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The People of Colorado

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Who are the people of Colorado? In general, they are a blend —or at least a conglomerate—of many nationalities; they represent in their ancestry all parts of the United States and Europe—and to this extent at least are typically American. What are the ingredients? Take a big helping from the Middle West; add New Englanders and Southerners galore; season with Spanish-Americans from the Southwest; stir in a goodly number of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Swedes, Germans, and Canadians; make room for some Slavs, Italians, Dutch, French, and Greeks; mix together in a mile-high melting pot, and the product is a thoroughly American compound. Not that the process of fusion has been completed; on the edges, more or less unassimilated, are many hundreds or even thousands of Indians, Negroes, Mexicans, and Japanese—many of whom perforce live a life somewhat apart from that of the great mass of the people of the state.

The United States has been called a "nation of nations," and perhaps, as Joaquim Nabuco, sometime Brazilian ambassador to this country, once said, its greatest contribution to civilization has been the way in which it has made it possible for people of many diverse and often antagonistic nationalities to live together peacefully in a new homeland and to form, through their voluntary fusion, a new race of mankind.[1] In this process Colorado has shared fully.

POPULATION

As to the number of its people, Colorado has never ranked high among the states of the Union. Its population according to the census of 1860 was 34,277. This figure needs an explanation. What is now Colorado was in that year divided among the four territories of Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Utah. What was called the Territory of Colorado in the 1860 census was really only the western end of the Territory of Kansas; it was bounded on the north by the fortieth parallel, on the south by the thirty-eighth, and on the

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[1]Joaquim Nabuco, "The Share of America in Civilization," *American Historical Review,* XV, 54-55.

west by the "summit of the Rocky Mountains." This was the most important part of the Pikes Peak country at the time, since it embraced such "cities" and mining camps as Denver, Golden, Russell Gulch, Central City, California Gulch, Tarryall, and South Park.[2] That part of present-day Colorado which lies north of the fortieth parallel and east of the continental divide was then in Nebraska, and was included in the Nebraska census reports for 1860. Its population (Boulder, Gold Hill, Platte and Cache la Poudre valley settlements) numbered 1,401.[3] The San Luis Valley was a part of Taos County, New Mexico, and contained in 1860 more than 2,500 inhabitants (Conejos, 1,512; Culebra District, 1,029).[4] The land west of the continental divide was then in Utah, but no returns for the "Colorado" mining camps on the western slope (Breckenridge, French Gulch, and Negro Gulch) were included in the published Utah report for 1860;[5] their population may be estimated conservatively at three hundred in the summer of that year. Thus the total population, known and estimated, of what is now Colorado was around 38,500 in 1860. But whether we take the figures for the restricted or the enlarged Colorado, it stood in 38th place among the states and organized territories, with only four lower in rank.

So uncertain was the future of Colorado during the decade between 1860 and 1870 that its population in the latter year was not much larger (39,864)[6] than it had been ten years earlier—and this despite the fact that by 1870 the four parts of the "Colorado" of 1860 had been put together to form the present political and geographical unit. In rank it had dropped to 41st place, but there were six other western territories below it. The decade of the 1870s by way of contrast was one of rapid growth: there were nearly two hundred thousand people in the new state in 1880 (194,327), and it had moved up to 35th place in the line. The population of Colorado more than doubled in the next ten years (413,249 in 1890); passed the five hundred thousand mark for the first time in 1900 (539,700); was slightly more than a million in 1930 (1,035,791); and totaled 1,123,296 in 1940. In relation to the other states, Colorado was in 31st place in 1890, 32nd in 1900 and again in 1910, and in 33rd according to each of the three succeeding census reports. In 1940 its population was slightly less than that of Nebraska on the one hand, but a little more than that of Oregon on the other. Perhaps the only practical significance of this ranking in relation to other states is the size of the delegation in the House of Representatives and the number of votes in the Electoral College. Under the present apportionment, Colorado has four seats in the House.

[2] *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from . . . the Eighth Census* (cited hereafter as *Eighth Census (1860): Population*), 548.
[3] *Ibid.*, 559.
[4] *Ibid.*, 571.
[5] *Ibid.*, 574.
[6] *Ninth Census (1870)*, I, 328.

But if Colorado's rank is low, it can point with pride to the increase in its share in the total population of the nation. Comprising little more than one-tenth of one per cent in 1860, it had more than eight-tenths of one per cent of the total in 1940.

Place of Birth: Foreign-Born

As to place of birth, the population of Colorado has always been predominantly native—less so than the Old South, more so than the industrial East—and has always shown a distribution by national origins much like that of the nation as a whole. This was evident in the first census in Colorado. In spite of the fact that gold camps usually attract a heterogeneous crowd and draw the adventurous from far and near, only 7.7 per cent of those caught by the census takers in the Kansas part of the Pikes Peak country in 1860 were not natives of the United States.[7] For the whole country in that year the percentage of the foreign-born was nearly twice as large, or 13.2 per cent.[8] The figure for Colorado rose to 16.5 per cent in 1870 and to 20.4 per cent in 1880. This was the highest point reached and may be explained by the Leadville mining boom of the period. The percentage of those of alien birth dropped slightly in 1890 (20.3 per cent); since then each census has shown a figure lower than that of the one that immediately preceded: 16.9 in 1900, 16.2 in 1910, 12.6 in 1920, 9.6 in 1930, and 6.3 in 1940. The figures for Colorado have varied more than those for the nation during the same period. Considerably less in 1860, more from 1870 to 1910, the percentage has been slightly less since 1920. Colorado has shared with the nation in the downward trend of the last three decades.

The Percentage of the Foreign-born in the Total Population

	Colorado	United States
1860	7.7	13.2
1870	16.5	14.4
1880	20.4	13.3
1890	20.3	14.7
1900	16.9	13.6
1910	16.2	14.7
1920	12.6	13.2
1930	9.6	11.6
1940	6.3	8.8

[7] All Colorado population figures in the census of 1860 apply only to that part of the territory between the 38th and 40th parallels and east of the continental divide. The percentage of the foreign-born was approximately the same north of the 40th parallel (i.e., in Nebraska). In Gold Hill 76 out of 490 were of alien birth; in Boulder City, 10 out of 177; in the Boulder Creek settlements, 6 out of 159. Statement based on an examination of photostatic copies of Nebraska census of 1860 in Library of State Historical Society of Colorado (S.H.S.C.).
[8] Summary of foreign-born in population, 1850-1940, in *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population*, II, Part I, 19.

So far as numbers go there has been little cause for any anti-foreign agitation on the part of the native-born in Colorado. This is especially true since the state has always been sparsely populated. Indeed, in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, when those of the foreign stock were relatively most numerous, the empty state was fairly crying for settlers and workers.

Population per Square Mile

	Colorado	United States[9]
1860	0.3	10.6
1870	0.4	13.4
1880	1.9	16.9
1890	4.0	21.2
1900	5.2	25.6
1910	7.7	30.9
1920	9.1	35.5
1930	10.0	41.2
1940	10.8	44.2

Nor has there ordinarily been much cause for alarm among the natives over the origins of the aliens in the state. In general, local trends have followed those in the nation. Up to 1900 the foreigners came mainly from the north and west of Europe; since then there have been more from the south and east of that troubled continent.

In 1860, when the total number of foreign-born in Colorado—by which of course is meant only the Kansas end of the territory—was 2,666, British America, especially the part we know as Canada, stood first with 684 persons;[10] Ireland was a close second with 624; the various German states came next with a total of 567, while England with 353 and Scotland with 120 were respectively in fourth and fifth places. Twelve other European countries were represented, but those who had been born within the British Empire made up more than two-thirds of the total.[11]

Ten years later, in 1870, the general distribution was much the same, except that the sons of Erin were the most numerous among the foreign-born (1,685), followed closely by Germans (1,456) and English (1,359). Farther down the list, in order, were Canadians (753), French (209), Scotch (188), Swedes (180), and Welsh (165). More than four thousand of the 6,599 aliens listed that year had been born under the Union Jack.

[9] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944-45*, 5.

[10] The figures on the number of foreign-born in Colorado have been taken from *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population*, II, Part I, 711.

[11] At Gold Hill in "Nebraska" 20 of the 76 foreign-born in 1860 were from the various German states; 15 were from England, 12 from Ireland, and 9 from Canada and Nova Scotia. In Boulder City 6 of the 10 of alien birth were from British North America. From photostats of 1860 census in Nebraska (S.H.S.C.).

In 1880 first place among the foreign-born was held by those who had come from England (8,799), with Ireland in second rank (8,263) and Canada fourth (5,785); the German Empire, which had only recently come into existence through the union of many German principalities and kingdoms, was third (7,012). Scotland and Wales had contributed respectively 1,673 and 1,212 persons. In this year for the first time the Chinese stand fairly high in the list of foreign-born, being in ninth place with 601 listed. Here was a situation out of which trouble might arise—and so it did. So far there had been little cause for conflict among the various nationalities or between the foreign-born and the natives. To be sure, there was the usual chaffing and bragging; men too deep in their cups might engage in brawls occasionally; the Irish and the Welsh might "let off steam" by a jolly good fight now and then—all this was only what was to be expected in a frontier community where animal spirits ran high. But the appearance of the Celestials in increasing numbers, and exaggerated tales of the hordes to come, injected a disturbing element into the population. There were really not many Chinese in Colorado, but their presence created disturbances in 1880 quite out of proportion to their numbers.

In 1890 former residents of Germany stood first among the foreign-born in Colorado (15,151). The English were a close second (14,407), and they with the Irish, Canadians, Scotch, and Welsh made up about half of those of alien birth (42,322 out of 83,990). The number of Swedes in Colorado was also increasing rapidly. In 1870 there had been 180 of these transplanted Northlanders; the number rose to 9,659 in 1890, and they then held fourth place among the foreign-born.

In 1900 as in 1890, the four top places were held by four nationalities of Northern Europe: Germans, English, Swedes, and Irish, in that order. But signs of the impending change in the character of immigration, the shift from the north and west to the south and east of Europe, were already appearing. Italy and Austria in 1900 took sixth and seventh places in the list, and Russia was in ninth place.

The census of 1910 gave clearer indications of this change: first place was still held by Germany, but Italy and Russia were respectively in the second and fourth ranks. England, Ireland, and Canada had each declined both in the number of their nationals represented and in their order in the list. For the first time Greece and Japan appear with significant numerical contributions (more than two thousand for each), while those of Mexican birth (2,543) ranked above these two.

