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The Hardscrabble Settlement, 1844-1848*

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Hardscrabble Creek starts in the high Wet Mountain Valley, rushes down the mountains through a steep and narrow canyon lined with yellow rocks, and debouches onto an arid flatland known as the Hardscrabble mesa which it cuts through for a distance of about twelve miles before meeting the Arkansas River four miles east of Florence, in Fremont County, Colorado. In this drought year of 1953 there is water in the mountain courses of the creek, but the twelve-mile stretch between the canyon and the Arkansas River is dry, and in the places where the stream beds are not too full of boulders the Hardscrabble and its tributaries are used as roads. Bordering the creeks are cottonwood trees, hardy survivors of many spring floods and summer droughts, but some of their roots are exposed and arched over the stream beds, and their dead branches litter the river bottoms. Despite its arid appearance the valley of the Hardscrabble was one of the first places in the state to be cultivated, irrigated and settled. It has produced in its time plums and apples, corn, wheat, and garden vegetables. This past summer, in spite of a grasshopper plague and drought conditions, the farmers of the Hardscrabble Valley have cut several crops of alfalfa, irrigated from springs and wells which have never gone dry.

The earliest name for the Hardscrabble River was *Rio de Peñasco Amarillo* ("River of Yellow Rock"), referring to its yellow-walled canyon; and when a trading post built around a courtyard was begun in the river bottom, it was called then and for many years after by its Spanish inhabitants, *la placita de peñasco amarillo*.[1] At the time of the founding of the trading post and settlement, one of its founders called the site *San Buenaventura de los tres arrollos*, the three arroyos being the deep beds of

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†Mrs. Lecompte of Colorado Springs has done much historical research, especially with the Cragin collection. This is the fullest information ever compiled on Hardscrabble.—Ed.

[1] Pedro Sandoval to FWC, Webber P. O., New Mexico, June 12, 1908, EFWN, IX-40; Mrs. George Simpson to FWC, El Paso, Tex., Oct. 31, 1904, EFWN, I-10. Many references in this paper, like the above, will be interviews conducted by F. W. Cragin (whose name I shall abbreviate to "FWC") and transcribed into 26 notebooks called "Early Far West Notebooks" (which I shall abbreviate to "EFWN," giving the number of the notebook in Roman numerals, with the page number following). The notebooks are part of the Cragin Collection, El Paso County Pioneers Museum, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Hardscrabble, Adobe, and Newlin creeks, and the *San Buenaventura* probably meaning no more than "good luck" to the new venture. Fremont passed the settlement in 1845 and called it "Pueblo of S. Charles," to distinguish it from "the Pueblo," a settlement on the present site of Pueblo, Colorado, thirty miles farther down the Arkansas. By 1847 the settlement was on the wane and it was known as "Hardscrabble," a wry name jokingly applied to suburbs of large cities, unproductive farms, etc.[2] "Hardscrabble" stuck fast to the principal river long after the adobe walls of the settlement had been leveled or the adobes hauled off to make new houses. Later settlers forgot, if they ever knew, how Hardscrabble Creek got its name, and they began to invent stories to explain it. One settler of the 1860s said that it was named for the steep and rocky climb along the trail from Pueblo at it came up onto the Hardscrabble mesa;[3] another said that it was named by some survivors of the Indian massacre who were forced to flee up Hardscrabble Creek, and found it rough going.[4] But in the early days "Hardscrabble" meant the little pioneer settlement whose history is the subject of this paper.

The best known and most quoted source for the early history of the Hardscrabble Valley is Capt. B. F. Rockafellow's account of Fremont County in the *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (1881). Capt. Rockafellow's source for most of his history of Hardscrabble was Maurice, an old trapper and early settler of the region. Maurice told his tales to J. A. Toof, a pioneer of 1860, who provided Rockafellow with a once-removed set of facts that were bound to be less than factual. Nevertheless, Capt. Rockafellow's account cannot be ignored, for the chief reason that it has not been ignored by historians to date, and also because when the account is untangled, the truth in it will be of value. Here is part of Rockafellow's story:

> Maurice, a French trader who came from Detroit, is said to have established the fort and trading-post on Adobe Creek, near the west line of the lamented Samuel L. Gould's land, about the year 1830. The first agricultural settlement was by Mexicans, at near the mouth of Adobe Creek, soon after where they built thirteen low, flat, earth-roofed adobe houses on one side of a protected square or plaza, which was completed by an adobe wall. One of the buildings, with dirt floor and one small box window, was used for a church. Their marriage custom was their principal peculiarity, being performed in the evening, and followed by a night of dissipation; they would repair with their friends to church in the morning, and, after saying mass, would form a procession, headed by the bride, in the whitest garments procurable, and, conducted by the groom, the procession marched around to music of violin and a sort of drum, the friends shooting off firearms and making grotesque gestures, until their future residence was reached, when each one took their departure from the newly married couple, after hearty pressure of body, by placing hands to backs, and without further congratulations or salutations. They cultivated some land on Hardscrabble, but had a life of constant hazard from the Indians.
>
> In 1838, on approach of the Sioux and Arapahoe Indians, they took refuge in Maurice's Fort. The Indians demanded of Maurice a Ute squaw who was living with him as condition of peace. He parlayed with them until a courier, sent to the Ute camp (then in Wet Mountain Valley) brought the braves, when, on the mesa south of the creek, one of the fiercest engagements of our early history was fought, resulting in victory to the side of Maurice and the Utes. The few particulars of this engagement obtainable were communicated by Maurice, in 1860, to J. A. Toof, Esq., who says the old Frenchman communicated all dates by moons.[5]

[2] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (N. Y., 1936), 553, says: "Another field that awaits scientific exploration is that of the joke-towns—Podunk, Squedunk, Hohokus, Goose Hill, Hard-Scrabble, and so on. Almost every large American city is provided with such a neighbor, and mention of it on the local stage arouses instant mirth." Ulysses S. Grant called his Missouri log cabin, built in 1854, "Hardscrabble," and the term is still in use, viz: Elbert Crittenden Traw's recent book, *Specialist from Hardscrabble*.

[3] Edward Pauls to FWC, Canon City, Colo., Nov. 16, 1907, EFWN, X-13, Cragin Collection.

[4] Capt. B. F. Rockafellow's account of Fremont County in *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago, O. L. Baskin & Co., 1881), 547. Rockafellow says these survivors were from a settlement on the Huerfano, some 50 miles down the Arkansas from Hardscrabble, but there were no settlers on the Huerfano until the 1850s, and by that time the Hardscrabble had long had its name. Rockafellow must be referring to the Ute massacre of the inhabitants of Pueblo in 1854. After leaving Pueblo devastated, the Utes went on to the Huerfano settlement and drove off some stock, but killed no one. In retaliation for the Pueblo massacre a company of volunteers under Ceran St. Vrain chased the Utes up into the Wet Mountains via Ute creek, near the Hardscrabble. A confusion of these events probably accounts for Rockafellow's statement.

In a later paragraph Rockafellow says that this Mexican town existed, off and on, until 1852, when an Indian scare drove the Mexicans away for the last time and left Maurice alone in his fort. The trappers' fort really existed, just where Rockafellow says it did, but it was probably not founded as early as 1830.[6] The Mexican village probably did not exist as here described, nor at the dates given. The description of the church and the marriage customs is sheer fabrication. Neither mass nor marriage can be performed without a priest, as any Catholic knows, and every Mexican of that day was Catholic. The nearest priest was at Taos, and the many entries in his baptismal records referring to children "from the missions of the north" who had risked salvation for several years before coming to him for baptism are ample proof that he did not venture out of his own parish to visit the handful of settlements in the Indian country to the north.[7] One Catholic member of the Hardscrabble settlement, Marcellina Baca, took his wife and three children to Taos in 1846 to have the children baptized, and to marry their mother.[8] There is a similarity between Maurice's village and the Hardscrabble settlement, but it is not conclusive. The "thirteen low, flat, earth-roofed adobe houses on one side of a

[5] *Ibid.*, 545.

[6] This fort will be discussed in my forthcoming paper on Maurice.

[7] Baptismal Records, *Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe*, Taos, N. M.; Taos Baptismal Records, Book No. 52, Taos County Clerk's Office; and Taos Church Baptismal Records at the Cathedral in Santa Fe, N. M.

[8] Elena Baca Autobees to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., Nov. 3, 1907, EFWN, II-3.

projected square or plaza'' are describing, I feel sure, the Hardscrabble plaza, but this description would also fit most of the architecture in the Southwest at that time. The great battle between the Sioux and Arapahoe vs. the Utes and Maurice has a parallel in the great battle between the Utes vs. the Arapahoes and Mexicans which was an event during the life of the Hardscrabble settlement. However the Hardscrabble Valley was part of the land claimed by both the mountain Utes and their everlasting enemies, the plains Indians, and contests over it were innumerable. A stronger objection to this Mexican village as an entity separate from the Hardscrabble village lies in the lack of contemporary reference to it. It existed until 1852, says Rockafellow, at the mouth of Adobe creek, yet none of the accounts of those who had lived in the Hardscrabble village from 1844-1848, also at the mouth of Adobe creek, mentioned the Mexican village as a separate community.

The other post was what Rockafellow called the first American settlement on Adobe creek, near its mouth, founded in 1840 by hunters and trappers under the leadership of ''Gov. Bent, Mr. Lupton, Col. Ceren St. Vrain, Beaubien, and Lucien B. Maxwell.'' Beaubien was in charge of the post, which supplied the needs of trappers operating in the vicinity. This settlement, says Rockafellow, lasted until 1846, when all but Maurice moved to other mountain localities.[9] Rockafellow has given us a fabulous group of men as proprietors of this post. Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain were partners in the huge country store known as Bent's Fort, 100 miles down the Arkansas from the Hardscrabble, and in its outpost on the South Platte, Fort St. Vrain. Bent, St. Vrain & Co. were second only to Pierre Chouteau Jr. & Co. (American Fur Co.) in the size of their fur trade operation at this time. Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain were well known as Santa Fe traders; Bent was the first American governor of New Mexico Territory, and St. Vrain was a noted leader of volunteer troops after the Mexican War, and a wealthy businessman and landowner. There are many contemporary references to these famous men, but none that I have seen mention their connection with a post on the Hardscrabble. Lancaster Lupton kept a trading post on the South Platte at this time which was in bitter competition with Fort St. Vrain. Charles Beaubien was settled in Taos, where a family, a general merchandise business, and after 1841 the largest of all the Spanish land grants, kept him well occupied and well-off. Maxwell was a nobody, but in later years he was New Mexico's wealthiest and most famous citizen. A trading post operated by all these men would have attracted wide notice even in 1840 and surely would have turned up in some account, but Rockafellow is the only source

[9] *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, 546.

known to me that tells of it. Like Maurice's Mexican village, this post existed cheek and jowl for two years with the Hardscrabble settlement, for both were near the mouth of Adobe Creek, yet none of the people who lived at the settlement and whose testimony is available mention it.[10]

While he describes the Mexican and American settlements for which we can find no corroboration, Rockafellow does not so much as mention the well-documented Hardscrabble village, existing at the same time and in the same place, and with many points in common with Rockafellow's settlements. A reasonable conclusion may be drawn that Rockafellow (or his ultimate source, Maurice) is describing the Hardscrabble village in two installments, Mexican and American, with the added spice of strange marriage customs, the added glamour of some of the most famous names in the history of the west, and the added confusion of faulty dates.

