

The First Successful Smelter in Colorado

JESSE D. HALE*

The names and lives of four men are intimately connected with the establishment of the first successful smelting operations in Colorado—Nathaniel P. Hill, Richard Pearce, Henry R. Wolcott, and Hermann Baeger.

Mr. Hill was a Professor of Chemistry in Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island, in the early 1860s and had won the confidence of a group of wealthy manufacturers in that locality by solving some of their chemical problems for them. In 1864 a group of them sent him to Colorado to examine a tract of land in the San Luis Valley with a view to purchase and development. He came to Colorado, crossing the plains by stage coach from the Missouri River to Denver, went south with a party, examined the land in question, and reported unfavorably. Returning to Denver, he met many of the miners from the Gilpin County district, who were always coming to Denver, and he became interested in a problem which they had to offer.

All of the early lode mining from its commencement in the late '50s up to that time had been upon surface or decomposed ores; the gold contents, being free milling, had been treated in stamp mills for several years. As they went deeper the character of the ore changed to sulphides, which were not amenable to stamp mill treatment and the miners were sore pressed as to what to do with the new material encountered. As a result of conferences with the miners, Mr. Hill agreed to take several tons of these ores to Swansea, Wales, and ore from the Bobtail Mine was selected. It was teamed across the plains to the Missouri River, hauled on a steamer down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and from there shipped over to Swansea, and Mr. Hill personally accompanied the shipment. At Swansea this ore was found to be exactly suitable for the process in effect there, that of smelting into matte with a copper base. Mr. Hill watched carefully the whole operation of

*Mr. Hale was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1855. His sister, Alice, married N. P. Hill, then a Professor of Chemistry at Brown University. In 1878 Mr. Hale came to Colorado and for thirty-three years was employed in various positions, up to cashier, by the smelter established by Senator Hill. When the smelter closed he became cashier of the Western Chemical Company at Denver. Mr. Hale lives in Denver today.—Ed.

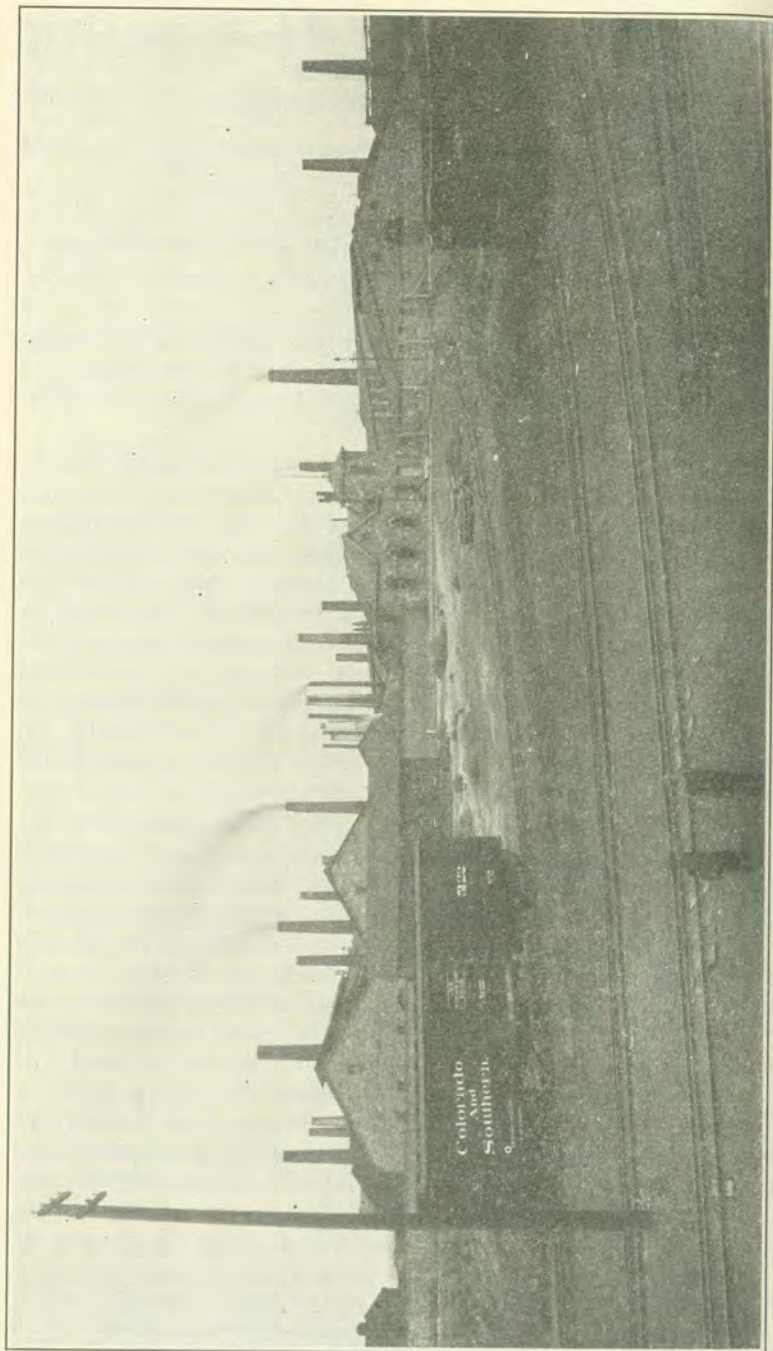
the treatment of these ores and made up his mind that similar processes could be introduced into Colorado.

He presented his plans to the same group of capitalists that had sent him to Colorado, and a company was formed, Mr. Hill being appointed manager, to carry out the proposed plans, under title of Boston and Colorado Smelting Company. The year 1866 was devoted to planning and building the first furnace at Black Hawk, with the assistance of Mr. Baeger, who was a German metallurgist of experience in smelting practice. The first operations of actual smelting were started in 1867, and the first product of smelting the matte had to be shipped to Swansea, Wales, at the great expense of teaming across the plains, railroad, and steamer transportation. The whole question of what to pay the miners for the ores, and the costs of operation, including transportation of the matte, was an entirely new one and had to be threshed out little by little. This first operation was carried on for about five years. Mr. Richard Pearce had then come into the company, with his experience as a miner and smelter of ores in Cornwall, England, and it was largely upon his suggestion that it was determined to introduce the German process then in effect in Swansea for the separation of the silver from the matte. This was put into effect about 1872.

In the meantime, Mr. Wolcott had come into the company, and Park County appearing to be a good field in which to operate, a smelter was built at Alma, which was operated in turn by Mr. Baeger, Mr. Wolcott, and later by Mr. Henry Williams, who was also a metallurgist familiar with the Swansea methods.

After the silver refining was started, this still left the gold as a product to be worked up, and this material, consisting of high copper concentrates, was sent to Boston, where the company had built a small refinery for handling the products, operated by Mr. Baeger. Along about 1875 or '76, Mr. Pearce thought he could improve the method of handling the gold, and he introduced methods at Black Hawk for separating the gold in an easier manner than was done in Boston. The refinery at Boston was then closed and Mr. Baeger's connection with the company ceased.

All of the early smelting was done with wood as fuel, and the furnaces were very small affairs, only smelting eight or ten tons per day. Wood was becoming scarce and more and more expensive, as longer hauls had to be made into the mountains to obtain it, and the Government was threatening suits for the reason that wood choppers may have invaded Government land from time to time. The wood was hauled down the mountains by ox teams to the smelter; the ore was hauled down from the different mines by



ARGO SMELTER (VIEW LOOKING EAST)
Principal buildings, left to right: Refinery, Smelter, Office, Ore House

horses and mules; so the condition of the roads can be imagined, with two sets of hauling going to and fro in all kinds of weather.

Along in 1877 the question of fuel became very urgent and they looked around for a source of coal suitable for smelting operation, which requires a very long flame, and settled upon the coking coals of Trinidad as a solution. A good deal of this coal was hauled to Black Hawk and tried out in the small furnaces with success, after adapting the grates to the new fuel. The problem arose about a change of location of the works, because of the almost prohibitive cost of hauling coal from Trinidad to Denver and then to Black Hawk. Denver was finally selected as the logical location for the new works, where coal from one district could meet all ores from districts which had become tributary to the smelters. When they decided to build in Denver, the smelter at Alma was closed, but the crushing and sampling machinery was left and the place retained as an agency for the sampling and purchasing of ores.

Agencies had also been established at Georgetown for the purchasing of silver ores and also at Boulder. About this time the smelter was also receiving large consignments of ore from Butte, Montana, which at that time had no smelter. Soon after the closing of the smelter at Alma, Mr. Henry Williams was sent, not by the smelting company, but as the representative of Mr. Hill and Mr. Wolcott, to Butte to investigate conditions there. He immediately reported favorably, and a company was organized, consisting of some of the original stockholders with the addition of Mr. Williams, Mr. Henry Hanington and the late Senator Clark of Montana, and a smelter was projected with Mr. Williams as manager. Immediately upon the commencement of operations there, all their product was shipped to Denver for refining.

Mr. Hill, in the meantime, had purchased a tract of land some two miles north of Denver and had made contracts for building the new works, so that actual building operations started in June, 1878. As soon as one of the larger buildings was partly completed and roofed over, ores were diverted from the various shippers to Denver and stored, awaiting the commencement of operations.

