

# THE COLORADO MAGAZINE

Published bi-monthly by  
The State Historical Society of Colorado

Vol. XV

Denver, Colo., March, 1938

No. 2

## Major Hal Sayr's Diary of the Sand Creek Campaign

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During the decade following the gold rush of 1859 the pioneers in the Territory of Colorado had to contend with many problems and controversies. They faced the normal hardships of frontier life and in addition the problems peculiar to the development of mining in the Rockies during years when the people of the nation were absorbed in civil strife. Because Union sentiment prevailed in this mining region, secession advocates were promptly hushed.<sup>1</sup> Then Colorado volunteers served in Kansas and Missouri and also checked the Confederate advance into New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile the twenty thousand people at home were experiencing a shortage of provisions, mining supplies and labor, accompanied by extremely high prices and speculation in mining properties.<sup>3</sup>

Colorado Territory was not self-sufficient; its very life depended upon the development and maintenance of the communication facilities needed to exchange its products for the wares and produce of eastern States. This urgent need along with the prevalent loyalty to the Union inspired a premature statehood campaign. In 1864, while the advocates of statehood were vigorously preparing for the submission of that issue to a popular vote in Colorado, the Indians on the plains launched an attack on the stage and freight lines and threatened to sever the lifeline connecting this territory with the northern States.<sup>4</sup> In this way political, military, and economic issues became interrelated, and the people of the territory, in their effort to determine a course of action, split into two major political camps, the champions of statehood and the "Antis."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>William C. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: The New Mexico Campaign in 1862* (Denver: State Hist. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 1906), 36-42.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 82-90; John H. Nankivell, *History of the Military Organizations of the State of Colorado, 1860-1935* (Denver: Kistler, 1935); Blanche V. Adams, *Colorado in the Civil War* (Boulder: thesis, 1930).

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*; Frank Fossett, *Colorado: Its Gold and Silver Mines—Tourists' Guide* (N. Y.: Crawford, 1879), 219; Samuel Cushman and J. F. Waterman, *The Gold Mines of Gilpin County, Historical, Descriptive and Statistical Work* (Denver: Tribune, 1876), 30 *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup>Frank Hall, *History of Colorado* (Chicago: Blakely, 1889-95), I, 324-6.  
<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 263-80; E. C. Dyer, *Statehood Movement in Colorado* (Boulder: thesis, 1913), 9-18; Elmer Ellis, "Colorado's First Fight for Statehood, 1865-1868," *Colorado Magazine*, VIII, 23-7.

Some of the Antis maintained that the Indians, mistreated and provoked into revolt, should be accorded fairer treatment, while the statehood leaders wanted to exterminate these aboriginal "pests" that stood in the way of the expansion of Colorado. At a highly critical time in this complex and serious state of affairs, a regiment of volunteers was enlisted and sent to Sand Creek on the plains to crush the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians and thus end their depredations.

Just as the broader issues of the day were involved and confused, so were the relations of the settlers with the Indians prior to the Sand Creek campaign. As the westward movement had approached the territory beyond the Missouri River, agents of the United States had negotiated treaties with the tribes on the plains in an effort to segregate them in restricted areas. In 1851 the Cheyennes and Arapahoes had been promised a share in an annuity of \$50,000 if they would accept as their permanent hunting ground the region between the Arkansas and Platte rivers.<sup>6</sup> Although approved by these Indians, that agreement soon became a technical obstacle in the path of the gold rush and the trans-continental railways.<sup>7</sup> The Indians naturally resented the influx of white trespassers after 1859, so the Government concluded another treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in an effort to segregate them south of the Arkansas between the Sandy and Purgatory rivers.<sup>8</sup> But that was in 1861 and the outbreak of the Civil War prevented the carrying of this treaty into effect.<sup>9</sup>

Thenceforth, through the Civil War period, neither Indians nor whites were satisfied with their unsettled relationship. The Indians considered the settlers transgressors and no doubt regarded the Civil War as their opportunity to strike an effective blow in retaliation.<sup>10</sup> The whites were naturally afraid that the Indians would attack them and wanted the red men removed from the lands claimed by both, so they would make capital of Indian depredations as justification for forcible removal of these unwelcome neighbors.<sup>11</sup> This tense situation makes it difficult to determine now when and by whom the first provocative act was committed; but that is immaterial, for clashes were bound to occur. In 1863 the settlers heard rumblings of Indian discontent, and

<sup>6</sup>C. J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (U. S., 1903), II, 614; Lillian B. Shields, "Relations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in Colorado to 1861," *Colo. Mag.*, IV, 145-8.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 149, 150; Hall, *Colorado*, I, 323.

<sup>8</sup>Shields, "Relations with Cheyennes and Arapahoes," 150-4.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>10</sup>Hall, *Colorado*, I, 323-5. See the defense of the Indians by Major Downing, in *Portrait and Biographical Record of Denver and Vicinity* (Chi: Chapman, 1898), 3239.

<sup>11</sup>Locals, *Daily Miners Register* (Central City), April 13, 1864; ed., *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1865; locals, *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), Aug. 28, 1864; C. B. Goodykoontz, "Colorado as Seen by a Home Missionary, 1863-8," *Colo. Mag.*, XII, 65; A. K. McClure, *Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains* (Phila.: Lippincott, 1869), 65, 74, 75.

early in 1864 they began to hear rumors and read reports of Indian depredations. The "savages" clashed with troops on the Arkansas, attacked freighters southeast of Denver, pillaged supply trains at Beaver Creek and Cedar Canon, killed two immigrants near Fort Lyon, and murdered the Hungate family at their ranch on Running Creek.<sup>12</sup> Since most of Colorado's military units had been sent outside the Territory to serve with the Union army, the populace became terrified as the toll of Indian depredations mounted. Once a false rumor of approaching Indians threw all of Denver into a panic.<sup>13</sup>

Decisive, reassuring action was then in order, but even if Colorado had had a military reserve available to send on a punitive expedition, there would have been no sure way of distinguishing the hostile Indians from the friendly ones. In May, 1864, Governor Evans assigned the few available militia companies to escort supply trains and appealed to the commander of the Department of Kansas to hold the Colorado troops near the border of the Territory.<sup>14</sup> Late in the next month he dispatched a circular letter addressed "To the Friendly Indians of the Plains" asking those that desired to remain at peace with the whites to keep away from the war parties and congregate at certain designated places of safety.<sup>15</sup> The southern bands of Cheyennes and Arapahoes were directed to assemble at Fort Lyon in southeastern Colorado. He authorized the commander there to feed these Indians, and with the aid of Interpreter Smith to segregate the friendly ones from intercourse with hostile bands.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, Indian attacks at widely separated points continued to occur during July and August, but the troops on guard duty seldom caught sight of any of the war parties.<sup>17</sup> According to most accounts, stage and mail service with the East was interrupted for a while in August and September, 1864,<sup>18</sup> but the letter books of the postmaster at Arapaho City, some two miles east of Golden, reveal that he corresponded with the Postmaster General

<sup>12</sup>"Early Colorado Days," *Colo. Mag.*, I, 253-5; Edith Parker Low, "History of the Twenty-Mile House on Cherry Creek," *ibid.*, XII, 142; Elmer R. Burkey, "The Site of the Murder of the Hungate Family by Indians in 1864," *ibid.*, XII, 139; Hall, *Colo.*, I, 325, 326, 327, 332; *D.R.M. News*, April 14, 15, May 4, July 23, Aug. 1, 9, 1864; *D.M. Register*, April 13, 14, May 5, 8, Aug. 12, 1864.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, June 16, 1864; Hall, *Colo.*, I, 326.

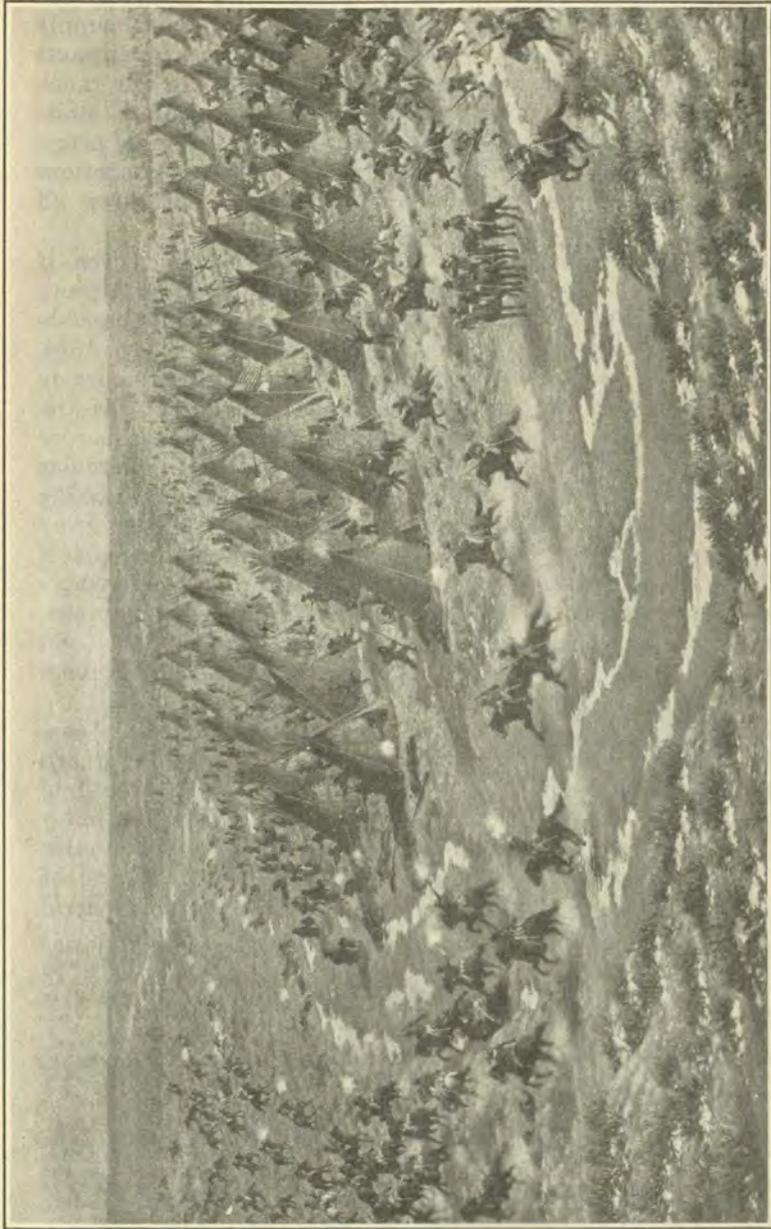
<sup>14</sup>Adams, *Colo. in Civil War*, 102; Nankivell, *Hist. of Milit. Org.*, 29; ed., *D.M. Register*, May 5, 1864; Wm. N. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado* (Chi: Century, 1901), I, 297-9.

<sup>15</sup>*Rebellion Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 964.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 963-4.

<sup>17</sup>Adams, *Colo. in Civil War*, 103; *D.M. Register*, Aug. 12, 1864; *D.R.M. News*, Aug. 1, 9, 13, 15, 25, 1864; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 810, 846, 896. An interesting report is that of Isaac Gray who wrote Colonel Chivington on Aug. 21, 1864, that he had moved his company farther up the Arkansas because it was unhealthy at Camp Fillmore and, besides, the ranchers here were glad to have protection but also to charge 75c a dozen for roasting ears and 25c a pound for pumpkin. He had not seen any Indians but found that they were "all around committing depredations." *Ibid.*, 797.

<sup>18</sup>*D.M.R. News*, Aug. 11, 15, Sept. 3, 10, 1864; *D.M. Register*, Aug. 13, 19, 1864; "Early Colo. Days," *Colo. Mag.*, I, 253-5; M. O. Morris, *Rambles in the Rocky Mountains* (London: Smith, Elder, 1864), 11-75.