The Hardscrabble settlement was an outgrowth of an earlier settlement, which calls for a brief description: Late in 1841 or early in 1842 George Simpson, Alexander Barclay, Joseph Doyle and other Americans built an adobe trading post on the Arkansas at the mouth of the Fontaine qui bouille, at the present site of Pueblo. Their trading post was generally called ''Pueblo,'' indicating a likeness to the Indian houses of the southwest. Its inhabitants lived by trapping, trading, and farming. The trappers brought their furs down from the mountains in the spring and sold them to the proprietors of the Pueblo, then spent the summer loafing there with their Indian or Mexican wives, and doing desultory hunting, farming, and stock raising. The traders got their goods from Taos, sold them to the Indians or trappers at the fort, or bought goods from the fort and sold them on the south or north Platte. The farmers cultivated the land in the river bottom, planted corn and pumpkins and other vegetables, raised chickens and ran cattle on the prairie. Contemporary authorities referred to the large part of Pueblo's population as renegades, outlaws, discharged soldiers, fugitives from justice, desperadoes, idlers, and loafers.

[10] It is interesting that most of these men had some connection with the Upper Arkansas valley at one time or another, and it may be for this reason that these particular names adorn Rockafellow's post. According to legend, Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain founded a post not many miles east of the Hardscrabble in the 1820s, but deserted it after it proved to be a poor location. (Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," Kansas Hist. Soc. *Collections*, Vol. XV). Charles Beaubien was said to have given his name to the San Carlos or St. Charles River which enters the Arkansas just below Pueblo. (See Jacob Beard's reminiscences in the DeBusk Memorial, p. 73, Colo. State Hist. Soc. library; and A. W. Archibald's account in Frank Hall, *History of Colorado*, IV, 191). This is probably not true, since the San Carlos had been so called by Spaniards as early as 1818. (See Alfred B. Thomas, "Documents bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819," *N.M. Historical Review*, IV, 160.) Lupton, as we shall see, lived in the Hardscrabble village from 1846 to 1849.

The Pueblo was a success. When Fremont passed it on June 29, 1844, he said that it appeared in a thriving condition, and that since he had passed it in the summer of 1843 another settlement had been established thirty miles above it.[11] This new settlement which was soon known as Hardscrabble, is usually said to have been established in 1843. Mrs. George Simpson, who lived there, said so;[12] Pedro Sandoval, whose aunt lived there, said so,[13] and so did Dick Wootton, who was perfectly familiar with the region and its people.[14] The only dissenter was George Simpson, who testified in 1882 that he moved to Hardscrabble over two years after he established the Pueblo.[15] That Simpson was correct and the others in error is proved by a letter he wrote to George Sibley, his cousin in St. Charles, Missouri. Simpson began the letter on February 7, 8, or 9, 1844, on the Arkansas River, and then started a new part as follows:

> San Buenaventura de los tres Arrollos
> March 31st 1844 It is some time since I wrote the above—since then I have moved, "traps and all"—I am now resident in the Republic of New Mexico—The "settlement" where I now live has been located and peopled within the last six weeks It can number already about 70 souls — I have a plenty of good land and have built me a very substantial *house* Next week I commence ploughing — This is a delightful climate —
>
> April 10th I wish that you would send me some apple seed — and indeed all kinds of seed that you grow — I will send some of this country's productions next spring There is fruit of different kinds here in abundance — such as Plums, *(excellent)* Cherrys, (*sorter*) Strawberrys (good) currants and gooseberry (do) and Service Berries (de-licious Game, — Boffelo, Elk, Black and white-tail deer, grizzly Bear (Crowders) and turkies; but they are not call'd game in this country — I don't intend to go to the States this spring. Indeed I am not going home untill I make *something*[16]

However successful the settlement at Pueblo had seemed to Fremont, George Simpson, aged 26, had not yet "made something," and so was trying a new locality. Simpson does not tell us, as others do, that his "very substantial house" was a trading post built in the form of a plaza which he shared with Joseph Doyle and Alexander Barclay, and that he was the leader of the settlement.[17]

[11] Second Expedition, p. 287. Fremont does not specify whether the new settlement was thirty miles above Pueblo on the Arkansas or on the Fountain, but since there is no record of a settlemnt on the Fountain, Fremont is surely speaking of Hardscrabble.

[12] Mrs. Simpson to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 31, 1904, EFWN, I-21, Cragin Collection.

[13] Pedro Sandoval to FWC, Webber P. O., N.M., June 12, 1908, EFWN, IX-40, Cragin Collection.

[14] Frank Hall, *History of Colorado*, II, 236, account undoubtedly based on memories of Dick Wootton.

[15] Testimony of George Simpson, Trinidad, Colo., Oct. 29, 1883, Transcript of Record, U. S. vs. Maxwell Land Grant Co. et al, Oct. term, 1886, Supreme Court of the U. S., No. 974.

[16] Letter of George Simpson to George Sibley, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. I am much indebted to Barbara Kell, librarian, for finding this valuable letter for me.

[17] Mrs. George Simpson, *loc. cit.*, Pedro Sandoval, *loc. cit.*, Hall, *op. cit.*

At first, as Simpson's letter shows, the functions of the settlement were agricultural. Rufus Sage, a literate trapper who went home and wrote a book about his experiences, heralds the beginning of the Hardscrabble settlement as an innocent farming community:

> The land [around Pueblo] indicates a fitness for agricultural purposes, and holds out strong inducements to emigrants. A small settlement of whites and half-breeds, numbering fifteen or twenty families, has already been commenced about thirty miles above the mouth of Fontaine qui Bouit under quite favorable auspices. The only fears entertained for its success, are on account of the Indians.[18]

Another contemporary description of the Hardscrabble settlement appeared in a St. Louis newspaper of early summer, 1845:

> HARDSCRABBLE. This is the name of an agricultural settlement on the waters of the Arkansas River, near the base of the Rocky Mountains. It consists of about twenty-five families, old trappers and hunters, who have built houses and devoted themselves to agriculture. They all have Indian wives of the Snake tribe, they being much preferred to the Indians of the plains, who are nearest to them. They raise considerable quantities of corn, which they trade to the Indians for furs, robes, and other articles. The Indians parch the corn, and bruise and pound it into meal in skin bags, and then make bread out of it. The settlers in Hardscrabble have no mills except a few indifferent hand mills, with which they grind corn for their own use. These men are very expert riflemen, well practised in Indian usages and warfare, and consider themselves against all the Indian tribes of that region, if they should be attacked by them.—They live a rough, hard, romantic life, but are hospitable to those who visit them or pass through their settlement.[18a]

There was one big difference between Pueblo and Hardscrabble, which probably had some influence upon its founding and later activities: Hardscrabble was on Mexican soil. Perhaps the following incident contributed to the founding of Hardscrabble: The Texan attacks on Mexican frontier towns in the spring and summer of 1843 had so enraged the people of New Mexico that foreigners living in Taos were driven from the town and all commerce between Taos and the settlements to the north, which normally got their supplies at Taos, was suspended. When Fremont arrived at the Pueblo on July 14, 1843, he could not get provisions for his big, government-backed expedition, and so Pueblo lost what would have amounted to its largest single transaction of the year.[19] In August of 1843, Santa Anna, dictator of Mexico, made Taos' informal trade ban official—he closed the customs houses at Taos and Santa Fe, and decreed that all trade between Mexico and the United States was to be stopped. The effect upon

[18] *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1855), 172. At this point in the narrative Sage is describing a journey taken in 1842, but he passed Pueblo again in March, 1843, and in March, 1844, at which latter date he must have heard of Hardscrabble, but found it more convenient to describe it under the earlier date.

[18a] From the St. Louis *New Era*, reprinted in *Niles Register*, June 21, 1845, p. 249, c. 2.

[19] Fremont, Second Expedition, p. 116.

the trade at the Pueblo must have been staggering to its proprietors. Santa Anna left a loophole, however; allowed to buy and sell were naturalized Mexicans, foreigners married to Mexicans, or foreigners living with their families within the confines of Mexico.[20] Residents of the Hardscrabble settlement were living in Mexico, and so came under the last of the exceptions to the ban, and would be able to import the items so necessary to Hardscrabble's and Pueblo's existence as trading posts. The ban was lifted on March 31, 1844, just after the Hardscrabble settlement had been founded, but since relations between the U. S. and Mexico continued to be strained until their culmination in war, the location of the settlement on Mexican soil was a safeguard against any future trade bans (which were never imposed, as it happens).

Pueblo and its sister settlement Hardscrabble were dependent on Taos for an article of trade far more important than provisions, and one that could not be imported from the United States—and that article was whiskey. The same year that Simpson, Barclay and Doyle founded the Pueblo trading post, Indian agents began to deplore the use of liquor in the Upper Missouri Indian trade. Liquor had been officially outlawed in 1834, but the large fur companies had gone right on using it as their most profitable article of trade, in the absence of any government agency to stop its importation. By 1842 a large number of small transient traders had entered the fur trade, and as a result the business of the large companies (Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Bent, St. Vrain & Co.) had fallen off. To scotch their pesky little competitors the big companies sanctimoniously stopped using liquor and called upon the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to make the little traders stop using it too, and in this way put them out of business.[21] In 1842 a company of dragoons was stationed at Council Bluffs to search the traders and their boats bound for the Upper Missouri, and destroy any liquor they found, and arrest the guilty traders. Andrew Drips was appointed Upper Missouri Indian Agent to visit the posts on the Upper Missouri, and his instructions dated October 6, 1842, included the hint that he would find liquor brought from Santa Fe in the small trading camps on the north Platte.[22] In 1843 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis stated that the importation of liquor from the U. S. had been stopped, but it was still being brought in from the British colonies to the north, and from Mexico.[23] By 1844 there was no more talk of the guilt

[20] Sources for Santa Anna's decree and events leading up to it are *Senate Docs.*, 28th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I, Doc. 1, pp. 31-40 (Ser. 431); *House Docs.*, 30th Con., 1st Sess., Doc. 70, pp. 23-4 (Ser. 521).

[21] Both H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (N.Y., 1936), 669f, and Annie H. Abel in her introduction to *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839*, have interesting and amusing accounts of the liquor trade.

[22] 27th Cong., 3rd Sess., *House Docs.* Vol. I, Doc. 2, p. 525f (Ser. 418).

[23] 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Docs.* Vol. I, Doc. 1, p. 388 (Ser. 431).

of the British colonies to the north; the blame was laid squarely upon "a reckless band of desperadoes" who brought the dangerous stuff in from Mexico and "engaged in illicit and destructive trade with the Indians.[24] In 1845 the unhappy Drips located the seat of his trouble, which was, of course, the twin settlements on the Arkansas, Pueblo and Hardscrabble:

> I would particularly call the attention of the department to a description of traders who reside in the vicinity of the Mexican country on the waters of the Arkansas. They cultivate corn, etc., which they trade to the Indians for robes and skins with which they proceed to Santa Fe and Taos and barter for whiskey, flour, etc. These latter articles they again bring to the Indians with whom they trade in opposition to, and much to the detriment of, the licensed traders. They defy a United States agent, and want of a proper force at the latter's command permits them to act with impunity. They reside in two villages, one on the American, and the other within the Mexican, line. They are a mongrel crew of Americans, French, Mexicans and half-breeds, and generally speaking, are unable to procure employment on account of past misconduct. In fact, they are no better than outlaws.[25]

In 1845 S. W. Kearny had also recognized the source of the smuggled liquor, and suggested that a sub-agent be stationed at Bent's Fort, 70 miles below Pueblo.[26] His suggestion was not carried out immediately because the Mexican War intervened, but in 1847 Thomas Fitzpatrick, a man of vast experience with all branches of the fur trade, and with a personal knowledge of the inhabitants of Pueblo and Hardscrabble, became Upper Arkansas agent. His report gives us a fine description of our settlements:

> About seventy-five miles above this place [Bent's Fort], and immediately on the Arkansas river, there is a small settlement, the principal part of which is composed of old trappers and hunters; the male part of it are mostly Americans, Missouri French, Canadians, and Mexicans. They have a tolerable supply of cattle, horses, mules, &c.; and I am informed that this year they have raised a good crop of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables. They number about 150 souls, and of this number there are about 60 men, nearly all having wives, and some have two. These wives are of various Indian tribes, as follows, viz: Blackfoot, Assineboines, Arikeras, Sioux, Aripohoes, Chyennes, Pawnees, Snake, Sinpach, (from west of the Great lake), Chinock, (from the mouth of Columbia,) Mexicans, and Americans. The American women are Mormons; a party of Mormons having wintered there, and on their departure for California, left behind two families. These people are living in two separate establishments near each other; one called "Punble," and the other "Hardscrabble;" both villages are fortified by a wall 12 feet high, composed of *adobe*, (sun-dried brick). Those villages are becoming the resort of all idlers and loafers. They are also becom-

[24] Letter of Thos. H. Harvey, Oct. 8, 1844, 28th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Docs. Vol. I, Doc. 2, p. 433. (Ser. 463).

