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Banking in Colorado Springs— The First Sixty-two Years

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For a city as recently founded as 1871, there is an amusing discrepancy in the records as to the identity of the first bank to be started in Colorado Springs.

In the biographical sketch of Colonel James H. B. McFerran, appearing in the *History of Colorado* prepared under the supervision of The State Historical and Natural History Society, 1927, there is the statement that in founding the "People's Bank" he founded the first financial institution in Colorado Springs (1873).

In H. H. Bancroft's *History of Colorado* (1890)[1] there is the following statement:

> The First Bank was established in 1873 by William S. Jackson, C. H. White and J. S. Wolfe and called the El Paso [County Bank]. Soon afterward J. H. Barlow became connected with it. This was followed the next year by the First National organized by W. B. Young, B. F. Crowell, C. B. Greenough, G. H. Stewart, F. L. Martin, and others, and two years later James H. B. McFerran started the Peoples Bank. All are sound and prosperous institutions.

In the *Book of Colorado Springs*, edited by Mrs. Manly D. Ormes and compiled for the most part from data gathered by her husband, there is the following statement:

> "The first banker in town," says one of the earliest residents, "was Alva Adams, who had a safe. We took our money to him, and he gave us due bills—no pass books, and no bookkeeping."
>
> "Out West," our first news sheet, contains this item in its issue of June 13, 1872: "Messrs. Flowers, Cameron and Benedict are about to open a banking house in Colorado Springs." This first bank or rather clearing-house, occupied the ground floor of a two-story frame building on Cascade Avenue at Pikes Peak. It was purchased after a few months by Wm. B. Young. In January, '73, it was moved by W. B. Young and Company into a new brick building at 13 South Tejon. Mr. Young was an enterprising citizen, who gave considerable diversity to his business, incorporating with it some real estate, and the raising of sheep. He even sold shares in the Brick Company of

*Justice Jackson, of the Colorado Supreme Court, is a Director of the State Historical Society of Colorado. He was a Director of the First National Bank of Colorado Springs, 1932-1942, and is a son of the William S. Jackson mentioned in this article. This paper was prepared for the Round Table Club of Colorado Springs and was given before that Club in October, 1939.—Ed.

[1]Vol. XXV, p. 603.

that day. As he had not enough capital to start out with, he went under with the panic of '73, but he subsequently paid his depositors dollar for dollar.

Mrs. Ormes then lists the People's Bank as being founded on August 1, 1873, and the El Paso County Bank on Ocotber 25, 1873, upon the failure of Wm. B. Young & Co.

Stone's *History of Colorado*[2] lists Wm. B. Young & Co. as the first bank, founded in 1872; the El Paso County Bank as that firm's successor in 1873. The People's Bank is then stated to have been the third bank, having opened its doors in 1876.

Thus not one of the foregoing four authorities agrees throughout with any other authority. The only agreement is in respect to the establishment of the First National Bank in the summer of 1874.

An examination of the files of the local papers in existence at the time supports Mrs. Ormes' statement as to the order in which the various banks came into existence. The *Gazette,* which was started at the beginning of 1873, in its first number (January 4, 1873) contains advertisements of Wm. B. Young & Co., Bankers. The March 15, 1873, edition of the *Gazette* contains an advertisement in which Wm. B. Young & Co. state that "the paid in capital of this bank is $25,000.00."

On August 2, 1873, the *Gazette* contained the following news item:

> The "Peoples Bank" on the corner of Huerfano and Tejon Streets opened for business yesterday. The President we understand has been in the banking business in Missouri for a number of years. The building is furnished with a fire proof safe.

and the advertisement in the same paper reads as follows:

> The Peoples Bank, Colorado Springs, is doing a general banking business. The Public patronage is solicited.
>
> JAS. McFERRAN, President — LEWIS BROSIUS, Acting Cashier

The same paper contains an advertisement of Wm. B. Young & Co., Bankers, Colorado Springs, Colorado, reading as follows:

> Our business is conducted the same as a national bank. Deposits received subject to check without notice. Interest allowed on time deposits by agreement. Commercial paper discounted. Gold, silver and exchange bought and sold. Sight drafts drawn on the principal cities of the United States and Europe. Money loaned for customers on Real Estate, or other securities at favorable rates. Collections made on all accessible points. County warrants bought and sold.

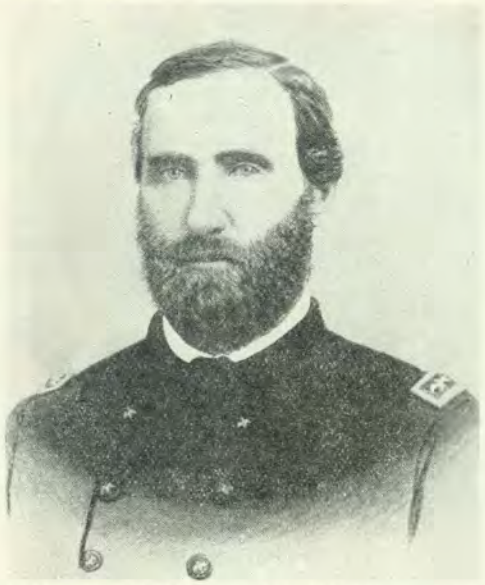
The last advertisement of Wm. B. Young & Co. appears in the October 18, 1873, *Gazette,* and the leading editorial of the October 25, 1873, issue of the *Gazette* reads as follows:

> The chief local event of the week has been the suspension of Messrs. Wm. B. Young & Co., Bankers, which took place on Thursday morning last.

[2]Vol. I, 404-8.

Mr. Young tells us that the suspension was forced upon him by heavy drains on the deposits in his Bank, owing to the Financial Panic, by the failure of Henry Clews & Company, of New York, and other Eastern correspondents, in whose hands he had many thousand dollars, and drafts upon whom came back to him for payment, and by the impossibility of realizing quickly upon the "paper" he held. He further says that his assets considerably exceed his liabilities, and that time is all that is needed to give every depositor the full hundred cents for his dollar.

The suspension is an unfortunate thing for the Town, as most of our merchants and many of our private residents were banking with Mr. Young. * * * But most of the balances in the Bank at the time of the suspension were small, and, in the few exceptional cases,



JAMES H. B. McFERRAN, FOUNDER AND PROPRIETOR OF THE PEOPLE'S BANK

the depositors are men who can bear the drawback. So far as we can learn, there is no one who would suffer a really fatal blow, even if there were no assets to meet the liabilities, but according to Mr. Young's statement the recovery of the full amounts of the balances is only a question of time, if the realization of the assets be judiciously managed.

Whilst the suspension is much to be deplored on account of the depositors and of the Town generally, we cannot withhold from Mr. Young our hearty sympathy. He is one of our oldest citizens, and has always displayed an earnest desire to promote the progress and prosperity of the Town. His failure, to the best of our belief, is attributable solely to causes beyond his foresight and control, and is such as money-dealers, however prudent and honorable they may be, are always exposed to. A Financial Crisis is like a cannon charged with grape; the deadly missiles are scattered round indiscriminately, and no man in the ranks can tell whether or not he will be hit. In the present crisis, one of the missiles has come this way.

> We trust that, under the circumstances, Mr. Young will receive all possible consideration and sympathy from his creditors. . . . To throw the matter into bankruptcy would, without a doubt, entail loss both upon Mr. Young and his creditors, for the inevitable expenses and the sacrifice which forced sales would entail would eat up a large proportion of the assets. A Trustee, however, if he be judicious, may so manage matters as to give the creditors their due within a reasonable time, and also secure for Mr. Young a handsome balance when all has been paid.
>
> The "El Paso County Bank," the new Banking House which has been established simultaneously with Mr. Young's failure, will, we trust, do much to restore confidence and to relieve the pressure occasioned by the latter event. The gentlemen who have associated themselves to form the organization are all well-known and are men in whom our citizens will be likely to have the fullest confidence. Mr. W. S. Jackson, who will hold the joint office of President and Cashier until all the arrangements of detail can be perfected, is the Secretary and Treasurer of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway, a road which, thanks to his ability and management, is noted for its good financial standing. He brings large experience, and unquestioned integrity and carefulness, to contribute to the success of the undertaking. Mr. Wolfe is a gentleman who came here, some time ago, in quest of health, and who has settled here as a permanent resident. He was a prominent and esteemed citizen in his old home in Arkansas, and his record here has already put him in the same position in Colorado Springs. He is a man who knows how to handle money. Much the same may be said of Mr. White. Mr. Goodrich is one of our very oldest citizens, and as cautious and conservative as anybody could possibly desire.
>
> We hope that these gentlemen will be able, through their organization, to help both themselves and the Town very materially.
>
> The "Peoples Bank," it should be stated, has met all claims upon it, and holds out against the storm.

And then the next issue of the *Gazette* contained another news editorial in connection with the Wm. B. Young & Co. failure, referring to certain hard feelings that had developed in town; indicating that the total liabilities were $36,000.00 and that the listed assets were valued at over $40,000.00 and urging consideration before passing judgment. A journal of T. C. Parrish speaks of threats of lynching and a fight in the postoffice. Young was taken out of town to Denver by his friends. He later was brought back by an officer of the law. He made an assignment of three well-known men of Colorado Springs, and in the course of a reasonable time his assets were sufficient to pay off all of his liabilities. None of his depositors suffered any loss, except the delay and the worry that was caused for the time being.

The El Paso County Bank apparently purchased from Wm. B. Young & Co. the furniture, fixtures and even the stationery at the time they closed. Checks drawn by W. S. Stratton on the El Paso County Bank during the latter part of 1873 and the first part of 1874 were introduced in evidence in the famous Stratton widow case, which was tried in the County Court of El Paso County in May, 1916.[3] On these checks, as the witnesses Charles H. White

[3]Later appealed to the Supreme Court, and decided in Stratton v. Rice, *et al.*, 66 Colo. 407.

and the present writer testified, appeared the words "Wm. B. Young & Co., Bankers" and these words were partially obliterated by three red lines above which appeared "El Paso County Bank." Some of the deposit slips introduced in evidence and discussed by the same witnesses bore the inscription "El Paso County Bank, successor to Wm. B. Young & Co." It is also interesting to note that the first advertisement of the El Paso County Bank, appearing in the November 1, 1873, issue of the *Gazette*, copies the verbiage of the Wm. B. Young & Co. longer advertisement quoted above.

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF COLORADO SPRINGS

The Bank still occupies the same site, the northwest corner of Tejon Street and Pikes Peak Avenue.

Mr. Young's failure in the banking business in the fall of 1873 was a cause of great concern to him, and when, in the summer of 1874, he had paid off his creditors, we find him as one of the incorporators of the new First National Bank, joining with B. F. Crowell, Irving Howbert, H. A. McIntyre, F. L. Martin and S. M. Saunders to found the First National Bank of this city. Thus we find Wm. B. Young founding the first bank in 1872, having that bank fail in the fall of 1873, and then in the late summer of 1874 taking part in the founding of another bank (The First National) and becoming its first cashier. The conditions of that founding and the early days of the First National are described by Mr. Irving Howbert in his book, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region*. His account of that founding is as follows:[4]

[4]Pages 244, 245 and 246.

* * * Mr. Crowell and I * * * were ready to take up some congenial business whenever opportunity offered. Having this in mind, but without any definite object in view at the time, we joined others in organizing the First National Bank of Colorado Springs in 1874, and were elected members of its Board of Directors. However, a few months later, not being entirely satisfied with the bank management, we retired from the Board, but retained our stock holdings.