THE SAND CREEK BATTLE  
From the original painting by Robert Lindneux, in possession of the State Historical Society of Colorado and hanging in the State Museum, Denver.

at Washington regularly and without mention of Indian hostilities until January 14, 1865, after the Battle of Sand Creek.<sup>19</sup> And one newcomer in Colorado wrote in September, 1864, that the proprietor of the stage line was exaggerating the real danger in order to get a new contract on better terms.<sup>20</sup> Be that as it may, continued reports of attacks and massacres made the people receptive<sup>21</sup> to the announcement of Governor Evans that since Colorado was left on its own resources in the face of a formidable conspiracy and uprising, voluntary organization must immediately be effected in self defense.<sup>22</sup>

In this emergency the governor was authorized to call for volunteers for 100 days' service, and the Third Colorado Cavalry was immediately mustered in on that basis.<sup>23</sup> While this regiment was in camp near Denver, where it was being taunted by some citizens for its inactivity,<sup>24</sup> many of the southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes were encamped near Fort Lyon, as requested by Governor Evans in June. On September 4 Major Wynkoop, in charge of that post, undertook to negotiate peace with these Indians, who assured him they desired peace, and to obtain from them the release of some white prisoners that they held.<sup>25</sup> The prisoners were released and seven of the chiefs, accompanied by Wynkoop, came to Denver on September 29 to present their case to Governor Evans.<sup>26</sup> He told them, however, that they would have to make peace with the officer in command of the military, so Wynkoop sought instructions from Colonel J. M. Chivington.<sup>27</sup> The editor of the *News* espoused "chastisement" as the proper way to deal with these Indians,<sup>28</sup> and as if in response to this popular demand the Third Cavalry was ordered to Bijou Basin in mid-October and thence marched rapidly to Fort Lyon and on to Sand Creek.<sup>29</sup> On November 29 the Indians in camp there were taken by surprise and many of them killed.

<sup>19</sup>In 1864 Postmaster Curtis wrote letters dated Jan. 30; Feb. 3, 19, 23, 29; March 3, 4, 7, 12; April 1, 3, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21, 27; May 4, 16, 24; June 3, 11, 24; July 1, 6, 8, 19, 26, 29; Aug. 2, 6, 10; Sept. 1; and Oct. 1, 3, 7, 10; in the course of which he ordered over \$6,000 worth of stamps and never once mentioned interruption of the mails by the Indians. In November Wm. N. Byers took over that office and wrote letters dated Nov. 6, 7, 8, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23; Dec. 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 30; and Jan. 1, 5; before mentioning on Jan. 14 that Indian attacks on the stage route were endangering the mail service. Curtis-Byers Letter Book (University of Colorado Historical Collections).

<sup>20</sup>Goodykoontz, "Colo. as Seen by Missionary," *Colo. Mag.*, XII, 65.  
<sup>21</sup>The prevailing fright, as related by pioneers, is well expressed in Low, "Twenty Mile House," *Colo. Mag.*, XII, 142; Mrs. Jane Melvin, "The Twelve Mile House," *ibid.*, XII, 177; Alice Polk Hill, *Colorado Pioneers in Picture and Story* (Denver: Brock-Haffner, 1915), 202, 203, 207-12; Hall, *Colo.*, I, 326-37.

<sup>22</sup>Proclamation and editorials, *D.R.M. News*, Aug. 10, 1864; *D.M. Register*, Aug. 12, 1864; Gov. Evans to Sec. of War, Aug. 22, 1864, *Rebellion Records*, S. I., Vol. XLI, Part 2, 809.

<sup>23</sup>*D.R.M. News*, Aug. 13, 23, 1864; Adams, *Colo. in Civil War*, 104.

<sup>24</sup>Recalled in *D.R.M. News*, Dec. 13, 1864.

<sup>25</sup>*Rebellion Records*, S. I., Vol. XLI, Part I, 959, 965, 966, 969.

<sup>26</sup>*ibid.*; *D.R.M. News*, Sept. 24, 29, 1864.

<sup>27</sup>*Op. cit.* n. 25, p. 959; Hall, *Colo.*, I, 339, 340.

<sup>28</sup>*D.R.M. News*, Sept. 27, 1864.

<sup>29</sup>For details, see the diary reproduced in subsequent pages.

Meanwhile, the statehood issue had been the subject of a special election, in September, and since Governor Evans, Colonel Chivington, and other leaders in the Indian campaign had also championed statehood and sought election to state offices,<sup>30</sup> the Antis protested that they were provoking an Indian scare and prosecuting a "war" purposely to make political capital of it.<sup>31</sup> Although the statehood party had then been defeated, they began to prepare for another campaign the next year, in which, incidentally, a minor "Sand Creek Vindication Party" was to participate.<sup>32</sup> In the midst of this political acrimony, and immediately following Chivington's victory parade in Denver, word was received that the battle had been adversely reported to Congress and that an investigation was to be conducted.<sup>33</sup>

In the early months of 1865 a military commission headed by Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Tappan heard the testimony of several participants in the campaign.<sup>34</sup> Chivington's witnesses attested that about 1,000 Indians were in the camp, that they had offered stubborn resistance, that about 500 of them had been killed in the "battle," and that fresh scalps of white victims had been found in their tepees.<sup>35</sup> Chivington's critics contended that there were only about 500 Indians in the camp, that only a few had resisted, that not over 100, mostly women and children, had been killed and that the bodies of these victims had then been horribly profaned by the soldiers who had been incited to this massacre by the "bloodthirsty" speeches and remarks of their commander.<sup>36</sup>

Those who testified against Chivington were mainly white traders who had been in the Indian camp at the time, and one of them admitted that he had lost a valuable purchase of blankets as a result of the attack and had sworn to get revenge.<sup>37</sup> Captain

<sup>30</sup>On the proposed statehood ticket Governor Evans was a candidate for the Senate and Chivington for Congress, and both were supported in this and in their treatment of the Indians by Wm. N. Byers, editor of the *Denver News*, and D. C. Collier, editor of the *Central City Register*. Editorials and correspondence, *D.M. Register*, June 5, July 30, Aug. 24, 26, 1864; *D.R.M. News*, Aug. 8, 10, 26, 1864.

<sup>31</sup>The *Black Hawk Journal* was the organ of the Antis and it supported Judge Armour, member of that party, who rendered some court decisions to the effect that the Indians still held legal title to Colorado land. *D.R.M. News*, Aug. 26, Sept. 5, 7, 1864. In the face of this attack and on the eve of the election, Governor Evans withdrew as candidate for the Senate. *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1864.

<sup>32</sup>Ellis, "Colorado's First Fight," *Colo. Mag.*, VIII, 23-6; Hall, *Colo.*, I, 354, 355.

<sup>33</sup>Ed., *D.R.M. News*, Dec. 30, 1864.

<sup>34</sup>The proceedings were printed in "*The Sand Creek Massacre*," *Report of the Sec. of War, Sen. Ex. Doc. 226*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess. Captain S. F. Tappan had recruited a company of the First Colorado Volunteers at Central City in 1861 and then as Lieutenant Colonel had seen service against the Indians in eastern Colorado. At the opening of the investigation he admitted a personal dislike for Chivington and continued as president regardless of Chivington's objections. *Ibid.*, 5-8; Whitford, *Colo. Volunteers*, 47, 49.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 172-212; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 948-58.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 959-72; "*Sand Creek Massacre*," 8-172.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 208. Frank Hall, who had had a prominent part in public affairs in those years and had been in sympathy with the statehood movement, emphasized this damaging weakness in the testimony of the Antis. *Colo.*, I, 350, 354, 355.

S. S. Soule of the Third Cavalry had also condemned the massacre, but he was mysteriously murdered on the streets of Denver one night while the investigation was being conducted.<sup>38</sup> Major Wynkoop testified that up to the time that he had left Fort Lyon, early in November, these Indians had professed peace, had committed no depredations, and had thought they were under military protection; but his testimony was later interpreted to mean that he and his successor had merely temporized by leading the Indians to believe this, because Colorado's military force was then inadequate to cope with them otherwise.<sup>39</sup> Finally, when Chivington was questioned about the disposition of the ponies and blankets captured, he was evasive.<sup>40</sup>

No conviction resulted from this hearing, but Colonel Chivington, who had resigned a local Methodist Conference superintendency to participate actively in military affairs and had also entered politics with considerable popular acclaim, resigned his commission, was refused reinstatement in the Methodist Conference, turned to the freighting business, and later died convinced that he was "right with God" yet wondering how different his life might have been but for this unfortunate incident.<sup>41</sup> His defenders maintained that his attack on the Indians was justified not only because of the atrocities of the preceding summer but also because it taught the hostile bands a needed lesson and effectively put a stop to the depredations.<sup>42</sup> But actually the Indians went on the warpath with a vengeance after the Sand Creek episode and communication lines with the East were severed until Civil War troops, released from duty elsewhere, were stationed along the stage routes.<sup>43</sup> Serious warfare continued for two years, until the Indians finally capitulated, and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes then accepted a treaty placing them on a limited reservation.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile the opponents of statehood made good use of the adverse aspects of the Sand Creek engagement and its

<sup>38</sup>"*Sand Creek Massacre*," 8-15; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 950; C. A. Prentice, "Captain Silas S. Soule, a Pioneer Martyr," *Colo. Mag.*, XII, 227.

<sup>39</sup>"*Sand Creek Massacre*," 100; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 912, 959-61; Hall, *Colo.*, 334, 335, 344.

<sup>40</sup>"*Sand Creek Massacre*," 15, 36-7, 154, 155.

<sup>41</sup>Isaac H. Beardsley, *Echoes from Peak and Plains* (Cinci.: Curts and Jennings, 1898), 250-3; Whitford, *Colo. Volunteers*, 47, 50; Hal Sayr, "Early Central City Theatricals and Other Reminiscences," *Colo. Mag.*, VI, 52.

<sup>42</sup>Nankivell, *Hist. of Milit. Org.*, 31-3; Beardsley, *Echoes*, 252; Sayr, "Early Reminiscences," *Colo. Mag.*, VI, 52; Grace Greenwood, *New Life in New Lands* (N. Y.: Ford, 1873), 87-90.

<sup>43</sup>Hall, *Colo.*, I, 359, 360; Adams, *Colo. in Civil War*, 108; Adams, "The Second Colorado Cavalry in the Civil War," *Colo. Mag.*, VIII, 105; Mrs. Halie Riley Hodder, "Crossing the Plains in War Times," *ibid.*, X, 131; C. E. Young, *Dangers of the Trail in 1865* (Geneva, N. Y.: Humphrey, 1912), 43, 44; ed., *D.M. Register*, Feb. 9, 11, 1865. This time when mail coaches were pillaged, the postmaster at Denver expressed his alarm in letters to Washington. Curtis-Byers Letter Book (Univ. of Colo. Hist. Coll.), Jan. 14, 29, Feb. 2, April 4, 1865.

<sup>44</sup>Hall, *Colo.*, I, 361; McClure, *Three Thousand Miles*, 57, 65; "Governor's Message," *Daily Central City Register*, Jan. 6, 1870.

aftermath in their successful stand against the second statehood campaign in 1865.<sup>45</sup>

In these ways Colorado's volunteer expedition against the Indians in 1864 became and remained a controverted event of those trying years. The truth has been hard to determine because even the testimony at the hearing was extremely varied and obviously prejudiced. What actually happened? The hitherto unpublished diary of Major Hal Sayr<sup>46</sup> does not answer all the questions that have arisen, but it does tell the story of the campaign. As such it is valuable because it is a daily account, probably the only similar source in existence, written before the storm of controversy burst and had distorted men's memories.

<sup>45</sup>Hall, *Colo.*, I, 355.

<sup>46</sup>Hal Sayr, a native of New York, came to Colorado in the first rush of 1859 and was a mining engineer at Central City during the Civil War years, after which he resided at Denver though then president of a bank at Central City. From 1867 to 1872 he served as adjutant general of the Territory. He died at Denver in 1926 at the age of ninety-one. The diary published here is preserved among his other personal papers in the University of Colorado Historical Collections. (In the sixties he spelled his name "Sayr," but later he wrote it "Sayre," which accounts for apparent discrepancies in spelling in published references to his career.) *The Trail*, XVIII, #8 (Nov., 1925); *ibid.*, XIX, #8 (Jan., 1927).