[25] Drips to Thos. H. Harvey, Supt. Ind. Aff. at St. Louis, Fort Pierre, April 11, 1845. H. M. Chittenden, *American Fur Trade of the Far West* (N.Y. 1936), 373-4.

[26] Report of a Summer Campaign to the Rocky Mountains, &c., in 1845, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc.* 2 (Serial 480) p. 213.

ing depots for the smugglers of liquor from New Mexico into this country; therefore they must be watched.[27]

About a year after Fitzpatrick wrote his report, these notorious settlements went out of business.

The center of the Hardscrabble settlement was the plaza, probably fitting Maurice's description—"thirteen low, flat, earth-roofed adobe houses on one side of a projected square or plaza, which was completed by an adobe wall,"[28] where lived the proprietors of the trading post, Simpson, Barclay, and Doyle, and their families.[29] Here also must have been the storage rooms, trading room, blacksmith shop, dining hall and kitchen, as was usual in trading posts of this time. A man who had come to graze cattle on the Hardscrabble in 1859 said the plaza was six miles up the Hardscrabble from its mouth, on a flat bottom to the west of the river. He described the ruins of the plaza as "an old square of adobe buildings around a court of 20 to 60 feet, exact dimensions forgotten."[30] About six miles above the plaza was the house of Matthew Kincaid at the mouth of the yellow-rock canyon where the Hardscrabble river comes out from the mountains. Kincaid's house of upright logs was the headquarters of his cattle ranch, and it was there before the plaza was built, perhaps a year or two before.[31] Between Kincaid's house and the plaza were the jacal[32] cabins and lodges of Kincaid's ranch hands, and employes of Simpson, Barclay, and Doyle. Mrs. George Simpson remembered the names of some of these men: Jean Paisel, hunter for the plaza (who was probably John Poisel, well-known trader whose daughter Maggie married Thomas Fitzpatrick); Juan and Francisco Martin, laborers; Welch; Burris and Briggs (brothers-in-law, married to Snake sisters—Burris's first name was John);[33] Maurice LeDuc; La Fontaine; and Gagnez. Marcellina Baca, a comparatively wealthy Indian trader, lived in a house on a rise of ground about an eighth of a mile southwest of the plaza.[34] A family of Tafoyas, Marcellina and Francisca among them, lived near the plaza,[35] and so did B. A. Jones, who worked for Doyle.[36]

[27] Report of Thos. Fitzpatrick, Ind. Agent, Upper Platte and Arkansas, Bent's Ford [sic] Arkansas River, Sept. 18, 1847. Appendix to Rept., Comm'r Ind. Affairs, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 1, p. 245. (Ser. 503).

[28] Capt. B. F. Rockafellow, *loc. cit.*

[29] Jacob Beard to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 29, 1904, EFWN, I-40, Cragin Collection.

[30] Jack Templeton to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., August 27, 1903, EFWN, VII-29f, Cragin Collection.

[31] Jacob Beard to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 29, 1904, EFWN, I-40, Cragin Collection.

[32] Upright poles woven together with rushes and plastered with mud to make a wall.

[33] H. L. Conard, *"Uncle Dick" Wootton* (Chicago, 1890), 55, 160f.

[34] Mrs. Simpson to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 31, 1904, EFWN, I-21, Cragin Collection.

[35] Felipe Cisneros to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., Oct. 19, 1907, EFWN, III-76, Cragin Collection.

[36] Tom Autobees to FWC, Avondale, Colo., Nov. 8, 1907, EFWN, II-63, Cragin Collection.

On November 30, 1842, George Simpson married Juana Suaso at Taos and brought her back to the Pueblo to live.[37] In March, 1844, they moved to Hardscrabble where Juana produced a daughter, Maria Isabel, on June 2, 1844.[38] The story of her birth and the to-do it caused has been told many times in many newspapers and magazines. The earliest version I can find was a syndicated article published in the *New York World*, Sunday, June 17, 1888, and appearing soon after in the *Denver Republican* of June 24, 1888, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of August 12, 1888:

FIRST WHITE CHILD IN THE ROCKIES.

It is often a disputed question as to who was the first child born in any frontier country, and it may possibly be disputed in this instance, but from all that one can now ascertain, Isabel, George Simpson's little baby girl, was the first white child born in Colorado. Little baby Isabel Simpson was the pioneer baby, even as was her grandfather a pioneer at St. Louis, and her father a pioneer in the Rockies. It was for her that the first pioneer cradle was made in Colorado. At the time of her birth there were celebrations, the like of which were possibly never seen on the American continent. The few hunters and trappers in the vicinity came down from the mountains to George Simpson's humble cabin home to bid the little stranger welcome. Men who had been for years far away from the border land even of civilization, bent in loving tenderness over little Isabel's cradle. Old thoughts of home and dear memories that always cluster around that sacred spot, came back to hunters and trappers. A strange sight it was—those hardy, brave frontiersmen, who hardly knew what danger was, and whose rifle's aim was sure death, shedding tears around that frontier cradle. George Simpson made them welcome, and they duly celebrated the event of the birth of the first white child in Colorado in 1844—forty-four years ago.

INDIANS HONOR THE FIRST BABY.

But there was still a more important celebration to come. The Indians had heard of the birth of Baby Isabel and came in hundreds from the plains and mountains to see the "white pappoose," as they called her. A great war dance was held by them in her honor. It was a welcome of the aborigines to the first white child. A war dance! It was their manner of honoring the coming of the "white pappoose," and yet how symbolic and prophetic! for many of these same Indians who took part in this war dance a few years later participated in some of the most horrible massacres on the plains, and dashed out the brains of infants on the wagon wheels of the early emigrant trains. Old chiefs and young warriors danced nearly the whole night near Simpson's cabin. They made the night hideous with their weird songs, chants and wild orgies. All this could be plainly seen and heard, for the squaws had built great fires around which the braves chanted and danced. And then they asked to see the white pappoose. Chieftains and stoic warriors passed by the cradle to see the infant. The squaws chattered in their wild delight. Some of them wanted to see the baby's feet, which was granted, and their object was understood a few days later, when some of the squaws returned with cute little moccasins and other presents

[37] Jacob Beard to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 31, 1904, EFWN, I-5, Cragin Collection.

[38] Isabel Simpson Beard to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 30, 1904, EFWN I-1, Cragin Collection.

for Baby Isabel. A medicine man too passed by, and in Indian fashion blessed the child. Was ever a white child on this continent extended such a reception?[39]

Other children, born without much fanfare at the Hardscrabble settlement were a son, Joseph Robert, born to the Simpsons on March 19, 1846,[40] and Elena, daughter of Marcellina Baca and his Pawnee wife, in 1846.[41]

A maverick piece of information relating to these early years of the Hardscrabble settlement is given by Judge Wilbur F. Stone, who told both F. W. Cragin and H. H. Bancroft that the famous mountain man and later Indian agent, A. G. Boone, had charge of the Hardscrabble post from 1844-1846.[42]

Hardscrabble's first important visitor of which we have any knowledge was the great pathfinder, J. C. Fremont. On August 16, 1845, Fremont and about fifty men bound for California left Bent's Fort and travelled seventy miles up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Fontaine qui bouille where they camped on August 20.[43] The map of Fremont's expeditions shows that after leaving "Pueblo" at the mouth of the Fountain, he crossed to the south side of the Arkansas and passed Hardscrabble, which is marked "Pueblo of S. Charles," then continued up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Great Canyon (present site of Canon City, Colo.), where he camped on August 26.[44] In his brief account of the expedition Fremont does not mention passing Hardscrabble, but Thomas Martin, one of his men, says that at Hardscrabble Fremont hired some men, traded his wagons for about 200 pack animals, and held a shooting match with expensive rifles as prizes.[45] Martin says that Hardscrabble was 60 miles from Bent's Fort; actually it was nearer 100 miles. Hence, Martin was either wrong about the distance, or else he was calling Pueblo "Hardscrabble." The latter becomes more of a possibility when we consider that Pueblo was sometimes called "Hardscrabble."[46]

[39] "A Mountain is His Tomb," *New York Sunday World*, June 17, 1888, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

[40] Mrs. Jacob Beard to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 30, 1904, EFWN, I-1, Cragin Collection.

[41] Elena Baca Autobees to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., Oct. 30, 1907, EFWN, III-93, Cragin Collection.

[42] Judge Stone to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., Sept. 25, 1903, EFWN, XX-15, Cragin Collection; Stone, "General View," MS. in the Bancroft Library cited in Bancroft *Works*, XXV, 355. Stone may be thinking of Boone's post of the 1860s at Booneville, near Pueblo.

[43] J. C. Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), 428.

[44] Charles Preuss, "Map of Oregon and California," 31st Cong., 1st Sess. *Sen. Doc.* 18.

[45] Thos. S. Martin, "Narrative of Fremont's Expedition in 1845-6," MS. in Bancroft Library., Berkeley, Calif.

[46] Elliott Coues in his edition of Pike's expedition (Vol. II, p. 453) says Pueblo was called Hardscrabble during the '40s, "a name now given to another place." Max Greene, in his book *The Kansas Region* . . . (N.Y., 1856) calls Pueblo "Pueblo of San Carlos or Hardscrabble," but Greene was not in the country until 1850 and so much of his book is fiction passing for fact that he can hardly be considered a reliable source in this matter. Another fugitive source, the reminiscenses of a resident of Gunnison, Colo., published in an unknown Colorado newspaper and to be found in the Dawson Scrapbook No. 4, p. 83, Colorado State Historical Society library, calls Pueblo "Hardscrabble." On the other hand,

In the latter part of 1845 or early 1846 Luz Trujillo, aged 13, was married to Archibald Charles Metcalf, a handsome American trader, and the couple came to Pueblo to live. Sixty years later Luz Trujillo, then Mrs. Felipe Ledoux,[47] told F. W. Cragin about her experience at Pueblo and Hardscrabble, and her short narrative is the only eye-witness account we have at this time of some interesting events that occurred at the two sister settlements.[48]

By the time Mrs. Ledoux visited the Hardscrabble, the look of the settlement had changed a little. Doyle and Simpson still lived with their families in the plaza, but Barclay had a house a little above the plaza, and opposite him lived Rube Herring in another house. Burris and Briggs still shared a jacal cabin,[49] and other employes and peons had their cabins strung along the Hardscrabble between the plaza and Kincaid's house. In one of these cabins lived Tom Whittlesey with his woman, Candelaria Sena.[50] In other cabins lived the Frenchmen, Sixhommes and La Fontaine.

Fremont called Hardscrabble "the Upper Pueblo" in a letter to his wife from Taos, Jan. 27, 1849 (printed in C. W. Upham, *Life, Explorations and Public Services of John Charles Fremont* (Boston, 1856), 280), and Parkman hints at an "upper Pueblo" when he calls Pueblo "the Lower Pueblo" (*The Journals of Francis Parkman*, ed. by Mason Wade (N. Y., 1947), II, 473).

[47] Throughout her story Mrs. Ledoux says she lived at Pueblo in 1844 and 1845, but since she says she was born in 1833, married at 13 (or in 1846), and since Metcalf's baptism in August, 1845, previous to his marriage, is a matter of record (see below), it is likely that Metcalf and his bride were at Pueblo in 1846-47.