Early in January, 1878, Mr. James Knox, cashier of the First National Bank, died suddenly, leaving no one in line of succession fitted for the office. To my surprise, on the 22d of that month, without having been consulted, I was elected his successor by the unanimous vote of the Board of Directors. I was without banking training, my chief qualification for the work being that, through my long service as County Clerk, I probably had a larger acquaintance and was better posted as to land values, than any man in the county. As the position offered me was in line with my ambition, I accepted it without hesitancy. * * *

I had no sooner become in a measure familiar with the affairs of the bank than I found that conditions were not as they should be. And I realized that I had a serious problem on my hands which I should have to solve with little inside aid, as Charles B. Greenough, the president of the bank, was at that time in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. On account of my inexperience in banking and the reluctance of the employees to give me information, it was some time before I arrived at an understanding of the true state of affairs; but when I fully realized the condition of the bank I was appalled, and I knew that I must speedily get aid from somewhere if the institution was to be kept alive. In this emergency, I sent a cablegram to President Greenough in Rio de Janeiro at the cost of almost three hundred dollars informing him of the situation. I knew that he was a very wealthy man and that, if he could be reached, he doubtless would, at the earliest possible moment, provide the funds necessary to save the institution. Mr. Greenough had come to Colorado Springs from Rio de Janeiro the year before as a health seeker, and, at the request of his friend James Knox, the cashier, had bought some of the bank stock and accepted the presidency. However, he had acquired very little knowledge of the internal affairs of the institution before leaving again for South American two or three months later, and consequently was greatly surprised by the news I sent him. As soon as he was able to arrange his affairs he returned to the United States and came directly to Colorado Springs.

Meanwhile, Mr. Crowell had been elected a director, and with his help and that of some banking friends in other parts of the State I managed to keep the bank going, although there was much difficulty in prevailing upon the Comptroller of the Currency not to close it. When Mr. Greenough arrived, he advanced the money necessary to tide over the institution for the time being. Later, we induced the stockholders to submit to a voluntary assessment of twenty-five per cent, and with this money and that which I had collected by suit or otherwise from former officers and others indebted to the institution, and by the sale of property taken over, we restored the capital and put the bank in a sound and stable condition. All this was accomplished within the first year after Mr. Crowell and I took charge. I speak of Mr. Crowell and myself as having, in large measure, accomplished these things for the reason that Mr. Greenough, being an invalid and a comparative stranger in this locality, was not able to give us much assistance except in a financial way. Since that time, the First National Bank of Colorado Springs has had an uninterrupted period of growth and prosperity. * * *

These three banks, the First National and the two private banks: the Peoples and the El Paso County, continued in the banking field without other competitors through the seventies and a good part of the eighties, although on September 12, 1886, the following news item appeared in the *Gazette*:

> For some time rumors relating to the founding of a new bank in this city have been floating around. These rumors have assumed definite shape and the establishment of a new bank is now a settled fact. It is to be a national bank and the name we understand will be "The Colorado Springs National Bank."

Nothing apparently resulted from these rumors, but six months later, on March 15, 1887, the following news item appeared in the *Gazette*:

> We learn that the El Paso County Bank has purchased the fixtures, good will and business of the Peoples Bank. Judge McFerran's health is not so good as it formerly was and he has been seeking for some time to retire from active business. He has held his friends closely and only retires for want of rest and recuperation. Checks drawn against deposits with the Peoples Bank will be duly honored by the El Paso County Bank. This banking institution has been established since 1873 and has the reputation of doing a conservative and careful business. It's business is widely extended and the management is justly held in high esteem by the customers. We predict that the patrons of the Peoples Bank will find their new place of business much to their liking.

Also in the same issue, appeared two advertisements, one of the El Paso County Bank showing capital of $100,000.00 and surplus of $20,000.00; the other of the First National Bank, showing a capital of $50,000.00, surplus and undivided profits of $28,000.00.

The purchase of the Peoples Bank by the El Paso County Bank left the latter as the only private bank—one which by succession and purchase had taken over the other two private banks in the community, and incidentally the only two which were older than it. The El Paso County Bank continued as a private bank until 1900.

It is worth pausing here to suggest that of more real interest than the question of which actually was the first bank in point of time in Colorado Springs is the fact that the first three institutions formed in this city were all private banks—a form of bank which no longer exists in the state of Colorado, the last private bank, a small one in Akron, having ceased to exist in the year 1938.

It will be recalled that Congress had already passed what was known as the National Banking Act in 1863, providing for the issuance of charters to national banks under our national banking system; but the first bankers in the early communities had not become national-bank-minded, and the partnership was then a common form of organization.

At this point the question, "What is a private bank?" may be asked. H. Parker Willis, in his book on *American Banking*[5] describes private banks as

[5]Page 14.

> * * * unincorporated institutions that transact the regular banking business of deposit and discount. Two types of these institutions should be distinguished. Private banking firms such as that of J. P. Morgan & Co. are large financial houses engaged in promoting and financing enterprises, underwriting their securities, selling railroad and industrial bonds, making loans to city, state and national governments, and transacting other important financial business. They usually receive deposits and may or may not discount commercial paper.
>
> The other type of private bank is a survival of pioneer conditions. An individual or group of individuals simply open a banking business very much as they would open a grocery store. They then solicit deposits and make loans and conduct a general banking business, either by itself or in conjunction with some other business —real estate, insurance or something else. No specific amount of paid-up capital or resources is required. * * *

William O. Scroggs, in his book on *A Century of Banking Progress*[6] gives a picture of the private bank as follows:

> A century ago practically every merchant performed in some fashion the functions of a banker. He would advance his customers cash as well as goods on credit, and would even pay out cash to a third party on his customers written order. If currency, especially small change, became scarce in the community, the merchant might issue his own notes to meet the demand. There was also an indefinite number of private banks operating without charters.
>
> The merchants banking activities and the private bank were perfectly legal. Banking was then a common-law right, and in the absence of statutory provisions any individual might receive funds on deposit if he could find anybody willing to entrust him with them, and he might also issue his notes for circulation if he could find any one willing to receive them.

"The Peoples Bank" was an individual bank owned and controlled by one man, Col. James H. B. McFerran, who, having come here from Missouri, is reported to have started his bank with a capital of $50,000.00.

"The El Paso County Bank" was a partnership, consisting originally of four men: Jackson, White, Goodrich and Wolfe, which shortly afterward resulted in the retirement of Goodrich and Wolfe and the addition of James H. Barlow—the partnership shares then running: Jackson five-eighths, White one-fourth, and Barlow one-eighth. Mr. Barlow was a brother-in-law of James S. Wolfe who came to Colorado at Mr. Wolfe's urging and took over the Wolfe interest in the bank. He was an older brother of Milton Barlow, who for many years was president of the United States National Bank, Omaha, Nebraska.

But whether owned and run by an individual or a group of individuals, the private bank in those days had much more of a

[6]Page 2.

personal relationship with its depositors and customers than the incorporated bank of today. The depositor who left his money with the bank left it because he personally believed in the man who was running the bank; and the man who was running the bank lent his money to his customer because he personally believed in the man to whom he was lending the money. Each knew the affairs of the other to a much larger extent than today. In fact, because of the frequent absence of ready collateral, the banker had to know all about the personal situation of his borrower before he would lend him money. Likewise, the customer had to know that the banker was personally financially solid before he would entrust his money to him. In a banking partnership, where one partner might be financially solid and another financially weak, all of the depositors, in the event of a crisis, could look to the solid partner for the payment of all of their moneys. It was a system of banking that made for unsoundness where there were weak or fraudulent bankers involved; but where the bankers themselves were honest and sound financially it made for extreme caution and care in banking policies and methods.

It is interesting to note not only the number of private banks that were started in Colorado Springs, but also the persistence of the private bank long after that institution had disappeared in other communities of similar size.

Although the private bank was the forerunner of other forms of banks in most communities of the state, yet in many it soon gave way to the incorporated form of institution. In Denver the first bank was a private bank; and the First National Bank of Denver, chartered on April 17, 1865, included in itself the already existing private banking partnership of George T. Clark & Co. Kountze Brothers, a private bank started in 1862, later became the Colorado National Bank in August, 1866; in Pueblo, Thatcher Brothers Bank, a private bank, started in January, 1871, and became The First National Bank of Pueblo in June of the same year; the private banking firm of Thatcher, Standley & Co., of Central City, which was formed in 1870, became The First National Bank of Central City on January 1, 1874. Whereas, in Colorado Springs the private bank persisted until the beginning of the twentieth century, and for the first seventeen years of the city's existence there were more private banks than incorporated banks.

In this respect, Salt Lake City seems to present the closest parallel to that of Colorado Springs. For there the Walker Brothers

started a private bank in connection with their store. In a few years, following the general trend, they changed their private bank into an incorporated, national bank; but for some reason they soon gave up their charter and resumed the private partnership method of banking until well along in the twentieth century.

The difference in attitude between an officer of a private bank and one of an incorporated institution has already been illustrated in Mr. Howbert's story of the episode with Mr. Greenough while the latter was president of the First National Bank. The principal partner of a private bank could hardly afford to be as far distant from the bank as Rio de Janeiro and to have known so little about banking as apparently did Mr. Greenough.

Another illustration of this difference between the two types of banks is that when Wm. S. Jackson resigned as President of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway in 1887, after first having served as Receiver, he did so on the theory that he could not continue as a salaried officer of a railroad and at the same time continue in the private banking field. He chose the latter. The presidency of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway was then offered to David H. Moffat, who was at that time president of the First National Bank of Denver, and he accepted the presidency of the railroad on the express condition that he could continue as president of the bank—something which the corporate form of organization allowed him more easily to do.

November 26, 1884, the charter of the Denver National Bank was issued. Among the nine founders, headed by Governor James B. Grant of Denver, were the two former private bankers of Central City, Joseph Standley and J. A. Thatcher, and the private banker of Colorado Springs, Wm. S. Jackson. Another founder was George W. Trimble who had learned the banking business in Colorado Springs in the private bank of his father-in-law, Colonel McFerran. At the time of the founding of the Denver National he was a banker in Leadville. All of these founders were on the first board of directors, and they continued as directors during their respective banking careers.

We may here also note that it was another son-in-law of Colonel McFerran's, A. V. Hunter, who, upon the death of David H. Moffat, became president of the First National Bank of Denver and revived it from the weakness which the failure of the Moffat enterprises had caused. Mr. Hunter, like Mr. Trimble, received his early training in the People's Bank in Colorado Springs, and later in Leadville where he and Colonel McFerran also engaged in banking.

(To be continued)

The Festival of Mountain and Plain*

LEVETTE J. DAVIDSON

THE 1898 Festival followed in general the pattern established by its predecessors. There were "fireworks at the big lake at City Park" at 8:30 p. m., Tuesday, October 4; and the second day was "devoted to a Grand Peace Jubilee." The *Official Program*, however, announced the traditional public mask ball for the third evening as if fearful that it might get out of hand:

> The evening of the third day will take place the Grand Masquerade Ball, when Frivolity will reign supreme amidst the mazy whirl of joyous dance. Denver has ever been noted for the proper decorum of its masquerades and the strict, punctilious observance of propriety in all of its public festivities. It is certain that the same obeisance to law and order will be in practice this year.

The writer of the Program concluded upon a more positive note, one concerning Colorado autumn weather:

> The time of the Festival of Mountain and Plain set in the first few days of October brings the visitor into Colorado at the most favored season of the year. The heats of summer have disappeared, the rains have ceased, the rigors of winter have not as yet begun. Colorado, always delightful in climate and temperature, is then at her best. The days are still warm and pleasant, and it has not yet been necessary to clothe oneself against the cold; and yet, the evenings are delightingly cool and refreshing atfer the warm hours of the day, making an extra wrap a comfort and a pleasure. The cool air, rolling down the slopes of the vast range of the Rocky Mountains, whose hoary heads are ever capped with glistening snow, brings a bracing freshness to the heats of the day, and imparts to the atmosphere the proverbial clear limpidity which yearly attracts to Colorado the seeker after pleasure, recreation, health, repose; to Colorado, the gem of the Rockies, the paradise of health, the resort of the hunter, the delight of the sightseer.