Foreign-Born in Colorado: Place of Birth

1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Canada 684	Ireland 1,685	England 8,799	Ger. Em. 15,151	Ger. Em. 14,606	Ger. Em. 16,908	Russia 16,669	Mexico 13,125	Russia 11,185
Ireland 624	Ger. St. 1,456	Ireland 8,263	England 14,407	England 13,575	Italy 14,375	Italy 12,579	Russia 12,979	Italy 8,352
Ger. St. 567	England 1,359	Ger. Em. 7,012	Ireland 12,352	Sweden 10,765	England 12,926	Germany 11,992	Italy 10,670	Germany 7,017
England 353	Canada 753	Canada 5,785	Sweden 9,659	Ireland 10,132	Russia 12,757	Mexico 10,894	Germany 9,988	Mexico 6,360
Scotland 120	France 209	Sweden 2,172	Canada 9,142	Canada 9,797	Sweden 12,445	Sweden 10,112	Sweden 8,328	Sweden 5,844
France 103	Scotland 188	Scotland 1,673	Scotland 4,339	Italy 6,818	Austria 11,581	England 9,584	England 6,892	England 4,706
Wales 38	Sweden 180	Wales 1,212	Italy 3,882	Austria 6,354	Canada 9,562	Canada 7,660	Canada 5,848	Canada 4,194
Sweden 27	Wales 165	France 825	Austria 2,912	Scotland 4,069	Ireland 8,710	Ireland 6,191	Yugosla. 3,650	Austria 3,226
Mexico 25	Switz. 140	China 601	Wales 2,082	Russia 2,938	Scotland 4,269	Austria 5,722	Irish Fr. St. 3,184	Yugosla. 2,239
Switz. 25	Mexico 129	Switz. 551	Denmark 1,650	Denmark 2,050	Denmark 2,755	Scotland 3,357	Scotland 2,877	Irish Fr. St. 2,120
Denmark 16	Denmark 77	Austria 544	China 1,447	Wales 1,955	Mexico 2,543	Denmark 2,823	Poland 2,488	Scotland 1,883
Neth. 16	Austria 66	Denmark 507	France 1,328	Switz. 1,479	Greece 2,270	Yugosla. 2,109	Austria 2,468	Denmark 1,847
Norway 12	Poland 49	Norway 354	Russia 1,306	France 1,162	Japan 2,245	Czecho. 1,953	Denmark 2,375	Poland 1,796
Belgium 11	Norway 40	Italy 335	Switz. 1,255	Norway 1,149	Wales 1,989	Poland 1,867	Czecho. 1,714	Greece 1,049

In 1920 Russia was first in numbers (16,669) and Italy was second (12,579); Germany had dropped to third place (11,992) and Mexico had risen to fourth (10,894). Ten years later (1930) Mexico held first place, with Russia second and Italy third. In 1940 Russia was back in first, with Italy second, Germany third and Mexico fourth. It should be noted in passing that Russia's high standing in the list was due in part to the presence in Colorado of several thousand German-Russians, who, although they had been born in the Czar's empire, were German rather than Russian in blood.

By way of summary, it might be pointed out that three sections of the British Empire, Canada, Ireland, and England, had respectively held first place among the foreign-born in the census reports for 1860, 1870, and 1880; the German Empire was first in 1890, 1900, and 1910; since 1920 this distinction has gone to Russia twice (1920 and 1940) and to Mexico once (1930). Canada, which led off with first place in 1860, dropped to fourth in 1870 and 1880, to fifth in 1890 and 1900, and to seventh in 1910. Ireland's ranking was second in 1860, first in 1870, second again in 1880, third in 1890, fourth in 1900, and since then has dropped, by stages, to tenth in 1940. England went from fourth in 1860 to first in 1880, down to second in 1890, back to third in 1910, and since then has held sixth place. Those of German birth occupied either third or second place from 1860 to 1880, first rank from 1890 to 1910, and since then, through the census of 1940, have been in either third or fourth place. The Russians, by which is meant of course those born in Russia, do not appear prominently in the list of foreign-born until 1890; in that year they were in thirteenth place. By 1910 they were in fourth place, in first in 1920, down to second in 1930, and back in first in 1940. The shift in the ranking of the Italians is a good indication of the changing character of immigration to the United States. In 1880 they were in fourteenth place in the list in Colorado; they were in seventh place in 1890, sixth in 1900, and from 1910 to 1940 they held second place three times and third place once.

Place of Birth: Native-Born

The native-born in Colorado, exclusive of those born within the state, have come mainly from a compact block of states extending from New York and Pennsylvania on the east to Kansas and Nebraska on the west. In 1860 Ohio stood first in the number of transfers to the Pikes Peak country; Illinois, New York, Missouri, and Indiana followed, in that order.[12] But all parts of the country—New England, the deep South, and the Pacific Coast—were also represented.

[12] As usual, this generalization based on the census of 1860 applies only to the region between the 40th and 38th parallels. In Boulder City the numerical order was New York, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and Iowa.

In 1870 three significant changes appeared with respect to the place of origin of the native-born in the new territory: New Mexico took first place; Colorado itself was second; and there was a general decrease in the number of those who had come from the eastern states. The first of these changes is to be explained by the shifting of the boundaries of Colorado. In 1860, when the San Luis Valley was a part of New Mexico,[13] very few of the inhabitants of Colorado had been born in New Mexico. Exact information is not available from the published census reports, since all of the Coloradans who had been born in the Territories, of which New Mexico was one, were lumped together to make a total of 107.[14] In 1870, after the present boundaries of Colorado had been established, most of the Spanish-speaking population in the southern end of the Territory probably reported New Mexico as their place of birth; the figure was 8,229. Those born in Colorado, as reported in the census of 1870 (6,277), were obviously, except for some of the Spanish-Americans, mainly the children of those who had come to the Pikes Peak country since 1858. The drop in the number born in such eastern states as Ohio, New York, Illinois, and Missouri, reflected the return movement from the Rocky Mountains after the first excitement of the gold rush had died down. As pointed out above, after adjustments have been made for boundary changes, the population of Colorado in 1870 was only about one thousand more than it had been in 1860.

The next decade, 1870-1880, was a period of rapid growth. There were nearly five times as many people in Colorado in 1880 as there had been in 1870, and the grant of statehood in 1876 was one of the ways in which the nation took cognizance of this change. As to the state of origin, Colorado itself had taken first place according to the census of 1880; the percentage was not high, only about 13 per cent of the total, but it grew with each succeeding census until in 1940 about half the people in the state had been born within its limits. Another tendency was the decline in the relative numerical importance in Colorado's population of people from the Atlantic seaboard states on the one hand and on the other the increase in the number from middle western states, such as Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. From 1910 to 1930 Missouri was second only to Colorado as the birthplace of Coloradans; in 1940 Missouri dropped to third rank while Kansas went into second place. Illinois, which had been in second place in 1890 and again in 1900, had dropped to sixth in rank in 1940. Noteworthy also in recent years has been

[13] LeRoy R. Hafen, "Status of the San Luis Valley, 1850-61," *Colorado Magazine*, III, 46-49.

[14] *Eighth Census (1860): Population*, lxi, lxii.

Native-Born in Colorado: Place of Birth

1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Ohio	New Mex.	Colo.	Colo.	Colo.	Colo.	Colo.	Colo.	Colo.
4,125	8,229	26,363	79,486	151,681	233,516	317,506	419,563	524,417
Illinois	Colo.	New York	Illinois	Illinois	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	Kansas
3,620	6,277	15,593	28,196	33,824	50,729	62,799	65,769	78 837
New York	New York	Illinois	New York	Missouri	Illinois	Kansas	Kansas	Missouri
3,492	2,771	12,993	23,964	31,188	49,964	55,045	63,849	64,002
Missouri	Ohio	Missouri	Ohio	Iowa	Iowa	Illinois	Nebraska	Nebraska
3,312	2,045	12,435	23,806	24,960	44,276	51,432	47,702	57,714
Indiana	Illinois	Ohio	Missouri	Ohio	Kansas	Iowa	Illinois	Iowa
2,587	1,805	11,759	21,952	24,824	37,356	45,253	46,940	41,946
Kentucky	Missouri	Penn.	Iowa	New York	Ohio	Nebraska	Iowa	Illinois
1,861	1,595	11,387	20,008	22,320	30,573	38,848	45,556	41,076
Penn.	Penn.	New Mex.	Penn.	Kansas	Nebraska	Ohio	New Mex.	New Mex.
1,405	1,552	9,501	20,005	20,864	24,643	26,026	27,596	26,182
Mass.	Iowa	Iowa	Kansas	Penn.	New York	Indiana	Ohio	Okla.
1,400	1,308	7,520	13,265	19,734	23,802	20,974	20,544	25,520
Wis.	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	Penn.	Penn.	Okla.	Texas
1,204	808	5,231	12,596	14,535	23,596	20,055	18,201	19,597
Conn.	Kentucky	Kansas	New Mex.	Nebraska	Indiana	New York	Indiana	Ohio
980	656	4,011	9,331	11,681	21,219	19,515	18,082	15,733
Virginia	Wis.	Wis.	Wis.	New Mex.	Wis.	New Mex.	Texas	Indiana
868	633	3,910	7,051	10,222	12,085	16,212	16,525	14,765
Tenn.	Mass.	Kentucky	Mich.	Wis.	New Mex.	Okla.	Penn.	Penn.
813	618	3,786	6,844	8,874	11,992	14,295	16,090	12,775
Mich.	Mich.	Mich.	Kentucky	Mich.	Mich.	Texas	New York	New York
806	528	3,654	6,049	8,094	11,049	13,353	14,215	10,983
Iowa	Virginia	Mass.	Nebraska	Kentucky	Kentucky	Wis.	Kentucky	Arkansas
797	467	3,638	5,661	7,146	10,103	11,333	10,681	9,962

the increase in the number of people who have moved from Oklahoma and Texas to Colorado. In 1920 these two states were respectively in the twelfth and thirteenth ranks in this category; by 1940 they had risen to eighth and ninth places. In general the states to the east and south of Colorado have contributed many more people to its population than have those to the west and north.

As to mobility of population, Colorado stands well above the national average. According to the census of 1940, 22.5 per cent of the people in the United States were living in some state other than that of their birth. But in that year 36.4 per cent of those who had first seen the light of day in Colorado had gone elsewhere to live; on the other hand 49.9 per cent of those living in Colorado had come in from some other state.[15] Colorado had gained more than it had lost: the in-migrants numbered 119,518, of whom 62,631 had come from contiguous states and 56,887 from the non-contiguous; the out-migrants were 110,406 in number, more than two-thirds of whom (80,115) had moved to non-contiguous states.[16]

Distribution by Age, Sex, and Marital Status

As to the distribution of the sexes, Colorado has always had more males than females. In 1860 the disproportion, as might have been expected in a new mining community, was excessive: 2,061.2 males for every 100 females in the Kansas end of Colorado. Obviously there were few women in any of the new camps in Colorado, almost none in those that were most isolated. In California Gulch there were 2,000 males to 36 females; in South Park the numbers were 10,519 and 91; in the valley of the Platte, 3,704 and 10. In Denver the disproportion of the sexes was not so great: 4,140 to 609; in Golden it was 893 to 121.[17] At Gold Hill, over on the Nebraska side of the line, there were 423 males and 65 females; in the Boulder Creek settlements the numbers were 238 and 86.[18]

Ten years later the ratio of males to females, although still abnormal, had dropped to 165 to 100; in 1880, at a time when the Leadville boom was on, the ratio rose to 198.1 to 100. Since then the curve of disproportion has dropped still further, at first sharply and latterly more gradually. In 1940 there were in the state 102.6 males for each 100 females; in the same year the ratio for the United States was 100.7 to 100.

[15] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944-45*, 31.
[16] *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population: Internal Migration, 1935-40*, 17.
[17] *Eighth Census (1860): Population*, 548.
[18] Photostats, census of 1860, Nebraska, in S.H.S.C.

