on opium smokers and a traveler's note on the negative points of San Francisco's China Town.[61] Once again, however, affirmative opinion of a minority culture found expression through journalistic literature like the short story "In

[57] Sharlot M. Hall, "Monte Bill," ibid. 7 (August 1892):131.

[58] H. R. Munroe, "A Man to Man," ibid. 8 (January 1893):235.

[59] Sharlot M. Hall, "Watch: The Prospector's Dog," ibid., p. 283; Bessie Read, "Juanita," ibid. 8 (November 1892):178, which contains comments on the positive character of the Mexican woman.

[60] John Madden, "Malgares," ibid. 8 (February 1893):262.

[61] Hop-Toy, "Yen-She-Gow: Opium Smokers and How They Smoke," ibid. 5 (June 1891):63; Cy Warman, "San Francisco's Chinatown," ibid. (September 1893):14-15, where he remarks "Chinatown is making heathens here in San Francisco faster than all the Christians in the whole United States are making Christians of Chinamen."

Pay Dirt Gulch," where Wan Lo and his son Chang industriously worked a find of gold containing "not the liberal supply that had tempted the fevered exertions of the miners fifteen years before, but enough to satisfy the tireless labor of a patient celestial like Wan Lo."

Saving money for his younger son's passage to America, Wan Lo labored to fill a bottle with precious yellow dust. Chang came to love "that bottle and its . . . contents!" He would "hold it where the sunshine could play over the bright gold," and as the author chided, "we must confess that he worshipped that bottle and fondled and patted its fat sides with a feeling of pronounced awe; in fact, that he was in a fair way to become Americanized." True to frontier ethnic hostilities, the Chinese were exploited by a disreputable Anglo, but they overcame their foe, and "richly as he deserved death," Wan Lo and Chang left the criminal for a posse in pursuit of him for a previous crime. Soon reunited with his family in San Francisco, the younger Chinese son saw for the first time the sign of his father's new-found success taken from the gold fields of the West. Above the door of a prominent establishment he read: "Wan Lo and Sons, Importers of Chinese Goods."[62]

According to the *Great Divide*, opportunity of economic advancement awaited all peoples in the West. In many of the pre-1895 stories cultural integration within an American dream of equal opportunity gradually developed to the point that the West became the altruistic and comforting receiver of the

[62] C. A. Murdoch, "In Pay Dirt Gulch," ibid. 11 (May 1894):131-32; see also "Chinese Characteristics," ibid. 14 (January 1896):18.

world's hopeless multitudes.[63] This theme, indeed, was the ultimate form of literary boosterism.

Still, another point can be made concerning Wood's editorial recognition of the cultural minorities of the West. Advocating more diverse and complex western historical research, some of which has already come to pass, one historian recently argued that a realization of western pluralism was apparently displaced by an extension of American exceptionalism to the frontier, and moreover, that the westerner's desire to create a positive regional identity led him to seek cultural unity with the East.[64] While there is some truth in such an assertion, the evidence here suggests that numerous *Great Divide* authors were cognizant of their region's pluralism in the 1890s, and that they attempted to incorporate it within a restructured national credo dominated by western ideals. More important, Wood was not patterning a cultural image for his magazine based upon the East. By emphasizing journalistic booster literature, the *Great Divide* was championing a western cultural cause in opposition to the poor treatment its regional literature (and the region itself) had received from eastern critics.[65] Wood was always at loggerheads with rival eastern magazines because of his promotional schemes.[66] Imparting regional values to the world, he spoke out in favor of the western writer, and was astonished, but pleased, that Cy Warman finally gained recognition from the eastern literary establishment.[67]

The contrast between East and West in Wood's magazine was more than subtle, especially in terms of character traits. In addition to the *Great Divide* number devoted to western women writers, Wood set aside an issue of his journal for Denver artists to display their illustrations for a number of "short Western stories," and his magazine also boasted its own music department.[68] Emphasizing the greater social and economic benefits in Colorado, Wood was publishing a booster digest, but

[63] Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," p. 633.

[64] Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968):49.

[65] Richard W. Etulain, "Research Opportunities in Western Literary History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (July 1973):271.

[66] See "The *Great Divide* vs. the *Youth's Companion*," *Great Divide* 9 (March 1893):10; comments on the conflict with the "Engineer," ibid. 6 (January 1892):95.

[67] Wood, "A Western Poet," ibid. 8 (November 1892):184.

[68] Ibid., 8 (September 1892) for western art and Wood's comments, pp. 142-43; a devestating critique of the University of Denver Art School is found in Edward R. Garczynski, "Art in Denver," ibid. 8 (February 1893): 252-53; see Wood's praise of Denver artist Henry Read, ibid. 9 (March 1893):10; Wood's song "Love Is a Flower," music by Henry Houseley, a well-known Denver composer and musician, ibid. 9 (August 1893):117-19. The *Great Divide* was instrumental in publicizing William Henry Jackson's photographs in *Wonder Places*, a volume published by the Great Divide Publishing Co. and serialized in its 1894 issues of the magazine. An excellent study of the struggle—the dialectic—between the East and West, their alternate cultural values and ideals is Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[69] Walker, "The Poets Interpret the Western Frontier," p. 627.

[70] J. E. Tarbell to Wood, *Great Divide* 11 (February 1894):42; S. M. Robbins to Wood, ibid. 11 (March 1894):64; J. W. D. to Wood, ibid. 11 (April 1894):94; N. B. McDowell to Wood, ibid. 5 (June 1891):69.

he believed that the creative talent in his region deserved an audience not just in the East, but throughout the world.

This regional chauvinism extended to another theme of Rocky Mountain cultural promotionalism that portrayed the West as the purifying agent of American characteristics and institutions.[69] In the last analysis, however, the conflicts and contradictions between the East and the West were not so difficult to grapple with as was the creation of a formalistic national symbol founded upon those basic American ideals that had been reborn on the frontier and nurtured on the purer fruits of the West. The *Great Divide's* promotional spirit attempted to fashion a new wholeness from the paradoxes of American civilization and to bring order to an apparently chaotic late-nineteenth-century value system by providing the nation with a handsomely packaged set of western ideals.

The well-planned format of the magazine—the editor's technique of presenting an illustrated, booster story followed with an essay on some booming Colorado town, intertwined with poems set off by advertisements to invest in Colorado mining stocks or agriculture—impressed a psychological positivism upon readers. The blending of popular, booster literature with essays and advertisements was a significant part of Wood's promotional ability. Letters to the editor, participatory promotionalism, reinforced the unique materials and services of the magazine. A Michigan school teacher lent credence to the "delightful climate and beautiful scenery" in Colorado, noting that he derived "pleasure" and "benefit" from Wood's journal. A New Zealand reader commented that when he returned to the "great republic" he planned to settle somewhere between Colorado and the Pacific, as he liked the "West better than the East." "To gather up the unwritten history of the great divide, to preserve its legends, and hand down to history the lives and works of its pioneers," wrote a Missouri farmer, "what a splendid field for a magazine." Another subscriber summed up a feeling probably shared by many readers when he contributed an anagram: "The *Great Divide*, Denver, Colorado, / Direct road to heaven gilded over."[70]

By building a "direct road to heaven" with grossly optimistic regional images, a large number of the literati of the West can be made the targets for criticism. That their work was neither timeless nor universal does not imply that it was ineffective promotionalism, nor, albeit imbued with cultural myths, that it lacked insight into a regional value system. Any attempt to understand the *Great Divide's* poems and stories, and broadly speaking, early western writing in general, must necessarily acknowledge its promotional dimension. Stanley Wood, and the authors who sought recognition in his magazine, dramatically characterize the western literary artist's involvement in urban and regional promotion. Together they delineated and disseminated a hopeful, western self-confidence, its changing scenarios united by an underlying theme that became exceedingly monotonous. Considering the frontier intellectuals' apparent belief that regional literature stood as an "advertisement" for the locality that produced it, western culture and local boosterism were often integrated entities. In this respect, as a literary synthesis of standardized, nineteenth-century booster themes, the multifaceted *Great Divide* must be viewed as a singular manifestation of promotional creativity as well as an exponent of what was to become an increasingly forceful western credo that sought infusion with and dominance of a larger American culture.