In 1899, perhaps because of criticism of the lack of novelty in the annual events, the Festival Board added a horse show and a street fair that prepared the way for the annual Colorado State Fair. The *Official Program* confidently announced the week-long Festivals as follows:

> Upon the occasion of its fifth annual recurrence, the Festival of Mountain and Plain has broadened its scope and set an enlarged boundary to its fields of practical usefulness. As promised in its preliminary outlines at the closing of its last successful presentation, the Board of Direction laid the plans for a State Fair and Exposition to be held in conjunction with the Festival in 1899. That these added features were most popular is fully proven by the encouragement and approval of a generous public press and the felicitations of a pleased public.
>
> In point of time for holding the celebration, the dates have been set a week earlier and this year will occur September 25 to 30.

*Continued from the preceding issue and concluded in this. Through a regrettable oversight the photographs used as illustrations in the first part of this article, published in the July issue, were not duly credited. The photographs were kindly supplied by the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library.—Ed.

Visitors to the city will be received at the entrance to the depot by a Triumphal Arch of Welcome, handsomely and elaborately decorated, and inviting every visitor to the full enjoyment of the festivities and gaieties of the hospitable city. The celebration will last an entire week.

At night the broad avenue leading from the depot to the heart of the city, will be brilliantly illuminated for over a mile in length of uninterrupted view, so likewise will be ablaze with electric lights every principal street of the city throughout the heart of the business district, turning darkest night into a dazzling brilliance of electric glory. This grand illumination will last through the entire week.

Monday, September 25th

The week will open on Monday, September 25th, with a grand display of the products and resources of the State gathered at great expense from every district, and exhibited free upon the open streets.

Queen's Committee: T. J. Underhill, C. E. Ward, C. W. Franklin.

On Monday evening at the Grand Stand at eight o'clock, will occur the imposing ceremonials of the coronation of the Queen of the Festival, surrounded by her Maids of Honor and her Guards. The Maids of Honor will have been specially chosen, one from each county in the state, to lend grace and beauty to the brilliant occasion. The Queen's Body Guard will number a hundred of the pick and flower of the scions of the most select circle of the young men of the city, gorgeously arrayed in the Queen's trappings and mounted on handsomely caparisoned steeds. This will be the brilliant society event of the Festival.

The King of the Mountains will at the proper hour go in search of his royal consort, and with sound of trumpet and cry of herald, will enter the arena of the mammoth Grand Stand, escorting the Queen of the Festival to her throne where she will be crowned and commence her royal reign of the week. Her first act of royal prerogative will be to award to one of her Maids of Honor the beautiful piano, donated for that purpose.

Tuesday, September 26th

On Tuesday, September 26th, at 1:30 p. m., will take place the Queen's Triumphal march along the public streets of the city. The Queen will be accompanied by her Maids of Honor and surrounded by her body guards. The royal pilgrimage will also embody the royal family and members of the diplomatic corps, making in all one of the most resplendent processions of royalty ever witnessed in any court.

At 2:30 p. m. will occur the parade of the Queen's Royal Guards, including the National Guard of the State of Colorado and the returned volunteers, "The Heroes of Manila and Santiago," who will occupy the position of honor, and receive the glowing tributes of an admiring multitude for deeds of heroism and acts of patriotism in the Hispano-American war. The High School Cadets and such other military organizations as our Centennial State can boast, will also pay tribute to the returning veterans. This will be the grandest showing of military strength that has ever been undertaken in the state.

Tuesday Evening, Slaves of the Silver Serpent

On Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock, is the illuminated Parade of the Slaves of the Silver Serpent. Cuts and descriptions of the magnificent floats comprising this parade are elsewhere set forth in this book. But no picture can adequately outline or convey an idea of the mystifying and bewildering splendor of this gorgeous night scene irridescent with torches, red fires and illuminations.

Wednesday, September 27th

Committee: O. P. Baur, W. J. Parkinson, R. E. McCracken, Geo. H. Knifton, J. Frank Adams, Earl Hewitt.

On Wednesday, September 27th, in front of the Grand Stand will occur the annual competition of all attending bands. This musical contest will probably occupy the greater portion of the entire day, and will afford to all lovers of music a continual concert of high, artistic merit, such as is seldom witnessed except at an outlay of considerable expense. An additional attraction to the great treat of high class music, is the ever changing personnel of the performers who rapidly succeed each other upon the scene. At the close of the contest the entire number of bands will march in a solid body down 16th Street to Larimer to 15th to Curtis to 17th to Arapahoe, playing in consort the Black Hills March.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON
A Float in the Mountain and Plain Festival Parade of 1897

On Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock, will take place an illuminated parade of the Denver Fire Department, which, after marching through the streets of the city, will give a night run in front of the Grand Stand. This will be an affair of dazzling and startling effect. Every machine in the department will be in line. The madly dashing horses wildly plunging across the arena and thundering at their flying heels, the brilliantly polished machines reflecting from their shining surfaces the lights of a thousand torches. This will be a fire dash, such as never before has been witnessed. The night scene of the Grand Stand, the brilliance of the illumination, the exciting influence of red fire torches and the soul thrilling dash through the night of a fire department excelled nowhere for efficiency, service and celerity.

Thursday, September 28th

Committee: Wolfe Londoner, J. M. Kuykendall, E. L. Scholtz, Geo. Schirmer.

Thursday, September 28, is Masquerade Day. At 1:30 p. m. will form the great Masked Parade. Laugh provoking floats, typical of local subjects, as well as of national and general application, fun making characters, chorus dandies, soubrettes, acrobatic combinations, mirth producing organizations and everything to make a day of unalloyed enjoyment and hilarity.

After the dispersion of the parade, promiscuous masking will be allowed upon the streets until 6 o'clock, when all masks must disappear.

On Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, in front of the Grand Stand will take place the ever popular Masque Ball, introducing to his merry subjects the loved King Argentum-Aurum and his beautious consort, the Queen of Frivolity.

During the ball a Grand Prize Cake Walk will be given at 10:30, for which prizes in gold will be awarded. Two colored quartettes will dispense music throughout the Grand Stand. The McCook Band of 35 pieces will keep the merry dancers busy, as also Prof. Lohman's Band of 40 pieces.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29TH

Committee: C. E. Stubbs, Chairman; John F. Campion, R. R. Wright, Jr., Geo. L. Goulding, John W. Springer, Fred E. Bowman, W. H. O'Brien; C. F. Martin, Secretary; Dr. Chas. Gresswell, Veterinary Inspector.

On Friday will be presented the finest Horse Show ever given in the West, for which prizes aggregating $5000, in cash and premiums have been offered.

The interest in these two latter events promises to surpass all other features of the Festival and will attract a very large attendance. During the entire week elaborate displays of Horticulture, Agriculture, Mining, Manufacturers, Machinery and all home products will be exhibited throughout the city free to the public. Prizes for these displays run up into the thousands of dollars, and every County in the State will be represented. Colorado and her unrivalled resources will be as an open book.

Friday evening at 8 p. m., continuation of the Horse Show in front of the Grand Stand under glare of electric lights.

Saturday, at 1:30 p. m., at Grand Stand, the final exhibition of the Horse Show. This will prove to be the finest event ever seen in the West.

On Saturday evening, September 30th, at 8 o'clock, will take place in front of the Grand Stand, a GRAND STATE BALL. This is the first venture of this kind and it is expected to eclipse in brilliancy and enjoyable effect any attempt at a public ball ever given. It will be strictly an invitation affair. The arena will accommodate 8000 people who will participate in the pleasures of the ball in the presence of 10,000 spectators in the Grand Stand.

The music for the occasion will be furnished by the famous McCook Band of Neb., numbering 35 pieces, and by Prof. A. S. Lohman's Band of Denver, 40 pieces.

An editorial in the *Republican*, Sunday, October 1, 1899, pronounced "The Festival a Success." But it found it necessary to take the critics to task in the following words: "It is always easier to point out the flaws in the painting than to take the brush in hand and produce equally as good work . . . Instead of finding fault let us generously bestow praise where it has been so well deserved." The writer praised the horse show and the street fair, suggesting

that "the latter was the initiation of a coming state fair." A piano and scholarships to Denver conservatoires and schools were given as prizes to three Maids of Honor to the Queen, for they held lucky numbers.

No Festival was held in 1900, however. Some attributed this to the fact that 1900 was an election year. The following explanation by Jerome C. Smiley, written about that time, may have some validity:

> A long-continued annual recurrence of the Festival is, of course, not probable; that is to say, not upon the basis of the five that have been held. The spirit and characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race dominate in Colorado, and to people of that race the general features of the past festivals do not present sufficient vitality nor utility to become permanently attractive or desirable. However, it is more than probable that from the beginning made in these festivals, and retaining some of their characteristics, will arise a larger, broader, and more dignified annual expression of the purposes for which they were inaugurated.[10]

The Slaves of the Silver Serpent did not neglect to hold their dance in 1900, even though there was no Festival. An invitation and a dance program for this event indicate that the dance took place on December 5, 1900, in the State Capitol Building, beginning at 9 p. m. with part one "Reserved Exclusively for Slaves in Costume."[11] Part two lists twelve dances, played by the McCook Band. Charles H. Reynolds was chairman of the Ball Committee, C. S. Thomas of the Reception Committee, and J. L. Jerome of the Floor Committee. Some thirty-four other committeemen are listed, including Alva Adams, R. E. McCracken, J. M. Kuykendall, W. N. Byers, G. W. Baxter and T. S. Dines.

The remaining history of the activities of the Mountain and Plain Festival Association may be gleaned from the official minutes of the Board and from the Denver newspapers.[12] From the deliberations of the Board on April 23, 1901, we learn that "The Soliciting Committees report encouraging success." As a result, a Festival was decided upon, to be held the first three days of October; and President C. H. Reynolds appointed various committees, which Secretary John C. McNamara duly listed. There were frequent meetings during September and October, with the notation on October 3, "On motion all Directors were requested to appear in full dress at 7:30 in order to lead the Grand March at the Mask Ball." On October 8, "Mr. Byers announced that Mr. Rodney Curtis, president of the Tramway Co., desires to convey to the Board his compliments and congratulations on the success of the

[10] *History of Denver*, Denver (1901), 930.

[11] Preserved in the private papers of William N. Byers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

[12] Volume I of the Minute Book seems to have been lost. Fortunately, Volume II, with records from April 23, 1901, to March 28, 1917, was turned over to the State Historical Society of Colorado a few years ago by R. G. Parvin, for many years an officer of the Festival Association and in later years head of the state Fish and Game Department.

Festival, and the masterly manner of its managers." The Finance committee had reported $25,703 of available funds and had budgeted $28,700 at the July 16 meeting.

Since the 1901 Festival followed closely on the heels of the State Fair, which closed in Pueblo on the Saturday before, it needed special features other than agricultural and industrial parades to attract the crowds. From the newspapers we learn that Exhibition Teams of Woodmen of the World and other fraternal organizations performed before the grand stand, which faced on Broadway, near Colfax.[13] Here, too, was held the unique "Rough Riders Tournament." One thousand dollars had been allotted in the budget for this feature. "The Championship Rough Riders Belt of the World," together with $150 first prize money, was won by Martin T. Sowder, of Diamond, Wyoming. Miss Mary Louise Malone was Queen of the Festival and Miss Ethel Hughes was chosen Queen of the Slaves of the Silver Serpent, to preside at their ball in the Brown Palace Hotel.

At a meeting of the Board on May 20, 1902, it was decided not to attempt a Festival for that year. The *Denver Republican* for May 22 commented as follows:

> Public opinion both in Denver and out of it will approve the decision of the managers of the Mountain and Plain Festival to hold no festival this year.
>
> When the festival was new people took great interest in it, and thousands came from different parts of the state to participate in Denver's season of fun-making and entertainment. Business men and others residing here contributed liberally to the festival fund, and there was no difficulty in preparing an entertainment of genuine interest. But it was not long until the attraction became stale and people living in other parts of the state refused to come. Denver itself became weary of the show and business men refused to contribute to the festival fund.
>
> Denver wants as many people as possible to visit it every year, but it will find that the most effective way to attract visitors is to make it worth their while to come. Denver should be so amply supplied with all that makes a city attractive and entertaining that people of Colorado would turn to it as the inhabitants of France do to Paris. This can be accomplished without difficulty, though to reach a very high standard it may require time.