The furnaces at Argo, as the new town was called, were naturally built larger than those at Black Hawk and for burning coal exclusively, and from time to time they were enlarged still more. At first all operations were by hand, in the way of ore shoveling; later, mechanical methods were introduced to charge the furnaces by hoppers overhead, and grates were altered to cut off the cold air, which was then introduced under and through the furnaces so that it would be preheated before reaching the grates. The first smelting operation at the new plant was January 1, 1879.

Then the old Black Hawk works, as far as smelting was concerned, were dismantled; but the old crushing and sampling machinery was retained for a purchasing agency only.

With the increased size of the furnaces and the mechanical handling came perhaps the greatest improvement in smelting methods, that of taking the ore from the roasters as it came from them, red hot, and storing it in huge hopper cars, which were finally elevated and charged into hoppers on top of the furnaces; so that the great bulk of the charge was finally put in almost red hot instead of cold, as heretofore. This was a tremendous saving in heat, over the old methods.

All of the original roasting furnaces were operated by hand, that is, the ores were rabbled back and forth on the hearths to roast out the larger portion of the sulphur. Mr. Pearce finally introduced the circular furnace with an upright shaft in the center and arms spreading out, the ore resting upon a circular bed on the outer side of the furnace. Later on, the McDougall type of roasting furnace was introduced, which had five or six circular hearths one above the other, with arms stirring the ore upon each floor in a similar way to Mr. Pearce's first designed furnace.

We have mentioned refining the gold and silver, which was shipped to mints or wherever there was a demand. The residual product after the extraction of these metals was copper in the form of an oxide. This was sometimes sent to smelters in the East to make metallic copper, and in later years it was sold in large quantities to the Standard Oil Co. to be used in refining its bad smelling oils produced in Ohio and Indiana.

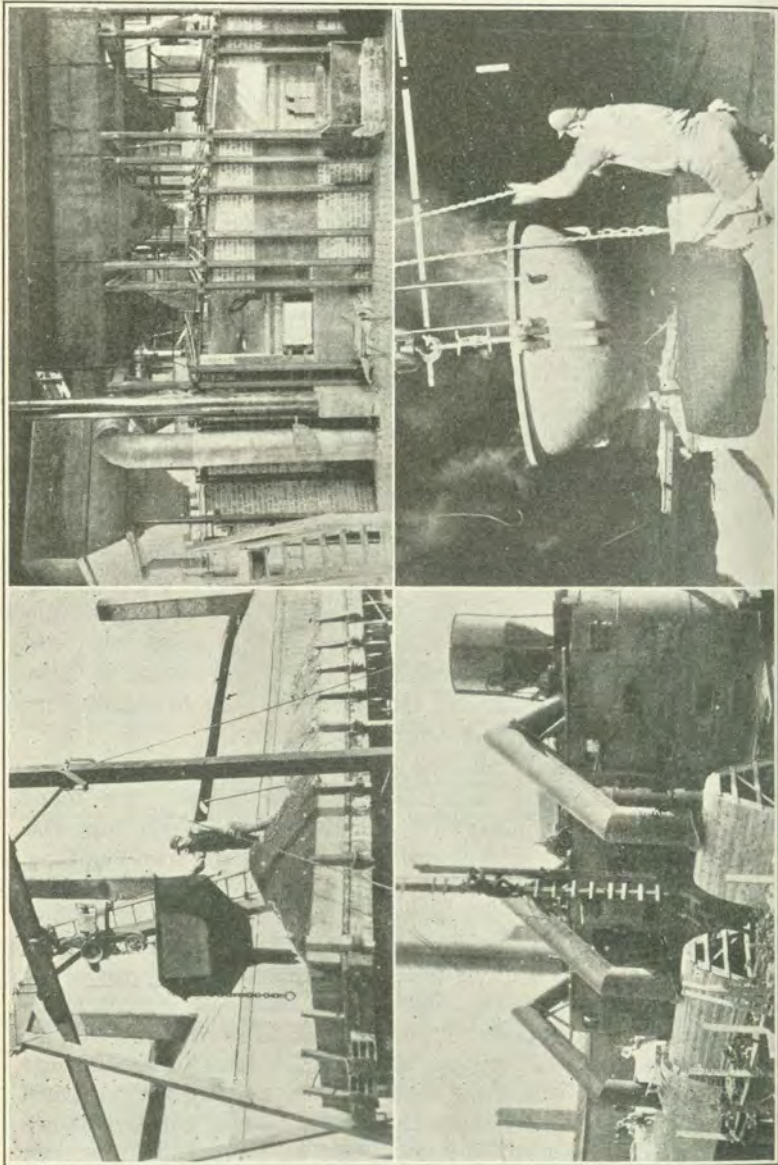
During the '80s and '90s the company drew ores from every western state and territory, and also from Old Mexico. The management, being very conservative, never wished to go into the mining game and never wished either to go into the lead smelting end of the game. Therefore they were prohibited, by their own decisions, from enlarging operations as they could have done when Leadville was discovered and was producing such enormous quantities of lead ores. When the great combination of copper properties was made, through the organization of the Anaconda Company in Butte, that branch of our smelter in Butte was sold to them, together with the mines; and as the larger part of our copper supplies had come from that camp all these years, we were shut off in our operations just that much. Also, smelters were started in Arizona and Utah, and supplies from those districts were largely cut off.

Mr. Hill went to the United States Senate in the early '80s, which left the actual operations in charge of Mr. Pearce and Mr. Wolcott. Then Wolcott retired in the late '80s, and operations

were largely in the hands of Mr. Pearce and his son Harold, who came into the company in the early '90s, and Crawford Hill, who succeeded in his father's capacity after Senator Hill's death in 1900.

A great fire in 1906 totally destroyed the refinery at Argo, and from that time operations were confined strictly to smelting into matte, which was sent to Omaha for final refining. The increasing difficulty in obtaining local copper ores which were absolutely necessary to the running of the smelter was the real reason for finally closing the works in 1910.

Associated with the company in its earliest days, as their chemist, was Adolph Von Schultz, who came to Denver with the company and was later succeeded by Albert H. Low. Some of the representative agents of the company at various sampling works were C. A. Montross at Alma, F. G. Nagle and C. W. Goodale at Black Hawk, G. A. Duncan at Georgetown, and Mr. Ed. Williams at Boulder. The company had one of the most loyal sets of men who ever worked for a corporation. Two of them, Dennis Hartford and A. Soderstrom, who worked for the company in its original silver refinery at Black Hawk, were still alive in January, 1936. Mr. Pearce had brought with him to the organization a group of men who had worked with him in Swansea and also in Cornwall, and these men were with the company to the end, excepting some who had died in the harness.



VIEWS AT ARGO SMELTER, 1906
Upper left, Slag being dumped into car. Upper right, Columbia furnace.
Lower left, Making McDougall fines. Lower right, Hoisting pot of melted slag.

Letters from Auraria, 1858-59*

WILLIAM MCKIMENS

[Mr. McKimens was a member of the famous William Green Russell party that came to prospect the Colorado region in the summer of 1858. It was news of the discoveries made by this party that inaugurated the great Pike's Peak gold rush. From Mr. George R. McKimens of Mohler, Oregon, a nephew of the writer of the letters, comes the biographical data here presented.

William McKimens, son of William and Margaret Zimmerman McKimens, was born in Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, October 25, 1835. After spending his boyhood on his father's farm, he moved to Illinois in 1853 and farmed near Rock Island until 1856, when he moved to Kansas. In the spring of 1858 he joined the Russell prospecting party.

*These letters were published in the *Leavenworth Times* of December 18, 1858, and February 5, 1859, respectively. They were found by Mr. Elmer R. Burkey, historical research worker for the State Historical Society of Colorado, who is searching the Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri newspapers of 1858 and 1859 for data on the Pike's Peak Gold Rush. Being a contemporary account, it is one of the most important records extant of the Russell party's activity. The explanatory notes accompanying this article were prepared by the editor of this magazine.—Ed.

McKimens followed mining until 1860, when he took up a ranch on the South Platte, a short distance below Denver. He farmed here until 1864, then he joined the gold rush to Montana. After arriving in Virginia City he crossed over to the Madison



WILLIAM MCKIMENS

River valley and again deserted mining for farming. Here he spent the rest of his life as farmer and stockman. He died at Virginia City April 25, 1890.]

South Platte Gold Mines, Auraria City, Nov. 11, 1858.

Editor of the Times:

On the 18th of May, 1858, your humble servant, in company with three others took his departure from Leavenworth for this point. Having arrived in Pottowatomie county, K. T., we joined a company of miners from the State of Georgia. We then proceeded on our way, and on the second of June were joined by fifty Cherokee Indians, and a few white men, one of whom was Mr. Elmore King.

We then proceeded on our way, and were joined by a company of twenty-seven Missourians on the 22nd of June, and arrived at the South Platte the following day. Crossing said river we proceeded to our particular point of destination, which was seven miles north of said river, on the creek known as Ralston Creek,¹ where a Mr. Beck, a Cherokee Indian, said he had panned \$5 worth of the gold dust to a pan full of gravel. This was done, or rather said to be done, in the spring of 1850.

But I think Mr. Beck was somewhat mistaken in regard to the amount; as, after prospecting until the 6th of July, our best panning

¹Ralston Creek was so named for Ralston, a member of a California-bound Cherokee party that found gold on this stream in June, 1850. See the diary of the expedition in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, 190.

amounted to about one cent's worth of the dust to the pan full of gravel; at which, the majority of our company (104 men in all), becoming disheartened, determined to return to their homes.

Recrossing the Platte, we camped on its southern bank, and on the morning of the 7th of July, our home-bound companions took their departure, leaving a small company of thirteen² to hunt after the mines—the mines that would pay to work.