Males per 100 Females

	Colorado	United States[19]
1860	2,061.2	104.7
1870	165.0	102.2
1880	198.1	103.6
1890	146.7	105.0
1900	120.9	104.4
1910	116.9	106.0
1920	110.3	104.0
1930	105.1	102.5
1940	102.6	100.7

The Colorado population was abnormal also in the early days in its age distribution. In 1860 the occupants of the Pikes Peak mining camps were mainly young men. Of the 34,277 persons listed in the Colorado census of 1860, there were 770 under ten years of age, 1,313 between ten and twenty; 18,143 between twenty and thirty; 10,806 between thirty and forty; 2,712 over forty, eleven of whom were over seventy. A sampling of age groups in California Gulch showed that of the first 197 persons listed in the census returns there was no one under eighteen, and only five who had attained the age of fifty or over. The first two hundred counted in South Park included no one under seventeen, but there were 52 over forty.[20] Of the 455 whose ages were noted at Gold Hill, 38 were under twelve and 17 over fifty.[21]

As the years passed and normal family life was established, the number of children increased at one end of the life span, while at the other the young grew old and the old grew older—or died. The 1940 census showed a pattern of age distribution much like that of the whole country, but with two significant deviations. Colorado had fewer between the ages of ten and fifty-five, and more over fifty-five. Why? Is it the wonderful climate that has added to the length of years? Or is it due to an old age pension system more generous than that of many of the states in the Union? Whatever the reason, those who believe that Colorado is too conservative in its political and social outlook may perhaps find here a partial explanation.

[19] *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population*, II, Part I, 694.
[20] Census of Arapahoe County, 1860, from typed copy in S.H.S.C.
[21] Photostats, census of 1860, Nebraska, in S.H.S.C.

Age Distribution in 1940

	Colorado	United States[22]
Under 5	8.6%	8.0%
5- 9	8.3	8.1
10-14	8.7	8.9
15-19	9.1	9.4
20-24	8.5	8.8
25-29	8.2	8.4
30-34	7.5	7.8
35-39	6.8	7.2
40-44	6.3	6.7
45-54	11.7	11.8
55-59	4.7	4.4
60-64	3.9	3.6
65-69	3.1	2.9
70-74	2.3	2.0
Over 75	2.3	2.0

As to marital status, the population of Colorado in 1940 did not deviate greatly from the national average. Since a slightly smaller percentage of Coloradans were single, it followed that somewhat more were married; the number divorced, both among men and women, was above the average for the country as a whole.

Marital Status (15 years of age and over)[23]

	Colorado		United States	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	31.4%	22.5%	33.2%	25.8%
Married	61.9	63.1	61.2	61.0
Widowed	4.7	12.0	4.3	11.5
Divorced	2.0	2.4	1.3	1.7

Rural and Urban

As was to be expected in a new and sparsely settled state, the population of Colorado, at least until the turn of the century, was more rural than urban. In 1860 about 14 per cent of the "Peakers" lived in "cities" (communities of 2,500 or over). The percentage dropped to 12 in 1870, a result of the temporary decline in mining on the one hand and the increase in agricultural activity on the other. After that the number of city dwellers grew until it crossed the halfway line in 1910 (50.3%). The percentage dropped back a bit in 1920, was slightly above the middle point in 1930 (50.2%), and again in 1940 (52.6%). In the United States the

[22] *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population*, II, Part I, 10, 697.
[23] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944-1945*, 45, 46.

curve of urbanization has gone steadily upward since 1860 (from 19.8% to 56.5%); in Colorado the trend has likewise been upward, but in an irregular manner. Less urbanized than the average of the nation in 1860, Colorado went ahead in 1880 and remained so through 1910. It fell below the national average of city dwellers in 1920 and has remained slightly below in the census reports of 1930 and 1940.

Urban Population, 1860-1940

	Colorado	United States[24]
1860	13.9%	19.8%
1870	11.9	25.7
1880	31.4	28.2
1890	45.0	35.1
1900	48.3	39.7
1910	50.3	45.7
1920	48.2	51.2
1930	50.2	56.2
1940	52.6	56.5

Miscellaneous Characteristics[25]

Coloradans with criminal tendencies—there are such, alas!—have a little more respect for life but a little less regard for property than the average law breaker in this country; they commit fewer murders and assaults but engage in more robberies, burglaries, larcenies, and thefts.

Crime Rates: Offenses Known to Police in Urban Communities, per 100,000 Population, 1943

	Colorado	United States
Murder, non-negligent manslaughter	4.46	4.77
Aggravated assault	27.0	49.7
Robbery	67.5	45.3
Burglary, breaking or entering	488.7	300.9
Larceny, theft	1,261.4	829.4
Auto theft	194.0	187.8

Residents of Colorado who steal should not plead ignorance: they have been in school somewhat above the national average. In 1940, of all persons in the United States between the ages of 5 and 24, 57.7 per cent were in school; in Colorado, 60.4 of this age group were so engaged. At the same time the median year of school completed for persons 25 years of age and over in the United States as a whole was 8.4; in Colorado it was 8.9.

[24] *Sixteenth Census (1940), Population*, II, Part I, 18.
[25] All data in this section have been taken from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944-45*, 80, 83, 99, 226, 231, 274-75, 405.

On the other hand, Coloradans might plead a greater degree of economic necessity, since their average per capita income is below the national average. In 1941, when the figure for the United States was $693.00, in Colorado it was $620.00. Two years later (1943) the national average rose to $1,031.00; that of Colorado went up to $950.00. These figures would indicate that the inhabitants of the Centennial State should not—and they do not—pay income taxes as high as those paid by the average citizen of the United States. In 1941 Colorado, with .85 per cent of the population of the country, filed .69 per cent of the returns, received .66 of the net income, and paid .61 per cent of the tax.

Individual Income Tax Returns, 1941

	Colorado	United States
Average net income per return	$2,161.48	$2,271.13
Average tax per return	130.81	148.06
Tax per capita, total population	20.73	28.87

Two certainties, we are told, are death and taxes. The "grim reaper" takes a slightly heavier toll per 1,000 of the population in Colorado than on the average elsewhere in the United States. From 1935 to 1939 the average in death-registration states was 11.0 per thousand; in Colorado it was 12.1. In 1943 the national average was 10.9; in Colorado it was 11.0.

If you are a Coloradan you are less likely to die of heart disease, cancer, tuberculosis, diabetes, or intercranial lesions of vascular origin (which is a long way of saying a "stroke"), than the average of your fellow countrymen; but beware of pneumonia, influenza, nephritis, and accidents.

Death Rates per 100,000 Population for Leading Causes of Deaths, 1943

	Colorado	United States
Diseases of the heart	274.3	318.3
Cancer and other malignant tumors	122.4	124.5
Intercranial lesions of vascular origin	83.1	95.0
Nephritis	75.5	74.1
Pneumonia and influenza	86.2	67.3
Accidents, excluding motor vehicles	75.1	56.1
Tuberculosis	40.5	42.6
Premature birth	29.0	25.8
Diabetes mellitus	18.1	27.1
Motor vehicle accidents	18.5	17.8

At this point we may again ask the question: "Who are the people of Colorado?" Statistically, they are quite normal Americans. In comparison with their fellow countrymen, they are a little more "native," a trifle less urban, a bit more masculine, and a shade grayer. But the tables and charts behind these generalizations are too impersonal: Coloradans are first of all living men and women, boys and girls, with emotions, prejudices, beliefs, many of which are the product of their immediate social heritage, their racial and family backgrounds. The various groups presented above in numbers and percentages have all made their contributions to the richness and variety of life in a typical American state.

Cultural Expressions in Delta County

Ula King Fairfield*

At the close of a particularly successful season in Gilbert and Sullivan operas, Thomas Kearns, a talented young musician, received from his doctor this verdict: "One year to live if you stay in New York. But you are young, and your lungs may heal in Colorado, where the sun shines every day."

"Yes, I am young, and I want to live. More than anything, I want to live," answered Thomas Kearns. The next day he was on his way to Colorado. Arriving in Denver, weak and ill, he obtained folders, advertising Colorado towns. He was attracted to one of the circulars published by the Delta County Board of Trade:

"In Delta County there are great possibilities for making a living in poultry-raising, bee-keeping, fruit-growing, and cattle-raising, and if one has plenty of capital, will find profitable occupation for it in cattle-raising and fruit-growing on a large scale."

"Bee-keeping, cattle-raising, fruit-growing! Plenty of capital!" thought Thomas Kearns, utterly disheartened. Reading on: "Those who are afflicted with consumption, bronchial troubles, asthma, or catarrh will find this an ideal locality in which to procure relief. There are no extremely wealthy people in Delta, and on the other hand, there is almost no pauperism. The people are social, and take great pride in having good churches and schools, and in discouraging vice and intemperance. There is not a saloon in Delta County at the present time. The county has no jail and no need of one, as there is not an average of a case a month in police court. A new Opera House, the Anna-Dora, has been built."

*Mrs. Fairfield, of Denver, had a story of Delta in our issue of January, 1946.—Ed.

Mr. Kearns came to Delta, and lived there the rest of his life. With improving health, he grew restless. His bank account had dwindled, and to raise money he gave an entertainment in the Masonic Hall, assisted by Miss Alice Croxton, who accompanied his songs. He played the violin, sang, and gave dramatic readings. His friends sold tickets, and the concert was such a great success that he planned another entertainment, assisted by the Wednesday Musical Club.

This club was organized at the home of Judge and Mrs. Croxton on California Mesa. I once played "The Flower Song" for this group, and Miss Croxton told mother I played it with "vim." Mother had given me a dollar when I was able to play this piece without a mistake.

The community of Delta had churches, a school building, bridges, watering troughs, hitching-posts, all conveniently placed, all necessary, but there was nothing cultural, no beauty, no imagination. There was, in fact, the Anna-Dora Opera House, consisting of the second story of a brick structure, with a hardware store below. Frank Sanders and Ray Simpson had built it and named the opera house for their daughters, Anna and Dora.

When Mr. Kearns looked it over, he found a stage, two dressing rooms, foot-lights consisting of a tin trough holding oil lamps fitted with Rochester burners, and tin reflectors. It was not the kind of an opera house Thomas Kearns had been used to, but, nevertheless, he decided to produce the "Mikado" and his search for local talent began.

In the twenty years of Delta's life, there had been a few theatricals. In 1889, a home-talent pageant had been given in the school-house. Judge King, as "Uncle Sam" and Miss Margaret Griggs as "Columbia" were depicted as receiving representatives from all countries. My mother designed some of the costumes. Mrs. George Stephan, then Helen Carr, tells that she represented an Indian brave's daughter, and that her mother made her an outfit of red calico and brown canton flannel. She wore a head-dress of chicken-feathers, quite oblivious of the fact that Indian maidens didn't wear feather head-dresses.

In 1893, my mother directed a Sunday School cantata, "Grandpa's Birthday," with father as "Grandpa." I was four years old, and could sing louder than any of the other children, so mother trained me to lead the "Children's Chorus" and to sing "Little Maud's Song." But she was disappointed in her plans for my debut. Father's white whiskers frightened me, and I began to cry, and my solo had to be sung by my understudy, Clara Love. Other

parts were sung by Lillie Bailey (Mrs. Taylor Geer), Claudie Bailey, Sadie and Stella Graham, and Blanche Aley.

In 1895, a traveling company played "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in a log building on Main Street. I wept when Little Eva died, but was puzzled and distressed when, during the intermission, Little Eva, whom I had seen whisked up to Heaven by angels, came through the audience, selling her pictures.

Thomas Kearns' search for talent was discouraging, but he enlisted the aid of other "New Yorkers" who had come to Delta seeking health, adventure, and livelihood. Among them were Mrs. Charles Botsford, Mrs. Mary Charlton, and Miss Cornelia Johnson, all professional musicians. Their talents, aided by a local chorus, contributed to a surprisingly successful production of Gilbert and Sullivan's great masterpiece, "The Mikado."