### Sayr's Diary

August 13th 1864. Rec'd Recruiting Commission from Gov' Evans to Recruit men for the Third Colorado Cavalry at about 5 P M it being Saturday<sup>1</sup> Got out Posters and gave notice of a War meeting at the Montana Theatre tomorrow—<sup>2</sup>

Sunday Aug 14/64. Held War Meeting speeches by H. M. Teller. Enlisted about 60 men—<sup>3</sup>

Monday Aug 15/64. Enlisted about 20 men—Sent 40 men to Denver—<sup>4</sup>

Tuesday Aug 16/1864. Enlisted about 10 men sent about 20 to Denver in charge of C. H. Hawley<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>On June 3 Major General Curtis of the Department of Kansas had authorized Colonel Chivington to "Send out force to crush the Indians that are in open hostility, as requested by Governor Evans." (*Sen. Ex. Doc.* #26, 39 C., 2 S., 172). But no reserves were available and it was not until this date, Aug. 13, that the *News* announced Governor Evans had been authorized to raise a regiment of 100 day volunteers.

<sup>2</sup>The Montana Theatre at Central City was a large frame structure, built in 1861, that served as theatre and town meeting place until it burned in the fire of 1874. *The Daily Miners Register* cooperated with Sayr by announcing in headlines on Aug. 13 the "war meeting" to take place at the theatre building at 3 P.M. on Sunday.

<sup>3</sup>According to the *D.M. Register* of this date the county commissioners subscribed \$1,000 to the militia fund and an appeal had been directed to the "mining capitalists" to raise \$27,000 to equip 100 cavalrymen. H. M. Teller was a prominent local attorney and advocate of statehood who in 1876 became one of Colorado's first senators.

<sup>4</sup>On this date the *D.R.M. News* published a telegram from Fort Kearney reporting the mail service from there to Atchison had been cut off by the Indians.

<sup>5</sup>Hawley was later commissioned first lieutenant in Co. B and was one of the few men wounded in the engagement at Sand Creek. *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 957, 958.

Wednesday Aug 17. Enlisted 9 men Sent 20 to Denver in charge of A. L. Jordan—<sup>6</sup>

Thursday Aug 18. Sent 15 men to Denver in forenoon—Started for Denver in P. M.—Arrived in Denver about 6 P.M.—found men very impatient to be doing something

Friday Aug 19th/64. Made Muster in Rolls with the assistance of three or four of the boys

Saturday Aug. 20/64. Co. Mustered in—Myself as Captain C H Hawley 1st Lieut. Harry Richmond 2nd Lieut.<sup>7</sup> Mustered 103 Privates it being five more than could be retained in the Co—Transferred 5 by order of Gov. Evans to Captain Phillips.

Sunday Aug 21/64. Made arrangements to move camp west of Denver—

Monday Aug 22d. Established camp just west of Planters House—Drew and distributed Clothing and Blankets—<sup>8</sup>

Tuesday Aug 23d/64. Drawing Rations for Company—. Men running over town generally<sup>9</sup>

Wednesday Aug 24/64. Moved camp about 2½ miles below town on Platt—Camp named Evans

Thursday Aug 25/64. Drew Ordinance & Ordinance Stores and a few horses find new camp very dusty<sup>10</sup>

Friday Aug 26/64. Drew balance of Clothing and distributed same

Saturday Aug 27/64. In camp.

Monday Aug 29th. Received Marching orders to Garrison Fort Lupton<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup>On Aug. 17 the *D.M. Register* published a proclamation of the mayor of Central City that "All citizens should at once put in order, all fire arms, cutlasses and other warlike implements in their possession, so that we may be ready for any emergency."

<sup>7</sup>Richmond later appeared before the investigating committee and testified in behalf of Chivington. "*Sand Creek Massacre*," *Report of Sec. of War, Sen. Ex. Doc.* #26, 39 C., 2 S., 211.

<sup>8</sup>On this date Governor Evans wired the Secretary of War that he had no government saddles and no horses to mount the 100 days' cavalry, so he was ordering local officers to procure such equipage. Also, he added, he had "unlimited information of a contemplated attack by a large body of Indians in a few days along the entire line of our settlements." *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 2, 809.

<sup>9</sup>Business men of Denver had petitioned Colonel Chivington to establish martial law in order to promote enlistments in the Third Cavalry, and on Aug. 23 the *News* announced his proclamation of martial law.

<sup>10</sup>On the 25th the *News* published letters submitted by Governor Evans reporting depredations committed by Arapahoes.

<sup>11</sup>Fort Lupton, established in 1836 by Lieutenant Lupton, fur trader, was one-half mile west and one mile north of the present city of that name. L. R. Hafen, "Old Fort Lupton and Its Founder," *Colo. Mag.*, VI, 220. On Aug. 24, 1864, Captain Browne, in command there, had written Colonel Chivington that his men and 47 ranchmen were endeavoring to catch the Indians who had killed F. Whitcomb; and on Aug. 30 Colonel Chivington sent this report to Major-General Curtis: "Have sent company 100 days' men to old Fort Lupton. Will send one tomorrow to Valley Station and one not mounted to Junction Station and one company mounted to Arkansas River. Will in a few days send out one mounted to Latham . . . Can my ordnance, horse equipments, &c, be hurried up?" *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 2, 846, 946.

Thursday Sept 8th. Marched with command for Fort Lupton Camped this Eve at the O.K. House 13 miles from Denver<sup>12</sup>

Friday Sept 9th/64. Arrived at Fort Lupton about 2 P.M.—Found Fort full of families who had collected there for protection

Thursday Sep 22d. Rec'd order to Report immediately at Head Quarters at Denver<sup>13</sup>

Friday Sep 23d/64. Reported at Head Quarters. Was Mustered as Major of 3d Cavalry. Received order to turn property over to Cap't Orahood<sup>14</sup> who is my successor.

Tuesday Sep 27/64. Returned with Cap't Orahood to Fort Lupton—took inventory of property.

Wednesday Sep 28th. Returned to Camp Evans<sup>15</sup>

Thursday Oct 6/64. Returned with Cap't Orahood to Fort Lupton having rec'd orders to take command of forces between Camp Evans and Junction Station<sup>16</sup>

Sunday Oct 16/64. Rec'd orders to march immediately with forces under my command to Bijou Basin there to join balance of the Regiment<sup>17</sup>

Monday Oct 17/64. Marched with Co "B" for Bijou Basin via Denver—Remainder of my command to cross plains to the Cut-off thence to destination—Co "B" camped at 12 Mile House this eve. Cap't & Self went to Denver.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup>In the interim Major Wynkoop had opened negotiations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes camped near Fort Lyon (notes 25, 26, and text, *supra*) and the *News* had announced that during the Indian crisis east-bound mail would be sent to San Francisco and east by sea; that Ben Holladay had refused to re-stock his stage line since the Indian attacks, and that new contracts would be let (*D.R.M. News*, Sept. 3. Also, notes 19, 20, and text, *supra*). There followed a warning that if citizens voted against the state constitution they would be voting against paying the militiamen for their work. *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1864.

<sup>13</sup>During the two weeks that had elapsed since the previous entry the *News* had reported the burning of a supply train at Plum Creek and other lesser depredations, and incidentally that the statehood party was defeated in the special election but was organizing another campaign. Issues of Sept. 10, 15, 19.

<sup>14</sup>Harper M. Orahood, a prominent Central City merchant during the sixties, helped organize the first militia company there in 1861 and then served as officer in the Sand Creek campaign. Later he moved to Denver and became one of the State's leading lawyers, in partnership with Willard Teller. *Portrait and Biog. Record*, 175; Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado*, I, 235.

<sup>15</sup>The defense of Fort Lupton and vicinity was later maintained by "The Tyler Rangers" of Black Hawk, and the presence of that company there was credited with forestalling further depredations. James F. Willard, "The Tyler Rangers: The Black Hawk Company and the Indian Uprising of 1864," *Colo. Mag.*, VII, 147-51.

<sup>16</sup>During the preceding two weeks the *News* had reported the departure of a mail coach for the East (Sept. 26) and the expected arrival of mail at Denver (Oct. 6). In addition, Governor Evans had rejected the peace overtures of seven Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs (notes 26, 27 and text, *supra*) and on Oct. 1 the *News* had printed reports of Indian depredations in Kansas, Montana, Idaho, and New Mexico, bearing out the "general uprising" allegation.

<sup>17</sup>The *News* had had little to say concerning Indian troubles in the preceding week, except mention of two thwarted attacks on coaches near Plum Creek (Oct. 15). But in the meantime the commanding officers had apparently resolved upon a course of action, as evidenced by these orders for the scattered companies to meet at the head of Bijou Creek about 70 miles southeast of Denver.

<sup>18</sup>The course followed was in general the route of the old Smoky Hill Trail which ran southeast from Denver through Kiowa and Limon into Kansas. The "Cut-off" or Starvation Trail was north of the Smoky Hill and saved 40 miles from Denver to Limon. The Twelve-Mile House was a log stage station on Cherry Creek near present Melvin. Margaret Long, "The Smoky Hill Trail," *Colo. Mag.*, IX, 222, 223; "The Smoky Hill Trails in Colorado," *ibid.*, XI, 70-72, 74; Melvin, "The Twelve Mile House," *ibid.*, XII, 173-7.

Tuesday Oct 18/64. Cap't Orahood & self met command about 2 miles East of Denver and traveled with them to 4 Mile House on Cherry Creek above Denver—Rec'd orders from Col Shoup which obliged me to return to Denver this Eve—Returned to Camp about 7 P.M.<sup>19</sup>

Wednesday Oct 19/64. Cap't Orahood came from Denver this morning and brot orders from A.A.A. Gen.<sup>20</sup> which obliged me to return again—Command continued March—Regained command about 2 P.M.

Camped about 5 P.M. on a caison putting into Cherry Creek, having marched about 18 miles—Sulphur water which horses would not drink—Snowed in evening quite cold—Cleared off before morning—

Thursday Oct 20/64. Left camp about 7:15 Marched about 17 Miles through a fine rolling prairie—Ridges covered with scattering pines—Camped about 2 P.M. on Running Creek the valley of which is fenced into Ranches nearly all of which are deserted some of the inhabitants having been Killed when the indian troubles first broke out. Cold this evening.<sup>21</sup>

Friday Oct 21st 1864<sup>22</sup> Broke camp 8 A.M. Continued march up running creek about three miles. Crossed the divide to Kiowa Creek—Kiowa valley the most beautiful of any I have seen in the Territory—the only draw back being a scarcity of water—There has been some fine crops of grain raised in the valley this season—all of which is now harvested—Traveled nearly to the head of Kiowa and crossed the divide south easterly to Bijou Basin—which is situated at the junction of several small streams forming the main Bijou Creek—Bijou Basin is a circular valley about six or seven miles in diameter there is a number of very fine Ranches in the basin—Camp Evans where we now are and which is the present Head Quarters of the Third Col Cav is situated on Bijou Creek in about the center of the basin—There is now Seven Companies here—Distance traveled today 20 Miles<sup>23</sup>

Sunday Oct 23d/64. Rec'd letter from Ed<sup>24</sup> and one from home

<sup>19</sup>The Four-Mile House was "a neat little tavern, besides which grew some cottonwoods," located on what is now South Forest St. in Harmon. Long, 1st article cited above, note 18, p. 223; 2nd article, p. 73.

Colonel George L. Shoup was placed in command of the Third Colorado Cavalry in September and remained in charge throughout the campaign, but he was superseded by his superior, Colonel Chivington, commander of the district, when the latter joined the regiment in the field to direct the battle. *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 956; "Sand Creek Massacre," 175.

<sup>20</sup>Acting Assistant Adjutant General J. S. Maynard. Note 34, *infra*.

<sup>21</sup>Here Sayr probably refers to the Hungate massacre. Hall, *Colo.*, I, 332; Burkey, "Murder of Hungate Family," *Colo. Mag.*, XII, 139.