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Dirty Tricks in Denver

BY ELLIOTT WEST

By their rough wool coats and scuffed boots the score of men gathered along the bar appeared to be common workmen or vagabonds. After downing a round of free drinks to gird up their spirits, they trooped out of the saloon and down the street to the polls. There each man in the crowd told the registrar his temporary, fictitious name before casting a straight Republican ballot. Nearby stood a burly policeman ready to toss into the street anyone who might question the procedure. Rumor had it that the liquor dealers of Denver had raised $20,000 to pay for such service and to reward the mobs at the polls at a rate of two dollars a vote. The scene was repeated throughout the downtown precincts, and when the dust settled Republicans had eked out a narrow victory in the mayoralty election of 1889. Howling with rage, the opposition press detailed vividly how the Grand Old Party had floated to victory on a sea of "BEER, BOODLE AND BLOOD."[1]

The election of Republican Wolfe Londoner as mayor in 1889 triggered two years of turmoil rarely equaled in the political history of Denver. Before it subsided the controversy had involved many of the state's loftiest politicians and most notorious characters, yet curiously historians of Colorado have all but ignored the episode.[2] Months of scandals, trials, and journalistic jousting culminated when Londoner became the only chief executive of Denver to be removed from office. Aside from their entertainment value, these events demonstrated that a decade before the turn of the century considerable unrest already was laying the foundations for political reform.

The conflict had been seething beneath the surface during the 1880s as Denver emerged as a major urban center of the West. The city had tripled in population during these years, and

[1] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 3 April 1889.

[2] Colorado histories by Percy Fritz, LeRoy R. Hafen, Frank Hall, and Wilbur F. Stone mention neither the controversy over the mayoralty election of 1889 nor Mayor Wolfe Londoner.

almost a quarter of those living in the capital in 1890 were foreign-born. Most immigrants, concentrated in the downtown wards, had come from Germany, Ireland, and England, but more and more were of the "new" variety from eastern and southern Europe.[3] To support the growing populace, almost four hundred manufacturing establishments had appeared by the end of 1888. Smelters dominated the northern reaches of the capital, but brick and clothing manufacturers, founderies, flour processors, marble and stone works, and breweries also were in operation.[4]

Many of the poorer workers lived near their work in the center and to the north of the city, but other skilled workers and professionals could afford homes on broad lots in the cleaner, more respectable suburbs. "Denver is not a rough Western city," one visitor commented, and many others agreed that the substantial neighborhoods reminded them of New York City or even of England.[5] But the downtown "tenderloin" left a different impression. The number of Denver saloons increased from about 97 in 1880 to about 322 a decade later, and most of these businesses were crowded into a rectangle bounded roughly by Cherry Creek, Market, Twenty-sixth, and Stout streets. Here bordellos and gambling houses flourished as well. "Nowhere else have I seen such an open, shameless display of vice," wrote one shocked minister who had visited similar recreational areas in other cities.[6]

Such rapid growth, economic maturation, and increasing division of the city into different regions and social groups naturally generated tensions that finally would find expression in Denver politics. In particular, dwellers of the suburbs looked with growing alarm at many of the manifestations of the evolution of Denver into a modern city. The more perceptive tourists could sense the coming clash. "We shall see that on its worst side the city is Western, and that its moral side is Eastern," wrote the visiting Julian Ralph. "It will be interesting to see how one side dominates the other, and both keep along together."[7]

[3] U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Population of the United States a. the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I*, pp. 452, 525, 670-73.

[4] Andrew Morrison, *The City of Denver and the State of Colorado* (St. Louis, Mo.: George Englehardt, 1890), pp. 96-129; Elroy Nelson, "Manufacturing History of Colorado," in *Colorado and Its People: A Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State*, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), 4:583-88.

[5] Charles Augustus Stoddard, *Beyond the Rockies: A Spring Journey in California* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 211; Edward Movey, *The Truth about America* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886), p. 137; E. Catherine Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (London: Ward & Downey, 1887), p. 250; William Seward Webb, *California and Alaska and over the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), p.17.

[6] *Longmont Issue*, 1 November 1906.

Because its birth and years of adolescence came during the Civil War and its aftermath, Colorado's political system had been dominated by the Republicans. Just as the economy and the social life of Denver had grown similarly to those of older cities, so capital politics shared many characteristics of political machines in other urban settings. As the ultimate core of their support, GOP organizers depended upon residents of the downtown wards. Often organized by saloon owners, the workers, transients, and gamblers of that region provided a block of votes the opposition found difficult to overcome. By the city election of 1885, the increasingly restive Democrats charged that the long success of the Republicans had bred corruption. The "tricksters and traders" in power were said to have accepted bribes for the granting of franchises, manipulated elections, and robbed the taxpayers with false warrants.[8]

By 1888 opposition was mounting against the Republican machine, especially as more voters in the suburbs responded to charges of governmental graft. The saloon, frequently used as the base of operations of the city bosses, gradually emerged as the central issue in the attempt to unseat the ruling Republicans. Particularly galling to many Denverites was the refusal of many saloon owners to close their businesses on Sunday. Drinking houses, it was charged, lured the working man away from his family on a day of rest, robbed the poor of money needed by wives and children, and generally besmirched the reputation of the Queen City of the Plains. Late in 1888 the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other prohibitionist groups began to organize popular support for Sunday closing. The city council argued that the charter gave the city the power to regulate the traffic in alcohol, so the state law prohibiting sales on the Sabbath did not apply in the capital. The WCTU then demanded a Sunday closing ordinance be passed. When the council refused, the fight was on.[9]

The *Denver Rocky Mountain News* had opposed the Republicans consistently during the 1880s, and now its editors seemed to sense that the ladies had struck a nerve. By February 1889 the oldest newspaper in Denver was championing Sunday closing almost daily in its editorials.[10] Early in March the *News*

[7] Julian Ralph, *Our Great West: A Study of the Present Conditions and Future Possibilities of the New Commonwealths and Capitals of the United States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893), p. 321.

[8] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 26, 30 March, 8 April 1885.

[9] Ibid., 18 December 1888, 4 January 1889.

[10] Ibid., 18, 24 February, 27 March 1889.

recommended an independent ticket of all concerned citizens to oppose the Republicans, and the Democrats considered the idea a sound one. By abandoning their name temporarily, Democrats might be able to attract a broader range of voters alarmed over the moral condition of the capital. The Prohibition Party, in a rare moment of compromise, agreed to join the party of Grover Cleveland to field a "Citizens ticket."[11]

Facing this alarmingly rigorous opposition, the Republicans were bound to respond. First the *Denver Republican,* owned by Nathaniel Hill and a staunch ally of the party, endorsed Sunday closing, and later the Republican city convention called for an ordinance forbidding the sale of intoxicants on the Sabbath. Just as important, the delegates searched for a mayoralty nominee not closely associated with the GOP leadership, which was now reeling under the bitter assault. Eventually they turned to one of the best-known businessmen of the city, Wolfe Londoner.[12] The

Londoner's wholesale and retail grocery, 1624-30 Arapahoe Street.

choice of the party was born in New York City in 1839 but was well acquainted with the West. At the age of eleven he had traveled alone to San Francisco, and after returning to work in his home town he had walked six hundred miles from Iowa to Denver with the influx of fifty-niners. For five years he worked and prospered in Canon City and California Gulch before returning to the territorial capital in 1864 to open his own grocery firm. Londoner's steadily expanding business made him one of the city's wealthiest merchandisers by 1880. Though a faithful Republican, he was not intimately identified with the present office holders. The portly, mustachioed merchant also had a ready wit that endeared him to the capital press corps; even more

[11] Ibid., 11, 27 March 1889.