[48] Metcalf, a native of New York, born 1815, came to Taos in 1831 (Taos Co. Baptismal Records, Book 52 (1844-1847), Taos County Clerk's Office, p. 106). He arrived at Fort Lupton from the North Platte on July 16, 1843, bringing news from Fort Laramie *The Journals of Theodore Talbot*, ed. C. H. Carey (Portland, Ore., 1931), p. 24), where he had gone to trade with the Sioux, but Indian agent Hamilton refused him a license because he used liquor in his trade. He then went to Fort Lupton on the South Platte and sold his outfit to Lancaster P. Lupton and Rich O. Wilson, proprietors of that post, and in December, 1843, was reported to be selling liquor to the Indians as an employe of Lupton and Wilson (Joseph V. Hamilton, Fort John [Laramie], Dec. 4, 1843, to A. Drips, South Dakota Historical *Collections*, IX 187). Metcalf is mentioned as Wilson's agent in a receipt for $180 from Lucien B. Maxwell, dated Jan. 13, 1844 (Lupton Papers, Colo. State Hist. Soc.). In 1845 he was in Taos where he was baptized in the Catholic faith on August 4, a necessary preliminary to his marriage with Luz Trujillo (Taos Co. Baptismal records, *loc. cit.*). From 1846 to 1848 he lived off and on at Pueblo, during which time he traded whiskey and coffee for buffalo robes with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at the Manitou soda springs on the upper Fountain Creek, and his wife said that she made very good bread from the highly charged water of the spring (Mrs. Felipe Ledoux to FWC, Las Vegas, N.M., Feb. 13, 1908, EFWN, VII-8, Cragin Collection). He was a volunteer in St. Vrain's company after the Taos insurrection of January, 1847 (Bancroft *Works*, XVII, 433), and was sheriff of Taos County from the spring of 1847 until he failed to appear in court on Sept. 6, 1847, and was relieved of his duties (District Court records, Taos Co., 1847-1855, Taos County Clerk's Office). As sheriff he had the satisfying task of greasing the nooses which hung the murderers of Gov. Charles Bent (Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Southwest Historical Series, 1938), 260). He was in Taos again on August 23, 1848, when he collected his back pay as sheriff (District Court Records, Taos Co., *loc. cit.*) and in 1848 he and his wife moved to Santa Fe. His wife said he died of cholera at Fort Laramie in 1848 (Mrs. Felipe Ledoux to FWC, *loc. cit.*), but Jesse Nelson thinks he was killed at Pawnee Rock or Walnut Fork on the Santa Fe trail (Jesse Nelson to FWC, Smith's Canon, Colo., July 9, 1908, EFWN, VIII-73). He was a fine-looking man, strongly built, six feet tall and weighed 225 pounds, and very active (Josiah F. Smith to FWC, Pueblo, Colo., July 18, 1903, EFWN, XVII-6). In 1855 Luz Trujillo Metcalf married Felipe Ledoux (Mrs. Ledoux, *loc. cit.*,) son of the Abram Ledoux who had been living and trading at the Pawnee villages when Long passed there in 1820 and who, with Joseph Bissonette (*dit* Bileau) guided Long to the Rocky Mountains (See index to R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* for references to Abram Ledoux).

[49] Upright poles woven together with rushes to make a wall, and pastered with mud.

[50] In one place F. W. Cragin's notes of his interview with Mrs. Ledoux give this man's name as Wilson, but usually he transcribes it as Whittlesey.

While Mrs. Ledouz was at the Pueblo, an appalling crime was committed on the Hardscrabble. Candelaria, Whittlesey's woman, was having an affair with La Fontaine, or at least so it seemed to Whittlesey. One day at the Hardscrabble plaza Whittlesey put an end to the affair by murdering La Fontaine and killing and dismembering Candelaria. This business apparently revolted the people at Hardscrabble, for Mrs. Ledoux said Whittlesey "escaped" to Pueblo. At Pueblo incidents of this nature were not uncommon; not long before, Jim Waters had killed Ed Tharp in a duel over a different Candelaria,[51] and Sixhommes was killed not long after by John Brown over a Mexican woman named Nicolasa, the same one that caused the fray at Fort Lupton between Rube Herring and Henry Beer. At any rate, Pueblo was not very shocked by Whittlesey and the people there helped him to get away to the Platte.[52] The Hardscrabble people bore him no hard feelings, for he turned up later in the Huerfano village of 1854-1855, living in a hewed log cabin with his wife Maria, along with many of the same old Hardscrabble crowd. His reputation was sullied, however; he was known as a bad man, and the Mexicans called him "Tomas el matador" (Thomas the murderer).[53]

Mrs. Metcalf was at Hardscrabble when a great battle was fought near Kincaid's house above the settlement. About forty Utes were on one side, and the Mexicans of the region and their Arapahoe allies were on the other. While the battle raged, Luz Metcalf, Terracita Barclay, Juana Simpson, and Cruz Doyle stood in the Hardscrabble plaza and listened to the reports of guns nearly six miles away. The Arapahoe-Mexican alliance was given a beating and the men fled in confusion toward Pueblo. After the battle the Hardscrabble women prepared a feast consisting of great quantities of bread, and of buffalo meat boiled with corn, which the conquering Utes consumed, seated on the ground in the Hardscrabble plaza.[54]

In December, 1846, the community welcomed Lancaster P. Lupton, former owner of Fort Lupton (usually called Fort Lancaster then) on the south Platte, who had come from Bent's Fort to open up a store at Hardscrabble in a lodge bought or rented from Alexander Barclay. His account book mentions Estes; Garnier; William Howard; John Brown; Biggs and Burrows; Marcellina Baca, who bought a number of things from Lupton between December 27, 1846, and May 23, 1847; Matthew Kincaid, who

[51] Mrs. Ledoux to FWC, Las Vegas, N.M., Feb. 13, 1908, EFWN, VII-14, Cragin Collection.
[52] Mrs. Ledoux to FWC, Las Vegas, N.M., June 17, 1908, EFWN, VIII-9, Cragin Collection.
[53] Tom Autobees to FWC, Avondale, Colo., Nov. 7, 1907, EFWN, II-26; Mrs. William Walker to FWC, Trinidad, Colo., June 2, 1908, EFWN, IX-33.
[54] Mrs. Ledoux, Las Vegas, N.M., Feb. 13, 1908, EFWN, VII-17, 18, Cragin Collection.

bought a lot of trade goods, thread, two brass kettles and four shirts on April 27, 1847; George Simpson, who bought tobacco in February, coffee and sugar at some later time; and V. J. Herring (the "V" was for Valentine, but he was usually called "Rube") who bought 2 doses calomel, 1 dose salts, and medicine.[55]

Lupton came to the Hardscrabble just before the older settlers started to move away. The demand for beaver pelts had declined sharply in the past decade, and by this time trapping had been nearly superseded by trade in buffalo hides. While Hardscrabble had been ideally located for trappers, at the gateway to the fine beaver streams in Wet Mountain valley and South Park, it was far from the buffalo herds which had migrated away from the Upper Arkansas region to the east and to the north. A more powerful influence on the fate of the Hardscrabble settlement was the American occupation of New Mexico, which for a brief period after the war changed that quiet, impoverished, slow-paced territory into a scene of frantic and profligate government activity. Where money had been made on the upper Arkansas in trapping, outfitting trappers, and trading with Indians, it was now to be made in New Mexico building government forts, growing food for the soldiers, driving government teams, carrying government mail, transporting government goods, and scouting for government troops. When the Santa Fe and Oregon trails became the highways between the States and the newly acquired territories of New Mexico and California, Hardscrabble was left high, dry, and useless between these two great arteries of traffic, too far even from the road connecting them, which passed Pueblo. The props were knocked out from under the liquor trade by the destruction of Turley's Mill near Taos, the largest distillery and dispensary of "Taos Lightning," in January of 1847; by closer supervision by government agents of the Indian trade on the north Platte; and by the readily available means of making a fortune legitimately, i. e., by swindling the government. California had been the destination of hundreds of emigrants every year since 1841, but now thousands of people were rushing to settle this fertile paradise. And so, with its means of livelihood reduced, its location far off the beaten track, the verdant pastures of California easy of access, and a disordered government waiting to be plundered in New Mexico, the end was in sight for Hardscrabble. In the summer of 1847 Matthew Kincaid abandoned his cattle ranch, moved away from Hardscrabble, and later went with John Brown, Jim Waters, and other settlers of Hardscrabble and Pueblo, to California, where tradition says they all

[55] Lupton's account book, MS. in the Lupton Papers, Colo. State Historical Society.

got rich.[56] Marcellina Baca moved to the small settlement on the Greenhorn.[57] Simpson, Barclay, and Doyle spent the winter of 1847-1848 at Pueblo, then left in the spring with a large part of the population of Pueblo and Hardscrabble, for the junction of the Mora and Sapello rivers in New Mexico, where the two main branches of the Santa Fe Trail came together. There they built Fort Barclay with expectations (which never materialized) of selling it to the government.[58]

On December 11, 1847, Lancaster Lupton paid Biggs and Burrows $5, and that was the last date recorded in his account book,[59] probably because most or all of his customers had gone. Pueblo was also being deserted; when Jesse Nelson passed it in late June, 1848, there was not a soul in the place, the fort stood empty and the log houses occupied by Mormons in 1846 were all vacant.[60]

By November, 1848, Pueblo had come to life somewhat, for when Fremont stopped there he found some mountain men, and among them he hired Bill Williams to guide him on to California. The rest of the mountaineers at Pueblo refused to try to cross the mountains in the middle of winter, and predicted with accuracy the misfortunes that would plague the expedition.[61] On November 23 Fremont and his thirty-odd men and 120 mules arrived at the Hardscrabble settlement, "a miserable place containing about a dozen houses, corn cribs and corrals. It is the summer resort of the hunters— the houses are built of Adobes, and are very comfortable—they seemed like palaces to us, as we enjoyed the luxuries of table & stools . . ."[62] Fremont made his men dismount here and packed on the mules' backs 130 bushels of shelled corn.[63] The corn was sold to Fremont by Lancaster Lupton, as we learn from a letter from his father, William Lupton, dated August 7, 1849, saying, "We received your letter written last fall, in which you mention your produce transactions with Col. Fremont . . ."[64] Lupton furnished not only corn for the stock, but the makings of a chicken and baked pumpkin dinner, and houses in which Fremont's men spent the night, furnished with benches and tables.[65] Fremont and

[56] Tom Autobees to FWC, Avondale, Colo., Nov. 10, 1907, EFWN, X-35f; Mrs. Felipe Ledoux to FWC, Las Vegas, N.M., June 17, 1908, EFWN, VIII-3f; Mrs. F. M. Jones, Las Vegas, N.M., June 26, 1908, EFWN, VIII-24.

[57] Elena Baca Autobees to FWC, *loc. cit.*

[58] Mrs. George Simpson to FWC, El Paso, Texas, Oct. 21, 1904, Fort Pueblo folder, Cragin Collection.

[59] Lupton account book, *loc. cit.*

[60] Jesse Nelson to FWC, Smith's Canon, Colo., July 9, 1908, EFWN, VIII-59.

[61] C. A. Cooper, "Fremont's Fourth Expedition," *Outdoor Life*, May, 1910.

[62] Richard H. Kern's diary, original in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., photostat copies in the Colorado State Historical Society library. Kern's description indicates that Hardscrabble was then or had been only of seasonal use. This may have been the fact, or it may have been Kern's attempt to explain why the houses were all empty.

[63] Letter of Fremont to his wife, Taos, N.M., Jan. 27, 1849, in C. W. Upham, *op. cit.*

[64] Lupton Papers, Colo. State Historical Society.