All of Delta attended. The front rows were filled with whistling, stamping children, and an overflow of boys sat on the window-sills. Thomas Kearns was "Lord High Executioner" and other leads were: "The Mikado"—Ernest Clack; "Katisha"—Cornelia Johnson; "Pooh Bah"—Florence Botsford; "Nanki Poo"—Joe Pregent; "Three Little Maids"—Mary Charlton, May Scotland, Ida Houts.

The piano, played by Miss Alice Croxton, was the only accompaniment to the opera.

In transforming twelve freckle-faced country girls into beautiful Japanese geishas, Thomas Kearns employed genius and imagination. He sent to New York for bolts of material for our kimonos, which were made by our mothers. We were taught to shuffle in straw sandals, and to flirt with the audience from behind paper fans. An afternoon was devoted to our make-up, our hair piled high and decorated with bright ornaments, and our pictures taken by Mrs. Stephan. Forty-five years later, I received this letter from Mrs. Stephan:

October 20, 1943

Dear Ula:

I am thinking of you because it is your birthday. My mind has gone back to the little girl who used to play at my house a half-century ago. And then I thought of the schoolgirl. Remember when Tommy Kearns put on the "Mikado"? And you and Eleanor and Mamie were in the chorus? And then the bride. I recall your beautiful wedding-dress of blue velvet with its fur trimming. And later, the young wife expecting her baby, and the birth of Bill. It all seems to have

happened just a few years ago. In the 90th Psalm, I think it is, the poet says, "A thousand years in Thy sight are but yesterday when it is passed, or as a watch in the night."

Can you think of anything shorter than "yesterday when it is passed?" I cannot. You will always remain to me the little girl who romped with Louise at my house, and I think it is a lovely thing that you remain so in my mind.

Helen Stephan.

(Mrs. Stephan is the widow of the late George Stephan, State Senator from Delta, Lieutenant Governor in Oliver Shoup's administration; later United States District Attorney.)

A production of "Pinafore" followed. I came down with the measles on the night of the dress rehearsal, and was unable to take my place in the chorus. In addition to the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, Mr. Kearns, during his few years in Delta, directed other plays. In a Colonial Extravaganza, were children representing George and Martha Washington, Patrick Henry, Paul Revere, Light-Horse Harry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson.

In another, "Broadway Revue," Delta's handsomest young men and most beautiful young ladies sang and danced the "Floradora": "Oh, tell me, pretty maiden, are there any more at home like you?" Younger girls were taught fancy steps, and sang a "Rain Chorus." I remember our dresses of starched white muslin, our ruffled parasols and white picture-hats atop our pompadoured hair. Black cotton stockings and high buttoned shoes completed the picture. Isabelle Lee, a "New Yorker," remarked, "That little number should be called 'Feet'." Delta housewives were highly amused when Isabelle Lee, who came straight from Broadway to Delta on a "dare," decided to be a real westerner, and purchased a whole frozen hog, thawed it out in her bath tub, and with the assistance of neighbors, rendered lard, made scrapple, prepared bacon, salt pork, and gave away roasts to her friends.

Thomas Kearns lived only until 1903, but he brought the lights of Broadway to our isolated western town. He caused the tunes of "The Mikado" and "Pinafore" to become as popular and familiar as school songs. When, two years ago, I heard "The Mikado" in San Francisco, I wanted to take my cue, run on the stage, and sing, "Defer, defer, to the Lord High Executioner."

Mr. Kearns is buried in San Francisco, which was the home of his sister.

It was about 1899 when the Kempton Komedy Kompany came from Denver to the Anna-Dora Opera House. This company, which performed regularly in Central City, Leadville, Trinidad, Ouray, Montrose and Delta, starred Adele Bradford, wife of Clare Hatton and daughter of Mary C. C. Bradford. Mrs. Bradford was a prominent figure in Colorado Democratic politics, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and organizer of the Jane Jefferson Club of Denver.

Adele is now a member of the Elitch Gardens stock company and a favorite in plays at the Civic Theatre on the campus of Denver University. Bradford Hatton, her son, is at present director of Mary Coyle Chase's current New York play, "Harvey."

The Kempton Komedy Kompany stayed in each town a week, and put on a different play every night. General favorites were "East Lynne," "Lena Rivers," "Homespun Heart," "Way Down East," "The World," "The Cowboy and the Lady," "Sappho," "Forget-me-not," and "Pawn Ticket 210."

Adele tells of a time they were playing "East Lynne" in a small Utah town. Mr. Kempton, the director, suggested that Little Willie's death scene would be more dramatic if Adele, the mother, instead of clasping little Willie to her bosom, sobbing, "My heart is broken," would throw herself on the floor by the bed. This was done, but Adele forgot to tell little Willie of the change in the act. When the heart-broken mother, from her place on the floor, cried: "My heart is broken," her sobs were met by gales of laughter from the audience. Little Willie, accustomed to different treatment and in total disregard of his fatal illness, had crawled to the edge of the bed, and was looking down at her in astonishment and indignation.

About 1900, the Joseph Newman Company of Denver arrived at the Anna-Dora Opera House. Joe Newman had with him Ruth Skeel, contralto, Clara Skeel, pianist, and Ruby Thorpe, violinist. Joe's "specimen program" was in three parts, "subject to a slight change." He was featured in songs, recitations, and plays with other members of the company, and for a long time regularly made Delta.

Mother complained that because of illness in the family, she never had a chance to hear "Joe." But, after moving to Denver, she herself made that chance by giving a party at University Park, with Joseph Newman as entertainer.

Delta, in early days, was fortunate in having a number of accomplished musicians. About 1894, Miss Ella Brown, a graduate of the Brooklyn Conservatory of Music, came to Paonia to visit her brother, who was ill of tuberculosis. Her mother came with her, and they roomed at Will Clarke's, where Miss Ella met George Wilson, the stage-driver between Delta and Paonia. George and

Ella fell in love, were married, and settled in Delta. He started a harness and saddle business, and his young wife started a class in piano instruction. Every child who had access to a piano joined the class. Her first pupils were Rose Standish, Welland Jeffers, Helen Williams, Louise and Trudie Amsbary, Eleanor and Louise Kellogg, Ethel Bear, and myself.

To stimulate interest, Mrs. Wilson conducted recitals, with a prize for the best performance. When at the first recital, Rose Standish won the prize, I was more surprised than injured that I had been overlooked.

When Letitia Grabill came to live in Delta, all competition ended. She played so much better than any of us, there were no more prizes offered. With such talent, there was always good music at school graduations, lodge entertainments, and church socials. Mrs. Wilson and Letitia Crabill specialized in piano duets, which were always received with great enthusiasm. Perhaps the arrangements of "The Poet and Peasant Overture" and the "William Tell Overture" were simpler than they appeared. At any rate they were performed with so much flourish and rapidity that my father remarked, "Tish plays like a house on fire!"

The Mathers Trio were on many programs. Mother Mathers played the guitar, Will and Harry mandolins. I remember Mrs. Mather's fingers covered with gold rings, and how they flashed over the strings of her guitar when she played the customary solo for that instrument, "The Siege of Sebastopol."

"Mother Mathers" had many tales to tell of the western frontier in 1871. There were stories of prairie schooners, timber wolves, grasshopper raids. She lived in a shack on a 320-acre timber claim, where she bore her children—Will, May, and Harry—without a doctor. She said that she brought them up on corn bread and sorghum. She made shoes for them out of tops of her own worn out kid boots. Later, they followed the rushes to Colorado mining towns, railroad terminals, or county seats, where they stayed as long as the boom lasted. Although an invalid most of her life, Mother Mathers came through it all with a remarkable character and a fine vision of her duty to serve.

A Mandolin Club was organized about 1892. Ed Stone, Will Mathers, Harry Mathers, Sam Findlay, George Stephan, Harry Smith, John Travis, and Ed Kettlewell played in this club. They also put on several minstrel shows.

Father's first stenographer was a young man from Boston. I never knew his first name, but mother always spoke of him as "Mr. Hill." Whether for reasons of health or by reason of the fact that

as a stenographer he was a fine pianist, he did not stay very long, but mother cried when he left, and talked a great many times of how well he played "Invitation to the Dance," and "Tam o'Shanter." I cannot recall his piano-playing, but I am able at times to capture in memory a dim picture of a frail, handsome young man, resembling Frederic Chopin.

About 1888, "Handsome Harry" Smith brought his bride, Lillie Wilson, from Kansas City. Harry was in the insurance business, a member of the Delta County Board of Trade, and played in the Mandolin Club. On her first Sunday in Delta, "Lil" sang a solo in the Methodist Church, and took her place as Delta's sweetest song-bird. Mrs. Smith sang many duets with Harry Wolbert and Thomas Kearns; her singing was as natural and effortless as breathing.

In referring to old acquaintances, mother always grew sentimental about "Lil" Smith. Then she would tell of the time when "Lill," at the grave of her own baby daughter, Aileen, sang "Safe in the Arms of Jesus, Safe on His Gentle Breast."

The cultural history of Delta County would not be complete without mentioning the "Leather Age." This era, of Mission furniture and leather, fortunately a short one, was no doubt, a reaction from the period when house furnishings were painted and embroidered with roses, violets, and chrysanthemums. Useful rolling pins were painted blue or white and yards of baby ribbon adorned them. Small hooks were screwed into them and the whole used for hanging glove-buttoners and button-hooks. Even metal bread toasters, painted and be-ribboned, were hung on the wall to hold magazines.

Father was fond of leather. His leather collar-case was a tube-like, substantial affair, "patented in 1879." When the Methodist Hymnal was revised, he gave leather-bound copies to his brother George, to his mother and to me. He presented mother with a handsome morocco case fitted with toilet articles.

We furnished our dining-room and library in Mission style. The Mission furniture of that era should not be confused with the light, colorful California type used in homes and hotels in the Southwest. Our Mission chairs, tables, sideboard, writing desk, and lamp stands were black, square, and extremely heavy. The chairs were upholstered in leather.

It happened that our front parlor contained an imported set of six chairs made of solid cherry wood, each chair upholstered in a different colored tapestry. I remember the colors as crushed raspberry, buff, sea-green, coffee, violet, and azure-blue.

Eventually, but after some argument, father sent these chairs to an upholsterer in Denver. They came back, covered in shiny, slippery, and most substantial black leather. We never again saw the original coverings. I have the chairs, and intend to restore them when fabrics are available.

About 1895, we purchased a beautiful Smyrna rug. Mother then declared that if she couldn't have good pictures with such a pretty rug, she wouldn't have any, and she proceeded to remove the charcoal enlargements of Grandpa and Grandma King and Uncle Watson King. She burned the pictures and saved the frames for more artistic uses.

History of the Poetry Society of Colorado

MAUDE FREEMAN OSBORNE*

Early in the year 1921 there originated in Denver a cultural movement—the first organization in the state devoted entirely to poetry.

The first name, according to the minutes of the first meetings, was "The Inner Circle of the Colorado Pen Workers," but when it matured into a full-fledged club, it became "THE POETRY SOCIETY OF COLORADO."