[12] *Denver Republican,* 26 February, 1, 3, 6 March 1889.

attractive, he equipped a "cyclone cellar" in the basement of his business with snacks and potables, ample and strong, for his journalistic friends. Such popularity obviously would benefit the Republicans in the coming contest.[13]

Campaigners for the fusion ticket used all the standard warnings against the dangers of the grog shop. Those "vestibules of Hell" lured the young along a path leading to worthless lives and early graves. More money was spent on liquor than on food and clothing combined, claimed one minister, who went on to calculate that strong drink had poisoned to death 715 Denverites in 1888 alone. The "slimy trail of the serpent of the still" wound its way through the homes of the working class of Denver, blighting their lives and emptying their pockets. Sunday closing would not eradicate such problems but it would alleviate them by denying the drinker on the day of his greatest temptation.[14]

The tempo quickened, and as it did the saloon became the focal point of a much broader range of issues. By charging that owners of barrooms bribed officials and organized illegal voters, opponents of the Republicans introduced the question of corruption in government. Voters also were considering a $1.2 million bond issue for street and park improvement; such funds, it was argued, should not be handed over to allies of the rum traffic. Restrictions of the saloon, furthermore, involved a deeper urge to improve the image of the city. As one speaker argued, the frontier stage of Denver had passed, and the city should present a more respectable and sober face to outsiders. Such a change was necessary if business was to flourish, for once the flush times were past, "the real prosperity of the city depends upon the moral character of its people." The saloon was linked to insidious immigrants, "the offal of all foreign lands," who seemed to reject native American mores. Orators, thus, complained of many cultural and civic problems. The solution was seductively simple: "Strike at the dram shop and every one of these tentacles, anarchy, prostitution, Sabbath desecration, laxity of marriage, political corruption and poverty will begin to relax their grasp."[15]

[13] An 1884 H. H. Bancroft interview with Londoner was published as "Western Experiences and Colorado Mining Camps," *The Colorado Magazine* 6 (March 1929):65-72. See also Allen duPont Breck, *The Centennial History of the Jews of Colorado, 1859-1959* (Denver: A. B. Hirschfeld Press, 1960), pp. 7-8, 15-16, 44, 118-20; Edwin Price, "Recollections of Grand Junction's First Newspaper Editor," *The Colorado Magazine* 30 (July 1953):225; Joseph Emerson Smith, "Personal Recollections of Early Denver," *The Colorado Magazine* 20 (March 1943):70; *Denver Republican*, 24 November 1912; *Denver Post*, 24 November 1912.

[14] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 18, 25 February 1889.

[15] Ibid., 11, 25 February, 6, 31 March, 1 April 1889.

As election day approached, the Citizens' candidates attracted increasing support. Large, enthusiastic crowds heard speakers imported by the WCTU fulminate on the evils of the liquor traffic. Charles S. Thomas, later Democratic governor and United States senator, put his youthful talents of persuasion to use on the election platform. "Parson Tom" Uzzell, who presided at the downtown People's Tabernacle, exhorted rallies on behalf of Elias Barton, Democratic mayoral nominee, with typical flamboyance. Many Protestant ministers eagerly entered the fray, and week after week the churchgoers of Denver heard the city administration condemned from the pulpits. The Republicans seemed incapable of gaining the initiative. Their endorsement of Sunday closing had been a defensive move rather than a bid for leadership, and as the weeks wore on they spent most of their effort fending off the charges of their challengers. Clearly the incumbents were in trouble.[16]

The hoopla and mudslinging drew unusually large crowds to the polls on election day, 2 April. The orderly lines of voters in the suburbs threw into relief the scenes of confusion downtown. There, the *Denver Rocky Mountain News* claimed, Republican ward heelers led illegal voters to the polls "like driving so many sheep to the slaughter." Policemen and bartenders reportedly made sure the flow of ballots for Londoner remained smooth and uninterrupted. Occasionally a poll watcher complained, only to be ignored or physically abused. When the official canvass had been completed, Londoner was declared the winner over Barton by 377 votes.[17]

But instead of subsiding, the controversy remained to fester upon the body politic in Denver until it finally came to a head one year later. Above all, the slashing attacks of the *Denver Rocky Mountain News* kept the issue before the public eye. The *News* continued to bedevil the new administration on the issue of Sunday closing of saloons. At a meeting with feminine champions of temperance packing one side of the hall and saloon owners the other, the board of aldermen defeated an ordinance to shut down public drinking on the Sabbath late in May of 1889.[18] Such a blatant violation of campaign promises by men the *News* labeled "political prostitutes" provoked a large indignation meeting of Republicans at the opera house. The next month, however, a district court judge ruled that the capital was

[16] Ibid., 25 February, 1 April 1889; *Denver Republican*, 26 February, 1 March 1889.

[17] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 3 April 1889.

[18] *Denver Republican*, 24 May 1889.

not exempt from the state law demanding Sunday closing. Still, Mayor Londoner hesitated to enforce the prohibition—in a "Western town" like Denver, he claimed, the public would ignore it. The *News* kept up its barrage, hammering at the saloon's corruption of politics, giving spectacular play to a murder committed in a drinking house on Sunday and even linking the grog shops of the city to a foreign syndicate of "beer interests."[19] The dispute remained unsettled throughout Londoner's time in office.

Nor did the *News* writers allow the public to forget the events of April when, it was claimed, "the pimps, the thugs and bunco men" engineered "the most infamous election in every way that had ever disgraced our oftentimes disgraced city." For the sake of future growth, Denver had to redeem its reputation, for once word of such crimes was abroad, investors and decent families would shun the Queen City.[20]

In fact the newspaper's editor suggested that the election day disgrace was only a symptom of corruption pervading the party that ruled the city and the state. Mayor Londoner was charged with packing city departments so full of political hacks that the city was close to bankruptcy. At the same time the needs of the public were being ignored. The Board of Public Works had no plans for an adequate sewer system, while the monopolistic water company denied the people low, competitive rates. Even the surface of the streets became a point of heated debate, the *News* pulling for Colorado-produced stone over the asphalt alternative. Charges of extravagance and fraud among state officials strengthened the impression of a rotten Republican system stretching from precinct to statehouse. In the scant thirteen years of statehood, the *News* wrote, this "gang of unconscionable thieves" had reduced Colorado to as degraded a political condition as any state in the nation.[21]

The county elections in the fall of 1889 showed that the assaults were beginning to take their toll. This time the contest centered on the race for county sheriff. The Democrats, clearly playing upon memories of the spring, nominated Barton, who had lost so narrowly to Londoner. When the Republicans turned to Walter Conway, the *Denver Rocky Mountain News* predictably dismissed him and the entire slate as puppets of political

[19] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 24, 27 May, 13, 16 June, 20 August, 13 September 1889.
[20] Ibid., 2, 22 September 1889.
[21] Ibid., 21, 22, 24, 25 August, 1, 22 September 1889.

criminals and saloon men. Just how tarnished the GOP image had become was indicated by the position of the *Denver Republican*. Although acknowledging a few good men on the ticket, the newspaper called for the defeat of its own party to restore honesty and public confidence. The people agreed. Barton won easily, as did the Democratic candidates for county judge and one of the two district judges.[22]

Some of the defenders of the administration began to trim their sails before this journalistic gale. Hill's *Denver Republican*, for instance, apparently decided to salvage what it could out of the scandal. By the fall of 1889 its editorials told of a "gang" in the city Republican machine that was supported by denizens of the downtown slums. But the chief executive did not share in this shame, for Londoner, the *Denver Republican* argued, remained independent of the political grafters and sought only to provide for honest conduct of affairs.[23] The mayor, in fact, did seem to chart his own course. Most important, he replaced Chief of Police Henry Brady and Brady's first lieutenant with his own appointees.[24] Throughout the months of warfare, Londoner maintained a low profile and rarely replied to the continuous barrage loosed upon him. In the end his dignified silence and business-as-usual attitude kept his reputation remarkably untarnished. By rallying around the figure of the mayor, the *Denver Republican* apparently sought to preserve some part of the fortunes of the party during a strategic retreat.[25]

Just how firmly Londoner rested on his throne, however, was still an open question, for in the meantime an intricate legal web was slowly entrapping the city administration. Soon after the controversial spring election, the district attorney announced a what's-done-is-done policy and refused to prosecute Republican officials for voting frauds.[26] State law provided that a private citizen might then demand redress. Defeated in the mayoralty election, Barton, therefore, asked Judge George W. Allen of the Arapahoe County District Court to remove Londoner from office, arguing that more than enough illegal ballots had been cast to wipe out the mayor's victory. When Londoner's attorneys

[22] Ibid., 3 October, 6 November 1889; *Denver Republican*, 3 October, 3, 6 November 1889.
[23] *Denver Republican*, 28 November 1889.
[24] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 3 May 1889.
[25] The *News* saw a more Machiavellian motive behind this posture. Editor Hill supposedly was backing Londoner against the Republican faction of Senator Henry M. Teller. The eventual goal was to be the governorship for Londoner and a seat in the U.S. Senate for Hill (*Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 9, 19 September 1889).
[26] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, 13 Colorado 303 (Colo. Sup. Ct. 1889).

George W. Allen, born in 1844 in Pennsylvania, was a Republican member of the Pennsylvania state legislature. He moved to Colorado in 1879 and settled in Denver in 1881, where he practiced law privately until 1888, when he was elected judge of the district court. In 1917 he became a justice of the Colorado Supreme Court.

countered with a demurrer denying that the court had jurisdiction, Judge Allen dismissed the case. Round one to the defendants. Then in September the state supreme court overturned Allen's opinion and ordered the district court to sit in judgment of Londoner's eligibility to stay in office.[27] The stage was set for a political showdown and one of the most remarkable trials in the history of Denver.