<sup>22</sup>On Oct. 20 the *News* had reported that a false rumor had produced a big "Indian scare" at Denver. An item from Ft. Lyon the next day, Oct. 21, said that since Wynkoop's "armistice" the Indians there had committed no overt acts and had been "quite as honorable as many whites."

<sup>23</sup>For reference here the military map of Colorado in 1867 is helpful. Whitfield, *Colo. Volunteers*, opp. p. 112.

<sup>24</sup>"Ed" was probably Edward C. Farmalee, Sayr's partner in abstracting and surveying office at Central City. *Portrait and Biog. Record*, 327.

Monday Oct 24/64. Wrote several letters which were taken to Denver by Express—Rained this evening.

Friday Oct 28th/64. In camp since last entry.

Friday Oct 28/64. Colonel went to Denver yesterday leaving me in command of Camp—Talbot Capt of Co "M" & Lieut D. Samen same Co took 3 Men off Guard & put others in their places to go on Battalion Drill—Lieut Richmond Officer of the day—<sup>25</sup>

Oct 30th 1864. Commenced snowing last evening and has continued up to this 8 O'clock P.M. Sent (Demerra of Co. K.) Messenger to Denver.

Tuesday Nov 1st 1864. Still snowing; snow now about two feet deep—Party just returned who went in search of W. Watson who has been out since Sunday morning—fears are entertained that he has frozen to death.<sup>26</sup>

Wednesday Nov 2d/64. Cleared off about 5 O'clock last evening—Cold today with wind from west.

Wednesday Nov 2 Cont'd. Sent Messenger to Denver this Morning Watson the missing man was bro't into camp this eve by a man who was out looking for horses—Found Watson about ten miles from Camp both feet badly frozen

Nov 3d/64 Thursday. Clear and quite pleasant One of the Mexican Soldiers of Lieut Autobees<sup>27</sup> command died last night. Was buried today by his comrades—without a coffin. Nothing but a handkerchief tied over his face

Rec'd letter from Col Shoup pr Military Express—which informs me that there is work ahead—and orders full rations to be fed our horses

Friday Nov 4th 1864. Sent my Returns of Quartermaster Stores Camp & Garrison equipage—pr Military Express to Denver

Saturday Nov 5th/64. Quite cold—Large drove of Antelope came into camp today—and met with a very warm reception—About 50 of them were Killed

9 P.M. Received Letter from Col Shoup dated the 3d. he was then on his way down the Platte after those companies stationed at Junction and Valley Stations—Rec'd orders to be ready to march immediately on his return—Clear and cold this evening.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Colonel Shoup later recalled that he left Sayr in charge at Bijou "about" Oct. 25 ("Sand Creek Massacre," 175). Captain Presley Talbot was wounded at Sand Creek but recovered in time to testify in favor of Chivington before the investigating commission. *Ibid.*, 207; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 956. Richmond is mentioned in note 7, *supra*.

<sup>26</sup>On Nov. 1 the *News* reported that Denver was blanketed with an eighteen-inch snow. Perhaps the W. Watson was W. A. Watson, Nevada Gulch butcher. Territorial Census of 1860, copy, p. 524 (Library of State Hist. Soc.).

<sup>27</sup>Lieut. Autobee later supervised disposition of ponies captured at Sand Creek. "Sand Creek Massacre," 164.

<sup>28</sup>On Nov. 6 Major Wynkoop reported to Kansas headquarters that Major Scott Anthony had come to relieve him at Ft. Lyon and would continue to permit Indians to camp there, unarmed, as prisoners. He had counted 652 Arapahoes there, in 113 lodges, and said he had reports that 600 Cheyennes were coming to join them. *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 912.

Monday Nov 7th/64.<sup>29</sup> Commenced snowing last evening and has snowed all day with a cold wind from N.E.

Friday Nov 11/64. Received letter from Col. Shoup—two from home & one from Ed—Weather warm & pleasant

13

Sunday Nov 14/64<sup>30</sup>. Received Marching Orders from Colonel Shoup about 4 P.M.—

Rec'd letters from J. C. Peabody & from home—Wrote Several letters this evening—Has been a fine day—Wind blowing quite hard tonight

14

Monday Nov 15/64. Broke camp and after a vast am't of work got Reg't started, leaving in camp two loads of Commissary stores—All the Q.M. Stores—The sick & Hospital Stores and Company "H"—also a part of Co "Bs"—tents for want of transportation—Marched 12 Miles through snow about one foot deep—which in many places had drifted into gulches to unknown depths & into which the horses & riders would go nearly out of sight—Camped on Squirrel Creek,<sup>31</sup> snow ab't 2 feet deep & very cold—troops camped about 7 P.M.—Transportation commenced coming in about two hours later and continued coming all night A number of animals died and some few abandoned

Very little fire wood on this creek plenty of large pine.

15

Tuesday Nov 16/64. After a very cold night broke camp & Marched 23 Miles to Fountain Qui bouille Creek.<sup>32</sup> Transportation arriving about 8 P.M. A number of animals abandoned today

Weather extremely *warm* so much so as to be uncomfortable—Com. Stores behind & not like to come up with command

16

Wednesday Nov 17/64. Left camp about 9 A.M. Marched 10 Miles & Camped at Mr. Wight's—Where we got plenty of hay & some corn—Weather extremely cold tonight with a bitter West Wind—Abandoned more animals this Morning—Sent back 7 Wagons to Basin to bring Co "H" & property left

Thursday Nov 17/64. Left camp at 10 A.M. & Marched 23 Miles to Fountain City 1 Mile below Pueblo—

Weather quite pleasant—Transportation came in soon after command

<sup>29</sup>On this date Wm. N. Byers, postmaster at Denver, wrote to Washington that he could make no immediate changes in post office staff, as requested, because the "men are all in the army and in the field against the Indians," Curtis-Byers Letter Book, 58.

<sup>30</sup>Here and for a few days Sayr apparently lost account of the date and entered corrections later.

<sup>31</sup>The head of Squirrel Creek is across the divide south from Bijou Basin; thence it flows south into the Arkansas.

<sup>32</sup>The course here was westerly to Fountain Creek in the vicinity of the present city of Fountain.

Friday Nov 18/64. Mexicans had a big row in Pueblo last night—No one hurt

Left Camp 9 A. M. Made Boons Ranch on Arkansas about 3 P.M. Transportation came in about 4 M—all right—Camped at Camp Fillmore just above Boons<sup>33</sup> Found a part of Co "E" of 1st Rgt at Camp Fillmore

Monday Nov 21st/64. Colonel Shoup arrived this evening and reports Co's "C" "D" & "F" of 3d & "H" of 1st within one days march of Camp Fillmore<sup>34</sup> Weather clear and quite cold—Nights very cold—Above named Co's arrived making quite an accession to our force—Commissary store not yet arrived.

Wednesday Nov 23d/64. Col Chivington—Maj Downing<sup>35</sup> & Capt Jo Maynard A.A.A. G.<sup>36</sup> arrived from Denver this evening—Regiment inspected this evening about dark—Chivington takes command which gives pretty general dissatisfaction—<sup>37</sup>

Thursday Nov. 24/64. Left camp about 9 A.M. Marched 15 Miles & camped on bank of Arkansas.<sup>38</sup>

Friday Nov 25/64. Marched about 12 miles and camped on Spring Bottom—Good Camp—Wood & Water—Warm<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Colonel A. G. Boone, grandson of Daniel Boone, was a pioneer rancher in the Arkansas Valley. He was also reported to have served as Indian Agent for the tribes in the vicinity of Pueblo. Mrs. Byron N. Sanford spoke of Boone, his wife, and two daughters as "pleasant neighbors." "Life at Camp Weed and Fort Lyon in 1861-62: An Extract from the Diary of Mrs. Byron N. Sanford," *Colo. Mag.*, VII, 135; *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, part 2, 797.

<sup>34</sup>For Shoup's account of the assembling of 10 companies at Camp Fillmore "about Nov. 18," see "*Sand Creek Massacre*," 175, 176.

On Nov. 21 the *News* reported another Indian attack at Plum Creek and published the general orders of Colonel Chivington announcing that he and Acting Assistant Adjutant General J. S. Maynard, would join the troops in the field.

<sup>35</sup>After having participated in the New Mexico campaign Major Downing had been assigned to protect 240 miles of the Arkansas River stage route in Kansas. This well done, he was made assistant inspector general and Chivington had once sent him to punish Indians near Camp Sanborn. After the battle of Cedar Canon in the spring of '64 he was charged with having started this Indian war. But in his own defense he upheld the cause of the Indians and called the malpractices of Indian agents to the attention of President Lincoln. *Portrait and Biog. Record*, 1239-42; *Encyc. of Biog. of Colo.*, I, 297-9; *D.R.M. News*, May 4, 1864.

<sup>36</sup>See note 34.

<sup>37</sup>Sayr's comment about Chivington's reception by the men tends partially to discredit the highly laudatory remarks of later writers. Whitford praised Chivington's ability highly and said his was "a most fortunate appointment" (*Colo. Vol.*, 47, 52, 90). Hill wrote that he was a great warrior whom men willingly followed (*Colo. Pioneers in Picture and Story*, 213), and George W. Thompson said that in dress uniform "he thought him the finest looking man I ever saw" ("Experiences in the West," *Colo. Mag.*, IV, 178). Hall, however, concluded that no doubt Chivington "sought renown" (*Colo.*, I, 356), while Sayr wrote in his later reminiscences, that he "always regarded him as a good natured, well intentioned man. Crude though he was, he still had been a Methodist preacher before the War; . . ." *Colo. Mag.*, VI, 52.

<sup>38</sup>A few days later when a Captain Backus arrived at Denver he related that he had met 10 companies of the Third between Col. Boone's and Bent's Fort, but that there were no Indians near Fort Lyon. *D.R.M. News*, Nov. 30, 1864.

<sup>39</sup>J. M. Combs of Fort Lyon later testified that he had met the Third in camp at Spring Bottom, where Chivington had questioned him about the Indians in the vicinity of the Fort. He related that Chivington had boasted of being after their scalps and had remarked: "Well, I long to be wading in gore." "*Sand Creek Massacre*," 117.

Saturday Nov 26/64. Marched at day-light, road good. Made 28 Miles & camped 1/2 a Mile above Bents Old Fort<sup>40</sup>

Sunday Nov 27th 1864. Marched 38 Miles & camped 14 Miles above Fort Lyon.

Monday Nov 28/64. Marched 14 Miles & camped one mile below Fort Lyon<sup>41</sup>

Tuesday Nov 29/64. Marched last eve at 8 O'clk for Sand Creek distant 40 Miles—Reached our destination at 6 A.M. where we found nearly 200 lodges of Indians whom we took by surprise. Went into action immediately which soon became general and lasted about 6 hours and resulted in the killing of nearly 400 indians with a loss of 8 men killed and 26 wounded—

Sleeping on our arms tonight.<sup>42</sup>

Wednesday Nov 30/64. An alarm last night formed line of battle where men slept until day Picket firing going on during night—Some skirmishing going on today—About a dozen more indians Killed and one or two of our men were brought in badly mutilated—Transportation came in about 7 P.M. Another alarm line of battle formed & men again slept on arms until morning—I killed one more indian today making three in all—

Thursday Dec 1st/64. Left camp 9 A.M.—took the back track and camped tonight on dry creek 15 miles south of battle field—

Friday Dec 2d 1864. Left camp 8 A.M. Dead and wounded sent to Fort Lyon—Command went down Sand Creek to River—Camped at Mouth of Sand Creek

<sup>40</sup>The old fort had been built by the Bent Brothers for a fur trading post in about 1832. It was half way between present La Junta and Las Animas. Arthur J. Fynn, "Furs and Forts of the Rocky Mountain West," *Colo. Mag.*, IX, 51, 52.

<sup>41</sup>For an interesting glimpse of Fort Lyon, then Fort Wise, in 1861, see the excerpt from the diary of Mrs. Byron Sanford, *Colo. Mag.*, VII, 135, 136. The old fort was located east of present Las Animas. Nankivell, *Milit. Org. of Colo.*, map opp. 30. It is unfortunate that Sayr recorded nothing concerning what transpired at the fort, because critics of Chivington later said that when he had ordered the troops at the fort to accompany him, their officers had remonstrated against his plan to attack the "friendly Indians." *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 960, 969.