[65] Benjamin J. Kern's diary, original in Huntington Library, photostat copies in Colo. State Historical Society Library.

his men spent November 24th fixing sacks to hold the corn on the mules' backs[66] and on the afternoon of the 25th the expedition moved on up the Hardscrabble, wading through deep snow. When the men came up into the Wet Mountain Valley and caught sight of the high and white Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Dick Wootton exclaimed, "There is too much snow ahead for me," and turned back towards Hardscrabble.[67] Wootton's instinct was right; the expedition ended up in the frigid San Juan mountains where eleven men died and all the mules "froze stiff as they stood and fell over like blocks."[68] When the survivors straggled into Taos, Dick Wootton was there to greet them, so he did not stay long, if at all, at Hardscrabble.[69]

In the same letter of William Lupton to his son Lancaster mentioning the produce transaction with Fremont, the father comments upon Lancaster's "probable removal to California. . . . If you go to the '*Diggings*,' I hope you will scrape up enough of the 'root' to make you comfortable for life. . . ."[70] On October 25, 1849, William Lupton received his first letter from his son sent from California.[71] Lupton was probably the last person to leave the Hardscrabble settlement. We hear no more about it until 1853, when Lieut. Beckwith, writing his report of the expedition surveying for a railroad to the Pacific, described an Indian trail which passed by "Hardscrabble, now deserted."[72] The old adobe buildings of the plaza still stood in 1859, but soon after that the adobes were lifted from the walls and taken away to make new houses for new settlers, and nearly all trace of the settlement disappeared.[73]

The first water right in the Arkansas Valley of Colorado was taken out by Henry Burroughs in 1860, for his ranch on the Hardscrabble, at and above the mouth of Adobe creek. Henry Burroughs was still living on his Hardscrabble ranch in 1907, when F. W. Cragin talked to him there. Burroughs remembered the exact spot where the plaza had stood, and located it one-quarter mile south-southeast of the junction of Adobe and Newlin creeks, which come together a mile and a half above the junction of Newlin

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Thos. E. Breckenridge, "The Story of a Famous Expedition," *The Cosmopolitan*, XXI, 400.

[68] Thos. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (N. Y., 1893), 720.

[69] H. L. Conard, *"Uncle Dick" Wootton* (Chicago, 1890), 197. Wootton has one other rather nebulous connection with the Hardscrabble settlement. In Ruxton's semi-fictional *Life in the Far West* he represents "Ned" Wootton as taking his Sonora bride to his lodge on Hardscrabble Creek, at some undetermined date (N. Y., 1849, p. 178-9). Wootton's daughter, Eliza Ann, said that there was no truth whatever in this story, although it shows, if nothing else, that Ruxton had heard of the settlement in 1847 (Mrs. William Walker to FWC, Trinidad, Colo., Dec. 15, 1907, EFWN, XI-10).

[70] Letter dated August 7, 1849, in Lupton Papers, Colo. State Historical Society.

[71] Letter of William Lupton to Lancaster Lupton, Feb. 8, 1850, Lupton Papers, *loc. cit.*

[72] Pacific Railway Reports, Vol. II (33rd Cong., 3rd Sess., *House Ex. Doc.* 91, p. 46 (Ser. 792).

[73] Capt. Rockafellow, *loc. cit.*, 550.

with the Hardscrabble.[74] The land on which the plaza stood is now known as the City Ranch, because the city of Florence bought it some years ago for its fine water right. The present owner is Mr. J. I. Atkinson. When Mr. Atkinson learned that there had been a trading post somewhere in his alfalfa field, he pointed out a shallow depression in the otherwise level field which he believed was the site of the post. The depression had formerly been a sizable hole, but Mr. Atkinson and previous owners of the ranch had brought in many yards of fill dirt to fill it, and now the outlines of the hole are obliterated. In and around the hole Mr. Atkinson had picked up pieces of flint and some finished arrowheads. The location of the hole is as close as one could get to Henry Burrough's directions, and probably marks the site of the Hardscrabble plaza.

The Naming of Pikes Peak

RAYMOND CALHOUN*

How Pikes Peak received its name is a complicated story because that name did not result from a single dramatic act, but rather through a series of events scattered over many years. Traders, trappers, adventurers, soldiers, and gold seekers all contributed something to the naming of America's most famous mountain. Only when looking through the light of historical perspective can one realize the extent to which this name is the product of gradual development.

The first white men to see Pikes Peak were the Spaniards, the records of their penetration into its region extending back to 1706 when Juan de Ulibarri was sent from New Mexico into Colorado to recover some Indians who had fled earlier to the Apache village of El Cuartelejo to escape Spanish rule. Ulibarri was followed by Governor Valverde and Don Pedro de Villasur, who were also attempting to subdue marauding Indians. The first recorded reference to Pikes Peak was made by Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, who, while on a punitive expedition against the Indian chieftain Cuerno Verde (Greenhorn), referred to it in his journal as "Los Ojos Ciegos" (The Blind Eyes). Anza also recorded the location of the Peak on a map.

Decisions reached in the drawing rooms and on the battlefields of Europe have often changed the political map of North America. And so it was in this manner, only a quarter of a century

[7] Henry Burroughs to FWC, Sept. 27-29, 1907, EFWN, III-5f. Mr. Burroughs added the more specific directions: In the Southeast quarter of the Northeast quarter section of Sec. 11, township 20 S. of Range 69 W.

*For his Master's thesis Mr. Calhoun, of Colorado Springs, made a historical study of Pikes Peak. The present article is condensed from that thesis.—Ed.

after Anza's campaign, that the huge amorphous territory known as Louisiana was re-ceded to France by Spain, and then, soon after this transfer, was sold to the United States.

Pikes Peak was now a part of the United States, but its new owners did not know of its existence. They had bought, for fifteen million dollars, a large area, stretching from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. But its contents and its boundaries were largely a mystery. To solve this mystery, exploring parties were dispatched. One of these groups was led by a twenty-seven year old United States Army Captain, Zebulon Montgomery Pike.

Many pseudo facts have arisen about Pike and the mountain which now bears his name. One of the most frequent misconceptions is that Pike himself gave the Peak its present name. He did not. In his journal he referred to it merely as the "high point," the "Grand Peak," the "blue mountain," and the "north mountain"; on his map he did not give it a name.

If it be fitting to name mountains after men, then undoubtedly Pikes Peak bears the most appropriate of names. At the close of the eighteenth century, the existence of Pikes Peak was known, though not widely. It had become a local phenomenon, but no more than that. To the future heirs of this mountain, now beginning to burst their bonds and pour forth from their narrow confines along the eastern fringe of the continent—and to the world at large—its presence remained a mystery. Pikes Peak did not stir the imaginations of the earliest white travelers as it has those from Pike's time onward. Consequently, those early visitors were negligent in disseminating to the world information about it. Pike, however, combined an appreciation of the Peak (in anticipation of an attitude manifest in his countrymen down to the present time) with an opportunity to disseminate information about it through the publication of the journal of his trip. This enabled him to accomplish what the Spanish had neglected to do in over a century because to them it was just another mountain. Within three years of its publication in Philadelphia in 1810, and its subsequent publication in improved form in England in 1811, Pike's *Journal* could be read in French, Dutch, and German translations. Pikes Peak had become known to the Western world.

Fourteen years after Pike's visit an army expedition led by Major Stephen Harriman Long entered the vicinity of the Peak, one of the members of the expedition being Dr. Edwin James, the group's physician. James was determined to ascend the mountain, a feat which Pike had failed to do. After two days of arduous climbing he and two other members of the expedition succeeded in reaching the summit. There they found a pristine world—raw,

bold, grand. It is not difficult to imagine their exultation as they stood on the windswept summit and surveyed the panorama. The weather was calm and clear; the air was crisp, with little hint of the summer day which lay below them. For half an hour they gazed at the scene: mountains, plains, and rivers formed a natural map at their feet.

So far as history records, this twenty-three year old doctor was the first man to have stood upon the summit of Pikes Peak. In honor of the accomplishment, Major Long named the mountain James Peak. James Peak proved to be nothing more than a transient name. By the end of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the name Pike had not only triumphed over James, but had established itself securely against any future rivals.

The first stage in the development of the name Pikes Peak begins with those harbingers of civilization, the trappers, who boldly struck out into the unknown, making the entire West their hunting ground. Although trappers played a memorable part in the development of the West, they were, unfortunately, a most inarticulate group. Contemporary personal accounts are far from numerous, and those which do exist are often filled with inaccuracies and exaggeration. It is, therefore, encouraging when one finds a contemporary account of this early period which combines reliability and clarity with pertinence. Such an account in the history of Pikes Peak is the *Journal* of Jacob Fowler. Fowler was the second in command of a private trading and trapping expedition which traveled to the upper reaches of the Arkansas river in 1821-1822. The "grand Peek," the "Highest Peak," "High Peek," and the "grand Peak" were the names which Fowler used for Pikes Peak. The spelling was Fowler's, but the names were obviously Pike's. These names, together with several accurate, detailed references to the Pike journey, invite the rather safe assumption that a copy of Pike's *Journal* and map were included in the company's gear, and that, furthermore, they were frequently consulted.

It is also probable that Pike's activities in the Pikes Peak region were known to many of the other trappers during this early period. It is almost certain, for example, that Chouteau and DeMunn, living as they did in St. Louis, the emporium of the West and the point of departure for the Pike expedition, would have been familiar with the Pike story when they engaged in trapping and trading activities in the Pikes Peak region in 1815-1817.

Thus, positive associations between Pike and the Peak were being kept alive and strengthened in the very vicinity of Pikes Peak, before the name James had ever been introduced.

Whether these associations were instrumental in the growth of the name Pikes Peak cannot be determined, with any certainty,

from the evidence now available. But it is apparent that they represent one of the two most likely origins for it, the other being the United States Army. Dodge, Fremont and Abert, all army men, used the name Pikes Peak, ignoring James Peak completely during a period when both names, James and Pike, were being applied to the Peak. The explanation of their preference may not be hard to find: Pike was a military hero. His death in the Battle of York, following his active participation in the winning of that first land victory of the War of 1812 had made him a hero over night. It is certainly to be expected that the name of Zebulon Pike would be remembered and honored by the military men more quickly than that of Edwin James, a civilian.

Whether the name Pikes Peak stems from one or a combination of these two sources, soldiers and trappers, cannot be determined. But whatever the source, it was a short step, and a natural one, to go from "the peak that Pike describes, saw, etc." to "Pike's Peak." The first time that the name Pikes Peak appeared in print was in 1835, in the writings of an army officer, Colonel Henry Dodge. Dodge traveled through the Pikes Peak region during the course of an expedition designed to deal with the Indian nations and to bolster the national defense through the acquisition of additional information about the southwest border region.

The entry for July 27, 1835, reads:

> "Marched 18 miles in a direction S. 25° E. The country more level, the valley of greater width. Arrived at the main valley of the Fontaine que Bouille, which is five or six miles wide; extends in a direction nearly perpendicular to the general direction of the mountains, and gradually widens as you recede from them. It is terminated on the right by a high broken range that has an irregular and nodulated appearance, projecting up to a considerable distance in the back ground. Pike's peak was in full view, its snow clad summit towering up to a immense height. . . ."

Pikes Peak appears three more times in Dodge's account and, in addition, is found on his map.

Did Dodge coin the name Pikes Peak, as well as commit it to writing? Or had he heard it in use among the traders and trappers whom he encountered near the mountains? It is possible that he first heard it used by his guide, Captain Gantt, an Indian trader who conducted the dragoons on this sixteen hundred mile trip? Unless new evidence is discovered, the answer lies buried with these men.

That the name Pikes Peak was as yet not universally accepted is illustrated by the writings of Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a young lawyer who was chosen captain of a small group of travelers bound for Oregon in 1839. If a person could be found who

knew nothing about Pikes Peak, and if he were sent out from the ruins that mark the site of Bent's Fort with instructions to make his way westward with nothing to guide him but copies of Farnham's *Travels* and Dodge's *Journal,* he would surely be thrown into confusion. Although both of these works describe the mountain terrain in present central and southern Colorado, the place-names they use for its two most prominent landmarks, Pikes Peak and the Spanish Peaks, bear no resemblance to one another. Not only does Farnham use the name James for the mountain which Dodge in 1835 called Pikes Peak, but to add to the confusion, he applies the name Pikes Peak to the Spanish Peaks!