The judicial spectacular began slowly on 12 March 1890. Almost two full days were required to pick a jury because many candidates for the job admitted that they already had formed an opinion on the merits of the case—eloquent testimony to the impact of the journalistic battles during the past year. During these first days Mayor Londoner, the apparent object of the proceedings, appeared only briefly in the courtroom to listen attentively and nervously bite his nails. Thereafter, he stayed away and gave every appearance of a conscientious executive too busy with official duties to be bothered with the assault on his position.

On the afternoon of the fourteenth, prosecuting attorneys Lafe and Charles Pence opened their case. Quick-witted and long-winded, the youthful Lafe cut a dapper figure as he promised the jury that he would prove police officers Henry Brady and James Conners engineered a conspiracy of "tramps and bums and adventurers" to steal the election for Londoner. So great was the fraud, the brothers argued, that only the mayor's removal would right the crimes against the voters. The middle-aged defense counsel Lucius Marsh countered briefly that he meant only to show that enough legal votes had been

[27] Ibid.; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 4 June 1889.

[28] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 15, 18 March 1890.

[29] Earlier, in response to a defense motion upheld by District Judge George Allen, the Pence brothers supplied the court with an extensive list of what they claimed to be the names fraudulently entered on registration books (Colo. Supreme Court, *Supreme Court Security Cases*, #2873, Motion of Defendant, 17 February 1890; Order of Court, 26 February 1890; Plaintiff's list, filed 4 March 1890; Colorado State Archives and Records Center, Denver [hereinafter cited as CSA]).

[30] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record, *Supreme Court Abstracts and Briefs*, vol. 94, case #2873, pp. 7-8, CSA (hereinafter cited as People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record); *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 20 March 1890.

counted to keep Londoner in office.[28] The initial volleys set the tone for the trial. The aggressive young prosecutors kept up the attack, while Marsh, peering wryly at the jury through his spectacles, relied on sarcasm, frequent objections, and legal maneuvers to disrupt his opponents' case.

Once these basic positions were laid down, the next two days were taken up by witnesses laying the foundations for the prosecution's case. Several described how they had attempted to cast their ballots but were told that persons claiming their identities already had voted. In other cases registration records indicated that votes had been cast by persons who now testified that they had not gone near the polls. Although the testimony was repetitive, the parade of witnesses did provide a rare view of the life that flourished in the ecology of downtown Denver: hod carriers, vagabonds, day workers, bearded Irishmen, a "typical Jew of the Dickens cast," and a deep-voiced, "queer character" with long gray locks named Ransom Rathbone.[29]

During the next ten days the prosecution attempted to substantiate their detailed charges that hundreds of illegal votes had been cast on election day. Agents of the city administration were accused of engineering frauds in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth precincts, all of which had returned massive majorities for Londoner. First a groundwork was laid. Former police lieutenant James Conners and Samuel "Sheeny Sam" Emrich, it was charged, had compiled special voter registration lists, which included "dead names," persons who were deceased, out-of-town, or simply fabricated. Armed with such a weapon, GOP organizers reportedly moved into action on election day.[30]

In their charges the Pence brothers brought onto the stage two of the West's more infamous characters, Jefferson Randolph

These two "infamous characters" are gunman "Bat" Masterson (left) and conman "Soapy" Smith.

"Soapy" Smith, saloon owner and conman extraordinaire, and William Barclay "Bat" Masterson, gunman and tough late of the Kansas cowtowns. With another saloon owner Charles Conner, Smith and Masterson reportedly prepared hundreds of slips of paper bearing "dead names" from Emrich's list, then provided squads of cooperative downtown residents with these "tickets" as well as a Republican ballot and a bribe of a silver dollar. Each fraudulent voter then identified himself at the polls by the name on his slip, and the poll judge noted it accordingly in his registration book, so carefully prepared by "Sheeny Sam."[31]

The prosecution argued further that such a system had to have protection. At the eighteenth precinct, Pence claimed, "Soapy" Smith went so far as to nail planks in front of the voting place (to protect nearby panes of glass, he said) so a voter slipped his ballot between the boards to the unseen poll judge. Whether that official placed the vote in the ballot box, no one could say.[32] Defeated candidate Barton testified that the police were on hand to discourage any protest. At the thirtieth precinct Barton confronted Chief of Police Brady about the blatant frauds:

> A. I asked him why as an officer he would stand by and assist and permit such things to be carried on.
> Q. What did he tell you?
> A. He told me to go to hell.[33]

Barton described how several of his supporters had tried to challenge voters, only to be ignored by the poll judges. Others reportedly were beaten, arrested, and jailed for complaining about irregularities.[34]

One bit of testimony, furthermore, threatened to prove more explosive than all the rest. While on the stand, James Conners told of a meeting shortly after the election in the office of United States Senator Edward Wolcott. In addition to Wolcott and Conners, Senator Henry M. Teller, Otto Mears, Londoner, Chief of Police Brady, and two others reportedly were present. According to Conners, Wolcott asked Londoner if he knew that he lacked 2,000 legal votes of having a majority, and that he had

[31] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record, pp. 11-13, 21-23; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 19, 20, 21 March 1890.

[32] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record, pp. 20, 84.

[33] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[34] Ibid., pp. 78-84; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 19 March 1890.

won only through the work of Brady and Conners. Londoner had replied that he had never wanted the job under the circumstances of the election.[35] Here was the only suggestion of the trial that the chief executive had known of the voting frauds. And more, Conners linked the illegalities to the highest Republican luminaries of the state.

Faced with such an array of evidence, the defense was hard put to deny that many illegal votes had indeed been cast. Instead attorneys for the city administration chose less direct lines of attack. First, they charged that there were no legal grounds for bringing the case to court. When the district attorney had refused to prosecute the case the previous spring, the defeated candidate Elias Barton had filed suit to remove Londoner. Later, at the same time it ordered the district court to hear the case, the state supreme court decreed that if Londoner was deposed, he would be replaced not by Barton but by the head of the Board of Supervisors, next in the line of administrative succession. Since Barton now had no direct interest in the issue, the defense asked, who was prosecuting the case? The state law on elections was clear, Judge Allen answered. Any citizen could bring suit on behalf of the people. Although Barton could not gain office, he retained the right to demand justice from the administration. The defense motion for dismissal was overruled.[36]

"If Londoner was a Democrat, they would elect him mayor, then governor, then president, as they did their Bible and God, Mr. Cleveland."[37] By such charges, Londoner's attorneys next sought to portray the attack on the mayor as a Democratic vendetta. The prosecution was interested not in securing justice, they claimed, but in replacing Republicans with their own partisans. To document these charges, the defense called Lafe Pence himself to the stand. Pence began by denying he had bribed any of the witnesses for his case. Nor was he expecting any payment for his services. In the beginning, Elias Barton had paid him some six hundred dollars, but once the supreme court had declared Barton could not succeed Londoner, this income had stopped.[38]

Yet, the brothers Pence had continued doggedly pushing their prosecution, apparently satisfied with the pursuit of justice

[35] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 20 March 1890.

[36] Ibid., 27 March 1890.

[37] Ibid., 30 March 1890.

[38] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record, pp. 95-98.

as their only reward. Pressed further, however, Pence admitted that his firm was not bearing the full weight of the expenses of the case. The costs of investigations and legal fees had mounted to several hundred dollars.