The Board decided at its June 10, 1902, meeting to reserve the "Champion Rough Rider's Belt" for a future Festival, but rescinded its action on July 24 and sets up plans for carrying through the annual contest. Perhaps this reversal was motivated in part by the activities of the Denver Horse Show Association, which had sent a committee to the June 14 meeting of the Board, suggesting that the two groups consolidate. But "a date satisfactory to both sides could not be agreed upon." President Monash appointed as a committee John M. Kuykendall, W. H. Stewart, C. M. Day, C. H. Reynolds, and C. E. Ward. "On motion of Mr. Wilson the President was requested to make arrangements for proper exhibit of the Belt, especially during the week of Buffalo Bill's Shows." The Board on August 8 passed a resolution "That Mr. John M. Kuykendall convey to Col. W. F. Cody the high appreciation of the Board of Col. Cody's recognition that the Mountain and Plain Festival Association gave to the world its first champion Broncho Busting Rider, and also of Col. Cody's refusal to recognize any other claimant to this honor, until he shall have proceeded through the line of competition laid down by the Festival Board."

[13] Most of the *Rocky Mt. News* for Tuesday, Oct. 1, 1901, was devoted to the Festival. Since "There is no official program" the readers were advised to clip the one printed in the *News* and to take it with them to the events.

On August 8, also, "The Plan Committee reports that the Tramway Company tenders the Festival Association, free of cost, the use of the Broadway Park for three days." The offer was accepted and the Board decided, on September 19, to give three afternoon and two evening performances, omitting the evening of Tuesday, October 7. An estimated budget amounting to $19,500 was presented at the September 23rd meeting.

The minutes of the Board for August 14, 1902, contain the following: "It being announced that Editor Slack of Cheyenne would be in the City on Friday evening, the President was requested to appoint a Committee to wait upon him with a view of maintaining friendly relations with Cheyenne." Since Cheyenne's Frontier Days celebration had been inaugurated at the Fair Grounds in that city on Thursday, September 23, 1897, some rivalry had developed between Denver's Festival and Cheyenne's Frontier Days. But the minutes of the August 26 meeting record that "an invitation from Frontier Days at Cheyenne was read and accepted," and the September 2 minutes report that the trip to Cheyenne was successful. On September 30 a motion was passed inviting Cheyenne and Pueblo to the Broncho Contest and to provide grand stand tickets for their entertainment. M. T. Sowder, of Diamond, Wyoming, again won the belt and the first prize money for "rough riders."

Although no further Festivals were held in Denver until 1912, the Board considered possibilities each year and then passed resolutions not to hold a festival until the following year. The Championship Belt was, however, offered again—and for the last time—in 1903. The following circumstances were noted in the minutes of the Festival Board meeting for July 7:

> Challenges to contest for the Championship Belt were read from H. Brennan, C. Jackson, E. Cronch, M. J. Mortinsen, E. J. Heppner. On motion they were received and placed on file.
>
> The Frontier Park Assn. of Cheyenne under date of June 7 and the Pueblo State Fair Assn. under date of July 1, each request that the Belt contest for 1903 be held at their respective celebrations.

> On motion of Mr. Fillius the prior request of Cheyenne was considered favorably, under the conditions that the contest be held under the auspices of this Board with such terms, rules and regulations as shall be formulated by it.

Further information follows, from the minutes of the July 18 meeting:

> Report of agreement to hold contest at Cheyenne on Frontier Days August 25, 26, 27, 1903. All expenses to be borne by Cheyenne Committee. Three judges to be named by this committee and two by Cheyenne Committee. All mutually approved.

At the competition held in Cheyenne August 25-27, 1903, the championship belt was won by Guy Edward Holt, of Wyoming. Since no one had yet won the belt three times and since the competition was never held again under sponsorship of the Board of the Festival of Mountain and Plain the belt remained in the possession of Mr. John M. Kuykendall, one of the promoters, and was later turned over to the Colorado State Museum, where it is now on display. Rodeos and bucking bronco competitions are quite common throughout the West today. Denver's contest in 1901 should, perhaps, be remembered as the first to offer a "Championship Rough Riders Belt of the World."

The minutes of the Board meetings of 1904 report many plans but just as many negative decisions. On February 11, "a committee was appointed to interview the heavier subscribers as to their wishes"; on March 25, it was resolved, "That no Festival be given in 1904." On August 8, "Mr. Smutzer reported on his trip to St. Louis and his conference with the St. Louis Fair group over Championship Belt Contest. A letter was authorized . . . placing expense at not less than $10,000 for a three day show." On September 22, a letter was read from St. Louis "declining to entertain the Rough Riding Contest." At the same meeting the Board "declined to loan its floats, costumes, etc., to the W. O. W. according to past precedents."

In 1905 the Board unsuccessfully tried to work out a joint festival with the G. A. R., which organization then asked the Board to wait until after the G. A. R. Encampment before holding a festival. In 1906 and 1907 the decision centered around the possibility of the Festival Board providing the celebration for the opening of the new Auditorium, June 26-July 2, 1908.

No minutes were kept and probably no meetings of the Board were held from October 14, 1908, to August 5, 1912. On the latter date President Day opened the special meeting, at which the following occurred:

> The president explains object of meeting to be on account of some public sentiment and press criticism, which seems to call for some response, as outcome of public meeting at Adams Hotel which requested a meeting of Board and reorganization.

> Mr. Kuykendal says it is time for action. The Board is considered a stumbling block and should do something active or disband.
>
> The Secretary was instructed to request the Chamber of Commerce, the Real Estate Exchange, the Retail Association, the Hotel and Restaurant Men's Association, the Motor Club, the Manufacturers Association, and the Newspaper Publishers Association to each name three candidates for election to the Board. . . .

The rejuvenated Board then proceeded to plan for a Festival to be held October 16-19, 1912.

According to newspaper accounts the 1912 Festival was a success. The *Denver Post* story, by Frances Wayne, published October 15, included the following:

> After eleven years of absence the god of Folly and of Mirth has come down from the mountains and out of the plains to take command of this city and give it over as a hostage to happiness.
>
> Sixty days is all the time the men in charge of the carnival have had to start, do and complete their work of illustrating the new chapter in Western history. Yet the beauty and significance of the floats, the admirable system and discipline displayed of the marching men and the vast number of entries all prove that brains and not time are the things that count.

The program, which lasted from Tuesday through Friday, provided an Industrial Parade; "the burning of Daniels and Fisher tower—the Denver Fire Department will be seen in full action;" a state ball in the auditorium—with Miss Ruth Boettcher as Queen of the Festival of Mountains and Plain; a Firemen's Parade, and "slide for life;" a "Decorated Automobile Parade, almost every machine in town, trimmed in best festival style;" a "Fireworks display to represent the burning of the Wilson warehouse;" "the burning of City Park lake, thousands of gallons of oil poured on water will be set blazing;" etc.[14]

In spite of the "laudatory communications read" at the October 21 and 29 meetings of the Board and the resolution at the December 18 meeting—"On motion of Mr. Parvin it was unanimously agreed to give a festival in 1913"—no further Festival was ever held. The March 6, 1913, minutes provide one explanation of the difficulties that arose: "Mr. Sommers says promises were given at the last Festival that no more solicitations for money would be made, and these promises must be lived up to." But how else could such a sum as $32,500, the cost of the 1912 Festival, be secured? There was no ready answer.

Mr. R. G. Parvin was elected president on November 14, 1913. The next meeting was held on January 29, 1914. Then and on February 18, the Board discussed putting on "The Stampede, a very high order of Wild West show, which had immense success at Calgary and Winnipeg." But, "the Elks were planning a festival and did not want this to encroach on their plans." The next

[14]In addition to the *Denver Post* account, cf. *The City of Denver*, vol. 1, no. 2, Denver, October 26, 1912. The latter contains an illustrated article praising the Festival.

meeting was on September 7, 1915, at which the Board decided that the time was too short to plan for an entertainment by the Festival Board during the Dry-Farming Congress, as had been requested. The next record, and the last one in the Minutes Book, is of the March 28, 1917 session. The Board decided that a proposition from the Denver Manufacturers Association "looking toward giving a Festival in the fall of 1917" was "immature." Soon Denver, together with the rest of the United States, was involved in a World War that made festivals out of the question for the next few years.

From time to time one still hears the opinion that the Festival should be revived. A serious effort was made in 1937 and again in 1939 to organize a revival or to create something similar for Denver. A *Scrap Book* containing the letters and tentative plans for such a festival program was later deposited with the State Historical Society. From it one learns that Edward V. Dunklee was the elected President and Dudley Keith, Executive Secretary, of this latter-day "Festival of Mountain and Plain Association." But financial and other difficulties proved too great. Then another World War intervened.

Denver and Colorado have had many fine festivals and celebrations of one kind or another since 1912. But the Festival of Mountain and Plain still remains unchallenged as the most unusual program of community entertainment the state of Colorado has ever known.

Mrs. Mate Smith Hottel, a Pioneer Community Leader

SELETHA A. BROWN*

WHEN the Who's Who in Colorado was published in 1939, Boulder county included seven housewives in its list of outstanding men and women. One of the seven was Mate Smith Hottel, a hardy and forceful pioneer, who has been a leader in educational, church and civic enterprises since she came to Colorado in 1882.

The spring that Mate was twenty-one years of age she boarded the train in Sharon, Pennsylvania, and headed for Colorado. Her parents considered her foolhardy to undertake such a long journey by herself, but Mate had no fear. Her brother, O. J. Smith, was in Colorado and had been writing of the wonderful wages which teachers received in the west. Seventy dollars a month! In Pennsylvania she had been teaching for thirty dollars and board around. There, the school month called for twenty-two teaching days; in Colorado twenty days would make a school month.

*Mrs. Brown, of Longmont, has previously contributed pioneer articles to this magazine.—Ed.

Mate had written to her brother to find a school for her. Arrangements had been completed for her to open a school at Red Rock, a country district two and one-half miles west of the present town of Berthoud.

"When I arrived, the site of the present town of Berthoud was known as Turner's Field. The railway station was located at La Crosse, or Old Berthoud as it was later called, and was nothing but a box car perched on a few brick beside the track," Mrs. Hottel tells. "I arrived on May first, 1882, and there wasn't a tree in sight. Not even a willow! The wind was blowing a seventy-five mile an hour gale. It was all I could do to keep erect against its force as I walked from the train to the box-car station.

"Inside, I sat down by myself, surrounded by satchels and bags, wondering why I'd been such a fool as to leave the populated East, and wondering where the folks were who were supposed to meet me. Then in walked the village postmaster and picked up the mail sack. He stopped in surprise when he saw me.

"'I'm known as Old Man Cross, the postmaster,' he said. 'And who can you be?'

"When I explained who I was and my destination he exclaimed, 'No one's goin' to get in from Red Rock tonight. They can't make it against this wind. You come home and stay the night with the missus and me.' Thus began a friendship with two kindly folk which grew stronger with the years, and lasted until their death.

"At the time, Colorado State Law ordained that a school must be organized and kept open for three weeks before they could get state help. Mr. George Snibely was so anxious to have a school that he offered the use of a 'lean-to' bedroom as a school room. The children brought soap boxes for desks and I had a log plank.

"The trying part of the arrangement was that the schoolroom was also the bedroom which I shared with the Snibely daughter. Each school morning I'd have to get up and help carry the bed into the yard before the pupils arrived. Each evening it must be returned.

"I kept that school open long enough for the district to obtain state aid, so that they might start to build a schoolhouse. While this building was being constructed I went three miles north to where the Lone Tree schoolroom was already erected. Although the building was just made of siding, without even a tar-paper lining we held school until after Christmas without a sign of a stove in the building! Here, I had thirty-two pupils, with no two books alike. Again we used soap boxes for desks and a painted wooden board for a blackboard.

"There was practically no money in the community. Most of the people who had settled on these plains had been miners at Central City, Black Hawk, and Culver. When the mines closed they had turned to the free homestead land."