<sup>42</sup>For comparison, more detailed accounts of the battle appear in "*Sand Creek Massacre*," *passim*, and *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 948 ff.; Major Sayr's assistance was commended in the latter, pp. 949, 953; and his own brief report appears on pp. 957, 958. Colonel Chivington immediately sent this dispatch to Major General Curtis in Kansas: "In the last ten days my command has marched 300 miles, 100 of which the snow was two feet deep. After a march of forty miles last night I, at daylight this morning, attacked Cheyenne village of 130 lodges, from 900-1000 warriors strong, killed Chiefs Black Kettle, White Antelope, Knock Knee, and Little Robe [Little Raven], and between 400 and 500 other Indians, and captured as many ponies and mules. Our loss [was] 9 killed, 33 wounded. All did nobly. Think I will catch some of them eighty miles on Smoky Hill. Found white man's scalp, not more than three days old, in one of the lodges." A similar glowing account was dispatched to the *News* at Denver. *Ibid.*, 948. Concerning the conduct of the troops during the battle, including the atrocities allegedly committed Hall later concluded that these "horrible things" were no doubt perpetrated and not justified (*Colo.*, I, 350), but Sayr afterwards wrote this in defense of the Third Cavalry: "I believe the conduct of the Colorado forces at Sand Creek was justified. It is true that we killed a lot of the Cheyennes, but they were the worst set of thieves and murderers that you can imagine. . . ." *Colo. Mag.*, VI, 52. The engagement took place near the present town of Chivington, Colo.

Saturday Dec 3d/64. Left camp 11 P.M. last night for a camp of Arapahoes & Kiowas. Marched 42 miles and found indian camps deserted—Went into camp to await transportation which came into camp about 9 P.M. this evening.

Sunday Dec 4th 1864. Col Shoup left camp at 11 A.M. with 30 men from each company on a reconnaissance about one hour after the coach came up the river & reported an encampment of indians 15 miles below—<sup>43</sup> Whole command marched immediately and reached the camp where the indians had been at dusk—Went into camp on river bank Col Shoup on South side of River—

Transportation came up about 10 P.M.—Scouts come in & reported indians 15 miles below. Whole command moved at 1 P.M. Marched about 12 Miles & found indians again gone Went into Camp and awaited transportation which arrived about 3 P.M. of Monday Dec 5th Laid in camp the balance of the day—

Tuesday Dec 6th 1864. Laid in camp—A scouting party was sent down the river about 20 miles which returned without seeing anything—Coldest night we have had during the campaign

Wednesday Dec 7th/64. Left camp at 9 A.M. and marched up the river 20 miles Weather clear & cold<sup>44</sup>

Thursday Dec 8th/64. Left camp at 9 A.M. Marched 15 Miles Very cold all day

Friday Dec 9/64. Marched 30 Miles & camped 3 Miles east of Sand Creek Quite Pleasant— Twelve horses gave out and were shot today

Saturday Dec 10th/64. Marched 18 Miles and camped ½ Mile East of Fort Lyon—Cold & Windy<sup>45</sup>

Sunday Dec 11/64. Marched 16 Miles and Camped on same ground as two weeks ago tonight—Quite pleasant

Monday Dec 12th 64.<sup>46</sup> Marched 30 Miles & camped about ½ mile above Old Fort Bent—Quite pleasant

Tuesday Dec 13/64. Laid in Camp during day

<sup>43</sup>Major Scott Anthony later said that it was on Dec. 2nd that passengers on the coach from Larned, Kansas, gave the troops this clue. *Rebellion Records*, S. I, Vol. XLI, Part 1, 953.

<sup>44</sup>The decision to return and give up the pursuit was made. Chivington reported, because of the exhaustion of the horses after the long march in deep snow and also in view of the approaching termination of the 100 days for which these men had enlisted. *Ibid.*, 949. It was on this day that the *News* first reported joyously the "Big Indian Fight" near Sand Creek, and the people of Denver then turned out for a "glorification" to celebrate this "needed whipping." The editor added, as if in anticipation of criticism, that this plan of attacking the Indians in their villages was the only way to get at them. *D.R.M. News*, Dec. 7, 8.

<sup>45</sup>George W. Thompson, cattle dealer, bought 15 head of the captured ponies from Chivington at Fort Lyon for \$25 each. "Experiences in the West," *Colo. Mag.*, IV, 178.

<sup>46</sup>On the 12th the *News* announced that the Third was returning and Chivington would arrive "tomorrow," and the next day the editor wrote that this cavalry could no longer be taunted as the "Bloodless Third."

Wednesday Dec 14/64. Left Camp at 6 A.M. Marched 25 Miles and camped without hay—Weather fine & warm

Thursday Dec 15/64. Left camp 6 A.M. & Marched 25 Miles & camped 8 miles below Boons—Weather pleasant A little hay for animals tonight

Friday Dec 16/64. Marched 16 Miles & Camped 8 Miles above Boons—Col's Shoup & Bowen went to Pueblo this eve

Saturday Dec 17/64.<sup>47</sup> Marched at 6 A.M. & took the cut-off. Marched 20 Miles & camped on Fountain at Youngs—Quite cold

Sunday Dec 18 1864. Marched to Colorado City 30 Miles—Cold & Windy—Camped at foot of Pikes Peak

Monday Dec 19th 1864. Marched to Walkers or Dirty-Womans Ranch<sup>48</sup> 25 Miles—Pleasant

Tuesday Dec 20/64. Marched to Coberlys Ranch<sup>49</sup> 15 Miles—Pleasant

Wednesday Dec 21st. Marched to Platte River 25 Miles—Pleasant

Thursday Dec 22/64. Marched to Denver 10 Miles<sup>50</sup> being Pleasant—Went into Camp at Camp Weld<sup>51</sup>

Sunday Dec 25th 1864. In Camp—None of our Regiment mustered out yet—<sup>52</sup> Some of the boys trying to have a Merry Christmas by getting drunk

<sup>47</sup>The *News* of this date devoted a column and a half to the campaign, relating the Chivington version of great success and evident justification.

<sup>48</sup>Mrs. Byron Sanford wrote in her diary that the name of this ranch was appropriate. She related that on her stop there she saw, in the kitchen, a pig with its head fast in the cream jar. *Colo. Mag.*, VII, 134.

<sup>49</sup>On the road south, it was "35 miles to Coberly's." *D.R.M. News*, Sept. 16, 1864.

<sup>50</sup>According to the *News* of this date the Third was accorded a great reception on its "victorious march" down the streets of Denver.

<sup>51</sup>Camp Weld, established in 1861 and named after the Territorial Secretary, was located two miles above Denver of that day. "Life at Camp Weld," *Colo. Mag.*, VII, 133, 136; Beardsley, *Echoes*, 250; Whitford, *Colo. Volunteers*, 44.

<sup>52</sup>The Third was mustered out on the 28th, but the men had to wait until later to get their pay because of the death of Paymaster Fillmore. At Central City, too, when the Gilpin County boys returned they were accorded an enthusiastic reception. One pioneer later said that one of the vivid memories of his boyhood days was the parade of these returned cavalymen and Colonel Chivington at their head with a live eagle tied to a pole, flapping its wings (Interview with Robert Johnson at Central City, Aug. 31, 1935). Although word of the impending investigation had been received by that time (*D.R.M. News*, Dec. 30, 1864), the *D.M. Register* revealed little dissent in the popular applause (esp. issues of Jan. 5-7) until later (Jan. 25) when the Montana Literary Society announced this subject for a debate: "Resolved that indiscriminate massacre of all Indians, without reference to age or sex, is contrary to humanity, religion and common sense."

## Recollections of the Families of Gregory and Russell, Colorado's Pioneer Prospectors

W. A. GAYDON

[Mrs. Mardelle L. Clark, now of Denver but recently of Georgia, has interested herself in the early history of Colorado, with special emphasis upon the part played by Georgians in the founding of Denver and in the early mining development here. In September last she wrote to her home paper of the close connection between Georgia and Colorado and, at our request, made a call for new information regarding Colorado pioneers who came from Georgia, especially for data relating to John H. Gregory and the Russell brothers. Her letter was published in the Gainesville, Georgia, *News* on September 29, 1937. The most interesting response came from W. A. Gaydon, now of Hammonton, California. His valuable and enlightening letters are, with his kind permission, reproduced herewith.—Ed.]

Hammonton, Calif.

Oct. 15, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Clark:

I was born and reared in a little log cabin on the Lumpkin County side of the Lumpkin-Dawson line, 2½ miles southwest of Auraria, 4 miles northeast of Dawsonville, and a half mile from the family of the John Gregory you mention, who were our nearest neighbors.

John Gregory died before my time and it has always been my impression that he never returned from the West. His family was "poor but proud." "Aunt Patsy" Gregory was cultured, well educated, and a profound Christian. I remember that whenever she would take a meal in our home she would invariably ask the blessing, a thing that shocked me somewhat, as I did not believe that was the proper thing for a woman to do!

Whether John Gregory made and retained any money I do not know. But he must have had his family's welfare in mind when he purchased the small farm adjoining our own and built a cabin thereon. This was originally a one-room affair but John Gregory's son-in-law, Dawson ("Doss") Woody, who lived there with "Aunt Patsy," added a back room and a side room of rough boards. I am told this old, old home is still standing and occupied by its present owner.

I recall a time when Mrs. Gregory visited our home. She had laid aside her glasses, and while her back was turned I tried them on. Imagine my fright when she caught me in the act.

But the dear old lady smiled and said "And can you see any?" I held her in awe because she used the broad "A" saying "hof" for half, which in my hillbilly lingo I pronounced "haif." Most people say "haf," I believe.

Their children were Major, Jesse, John, Jr., and "Linnie," the only girl, who married Doss Woody. Major was a cornfield preacher of a sort—the poorest sort. Though he said he could preach as good as anybody if people would give him their "whole an' on-divided attention."

John, Jr. (Johnny) was weak minded but, paradoxically, extremely witty in turning the tables on the young squirts who tried to tease him. He was somewhat like "Sephus" of the Seth Parker program except that he talked in a "laughing voice," as he was generally in the best of humor. He was stooped, spraddled and wizened, and would have presented a most comical appearance had he not been of a kind, jolly, and lovable disposition which aroused sympathy rather than crass humor.

At an early age I learned to impersonate John Gregory, Jr., to the nth degree. Every detail of his appearance, gait, voice, and even his stock sayings. And was it a hit among the neighbors! I could draw a real hearty laugh out of the most dour cynic. And any one who has ever contacted one of those caustic birds will agree that that is some accomplishment. It is to John Gregory that I owe the discovery of talent which later boosted me to the stage and radio.

The little farm of John and Patsy Gregory was situated on the eastern branch of Calhoun creek, named for the great statesman, John C. Calhoun, who was one of the early prospectors in that section, and who was responsible for changing the name of Nuckollsville to Auraria on account of the rich gold mines of the region.

Having little sympathy for the Southern Cause during the War Between the States, the Gregory family moved to Indiana and remained there until the end of the war. One thing that may be a bit surprising in this generation of ruthlessness is the fact that when they returned to Georgia they found their little home intact and ready for occupancy. And although they were Republicans and identified as "Hog Backs," they were still respected by their neighbors.

During the '70s, while the late war was the main topic of discussion I remember hearing Major Gregory say that he knew from the beginning there was no chance for the South to win, as all the European nations were against us, specifically mentioning "Rooshy and Per-Rooshy" (Russia and Prussia).

The Mrs. Martha Carney you mentioned in the *News*, is the eldest daughter of W. D. and Linnie Woody, and a granddaughter

of John and Patsy Gregory. If she has no picture of her grandfather there is little likelihood that one exists. She occupied the old Gregory home for many years after her parents had passed on. Jesse Gregory's descendants live around Dawsonville. Major moved West—I believe to Oklahoma—and it is possible he may have carried a picture away with him, as the family honored him on account of his "high calling," and gave him the best of everything. Perhaps Martha could recall his Western address.