But leaving our apostate men, I will give you a short history of our mining. Thirteen of us moving up the river, on the South Platte, towards the mountains, Mr. Green Russell, an experienced miner, discovered a deposit, eight miles above where Cherry Creek empties into the Platte. This was the first mine that would pay to work in any shape, or with any kind of implements.

We worked this mine some eight or ten days, with small cradles, realizing from five to eight dollars per day. At the end of this time, the mine not paying as well as we could wish, we set out on another prospecting tour, and discovered another deposit richer than the first; this we worked some two weeks, realizing from four to sixteen and a half dollars per day to the hand. Mr. Russell panned one pan full of gravel taken from the deposit, that yielded \$3.45. At the end of said time, this mine not paying more than three or four dollars per day, we set out on another prospecting tour, and discovered another deposit rather more extensive, that yielded, on an average, the same as the two former.

These deposits were about four miles apart. Having worked this mine some eight or ten days, we set out to prospect the Platte as far as the snow range in the Rocky Mountains. We continued up said river, about eighty miles, and finding only fine drift gold, and our provisions being exhausted, we were obliged to return to camp.

Here we found an old mountaineer by the name of Smith³, who had not seen any white men for about six weeks. We greeted him with exceeding great joy. After recruiting ourselves for a few days, we set out on another prospecting tour, which was to include Cherry Creek, Sand Creek and their tributaries, embracing a district about forty miles square, here our prospects amounted to five cents per pan of gravel—being better on the former than on the latter.

We also prospected the Fountains Queboat [Fontaine qui Bouille, or Fountain Creek] and in the vicinity of Pike's Peak—in this quarter where Mr. King reports so much gold—we could not get what a miner calls a good color. After perambulating around in this part for some time, we returned to the crossing of the Platte; from thence we determined to go north and prospect the Black Hills, Medicine Bow Mountains and the North Platte, distant about two hundred miles from the crossing of the South Platte.

Leaving the crossing about the 1st of September, we prospected on our way, finding drift gold in all the creeks, averaging from one cent's worth of dust to the pan of gravel. When within fifteen miles of the North Platte, we were visited by a violent snow storm, which induced us to return to the South Platte to spend the winter.

When we arrived at the crossing we were surprised to find some fifty men,⁴ who having heard of our discoveries, came up to the mines. They having prospected Fontaine Quiboat, and in the vicinity of Pike's Peak, and not finding any gold, determined to prospect the northern part of New Mexico, having heard of some mines in that country, but after prospecting for some time and not discovering anything more,

²The other twelve men were: W. G. Russell, J. O. Russell, L. J. Russell, Solomon Roe, Samuel Bates, R. J. Pierce, J. H. Pierce, W. A. McFadden, Luke Tierney, J. T. Masterson, Theodore Herring, and Valerius V. Young.—J. H. Pierce, "The First Prospecting of Colorado," in *The Trail*, Volume VII, No. 5.

³John S. Smith, early fur trader and Indian interpreter. He had married a Cheyenne woman.

⁴The Lawrence Party. See an account of their journey in "The Voorhees Diary of the Lawrence Party's Trip to Pike's Peak, 1858," in *Colorado Magazine*, XII, 41-54.

and having heard that we were doing well, they determined to come to the Platte.

* * * * *

I am satisfied that an industrious man can make from \$2½ to \$15 per day, according to the richness of his claim, and the chance of getting water on the same. Mining operations are suspended at present and will be until Spring. There will be from 500 to 1000 men here this winter, all ready to commence mining in the spring.

* * * * *

There has been about 1500 pwts. taken out of these mines up to this time, and one small company has taken out at least two-thirds of that amount. If the source of this gold is discovered it may pay well—but that is all conjecture and supposition.

I remit you in this, a small specimen of dust which I have taken from these mines. Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory, distant about two hundred miles, is our present office, as we will have a private express to that point this winter.

* * * * *

Yours truly, WM. McKIMENS.

Auraria City, South Platte, Jan. 10, 1859.

Dear Times:—The emigration to this country has been very great considering the inclemency of the weather on the plains, but it has almost ceased with the exception of a few stragglers.

The latest arrivals are from Taylor County, Iowa; they represent the gold excitement in Iowa and Nebraska as intense, exceeding anything of the kind ever known in that section of the country.

Our population on the Platte and tributaries, exceed 1000 men. I believe five white women is all we can boast of at present, but I think in the space of one short year, we can count them by tens of thousands. We have preaching here semi-monthly, and the morality of our town is improving rapidly. It has never been my good fortune to be in a better disposed community. I hope our spring emigration may compare favorably with the present one.

The people generally are in high spirits, hoping to realize their golden expectations early in the spring. There are a few miners at work, realizing from \$6 to \$8 per day.—They are laboring under many disadvantages, using small cradles and carrying the gravel in baskets from fifty to one hundred yards to water. These mines are on or near the Platte, three miles below the mouth of Cherry Creek.

The mining operations in the spring will be mostly confined to Cherry Creek and tributaries, and on the divide between the Platte and Cherry Creek.

(The Times came to hand on the 8th inst., receive my thanks for the same.) The water on the divide will be rather scarce by the 1st of July, and I would advise persons coming here to start early in the spring, the 1st of April, at furthest, and I also would advise all persons coming from the East or South to outfit at Leavenworth City, as that is the cheapest and best point on the Missouri river above St. Louis, to get an outfit.

As to the route to this point, should advise emigrants leaving Leavenworth City to follow the Military road to Fort Riley; from thence there are several routes—one route is to cross the Kansas river at Fort Riley and follow the divide between Clarke's and Lyon's creek to the Santa Fe road, from thence up the Big Arkansas—this would be the most congenial route early in the spring—but the shortest and most direct route would be from Fort Riley up either the Republican, Solomon's or Smoky Hill Forks of the Kansas river. The route up Solomon's Fork would be the shortest, and a good road, but has not been traveled much yet. By this route the emigrant would strike Cherry Creek twenty-five miles from the mouth.

The route up the Republican would probably be fifty or one hundred miles further than by Solomon's, but I think it will be the route most traveled later in the spring. Upon reaching the headwaters of the Republican, would be a short distance from the South Platte, and from thence up to Auraria, at the mouth of Cherry Creek, adjacent to the mines. The Valley lands in this country will produce abundantly. I allude to vegetables. The soil is of a black loamy nature, well adapted for growing wheat, corn, etc. Timber is plentiful. Cottonwood on the streams and pine on the mountains.

* * * * *

Auraria contains two hundred houses, and there will be two hundred more erected by spring. The weather has been most favorable up to this date, not impeding us to build or to do any other work that we considered requisite, except mining, as the water was congealed, there was nothing of importance transpired lately. Saunder & Co's. express leave Auraria for Laramie this morning.

Yours truly, WM. McKEMENS.

The Disputed International Boundary in Colorado, 1803-1819

ELEANOR L. RICHIE*

Formal acceptance in 1819 of the Arkansas River in Colorado as the boundary between the territory of Spain and that of the United States was but tardy recognition of a *de facto* frontier which had been generally observed by Americans and Spaniards in the borderlands ever since the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. The Arkansas was a compromise line behind which Americans usually found safety and beyond which the Spaniards made only sporadic defensive expeditions. The natural barrier of the Sangre de Cristo Range and mountainous spurs projecting down to the settlements afforded a second line of defense for the Spaniards. Beyond the mountains arrest was inevitable. The area between the New Mexico settlements and the Arkansas was traversed by American traders and explorers only at constant risk of running into Spanish reconnoitering parties.

Such men as Jean Baptiste Lalande, James Pursley (or Purcell), Jacques d'Eglise, Laurent Durocher, Chalvert (Jarvet, Charvet, and Jarbet in Spanish records) and some ten other adventurers of French names who first disturbed the isolation of New Mexico between 1804 and 1809, apparently gained the settlements before they learned the rigidity of Spain's anti-foreign regulations. Lalande arrived in the vicinity of Taos and then secured guides to that town. Pursley and some Padouca and Kiowa

*Miss Richie wrote her Master's thesis at Denver University on "Spanish Relations with the Yuta Indians, 1680-1822." Her present article may profitably be read in conjunction with one on the exploration and political background of the Spanish-American Boundary line in Colorado, which she contributed to the *Colorado Magazine* of July, 1933.—Ed.