Those who are familiar with the Loveland, Berthoud, Longmont area today think of it as a rich farming valley surrounded by many lakes. How different the landscape appeared in 1882. Irrigation ditches were just beginning to be built. Mrs. Hottel tells of her part in promoting one ditch.

MRS. MATE SMITH HOTTEL
As she appeared while teaching at Eaton, Colorado

"The farmers had pledged three hundred dollars to the contractor by a certain Monday. Every family had turned in all their cash but they had a hundred dollars only. Where could they find the other two hundred? George Wilson was one of the directors of the school district as well as a director of the irrigation project. He knew I had not collected my teaching salary for three months. He came to me asking that I take the train to Fort Collins on a Saturday, draw my money from the Laramie County office and return by Sunday evening. The district wanted to borrow my salary to pay the contractor.

"I carried out Mr. Wilson's wishes and I'll never forget his sigh of relief when I handed him the bills. I never had a note or a scratch of writing to show for my money. Only Mr. Wilson's word that they would repay me when they could.

"I had faith in the country. I felt if they could get water, the farmers could grow crops, with crops there would be money to develop other projects. I was proud and happy to be able to help them in their venture. You may be sure I got my money back with interest!

"I recall that the spring when the Zweck lateral was being built was extra dry. Buzzards circled the air and settled in black swarms on winter-killed cattle. There was a water barrel inside the schoolhouse which the men and boys kept at least partially filled by hauling water from the Little Thompson Creek.

"One morning, I decided to go to school earlier than usual. As I approached the school I saw two huge gray dogs treading back and forth in front of the door. They sniffed the air and clawed at the windows and wooden boards. As I neared they ran away, only to return as soon as I was inside the building.

"They were such wild and hungry appearing strays that I feared they would frighten the little folks who would soon be arriving. I fretted about it for some time, then I remembered that red was always a signal of danger on the frontier. I took off my red flannel petticoat, tied it to a broomstick, and hung the stick out of the front window.

"Mr. Snibely was hitching his team to the wagon to bring his children to school when he saw the red flag flying. He thought I might be ill, so he hustled the children and Mrs. Snibely into the wagon and came as fast as he could. Albert Beeler, a teen aged youth, also saw the signal. He mounted his saddle pony and came at a gallop. Mr. Snibely and Albert saw the creatures slinking away and knew them to be wolves who were hunting for water.

"A wolf hunt was quickly organized among the neighbors. One wolf was found and shot. Later, the carcass of the other animal was found where it was supposed to have famished for want of water.

"There were two things for which I held a great fear, rattlesnakes and cowboys! I heard dreadful tales concerning each. Strangely enough I never saw a rattler in those early years. One day, Maude Wilson started to leave the room. When she opened the schoolhouse door a rattler was coiled on the plank step sunning itself. Maude screamed, 'Snake,' and some of the bigger boys leaped to their feet and ran for the door. The frightened snake slid away under the school building, which was perched on four brick posts. Upon going home, the pupils told their fathers about the snake and they searched for it for several days as they brought the children to school but it was never found.

"Cowboys were a different matter. Every few days a group of them would ride past the school on their way to Turner's Corner. As they passed the school they would give blood curdling yips and yells. There was one who would add to my alarm by shooting a thundering pistol into the air.

"One night Mr. Snibely took his family and me to a dance in the Culver District. He went to great pains to introduce me to a red-haired youth who held out his arms for me to dance with him, but never opened his mouth to say a word.

"In turn, I introduced the youth to the Culver teacher, Mate Kilborn, and he followed the same procedure with her.

" 'How did you like the young man I introduced to you?' Mr. Snibely inquired.

"I didn't. He's the dumbest thing I ever saw. He never said a word all evening.

" 'Well, that was the cowboy that rides past your school, shooting off his pistol,' Mr. Snibely said. That cured my fear of cowboys.

"Even though I had learned to play casino, seven-up, and black-jack when I was teaching in the East and knew women who smoked cigars, I loved the church and was used to regular attendance at its services.

"The first Sunday I spent in Colorado seemed the longest day of my life. No church, no hymn singing!

"The following Friday I said to the children, 'Wouldn't you like to go to Sabbath School? If you'll put on your best clothes and come on Sunday we'll sing hymns and I'll tell you some stories from the Bible.'

"I wasn't prepared for what happened! On Sunday, wagons, buggies, and carts could be seen headed toward the Snibleys. It wrung my heart to see the eagerness of those lonely folk for some spiritual uplift. The little lean-to wouldn't begin to hold the crowd We formed a circle out of doors and raised our voices in song. After that the crowd was divided into groups with a teacher for each class. All that summer our Sabbath School flourished.

"Rev. W. H. McCormick had been sent to the West as a missionary by the United Brethren Church. He was a 'saddle bag' preacher, traveling by horseback from Denver to Cheyenne and back again. One of his regular stops was at Pela, a fort one mile south of the present site of Hygiene. I sent word to Pela asking the Reverend to stop at our school. I can see him yet in my imagination, standing tall and bareheaded in the back of the wagon. The audience seated themselves on wagon tongues, spring seats, or squatted on the ground while his voice boomed out over the prairies.

"Rev. McCormich was a fine man and spent years of service ministering to the needs of Northern Colorado. I've always felt ashamed that Colorado has not done more to honor her pioneer ministers.

"Another man who did much for Laramie County was Superintendent Eaton of Fort Collins. He traveled miles on horseback to help the struggling schools and to guide the inexperienced teachers. He would round up books and trade them back and forth that the pupils in one school might have a few books alike. I recall it was Mr. Eaton who surveyed the Zweck lateral. No, I don't believe he was related to Governor Eaton.

"When mother learned that there was a United Presbyterian church at Greeley, Colorado, she decided the West was not entirely uncivilized. The entire family removed from Sharon, Pennsylvania, where I had been born on December 25, 1861, to Greeley. Then I went to Eaton, Colorado, to teach, so that I might be near the family. My, how the wind blew there! Gales that drove the cattle in stampedes before it!

"And such cattle! Not the sleek Herefords of today. Those were the high-shouldered Texas cattle with horns actually as wide as their bodies were long.

"Many of my pupils at Eaton were children of Swedish immigrants who had quite a colony around there. The Carlsons had two rosy cheeked daughters who came to school each day wearing red knitted caps and long full skirts. Since they could not speak English and I knew no Swedish I felt I wasn't teaching them a thing.

"One day as the driving wind was pushing a herd of Longhorns toward the school I looked out of the window to see my two little Red Hoods walking directly into the path of the bellowing cattle. With terror in my heart I rushed into Mr. Haythorn, the principal's room. He felt the girls were doomed. Then one of his boys, Frank Grubb, jumped upon the horse which he had ridden to school and rode into the herd which was beginning to surround the girls. They were so frightened they could only stand and cling to one another. Whooping and hollering Frank turned the cattle aside until he reached the girls, swung one before him and one behind him on the pony and rode out of the milling herd back to the school.

"I knelt before the little girls and gathered them into my arms. 'Weren't you afraid of the cows?' I said over and over. Finally the oldest girl looked up at me and said, 'Co-os.' Then she smiled. From that time on I seemed to understand the girls and they made splendid progress in school. As you have probably guessed, those girls were the sisters of the boy who later became Governor Carlson of Colorado. I also taught Rose L. Alps who was to become the wife of Governor Carlson.

"It was at Eaton that I met William E. Hottel, who was a miller in a mill owned by Governor Eaton. He had come to the West from Virginia in 1885. We met at a party given by Mr. Eaton and I thought Ed quite the southern gentleman. We were married at my parents' home in Greeley in 1890.

"Soon, we moved to 'New Berthoud,' where Mr. Hottel had charge of the mill. For thirteen years he was never absent from the mill and was tardy only one morning after he had been up most of the night with a sick child. Folks in Berthoud used to say they set their clocks by the time W. E. went to work.

A GROUP OF BERTHOUD CITIZENS AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF THE MONUMENT TO THE PIONEERS OF THE LITTLE THOMPSON VALLEY.
Numbers 1 and 2 are Mrs. and Mr. W. E. Hottel

"Our four children were born in Berthoud: Ruth, Helen, Harry, and Eddie. Helen died when she was eight and Ruth passed away a few years ago. While raising my family I taught Sunday School, often substituted in the schools and from 1878 took an active part in the W. C. T. U.

"In 1902 my husband was asked to come to Longmont, Colorado, to be head miller in the Denio Mill. We moved into a house on Gay Street where I lived for forty-two years.

"In Longmont, I took an active part in all civic affairs. I served as president of the W. C. T. U. for ten years and was director of the state board for a number of years. For years, I served on the Longmont Federated Welfare Board with Mrs. Chas. Allen, when we all worked for nothing but the love of humanity.

"When my boys were small they wanted to play in a band, but there was none in Longmont. I got some of the mothers together

and we told Professor Schrader if he'd organize a band we'd help him in every way we could, including buying instruments for our children. This eventually evolved into the Longmont Civic Band.

"I found time for Eastern Star, being a past matron, was active in the D. A. R. and took a regular part in the Mutual Improvement Club for thirty years. The church and temperance work are still my great love after my home and family and I was a charter member of the Woman's Union of the Congregational church.

"I've always said I fought World War I but left the second war to my grandsons. During that first war I traveled to first one district and then another teaching girls and women to knit, carrying my own knitting by my side at all times. I spent hours at the Red Cross Rooms and worked on the Liberty Bond drives.

"When our company was stationed at Fort Logan, my son Ed came home lamenting that other towns were doing so much for their soldiers in farewell, Longmont was doing nothing.

"You just keep quiet for a day or two, I replied, I'm going to W. C. T. U. this afternoon. We'll talk about it.

"The W. C. T. U., with Mrs. Wm. Butler acting as president, decided to sponsor a farewell dinner for our company at Fort Logan if I'd be chairman. I put a notice of our intention in the paper and you never saw such co-operation! The Colorado Creamery called and donated twenty gallons of ice cream, the bakery offered a tiered cake, food came into our headquarters in basketfuls. The Irwin Furniture Company said they would furnish a truck to take the food to Fort Logan if Eddie would ride with the driver, Walter McCaslin, and Walter Calahan furnished two cars to take the ladies to serve the dinner. Rev. Markley, of the Congregational church, took the train into Denver the night before and went out to Fort Logan. He preached one of the finest sermons I've ever heard; then we served all that food and the boys ate and ate, still there was food left. Professor Coffin, a former Longmont boy, was at Fort Logan with his boys from Fort Collins. I got hold of him and told him to bring his boys and help clean up the banquet. Then Mrs. Wm. Butler gave a motherly talk. I tell you we made a lot of boys happy that day!

"During the depression years I made a hobby of finding jobs for worthy young men.

"Life is still exciting and interesting for me. When I was 81 years of age I went to California to visit my lawyer son, Harry. He and his wife took me to 'Breakfast at Sardi's' where I appeared on the national hook-up and kidded with Tom Brennaman as he presented me with an orchid for being the oldest woman there.

"Readers of the *Colorado Magazine* will be interested in knowing that I was the one who instigated the idea of placing a marker

on the Little Thompson on highway 87 in memory of our pioneers. At the dedication services in June, 1937, there were six of my first Colorado pupils present, Carl and Albert Beeler, Emma Florrie Beeler, Charles Wilson, and W. F. and Hugo Huppe. The townspeople of Berthoud dressed in pioneer costumes to surprise me and there I was in my latest modern dress.

"Perhaps that's as it should be for I've always been one to look to the future. Right now I'd rather talk of my three grandsons who served in World War II, and my two granddaughters and my nine greatgrandchildren than myself."

The First Five Years of Colorado's Statehood*

DUDLEY TAYLOR CORNISH

INDIAN TROUBLE

WHILE silver was to become the most powerful single force in Colorado life during the decade of the 'eighties, the Indians provided the most pressing problem of the first five years of statehood. All through 1877 and 1878 this problem kept coming up for solution and always without success. Then, late in 1879 and throughout 1880, the Indian problem crowded all other considerations into the background, and the beginnings of final solution were made.