Q. Is it your money that you have paid out?
A. Part of it my own money, part of it given to me by another party.
Q. Who is the other party?
A. Charles S. Thomas, the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee.[39]

This revelation must have stung, but in the end the motives of the prosecution were less important than the evidence they produced. To answer these charges, the defense called poll judges from the disputed precincts who denied seeing any wrongdoing whatsoever.[40] The testimony of this handful of witnesses would be weighed against the more than one hundred eighty persons testifying for the prosecution. At this crucial point of the battle, the administration's case apparently was sadly lacking. So great was the evidence of vote-stealing that Marsh and his colleagues seem to have made only token denials. In fact, in a later appeal the defense agreed that "miserable frauds" had occurred and relied instead upon other legal maneuvers to keep Londoner in office.[41]

At last the trial was nearing its end. The prosecution and defense attorneys reviewed their positions in their concluding arguments, and Judge Allen submitted sixty-nine detailed questions to be answered by the jury in determining its verdict. The basic issue, however, was simple. "In our form of government . . . the full exercise of the elective franchise by the qualified voters is a matter of the highest importance," the jurist reminded the dozen Denverites. "All elections should be free, fair and honest, and conducted to a reasonable degree under the form of law." With such weighty thoughts in mind, the jurors should shoulder their responsibility with "that courage and manliness worthy of an American citizen."[42]

The following day the jury delivered a devastating blow to the Londoner administration. In answering Judge Allen's sixty-nine questions, the jurors made clear their belief that in all three

[39] Ibid., pp. 97, 101-4.
[40] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 27 March 1890.
[41] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Petition for Re-hearing, p. 3.
[42] Colo. Supreme Court, *Supreme Court Security Cases*, #2873, Instructions to the Jury, 28 March 1890, CSA; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 29 March 1890.

disputed precincts scores of illegal votes had been cast in favor of the Republicans. Charles Conner and Bat Masterson, in connivance with police and poll judges, had organized the casting of illicit ballots. "Soapy" Smith had indeed boarded up the polling place at the thirtieth precinct under instructions from Chief Brady. Without question, irregularities had occurred, but the jury was unable to state exactly how many tainted votes were involved. By their best estimate, at least 100 were cast in the eighteenth precinct, 100 more in the nineteenth, and 150 in the thirtieth—a total of 350 ballots wrongly included in Londoner's total vote.[43]

Virtually every claim made by the prosecution was sustained in the verdict, and the *Denver Rocky Mountain News* naturally crowed over the "stinging condemnation" of the city administration. After bagging his prey, a triumphant Lafe Pence told reporters that he expected the state to pay him under its scalp bounty law. But the mayor was not ready to be stuffed and mounted yet. While he acknowledged a certain amount of fraud in the election, Londoner claimed the jury's inability to determine the exact number of illegal votes was enough to keep him in office. The long struggle apparently had steeled his determination to stick with his job, and he instructed a reporter to "tell the people of *The News* that I am still mayor and can be found at the old stand."[44]

Judge Allen felt differently. A week later he delivered his ruling on the jury's verdict, and for the first time since early in the trial Londoner was present in the court. As Allen began reading a closely reasoned opinion, the mayor listened intently and rapidly took notes. The prosecution had proved conclusively that frauds of massive proportions had occurred the previous April, the district judge decided. Once that had been shown, the burden shifted to the defense to demonstrate that enough legal votes remained to keep the mayor in office. But Marsh had failed to produce such evidence. Londoner ceased writing and stared at the judge. As the facts now stood, Allen continued, the events on election day had so damaged the integrity of the returns that the entire vote of the controversial precincts should be thrown out, thus depriving Londoner of his majority of the total vote. The mayor's head slowly drooped until his chin rested on his vest. After his long and dispassionate review of the case, Allen

[43] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Brief of the Appellant, pp. 18-36.
[44] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 31 March 1890.

gradually moved to a ringing plea for honesty in politics. "History perhaps does not record more flagrant violations of the law . . . than by the evidence in this case," he read. Let this example prove to all those aspiring to office "that unless obtained by fair means, in accordance with the will of the majority expressed as freemen . . . that they cannot enjoy the fruits thereof." Then he officially ordered Londoner's removal.[45]

Although Londoner appealed the decision, his days as mayor were clearly numbered. In a spirited brief Marsh fell back upon his earlier attempts to have the case dismissed. Since Barton could not take office upon the mayor's removal, no one was prosecuting the case. Instead the city administration had become a pawn of fiercely partisan demagogues: "The editors had a rallycaboo, and all for what!" Only so "intermeddlers for political and pecuniary purposes" could further their schemes. Moreover, even if the jury's estimate of 350 illegal votes was cancelled, Londoner still would be left with a majority, albeit a tiny one.[46]

The prosecuting Pences countered that even with Barton out of the running they still were working for the people of Denver. And the corruption in the three disputed precincts was so widespread that all votes cast there should be eliminated, thus erasing Londoner's majority. Rarely guilty of understatement, the brothers claimed that "no Court in Christendom has been found that would leave standing returns so tainted and discredited."[47]

The following September the state supreme court upheld Allen's ruling. Chief Justice Joseph G. Helm roundly condemning such elections in which "corrupt and designing men, almost with impunity, carry out their conspiracies against the rights of the people and the public interest."[48] On 13 March 1891, when the court denied his application for a new hearing, Londoner at last turned over his position to D. C. Packard, president of the Board of Supervisors. He was less than a month shy of completing his term as mayor.[49]

The troubles of the Republicans were not over. After two years of political upheaval they now faced the upcoming race for mayor with their hopes understandably dimmed. Within days of

[45] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Abstract of Record, pp. 138-45.
[46] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Brief of the Appellant, pp. 50-51.
[47] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, Brief of the Defendants in Error, p. 17.
[48] People ex rel. Barton v. Londoner, 15 Colorado 557 (Sup. Ct. 1889).
[49] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 14 March 1891.

Londoner's removal, a Committee of Fifteen was organizing rallies in favor of a nonpartisan administration pledged to efficient and honest government. When the Republican convention nominated Billy Milburn for the post, the committee endorsed his Democrat opponent, Platt Rogers, who promised to divorce city affairs from state and national politics. Rogers won the support of both the *News* and the *Republican* by assuring voters lower taxes, more paved streets, and improved urban services. Compared to 1889, the election of 1891 was a model of order. Five hundred volunteers, under the Committee of Fifteen, watched for possible violations at the polls, but few complaints were made. By the final tally, Rogers won handily with sixty-two percent of the vote. Again the reformers looked to the outlying precincts for their support. "The residence portion of Denver supported the People's ticket," the *Republican* reported, "while the slums rallied to the support of the Gang."[50]

The repercussions did not end with this transfer of power. Evidence that the police were used as organizers for the Republican machine convinced many citizens of the need to remove law enforcement from city politics. By the time the Colorado Eighth General Assembly convened in January 1891, mass meetings in Denver were calling for a board, named by the governor, to oversee the appointment and the administration of the fire and the police departments of the capital.[51] The lawmakers complied, and in March the new fire and police board took control.[52]

The scandals, trials, and journalistic hoopla had spawned a political rebellion that drove from power the party that had ruled the capital for a generation. It was great drama, and at its crest it touched the dregs of the gutter as well as the creatures from the ozone of high politics. The spectacle reflected, in part, simple political partisanship, the endless struggle of "outs" to become "ins." But more, the episode reflected deeper tensions among the people of the capital of Colorado. The campaign of 1889 first focused on the issue of the saloon, but the rhetoric of the stump soon suggested a growing discontent with many urban

[50] *Denver Republican*, 29, 31 March, 8, 10 April 1891.
[51] Leon Webber Fuller, "The Populist Regime in Colorado" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1933), pp. 224-25.
[52] The same legislation also created the Board of Public Works. Clyde Lyndon King, *The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to Its Relations with Public Service Corporations* (Denver: Fisher Book Co., 1911), pp. 128, 184; Colorado, General Assembly, *Laws Passed at the Eighth Session of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado Convened at Denver, on the Seventh Day of January, AD 1891*, pp. 65-69; *Denver Republican*, 11 March 1891.

problems. The frauds of the election day and the swelling controversy that followed brought into focus several issues—abuse of franchises, public works, and the corrupt relationship between police and politics.

The story takes on an added dimension when placed in the context of the next twenty years. After 1900 progressives in Denver would rely upon many of these same issues in their bid for power.[53] The opponents of the Londoner Republicans, moreover, drew their strength from the growing suburbs that would support Ben Lindsey and Edward Costigan more than a decade later. South along Cherry Creek, east of the capital, and northwest toward Highlands, the precincts of middle class professionals, skilled workers, and merchants endorsed Elias Barton for mayor and for sheriff and returned thumping majorities for Platt Rogers. While voters of these areas showed little concern for the poor of the inner city, they seemed to stand ready to support reforms reflecting their concept of morality and honest, "businesslike" government. Seen in this light, the battle of 1889-91, ignored in standard histories of the state, appears as a prelude to the better known struggles after the turn of the century.