It would be both interesting and valuable to know from whom Farnham adopted the use of this set of names. But here again, it is possible only to suggest explanations. For example, did Farnham's choice of names possibly reflect the popular usage at Bent's Fort? Was Farnham merely a confused man who recorded his confusion, thereby bewildering later generations? Or, as seems more likely, did Farnham merely use the names that his guide Kelly used as he conducted them through his old hunting grounds, all the while showing them places of interest and telling them of his adventures there? Even if it could be proved that Farnham obtained these place-names from Kelly, one would not be much closer to a solution of the mystery, for it would still not be known whether the names reeled off by Kelly were in general use locally, or were merely the private designations of an independent-minded, or possibly even misinformed, trapper. Thus, there appears to be no exit labeled "proof" from this labyrinth of place-names.

In that same year, 1839, E. Willard Smith, while on a fur trading expedition, recorded the mountain in his diary as "Pike's Peak."

On a visit to St. Vrain's Fort during an exploratory expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, John C. Fremont made passing reference to "Pike's peak," thereby continuing the preference shown that name by Dodge seven years earlier. The following year, Fremont made a second trip into the West, this time entering the Pikes Peak region. Additional references to "Pike's peak" can be found in the accounts of this second western trip. Pikes Peak as seen for a fleeting moment through a break in the rain-filled clouds, Pikes Peak as a study in black and white, Pikes Peak, luminous and grand with a covering of freshly fallen snow —all this is recorded by Fremont. The story of Fremont's travels enjoyed great popularity. The references he made to "Pike's peak" undoubtedly had considerable effect upon the final triumph of that name over James Peak.

Rufus B. Sage traveled through the Pikes Peak region several times during the years 1842-1843. He too uses the name Pikes Peak, as did Lieutenant J. W. Abert of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who visited the region of the upper Arkansas in 1845.

The two years immediately following Abert's visit were momentous ones in the history of the West. Eighteen hundred forty-six saw war with Mexico, with its accompanying influx of soldiers, and 1847 saw the spectacular Mormon migration to Utah. These years were filled with names and events which added a colorful chapter to American History—Kearny, Doniphan, Santa Fe, Monterey, Kit Carson, Brigham Young, Mormon Battalion, Fremont. The West pulsated with life, and hardly had all this furor abated when, in 1848, gold was discovered at Sutter's mill in California. Thereupon, the West was filled with even greater activity. The Pikes Peak region, containing as it did important routes to both California and Santa Fe, shared in this activity. The significance of this period in the development of the name Pikes Peak is obvious: many more people than formerly were being introduced to Pikes Peak, people from all over the United States. The name for the mountain, which they would carry with them, would be spread broadcast. The name which they were hearing most often, as evidenced by the accounts cited above, was Pikes Peak. If these extant records present an accurate picture of the situation, it becomes apparent that the name James was well on its way to obscurity.

A further example of this fact is found in Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains.* George F. Ruxton was a British Army officer and adventurer who spent several months in the Pikes Peak region in 1847. He used the name James Peak just once, and that time only to indicate that James and Pike referred to the same mountain. In contrast, the name Pikes Peak appears numerous times.

The trend, then, all through the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century was apparently toward the use of Pike, but the incident which irrevocably fixed the name Pikes Peak, if indeed, it had by that time not already become fixed, was the Pikes Peak gold rush of 1859. The genesis of this movement was the discovery of gold on Cherry Creek and the South Platte river the previous year by a group of prospectors known as the Cherokee-Russell party, led by William Green Russell.

As news of the gold discovery on Cherry Creek became known in the States, the gold fever began to spread. The news caused a relapse among many former Forty-niners, proving that the gold fever had not been lying dead within them but merely dormant.

Also, many others contracted the malady for the first time. Soon this gold fever had reached epidemic proportions in many parts of the nation, particularly in the western states. A migration across the plains began which rivaled that to California a decade earlier.

Where was it that all these people were going, in order to find this precious gold? Banners on many of the wagons proclaimed the destination: it was "Pike's Peak or Bust." Other names were used in referring to the gold regions, of course: Cherry Creek, western Kansas territory, South Platte. But these names, which may appear to the present generation to be as good or better than Pikes Peak, did not enjoy the popularity which that name did. There are several reasons for this preference. Foremost among them is that by 1859 Pikes Peak was already the best known landmark of the region. To many people, it represented the extent of their knowledge of that land at the end of the plains. It is only to be expected that they would use it. How many people, for example, had ever heard of Cherry Creek, or had an idea of where it was? In addition to having meaning to people, the name Pikes Peak was short and alliteratively appealing. As a result, it became the most popular name for the new gold producing region. Moreover, for a short time, it became a symbol of hope and good fortune for a large group of Americans.

Guidebooks to aid the traveler to the Pikes Peak country were rushed to press. One after another they appeared, two of them as early as December, 1858. A few of these guidebooks were written by qualified individuals, but most of them were the product of persons having no personal knowledge of the gold mines. Through these books, many prospective gold seekers read about Pikes Peak and the land of opportunity.

In newspaper articles, especially, did the name Pikes Peak appear. The gold rush was big news in 1859, and there quickly arose a flood of stories about it. Letters, interviews and speeches about it were printed and reprinted in the nation's press. Pikes Peak became a household word.

Then, suddenly, the rush was over. The gold fever was just as quick in abating as it had been in spreading. In 1860, the first Federal census of that part of Kansas that was to be absorbed into Colorado revealed only 34,277 inhabitants, a mere fraction of the number that had set out for the land of gold the preceding year. Except for a few, the new El Dorado had failed to materialize. Disillusionment was apparent on the faces of those making the long trek back to their homes and relatives. The name Pikes Peak was still being heard. But now it was in connection with such phrases as "Pikes Peak humbug," or in the expressive couplet dedicated to two of the guidebook authors:

"Hang Byers and D. C. Oakes
For starting this damned Pike's Peak hoax."

The participants who busted were not going to forget the gold rush of 1859. Nor would the nation forget the name "Pikes Peak." America's most famous mountain was at last assured of its name.

When Was Bent's Fort Built?

LeRoy R. Hafen

Bent's Fort, the large adobe structure which was the most famous fur trade post of the Southwest, was erected on the north bank of the Arkansas about ten miles northeast of present La Junta, Colorado. It was located on the Northwest Quarter of Section 23, Township 23 South, Range 54 West.[1]

Many conflicting statements have been made as to the date of founding of this adobe post, and also regarding one or more stockades said to have been constructed in the region prior to the erection of the adobe fort.

The most extensive history of the post was written by George B. Grinnell and was published as "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders," in 1923. Much interesting information on the fort and its denizens was assembled in this publication, but on the matter of the date of founding, no thorough research was pursued and questionable secondary accounts were accepted.

Grinnell says the Bents probably came to the upper Arkansas region in 1824, and bases the idea on a supposed statement of William Bent. "Testifying before the joint committee of congress which inquired into Indian affairs in the plains in 1865," writes Grinnell, "William Bent stated that he first came to the upper Arkansas in 1824, and that he had made that region his home ever since."[2]

Bent made no such statement. He said that he had lived in the region thirty-six years, which would date him back to 1829, not 1824.[3] William Bent, born in 1809, was but fifteen years old in 1824. And his first years as a trader were spent on the upper Missouri, where he learned the Sioux language and was given the

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[1]Description in the deed transferring the fort site to the State Historical Society of Colorado.

[2]George B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and its Builders," in the *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-22* (Topeka, 1923), 2.

[3]Bent's statement of 1865 reads: "Having been living near the mouth of the Purgatoire on the Arkansas river in Colorado Territory for the last thirty-six years, and during all that time have resided near or at what is known as Bent's Old Fort, I have had considerable experience in Indian affairs from my long residence in the country." *Report of the Joint Special Committee appointed under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865, with an Appendix* (Washington, 1867), 93.

name of Little White Man by the Sioux, as stated by Grinnell (Bent's Old Fort, p. 2).

Grinnell goes on to say: "This date, 1824, for the first expedition of the Bents and St. Vrain is probably correct, although it has been generally assumed that the journey was made in 1826, and that the first stockade, above Pueblo, was built this same year. Coues, in a footnote in 'Jacob Fowler,' states that this first stockade was built in 1826 on the north bank of the Arkansas, about half way between the site of the present city of Pueblo and the mountains."[4] This introduces a string of statements, each copied from an earlier and unreliable secondary source. Grinnell copies from Coues (1898),[5] Coues from Inman (1897),[6] Inman from Hall (1889),[7] and Hall from Bowman (1881).[8] There are slight variations in the successive renderings, but in essentials they are the same.

C. W. Bowman, who wrote the "History of Bent County" in the Baskin *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, was a Las Animas newspaper man who came to the region in 1873. Bowman wrote (p. 827): "The firm of trappers known as Bent, St. Vrain and Company, consisting of Charles Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, and Robert, George, and William, brothers of Charles Bent, came to the site of Bent's Fort in 1826, from the Upper Missouri or Sioux country, whither they had gone from St. Louis in the service of the American Fur Company. They at once constructed a picket fort, containing several rooms as a place of defense and headquarters preparatory to opening trade with the Indians." Charles and William Bent, as will be shown later in this article, did not come to the region until 1829; and George and Robert Bent were but twelve and ten years old respectively, in 1826.[9] Also, the Bent and St. Vrain partnership was not formed until 1831 or 1832 (see later in this article). So this Bowman assertion cannot be true. Bowman continues: "Two years later [in 1828], they commenced at the same place a large adobe fort which was finished in 1832." This also is an unverified statement, which Grinnell (p. 4) accepts and repeats.

To bolster the above chain of writers who speak of the construction of a wooden stockade in 1826, Grinnell says: "George Bent [son of William Bent] states that there were two stockades, the first built above Pueblo about 1826, the second near the mouth

[4]Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 2.
[5]Elliott Coues (Ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, etc. (New York, 1898),47.
[6]Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1897), 389-92.
[7]Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado*, etc. (Chicago, 1889), 163-66.
[8]C. W. Bowman, "History of Bent County" in the Baskin *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago, 1881), 827-29.
[9]The Bent Family Bible gives the dates of birth as follows: George Bent, April 13, 1814; Robert Bent, February 23, 1816.

of the Purgatoire about 1828. This second stockade is perhaps the one the Bents and St. Vrain used while they were building Bent's Fort." But this George Bent, half-breed son of William Bent, was not born until 1843, lived among his Cheyenne relatives in Oklahoma most of his life, and his dates are unreliable. For example, Grinnell writes (p. 2): "He [George Bent] said that his father, William Bent, stated that he was in the Sioux country about 1816, but the date is clearly wrong, as Wlliam Bent was born in 1809 and was only seven in 1816."

Grinnell refers to Porcupine Bull, oldest man among the Southern Cheyennes at the time of his death in 1913, as saying that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes moved south from the Platte River in about 1826. "This old man asserted that the Bents and the Cheyennes first met at the mouth of the Purgatoire River," continues Grinnell. "This was soon after the Cheyennes began to move south of the Platte, probably in 1828. The Bents were encamped at the mouth of the Purgatoire, or had a stockade there" (p. 4). Porcupine Bull said that at this meeting Yellow Wolf made friends with the Bents and "suggested that the Bents and St. Vrain build a post near the mouth of the Purgatoire, and said that if they would do this he would bring his band and others there to trade." Grinnell adds a footnote (p. 4): "I have had the story in detail from Porcupine Bull's own lips, and George Bent has repeated it in letters to George E. Hyde. Porcupine Bull insists that George and Robert Bent were with their elder brothers at this time, and says that at this meeting Yellow Wolf gave names to the Bents and St. Vrain. To Charles Bent he gave the name of White Hat; William Bent he called Little White Man; George Bent was named Little Beaver; and Robert Bent, Blue (or Green) Bird. Ceran St. Vrain was named Black Beard." The old Indian's insistent assertion that young George and Robert Bent were there is evidence that the meeting took place at a later date than suggested by Grinnell, for George and Robert were but young boys in 1828 and were not on the upper Arkansas so early.