Indians with whom he was traveling were driven into the mountains of Colorado by the Sioux. They traveled overland to the headwaters of the Platte and from there Pursley went to Santa Fe to seek trade privileges for the band. As he told Pike, he believed the Platte to be within American territory and therefore kept secret from the Spaniards his discovery of gold nuggets on that river. These pioneer traders soon learned that New Mexico was a land from which there was no returning and that the Spanish officials were vigilant in their administration of the province as far as the Arkansas. Intruders were forced to repent their daring in prison, practice their trades in New Mexico, and even to contribute their scouting skill to the success of border patrols against Americans. Jarvet became one of New Mexico's most trusted agents and was sent on distant reconnaissances. Lalande and Durocher were called upon for information and served in the Indian country.¹

Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike and his small party started on the western expedition of 1806 under instructions to visit certain Indian tribes in the vicinities of the Arkansas and Red Rivers and also to determine the direction, extent and navigation of those two streams.² Such instructions were wholly in keeping with the United States' claim to the whole Mississippi drainage basin, but they were entirely at variance with Spain's concept of New Mexico and contrary to the administrative practices of Spanish officials. It so happened that Pike and his men were taken into custody west of the Sangre de Cristo Range on the headwaters of the Rio Grande del Norte, in San Luis Valley. Inasmuch as the United States conceded the Rio del Norte to be in Spanish territory and Pike immediately hauled down his flag upon being told the location of his fort, the scene of his arrest is not indicative of the real border situation. As a matter of fact, only the inadequacies of early communication and the hazards of inexact timing of events on so wide a frontier prevented Facundo Melgares from confronting the handful of Americans with a force worthy of Spain's pride, at the river the United States ultimately accepted as New Mexico's boundary. Indeed Pike noted signs of encampment by a great party of mounted men, each with a remount, who had searched under Melgares' leadership for the Americans. They had gone down the Canadian and northeast to the Pawnee villages north of the Great Bend of the Arkansas, turned westward to the mountains, skirted the foothills and so returned to Santa Fe, missing Pike by

¹Consult A. P. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XVI; H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*; Z. M. Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, (Lawrence Edition); and H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. Bancroft discusses an earlier party of nine Frenchmen who went to New Mexico about 1740, *ibid.*, 243.

²Z. M. Pike, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xvii, letter of Wilkinson to Pike, June 24, 1806.

about a month. Imagine the scene when Melgares held council with the gathered Comanche tribes in the vicinity of the Red River. As he described the meeting to Pike, five hundred dragoons, all on white horses, led by Melgares and two officers on black mounts, sallied out on the plain to be received by fifteen hundred colorfully robed savages. Pike believed that the wanderings of the Comanche (Ietan) nation were entirely within United States territory, but the savages had long recognized Spanish authority there.³

With the military expedition of Pike standing as a warning of the United States government's interest in southwestern Louisiana, Spanish officials became increasingly alert for signs of danger at the northern border. Indian activities were watched and rumors of stray Americans were investigated immediately. A letter of Governor Joaquin del Real Alencaster, written November 20, 1808, informed Salcedo, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, that Spaniards had been received with gunfire in the Indian country northeast of New Mexico. The governor pointed out that Americans had had ample time to distribute gifts and make friends with the various tribes. His conclusions in that regard were substantiated by investigations made by Jarvet and Vial and by the statements of Lalande, Durocher and other foreigners who had recently arrived in the province. Solicitation of certain Indian nations seemed evident and the Americans appeared to be well supplied with firearms and goods for trading purposes. Alencaster urged counter-trading expeditions from New Mexico to offset the American influence.⁴

On March 27, 1810, this governor reported the details of an expedition of forty men led by Don Esteban Garcia and an interpreter. The party went out to run down a rumor, brought in from a Spanish hunting party on the Huerfano River, that there were five strangers at the headwaters of the Arkansas (Napestl). Indians along the Arkansas who were questioned reported that the visitors were otter (beaver) hunters and that they had gone away upon hearing of the advancing Spanish party. In order to make sure that the invaders had left, however, two trading parties of one hundred each were soon sent out from La Canada and Taos. The two groups traveled together to the Arkansas, but from there one party went to the Platte (Chato) and the other visited the Comanches. Cuampes and Kiowas on the Platte verified the earlier report on the five hunters.⁵

A soldier, Jose Orione, and three skilled Indians were sent out in September, 1810, to ascertain the truth of a report that a large

³*Ibid.*, p. 202. H. M. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, 494-495.

⁴Letter, J. R. Alencaster to Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, November 20, 1808, Spanish Archives at Santa Fe; photostatic copy at Colorado State Historical Society, Denver, Colo.

⁵Letter, Alencaster to Salcedo, March 27, 1810, Spanish Archives at Santa Fe; photostatic copy at Colorado State Historical Society, Denver, Colo.

party of Americans was making a stronghold at the confluence of the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek (Rio Almagre). As Ori- one found no sign of Americans at the place mentioned he investi- gated other points. Falling in with a party of settlers whom he encountered, he visited the Indians on the Platte and learned that at different times small parties of five, seven, nine and ten Ameri- cans came to trade with the tribes but that they never passed be- yond the Platte. This danger in the Arkansas region seemed so seri- ous to Governor Alencaster that he sent Ori- one's report to the Commandant General by a special detail of soldiers.⁶

Had the McKnight, Baird and Chambers party which set out for Santa Fe from St. Louis in 1811 known how little the Hidalgo Revolution affected New Mexico and how greatly the officials there concerned themselves over innocent trading activities on the part of Americans, they might not have sought the Santa Fe market. As it was, their erroneous faith in the breaking down of trade barriers by the Mexican revolt resulted in their being imprisoned as spies for ten years, until another revolution brought them freedom.

Despite increasing agitation for independence in Mexico dur- ing the second decade of the nineteenth century, the tie between New Mexico and Spain was more direct then than it had ever been before. Representation in the Spanish cortes was accorded New Mexico by the decree of February 14, 1810, establishing the *junta central de las Espanas*, and Pedro Bautista Pino, an influential native-born New Mexican, was chosen as delegate. Although their deputy had to pay the expense of his long trip to Spain via Mex- ico, the New Mexicans, always adaptable in their loyalties, donated \$9,000 to the cause of Ferdinand VII. Pino's report to the cortes in 1812 reveals him as an enthusiastic admirer of New Mexico, whose statements were directed toward furthering the welfare of his land and its people in every way possible. Realizing that for- eign aggression would be a very effective argument for increased contributions to the support of New Mexico, Don Pedro magnified the danger of an American-Indian alliance. Americans, so he said, had noted Spain's neglect of his province and had tried to attract the New Mexicans into annexing themselves to Louisiana, offering liberal and protecting laws and advantageous commerce as induce- ments. Secondly, the Americans had tried with much success to convince the Indians that the Spaniards were not invincible and that with the aid of American weapons they could conquer New Mexico. In this connection Pino related that in 1811 Jose Rafael Sarracino made an expedition to the Yuta country to investigate reports of Spaniards dwelling in the far northwest, and told how

⁶Letter, Alencaster to Salcedo, October 16, 1810, Spanish Archives at Santa Fe; photostatic copy at Colorado State Historical Society, Denver, Colo.

after a journey of three months he had come to natives supplied with knives and other implements of European manufacture. A notation on Pino's report also indicates the Spaniards believed that the Americans had established gun stations among the Jumanas and Caguas (Kiowas). The New Mexican asked the cortes for a re- organization of the military service, including payment of citizens doing duty as soldiers, and the transfer of five presidios to more northern situations such as El Paso, Rio de Pecos, Socorro and Taos.⁷

Spanish fears that Americans were threading the frontier regions were not unfounded. Ezekiel Williams and a small party were attacked by Indians in the mountains near the Arkansas in 1811. Williams and two companions were forced to take refuge with the Arapahoes, but the next summer Williams succeeded in boating down the Arkansas and Canadian to Boone's Lick. Fur- thermore, he returned west in 1814 to seek news of his companions, Champlain and Porteau, and to uncache his furs. Interestingly enough, he found Lalande acting as interpreter among the Arapa- hoës on his second trip, but he was unable to get definite news as to the fate of his former companions.⁸

The movements of a large trapping party, under A. P. Cho- teau and Jules De Mun, operating on the Arkansas, Rio Grande, Platte and Canadian rivers from 1815 to 1817 precipitated an inter- esting semi-official prelude to the boundary negotiations two years later. The leaders of the expedition obtained a license from Gov- ernor Clark of Missouri authorizing them to go to the headwaters of the Platte and Arkansas rivers to trade with the Indians. Upon the party's arrival at the Huerfano, De Mun left for Taos in order to bring back certain trappers. While in New Mexico he visited Santa Fe and interviewed Governor Alberto Mainez who, with surprising hospitality, agreed to write the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces asking permission for the Americans to trap a specified number of beaver on the tributaries of the Rio Grande. De Mun was soon to realize that Don Alberto acted at variance with Spanish sentiment by giving the impression that the Americans would be free to trade as they wished east of the moun- tains, so long as they did not "go to the south of the Red River or Natchitoches."

When De Mun returned to Choteau, who was waiting at the Huerfano with the party, it was decided that the former should return to St. Louis for supplies while his partner supervised the men. The trappers moved here and there during De Mun's ab-

⁷H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 286, 287, 289. Pino returned home and was re-elected as *diputado* for 1820-21 but gave up the trip at Vera Cruz because of lack of funds and delay.

⁸Ezekiel Williams, "Ezekiel Williams' Adventures in Colorado," (letter with editorial notes). *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

sence, suffering an attack by the Pawnees on Cherry Creek and finally keeping rendezvous with De Mun on the Canadian in July, 1816. The band, now numbering forty-five men, again started for the mountains, but advanced cautiously because of warnings of Indian dangers given by various groups of Spanish traders. Choteau and the men continued over the mountains to the headwaters of the Rio Grande, where they made camp and awaited the return of De Mun who had set out for Santa Fe a second time in order to insure authorization of the trapping enterprise.

The temporary cordiality extended by Mainez had completely vanished with a change of administrators. De Mun was detained two days at Rio Colorado, a new frontier post north of Taos, and was then conducted back to the other Americans by a military escort of forty men. The Spanish officer, Don Mariano Penne, commanded the intruders to go farther down the river and await word from the new governor, Pedro Maria de Allande. Answer to the letter De Mun had written from Rio Colorado was delayed twenty days and when it did come it was an order to leave Spanish territory. The Americans, therefore, moved east of the mountains and everything seemed calm, as no further military action was evident and Spanish traders reported that the governor was seeking privileges as requested by De Mun.