There are many versions of the origin of the Poetry Society. It may have been a more or less spontaneous movement. More poetry was being written than ever before, and it was being recognized. This was perhaps due to the relief experienced after the grim tragedies of war. Perhaps it was due to prosperity, with more leisure hours for working people; perhaps it was the aftermath of training in the schools and colleges, the general spread of knowledge. But whatever the cause, the time seemed ripe for an organization devoted to poetry.

We hear of little groups discussing the advisability of having a Poets' Club in Denver. We know there was a group of poets who attended the "at homes" in the home of Mrs. Hattie Horner Louthan, leader and instructor of the Pen Workers, until it became so large that it met in larger homes—those of the Verners, father and son, and of Mrs. Edla Park Peck, wife of Dr. Grant S. Peck, and in the Reading Room of the Public Library. We further know the Gowers had some friends who were poets, and who met in the Poets' Corner of the Gower Studio on Sunday evenings. These were all ready and ripe for a merger.

*Mrs. Osborne is Historian of the Poetry Society of Colorado.—Ed.

There was, moreover, a person, Mrs. Heloise Hawkins, with her own vision—her own ideas of the enjoyment of poetry—to have a little group meet occasionally about her own fireside to discuss new books on technique, to study some of the new forms of poetry, and to put the knowledge thus acquired into practice by writing poetry and criticising each other's poems as they read them aloud.[1] And the present large and flourishing membership of the Poetry Society of Colorado that is making itself known in the cultural world is tangible proof that the vision of Mrs. Hawkins was a true one. Therefore she invited Dr. Lillian Pollock, Mrs. Jean Gower and Dr. Joseph R. Hood to her home for the first of these meetings.

Deciding to enlarge the group, and have a meeting place more centrally located, they sent notices to the papers and issued personal invitations as well, to ask the poetry lovers of Denver, and some from Colorado Springs, to attend a gathering to form an organization for the purpose of studying poetry, "along lines Mrs. Hawkins had studied and thought would be effective."[2]

There was a very gratifying response to these invitations. This assemblage elected Miss Lillian Arnold, recording secretary, Mrs. Heloise Hawkins, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Beatrice Potter, treasurer. Dues were placed at one dollar per year. No president was elected, as many were opposed to the restrictions of rules and by-laws, fearful that politics would creep in and thus do away with the spontaneity that is the life of creative ability. Instead, twelve chairmen, from among the prizewinners of Mrs. Louthan's poetry class—the new organization adopting its name, "Inner Circle," also—were selected to preside, one for each month of the year.

Some time in the early years the object of this organization was stated: "To cultivate the love of poetry and to encourage poetic talent throughout the state." At a later time this was changed: "To promote interest in the study and writing of poetry."

At this organization meeting a paper was passed around and all who wished to become members affixed their signatures. But many who did so failed to attend or pay dues, so they could not rightly be called charter members. Cards, mailed on April 4th, gave the tentative program for the year, and announced the first regular meeting to be held at the Gower Music Studio on April 9th. As many of those who were to preside failed to appear, substitutes had to be appointed. Dr. Hood was the first actual chairman, and Louise Steler Steinberg recorded the minutes in the stead of Miss Lillian Arnold, who never served as secretary, the minutes always being above some other name. Mrs. Clyde Robertson became the official secretary in September.

[1]From a statement by Mrs. Hawkins.
[2]According to a letter from Mrs. Gower.

Music for the most part was furnished by Dr. John Gower—or his pupils—until his death. Dr. Gower, composer and organist at St. John's Cathedral, was a friend of Kipling and other notables. Dr. Gower composed the music for the famous poem, "Recessional." Other musicians who served the group were Mrs. Katherine Bemis, often accompanied by Henry Housley, who had set her poems to music, or by Mrs. Bessie Tewksbury; Mrs. Harry Bellamy; Mrs. Test; Mr. Camp Wellington Foltz; Mrs. J. I. Edmunds; and others of outstanding ability.

At the end of the first year there were 49 paid members. The meetings were kept on a high intellectual plane, with many colorful speakers including the following: Mrs. Sara Lacy, founder of the Little Theater and of the Drama League, and promoter of the Story Hour for children; Mrs. Alice Polk Hill, Poet Laureate of Colorado; Professor Eugene Parsons, whose subjects had a wide range from the works of classical poets, Homer, Dante, Goethe, Tennyson and others, to the poets of Colorado, in whom he had an unfailing faith; Allard Jeancon, authority on Indian culture, who gave lectures on the drama, music and poetry of the Southwest Indians, followed by renditions of original Indian music; Mrs. Abbie Hays, founder of the Research Club, who gave an esoteric interpretation of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt"; Arthur Kennedy, who gave addresses on "Poetry and Music of Morocco," "Paul Verlaine," and "Personal Reminiscences of Poets I Have Known"; Ralph Verner, who had been intimately acquainted with Madison Cawein and Sidney Lanier, and who gave revealing talks about these two poets and others; Professor Ida Kruse McFarlane; Professor William Luebke, who talked on "Old English Rhythm"; and Professor Levette J. Davidson, who talked frequently to the group.

Other speakers were: Judge Richard Ahipp, Poet Laureate of Wyoming; Arthur Ivor Winters, who was giving a series of lectures at Chappell House, spoke on "Modern American Poets"; Mrs. Lillian White Spencer gave the initial reading of her new Amerind opera, "The Sun Bride," lectured on the construction of the sonnet, and otherwise gave inspiring talks; Mrs. Dorothy Stott Shaw, who introduced an entirely new idea in the writing of poetry; Mrs. Gilbert Weir, who talked on "The Literature of Colorado," including the "Historians of the Cliff Dwellers"; Gregor D. Kosciuszko, Count Sobiesi,[3] who gave a paper on the poetry of Poland; Mrs. J. J. Brown, intimate friend of Eugene Field; and Mrs. Nellie Burget Miller.

The first six presidents were all charter members. Therefore, an account of their activities together with the record of the first

[3]This spelling and title were taken from his signature to a poem published in the issue of the *Western Penworker*, edited by the Society.

year before the charter was adopted, constitute the first period of the history, covering a decade. The names of these presidents were, in their order: Mrs. Jean Milne Gower; Mr. John Robert Henderson; Mme. Maude F. R. Valle; Mrs. Katherine Prescott Bemis and Mrs. Clara Van Buren. The first three served two terms each, after which it was decided that no president should succeed himself. This policy has been continued, with a few exceptions, all through the history of the Poetry Society.

The membership was made up of people of ability. The foremost, perhaps, in promoting a high standard of work was Mrs. Hawkins. She was the corresponding secretary of the Circle, and one of the first chairmen to preside; a member of the first constitutional committee, and served as chairman of other committees. She was the first program chairman of the Poetry Society of Colorado, and opened her home to study groups during the summer months. She was the second vice president, and the third president.

Another who helped shape the affairs of the Society was Dr. Joseph R. Hood, who presided at the first meeting of the Inner Circle and gave frequent reviews of current poetry. He died when he had been a member but a few years, and was remembered for his pleasing and helpful personality. Dr. Lillian Pollock and Mrs. Sarah McFall helped to keep the machinery of the Society running smoothly and along parliamentary lines. Dr. Pollock proposed an annual contest to supersede the usual one conducted by Mrs. Hattie Horner Louthan in the Pen Workers. This contest was state-wide.

Another member—one invaluable in helping to keep the programs on a high literary level—was Eugene Parsons. Mrs. Clyde Robertson was also one of the first chairmen, and was secretary of the Inner Circle. While program chairman under Mr. Henderson, she devised the plan of having the contest poems submitted anonymously to a committee; then read and discussed at the following meeting. Those who won first and second places the greatest number of times in the year received books of local poets as prizes. Mrs. Elisabeth Kuskulis, as program chairman during Mr. Henderson's second term, conducted a study of "World Poetry."

Other sincere workers were Mrs. John Hays, noted for her pleasing personality; Mrs. Clara Van Buren, who had studied music in Brussels; Mme. Valle, who had studied art in Paris; Mrs. Bemis, who was very generous with her time, and especially with her music, of which she could not only write the words of lyrics, but set them to music and sing them as well; and Mrs. Gower, who was known as a charming and gracious hostess—especially during the two years she was president of the Society. Mrs. Josephine Lydon, who was an earnest and very careful worker, was the author of several lyrics still being sung on the concert stage.

There were other members of unusual ability: Mrs. Addie Hudson, who won first place in a national contest of over 800 submitted "Sea Sonnets"; Mrs. Isabel James, who wrote the world-famous poem, "If I Should Die Tonight"; Mrs. Clyde Robertson, who won first place in an international ballad contest; Mrs. J. R. Henderson, who was on the board of the Book-Fellows; Mr. Horace Castle, lawyer and musician, and author of a book of poems on astronomical subjects, and member of the editorial board of "The Scroll"; Mr. Francis S. Kinder, who collaborated in editing and publishing the Anthology, *Evenings with Colorado Poets;* and Mrs. Nellie Burget Miller, who became the second poet-laureate.

Other colorful members were: Mrs. Caroline Dier, author of several books; Mrs. Abbie Hays, metaphysician and musician, who discovered a system of correlating music and color; Count Kosciuszko, head of a military academy; Col. Philip Harvey; Col. Wilbur Thomas; Judge W. B. Morgan; Mrs. Hattie Thomas; Mrs. Mary Elitch Long, of Elitch Gardens' fame; and last, but by no means least was J. Arthur Kennedy—brother-in-law of Henry W. Longfellow—of whom it was said, "Many were the regrets when the so-called Mr. Kennedy went back to England and his castle."[4]

But one did not require a castle to become an honored member of the Poetry Society. Although many had traveled abroad, many were professional people—artists, musicians and lawyers—still many more were just plain, everyday folks, albeit poets, who ranked high because of their personalities.

Allying themselves with progressive movements and entering interesting causes almost from their inception as an organization, we find them endorsing the Hour Bill, and the Child Welfare Bill, ratifying the Kellogg Peace Pact, and helping to exonerate the name of Joyce Kilmer from the charge of plagiarism. They subscribed for magazines for the use of members, and became a Society patron of the *American Poetry Magazine,* the magazine to publish a Colorado number, in which members represented would have their poems reprinted in the *British Review.*

The Society edited the Poetry number of the *Penworker,* the official organ for Mrs. Louthan's group, with Mrs. Hawkins chairman of a committee to edit the edition.

After the Circle had been in existence about six months, the members began talking about becoming affiliated with the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, so that its members might avail

[4]He married a young sister of Longfellow, many of the notables of the day, including poets, attending the wedding. The castle was Chillingham Castle, Chatton, Northumberland, on the dining room walls of which hung two originals of Landseer's "Wild White Cattle" and "The Deer," both painted on the castle grounds.

themselves of the classes and contests in poetry that the larger group conducted; and, after six months, the machinery was set in motion that produced the—to some—desired effect. But belonging necessitated a charter and by-laws. These were adopted February 11, 1922.

But this phase of the Society's existence lasted only two years, many of the male members not wishing to be connected even vicariously with a woman's organization and so withdrawing their membership. Therefore, after much floundering and many fluctuations, the Poetry Society decided to withdraw from the Federation.

Mrs. Alice Polk Hill, poet laureate and honorary member, died a few months after the organization was formed, to be followed soon after by Col. Philip Harvey, who also had been made an honorary member; then the much-loved secretary, Louise Steler Steinberg. Next followed Mrs. Mary G. Stratton and Col. Wilbur Thomas, and, in 1926, the loved and revered Abbie Hays.