These supposed stockades have jumped around a bit, if we believe the various writers. According to Bowman (Baskin, p. 827), Bent, St. Vrain and Company built a picket fort, in 1826, and it was at the site of the later adobe Bent's Fort. Frank Hall has the company build their stockade in 1826 on the north bank of the Arkansas midway between present Pueblo and Canon City and maintain it for two years. Inman, following Hall, has the stockade erected in 1826, and locates it between Pueblo and Canon City. Coues copies Hall and Inman, locating a stockade above Pueblo in 1826. George Bent, in an article in *The Great Southwest* magazine of December, 1906, listed the places on the Arkansas

successively occupied by his father (William Bent). He did not mention a post of 1826, but started with a "stockade built in 1828 on the north bank of the Arkansas, seventy-two miles above the mouth of Purgatoire creek." This would be some miles *below* Pueblo (and possibly refers to Gantt's Post, mentioned later).

Now comes Grinnell supposedly quoting George Bent that "There were two stockades, the first built above Pueblo about 1826, the second near the mouth of the Purgatoire about 1828" (p. 2). Then he adds still another, at the site of the adobe fort, and occupied while the adobe Bent's Fort was being constructed (p. 6).

The foregoing statements regarding the supposed presence of the Bent brothers and Ceran St. Vrain and of their reputed stockade on the upper Arkansas during the years 1824 to 1828 are almost certainly not true; and the continual repetition of an error does not make it a fact.

Let us now leave the Indian stories and the unsubstantiated secondary accounts that have been repeated so often and see what we can learn from authentic records. First, regarding the whereabouts, prior to 1833, of the founders of Bent's Fort.

Of the founders and early owners of Bent's Fort the first one to come into the Southwest was Ceran St. Vrain. He was the second son of Jacques Marcellin Ceran de Hault de Lassus de St. Vrain and Marie Felicite Dubreuil St. Vrain, and was born at Spanish Lake in what is now St. Louis County, presumably on May 5, 1802.[10]

Among the first to engage in the overland traffic from Missouri to New Mexico, he set out in the fall of 1823. A long and difficult winter journey of five months brought him to Taos in March. In writing on April 24, 1824, to Bernard Pratte, who probably outfitted him, he reported: "it is now 37 days Since we arived and we have Sold but verry fue goods & goods is at a verry redused price at present. I am in hopes when the hunters comes in from there hunt that I will Sell out to Provoe & Leclere, if I doe not succeed to Sel out to them and othere hunters, my intenshion is to buy up goo[d] Articles that will Sout [suit] the market of Sonora to purchess mulls; but I Shall first doe all I can to mak arrangement with Provoe & Leclere to furnish them with goods. Should I Succeed thare is no doubt but it will [be] a verry profitable business. . . ."[11]

Whether or not St. Vrain went to Sonora has not been determined, but in February, 1825, he was in Taos and there outfitted

[10][Paul A. St. Vrain] *Genealogy of the Family of De Lassus and St. Vrain* [1944], 18, 22. R. P. Bieber (Ed.), *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847* (Glendale, 1931), 61, says he was born in 1798.

[11] St. Vrain's letter, printed in [Dale L. Morgan], *Provo, Pioneer Mormon City* (Portland, Ore., 1942), 24-25.

Thomas L. (later "Pegleg") Smith and nine other men to trap in the San Juan and Colorado river country.[12]

Apparently Ceran returned to Missouri for a supply of goods, for he is reported as setting out in May, 1826, with a wagon train bound for New Mexico.[13] Some time after his arrival at his destination St. Vrain received, on August 29, 1826, from Antonio Narbona, Governor of New Mexico, a passport for himself and thirty-six men to go to the state of Sonora for trade. The Governor's subsequent letter indicates that there were about a hundred men in the Sonora-bound company.[14] This venture to the Arizona country, which involved a number of the famous furtraders of the Southwest, does not primarily concern us here.

In the fall of 1827, Ceran St. Vrain left Taos with a trapping party headed by Sylvester S. Pratte. While trapping in "Park Kyack,"[15] Pratte died and St. Vrain, who had been serving as clerk, assumed command of the company. They visited the Green River country and finally returned to Taos about the 23rd of May, 1828, with about one thousand beaver skins.[16] St. Vrain was involved during 1828-29 in the settlement of the S. S. Pratte estate.[17] He was in partnership with Paul Baillio in 1828, as is indicated in St. Vrain's letter to Messrs. B. Pratte and Company (reporting the death of S. S. Pratte and dated September 28, 1828) wherein he requests that the balance in his favor of $522.26 be paid to his partner Baillio.

A passport to Chihuahua and Sonora was issued to St. Vrain on September 30, 1828.[18] If he followed through with a trading expedition to those areas, no further record regarding the venture has been found.

[12]"Sketches from the Life of Peg-leg Smith," in *Hutchings' California Magazine* (October, 1860, to March, 1861), 319.

[13]Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1897), 406. Inman says that Kit Carson was in the company, but in this he is evidently mistaken.

[14]The original Spanish documents are reported and cited by T. M. Marshall in "St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826," in H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York, 1917), 429-38.

[15]For some time the identity of "Park Kyack" has been a puzzle. In a letter of John Wilson, Indian Agent at Fort Bridger, August 22, 1849, we found a reference to North Park as "Decayague, or Buffalo Bull Pen."—*House Doc.* 17, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 185. Major S. H. Long was told in 1820 that North Park was known as the Buffalo Bull Pen.

[16]St. Vrain's letter to Messrs. B. Pratte and Company reporting the death of S. S. Pratte, and dated on the back, September 28, 1828, and the statement of the men who accompanied St. Vrain after Pratte's death, and signed September 1, 1829. Both documents are in the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis; photostats in possession of the writer. These documents do not say what caused Pratte's death, but Pegleg Smith (*Hutching's California Magazine*, 420) says it was the result of hydrophobia caused some time before by the bite of a lap dog that was not known to be rabid. It was but ten days after Pratte's death that Smith's leg was broken by an Indian arrow, which led to the amputation of the leg and to Smith's becoming known as "Pegleg." At the time of the arrow shot, Ceran St. Vrain was standing beside Smith.

[17]See the two undated papers giving accounts, notes, list of men and amounts due each, all pertaining to the Pratte estate. These apparently accompanied St. Vrain's letter of September 28, *op. cit.*, and are found in the Missouri Historical Society collections. The amount listed as due C. St. Vrain was $1910.02-½.

[18]Ritch Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino.

St. Vrain must have returned to Missouri in 1829, for the next spring he was captain of a large train that traveled the Santa Fe Trail and reached Santa Fe on August 4, 1830.[19] In reporting his trip and business he wrote to B. Pratte and Company on September 14, 1830, that he expected to return to Missouri by March following. He sent the letter by Andrew Carson (brother of Kit), whom he hired to take one wagon, eleven mules, and six hundred and fifty-three beaver skins back to Missouri to be sold by Pratte for St. Vrain's account.

The first step in the formation of a partnership between Ceran St. Vrain and Charles Bent is reported by the former in his letter from Santa Fe of January 6, 1831:

"I had maid all the necessary arrangements to Start home by the 1st of this month, and Should have Started had not Mr. Chs. Bent proposed to me an arrangement which I think will be to our mutual advantage, the arrangement is this, I have bought of Mr. Chs. Bent the half of his goods, for which I have paid him Cash. I am to remain here to sell the goods, and Mr. Bent goes to St. Louis for to bring to this Country goods for him and my Self. I remit you by Mr. Charles Bent Six hundred Dollars which you will please place to my credit. I am anxious to [k]now the result of the Beaver I Send last fall, and would be glad you would write me by the first opportunity and let me now what amount I am owing your hous. if you have not Sold the mules I Send last and Mr. Bent Should want them doe me the favor to let Mr. Bent have them."[20]

Charles Bent went back to Missouri and in late August, 1831, left St. Louis for Santa Fe with a train of goods.[21]

The first documents we have found evidencing the actual or legal existence of the partnership of the two men are the two notes signed at Santa Fe on September 1, 1832. The first reads: "One month after date we promise to pay James and Robert Aull or order Eight hundred and forty two dollars and sixteen cents for value received which amount I promise to pay immediately on my arrival at St. Louis.—Bent & St. Vrain."

The second note is for a like amount and is similar to the first except that it was due in ten months.[22]

[19]St. Vrain's letter of September 14, 1830, written at Taos and addressed to Messrs. B. Pratte and Company. Original in the Pierre Chouteau Collection of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. See also Mrs. F. H. Day's sketch of Ziba Branch in *The Hesperian*, III, 337 (October, 1859). Branch, who left New Mexico for California with the Wolfskill party in the fall of 1830, came to Santa Fe with St. Vrain's party of that year.

[20]Letter to Messrs. B. Pratte and Company, in the Missouri Historical Society collections.

[21]From a letter of Thomas Forsyth to the Secretary of War, dated at St. Louis October 24, 1831, and printed in *Sen. Doc.* 90, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 77. Forsyth says that Bent had thirty or forty men in his party and was using oxen to pull the wagons.

[22]These notes were found among the papers of James Aull at the Commercial Bank of Lexington, Missouri, by Elmer R. Burkey in 1936, while working for the State Historical Society of Colorado. These notes are referred to and part of the letters are quoted in R. P. Bieber, "Letters of James and Robert Aull," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, V, 278-80.

Now let us trace the activities of Charles and William Bent to 1833. Charles was born November 11, 1799, and William on May 23, 1809.[23] So Charles was nearly ten years older than William. Charles and William early engaged in the fur trade on the upper Missouri River with the Sioux, as early as 1823, according to Allen H. Bent.[24] George B. Grinnell reports George Bent, son of William, as saying that his father went among the Sioux while but a boy, and Grinnell adds: "Wm. Bent could speak the Sioux language fluently, and it is said that in these early years the Sioux gave him the name of Wa-si-cha-chis'la, meaning Little White Man, a name that confirms the statement that he entered the trade on the upper Missouri while still a growing boy."[25] Charles Bent was appointed an Indian Sub Agent for the Ioways in April, 1827.[26]

We have found no reliable evidence that either Charles or William engaged in trade over the Santa Fe Trail and in the upper Arkansas River region before 1829. Charles Bent, while Governor of New Mexico, in a proclamation to the people of Santa Fe on January 8, 1847, said: "In the year 1829 I came for the first time to this country."[27] William Bent, testifying before the Joint Special Committee of Congress investigating the condition of the Indian tribes, in 1865 said: "Having been living near the mouth of the Purgatoire on the Arkansas river in Colorado Territory for the last thirty-six years, and during all that time have resided near or at what is known as Bent's Old Fort, I have had considerable experience in Indian affairs from my long residence in the country."[28]

Although William was not actually at the site of Bent's Fort all this time, as we shall show presently, the statement does indicate that he did not come to the region until 1829.

[23]Record in the Bent family Bible, in possession of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

[24]Allen H. Bent, *The Bent Family in America* (Boston, 1900), 121. The Kennerly diary, kept at Fort Atkinson on the Missouri River, records the arrival of Bent—presumably Charles, although the first name is not given—at that place in a keelboat on May 13, 1824. R. E. Twitchell in *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 234, says Charles Bent graduated from West Point, but we have found no verification of this.

[25]G. B. Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," etc., *op. cit.*, 2.

[26]Letter of William Clark to his son Lewis, St. Louis, April 27, 1827. In 1826 Charles Bent had been recommended as Sub-agent for the Ioways. St. Louis file, Indian Department Archives, Washington.

[27]Proclamation quoted by P. A. F. Walter in "First Civil Governor of New Mexico," in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, VIII, 118.