As a matter of fact the Spaniards were preparing to defend the Arkansas against rumored invasion by a formidable American force. De Mun heard a very different sort of tale than that told by the traders when he went to Taos in February, 1817, hoping for good news. It was said that the Americans had built a fort at the first fork of the Arkansas, the Rio de Las Animas, and that there were twenty thousand men there with many cannons and much ammunition. De Mun learned further that a party of two hundred New Mexicans had been raised to investigate the truth of these absurd reports. All too quickly Lieutenant Francisco Salazar did arrive at the American camp with two hundred troopers and forced De Mun and a number of others to accompany him to the Las Animas to prove no fort had been erected there. The partners then moved their trappers well out of Spanish territory, so they thought, by going to the mountains north of the usual Arkansas safety line. The Americans were encamped near that river and De Mun was just ready to leave for St. Louis with the furs when, on May 23, 1817, Spanish troops appeared. The whole party was taken into custody on May 24th and escorted to Santa Fe by Sergeant Mariano Vernal.

Conflicting information as to the boundary between Spanish and American territory was revealed when Choteau and De Mun

were questioned upon their arrival in Santa Fe, and again at a trial accorded them after forty-four days of imprisonment. De Mun declared that "being on the waters of the Arkansas they did not consider themselves in the domains of Spain, and that furthermore they had a license from their governor to go there." Governor Allande thereupon denied the right of the American government to issue such a license and talked of a big river that was the boundary between the two countries. When the Mississippi was mentioned he said it was the river he meant and that Spain had never ceded the west side of it. Although the Americans were given their freedom, their furs were confiscated. The United States government, protecting citizens in territory regarded as its own, later attempted to collect from Spain and then from Mexico, a claim of \$30,380 in civil damages submitted to Governor Clark by De Mun.⁹

While the Spanish minister took verbal stand at the Missouri in 1818 and hurled rhetoric and argument against Adams entrenched on the Red,¹⁰ his little considered compatriots in New Mexico were being mobilized to defend the frontier of actual Spanish settlement. In 1818, Luis de Onis, the Spanish minister to the United States, came into possession of some French notes of an anonymous traveler who pointed out the vulnerable places in the New Mexican mountain barrier. These notes were so alarming that Onis, who attributed them to American interests, sent the document at once to Viceroy Venadito of Mexico. As a result, Facundo Melgares, who had attained the governorship of New Mexico, was ordered to fortify the passes named.

Meanwhile, news of other Americans at the border reached Mexico. The viceroy himself informed the king of reports from Consul Fatio at New Orleans that a battalion of three hundred men had left St. Louis on August 30 to establish a fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Attack was feared and a reconnaissance from Santa Fe was ordered. Jose Hernandez, a trader who had been captive among the Pawnees for some time, returned to the outpost settlement of Rio Colorado in 1818, bringing tales of a Pawnee-American alliance. It was planned, he stated, that the enemy meet at the Boiling Springs (Manitou, Colorado) at "the fall of the leaves" to attack the Spaniards in New Mexico. Governor Melgares, roused to energetic steps, began to make the mountain border a military frontier.

Lieutenant Jose de Arce was sent to reconnoiter the headwaters of Fountain Creek and the Boiling Springs. Seven hundred men

⁹Nettie H. Beauregard and T. M. Marshall, "The Journals of Jules de Mun," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3.

¹⁰See my previous article in the *Colorado Magazine*, X, 145-156.

were stationed at Taos, and another detachment was sent, with two pieces of artillery, to guard the crossing of the Pecos River. Additional scouting parties from Santa Fe operated to a distance of about a hundred miles east of the mountains.

Upon receipt of the instructions to scout the Yellowstone, Melgares sent the skilled Jarvet on that mission with fifteen horse-men, and was able to report the findings of his agent on April 1, 1819. The distance to the Yellowstone from Santa Fe was reported, and English posts on the Columbia and Belduzon, or San Lorenzo (North Platte), described. The Indians consulted knew nothing of the three hundred Louisianans, however.

The anonymous notes from the viceroy arrived in February, 1819, and Melgares was again ordered to fortify the points named by the writer. The four passes were the Sangre de Cristo, the Taos Pass, near the town of San Fernando de Taos; El Vado, a well-known crossing on the Pecos, fifty miles to the southeast of Santa Fe; and a fourth which lay north of Sangre de Cristo. On May 18th, Melgares reported that he had fortified the Sangre de Cristo and San Fernando passes and was preparing a statement of specifications for additional forts. In October, 1819, he reported that the Sangre de Cristo fort had been attacked and that he had sent three hundred settlers and Indians to strengthen it.¹¹

The chief occupation of New Mexican settlers was frontier defense in Governor Mendinueta's time, and that duty was still incumbent upon them during Melgares' administration. Charges of negligence, so Melgares indicated in replying to adverse criticisms made by Commandant General Cordero, must of necessity be false and malicious inasmuch as the citizens knew the safety of the province depended on them.¹² If popular desire for American trade somewhat lessened hostility toward intruders, the settlers nevertheless rendered more than lip service to the last of the Spanish governors, and Melgares was able to muster considerable numbers to guard the passes. So far as the New Mexicans were concerned, therefore, the Arkansas boundary was one of local interest and frontier service throughout the period of negotiations, including a final post-treaty period of continuing precautions until information as to the future status of the border could reach Santa Fe.

The reputedly indolent inhabitants of the upper Rio Grande valley did indeed play a passive role in the Mexican Revolution of 1821-1822 which brought freedom from Spain and broke down the galling restrictions on trade; but it cannot be said that they were

¹¹A. B. Thomas (editor), "An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII, 50-74. Dr. L. R. Hafen located the site of this fort in May, 1934. It is on a hill overlooking Oak Creek, about twenty-five miles west of Walsenburg and about five miles north of Sangre de Cristo Pass.

¹²*Ibid.*, 54 or 55 (Page 5 of reprint).

inactive in safeguarding the frontier at home while Onís argued valiantly for the Arkansas boundary, unknowing it would so soon fall to the enjoyment of independent Mexico. When the new republic was established in 1822, the southeastern Colorado district became Mexican soil, and the Arkansas boundary was affirmed in a treaty signed between the United States and Mexico on January 12, 1828.

The *dulce voz de libertad* (sweet voice of liberty) reached New Mexico September 11, 1821, and on December 26th came the news of Iturbide's entry into Mexico City. The New Mexicans, demonstrating their versatility in accepting changing sovereignties, filled the air with *vivas*. Governor Melgares, whom Pike characterized as a European lacking in Castilian haughtiness but "possessing all the high sense of honor which formerly so evidently distinguished his nation," accepted the situation with equal equanimity and enthusiastically exhorted the people to publish abroad their sentiments of liberty and gratitude, cherish the desired union between Spaniards of both hemispheres, demonstrate their love of holy religion, and sustain the sacred independence of the "Mexican Empire" with their last drop of blood. January 6, 1822, was set aside as the day for formal celebration of independence, and Melgares reported that gala event to the *Gaceta Imperial* in the most advantageous light possible. A change in the character of the Louisiana frontier was to be one of the most tangible evidences of New Mexico's fortuitous freedom from Spain.¹³

Although the boundary remained unchanged when Spain lost possession, the line of frontier patrol was shifted back to the settlements. Forbidding Spanish military officers and reconnoitering parties were superseded by welcoming customs officials and a horde of fee-palming subordinates avid for commerce. So long as the coffers swelled and the articles of trade were pleasing the Americans might come as they wished. Jacob Fowler, who had a dwelling at the site of Pueblo for a month or so and explored and traded freely east and west of the mountains, found the Sangre de Cristo fort in ruins in 1822.¹⁴

Stephen H. Long came to the conclusion, after his circuit of the Platte, the foothills and the Arkansas in 1820, that the Louisiana Purchase was in great part "almost wholly unfit for cultivation and of course uninhabitable by a people depending on agriculture for their subsistence," totalling ignoring the long-established agricultural province whose very boundary he explored. Although

¹³H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 307-308. Melgares was succeeded on July 5, 1822, by Francisco Javier Chavez as *jefe político*, who ruled in 1822-23, although Antonio Vizcarra also held the office for a time in 1822. *Ibid.*, 284.

¹⁴E. Coues (Ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, 98.

people of Major Long's nature looked askance at "French and Spanish brothers by purchase," and found "great difficulty in sending out * * * patriotic affections beyond the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains,"¹⁵ there were men of another ilk whose spirit responded to the picturesque life of their neighbor and whose ambition quickened toward the trade that pulsed through Santa Fe to Chihuahua and Mexico City. After Becknell was successful in taking his wagons to Santa Fe in 1822, annual caravans traversed the long trail and Spanish names such as the Purgatory River, Cimarron Creek, Taos and Las Vegas became common in press reports. The people of the United States had at last become conscious of their Spanish-speaking predecessors in the Southwest. The Arkansas and its Colorado tributaries were recognized as a gateway to business profits for the hardy few who would travel the plains to Santa Fe.¹⁶

South Fork hauling their lumber to South Platte. The capacity of these mills varied from five MBM per day to 50 MBM per day. The largest mill was operated by Stewart and McConnell on Elk Creek. This mill had a 50 MBM per day capacity and the operators hauled to the railroad with steam tractors and trailers. Generally, however, skidding was done with mules and hauling with horses. Oxen were also used from time to time, but did not prove very satisfactory, due to their slowness.