The first yearbook was issued during Mrs. Bemis' administration, although a folder was printed near the close of Mrs. Hawkins' second term, which contained the list of names together with a picture of the president, and was termed a souvenir folder.

In the years 1927 and 1928, the Society met at the homes of members; but when Mme. M. R .F. Valle was president, she secured the use of the Denver Women's Press Club rooms for a meeting place, and the Society met there all the rest of the period.

Summer meetings for study and discussion, in addition to those mentioned, were held at various homes, excepting one summer when the meetings were held at the Denver University School of Commerce. One of the most delightful summer meeting places was the patio by moonlight at the home of Mrs. A. G. Fish. Refreshments were always served at these study meetings. Then there were other social events. Mrs. Gower served supper to all the members at one time in her apartment; and refreshments to members and guests upon her return from Europe. There were parties on special occasions, and picnics at Mr. Henderson's "Strawberry Ranch," on Arvada Heights. The annual banquet became an established affair. Hostesses at the door became a feature of the evening meetings.

During the second period, generally speaking, the Society branched out into new activities, trying several projects and rejecting those that did not seem practicable. Chappell House became the meeting place of the organization.

The presidents in their order were Mrs. Daisie Ethel Robinson, Dr. Herbert E. Peckham, Miss Hellen Abbott, Miss Ann Minturn, Mrs. Ann Woodbury Hafen (two terms), and Mrs. Georgia MacSentre Stamper (two terms).

About sixty books and several rare magazines were donated by Professor Parsons and Mrs. Jean Gower, to form the nucleus for a library. Contributions to municipal activities continued. The Society gave five dollars toward placing a bronze statue of Miss Ann Evans in the Denver Art Museum. It also supported a weekly poetry prize contest running in the *Rocky Mountain News*. Entertainments were given by Mrs. Gower and May Arno, the proceeds of which established a benevolent fund to aid an aged and ailing member.

Round Table discussions were a part of the programs under Mrs. Robinson, although the Review of Current Poetry was discontinued. Reports from the Writers' conferences which were held in Boulder or in St. Vrain Canon were featured on the programs at the beginning of each year.

Publicity over the radio was inaugurated under Dr. Peckham's administration. The affairs of the Society were placed on a more businesslike basis and routine business was eliminated from the open meetings. Prizes throughout the year were books donated by people of prominence.

The first historical outline was placed in the yearbook by Mrs. Van Buren, who was appointed historian by Dr. Peckham. The Constitution was revised, also, to allow for the office of historian, and Mrs. Heloise Hawkins was the first elected historian.

Publications continued. Mrs. Edna Davis Romig, Mrs. Caroline Dier, Mrs. Jeannette Shelley Heflin and Mrs. Florence Means all published books; Mrs. Pearl Reinhardt and Mrs. Hafen each produced plays.

Poetry Week Fellowship becoming a recognized institution in Denver, the Society voted to observe Poetry Week, with appropriate programs. Mrs. Robinson was the first appointed Poetry Week chairman, and poems of some of the members were read over a radio station. Recitals of original work by members were given at afternoon meetings at Chappell House. Books of interest to poets were placed in the library.

During the administration of Miss Ann Minturn the affairs of the Society and items of interest were announced by bulletins. Recitals by members of their own work continued and were given every two weeks throughout the year. Another elaboration in the

work of the Society was the inauguration of talks on technique—or talks on prominent poets—the fourth Friday night each month. These talks were given by qualified members.

The initial meeting of Mrs. Hafen's administration was a welcoming reception to members and others interested in poetry. There were also two extra meetings called "Anthology Nights," at which members might read their own poems. Prizes were given by the judge, Chauncey Thomas, from his classical library. Instead of the regular stereotyped program each month, Federick W. Hile was engaged to review a new book, "Poetry—Its Appreciation and Enjoyment," by Untermeyer and Davison, devoting each meeting to a different division of the book. A chronology of events was substituted for the usual resume of history in the yearbook.

The Society had for its project this year the compiling and editing of an anthology of poems by members, past or present, of the Poetry Society. This project was originated and financed by Mrs. Hattie Thomas, who not only did much of the work of editing the poems, but was financial manager as well. She was assisted by Mrs. Daisy L. Detrick and Mrs. Ann Hafen. Mrs. Thomas dedicated the book to Mrs. Hafen. The Afternoon Workshop was an entirely novel feature of Mrs. Hafen's second term, the group studying both the lives of poets and the technique of verse writing.

Both afternoon and evening study meetings were held while Mrs. Stamper was president, the afternoon work taking on the aspect of courses at a University, according to a member. An evening was devoted to a recital of original work by new members; a book table was established from which books of Colorado poets were sold. A weekly Poetry Forum over a radio station was featured, and a mid-year reception was held. Recitals and usual contests continued. New books of poetry by members appeared, including those by Clyde Robertson, Ann Woodbury Hafen, and Georgia MacSentre Stamper.

Among the outstanding speakers of the period were Clem Yore, Chauncey Thomas, Mrs. Edna Davis Romig, Mrs. Joseph Emerson Smith, Msgr. Hugh L. McMenamin, James H. Pershing, Swami Vividishananda, Mrs. Caroline Dier and Mrs. Clyde Robertson. Music was, in part, furnished by the following artists: Miss Bette Finch, accompanied by Mme. Blanche de Costa, singing Mrs. Robinson's famous lyric, "The Breakers"; Mrs. Mildred Kyffen; Mrs. Hallie Hays Clemenson; Mr. Joseph O'Neill, accompanied by Mr. Arnold Graf; Miss Anne O'Neill; Mr. Edwin McArthur; R. J. Krohn; and May Arno, accompanied by Mr. Milton Shrednik; Miss Olga Gunkle; Corenna McKimmie; and Mrs. Hober Albot.

Two prominent members, Prof. Eugene Parsons and Mr. Horace A. Castle, died in 1933. Towards the end of the decade Mrs. T. Campbell, Dr. Lillian Pollock and the former president, Mrs. Daisie Ethel Robinson, all passed on. Mrs. Robinson left a bequest of $500 to the Poetry Society, the interest on which was to be used as prizes for regional poems.

The period was not only devoted to work and study, but the Society had several outstanding social events on its calendar, in addition to the annual banquet of Poetry Week. The first of these was a large tea at the home of Mrs. Robinson for Mrs. Gower, who had returned from her home in New York to close up her apartment and studio. This was followed by teas at Chappell House for Mrs. Virginia McClurg and Miss Margaret Widdemer; two spring receptions at the home of Mrs. Penelope Fynn, the first in honor of Thomas Hornsby Ferril and the second for Witter Bynner; a picnic at Mrs. Reinhardt's home; a picnic at the mountain home of Mrs. Clara Warner; a summer tea at the home of Mrs. A. G. Fish, which became an annual affair; and an elaborate buffet supper served by Mr. and Mrs. Herman Straub, which wound up the social activities of the decade.

The Society seemed to have reached its stride and settled down into a steady course, commencing with the third period of its existence. In this period there have been seven presidents: Mrs. Gladys Vondy Robertson, Mrs. Ida K. Tilton, Miss Vera Graham, Mrs. Gracia Lowell Bauer, Mrs. Daisy L. Detrick, Mrs. Theodine Brandt, and Mr. Henry P. Lorenz, who was reelected.

About one hundred members and guests attended the opening reception of Mrs. Robertson's administration, when it was announced that the general theme of the speakers of the year would be "The Pulitzer Prize Winners." Fireside meetings continued to be held in the homes of members, with refreshments served by the hostesses. The Daisie E. Robinson Memorial awards were distributed for the first time this year, 1941.

An innovation of the year was a pageant, entitled "Poetry of the Ages," excerpts from masterpieces of all time, compiled by and continuity written by Mrs. Elisabeth Kuskulis. This was presented at the May Arno Studio by members of the Society in solo parts and verse choir trained and directed by Mrs. Tilla B. Sperry. May Arno, Carlisle Swain and others assisted.

During Mrs. Ida K. Tilton's administration, she inaugurated an unusual contest on the general topic, "The American Scene," to have a different subtitle each year. This contest was not limited to the Poetry Society, but was to include high schools, colleges, and clubs.

The fall reception for new members was instituted this year. Three prizes for contest winners each month were made possible by a contribution from Dr. Homan Taylor. For Poetry Week 257 songs and poems were submitted to Mrs. Stella Hare, director of a pageant, "The Chronicles of Colorado," staged at the Woman's Club Auditorium.

The policy of having a paid professional critic to judge the monthly contest poems was adopted in Miss Graham's administration. Poems were featured in a pageant, "The Americas in Poetry and Song," presented at the Capitol Life Auditorium and directed by Gracia L. Bauer. A program celebrating the twenty-first year of the organization was given April 10th, after which it was decided to discontinue the chronology in the yearbook and to have a complete detailed history of the organization written from its inception.

In Mrs. Bauer's year, service men were accepted as members without the payment of dues. This practice was continued till after V-J Day. Having the Afternoon Workshop meet at Daniels and Fisher's tea room with tea served at the close of each meeting was an innovation of the year. The Past Presidents' Day program was given at the same place. Reception to new members was combined with the midyear reception. The topic of the year was "The Poet's Contribution to Liberty and the Joy of Life." An inspirational message at the beginning of each session was given by a different member each meeting.

Mrs. Clyde Robertson donated fifty dollars for the rental at the Women's Press Club building for one year, where the Society met during Mrs. Detrick's administration. Two reviews of current poetry were given while Mrs. Detrick was president. These were by Mrs. Osborne and Mrs. Hawkins. In the monthly contests, with Vera Graham as chairman, 224 poems were submitted. A special contest of the year was for the "best ballad." The giving of cash awards, usually by the president, for contests at the Workshop in different types of poetry was initiated this year. The criticism of poems submitted anonymously also became a feature of the afternoon meetings. The Workshop, under the direction of Mrs. Gladys Robertson, became one of the main activities of the Society.

At the beginning of Mrs. Brandt's term as president, the Society moved back to Chappell House. Interest in the annual contests reached a new high, more poems than the usual large number being submitted in the nine contests.

Sixty-three sons and daughters of members were in the Service, and their names were placed on an honor roll. Mrs. Bauer donated twenty dollars for a war bond.

Those who had published books in this period of the history were Mrs. N. B. Miller, Miss Elinor Smith, Mr. Henry Lorenz (two), Mrs. Kuskulis, Pearle Casey, Lisbeth Fish, Dr. Wey, and Laura Clendenen.

Several of the prominent members died in this decade, among them John Robert Henderson, charter member and second president; Mrs. John Henderson; Chauncey Thomas, author of the classic "The Snow Story"; Miss Blanche Tice, musician; Dr. Axton D. Clark; Joseph Henry Ayres, and Mrs. Caroline Kinder.

Some of the interesting speakers were the following: Rev. A. M. Lotte, Dr. Stuart Cuthbertson, Mr. Peter Holme, Dr. Francis Wolle, Elisabeth Kuskulis, Mme. M. R. F. Valle, Gabriel Tweet, Rev. Jacob Trapp, Dr. Evelyn Newman, The Very Reverend Paul Roberts, Mrs. Nellie Townley, Dr. Gordon Johnston and Dr. Floyd Sampson.

Among the musicians of note were: Messrs. Gordon Miles, Ralph Smaldone, Samuel White, Leroy and Vernon Atkinson, Mesdames Ernest Baber, Helen Olin Roberts, Sophia Smith, Alice Ross Williams, Grace Woodbury, and the Misses Marie Mauro, Betty Bauer, Margaret Snyder and Norma Lee Larkin.