The Ute Indians occupied some twelve million acres of Colorado land when it first became a state. These Indians, roughly four thousand of them, were divided into three bands: the Southern, the Uncompahgre, and the White River Utes. Altogether, they held some of the choicest land in the western half of the state; it was not until the Utes had been removed that the potentialities of the Western Slope as agricultural and mineral land could be developed. From the very beginning of Colorado statehood, forces were at work to extinguish Indian land titles and to move the Indians out of the way of advancing white civilization.

Two items in the Denver *Times* of July 3, 1876, provide an indication of the situation when Colorado first became a state: "The *Mountaineer* reports that about thirty Utes camped near South Park show a disposition to breed trouble;" and "The Indians murdered John Fein and run [sic] off eleven horses from a ranch between Horseshoe and Fort Laramie a few days ago." Less than two months later, the *Times* carried more disquieting news. "The Indians have lately burned three cabins," it reported, adding that the Southern Utes in Animas Valley "are a constant source of

*Continued from the July, 1948, issue.—Ed.

trouble and dread to the few settlers in their vicinity."[1] These three news items are typical of those in Colorado newspapers of the period.

The Utes themselves unwittingly contributed to the speed of final settlement by their depredations of the summer of 1879, culminating in the ambush of Major Thornburgh's column at Milk Creek on September 29 and the massacre of Nathan Meeker and his assistants at the White River agency on the next day. From then on, removal of the Utes from Colorado became not only necessary but urgent. Scarcely a fortnight after the Meeker massacre, the Denver *Times* declared: "Either they or we must go, and *we* are not going. Humanitarianism is an idea. Western Empire is an inexorable fact. He who gets in the way of it will be crushed."[2]

The development and treatment of Colorado's Indian problem may be traced not only in the newspapers, but also in the activities of the state's congressmen (Senate: Henry M. Teller, 1876-1881, Jerome Chaffee, 1876-1879, Nathaniel P. Hill, 1879-1885; House: James B. Belford, 1877, 1879-1881, Thomas M. Patterson, 1877-1879). All dealt with it in one form or another; not one was able to ignore it. Hardly a week after he was finally seated in the House (January 31, 1877), James B. Belford was busy trying to make congressmen from the East see the Western point of view on Indian affairs. He summed up the Western argument in these words:

> ... Those Indians for months past have been levying contributions upon our people—horses, feed, and all the supplies necessary for their support—because the Government has failed to supply them and in so doing failed to protect the people of Colorado against their spoliation and depredations.

Belford thought it "very nice for gentlemen living here in the East to talk about an Indian policy, a peace policy, and a Christian policy," but he suggested that if they were in earnest they might persuade the Government to furnish its Indian wards with the supplies they needed.[3]

This attitude runs through all congressional discussion of the Indian problem during this period. It is elementary to any understanding of Colorado's efforts to get rid of the Indians. The Denver *Times* expressed it this way:

> We do not anticipate a war with the southern Indians, but it will not be because they have no cause for complaint. Not against the settlers of Colorado, but against the government, for neglecting to furnish the supplies until the dead of winter was upon them. Eastern people, and Washington officials especially, think all Indian wars arise from the hate of Indians by white settlers, and the consequent

[1] Denver *Weekly Times*, August 30, 1876.
[2] *Ibid.*, October 15, 1879. The Boulder *Colorado Banner* had earlier reached that conclusion. On October 10, 1878, it had remarked, "there is no use of making a long ado about the Indian question. The only solution of the problem is extermination."
[3] *Congressional Record*, V, Pt. 2, 1374. February 8, 1877.

depredations. The truth is that wars generally occur from the neglect of the government to carry out its agreements, and so the Indians begin an assault upon the white people within reach, who to their minds, represent the government which has promised to support them.[4]

Disquieting as the Indian situation may have appeared in the summer and fall of 1876, the late fall and winter of 1877 found it far worse. In early December the Denver *Times* reported that Judge Clements from Routt County was in town seeking aid from the state to protect the people of the Bear River region who feared an outbreak of Utes on the White. These Indians had received no rations since October, although their supplies were at Rawlins. Apparently, no one had made an effort to move the supplies from the railhead to the distributing point. The news report ended on an ominous note: "Douglas, one of the chiefs, has publicly stated that the Indians would be on the war-path in the spring, and the settlers are naturaly anxious, as they have no means of defense whatever."[5]

A week later, the same newspaper told its readers that Senator Henry M. Teller had written Governor John Routt that he was "doing his best to secure the treatment of the Indians assured them by the treaty, and thus prevent war." But Teller complained that Indian officials in Washington were slow to take the advice of westerners "as to the best method of treating the Indians."[6] As 1877 slipped away, the *Times* saw "no immediate danger" but looked for "serious times . . . in the spring."[7]

Long before the Meeker massacre, Colorado congressmen were working for the removal of the Utes from the state. Thomas M. Patterson introduced two bills in early February, 1878: one authorized the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate for the extinguishment of the Ute title to all Colorado lands and the removal of the Indians to Indian Territory, and the other asked merely for the extinguishment of their title to a portion of their Colorado holdings.[8] In March of the same year, Patterson wrote a resolution asking the Secretary of War to tell the House what steps, if any, had been taken to protect settlers in Western Colorado from the Utes.[9]

In commenting on Patterson's bills, the Denver *Times* made this thoughtful criticism: "In view of past events, the Indians will not look upon this in any other light than that of another cheat and fraud, and the warlike feeling among them will be greatly stimulated by it."[10] Less than a month later, the *Times* reported that Northern Utes "have killed 125 cattle belonging to

[4]Denver *Weekly Times*, January 2, 1878.
[5]*Ibid.*, December 12, 1877.
[6]*Ibid.*, December 19, 1877.
[7]*Ibid.*, December 26, 1877.
[8]*Cong. Record*, VII, Pt. 1, 739. February 4.
[9]*Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 3, 2031. March 18.
[10]Denver *Weekly Times*, February 13, 1878.

George Baggs," and that "the whites are fortifying themselves on Bear river."[11]

The following December, during debate on Indian appropriations, Patterson argued against cutting the salary of the agent at the Los Pinos agency in Colorado.[12] The representative's was a complaint heard often from Westerners during those years, that the low salaries paid Indian agents by the Department of the Interior were not conducive to attract the best men to that difficult and demanding work. Patterson asked for the removal of the Utes to Indian Territory as the "only true and Christian and humane policy." He saw only continued conflict if the Indians were left on their reservations. "As we go forward in the march of civilizatiton," he said, "Indians on their reservations meet us in every territory and in every State. The cry arises, they must get out of the way; they must abandon the land that they own."[13] Patterson further urged that the Army should have charge of the Indians rather than the Department of the Interior, that "the element of force must be around them and in their midst."[14]

Senator Jerome Chaffee, early in 1878, introduced a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with the Utes toward consolidation of all their bands into one agency on the White River and extinguishment of their rights in Southwestern Colorado.[15] This had Teller's support and passed both Senate and House.[16] If the purposes of this bill could have been achieved in one year, the White River tragedy need never have happened.

But forces far from the halls of Congress had more to do with the working out of the problem than any piece of legislation the senatorial mind could devise. In April, 1878, squatters were reported on the Ute reservations, and there was fear that if a shot were to be fired, "the flame will extend the whole line of the thin settlements."[17] In May, Ouray, the friendly chief of the Southern Utes, declared that his people would never move, either to the White River agency or to the Indian Territory, that they would die first, "fighting for their homes."[18]

Senator Teller had also asked for the extinguishment of Indian land titles in Southwestern Colorado.[19] His discussion of the Indian problem in May, 1878, showed not only deep interest but also broad understanding, mingled with strong sympathy for the Indians. He blamed the federal government's failure to keep its

[11]*Ibid.*, March 6.
[12]*Cong. Record*, VIII, Pt. 1, 281-2. December 18.
[13]*Ibid.*, VIII, Pt. 1, 317. December 19.
[14]*Ibid.*, VIII, Pt. 2, 1068. February 6, 1879.
[15]*Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 1, 921. February 11, 1878.
[16]*Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 1, 1824, 1856, March 18, 19; Pt. 3, 2778, April 24; Hayes signed it on May 2, 1878.
[17]The Denver *Weekly Times*, April 24, 1878.
[18]*Ibid.*, May 1, 1878.
[19]*Cong. Record*, VII, Pt. 2, 1050. February 15, 1878.

contracts with the Indians for most of the trouble and asserted that the government was $125,000 in arrears in its payments to the Utes alone. "Unless some change is made in the administration of affairs in regard to these Indians," he prophesied, "there will be a war."[20]

In June he warned against false economy in appropriations for the military forces in the West. If the number of troops in Indian country were reduced, he maintained, then a great Indian war would be the result.[21]

Teller early displayed an attitude somewhat at variance with that of the rest of the West on federal treatment of the Indians. Again and again he used the phrase, "it must be done with the consent of the Indians."[22] This attitude was to change. On December 8, 1879, barely two months after the Meeker massacre, he was demanding the removal of the Utes from Colorado.[23]

In the early fall of 1878, the Utes went on a small rampage that alarmed the countryside, especially in the vicinity of Middle Park, where an elderly settler named Elliott was shot in his dooryard. The *Times* blamed whiskey for the tragedy, and maintained that "the authorities had better exercise the same stringent control over the Indians that it does over the white people."[24] It warned the people in South Park and at the head of the Arkansas River that they "had better be on their guard."[25]

Somewhat to allay white fears, twenty-eight Indian chiefs and headmen of the Ute nation addressed themselves to the people of Colorado and Wyoming to declare it "their intention to continue on the most friendly terms with the whites everywhere" and to "protest against any parties making or causing difficulties between the whites and the Ute Nation."[26] Nathan Meeker of the New York *Tribune* and the Greeley colony seemed to be making a success of the new agency. The *Times* ran a feature on him at the end of October, 1878:

FATHER MEEKER'S INDIANS

THE SOCIAL DELIGHTS OF THE UTE CAMP

HOW THE RED LADIES VISIT EACH OTHER, AND WHAT THEY DO.[27]

[20] *Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 4, 3236, 3239. May 7, 1878.
[21] *Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 5, 4183. June 6.
[22] *Ibid.*, VII, Pt. 4, 3265, 3311-12. May 8, 9, 1878.
[23] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 30.
[24] Denver *Weekly Times*, September 11, 1878.
[25] *Ibid.*, September 18.
[26] *Ibid.*, October 9. The chiefs met at White River on September 8; their declaration came to Governor Routt from General Pope at Fort Leavenworth.
[27] *Ibid.*, October 30. Meeker was generally hailed as a good choice for the job of agent to the Utes, at first. His reforming zeal seems to have been reinforced with an unfortunate stubbornness.