There was also a large water mill operated at South Platte for some time. Three hundred horsepower was developed with a 16-



LOGGING WITH OXEN IN COLORADO FOREST
(Courtesy U. S. Forest Service)

foot fall and a 5-foot wheel. Logs were driven down the South Fork to the mill. At that time the population of South Platte was about 350 and that of Buffalo 1,400. Today they have populations of about 20 each, except during the summer season, when these are increased somewhat by recreationists.

The mills produced nothing except lumber, although for a time there were two shingle mills and one lath mill near Buffalo. These products were made from ponderosa pine. For several years an average of 30 carloads of lumber per day was shipped to Denver, where it was all used. The price of lumber varied from \$16 per MBM to \$25 per MBM in Buffalo or South Platte. Common labor

Early Logging on the South Platte District

R. H. BUTLER*

Early day logging on the South Platte district is of special interest due to the fact that lumber made from timber on the district practically built Denver in the seventies and eighties.

The first timber removal that we have record of took place in 1874, when the firm of Sloan and Biggs operated a sawmill near the present site of the town of Waterton, at the mouth of Platte Canon. The mill was supplied with logs which were removed from near the South Fork, and driven down the river to the mill. I do not know how long this mill was in operation, but river driving ceased entirely by 1885.

The Colorado and Southern narrow gauge, which now operates from Denver to Leadville, was constructed through South Platte and Buffalo in 1877, up the North Fork. Shortly after this, large numbers of mills came into existence on the district. By the year 1879 there were ten mills in the vicinity of and hauling their lumber to Buffalo, and there was an equal number or more along the

*Mr. Butler is the District Ranger on the South Platte Division of the Pike National Forest, with headquarters at Buffalo. He gathered most of the data in this article from J. W. Green, Sr., of Buffalo and Scott Kendall of South Platte. Green and Kendall came to the district in 1879 and 1878 respectively. This article and some others prepared by National Forest Service employees were sent to the State Historical Society by Mr. John W. Spencer, Assistant Regional Forester at Denver.—Ed.

¹⁵F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, 215-217, gives excerpts from Long's statements.

¹⁶I am indebted to Dr. A. B. Thomas for his generosity in furnishing copies of his studies; to Dr. L. R. Hafen for his many helpful references and comments; and to Dr. D. S. Duncan for his seminar instruction.

was paid at the rate of \$2.25 per 12-hour day, and log cutters at the rate of \$1 per MBM. These were really better wages than are paid today, when one takes into consideration that the timber was much better then and board and room could be had for \$16 per month.

The method generally used by the operator in acquiring the timber he cut was by homesteading and preemption. He also got



TYPICAL LOG-HAULING IN COLORADO FORESTS
(Courtesy U. S. Forest Service)

his employees to homestead, and then he bought the timber from them. Needless to say, most of these homesteads were never proved up. There was also a great deal of timber taken by operators who did not care to go through the formality of homesteading. Timber was also purchased from private land owners.

By 1890 most of the good timber within a distance of 15 miles of the railroad had been cut. Only the most inaccessible stands were left. Fire also swept a large portion of the district, destroying a great deal of the young timber and fire-scarring the rest. Today traces of these early fires are still to be seen in many places.

I would venture to say that 20 per cent of the timber now being sold on the district is fire-scarred.

As I have stated earlier in this article, practically no ties were produced during this period, but at one time ties were driven down both Sugar and Horse Creeks—inconceivable, but true.

The foregoing is a brief picture of lumbering on the South Platte district in the eighties. The operators of today, of whom there are 11 on the district, have the choice of two things: First, to work out areas of salvage timber which the early operators did not think worth cutting; or, second, to operate in stands which were inaccessible at that time, and which still are to a large extent. There are on the district a few stands of good mature timber which the Forest Service is holding in reserve until such a time as the salvage areas are cut. Of course, in these salvage areas of decadent, diseased and fire-scarred timber there is some desirable second growth which will be taken.

For some years to come cutting will have to be confined to small operations, to clean up these areas of undesirable timber, then the virgin stands will have to be cut and, eventually, when the next cutting cycle rolls around, practically the entire district will be ready for cutting, as it is now covered with stands of young, healthy Douglas fir and ponderosa pine. There is a great deal more Douglas fir now than there was in the days of early logging. Why, I do not know, unless it is because it is more resistant to disease and fire than the pine.

The Indian and Buffalo Statue on the State Capitol Grounds

JOHN R. HENDERSON

The statue of the Indian with the dying buffalo that stands on the State Capitol grounds was first exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. Preston Powers, whose work it is, was a son of the celebrated sculptor Hiram Powers, who was chiefly famous for the marble figure which he called the Greek Slave. Preston was born in Florence, Italy, where his father, after leaving this country, had established himself as a sculptor.

At the time Preston Powers designed and made his first model of "The Closing Era," as he called it, he was teaching sculpture at the Art School of the University of Denver, then located at 1330 Arapahoe Street. I was teaching wood-carving and designing at the same institution at the time Powers was planning The Closing Era.

In addition, I was studying sculpture with Powers and this close association made me familiar with the details of the project.

The original plan was for the group to be carved in a red sandstone rock at Perry Park. Some men interested in Perry Park as a real estate proposition entered into a contract with Powers to do the work. However, in some way these parties violated their contract and the plan fell through.

While the original plan was still the purpose, Powers asked James Thompson—a young man who was one of his students—



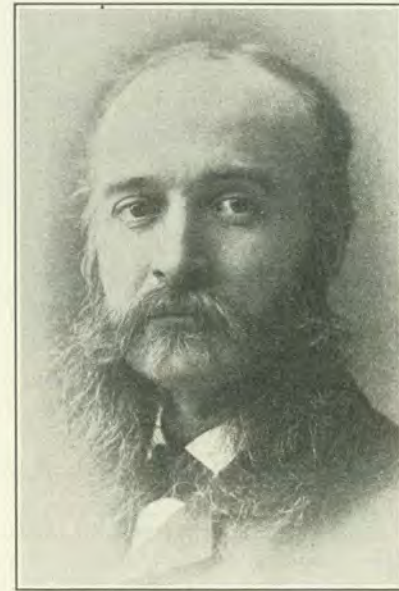
THE CLOSING ERA

and me to assist in the modeling of the group to one-third the size it was finally to take, and also to assist in the carving of it in stone. The Indian was to be about thirty feet high, and the buffalo, of course, to be in proper proportion. Powers' personal studio was in the Barth Block, on one of the upper floors. I recall going there to assist him in making the cast from his first model which was only ten or twelve inches high.

Powers being, as he was, acquainted with experts in Florence who could do the kind of carving he wanted done, planned to bring a group of them from Italy.

Powers was intimately acquainted with John Greenleaf Whittier, who was then living. He wrote the poet asking him to send something suitable for the base of the sculpture. This was in 1891 or 1892—I think the latter. Whittier acceded to the request and sent the following. I am quoting from memory:

The mountain eagle from his lofty peaks
For the wild hunter and the bison seeks
Through the changed world, but finds alone
Their graven semblance in the eternal stone.



PRESTON POWERS

The original plan being abandoned, the stanza could not be used, owing to the reference to the sculpture in stone.

A group of ladies, under the leadership of Mrs. E. M. Ashley, learning of the situation, took up the matter of raising a fund to have the work produced in bronze, and become a part of Colorado's exhibit at the fair then in preparation at Chicago.

Powers then went to Italy, where the final model was made, and where the casting in bronze was done. I carved a wooden pattern from which was cast the bow on which the Indian leans, and another for the group of three arrows once held in the Indian's left hand. These I sent to Powers in Florence. The arrows were

cut in two and soldered into the hand from each side. This made it easy for some vandal to remove them, and they disappeared years ago.

James Thompson, to whom I have made reference, was quite a talented young man, and not long after Powers left, he followed him to Italy to take up there further study of sculpture. He became connected in Florence with a firm that copied in marble the work of sculptors who commonly do not carry on beyond the plaster cast stage except for the finishing touches. I believe he later became manager of the establishment. He married an Italian girl, raised a family and I think never returned to Denver. He died in Italy about a year ago, Powers having preceded him by a year or two.

Colonel L. C. Paddock, Journalist

A. GAYLE WALDROP*

In conferring the degree, Master of Journalism, upon Col. L. C. Paddock at its semi-centennial celebration, the University of Colorado acclaimed him:

"A fearless and brilliant editor whose pen for a generation, with wise phrase and pointed sentence, has untiringly defended what his judgment deemed to be right. Humor and satire, never vindictive, supporting his logic, have been his means of battling what to him was the wrong. Not often has such a stormy editorial career left a writer in the fulness of years with a whole state as his friend, so that he is affectionately known as the Nestor of Colorado journalism."

Since 1880 he has been a newspaper man in Boulder, and since the first issue of the *Boulder Daily Camera*, March 17, 1891, its editor. He has seen and been a part of the change of Boulder from a village with board sidewalks, dusty or muddy streets, with no sewers and no rapid transit system, no adequate hotel, no chamber of commerce, with the mayor-alderman form of government—and with a corresponding mental horizon—to a modern city. He has been prominent in the councils of the Democratic party for half a century, the confidant of governors and senators.