Summer social events included the following: a tea served by Miss Graham; the usual summer teas in the patio at the home of Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Fish; tours through Rose Acres, followed by refreshments served by the hostesses, Dr. and Miss Liebhardt; a Sunday night supper served by Mr. and Mrs. John Bauer on the lawn of their home; a "round-up picnic" at City Park; a picnic at the mountain home of Mr. and Mrs. Hans Brandt, and one at the home of Rose Blount, where one hundred members and guests assembled.

New committees were added during the administration of Henry P. Lorenz and a new way of directing the activities of the organization was also introduced. Combining the midyear reception with the regular January meeting was an innovation of the year.

Now in the second year of Mr. Lorenz's presidency, the Society is celebrating, in various ways, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the organization. One of these ways is the compiling of an anthology under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ann Hafen. Plans are also being made to increase the membership, and to bring in writers from all over the state. There are about 175 members at the present time.

Reminiscences of the Meeker Country*

As told by Ed P. Wilber to J. N. Neal, and recorded by
Mrs. Ethel Starbuck

I didn't tell anything about the Ute racket in '87. They is so much and it was so long ago. In 1887 they was a warrant sworn out for the arrest of two Ute Indians for stealing horses. The sheriff was living at Glenwood. He had a deputy here in Meeker, and he sent this warrant to this deputy, and he deputized three or four fellows to go with him. This outfit of Utes was camped just above the dugway up Big Beaver in that little flat up there. They call it Indian Flat yet today. These Indians didn't know any more about a warrant than a government mule. Anyhow, they went so far that they was shots exchanged. They got to shooting at each other. Then Sheriff Kendall, he come with a posse of men from Glenwood, and they also sent in the state militia from Aspen, Leadville, Pueblo and Colorado Springs, and Kendall and his outfit went over across the head of Miller Creek out onto the divide down between the White and the Bear.

During that time Major Leslie of Leadville come with the state militia. And they grabbed me as a scout and guide for this Major Leslie, and we got down the first day at the old Blair Ranch, and I took them officers that night—I was satisfied the Utes had come down Crooked Wash because the divide is there that runs into Blue Mountain. In the evening we went down there, and there was no trail of them. Then in the morning we got up early and went back down there and they had come down in the night. We could tell there was a big bunch of them because of the tepee poles—they had their squaws with them, you know. We rounded them up at the mouth of Wolf Creek. We just headed them off down there that day, and while we was pow wowing with them, there was a heavy hailstorm come up, and the darn militia took into the brush to get out of the hail, and the Utes took on down the river. Well, then, after this hailstorm, here comes Kendall on their trail with his outfit. And we followed them down seven miles below Rangeley, and there run into them again, and there is where we had our scrap with them—our battle. We had three boys killed; and the interpreter at White Rock, Uintah Reservation, later on told me that we got fourteen of them. I was out twenty days for the state, and all these other boys—poor devils—that was deputized didn't get a dollar, and I got five dollars a day from the state.

NEAL. Was that the time that Al Martin ran into the Indians?

*Continued from the preceding issue and concluded in this.—Ed.

WILBER. That was the time that Al Martin got his horse shot from under him right at the head of Elk Creek.

NEAL. Did Al get hit?

WILBER. I don't think so. Maybe you have reference to Jack Ward who was killed. He was undersheriff. They went up a gulch and the Indians was coming in behind us. We discovered

UTE INDIAN CAMP *Courtesy Meeker Herald*

this and took to the Cedar Hill and it was pretty steep and the ball that killed Jack Ward went right through him, cutting the button off his overhaul from behind, and a fellow from Aspen got a crease in his cheek. I was trying to think of the corporal's name from Aspen that was killed. Well, I can't think of it.

NEAL. When you landed here were there many cattle in this country?

WILBER. There was none. There was none at all outside of Dune Blair, and Dune Blair was married to a squaw. He was allowed to come in on this reservation. Outside of this man Wagener that I worked for there was no cattle at all.

NEAL. When did the cattle start to move in?

WILBER. This reservation was thrown open in '83, and then the cattle started coming in in '84. They come from Texas, Arizona, out on the plains around Denver, and blame near two-thirds of them come from Utah. Two herds off the Laramie Plain came down. This old TT outfit came off of there and Fleming and A. J. Gregory come off of the Laramie Plains.

NEAL. Did they fill up pretty fast?

WILBER. Awful. Cattle just come in here herd after herd in '84. The 84 outfit come. That was their brand.

NEAL. What happened to these cattle that came in early that were without feed protection?

WILBER. What happened? They all done pretty well till the winter of '89 and '90. The summer of 1889 was a dry summer. That winter was an open winter—a good deal like this last winter, but we would have a rain and then it would freeze at night and thaw day times till it took all the substance out of what feed was left and the cattle died just like flies—awful.

NEAL. Thousands?

WILBER. Yeah. It was what broke them all.

NEAL. Do you think that big loss that winter was a benefit as far as the settlement of the White River was concerned—to get farmers to raise feed and protect their cattle from that time on?

WILBER. I certainly do, because that was a lesson for them. They realized from that time on that we had to prepare for the winter and take care of our cattle. You take such old settlers as Stricklers and the Madisons, Frank Harker, all those early-day settlers. My neighbor here had a lot of hay piled up. Mr. Goff and the TT outfit let him come and pick a cow—they gave him a cow for a load of hay. That started him. Take the Bloomfields and all the early settlers. They all realized that they had to prepare for the winter.

NEAL. About what per cent of the cattle died?

WILBER. Not less than sixty per cent. I expect that is light. Then on top of that come the panic of '93 and that just cleaned all of the big outfits out; left it to the ranch men. You take the K-T outfit down here. At that time they hadn't went into the cow business yet. Kilduff started in the horse business.

NEAL. Ed, in your remembrance of old times, can you recall anything about the difficulty that the sheep and cattle men had in the early days?

WILBER. Joe, I had ought to because I was sheriff at that time when all that trouble was on.

NEAL. Tell us something about it.

WILBER. Well to start with, Joe, Mr. Allsebrook came here in the month of August, 1883, with a bunch of sheep. Tom Baker was with him, and that was the year you know the reservation was

thrown open. Well, the cowmen begin to come in 1884, and they all respected Mr. Allsebrook's rights and never molested him at all. He ranged on the Government Road for the first years; then he moves up onto Lime Kiln. Well then, along about 1890 a few other bands of sheep begin to come in and went up in right around Mr. Allsebrook on that range you know. Then in 1893 and 1894 they begin to come from Utah, up the Grand River, and up in that country, and also from Vernal, Utah, up this other way, and they was just virtually taking the country. There was a band on the head of Sulphur and a band at Sleepy Cat, and the Lime Kiln country was lousy with them. And the cowmen realized that they had to do something or give up the range, so 1894 I had been down at Vernal, Utah, and I came down home—our home then was in Meeker—and it was right in the haying time, and the man I had the place leased to here was putting up the hay. He was a bachelor, and my wife had come up here to cook for him and the hay men. So I came on here to the ranch.

They had pitched a tent out here for her, and that night we were sleeping in the tent—and all the travel used to cross at what they called Wilber's Ford, and come right up through my meadow and my gate to go out on the road. That was before the base line road was put in. Along in the night a bunch of fellows come up through my meadow and crossed the ditch, and my wife heard them, and she woke me up, so as soon as I was awake I could hear them. She had tied the flaps of the tent, every string she had tied, and it took me quite a while to get it open to get out. The boys were just going out through the gate—about 8 or 10 of them. I hollers, "Hey, fellers, what's up here?" One of them left the gate open and jumped on his horse and away they went. That morning then, Monday morning, my undersheriff sent a fellow up here for me to come to town, there was trouble on. They had been up there and notified the sheepmen to get out or there was going to be trouble.

Well, the sheepmen come in and all of them in that part of the country turned their sheep over to me, so I goes up there and deputized each herder. I stayed there I expect a week or ten days riding around from camp to camp, and I thought things had quieted down, so I come down, talked with the commissioners about it, and they told me to take off my deputies, so I did. Well, then two weeks from the Sunday that I had got home, they was a crowd came in up there Sunday afternoon, and in the quaken asp grove they throwed up a big corral—that is three sides. They drove the band of sheep in and waded in on them with clubs. They killed a mess of them; two and three deep in places. They took this Mr. Allsebrook and tied him up to a tree and give him a severe licking. They come out over by Miller Creek where they was a band of rams of something

over 200 head, and they rode right in among them and shot every last one of them—killed them all.

Well, then, again they all come to me, and turned their sheep over to me, and I done the same as I done before—deputized all the herders and put an extra deputy with each band of sheep, and me being in the sheep camps and talking with the sheep men, they all expressed themselves that if they could have a certain length of time to clean up their business, they would get out of the country. So I went to Mr. Allsebrook and Uncle Jim McHatten and to all of the leading sheepmen, and I asked them to call a meeting and agree upon how long they wanted to clean up their business and get out of Rio Blanco County. So they did. The sheepmen called a meeting, and they agreed upon a year. If they could have a year, and I asked them to draw up a petition to that effect, and the sheepmen to sign it, and they did. Then I took this petition, and I rode this county and went to every cowman in the county that I could find and got them to sign a petition to give the sheepmen a year, and the cowmen all signed it, but Al Lloyd and Ben Price. They didn't sign it. Then I told the commissioners what I had done, and also showed them these petitions, you know, and they told me then to call off my deputies again, which I did, and in six months' time, I don't think there was a band of sheep left in this county outside of Mr. Allsebrook, and he sold his ranch and closed out his business and left the county. That was in 1894.

NEAL. Do you know anything about that Book Cliff incident?

WILBER. The Old Man Hulbert? All I know about that, Joe, is hearsay. They run something like a thousand head of Mr. Hulbert's sheep off the cliff there. He was one that had come up in here and also his son-in-law, Trimmer. They was two that had come in. Anyway with the herders and my extra deputies, I had out in the neighborhood of 30 deputies. That is all I know about that Hulbert business. I got pretty well acquainted with Mr. Hulbert. He was a nice old man.

NEAL. Did you get pretty well acquainted with Calamity Jane too when she was here?

WILBER. Well, I first saw Calamity Jane in 1883 in Routt, and then in 1885 her and a fellow by the name of Billy Steers come down and lived there in Meeker for two months or better, and of course the reputation she had, whenever I would meet her or see her I would always salute her, and that is all the acquaintance I ever had with her.

NEAL. She was a great character, wasn't she?

WILBER. Yeah. That fellow J. A. Duncan, he knew her up at Deadwood City.

NEAL. In all your years of punching cows, did you ever experience a stampede?

WILBER. Oh yes. I would say. Several of them. In our first round-up, Joe, you know we had lots of them old longhorn steers, and they was easy to stampede, and just below the mouth of Dry Fork on Piceance on that flat and we had quite a herd there that we was night-herding, and they stampeded and run close enough to the tent to tear down the guy lines and tear the tent down and gave the boys a big scare.