As insurance, however, Camp Lewis was organized at Pagosa Springs, and four companies of soldiers were sent there to keep a watchful eye on the Southern Utes.[28] In March, 1879, Congress appropriated $75,000 for Colorado's needs: $40,000 for the military post at Pagosa Springs, $15,000 for a military road to Pagosa Springs, and $20,000 for the agency and other buildings at the Ute reservation.[29] In April, Senator Nathaniel P. Hill managed to secure five hundred stands of arms from the Secretary of War for the Colorado militia, and in May both General Sherman and General Miles agreed that "there will be no general outbreak among the Northern Utes this summer."[30]

Despite these assurances, early June found Governor Pitkin wiring E. A. Hoyt, Commisioner of Indian Affairs:

> Reports reach me daily that a band of White River Utes are off their reservation, destroying forests and game near North and Middle Parks. They have already burned millions of dollars of timber, and are intimidating settlers and miners. I have written Indian Agent Meeker twice, but fear letters have not reached him. I respectfully request you to have telegraphic order sent troops at nearest post to remove Indians to their reservations. If the general government does not act promptly, the State must. Immense forests are burning throughout southwestern Colorado, supposed to have been fired by the Indians. I am satisfied that there is an organized effort on the part of the Indians to destroy the timber of Colorado. The loss will be irreparable. These Savages should be removed to Indian territory or New Mexico where they can no longer destroy the finest forests in this state.[31]

But the situation did not improve. In August four Ute chiefs met with Governor Pitkin and General Pope in Denver to complain of Meeker and the lack of provisions. Meeker wanted to make farmers of the Indians and to educate their children; the Indians wanted neither farming nor education. They wanted Meeker's removal.[32]

Forests continued to burn. The *Colorado Banner* believed, with the Georgetown *Miner*, that the Utes had fired the Gore Range "through cussedness," but the *Times* had a more engaging explanation: the Indians said they fired the forests "in order that our ponies may travel—now too much timber."[33] Then the *Banner* sounded the first really ominous note, although in its usual jaunty manner. "Father Meeker, the Indian Agent," it reported, "was assaulted and driven out of his house by Indians, at the White River Agency, lately. He has lost confidence in the peace policy."[34]

[28] *Ibid.*, November 13, 1878.
[29] *Rocky Mountain News*, March 4, 1879. The *News* gave Patterson the credit; the appropriation was made on his last day in Congress.
[30] Denver *Weekly Times*, April 23, May 14, 1879.
[31] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1879.
[32] *Ibid.*, August 20. To the *Times* it had become evident that "the Utes must go."
[33] Boulder *Colorado Banner*, September 11, and Denver *Weekly Times*, September 24.
[34] *Colorado Banner*, September 18.

Spurred to reluctant activity, the Army directed that sufficient troops be detailed to help and protect Meeker.[35] The troops were ambushed on their way to Meeker, and the Indians murdered him for calling in the troops. The affair quickly gained national interest as the details of the ambush and of the massacre became known.[36]

Feeling naturally ran high in Colorado. The *Rocky Mountain News* blamed the Republicans: "Democrats have always held that the only good Indian is a dead one." It is not a question of right, declared the *News*, but one of might. Patterson, still the recognized leader of the Democratic party, next to Loveland, said that responsibility rested "with the department which has the Indians in charge." And the *News* insisted: "Our people should insist, as the ultimatum, that the last Indian should be compelled to leave the borders of our state."[37]

From December, 1879, on through all of 1880, Teller, Hill, and Belford gave most of their attention to the Ute problem. Their points of view, however, were somewhat divergent. In the opinion of Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, Teller wanted every Ute out of the state, while Hill took a rather liberal view of the problem, and Belford occupied a middle position.[38]

In the first half of December, countless bills and resolutions on the Utes and on every conceivable aspect of the Indian problem were introduced in both Senate and House. Belford's bill was to abolish the Ute reservation in Colorado and remove the Indians from the state.[39] He also sponsored a resolution creating a commission to negotiate with the Utes for the extinguishment of their land titles.[40] Hill wrote a resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with the Utes for the relinquishment of their reservation, removal from Colorado, and settlement "elsewhere."[41] On December 10 the Senate adopted this resolution with an amendment substituting "some suitable place not in Indian Territory" for "elsewhere."[42] Both Teller and Belford had resolutions directing the Secretary of the Interior to transmit to Congress copies of all correspondence relating to the Indian trouble.[43] Belford had still another resolution by which the Secretary of the Interior was to declare Ute rights forfeited if the tribe did

[35]Denver *Weekly Times*, September 24. Dispatch from Adjutant General Townsend to Whipple.

[36]*The Nation* followed the development of the trouble as the facts came out and provided excellent liberal discussion of it. Volume 29 (October 9, 16, 23, 30, November 6, December 4, 11, 1879) 234-5, 250-1, 266, 285, 303, 377, 397.

[37]*Rocky Mountain News*, October 2, 3, 4, 1879.

[38]*Cong. Record*, X, Pt. 3, 2029.

[39]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 17. December 2.

[40]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 44. December 9.

[41]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1 ,30. December 8.

[42]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 77.

[43]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 22. Belford, December 3; Pt. 1, 31. Teller, December 8.

not deliver up the Indians who had actually engaged in the Meeker massacre.[44]

Out of the welter of bills and resolutions (a discussion of which runs through five fat volumes of the *Congressional Record*) a few facts stand clearly forth: the Colorado congressmen, reflecting the attitudes of their constituents, were heartily impatient with the Eastern attitude, the dilatory manner in which the federal government had handled the entire problem, and the administration of Indian affairs in general. All three Colorado men could agree on these main points; on the details they differed.

Belford's attitude throughout was particularly critical and his remarks the most scathing. He pointed out, on his arrival in Washington, that in getting there he had crossed five states made up wholly of lands stolen from the Indians. "And now gentlemen stand here in the name of God and humanity," he continued with biting sarcasm, "and say, while our fathers robbed and plundered the Indians, we want you to belong to the goody-goody class of people in the West."[45] Belford was in favor of dealing "honestly and justly" with the Indians, but he regarded previous Indian policy as "the most stupendous humbug" that had been witnessed in a hundred years.[46]

The Denver *Times* took Belford to task for his extreme statements and belligerent tone in Congress. These "hurt Colorado's cause," the paper maintained. "The 200,000 people in Colorado cannot bull-doze the forty millions of the United States, if they should try, and it is the sheerest folly if they should try." Belford's mistake, said the *Times*, was that "he succeeded in making his fellow members of Congress as mad as he seemed to be, and so the golden moment slipped away."[47] The *Rocky Mountain News* supported both Belford's stand and his attempted legislation. The *News* was especially incensed that eastern congressmen should object to Belford's bill for the abolition of the Ute reservation "on the ground that there is a land steal in it. The stupidity of the East on this Indian question," growled the *News*, "is simply amazing."[48]

Teller was highly critical, too, but in a positive, constructive way. Already he was showing the qualities that were to recommend him to President Arthur for elevation to a cabinet post. Teller's censure of Schurz's liberal Indian policy was unmerciful but, by his lights, justified.

[44]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 113. December 15.

[45]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 1, 179. December 18.

[46]*Ibid.*, X, Pt. 4, 3345. May 13, 1880.

[47]Denver *Weekly Times*, March 10, 1880. The *Times* was itself capable of extremely biting sarcasm and powerful diatribe. Its editorial "Much Ado About Nothing," December 24, 1879, is a masterpiece of vindictive satire. Reviewing the entire Ute problem from an exaggerated Eastern point of view, the *Times* concluded that "the Indians will not be allowed to suffer any serious inconvenience from the late unpleasantness," and that "Governor Pitkin and other busy-bodies, in the wicked, turbulent, and tyrannical State of Colorado, will be fittingly rebuked."

[48]*Rocky Mountain News*, December 5, 1879.

Of the three Colorado congressmen, Senator Hill maintained the calmest, most dispassionate approach. This is especially noticeable in his arguments with Teller in the Senate in April, 1880,[49] when the seeds of their later falling out were sown.

A Department of the Interior commission reached an agreement with the Ute head men in Washington on March 6, 1880.[50] From then on, discussion and heated debate revolved about a bill by Senator Coke of Texas to ratify this agreement. Teller thought it unjust to both Indians and whites and criticized it strongly, constructively, and in great detail.[51] Hill argued in favor of the bill as a step in the direction of a real solution, since it broke down the old tribal relationship, gave each Indian property of his own, abolished reservations, and made the Indian subject to state laws and courts.[52] That it was not the best agreement possible, Hill readily admitted, maintaining only that it was the best available.

Belford took a somewhat similar position when the bill reached the House: the agreement was not what Colorado wanted, but it offered the only way out of an Indian war. He looked on the passage of the bill as the "reclamation of eleven million acres of land from the domain of barbarism.[53]

Teller's arguments were thoroughly practical and far-seeing; apparently he was a man who disliked temporary or partial answers to important questions. On Coke's bill he made these critical observations:

> If we propose to make a pastoral people of them [the Indians], we do not give them enough land. If we propose to make farmers of them, we give them too much, and have selected a most unsuitable place to try the experiment. If it is intended that the Government shall support these Indians, we ought to put them where the supplies can be procured at less cost and where they will not be a continual menace to the peace of the people of Colorado.... The people of Colorado are neither bloodthirsty nor cruel. That they are bitter against these Indians I do not deny; but it is because of the wrongs they have suffered at their hands, and they believe there will be no permanent peace while the Indians remain in the State.[54]

Teller suggested moving the Utes to the Uintah reservation in Utah, "not more than seventy-five miles distant." When it was argued that only the Northern or White River Utes had participated in the ambush and the massacre, Teller scoffed and claimed that every single band of Utes had "parts and parcels at Milk Creek."[55] That the agreement would avoid war, Teller seriously doubted, arguing that, on the contrary, it would inaugurate one. He pointed

[49] *Cong. Record*, X, Pt. 3, 2066, 2067, 2160, 2190 ff., 2277.
[50] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2027-29. The *Rocky Mountain News* printed the full text of the agreement, March 16.
[51] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2060 ff.
[52] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2066.
[53] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 5, 4261-62.
[54] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2061.
[55] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2062, 2190, 2226.

out that the bill contained no provisions for troops and charged that it did not protect Colorado.[56]

Hill disagreed with Teller on the latter's censure of Schurz's Indian policy and on the agreement itself. As for removing the Utes from Colordo, Senator Hill thought that was asking too much of their neighbors in New Mexico and Utah. Said Hill:

> I regret that my views and those of my colleagues are so different on this subject. It may be that his is the popular course in Colorado. ... Influenced by a desire to promote the best interests of the State and country, I take my share of the responsibility of urging [the bill's] passage, and I would willingly take all the responsibility if I could.[57]

In debate on April 6, 1880, Hill asked Teller if he was in favor of delaying negotiations and thus excluding miners from reservation lands for "the next three months." To which Teller made this strong answer:

> It would be better for the miners of Colorado to be excluded from that reservation for the next five years than to pass this bill; and if the Honorable Senator thinks that will not be a popular doctrine in the State of Colorado, I will give him the benefit of it in my speech.[58]

Finally, on April 12, Teller introduced a whole series of amendments to the Coke bill, all of which were rejected except one to allot $50,000 for irrigation of the Indian lands.[59] If we are to make farmers of these Indians, Teller reasoned, let us give them every opportunity to be farmers. The Senate passed the bill along to the House,[60] but all through the rest of the month Teller argued for thorough-going improvement in the handling of Indian affairs, for reorganization of the Interior department's Indian Bureau. He consistently fought appropriation reductions, arguing that it was "bad economy, or no economy at all, to cut down these appropriations and then say we have given all the Department wants to feed the Indians. That is what I complain of. We simply do feed them instead of putting them on the road to civilization."[61]

Representative Belford fought the bill through the House in his usual style. "I have noticed," he remarked in debate on May 13, ". . . a man who lives a thousand miles from an Indian, has a great deal more respect for a savage than a man who lives up close to the borders where he is likely to have his scalp lifted at any time."[62] In urging prompt passage of the bill, Belford pointed out that "twelve hundred immigrants a day for two months" had been moving into Colorado and camping on the edge of the Ute reservation, waiting for the Indians to be removed. Bel-

[56] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2227-28.
[57] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2067.
[58] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2160.
[59] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2314.
[60] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2320.
[61] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 3, 2865.
[62] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 4, 3347.

ford saw war as the only result if the Indians were not moved quickly.[63]

Senate and House concurred in the conference report on June 12, and three days later President Hayes signed the bill.[64] That it was no final solution is indicated by the fact that both Teller and Hill introduced bills in the following December "to amend the Act approved June 15."[65]

What of Colorado opinion during the spring of 1880? Were Belford and Hill and Teller reflecting the attitudes of their constituents accurately in Congress? Apparently, each in his own way reflected various segments of Colorado opinion.