WILLIAM GREEN RUSSELL

From a rare tintype recently acquired by the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Green Russell and my parents were friends from childhood, and he was probably responsible for their desire to move to Colorado. I recall my mother telling me we were going to move to "Coloraydo." At that time I had never heard of a rebus but I WAS familiar with the "shaped notes" of the old hymn books. So forthwith I drew a mental picture of a man's collar and two

notes of the scale, re and do. Collar-re-do. My father was one of the original '49ers and had no doubt been r'aring to go since the Russell-Gregory gold strike and the founding of Auraria, Colorado. But on account of a growing family and a lack of funds he never realized this ambition.

I have no personal recollection of Green Russell but I knew his family. I do not believe he had any Indian blood in his veins. Though "Aunt Sooky" was of mixed blood, I am pretty sure Green was pure white. (No pun intended.) "Aunt Sooky" Russell ("Aunt" and "Uncle" were terms of respect for the aged) used to throw "square" dances which drew young people from all parts of Lumpkin and Dawson counties. I longed and pined to attend with my fiddle but was never allowed to do so. Four miles was a "fer ways" for a boy in his early teens to walk through the hills and woods at night.

I remember their sons, Bob and Rol., and their daughter Fannie. There was also another daughter who married a Howard. At the age of 18 I met Mrs. Howard at a party given by "Uncle Billy" Odom, a relative of Green Russell, and whose name you mentioned in your letter to the *News*. Mrs. Howard had a daughter nicknamed "Kood" for whom I fell like a thousand bricks. The party was a fare-well affair in honor of Mrs. Russell's children, just before they moved to Oklahoma, then known as Indian Territory. "Aunt Nancy" Forbis and her children were also going. I visited the Forbis family in 1904 while on a business trip to Oklahoma. They were living at Westville, Okla., and I believe they could put you in touch with the Russells if you could contact any of them.

Sam Bates was an unique and interesting character. Part Indian, he was tall, rawboned and extremely dark. A big pock-marked Roman nose, long smooth shiny hair curled outward from the shoulders, in the manner of Buffalo Bill, and a born humorist; also a fiddler. I was delighted when he would come for a few days' visit at our "Blue Ridge Mountain Home." He was a bachelor and spent much of his time rambling about the neighborhood having a good time. His humorous traits were so well known that people formed the habit of laughing at everything he said, which sometimes annoyed him. Once while engaged in serious conversation a crowd of young guys, standing near, would haw, haw at the end of every sentence. Finally he turned and rasped out "Well I'll be damned! I reckon I must be the funniest man in the world."

Rube Wilson was of "The Ridge Road Crowd" composed of Wilsons, Chapmans and Hulseys, living a mile below Auraria, on

the Gainesville road. I used to see him in Auraria quite often. Henson Chapman, 85, still lives there and could tell a lot about him. My Aunt by marriage, Mrs. Lou Anderson, a nonagenarian, probably the oldest citizen in that section, was entirely familiar with all the Russell-Gregory-Colorado party at the time and previous to the time of their Western trek. She could tell a wonderful story provided her memory is still clear. She lives a mile southeast of Auraria, in the "Pot Leg" neighborhood. If you could induce Mr. Hardy or a member of his staff to visit these two I believe you could get some real information.

I am awfully sorry, Mrs. Clark, that out of all this chatter I could not dig up a single thing of value to the Colorado Historical Society. But I trust it may be of some interest and amusement to yourself as an individual. I have an elder brother, and an old neighbor still older than he, not far from here. And if this letter is of sufficient interest to pull an answer, I will get in touch with them and see what they know.

[The answer was forthcoming. Mr. Gaydon visited the persons mentioned and wrote this second letter.]

Hammonton, Calif.

October 31, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Clark:

Thanks, mightily, for the fine letter and the kind comment. But who could expect anything less from a member of *that* family? I refer, of course, to the Lillys.

John and Tom Lilly and their families and my parents were just like that—(I am now intertwining my index fingers). They were lifelong friends; and when I say friends I mean just that. We lived about 3 miles from the Lilly Place. From Auraria out the Dawsonville road; over the Castleberry bridge, past Battle Branch to where Will Hutcheson now lives. There two little roads turned off to the left, one going to the Gregory place, the Dale home, and on to Mark Castleberrys, the other down to our "palatial mansion" (!) consisting of two squat log huts with "stick-an'-dirt" "chimbleys." One facing east and west, the other north and south.

But wait and let Sister Sue tell you of her recollections of the Lillys. Miss Hattie and Miss Mat. And just listen to her tell of her experience with "Grandma Paschal!" Now *there's* sump'n' fer ye! Oh, when she gets around to it. She doesn't like to write as well as her baby brother does.

My brother Frank came down yesterday after his confab with his friend Will Wood. They have it doped out like this: John Gregory died in Colorado. Frank says he remembers when

the news came of Gregory's death. "Granny Millie," our father's stepmother, and another woman were at our house, and Millie said "We'll thest go over and tell Patsy." But when they arrived Aunt Patsy was all a-flutter expecting her husband home at any time. Planning all the fine things she would get "when Gregory comes." The two women sat there all day and then left without mustering the courage to tell her the sad news. "Gregory" never came. Neither did any money for the "fine things."

Here's their version of the Green Russell story. Green *was* pure white. (Pun intended.) He was a blond, wearing long red whiskers. He returned from his first trip to Colorado and bought the Ledbetter farm down "Hightower" a little below where Dougherty postoffice now is. (A Mr. Armstrong lived there when I was there in 1911.) Some time later Green Russell and Sam Bates made another trip to Colorado and Green never returned. He and Sam started back but Russell was in poor health and they stopped in the "Cherokee Strip" where the immortal Green Russell died. I suppose Sam "Buried him o-o-ut on the lone Prairie-ee-ee." Sam Bates returned to Georgia and lived on through a jolly old age.

Bill Odom married Green Russell's sister and raised a large (physically and numerically) family, one of whom, Green Odom, came to California with his two half uncles, "Bud" and "Duff" Odom. My brothers, Jeff, Perry, Bill, and Frank were closely associated with these Odoms during life. Frank, the youngest of our family except myself, and Sister Sue are all that are left of our family. Jeff, the oldest, died a month ago last Sunday, at the age of 84. Bill died in 1923, and Perry, who it was once thought would marry Green Russell's daughter Fannie, died in 1924.

Here's another little "human interest" story of Bill Odom. He had a quaint accent, somewhat like that of the Scandinavians, to which branch of the race he probably belonged. Mother knew him from childhood and could imitate his speech. She often told this little story: On one of his Western trips he and his party were suffering for water. Then one day, much to their joy, they came in sight of it. But it proved to be one of those bitter streams found in some sections of the Rockies and none could drink it. Later, back in Georgia, another party was preparing for a Western trip and Uncle Billy addressed them thusly: "Whan you gat to Batter Crake thank on may."

Another "human touch" concerns the interesting, dynamic Major Gregory whom I tried to describe in my other letter. Like so many lanky, garrulous, know-it-all backwoodsmen, he spoke in metrical sentences, keeping time with his head and body. Once, when a small boy, my brother Frank returned from Auraria, began

shaking himself in perfect cadence and said "I saw Major Grig'ry in town—just like this:

" 'I'll *tell* you what's a *fact*  
Tumma fol-doll-doll.' "

That was the way Major did it. Opening his wisdom pouch with "I'll tell you what's a fact," he'd continue with another rhythmic measure sounding like "Tumma fol-doll-doll." And amounting to just about as much.

Returning once more to the subject of Grandma Paschal—tell me—didn't one of her descendants marry the able and famous Irish statesman, T. P. O'Connor? He was known to his associates as "Auld Tay Pay." I used to wonder if Paschal were a Jewish name, as the word paschal pertains to the Passover. But I later learned that its more explicit meaning is in reference to the pascha, or sacrificial lamb of the Passover, which certain of the disciples claimed was symbolical of Jesus. So the Christians doubtless have as much right to the name as have the Jews. Says Sally Shopper. Or duh-she say it?

Dr. Hafen will have my heartiest approval in using any part of these letters which he may desire. My regret is that I cannot furnish more concrete facts of historical value. . . .

Sincerely,

W. A. GAYDON.

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equal the feats and accomplishments of their Spanish predecessors of an earlier day.

Before the coming of the first permanent Jesuit missionaries to Colorado in 1871 the secular Catholic clergy had already been laboring for eighteen years in the Spanish-speaking settlements of the San Luís Valley. The first settlers here, who were in fact the first permanent settlers in what is now Colorado, were from the older Catholic Spanish settlements of New Mexico, of which southern Colorado was in effect the last northern frontier.

The San Luís Valley settlements being of Catholic Spanish origin, the New Mexico secular clergy virtually came in with the first settlers. By 1854 there were several villages established along the Conejos and Costilla Rivers, and on some scattered ranches, about one hundred families in all. The idyllic villages of the fertile San Luís Valley, predominantly Spanish-speaking in population, with a few Americans among them, most of whom had also come up from New Mexico, were not to remain in isolation for long.

The discovery of gold in the Pike's Peak country in 1858 started a mad rush of Anglo-American immigrants into the hills and valleys of the eastern slope of the Colorado Rockies. This opened a new chapter in Colorado Church history. The older Catholic Spanish frontier was met on its northern and eastern fringes by a new Anglo-American mining frontier. This was to have far-reaching reactions, different but equal in significance to those that had already been felt in the New Mexico settlements ten years earlier. To the Catholic Church these new frontier developments opened a new and challenging field of missionary endeavor.

The decade of the fifties had witnessed the coming of the first permanent Catholic missionaries into Colorado. The following decade was the formative period for the Catholic Church in Colorado. During that time its original elements were brought together and organized into regular groups. The first permanent missionaries in Colorado who came from New Mexico had been under the jurisdiction of Archbishop John B. Lamy of Santa Fé. In 1866, however, the Vicariate Apostolic of Colorado and Utah was established under the jurisdiction of the Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf, who later, in 1887, became Bishop of Denver. Machebeuf, who began his missionary activities in Colorado in 1858, was destined to be perhaps the most conspicuous Catholic clergyman in Colorado history. He was the guiding spirit behind all Catholic Church activities in Colorado in the early period.

While these significant changes were taking place in the Colorado Rockies, other events were taking place in far-off Italy

## The Neapolitan Jesuits on the Colorado Frontier, 1868-1919

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA\*

Colorado's pioneer days were relatively recent, for the region was not permanently settled by Europeans till after the turn of the middle of the nineteenth century. But the obstacles that faced the pioneers here were very much the same as those that faced pioneers on every new frontier, and the early Catholic missionaries who labored here recall to mind the sixteenth century ideal which brought to the American Far West its first pioneers of civilization, the brown robed Franciscan and the black robed Jesuit, even though these more recent apostles could not hope to

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which were to result in the coming of the first Jesuits to the Colorado frontier. Italy was in the midst of revolution and the Jesuits were being dispersed. During this time of great anxiety, in the year 1867, Archbishop Lamy of Santa Fé, in need of more missionaries for his diocese, asked the Father General of the Jesuits, Father P. J. Beckx, for Jesuit missionaries. At the moment the provincial of Naples was looking for a foreign mission in which to place part of the dispersed Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus, so by the direction of the Father General he accepted the mission of Colorado and New Mexico. Thus through a turn of events in Italy, missionaries of the Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus were to play a significant role in the history of the New Mexico-Colorado frontier.<sup>1</sup>

The first little band of five Jesuits reached Santa Fé, New Mexico, on the fifteenth of August, 1867. Thus began the New Mexico-Colorado Mission of the Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus. A half century later, in 1919, when the mission was divided and transferred to the Missouri and New Orleans provinces, there were one hundred and twenty-two Jesuits active on the field, and the scene of their activities had expanded to embrace the vast area from Montana to Old Mexico and from Arizona to Oklahoma.