Another time, this was in 1885, long in the first days of September, I had been to Green River with the TT outfit—we always called them the English outfit, Dandy, Hanky, and Cook. We received 750 head of two- and three-year-old steers on Greeen River, and coming up we come through Meeker and at the Sheridan Ranch, you know where the town ditch crosses the road there and that triangular chunk of ground that is into alfalfa now, we made camp on the ditch there, and bedded the steers in the sagebrush in that triangular spot. That night they was an electrical storm come up, and they stampeded on us, and they just made a frightful noise going through that sagebrush, and it was so blame dark—the ditch you know is a cut there and right above us was Curtis Creek, and we was all afraid to make a run, but they stampeded right across the road onto that mesa and went right up to them cliffs. When you go down the road you can see that ledge of rock. They went right up under that ledge of rock and bedded down, and we counted out the next morning and have every hoof of them.

But now, Joe, till 1888, well the outfit I was running I took two drives to Rawlins. We had to go to Rawlins to ship them—nearly all went to Omaha or Chicago then, and we used to have nearly every drive a stampede or two. You know them old steers. I talked with a man here this morning. That Fortification Creek comes down through Craig. We would ford right there and up Fortification Creek, cross Snake River—what is that town above there? Charlie Perkins made that town—Dixon. We would cross there and go over the Savory Mountains, and both falls got caught in bad storms up there.

Talking about that, I told you before that about two-thirds of the cattle come out of Utah. In 1885 we went to Green River and started the round-up, and both sides of Piceance and Yellow Creek, we all went together that time—seven or eight wagons of us.

NEAL. How many men would there be?

WILBER. About a hundred. Joe, I will tell you this. In 1889 they made me Captain of the round-up that spring, and that spring we met at the mouth of Wolf Creek, and the White River and the Blue Mountain and the Bear River boys all met at the mouth of Wolf Creek to start our round-up. The Blue Mountain and the White River boys—I had 125 men to put on circle.

NEAL. About how many horses in the cavy?

WILBER. They would be nearly always from sixty to eighty head in each cavy of horses.

NEAL. Each man would have about eight horses?

WILBER. Each man on an average at that time would have, we will say, six or seven head of horses. That morning at the mouth of Wolf Creek they rode up to my wagon—you know, my being captain, for their orders and all that. I was on a horse I called Sullivan, and he sure could pitch, and I imagine some of the boys kinder tickled him up the flanks, and he started to pitch, and they was eighteen head of horses all pitching at once, and some a riding and some a getting throwed, and talk about your wild west show, we had it right there. They was seven wagons of us that spring of 1889.

NEAL. Tell us about the Meeker bank robbery.

WILBER. Yes, I was sheriff at that time. The leader of these three worked under my instructions for six weeks.

NEAL. Tell us all about what you know, when they came in and tied their horses up.

WILBER. They came from Brown's Park. A fellow by the name of Jim Shirley was their leader. I got the other fellows' names, but I can't think of them, but the young fellow, I don't believe he was over twenty or twenty-one at the outside—fine looking young fellow. He was shot seven times. Joe, he had one of the little brand books in his vest pocket, and there was two holes through that brand book and plumb through him. They came and their camp—their main camp—was in what the boys call Hell's Hole up on Strawberry on shelf rock. That's before they came to rob the bank. They brought three horses and tied them up in what we used to call three mile gulch up Strawberry. Then they had went on the Mesa and cut the fence out there on the Mesa side of the Mesa road—cut the fence and come in and forded the river right there by the lumber yard, tied their horses—this Jim Shirley knew the country—well, tied their horses to a freight wagon and went in and held the bank up. They held up the employees and what customers was in the store, and they used to have a side door—well, they marched them out of that side door and their horses was tied right there

where they drive in—to an old freight wagon and the Meeker Hotel was a building there and they didn't have windows in the second story and Uncle Phil Barnhart, old stage driver, was on a drunk. He came out of Willis' saloon and in the glass front he could see what was going on, and he began to holler, "Boys, get your guns. They are robbing the bank."

NEAL. Did Mrs. Saltmarsh show up just then?

WILBER. Well, say, that article in the paper—that tickled me. That was Mrs. Tom Warren that he told to go back, go back, and she didn't pay any attention to him—thought he was drunk—he told her where she would get shot. Well, Charlie Duffy, he thought the same thing and Charlie come down to look in the window, and he just turned a back somersault going back up the walk.

NEAL. What happened in the bank?

WILBER. Well, he, Shirley, stood at the cashier's window and had David Smith covered with his gun, and whether he shot a purpose or accidentally, none of us know, but I think he shot accidentally. Then when they heard the shot, they knew Uncle Phil was telling the truth. The barber, everybody, Sam Park at the livery barn, Joe Hantgen, Rube Ball, all good shots. Ben Nichols was in the bunch, but I don't think he went up to the windows. Then when they come out, Bill Clark was behind the platform squatted with his rifle laying on the platform, and Clark raised up with his rifle and demanded they halt. Shirley throwed his rifle over his shoulder and caught Clark right through the leg and gave him a good flesh wound. Then that shot just scattered the bunch that they had lined up and left them three fellows in the street by themselves. Then there was John W. Welch shooting from the saloon door and Ben Nichols down in there some place and John Stoneman behind an old building across the street, and these fellows just shot them fellows all to pieces. They killed all of them before they got to their horses. Then Shirley, the doctor claimed, was shot plumb through the heart. The shot made him drop his rifle, and he jerked his six-shooter out and laid there in his dying struggles and emptied his six-shooter. He shot himself right through his hat brim. I had it for years, but somebody got away with it.

NEAL. Was there anyone else shot except Bill Clark?

WILBER. Vic Dikeman was shot in the wrist, but that was supposed to be a glance ball. It lodged right between those two bones in the wrist.

NEAL. You spoke of them tieing up their relay horses up Strawberry. What became of them?

WILBER. Their idea was, I think, that they would make their run down there between the lumber yard, ford the river, come up on that road, go in L07 mountain, cross that hog back at the old Indian Trail, then the Henry Wilson Ranch, in the night come for these horses, and beat it for Brown's Park. A fellow by the name of Rose, he was trailing them up. He claimed that they had stole three of his horses; they lived there in Brown's Park. He come here and then rather than have any trouble with him, I let him have his three horses. He convinced me that they was his horses all right. But I believe that he loaned them the horses.

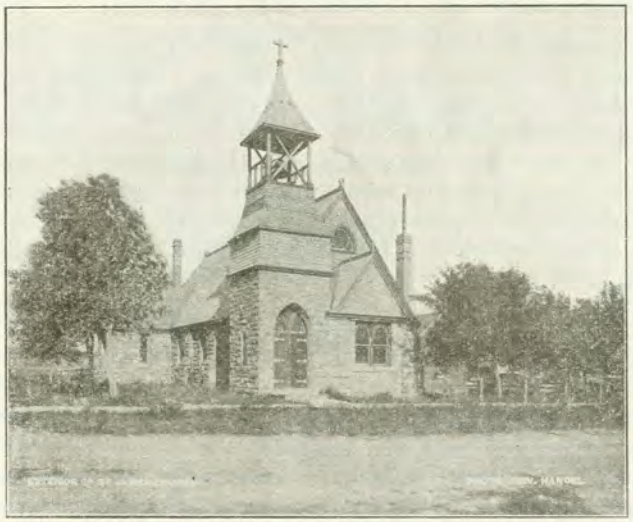
The horses that were tied up Strawberry, I sold two of their horses, and those three, Sam Wear went out—seventeen days after they was tied up—deer hunting and run onto these three horses. One had laid down and rolled on sloping ground and had choked to death. The other two was still alive. He got the other two to the ranch and saved them and kept them till they died. They was tied up in them cedars seventeen days. I trailed them to within a quarter of a mile of where they had tied their horses the next day after the holdup.

NEAL. Can't think of anything funny that happened back in those days where you had something to do with it?

WILBER. They was lots of funny things happened. The biggest part of three winters I was down in the winter camp. We used to have lots of fun with the Utes. But at the old Bar Triangle Ranch, well there was a fellow by the name of VanBrandt started the Bar Triangle—a fellow by the name of Collett and I wintered there. One night 'long in the winter, moonlight night, about a foot of snow on the ground, bright light, we heard an awful howl; pretty early in the evening, and we a course went to the door to figure out what this noise was, and it was as near as I can estimate, about eighteen or twenty young buck Indians had been up here and got firewater, and they were drunk. They saw our light, you see it was quite a ways off the road or trail, but they come down and come in, and they just had our cabin packed full, but they was heap hungry and they demanded us to go cook. I put Collett cutting meat and I went to making biscuits. We had a little sheet iron stove in the cabin, and I mixed up a lot of dough, and I had my bake pan and some hot grease in it, and I was jerking off a chunk of dough and rolling off a biscuit and performing to keep them in good nature, and I would let a yell out of myself and take a step or two. That tickled them so one Indian came close to look. Then I flapped the biscuits into the hot grease. That hot grease shot up into his face. How that tickled the others. They howled and laughed. I believe actually that I baked up darn near a half a sack of biscuits for them fellers before they ever left us, and it was pretty ticklish.

NEAL. Did you ever see old Colorow?

WILBER. I have et several meals with him, and that winter that I was in the saloon, Mrs. Wright and I would have one heck of a time keeping him out of the dining room. I knew him darn near as well as I know you. Used to be in the camp. There was over five years that I lived right among them. Gus, the old medicine man, was an awful good friend of mine. He got some firewater down at Rangeley, got drunk, started to camp, and froze to death.



Courtesy Meeker Herald
EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH, MEEKER

Old Douglas that Douglas Creek was named after, I knew him well. He went crazy and in '85 they shot him off of his horse down there —opposite to the Johnson's Ranch, right on the trail. Shot him off of his horse and left him. Crazy. (Here he gave the Indian word for crazy.)

NEAL. Was Colorow quite a leader among the Indians?

WILBER. He was their main leader. He was their chief. Old Douglas, while the racket at Thornburg was going on, was the one that led the bunch that massacred Meeker. They buried them nine about where Tommy Ruckman's house was built. This man Waggener's stock got to running over the graves, so this man Maj had me to fence those graves. I fenced those nine graves. Then later on the Government took them up and moved them out. In '83, the summer while I was working for that man Waggener, we lived right there and used the water out of the Meeker well that Meeker had.

NEAL. How long now have you lived on this ranch?

WILBER. This has been my home for sixty-three years. Long while.

NEAL. You proved up on it and still own it. Do you know of any other ranch in the White River Section that is still owned by the man who pre-empted it?

WILBER. No. I don't Joe. I don't know of another one in this county. There may be, but I don't know.

NEAL. You haven't said anything about when you were married or anything about your courtship.

WILBER. Well, we were married on Christmas Day of 1888; married in the town of Meeker, under religious ceremony.

NEAL. Who do you mean by we?

WILBER. Mother Wilber and I. By Golly, that will be fifty-eight years this coming Christmas. Reverend Williams married us —the first preacher that was sent into the town of Meeker and we was the first married by him. He was an Episcopalian. Him and I set those trees out around that church. I watered them and took care of them and I am proud of them. I spoke about being proud— in the fall of 1883, after the soldiers left here, they was twenty of us organized and called ourselves the Townsite Company. That give Meeker its name. I am the only one left out of the twenty and have been for the last four or five years. Yes, sir. And to make up our twenty we took in Judge Hugus and Jack Davis that fall.

NEAL. Looking back to the time you landed here and then viewing it as of today, what do you think of White River?

WILBER. Oh, my Lord. It is God's country. It surely is to me. I can't express in words how I love that little town of Meeker. Yes. Can't do it. With all ups and downs that I have had. You see, Joe, up to the time us fellows organized and called ourselves the Townsite Company, this was called Military Camp on White River. That was the only name it went by.