The nine editorials here reproduced are taken from a compilation called "American Town," a copy of which is in the library of the State Historical Society of Colorado. They are typical of his courage and independence, of his spirit of conciliation, of his analytical penetration, of his humor and indignation, of his disregard of slavish consistency, of his lively sense of Colorado's his-

*Prof. Waldrop is a member of the faculty in the Department of Journalism, University of Colorado.—Ed.

tory. They show him the master of the well-turned phrase, a forward-looking leader of public opinion, a writer possessed of the virtues of brevity and boldness. They reveal his love for his city,



COL. L. C. PADDOCK

his appreciation of man and nature. They indicate his persistence in pressing for progress. And, they are superior examples of that evanescent literary form, the newspaper editorial.

* * * * *

WE SAID "FIRETRAP"

December 2, 1905.

We regret very much to have been obliged to sever relations of a satisfactory business character with the management of the Temple theatre. *The Camera* printed the programs and had the usual notices and courtesies. It thinks Mr. Leo Hardy, the manager, is a conscientious little man, devoted to the interests of his employers. It counts among its best friends Mr. Neil D. McKenzie, owner of the building.

It is the necessity for saying things like this that renders conscientious journalism an unpleasant duty at times. But the truth should be told, and feeling as we do about the matter, we should hate ourselves if we failed to sound a note of warning before our worst fears had been realized. We believe the city council should

compel the owners of all third story buildings to equip them with fire escapes and the council is neglectful of its duty that it does not do so.

We regret that Messrs. Pelton & Smutzer may lose by such publicity, but that does not alter the fact that Temple theatre is a menace to human life and we prize one human life of Boulder more than we do the pecuniary interests of all the gentlemen concerned. Escape there is positively cut off should a fire occur in the hallway or on the stage. The only avenue for escape of death by burning is a leap from the third story windows to the stone flagging of the street. So it might as well be admitted now as later that shocking death or maiming awaits all who by reason of fire or the panic incident to a false alarm shall on any night be occupants of the hall. Frequent attention shall be called to this condition until proper provision shall have been made for the safety of the public.

BOULDER MEN ARE BIGGER THAN INDIVIDUAL AMBITION

April 1, 1907.

There are many, doubtless, who will see in the result of Tuesday's election in Boulder, proof of the efficacy of prayer. There are many others of a philosophic turn of mind who will discover in the result that one side lost the votes which gave the victory to the other. It is no new thing for *The Camera* to be defeated in its campaigns for men or issues. Our readers will agree with us that we have always accepted defeat with complacency and cheerfully acknowledged the right of the majority to rule.

The resolutions adopted by the Non-Partisan organization were our own, and expressed in concrete form the views of this paper upon the questions involved. There was no effort to curry public favor or to get on the winning side. It was evident to many of us that only hard work would be effective in resisting the force of what we were pleased to designate as hysteria, a frenzy. At no time were we champion of, nor apologist for, the saloon, save as that institution, in our judgment, was the lesser of alternative evils, which threaten any community. We were willing to concede that ethically the sale of liquor and its consumption are wrong, but it was our conviction through the campaign which has just terminated, and is still our conviction, that Boulder was putting in practice the most effective restrictive method of an acknowledged evil. We shall be very agreeably disappointed if the lawlessness we have pointed out shall not materialize. It shall be our effort to assist the officers of the law, and the people charged with administration, to see that the expressed wish of the majority shall be carried out. . . .

Let business be resumed at the old stand. Let citizens who have been wide apart upon this issue stand shoulder to shoulder to effectuate the mottoes of both organizations. Let the enemy of yesterday be the friend of today, and let it be regarded that these were only enemies in a political sense and all were striving for the common good.

We appeal for forgetfulness of the bitterness of the campaign, and a united front for the realization of the highest aspirations of the city in keeping Boulder, as she has been, a city without faction, a community devoted to the observance of law, and internal as well as external cleanliness. Let the Commercial Association, our Chautauqua Association and our other bodies of men resume their labors where they were left off during the unfortunate period of differences which the campaign excited.

THE REAL ISSUE

April 2, 1909.

The Camera does not pretend, nor has it ever declared, that the leaders of the Better Boulder movement are not decent, respectable citizens. Everybody knows they are.

The trouble with them is that they are actuated, controlled and moved by an un-American spirit. They are so busy reforming other people and so hysterical in their efforts to make everybody conform to their own ideas that they neglect attention to their own infirmities. They don't grasp an idea. The idea grasps them, takes possession of them and drives out of their heads all other ideas. They at once conclude that they have a mission and that mission is to go out and sandbag everybody whose opinions do not square with their own. This peculiarity was in the baggage of their ancestors when they landed at Plymouth Rock.

These brave old ancestors left their native land to be free to hold and express their beliefs, and after getting comfortably settled in the new world proceeded to persecute and burn those who did not believe in the things they did. Fortunately for all of us, the seeds of real liberty they inadvertently dropped in the New England sand took root and flourished and the fruits thereof blessed them along with the rest of the human race.

A touch of the old Pilgrim spirit is a good thing in any community, that is to say, a little of it, just enough to give it a flavor like unto a few drops of vanilla in a barrel of ice cream.

But once let that spirit dominate, and the result is as deadly as the torrid winds that sweep the Sahara, withering all things with its fiery touch. That is what happened in the city of Boulder,

is it not so? You know it is. The people will not submit to be governed by this spirit of persecution. This is America. Freedom of thought, liberty of conscience, personal right and equality before the law came high but the people paid the price. They will not yield one of these at the behest of blind-eyed prejudice.

There is open revolt in Boulder against misgovernment that has clogged and impeded the flow of life politic. We want to restore heart action that will send the bright red current of hope and enterprise through the whole public system, filling the now empty dinner pail, bringing back sparkling eyes to the depressed and disconsolate.

There is not only open revolt but there is also a quiet determination on the part of many citizens to do their part on election day toward making "Boulder a place to live and a place to make a living in."

"REV." SUNDAY GOES MAD

October 1, 1909.

"Rev." William Sunday lost his temper last night and indulged in a ten minute tirade in which the editor of *The Camera* was the subject of such appellations as "skunk." By indirection he put the idea in the heads of his audience that he had been referred to as a "foul mouthed degenerate," and wanted the people to think that what we have said of him is "an insult to the good people of this town."

We are afraid Billy takes himself too seriously. We think we discover signs that ultimately he will conclude that he is a splendid specimen of Christian manhood sent by Omnipotence to wash the world clean of its sins at so much per wash. Wednesday he consigned the editor of this paper to hell, said we were already there and last night intimated the desire to physically chastise us. If we have read Billy at all we have read with admiration his lurid descriptions of hell. There is no such heat anywhere. It is so hot it is white. A poor mortal consigned to Sunday's conception of hell just toasts and toasts and roasts and roasts and squirms in a delicious torment perpetually, *ad libitum*, world without end. He loses his appetite, has his wife's relations laughing at him and seemingly, though basted with the joyful tears of the angels in Billy's department, never gets real done.

And Billy, not out of the hardness of his heart but because he lost his temper, wants to add to all that the chastisement of his own hands physically developed by much playing of baseball and his sinews strengthened by daily plunges, massage and the physical training of which he boasts. To our notion a man in hell ought to

be let alone. We have always felt charitable to a corpse, and one in hell should be especially immune from further chastisement. . . .

Is it not possible to evangelize and be decently honest? We don't know. We believe in Christianity. We believe in religion. We believe it is best that men be anchored to some faith even though uncertain of our own. . . .

But enough, Willie. Let us for a moment contemplate David, the splendor of whose psalms furnish common ground for admiration. David was sore beset but he declared out of a mouthful of wisdom:

"He that ruleth his own spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

The sum and substance of all religion, we take it, is control of the spirit through God or man. The man who loses his own control has far to go as an apostle before he may hope for reformation in his disciples. Therefore, William, remembering "To thine own self be true," first curb that irascible temper of thine, pass the hat and sure shall be thy earthly reward. We, in the hell you sent us to, salute ye.

BANQUO'S GHOST STILL WALKING

February 18, 1911.

Time was when Boulder was gay in her middle life. She hung to the frills and frivolities of her gilded youth because she was thrown among the gay youth that formed her environment. Most of us carried a revolver or had one at home. We knew the value of two pairs as compared with a four flush. We met the boys from the hills and the boys from the plains who greeted our senses with proud display of chaps and our ears with the jingle of the silver stirrup. A hole in the ground was worth thousands. All had money to spend or felt they would have in the morning. Life was young and life was gay, and in the exhilaration of the times and the bottle all felt themselves on the top crest of the sea of prosperity. Broad was Uncle Sam's domain and it was the common pasture. With a calf and a branding iron we soon became owners of mines of fabulous richness. What gay carousals there were in the Boulder, Colorado, Brainard houses, or did we go to the American at Denver or the Red Lion Inn? Those were the golden days, too, Golden, Colorado. And then came Leadville and Breckenridge, and Kokomo, Creede and Cripple Creek.

It was day all way in the day time,
There was no night at Creede.

Glorious days. Colorado produced \$20,000,000 in gold and silver. Think of it—twenty millions. And then she slumped and

slumped and slumped until last year she produced \$40,000,000 of livestock, twice that of agricultural products, twice her twenty millions in gold and silver, and her manufactures represented more dollars than all her mines produced—and four out of five towns had gone dry. Last year, without a saloon, Boulder built more than she did in any two years when she had saloons and yet “the town is dead.”