In March, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported a stormy interview between Teller and Schurz in words favorable to Teller.[66] And in the same month the Denver *Times* warmly endorsed the stand of Hill and Belford, which was nearly in accord with the Schurz, or national, policy.[67] The *Times* found the views of Belford and Hill "among the most reasonable and statesmanlike utterances which have yet been made upon this subject." In discussing the Ute agreement and the favorable attitudes of Belford and Hill toward it, the *Times* pointed out that "in the performance of their legislative duties, these gentlemen can not, and should not, look exclusively to the interests of Colorado. They are officers of the nation and are bound to consider its collective interests as well as those of the State of Colorado."[68] Parts of the state were approaching maturity.

The *Times* itself had not yet accepted the Ute agreement. In a long lead editorial late in April, it used its strongest language to urge the absolute removal of the Utes from Colorado, once for all:

> The Ute bill as submitted to the Senate, was bad enough; in the House it became a measure that demands the united opposition of every citizen of the state.... No one thing on earth is more certain than that the people of Colorado will no longer tolerate the present attitude of the Utes in this state.... For the benefit of the Utes, if not for the interest of Colorado, Congress had better remove the tribe.[69]

In midsummer the *Times* wrongly guessed that "the Indians will decline to sign the treaty in its present form." In October, that newspaper saw an Indian war in the offing as militia companies were hurried to Gunnison County to meet an Indian threat. "There is no time for further nonsense," its editor thundered; "Colorado wants no war; but Secretary Schurz will make a war,

[63] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 5, 4262. June 7, 1880.
[64] *Ibid.*, X, Pt. 5, 4264-65, 4487, 4620.
[65] *Ibid.*, XI, Pt. 1, 16.
[66] *Rocky Mountain News*, March 17, 1880.
[67] For Schurz's own discussion of his policy, see his "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," *North American Magazine*, Volume 133, (July, 1881) 296:204, 1-24.
[68] Denver *Weekly Times*, March 24, 1880.
[69] *Ibid.*, April 28, 1880.

if he continues his present policy."[70] All the fears of Teller were being bodied forth in fact.

In the third session of the Forty-sixth Congress, Hill and Teller fought over the same ground of their April arguments. Hill still held that the Ute bill was "a wise and just and beneficent measure" and a great success. He argued that opposition to the bill (which is to say Teller) had so delayed its passage that the removal of the Utes had been impossible to accomplish in the summer and fall of 1880. Three-fourths of the Utes had signed the agreement, he maintained; "all that remains is removal."[71]

As Hill took pains to explain, the lands had to be surveyed before they could be allotted to the Indians "in severalty," and the engineers could not work after the first snow fell. The Indians had not signed the agreement until late October. Teller maintained that they had signed earlier and he said, "there never was such a farce on the face of the earth as there is in procuring the signature of a common Indian to a treaty. He has not the slightest knowledge of it."[72]

Hill pointed out another difficulty: the census of Indians had not been completed until the late fall, and the money called for in the agreement could not be paid them until after that census had been made. But still he insisted that "all that now remains is the removal of the Indians."[73]

Teller's seems the most realistic approach to the Indian problem. With hard-boiled farsightedness, he continually picked holes in the arguments and proposals of his fellow-senators. He was against granting the Indians land in severalty, arguing that they were not yet ready for that step and needed many more years of education before they could depart from the old tribal custom of holding lands in common. As for education, he scorned the idea of sending Indian youths to Carlisle and Hampton, advocating instead that the schools be brought to the Indians. Teller saw another difficulty that had occurred to no one else: if the Indians were to be made subject to state laws, then they would become liable to arrest and prosecution for polygamy. He asked for and secured an amendment protecting the Indians in their marital customs.

Teller's insistence on practicality and thoroughness in working out the proper solution to the Indian problem was a valuable asset to his state and to his constituents, but it must have been exasperating to his fellow-senators. On one occasion he stated with characteristic force, "I do not care if this Indian question is here for another nine days or nine months. The Indian question is of suffi-

[70] *Ibid.*, August 4, October 20, 1880.
[71] *Cong. Record*, XI, Pt. 1, 787-8. January 20, 1881.
[72] *Ibid.*, XI, Pt. 1, 1002-3. January 28, 1881.
[73] *Ibid.*

cient importance for the American Senate to be heard on it, and men who have some knowledge of Indian affairs have a right to be heard."

On the whole, Senator Teller's was the attitude that prevailed, the attitude and approach proved correct by the pragmatic test, the attitude that his people and the Colorado press arrived at and adopted as their own in the end. Henry M. Teller was much more than a politician; he was not afraid to go ahead alone. That is clearly evident all through his handling of the problem of the Utes in Colorado.

Letter on the Transmountain Water Diversion Article

CHESTER E. SMEDLEY*

The article in the May issue of the *Colorado Magazine* by Donald Barnard Cole on "Transmountain Water Diversion in Colorado" shows much research and presents valuable factual information. However, some of his conclusions are so biased in favor of California and against Colorado and the other Upper Basin states as to call for answering comment.

He presents some figures indicating that the Bureau of Reclamation now estimates that the total flow of the Colorado River averages less than the same bureau estimated at the time of the Colorado River Compact of 1922. He says that on this account and also because of the $1,500,000 acre-feet awarded to Mexico by treaty in 1945 the lower basin will suffer. He takes the position that the Mexico Treaty has "superseded" the Colorado River Compact and says the lower basin may call for revision of the Compact.

He admits that transmountain diversion in Colorado has been declared legal by the courts, approves the projects already completed or under way, but warns that any new large scale projects would be at the expense of the lower basin states and would meet just opposition from them.

If he means by the word "superseded" that the Mexican Treaty has made void the Colorado Compact, he goes beyond the admitted purposes of California in asking that Congress provide by statute for a determination by the U. S. Supreme Court of the rights of the various states to Colorado River water.

The Compact was framed and agreed upon with the knowledge of every one concerned that some reasonable amount of water would have to be subsequently alloted to Mexico by treaty. It would be outrageous to attempt to exclude Mexico entirely. Governor Carr has said that in his opinion the amount allotted her was scarcely as much as she was entitled to.

*Mr. Smedley, Denver attorney, wrote the accompanying letter to the editor.

Article III, Sec. (c) of the Compact provides in effect that if as a matter of international comity, the United States of America shall hereafter recognize in the United States of Mexico any right to the use of any waters of the Colorado River system, such waters shall be supplied first from any surplus waters, and if such surplus shall prove insufficient for this purpose, then the burden of such deficiency shall be equally borne by the Upper Basin and the Lower Basin, and whenever necessary the States of the Upper Division shall deliver at Lee Ferry water to supply one-half of the deficiency so recognized.

The Compact of 1922 allotted to the Upper Basin States 7,500,000 and to the Lower Basin States 8,500,000 acre feet annually. It was then estimated that in addition to the 16,000,000 acre feet there was an additional flow of about 4,000,000 acre feet out of which was to come Mexico's allotment when made by treaty. Admitting that more accurate measurements made since 1922 show that the estimate of surplus flow was too high by 2,000,000 acre feet, this still leaves 2,000,000 acre feet surplus over and above the 16,000,000 acre feet allotted to the Upper and Lower Basins. This 2,000,000 acre feet is more than ample to supply the 1,500,000 acre feet allotted to Mexico by treaty.

Engineers estimate that 900,000 of the 1,500,000 acre feet allotted to Mexico by treaty is return flow water which re-enters the river too low down in the stream to be utilized in the United States.

How then can it be said that the Mexican treaty supersedes or nullifies the Compact? And, if it is to be changed or revised because of the Mexican allotment, what change can the author suggest which would be more fair to both the upper and lower basins than the present provision that they bear such burden in equal shares? What can be fairer than equality?

After the Compact entered into between the upper and lower basin states dividing the flow between the two basins, it became no concern of the lower basin states how and in what manner the water allotted to the upper basin states is utilized and when the Compact, which has practically been agreed to between the states of the upper basin, is formally ratified, it will be no concern of any other state how Colorado utilizes the water allotted to it. Most of the water allotted to Colorado will have to be used by trans-mountain diversion if it is used at all.

Perhaps the author's unkindest cut of all is the following remark: "Then the philosophical question as to whether water for Denver and irrigation in eastern Colorado should come before municipal water for Los Angeles and Imperial Valley irrigation will be raised." Nowhere does the author present facts to prove that Colorado or the other Upper Basin states claim any superior

status or preference over California or the other Lower Basin states. On the other hand, does the author mean to contend for the converse of his statement, that is, that Denver and eastern Colorado should not slack their thirst for Colorado River water until Los Angeles and the Imperial Valley are first fully satisfied?

California was very ably represented on the Commission which framed the Colorado River Compact. Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, a California man, was its able chairman. It deliberated carefully for years. California approved the Compact. The record will show that Colorado representatives in Congress supported wholeheartedly the Swing-Johnson bill providing for the Hoover Dam and the transportation of large quantities of water and power to California, thus making that state the first to benefit on a large scale under the terms of the Compact. At the present time California is enjoying a greater consumptive use of the water of the Colorado River than all states of the Upper Basin combined.

Large appropriations have been made in other states but many projects have not yet advanced to the point where the water is actually being used. It was recognized by the negotiators of the Compact that some of the states would develop their water projects more slowly than others and the Compact was framed accordingly.

Now, however, it seems that when Colorado plans certain transmountain diversion projects, we must be admonished by such authors as Mr. Cole that while the projects already completed may be all right, any large scale new projects would be unfair to California. The implication seems to be that, while trans-*desert* diversion to California is quite normal and proper, trans-*mountain* diversion in Colorado is somehow reprehensible and unfair to the Lower Basin states. This in spite of the fact that Colorado is the main source of the stream, while only a tiny corner of California is within the Colorado River basin.

Colorado is just now sitting down to the table, spreading her napkin upon her lap and reaching out her modest sized bowl for her first helping. She is interrupted by California who has just finished off her extra large portion of the limited supply of Colorado River porridge and is now holding out her much larger bowl for a *second* helping. And Mr. Cole warns Colorado to curb her appetite lest California go hungry.

The Lower Basin states should stand by the Compact which they agreed to and concentrate, as are the Upper Basin states, on arriving at an agreement as to a fair division of the water between the individual states in their basin. Fortunately, the Upper Basin states are close to such an agreement among themselves.

In fairness to the author it should be stated that he follows the conclusions above criticized with the remark that the answer

to these issues are beyond the scope of his paper. Nevertheless, the issues raised by Mr. Cole, namely, the effect of the Mexican Treaty, and also of trans-mountain diversion in Colorado of Colorado River waters on the Colorado River Compact and on the rights of the Lower Basin states thereunder are of such vital importance to Colorado that even tentative conclusions so adverse to our interests should not go unchallenged.

Respectfully,

CHESTER E. SMEDLEY

MR. COLE'S RESPONSE

Thank you for the manuscript and for the copy of Mr. Smedley's most interesting letter. I have no doubt that Mr. Smedley is very well informed about the Colorado River Compact, but I feel that he is incorrect when he says that my conclusions are biased in favor of the lower basin.

Mr. Smedley first states that I opposed future large-scale transmountain diversions in Colorado on the grounds that they would hurt the lower basin. My reasons for reducing the size of the proposed Gunnison-Arkansas project (not eliminating it) are: first, that the power market is doubtful; and second the west side is opposed to it. Nowhere do I say that the Gunnison project or any other would be unfair to the lower basin.

He, secondly, misinterprets this statement of mine: "Then the philosophical question as to whether water for Denver and irrigation in eastern Colorado should come before municipal water for Los Angeles and Imperial Valley irrigation will be raised." I mean by this that in years to come the many demands for Colorado River water may lead to trouble. The remark is not meant to imply that either California or Colorado deserves more of the water.

My paper is meant to be an historical monograph on the whole subject of transmountain water diversion in Colorado. In it I have discussed the Colorado River Compact only as it applies to my topic. This compact is a large and complex subject and any definitive conclusions about it would have no place in such a paper as mine. When I say that the lower basin may want to revise the compact, that does not mean that I feel they would be justified in so doing.

Mr. Smedley has, I feel, misinterpreted several of my statements. As far as I am concerned my article is not biased in favor of either California or Colorado.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD B. COLE