Among the first Jesuits who came to Santa Fé in 1867 was Father De Blicek, a Belgian, who had been temporarily loaned to the Neapolitan mission by the Missouri Province. He was the first Jesuit in Colorado of whom we have definite record. In a letter dated April 14, 1868, Father Machebeuf wrote:

The celebrated missionary, Father De Blicek came to Denver over a month ago from Santa Fé . . . He gave a mission in our principal mountain parish where I was with him for a week, and he began one here in Denver on Friday of Passion Week. Unfortunately he was taken very sick on the third day of the mission . . . the work of finishing the mission fell upon me.<sup>2</sup>

Father De Blicek also took Father Machebeuf's place in charge of the Denver parish for a short time in the spring of 1868, during the temporary absence of the latter.

The first permanent missionary work of the Jesuits in Colorado, however, dates from the establishment of the Conejos mission in 1871. Although there had been permanent settlements in

<sup>1</sup>The only detailed accounts of the Jesuits in Colorado are the manuscript records, the bulk of which are preserved in the archives of Regis College, Denver. The present article is based on these materials, especially F. M. Troy, S.J., *Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado*, Ms., n.d., 140 pp., Regis College Archives, and Vito M. Tromby, S.J., *Historia Missionis Novi Mexico et Colorado et Elogia Nostrorum qui in ea Missionis defuncti sunt*, Ms., n.d., 136 pp., *ibid.*; and also Rev. W. J. Howlett, *History of the Diocese of Denver*, Ms., n.d., Chancery Office, Denver. See also the commemorative booklet entitled *The Jesuit Fathers in Denver* (Denver, 1924), commemorating the dedication of St. Ignatius Loyola Church, and the little booklet *A la parroquia de Conejos en sus bodas de diamante* (Antonito, 1934).

<sup>2</sup>Rev. W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D.D.* (Pueblo, 1908), 337.

the San Luís Valley since 1851, and although mass had been said in the Conejos Valley from about 1853 by priests from Abiquiu, New Mexico, there was no resident priest in Conejos until June 10, 1857, when Our Lady of Guadalupe parish was established by Bishop Lamy. From that time on there was a resident secular priest at Conejos. But the secular clergy were apparently apathetic. Governor Gilpin decided to try and obtain Jesuits to administer the parish, and he wrote to Father De Smet in St. Louis in that regard. De Smet immediately forwarded the letter to Father Gasparri, at Albuquerque, which had become the central headquarters for the New Mexico-Colorado Mission. Gasparri wrote to the Governor asking for a map of the parish and the San Luís Valley. A short time later Machebeuf, Vicar Apostolic of Colorado, asked the Jesuits to take over the parish, and Father Salvador Personé and Brother Cherubin Anzalone were assigned to the Conejos mission, where they arrived December 9, 1871.

Father Personé, the first Jesuit to take up permanent work in Colorado, was destined to spend almost fifty years of his missionary life on Colorado soil. Two months later, February 1, 1872, he was joined by Father Alejandro Leone and another brother. Personé immediately began to restore the church, and there began a period of religious revival the like of which had never before been seen in the San Luís Valley. They made a visitation of their mission and found about 3,000 souls in the twenty-five different villages extending north as far as Saguache and San Luís, some 115 miles, south to Los Pinos, about 6 miles, east as far as Los Sauces, some 25 miles, and west as far as Las Mesitas, some 7 miles. To quote from the original parish diary describing the remarkable religious activity of the Jesuits during their first months at Conejos, the Lenten season of 1872:

Considering the lamentable state in which the people lived, the Fathers sought a means of urging and getting them to fulfill their religious obligations. The time was very favorable, for it was the Lenten Season, and much more so because it was winter, when the people live shut up in their houses and in their huts, while in the summer they are so scattered that it is impossible to gather them together. Hence the two Fathers began to visit the villages and the ranches, going from house to house, and confessing almost everyone in his own home. To be sure, almost the whole night went in hearing confessions, which at times were continued until time for Mass, especially since there were boys and girls and also adults who had not yet made their First Communion. But God lightened this work with almost 2,000 confessions, with eight persons who left the bad life, with the removal of other less public scandals, and the destruction of many Protestant books . . . The fact is that since the Fathers arrived the people come to Mass, go to confession, abuses and scandals are being removed, and the people live in peace and without fear of being attacked and killed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>This quotation is taken from volume one of the *Diario de la residencia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Conejos, Colorado, 1871-1920*, 9 vols., Ms. in Regis College Archives, Denver. It may also be found in the author's translated and edited excerpts from the same in *Mid-America*, XVIII (October, 1936), 274-275.

The next parish to be established by the Jesuits in Colorado was that of St. Ignatius in Pueblo, where Father Charles Pinto took charge on October 20, 1872. He first made his home in a little room in the house of Captain J. J. Lambert, but in 1873 he erected a two story building, the upper story being used for a church, and the lower for a residence. The parish of the Seven Dolors had been established in 1869 for the Mexican settlers on the Cucharas and Huerfano Rivers, but between there and Denver, a distance of 175 miles, there was no priest until Father Pinto took charge of the lower half of the territory with headquarters at Pueblo. In 1875 Father Pinto succeeded in obtaining the Sisters of Loretto to teach in the parochial school of St. Ignatius.



REV. FR. SALVATORE PERSONÉ, S.J.

The next mission to which the Jesuits were called was Trinidad. Father Munnecum, the pastor there, did not understand the people and had alienated many from the Church. And so the Jesuits were asked to give a mission there, which was conducted by Fathers D'Aponte and Salvador Personé, beginning on December 13, 1874. The parish was in such a disgraceful condition that in the following year Bishop Machebeuf turned it over to the Jesuits.

Fathers Pinto and Leone were ordered to Trinidad on November 20, 1875. The first thing they did was to restore the church,

which was nothing but a hall, without floor, without ornament, without light, and with a very poor altar. In this work they were aided by the Sisters of Charity, who had been conducting the school there since 1871. The new parish comprised the whole of Las Animas County, a territory one hundred and fifty miles long and fifty miles wide.

During these years Bishop Machebeuf worked unceasingly in his efforts to bring other Catholic Religious Orders to those places in Colorado where Catholic settlers lacked the ministrations of their clergy. Meanwhile the Jesuits worked unceasingly. From September 4 to October 14, 1876, they were temporarily in control at Walsenburg, due to the death of the pastor. From their headquarters at Conejos, Pueblo, and Trinidad, missions were being given in the surrounding territory to revive the faith of the Catholic people. The mission conducted by Fathers Gasparri and Minasi at Conejos in April of 1876 was most successful. At the close of the mission Father Gasparri suggested that the citizens erect a more commodious building for a convent and as a result a fairly decent building was set up. And in the following year the school was improved and the Sisters of Loretto took charge; they were to remain there until 1918. The educational activity sponsored by the Jesuits was notable, and until the end of the Jesuit regime in Conejos in 1919, one or another of the Jesuits was a member of the school board. In 1879 Bishop Machebeuf established a parish at Carnero and placed Father John Brinker in charge, because the Jesuits did not have enough men to administer the whole valley. In 1888 the Jesuits were again given charge of the entire valley, and in 1899 Father Francis Tommasini built at Del Norte the first church to be consecrated in Colorado.

Meanwhile Bishop Machebeuf was agitating for a Jesuit parish in Denver. He had written to Father Baldassarre, Superior of the Mission, asking for men to open a house in Denver, but the Superior replied that he had no men. But when the Bishop heard that Father Camillus Mazzella had been appointed Visitor to the Mission and was in Pueblo he immediately went to see him. He asked the Visitor to accept two more missions and found either a residence or college in Denver. Father Mazella realized that Denver was fast becoming the principal city of the region and after much deliberation decided to grant the Bishop's request, although it could be done only at great sacrifice and inconvenience.

In 1879 three Jesuits came to Colorado, and with Father Guida as pastor established Sacred Heart parish in the eastern part of Denver, opening a temporary chapel on September 12 in the parlors of their own residence recently purchased. This was the third Catholic parish established in Denver. On the sixteenth

of September Father Guida began construction of a new church. The cornerstone was laid October 16 and the new edifice was opened to the public on April 25, 1880. During the summer months the basement was divided into rooms and fitted and furnished for school purposes, and in the beginning of September the School of the Sacred Heart was formally opened. It was the second Catholic parochial school in Denver. The pupils came from all parts of the city. Father Guida organized a "Free School Society" which, however, was short lived. In the summer of 1882 he arranged for the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati to take charge of the school.

The parish was so large that it was necessary for the Fathers to open a chapel in the eastern part of it in order to accommodate the parishioners. The new church was called Loyola Chapel and served the parish until replaced by the present Loyola Church in 1924. At first the back part of the building was used for a residence. After the present rectory was built the partition was torn out and the church extended to the rear of the building. Although Denver may have been proud of her new church, Dr. Edward J. Nolan was a bit critical when he wrote in 1894:

Our first Sunday was spent in Denver. We were fortunate enough to be directed to the Jesuit Church, which we found to be poor, small and dingy, unworthy alike of the great Order and the growing city. We were assured, however, that it was the best Catholic church in Denver, which is the more surprising as our dissenting brethren have kept pace with the progress of the city, fine Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Unitarian churches have been erected. In fact there was apparent truth in the remark of the hotel clerk of whom we asked guidance.—"The Catholic Church in Denver is slow;" the more to be regretted as it appears to be the only slow thing in the place. The congregation, however, was large and devout, with a gratifying proportion of the male element. The beauty of the sermon, however, consoled us in a measure for the short-coming of the building and its adornment.<sup>4</sup>

While the Jesuits were opening a church and school in Denver, they were also organizing a new parish at Pueblo—St. Patrick's. On the 11th of October of that same year, 1882, the residence and church of St. Patrick's were destroyed by fire. Other misfortunes were to dog the steps of the Jesuits in Pueblo, but success in their religious work was not to be denied. Their field of activity embraced a wide area. Father Pinto originally served three counties, Pueblo, Fremont and Bent. Later Father F. X. Tommasini served from St. Patrick's sixteen mission stations in the six counties of Pueblo, Otero, Crowley, Bent, Prowers, and Baca. In 1885 Father Tommasini built the parochial school at St. Patrick's which, to his credit, was paid for as soon as it was finished.

<sup>4</sup>Edward J. Nolan, M.D., "Certain Churches in the West," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, V (1894), 89.

Meanwhile a new church was being built by the Jesuits at Trinidad. The cornerstone was laid on October 14, 1883, and the edifice was dedicated on the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity, May 31, 1885. It was then described as the most beautiful if not the largest church in all Colorado. At Pueblo the Jesuits were not very popular, due mostly to the rise of a local Italian race prejudice and the fact that nearly all of them were Italians. In 1887 it was decided to abandon work there, but after consultation they gave up only St. Ignatius. Years later, Father S. Giglio finished the building of Mount Carmel Church there.



ORIGINAL BUILDING OF REGIS COLLEGE, DENVER

The Jesuits played a significant part in the coal mining areas near Trinidad. In the early '90s there was much radical agitation among the Italian coal miners in that region, a trend in evidence at that time among the laboring classes all over the United States. It frightened the conservative mine operators, and so they encouraged the Jesuits to work among the miners, financing the building of Catholic chapels in the mining settlements, and asking the Jesuits to put good books in the hands of the people so as to counteract the influence of radical and destructive doctrines.

In the 1880s the Jesuits established the first Catholic institution of higher learning in Colorado, Sacred Heart College. Since the '70s Bishop Machebeuf had hopes of establishing a Jesuit college in Colorado. Originally the idea had been to build it in the San Luis Valley, where a rich English company had offered land

for that purpose. Twice efforts were made in this direction which did not materialize. Finally in 1883 a third and successful effort saw the emergence of the sixth oldest institution of higher learning in Colorado.