Banquo's ghost is working overtime, and we fear he is sailing under false colors. Times change and men change with them. The Boulder and the Colorado of today are not the Boulder and Colorado of a few years since. Colorado had her headache after her spree and is recovering. In the meantime, retracting nothing of what we have said before, we declare that we recognize Banquo's ghostly form as the outline of our old friend of the Colorado Retail Liquor Dealers' association and we welcome him to the fray. Since Banquo won't down, let us up and at him in temper as good as our swords and with a determination to bury him so deep this time that he never may again mar the pleasure of the feast.

BOULDER FACES A CRISIS

November 21, 1916.

What's the matter with Boulder? We all know that things are wrong in taxation, in lack of improvements, in intelligent handling of our water situation. And none of us blames anybody but ourselves for the condition. We have had no grafters in the city council or elected or appointed officials, but we don't seem to get anywhere. We have wasted money on our streets and in our water department. We have spent it like drunken sailors and some day we will have to pay the debt.

We've got to devise some form of government where responsibility shall rest somewhere. With a mayor who is legally but a figurehead, with a council chosen by wards, with state laws that hamper efficiency, we can't tell who is to blame. And it is not our purpose to try and fix it. It was no part of the purpose of the twenty-five members of the Commercial Association's charter committee that met at the association room last night to criticize anybody but the indifferent citizen. Hundreds of American cities have secured charters for home rule. They govern themselves through agents called commissioners or mayors or city managers. Great success is being attained where commissioners are honest and efficient, or where, without the commission form the managerial form obtains. Mr. F. J. Klinger has made exhaustive study of the plans. He has corresponded, as supplementary to the work of the

Commercial Association's committee, with cities in all parts of the country and has laid data before the Commercial Association that convinces it that Boulder must get out of swaddling clothes and begin to look like a man.

This is no faddist idea. It is a matter of vital necessity if we propose to have:

Streets paved, pure water, a permanent Chautauqua, city parks, a municipal band, a solvent city.

We are not now going into the detailed reasons why this is so. Mr. Klinger's research has resulted in a pamphlet that will be printed and circulated and, when that shall be in the hands of citizens, we shall take up the various phases of the question and present arguments why Boulder must have a change.

Suffice it to say that the committee of twenty-five are in full accord on the necessity of a change; that several members of the present city council are in agreement with the committee and that the campaign for reform of our civic management will be exhaustive, patient, conciliatory, but effective.

The need is that we shall have a winter of devotion to Boulder and of thinking about Boulder by the authorities, the citizens, the civic societies, the schools, by all organized and individual life of the town.

Boulder faces a crisis but may avert it. Her citizens alone can help it.

TOMORROW DECIDES

April 19, 1923.

Shall Boulder grow? Yes, if the amendments are defeated.

Shall our idle labor be employed through the year? Yes, if the amendments are defeated.

Shall Boulder be a great tourist center attracting visitors in ever-increasing numbers? Only if the amendments are defeated.

Who says this? *The Camera* isn't alone in saying it. Every bank in Boulder sanctions the statement; the Chamber of Commerce, 1200 strong, sanctions it; the Lions Club says so; the Rotary Club says so; the Kiwanis Club says so; the University of Colorado, the ministers without exception, the physicians of Boulder, the teachers of Boulder—every civic association, all the representatives of the material and spiritual interests of Boulder say so.

Labor needs that these 32 propositions to amend the charter be defeated. It is nonsense to submit 32 propositions at once. It is also suicidal.

The Camera expects its position in favor of the charter to be sustained by an overwhelming majority of votes “Against.”

BOULDER THEN AND NOW

January 1, 1927.

Doubt, like other things, "doth make cowards of us all." To doubt Boulder and a great future for it would be community treason were it not so ridiculous.

Here the pioneers built their modest homes in the loveliest setting a community could have—right at the base of the great mountains and flowing outward toward the plains.

They found here a climate more equable than any on the eastern slope of the Rockies in Colorado. They settled, as all sensible pioneers did, on the banks of a running brook—a river rippling in the sunshine and by the play of the native trout. They tasted here water, soft, pure, cool, invigorating. It was in abundance.

They tickled the soil with the plow's edge and grain and potatoes and all of the soil products of the temperate zone followed in due season. They had wood aplenty and we have coal, right at the edges of the city.

They burned lime here, they found clay for bricks—clay in abundance. They went into the hills and washed gold out of the streams. Shortly their trees began to bear and they had apples and cherries and plums. They turned their cattle loose upon the range or in the mountain gorges and they had meat and tallow and hides. They put out their hives and they had honey. They chopped down trees and they had homes. They soon had children enough for them so they built schools. Later the children had absorbed the elementary studies of the grades, so they got a state university written into the constitution of the commonwealth.

And then they died or lingered in old age expecting that others would carry on in this Arcadia. They esteemed themselves fortunate, infinitely rich in opportunity if not in possessions.

What they found of natural resources are here save the forests in the mountains whose commercial importance was only temporary.

We have that climate, the majestic scenery, that prolific soil, the clays, the gold, plus silver, lead and tungsten. We have great resources of coal they had not developed. We have finer schools than they, oh, much better. Their dreams of a great university has been realized if they would ever have dreamed of 3,000 students here the year 'round. They had sickness, so do we. But their children died of diseases that are now attended by negligible fatalities. They had hardships. We have none. They had tallow candles, we have electric bulbs each of which has 40, 60, 80, 100 more light than their candle. They took a day to go to Denver and Caribou. We go faster than that. They wore calico and jeans. We wear silk and furs and worsteds.

They dug the worms out of their apples and ate the latter. We throw one away that seems to have been in the vicinity of a worm. They ate salt pork. We eat as Lucullus never dined.

They lived, for the most part, on hopes.

Oh, ye of little faith. Now that their wildest dreams are more than realized—possessing all those natural resources they had, plus what we have, why did you doubt Boulder?

In these columns today facts and figures are given that shame the pessimist. But this should be said: No community is ever more prosperous than its citizens will it to be. The proper state of mind, courage, faith and eternal loyalty plus energy will make any city prosperous.

The resolution of the New Year, therefore, should be: In every thought and act we shall be true to Boulder, prophets of prosperity and co-workers in making the prophecy come true.

HE LOVED HIS BOULDER

December 26, 1928.

The dirt and clods that passed over all that was mortal of Platt Rogers in Green Mountain cemetery today were of soil that he loved.

The beauty of Boulder canon has withstood the ravages of time because of the loving care of the great trees by Platt and George Rogers, brothers who have owned it and zealously guarded it.

From Boulder Falls to a point near Nederland dam the Rogers patent, which they secured by purchase from Thomas J. Graham and other Boulder pioneers, holds some of the most magnificent of our spruces. On this tract are valuable timber, mine props and lodes of gold, silver and tungsten. But no vandal hand was permitted to destroy or mar the natural beauty of this long stretch of mountain and canon land skirting Boulder creek.

Tempting offers were made for parts of the tract—for cottages and other purposes. But these would have marred the scenery—commercialized the canon, and the occupants would destroy. He loved these trees, Platt Rogers did. He loved Boulder and its people and it is entirely fitting that his last resting place is in the shadow of a great mountain that typifies the glories of those scenic spots he did so much to preserve to those who came and others who shall come in succeeding generations to enjoy their shade and marvel at their beauty.

Dedication of a Monument at the Site of Pike's Fort on the Conejos

FRANK C. SPENCER*

On Colorado Day, the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of our state into the sisterhood of the Union, the people of the San Luis Valley met to dedicate a monument on the site of the fort built by Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike one hundred and twenty-nine years ago.

This monument commemorates probably the most important single event in the history of Colorado. It was there that the Stars and Stripes was first flung to the breeze as a symbol of possession in the southwestern part of the United States.

It was the establishment of this fort which led to the capture of Pike and his men by the Spanish soldiers. It was his unwilling journey through the Spanish towns of the Rio Grande and his glowing description of the riches of this strange land which led directly to the initiating of the famous Santa Fe Trail, over which thronged the traders, trappers, explorers and adventurers who were first to make known the wonders of our state. It was also this same Santa Fe Trail which formed the first pathway of the pioneers in the mad rush for gold in the Pike's Peak region.

The importance of this sequence of events in the building of our commonwealth can scarcely be overestimated.

It was therefore fitting that this day should be chosen to dedicate this monument erected by the Historical Association of the Adams State Teachers College in co-operation with the State Historical Society of Colorado.

The event was ushered in by an all-day picnic of the students and faculty of the college. At two o'clock the regular program began. After a group of Spanish songs by two students, the speakers of the day were introduced. First, Senator Fred Christensen of this district gave an inspiring address, which was followed by a historical review of the early days of the Valley by Representative Herman J. Atencio of Conejos County. This was followed by the principal speaker of the day, President Ernest Morris of the State Historical Society, who delivered a very interesting and scholarly address, which was greatly enjoyed. A letter was read from Luther Norland, a pioneer in the effort to preserve this site.

The ceremony closed with an address by another of these pioneers, Honorable William Braiden of La Jara, who presented

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a vision of the time when this site will be a shrine for all of the people of the state.

Dr. Frank C. Spencer, sponsor for the Historical Association of the Teachers College, presided at the meeting.

The names of William Wilson, Ray Hix and George Horlan, who were responsible for the actual construction of the monument, deserve special mention.

The handsome bronze tablet bears the following legend: "On this ground stood PIKE'S STOCKADE, erected in February, 1807, by Capt. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, U. S. A., first official American explorer of Colorado and the Southwest. First U. S. fort on Colorado soil. Site acquired by the state, 1926. Erected by the State Historical Society of Colorado from the Mrs. J. N. Hall Foundation and by the Historical Association of the Adams State Teachers College, 1936."