After visiting Denver in the spring of 1893, a reporter for *Harper's Weekly* assured his readers that a "revolution in politics" had transformed city affairs. The efficient reign of Platt Rogers had left the coffers full, the streets clean, and the police department "fully reformed."[54] This optimism proved somewhat premature. Soon Colorado politics was undergoing a period of turmoil and transition. After the Populist interlude of Governor Davis Waite and the "city hall war," the Democrats came to dominate the statehouse. In Denver the Democratic machine of Mayor Robert W. Speer became as adept at manipulating elections as many of its predecessors. Rather than professionalizing "Denver's finest," the fire and police board simply provided a valuable political tool for the governor.[55] Like so many others, reformers in the capital city found the road to political Utopia far rockier than they had reckoned.

[53] For an excellent study of the origins, motives, and support of Denver's progressives, see J. Paul Mitchell, "Progressives in Denver: The Municipal Reform Movement, 1900-1916" (Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1963).

[54] *Harper's Weekly*, 8 April 1893, pp. 318-19.

[55] King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, p. 128; for an examination of the involvement of police in politics after the turn of the century, see James Peabody Papers, Administrative Files, Investigation of Denver Fire and Police Board, Record Center Container 13, CSA.

[56] *Denver Post*, 24 November 1912; *Denver Republican*, 24 November 1912; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 24 November 1912.

And what of Wolfe Londoner, the chief executive who stood at the eye of the storm? Ironically, he emerged from the trial with his reputation somewhat vindicated, for no one testified that he had known of the frauds at the time they occurred, and only James Conners had claimed that the mayor acknowledged the crimes after the election. By standing aloof he had avoided much of the mud that was slung. Once deposed, Londoner returned to his merchandising and prospered more than ever. Gradually he worked his way back into civic affairs, serving as an organizer and an enthusiastic supporter of the Festival of Mountain and Plain. Once again the doors of his spacious Logan Street home stood open to the members of the capital press. At six in the evening on 23 November 1912 he died of apoplexy in his bed. Of the many articles in Denver newspapers marking the passing of this "well beloved citizen" who "had no enemies," not one mentioned his removal from office.[56]

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First Ladies of Colorado: Frances Clelland Peabody

BY HELEN CANNON

Frances Lillian Clelland, the wife of Governor James Hamilton Peabody and the First Lady of Colorado from 1903 to 1905, was a second-generation American of Scottish descent. Her father, James Clelland, was born in Cleveland, Scotland, on 20 September 1823, and her mother, Anne ("Annie") Bayne Clelland, was born in Sterling, Scotland, on 31 October 1826. They were married on 6 June 1845, and her father immigrated to America in 1848. On arriving in New York City, he booked passage for his wife and her brother on the next trip of the ship on which he had arrived, the *Madagascar*.

James Clelland had been trained as an engineer in Glasgow College, and on his arrival in New York City he went to Philadelphia where he obtained work with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as an engineer and a paymaster on the construction of their line to the West. This work took him and his family on to Virginia, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas. In Iowa City in 1859, their son, George Clelland, was born, and while living in Saint Joseph, Missouri, on 1 July 1860, their daughter, Frances Lillian, was born. With the outbreak of the Civil War railroad construction came to a standstill so Clelland purchased a farm about eighteen miles from Atchison, Kansas. Besides farming, he operated an overland freighting business between Atchison and Denver, making about six trips a year in ox-and-mule-drawn wagons.[1]

The next move for the Clelland family was to Denver in the spring of 1865. The journey was made in a "prairie schooner" with all the "conveniences" of the day, such as carpets,

[1] *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1881), pp. 650, 653; "Frances Clelland Peabody," unpublished manuscript, Ranger Rogers papers, Denver, Colorado (copy in Helen Cannon's possession).

featherbeds, blankets, and comforters, which helped make sitting and sleeping on the six-week long trip more comfortable. It was a memorable experience for little Frances, who celebrated her fifth birthday on 1 July 1865 en route and received a doll, bought at a "sutler's store" in Marysville, Kansas, for her birthday present. Her childhood memories were kept alive and vivid through the years by the recounting of the fascinating incidents by her mother. At the suggestion of family and friends Frances Clelland Peabody later published an account of this trip under the intriguing title: "Across the Plains DeLuxe in 1865." She told of their food of hard bread, salt pork, and dried apples with, perhaps, tea or coffee, for there was no milk. Since wild fowl was plentiful on the prairie, prairie chickens, grouse, quail, or sage hens were a welcome change. She related that for amusement she would sit close to her mother and listen to the stories of her mother's home across the sea and to the old songs her mother loved. In the evening after camp had been made, she would pick flowers or play tag with her brother—only when her father felt certain that they were not in "Indian country," however. Frances described their clothing, in particular a pretty blue chambray quilted sunbonnet she wore to protect her skin from the sun. She and her mother also had bonnets made of straw that were called "shakers," which had veils attached that could be thrown back or worn over the face. She recalled their excitement at the first sight of the mountains and when their friends met them with a carriage at Sand Creek. She and her mother spent the night at the Broadwell Hotel in Denver, while her father and brother stayed with the train and their household goods. Soon they were settled in their five-room home on Curtis Street, which her father had bought on a previous trip to Denver.[2]

"Denver, beautiful Denver, our home at last," jubilantly exclaimed Anne Bayne Clelland on 21 August 1865, the day that they arrived; but Denver was not to be their home for long. The final move for the Clellands as a family was made to Canon City in Fremont County in 1872, the year the town was incorporated. James Clelland had arrived there in 1871 and at once had become permanently identified with the county by purchasing real estate and engaging in the grocery and merchandising business; he later became active in building railroads, public utilities, and in establishing banks. Politically he considered

[2] Frances Clelland Peabody, "Across the Plains DeLuxe in 1865," *The Colorado Magazine* 18 (March 1941):71-76.

himself a Democrat, and a very active one, for he believed that the citizens of the county and the town, particularly at that early stage, should be vocal in the territorial and, hopefully, the state government.[3] He was a member of the territorial council in 1876 from Fremont County and a senator from the Fourteenth District in the first state senate of 1877.[4]

In 1872 Canon City had a number of churches, including the Christ Episcopal Church, good elementary and secondary schools, and an effort was being made to establish a city library. But the Clelland children (George and Frances) were enrolled in boarding schools in Denver. Frances attended Saint Mary's Academy for her elementary education and later Wolfe Hall, from which she graduated in 1878, the year of her marriage.[5] Wolfe Hall was an Episcopalian college-preparatory academy for young women and was considered, at that time, the best in the West.[6]

James Hamilton Peabody was also a newcomer to Canon City in the 1870s. He came from Pueblo on 14 February 1875 to take the position of bookkeeper in the Clelland Grocery and Merchandise Store. Unlike the Clellands, who were recent arrivals in America, he was an eighth-generation American of distinguished New England lineage. A Vermonter by birth, he had migrated to Pueblo in 1872 with other members of his family, including his father and mother, Calvin and Susan Peabody.[7] The twenty-three-year-old James H. Peabody was tall and handsome—ideally cast for the role of the villian in a Victorian melodrama. However, he failed to display any of the characteristics of one and quickly earned the reputation of being a hard-working, efficient, business man, who gained a partnership in the firm of Clelland and Peabody. And, instead of fleeing during the night with the farmer's daughter, he married the boss's daughter on 19 March 1878.[8] The wedding was held in the home of the bride's parents at 403 River Street. Mr. and Mrs.

[3] *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, pp. 650, 653.

[4] *The Legislative Manual of the State of Colorado* (Denver: Thomas B. Corbett, Denver Times Publishing Co., 1877), p. 329; R. G. Dill, *The Political Campaigns of Colorado* (Denver: Arapahoe Publishing Co., 1895), pp. 27-28.

[5] Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1891), 3:388-99; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 1 July 1871; *Denver Times*, 21 September 1902.

[6] Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver, with Outlines of the Earlier History of the Rocky Mountain Country* (Denver: Denver Times, 1901), pp. 761-63.

[7] C. M. Endicott, *Genealogy of the Peabody Family* (Salem, Mass.: J. H. Peabody, 1895), Ranger Rogers papers.

[8] *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, p. 669; Colorado, Fremont County, Canon City, Marriage Records, Book 14, entry 5706, p. 57.

James Hamilton Peabody left immediately after their marriage for a four-week trip to the East. To complete the story, for a wedding present Clelland gave the couple a charming, small stone house with a picket fence located at 202 Macon Avenue—the dream house of every bride.[9] A local newspaper in the journalistic idiom of the period commented: "Miss Clelland is a young lady of brilliant attainments, while Mr. Peabody is well and favorably known throughout the State as a young man of excellent business qualifications, and their many friends, we know, will join us in wishing them a safe and pleasant voyage over the sea of life."[10]

The James Peabody family was doing well "over the sea of life" when the Republican Party of Colorado nominated

Mr. and Mrs. James H. Peabody with Jessie Anne, Anne Bayne Clelland, Cora May, and James Clelland, Jr.