The Jesuits were having trouble maintaining their college at Las Vegas, New Mexico, founded in 1876, and besides it drew most of its student body from New Mexico, and that section could be cared for by the Christian Brothers at Santa Fé. So Bishop Machebeuf induced the Jesuits to move their college to Colorado. Permission was obtained from Rome to make the move, and on September 15, 1883, Sacred Heart College was opened at Morrison, sixteen miles from Denver, in the large building known as Evergreen Hotel, which had been secured by the Bishop. The college at Morrison co-existed with Las Vegas College until both were combined and removed to Denver under the name of The College of the Sacred Heart in 1887. The school at Morrison had a large attendance from the beginning. At the opening of the scholastic year 1884 there were seventy pupils present. They came from northern Mexico and Texas, as well as Colorado—some even came from as far as Philadelphia.

The College of the Sacred Heart was built on a forty acre tract in what was then known as the Highlands, near Denver, the land having been obtained through an English corporation. There, Father Dominic Pantanella, father of the institution, erected the present administration building and opened the school for classes in the fall of 1888. The institution was empowered to grant degrees in 1889, and the first class of three was graduated in 1890. In 1921 the name was changed to Regis College.

After the opening of Sacred Heart College in Denver the Catholics of the neighborhood found it much more convenient to attend Mass in the college chapel than to walk several miles to the nearest church. As a result Bishop Matz established the parish of the Holy Family in 1891, and the college chapel served as the parish church until Father Fede organized the parish in 1902 and erected the present Holy Family Church in 1904. He also built a residence and left a surplus in the bank for the founding of a parochial school.

Another important work carried on by the Jesuits from their principal centers of activity in Denver, Trinidad, Pueblo, and Conejos, was the conducting of missions in outlying settlements. And "their efforts resulted in a great revival of zeal and devotion." They visited almost every Spanish-speaking section of southern Colorado, undergoing all the hardships of pioneer life. They traveled from Colorado to give missions in Montana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and the states of northern Mexico.

On August 15, 1919, the letter of the Father General of the Society of Jesus dissolving the New Mexico-Colorado Mission of the Neapolitan Province was read in the refectory of Sacred Heart College in Denver. New Mexico and Texas were given to the New Orleans Province, and Colorado to the Missouri Province. Thus came to a close an interesting and romantic chapter in the history of the Jesuits in North America. These pioneer Jesuits of the Neapolitan Province were an important force in the religious and cultural life of Colorado that cannot be overlooked. And apart from their actual spiritual and material accomplishments, the vast number of contemporary records left by the pioneer Jesuits on the Colorado frontier, along with those of other Catholic missionaries, in the form of diaries, journals, church records, and the like, constitute a rich source for the study of the social and economic history of the region as well as for Church history proper.

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## William S. Williams, M.T.\*

MATTHEW C. FIELD

The world should be made acquainted with some of the strange characters who have buried themselves away from civilization among the rocks of the West.

There is one whimsical old genius who is noted particularly among the trapper tribe as the prince of queer ones. He calls himself *William S. Williams, M.T.*, and he is most resolutely determined upon having the title initials ('M. T.')

 always affixed to his name. He is the oldest man in the mountains, having fully resolved to live and die there, and more droll anecdotes are told about him than would fill a pair of volumes of modern size. *M.T.* is meant to signify *Master Trapper*, and the old man has just seized upon the whim of insisting that this distinguishing mark shall on all occasions and under all circumstances be attached to his name. He chanced at one time to fall into a mortal quarrel with a Black-foot Indian, and upon achieving advantage, he at once seized upon the red fellow's scalp-lock.

"Bill Williams!" shouted the Indian, whose whole knowledge

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\*"Old Bill" Williams, the subject of this sketch, was one of the most picturesque Mountain Men of the early West. The two recent book-length biographies of him have not exhausted the subject. Mr. Field, early-day journalist, gives us here one of the earliest pictures of this eccentric character.

Mr. Field accompanied the Sir William Drummond Stewart and William Sublette hunting and health-seeking party to the Rocky Mountains in 1843. On this trip, either through personal contact or by hear-say, he got the material for this interesting sketch. Upon his return to New Orleans, he wrote a series of articles on "Prairie and Mountain Life." The one reproduced here, appeared in the *New Orleans Picayune* of Jan. 4, 1844. It was copied for us by Elmer R. Burkey.—Ed.

in English consisted in the capacity in pronouncing this singular old white man's name.

"William S. Williams, M.T., if you please," said the old man of the mountains, as he coolly darted the point of his knife around the scalp-lock and tore it off!

*3000*  
 Fort Williams Arkansas River  
 March 13<sup>th</sup> 1843  
 On or before the first day of September  
 next, I promise to pay to the order of *Robert*  
*Wainwright* the just and full sum of Three hundred  
 Dollars, without defalcation, for Bearer received  
 payable in good merchantable Beaver at the  
 rate of four Dollars per pound  
 Test: *J. A. Travis* *Wm S. Williams*

I have four Beaver Traps, belonging to *Robert*  
*Wainwright* for the use of which for my present hunt, I am to pay  
 them one pound good Beaver each, and if they are not  
 returned I am to pay them eight Dollars each for them  
 or thirty two Dollars —  
 Fort Williams Arkansas River }  
 March 13<sup>th</sup> 1843 } *Wm S. Williams*  
 Test: *J. A. Travis*

*1843*  
*Aug 21*  
 From *Wm S. Williams*  
 To 1 Beaver Trap at *Hyatt Brown* — *do* *do*  
 To Hire of above *Shap* 1<sup>st</sup> Beaver — *do* *do*

WM. S. WILLIAMS PROMISSORY NOTE  
 The original is in possession of the State Historical Society of Colorado. Did he forget to add "M.T." after his signature?

This extraordinary individual is now about fifty-five or sixty years of age, and he has lived more than half his life in the mountains. He declares that he never was anywhere else, but it is remembered that he was once a Methodist preacher in the States, and it is known that he is an educated man, with a critical knowl-

edge of Greek and Latin. By his own words, he was "rolled out of a thunder storm in the mountains," for he found himself there and don't remember anything else. He is quite certain that he is not human, and has a strong persuasion that he was "translated from the Great Bear, or some other luminous celestial animal, for some most particular and especial purpose that is meant to be made known to him hereafter."

He was never known to wear a hat, but once in the winter, finding his head cold, he shot a wolf, scalped the animal, and drew the warm skin on to his own head! For all such eccentric things this old man is remarkable, but, perhaps, the singularity of his character may be better shown by relating an odd meeting that he once had with a young fellow fresh from the States. Williams was camping alone when the young man accidentally encountered him.

"Hum!" said the old man in soliloquy, "here comes another enormous fool of a young rascal to crowd us here in the mountains! We shan't have an inch of elbow room left!—Cook, old cake! cook!" said he, addressing a lump of dough that he was turning over on the coals of his solitary fire with his naked toes, that protruded through his venerable moccasins, "Cook, old cake! here comes a white fool, and he's hungry of course. Now, you miserable young blockhead, do you know me?" said the old man to the stranger.

"I guess I do," said the boy, for he was a wandering sprig of Yankee land.

"You guess," replied the old eccentric, "you're a pretty sample of a scalp-block to come here guessing! Had you nobody to keep you at home, that you must come strolling out here among the bears and Blackfeet?—How do you know me?"

"I reckon I guess."  
 "O, you're a big figure at mathematics! You had better get rid of your guessing and your reckoning, if you want to live among the rocks. Take up that chunk of burnt dough there, and stuff it down your ravenous maw!"

"Thank you—I'm not hungry."

"Don't come here to tell lies, sir; we are honest men in the mountains, and you mustn't come here to contaminate us with your civilization. You are hungry, and you know it, and you must eat that cake; I've got another. Do you take me for an antediluvian, not to share my dinner with you?"

"Ain't you the man they call Bill Williams?" said the hungry lad, as he greedily devoured the cake.

"What do they call me?" roared Bill, with the growl of a wounded bear.

"William Williams, I think!" answered the young aspirant

in the trapping trade, with a half frightened tone of subdued respect.

"William S. Williams, *M.T., young buzzard's meat!*" replied the trapper, drawing himself up with the air of a Julius Caesar. "Look here, boy, do you see that *butte?*—There's a hole in it, and there's where I put my bones."

"Bones!" said the boy, greatly bewildered at the words of the old man.

"Yes-*wah!*" continued Bill, lifting his rifle and imitating a shot, "there's where I bury my dead; that's my bone-house!"

"Why you don't—"

"Don't tell me I don't," interrupted the old man, "or I'll don't you, knock me dead if I don't! How would like to sleep there to-night? Eat away, and don't be gaping at a natural Christian like a born fool! I always stow away my white bones decently. Eat away, you stupid young blockhead, and stop staring. I dare say you call yourself a gentleman!"

"Ye-es!" stammered the youngster.

"Happy of your acquaintance. If you have done eating, just remember that you have dined with William S. Williams, M.T."

This odd encounter happened almost word for word as here set down, and it may give the reader a fair idea of one of the drollest beings that ever breathed. Surly, abrupt and eccentric, the old fellow is yet noted for benevolence and stern honesty. He once took off his coat of deerskin, when it was almost the last remnant of apparel in his possession, and threw it over the shoulders of a poor, shivering squaw. He sleeps curled up by the camp-fire, with his head in the ashes, embracing an old rifle, that has been mended and mended again with "buffalo tug," until scarcely a particle of the original stock is left. He works hard, makes money, and gives everything away to others who happen to be in distress. He once threatened to shoot an old friend who sent him a letter with an offer of assistance! Old William S. Williams, M.T., will accept of charity from no man breathing. Such a character is now pillowing his grey hairs among the snows of the West, and there he will live and die, while this rough sketch, no doubt presents all the world will ever know of "The Old Man of the Mountains!"

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Denison, have resided here continuously since their arrival, which dates back to the early '80s. According to them, the first cattle were taken to the Paradox Valley by a man named Fred Mayall in 1878. At that time, the Paradox was within the Indian Reservation. In the spring of 1879, Mr. Mayall made a gathering of his cattle and started for the Lone Cone. The Indians overtook him at what is now known as the Coke Ovens and took over the entire outfit. They gave Mr. Mayall a good whipping, made him eat some grass and told him to leave the country, which he did. Later, the remnant of his herd was purchased by other stock men.

In the spring of 1880, W. H. Nelson left Lathrop, Colorado, with 600 head of cattle, traveling via Gunnison Valley and by Montrose. He stopped with his herd for the summer at Iron Springs, which is not in the Uncompahgre National Forest. During the summer, he established his summer camp near the base of the Lone Cone at Nelson Springs. The fall camp was established on Dry Creek in the upper end of what is now known as the Basin. The winter camp was at the mouth of Gypsum on the Dolores River.

In 1883, J. P. Galloway, then State Senator, joined Mr. Nelson, bringing in 1200 head of cattle from Wagon Wheel Gap. The route taken in trailing through is not known exactly, but it appears they came in via Dunton and across Beaver Park. There is now on Goat Creek an aspen tree that bears the inscription "Al Neal, 1882." Mr. Neal was one of the Galloway cowhands at that time. In 1884 H. B. Adsit and Brewster Joel joined the party with 1,000 head of cattle each. In 1886, L. G. Denison came with 400 head of cattle.

By 1890, it was estimated that there were 30,000 head of cattle on the range. In 1887, there were eighty-seven cowboys assembled on one round-up. The country around Norwood was, at that time, used as a spring and early fall range. The cattle were drifted through the Basin to Lower Disappointment, Gypsum and Paradox. The summer range was practically the same as the forest range at this time, except that the summer range from Fall Creek east to Telluride was not used. This represents about one-half the summer grazing lands now included in the Montezuma National Forest.

With the vast herds of cattle and with the settlement by homesteaders that started on Wright's Mesa in 1887, which is the Norwood farming section, over-grazing of the range took place, more especially on the late fall and winter range, where the earmarks of its abuse are still plainly visible.

Out of the score of old pioneers, only the two are left who are still active in the stock raising business. These men have made their fortunes in a place that was once considered to be the land that God forgot.

## First Cattle on Norwood District

WALTER F. GILLIAM\*

We were able to contact two grand old men of San Miguel County, who were responsible for opening the way and starting development in this country. These men, W. H. Nelson and L. G.

\*Mr. Gilliam is a Forest Ranger on the Montezuma National Forest, Colorado.—Ed.