Governor Peabody and his Republican administration were under constant stress concerning the activities of the Western Federation of Miners in the state.

Peabody for governor in the fall of 1902. He was serving his second term as mayor of Canon City and was also president of the First National Bank.[11] They now had three children: James Clelland Peabody, Cora May, and Jessie Anne, and were living, since the death of James Clelland on 17 February 1892, in the large, red brick Clelland residence at 403 River Street.[12]

To an alert and curious newspaper reporter pursuing a whiff of gossip, history owes a more colorful characterization of the governor-elect of 1902 and his family than those found in the writings of some well-known Colorado biographers:

> I went to Canon City to learn how Peabody was regarded by his home people and although I talked with all kinds and asked all kinds of questions, I could learn nothing to the man's discredit. . . .
>
> "Who is this Jim Peabody?" Get the answer to the question and you have the campaign arguments of the Republican party in a nutshell. "Jim" Peabody is what Colorado has made him—a warm-blooded Western man. . . . There is a good deal of boy in the face yet. . . . Youth the perennial youth of a man whose heart is clean, to whom life means the pursuit of happiness, not the accumulation of substance, shows in the face, in the erect, muscular figure, and in the alert, accurate motions. . . .

[9] *Denver Tribune*, 21 March 1878.

[10] *Canon City Avalanche*, (?) March 1878, Ranger Rogers papers.

[11] James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen, eds., *History of Colorado*, 5 vols. (Denver: Linderman Co., 1927), 5:415-16.

[12] James Clelland Peabody, born 4 July 1882, died 14 March 1963; Cora May Peabody (Mrs. James Grafton Rogers), born 12 March 1884, died 9 October 1969; Jessie Anne Peabody (Mrs. Cuthbert Powell Stearns), born 28 March 1886, died 26 February 1968 (Endicott, *Genealogy of the Peabody Family*; *Denver Post*, 15 March 1963, 10 October 1969, 28 February 1968.)

"A man's conscience is the best collateral," is a saying of Peabody's which I heard repeated in Canon City. . . . There are two kinds of bankers—bankers that serve their community and bankers that make the community serve them. It is the first kind of a banker that describes Peabody. . . .

There are Democrats in Canon City and I found one of them, a young man who couldn't see much in Peabody. "He just came here early and growed up with the town," he said. "He's never done nothing that I heard of."

"Is he good to his family?" I asked.

"He'd be a damm fool if he wasn't," said the unenthusiast; "got the nicest wife and family in the county." . . .

"When Peabody is not banking, what does he do?" I asked a close friend.

"He goes home and courts his wife," said the friend.

"Jim" Peabody clings to the illusions of his youth. Twenty-four years ago he thought there was only one woman in the world, and he thinks so still. The love of his young manhood blossoms ever fresh. People in Canon City say the warmth in his manners, the kindly gleam in his eyes, his love for all mankind, is just the lover's rose colored spectacles grown into a habit. . . .

Denver has grown accustomed to having a beautiful, and gracious woman at the head of the governor's household, and Mrs. Peabody will strengthen the custom. She was the prettiest girl in Wolfe Hall when she married, so they say. She has grown old no faster than her husband, and he has hardly grown old at all. Mrs. Peabody's eyes are blue [brown], her complexion is clear and softly tinted like a girl's, her hair is light brown [auburn], she is tall and stately, light and springy in step, soft voiced—her photograph tells the rest.[13]

The inauguration ceremonies installing James Hamilton Peabody as the thirteenth state governor on 13 January 1903 have been described as a "royal" pageant. Since the Republicans had been out of office for the past three administrations, they were jubilant. Though the state coffers were still depleted from the money crisis of 1893, the Inauguration Committee of 1903 apparently decided to ignore it. The pageant started in the morning with a grand parade. "Whoops!" yelled a small boy. "It's on!" The inaugural ceremony was enlivened by a display of brass bands, flags, colorful military uniforms, electric displays, and fireworks. According to the gossip columnist Polly Pry: "Governor Peabody was a symphony in black, decorated in his favorite flower, a red carnation. He read his address in a clear, pleasant voice and while he may be 'no orator,' he certainly is an agreeable gentleman." At the inaugural ball, the first and last to be held in the Colorado State Capitol, the stairways from floor to

[13] Clarence A. Lyman, "'Jim' Peabody's Career," *Denver Times*, 21 September 1902.

floor were garlanded with fresh flowers and "Dancing 'Neath the Dome" continued throughout the evening. The program called for the grand march to be led by Governor Peabody and Mrs. James Bradley Orman, wife of the outgoing governor, but due to the crowds of guests it had to be eliminated from the program. Twenty-five thousand people attended—ten thousand more than expected. Women fainted in the terrific jam![14]

As one newspaper reporter viewed the theatrical affair, Governor and Mrs. Peabody were secondary characters. The new first lady presided over this extravaganza in the detached manner of an interested spectator. "Her gown for the occasion was an exquisite creation of white hand-painted tissue, décolleté, with garniture of dull green velvet. The sleeves were elbow length finished with full flounces of *mousseline*. She wore a necklace with a diamond and emerald pendant."

> The three people at the ball who enjoyed themselves to the fullest extent were the children of the new Governor. Miss Cora Peabody is a most beautiful girl—tall and graceful in figure with the most alert expression in her large brown eyes. She has a quantity of sunny brown hair, which seems to rebel against pins and ribbons. She wore a gown of some filmy, yellow material, the skirt made in rows of shirring with corn color ribbon belt and streamers. She carried a huge bunch of violets, over which she occasionally gazed in rapt admiration at her mother, who stood opposite receiving the guests. Miss Jessie Peabody looked sweet and dainty in a simple girlish gown of white muslin made over a pink lining. She is as fair as her sister is dark and both have the gentle expression on their face which makes their mother so attractive. James Peabody, Jr. wore a broad smile during the entire evening and was aiding the constabulary in directing the crowds which way to go in such a genial interested manner as to make everyone who read his name on the reception badge, declare young Jim to be a "jolly good fellow."[15]

The former residence of Dr. Charles Riddick Whitehead at 1128 Grant Street served as the Executive Mansion during the Peabody administration.[16] Mrs. Peabody immediately, on assuming her position as first lady, announced that she would continue the customary Monday "at home" for her friends and official guests but would discontinue the custom of calling altogether, as the many official and social demands on the time of the governor's wife made it impossible to return *all* of the

[14] *Denver Post*, 13 January 1903; *Denver Times*, 13 January 1903; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 13 January 1903.

[15] *Denver Times*, 14 January 1903.

[16] Ibid., 13 January 1903.

Governor Peabody and Jessie Anne in 1904 at the Executive Mansion, 1128 Grant Street, with the officers of the Colorado National Guard.

calls. The Monday "at home" custom in the Executive Mansion under Mrs. Orman had become very elaborate to the point of causing some criticism among the social elite of Denver. During Mrs. Peabody's years as first lady, however, the keynote changed from ostentatiousness to simplicity.[17] A perusal of the newspapers of the day would indicate that official entertaining was kept at a minimum, as was tactlessly commented upon by the already quoted gossip columnist, Polly Pry:

> At last the Governor and his wife are going to entertain [October 1903]. Arriving in Denver last November [November 1902], Mrs. Peabody was of course, the center of attraction at numberless smart functions. Aside from her "at home" afternoons she did no entertaining. The legislature convened, adjourned, and convened a second time with never a party at the executive mansion.
>
> Now when all is quiet along the Potomac invitations have been issued by Governor and Mrs. Peabody for a huge reception on the first of October. Mrs. Peabody is a delightful woman with an independence which is altogether startling in one of her placid and conventional disposition.[18]

[17] Newspaper clipping, Ranger Rogers papers.

[18] *"Polly Pry"* [Denver] 1 (3 October 1903):5; 1 (26 September 1903):4.

Miss Cora Peabody, the eldest daughter who had graduated from Miss Wolcott's school in June 1903, was now at home and assisted her mother at most social affairs at the Executive Mansion as well as serving as her mother's official representative at social and civic affairs when her mother was unable to attend.[19]

A custom had been established since the third Routt administration (1891-93), when Colorado had granted the vote to women, for the newspapers to interview the first ladies to ascertain their views on the rights and the duties of women and on current political and social issues. A month after Mrs. Peabody had become first lady, she was so interrogated:

> It is by no means an easy thing to step into a vacant place that has been well filled, and challenge comparison with a woman predecessor. But this Mrs. Peabody has been proving every day her ability to do.
>
> Briefly described, she might be termed a typical American matron, prepossessing in appearance, dressed simply, but in charming taste, intelligent, affable, gracious, and courteous to all. She has made a most favorable impression upon all who have been so fortunate as to make her acquaintance. . . .
>
> "Did you vote, Mrs. Peabody?" was the first question propounded. . . .
>
> "Oh, yes," she replied. "I voted at the first election after the women of Colorado received the franchise and I have never missed an election since. . . . I believe very thoroughly that it is every woman's duty to vote in the interest of good government that we may have good laws and their wise administration. . . . Women realize that good government is to be had only by the united work of good citizens; and that, in Colorado, means women as well as men.". . .
>
> "What is your opinion of placing women on school boards, and in school offices—such as the county and state superintendent of public instruction?"
>
> "It is most fitting and proper," she replied, earnestly. . . . "But I make this stipulation, that the candidate must be fitted for the place by nature, so far as it is possible, and by thorough training, at all events.". . .
>
> "And now about the clubs?"
>
> "I am a firm believer in the usefulness of women's clubs, also," she replied, "but of course not to the injury of the home. . . . Where club work is not carried to excess it is a benefit in every way. First of all it is broadening; it inculcates a love for study, for books, for art, and particularly does it accomplish this for those who, for one cause and another, have been deprived of educational advantages early in life. Then, the club has a tendency to take women out of themselves—for it is one effect of too close seclusion at home to make them a little

[19] Cora May Peabody christened the *Colorado*, a cruiser, in Philadelphia on 25 April 1903. In October 1908 at San Francisco she made the presentation of the 397-piece silver service Colorado gave its ship (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28, 29 April 1903; *San Francisco Evening Globe*, 7 October 1908; "Scrapbook," pp. 31, 123, 39, Ranger Rogers papers).

> intolerant and self-centered. Where a club member is only one of several hundred, she learns to respect the opinions and prejudices of others—to agree to disagree, as we say, and I think it is a wholly beneficial thing—this union of women in a common cause, who differ otherwise religiously and politically. They stand, in the club, on a common footing, one woman's opinion being just as good as another's and no better; all, alike, being entitled to the same consideration. In my home town—Canon City—we had a number of clubs, and I know how much they did for women there, furnishing them with new ideas, relieving the monotony of existence, and giving them much to think of—brightening the routine of daily life. Yes, I am a thorough believer in clubs, but, as I have said, not to the detriment of the home, which, however, I do not think is in any danger from this counter attraction. The love of husband and children is too strongly implanted in a woman's nature. Where there seems to be exceptional cases, the club is only an excuse—it is not the cause—of a woman's neglect of what might be called her natural duties."[20]

However sincerely and firmly Mrs. Peabody believed and advocated the ideas revealed in her answers to the questions of the newspaper writer, the facts do not support that, other than conscientiously exercising an intelligent franchise, she was ever in active politics; and, she discriminately chose and limited her civic and club memberships. Colorado historians speak of the Peabody administration as one of the most turbulent in the history of Colorado. Likewise, Mrs. Peabody, in retrospect, said that she was hostess of the gubernatorial mansion in a very troubled and unsettled time. These references are to the conflicts between unorganized and organized labor at the Cripple Creek, Clear Creek, Telluride, and the southern coal fields in Las Animas County. This trouble was brewing in 1901 and reached a climax in June 1904 with the intervention, at the governor's request, of the Colorado National Guard.[21] In the following months, and even years, the lives of the governor and his family were in constant danger from revenge-seeking laborers and their leaders. Understandably, Mrs. Peabody's mind was occupied with the problems of her husband and not with local organizations. She did, however, accept the presidency of the City Improvement Society.[22]

The spirit engendered by these strikes carried over into the state elections of 1904. Governor Peabody was renominated by

[20] Mary H. Krout, "Mrs. Peabody," *Denver Times*, 6 February 1903.

[21] Jerome C. Smiley, *Semi-Centennial History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 749-51.

[22] *Denver Times*, 13 March 1903.

the Republican Party but was defeated by his Democratic opponent, Alva Adams, who was seeking a third term as governor and was backed by the labor vote. Peabody contested the election. The contested proceedings resulted in the seating of Peabody with the stipulation that he would resign in favor of the Republican lieutenant-governor, Jesse F. McDonald. This unique and questionable settling of a political election was a bitter ending to the Peabody governorship.[23]

After the election issue was settled, the Peabody's returned to their Canon City home, he the poorer in health and in finances. Anne Clelland had remained in the family home while they were in Denver, and she continued to live with them until her death on 20 November 1916 at the age of ninety.[24] Peabody pursued his already established business interests, and they both continued their activities in Christ Episcopal Church, where they were confirmed members and where Governor Peabody was a vestryman and a lay leader.[25] Mrs. Peabody did not lack for interests outside of the home. She was for many years a director in the Library Association, which obtained the handsome city library building given by the Carnegie Foundation.[26] Since she had arrived in Colorado at the age of five in 1865, she was eligible for membership in the Territorial Daughters of Colorado, and the records of the organization show that she was an officer for the years 1916 through 1924.[27]

Special note should be given to Mrs. Peabody's favorite club—the Dickens Club of Canon City—and her contribution to the organization. She was one of the dozen or more charter members who organized the club on 8 February 1892. The Dickens Clubs are an international group with an official publication: the *Dickensian*. The Canon City club was the first one organized in the United States, and from the time of its founding until its disbandment in 1933, Frances Clelland Peabody was "poetess laureate."[28] When Alfred Tennyson Dickens, son of Charles Dickens, visited Denver, the Denver Women's Press Club with the Dickens Club of Canon City enter-

[23] Smiley, *Semi-Centennial History of the State of Colorado*, pp. 752-55.

[24] *Canon City Fremont County Leader*, 23 November 1916; *Canon City Record*, 23 November 1916.

[25] James H. Peabody confirmed 15 March 1896; Frances Clelland Peabody confirmed 13 April 1897 (Christ Episcopal Church, Canon City, Colorado to Helen Cannon, 18 September 1973); "License as a Lay Reader," 30 November 1895, Diocese of Colorado, Denver, Ranger Rogers papers.

[26] *Denver Times*, 13 October 1902.

[27] *The Trail*, Sons of Colorado, 9-17 (October 1916-June 1924).

[28] Lorna Rogers Hart, "A Tale of Two Cities: London and Canon," manuscript, 1959, Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.

tained him at a luncheon at the Brown Palace Hotel on 9 December 1911. Mrs. Peabody read an original poem: "Would We Love 'Our Dickens' More?" This was published in the *Denver Rocky Mountain News* and later in the *Dickensian*.[29] An intriguing pastime of lovers of Dickens is to write an ending to his unfinished: *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. Mrs. Peabody's try at this was published in the *Dickensian* and she received the coveted award—a bas-relief of Charles Dickens.[30]

After Governor Peabody's death on 23 November 1917 at the age of sixty-five, the family home (the James Clelland residence) was sold, and Mrs. Peabody used as her Canon City residence a smaller house at 811 Greenwood Street; however, she spent very little time in Canon City, dividing her time between the homes of her two daughters.[31] She died at the age of eighty-five, on 24 April 1945 at Charlottesville, Virginia, at the home of her youngest daughter, Jessie Anne (Mrs. Cuthbert Powell Stearns).[32] The burial services were held at Christ Episcopal Church in Canon City, and she is buried in Greenwood Cemetery in Canon City as is Governor Peabody.[33]

The author of a series of historical portraits dealing with the first ladies of Colorado, all of which appeared in previous issues of THE COLORADO MAGAZINE, *HELEN CANNON, a resident of Arkansas, is a retired professor of anthropology from the University of Colorado.*

[29] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1911; *Dickensian* 13 (January 1917):17-18.
[30] Hart, "A Tale of Two Cities: London and Canon," p. 13.
[31] *Denver Times*, 23 November 1917; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 24 November 1917.
[32] Certificate of Death, file 8137, no. 109, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Richmond, Virginia.
[33] *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 25 April 1945.
[34] Chamber of Commerce, Canon City, Colorado to Cannon, 26 November 1973.