[28]*Report of the Joint Special Committee, appointed under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865, with an Appendix.* (Washington, 1867), 93. The biographical sketch of William Bent, published in the *Colorado Chieftain* of Pueblo on May 27, 1869, following Bent's death near Las Animas, Colorado, on May 19, says: "Colonel Bent has spent nearly forty years of his eventful life in the Rocky Mountain Region. He had scarcely arrived at the age of manhood before his life of adventure began and from that early period of his life until the present time his home has been in the far West." "Nearly forty years" would bring him to the far West in 1829 or later.

Charles and William Bent were in the Santa Fe Trail caravan of 1829. In fact, Charles was elected Captain of the company.[29] Inasmuch as Major Bennett Riley and his United States troops escorted this trader caravan to the international border, we have adequate accounts of the trip.[30] The route was along the Cimarron cutoff and not by way of the site of Bent's Fort.

William Waldo, who was in the company, has given us some interesting data on both of the Bent brothers. Of the 1829 party he writes: "On the proposal of Dr. David Waldo [brother of the writer], Captain Bent was unanimously elected captain of the company, consisting of about sixty men and thirty-six wagons freighted with goods." After crossing the Arkansas and entering the sandhills the company ran into an ambush of Comanches. "It was owing to Captain Bent's great ability as a military commander," writes Waldo, that one man remained alive. I saw Charles Bent charge alone and check fifty Indians that had killed one man and were in close pursuit of another. It was in this surprise that this heroic act occurred. I can see him now as plainly as I saw him then, mounted on a large black horse, I think bare-headed, with his long black hair floating in the wind; and I as distinctly remember his words of defiance when he made the charge, as though it were but yesterday, although they were spoken more than half a century ago."[31] Waldo also describes William Bent riding a black mule and racing the Comanches at the same fight.[32]

Charles Bent returned to Missouri with the traders in the fall of 1829.[33] He must have gone out from Missouri again with the caravan of 1830, for he was in New Mexico in the fall of that year.[34] In the winter or early spring of 1831 he set out from New Mexico to go to Missouri for trade goods for himself and Ceran St. Vrain. It was August before he had assembled these goods and was ready to leave St. Louis. With a party of thirty or forty men, his wagons pulled by oxen,[35] he headed for the Santa Fe Trail. They traveled

[29]It might be argued that Bent's selection as Captain of the caravan of 1829 would indicate that he had been over the Trail before. But a man of wide experience and acknowledged leadership was sometimes chosen as Captain on his first trip. For example, Jedediah Smith was leader of his company in 1831, although he had never been over the route. There were always other members in a company who had been over the road, and could give necessary geographical information.

[30]For the fullest account of the expedition see Otis E. Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trial, 1829*, etc. (Glendale, California, 1952), which cites the various sources.

[31]William Waldo "Recollections of a Septuagenarian," in Missouri Historical Society's *Glimpses of the Past*, V, 73.

[32]*Ibid.*, V, 64.

[33]O. E. Young, *op. cit.*, 143, 145; and Waldo, *op. cit.*, 77.

[34]Ceran St. Vrain in his letter of September 14, 1830, *op. cit.*, writes: "I have also lent Mr. Charles Bent one wagon which you will please receive." Subsequently, and before January 6, 1831, St. Vrain bought half of Charles Bent's goods and formed a partnership with him (St. Vrain's letter of January 6, 1831, cited above).

[35]Report of Thomas Forsyth, printed in *Sen. Doc.* 90, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 77.

the Cimarron route, were caught in November snows, and lost some of their oxen by freezing.[36]

Now as to the activities of William Bent. He went to New Mexico in his brother Charles' caravan of 1829, presumably returned to Missouri that fall and came out again to New Mexico with Charles in the spring of 1830. Of this round trip to Missouri we are not positive, but he was in Santa Fe in August, 1830, and on the 25th of that month with a small party set out on an extended trapping expedition to the Gila River country of Arizona. He was still on the Gila in December, 1830.[37] According to extant records, he returned to Missouri in the fall of 1832.[38]

General H. M. Chittenden, in his chronology of the traffic over the Santa Fe Trail, says that Charles Bent led the principal spring caravan from Missouri in 1832 and returned in November of that year.[39] We have seen no contemporary record of Charles Bent leading a west-bound company from Missouri in the spring of 1832. In view of the snowstorm difficulties of his late fall trip of 1831, to New Mexico, and from italicized portion of the statement that follows this sentence, it appears probable that he did not return to Missouri until the fall of 1832.[40] The *Upper Missouri Advertiser* reported in the fall of 1832: "Captain Bent and Company have just returned from Santa Fe. The amount of property in coin, gold and silver bullion, mules, furs, etc., is very considerable, although few have returned rich. *What this company has may be considered as the avails of nearly two years* [italicized by the present writer] . . . Supposed amount $190,000."[41]

[36]Albert Pike, later famous as a journalist, Masonic figure, and literary personality in the State of Arkansas, accompanied Bent to New Mexico in 1831 and published some of his experiences in his *Arkansas Advocate* in 1835. This "Narrative of a Journey in the Prairie" was later reprinted in *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association*, IV, 66-139. See especially pages 74 and 78-79.

[37]An account of the venture is found in the journal of Robert Isaacs, a member of the party, published in the *Missouri Intelligencer* of October 6, 1832 (copied from the *Missouri Republican*.)

[38]Letterbook of James Aull at the Commercial Bank, Lexington, Missouri. In James Aull's letter from Lexington to Edward Tracy at St. Louis, he writes on November 10, 1832: "I now send you inclosed in this mail [?] three other envelopes, one thousand five hundred dollars U. S. paper ($1,500) and Bent and St. Vrain note of 1st Sept. last for J. and R. Aull for $842.11, payable on W. Bent's arrival at St. Louis." The Bent and St. Vrain note for $842.11, dated at Santa Fe, September 1, 1832, and payable one month after date, is then copied in the book. In Aull's letter of November 3, 1832, he had written: "Captain Bent passed through town yesterday, on his arrival at St. Louis he will pay you $611.18, being amt. owing by him to our establishment in Independence, also $16 cash lent here and the amount of the enclosed acceptance $35, making in all $662.18." In view of the name in the above letter, of November 10, the "Captain" Bent of the November 3 letter is presumed to be William Bent, but it may refer to Charles Bent.

[39]H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (1935 edition), II, 511.

[40]Manuel Alvarez, United States Consul in New Mexico, in writing at Washington, D. C., on February 2, 1842, to Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, told of New Mexico incidents of 1841, and said: "Mr. Charles Bent (of the firm of Bent, St. Vrain and Company, well known in New Mexico as agents for several trading establishments on the Arkansas and Platte rivers), having resided in that country for the past ten years, and most of the time in the Valley of Taos, arrived from Fort William on the Arkansas." Printed in H. H. Dunham, "Sidelights on Santa Fe Traders, 1839-1846," in the 1950 *Brand Book* (Denver, 1951), 272.

[41]Quoted in the *Little Rock Advocate* of December 5, 1832.

Charles Bent captained the big west-bound caravan of 1833. James Aull of Lexington, writing to Santa Fe on May 15, 1833, said: "Captain Bent is taking out a large quantity of goods this year, reports say $40,000."[42] The organization of the trader company and election of Charles Bent as captain took place at Diamond Grove, about 160 miles west of Independence, on June 19, according to the frontier newspapers.[43] Whether this 1833 caravan traveled the Cimarron route or went by way of the Bent's Fort site has not been determined, but in view of his large quantity of goods and the establishment of Bent's Fort in that year (see below), it is reasonable to believe that he traveled by way of the fort on the Arkansas.

The Bent and St. Vrain wagons eastbound from Santa Fe in the Fall of 1834 definitely went by way of Bent's Fort. The *Missouri Republican* of October 14, 1834 reports: "A small company of traders arrived in this city last week from Santa Fe. They left early in August, taking Taos in the route, and thus extending the journey across the Rocky Mountains to the trading posts on the Arkansas river. They met with very few Indians and suffered with no interruption whatever in their progress home. We understand that the regular fall company was to leave Santa Fe about four weeks after their departure. . . .

"The present company brought with them eleven wagons which, with the contents, belong to Messrs. St. Vrain, Bent and Company."

To summarize, Ceran St. Vrain reached New Mexico early in 1824 and his movements, rather well revealed in the records, show no trading activity on the upper Arkansas prior to 1832. Charles and William Bent did not go to New Mexico until 1829. The route of their wagons in that year and in 1831 was along the Cimarron trace, rather than on the later "Mountain Branch" of the Santa Fe Trail by way of the upper Arkansas and the site of Bent's Fort. If their fort had been in existence by 1831 they almost certainly would have taken the route by it, as they did regularly during the years after the fort was established.

There is also an important piece of circumstantial evidence that the fort was not in existence in 1830: The Colonel Bean company of trappers journeyed up the Arkansas River from below Big Timbers to the mountains in 1830 and of the four known independently-written accounts of the journey, each giving considerable detailed information, not one mentions the existence of Bent's Fort or of any other post on the upper Arkansas that year.

[42]Aull letterbooks, *op. cit.*
[43]See the *Missouri Intellingencer*, July 20, 1833; *Niles Register*, August 9, 1833.

That expedition and these writers are to be discussed in a later article.

Now as to the building of the adobe fort. Grinnell says that four years, 1828-32, were consumed in the construction. He gives no authority for this except Cheyenne tradition. He says Mexican laborers were brought up to make and lay the adobes, and this latter was doubtless true. Shortly after construction began, he says, the smallpox broke out, and William Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, and Kit Carson caught it, and were badly marked by the disease. But Grinnell adds, "The marks were evidently temporary, for the portraits of these men do not show any marks on the face."[44] If this early construction was in 1828 or '29 the three men named were not there at all; their known movements place them elsewhere in those years.

The tying of Kit Carson, in the winter of 1830-31, to the supposed building of Bent's Fort at that time, which Grinnell does, is entirely unwarranted. Kit went to California with Ewing Young in the fall of 1829 and did not return to New Mexico until the spring of 1831. Later that year he joined Thomas Fitzpatrick's trapping party, and in the spring of 1832 joined John Gantt's trappers. Carson was on the Arkansas River in the winter of 1832-33, in the employ of Captain Gantt, who that winter built Gantt's Post on the north bank of the river, about six miles below the mouth of Fountain Creek. It was during the winter 1832-33 that Carson and companions had the famous fight with the Crows that Kit describes in his autobiography,[45] and which Grinnell describes as taking place two years earlier and presumably in connection with the building of Bent's Fort.

In the spring of 1833 Carson was in Gantt's Post on the Arkansas.[46] Carson became a very close friend of Ceran St. Vrain and of Charles and William Bent, in fact his first printed biography (by Peters) was dedicated to Colonel St. Vrain. But in his autobiography Carson does not mention any connection with Bent's Fort until he gives up trapping and becomes a hunter at the fort in 1840.[47]

It is entirely possible, and indeed probable, that Grinnell and the other above-mentioned writers who speak of supposed stockades built by Bent and St. Vrain are referring to Gantt's Post, a wooden structure built in 1832;[48] or possibly to the log house and

[44]Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 6.
[45]Edited by M. M. Quaife (Chicago, 1935), 24-28.
[46]*Ibid.*, 29.
[47]*Ibid.*, 62-64.
[48]The fur trade venture of Gantt and Blackwell is well reported by one of their men, Zenas Leonard, in W. F. Wagner (Ed.), *The Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader and Trapper, 1831-1836* (Cleveland, 1904). The license to go through the Indian country, issued by William Clark on May 5, 1831, to Gantt and Blackwell, lists 61 men in the party (Spanish translation of the permit is in the Huntington Library, San Marino). William Clark gave Gantt

horse pen Jacob Fowler built at the mouth of Fountain Creek in January, 1822.[49]

There had been many traders on the upper Arkansas prior to the building of Bent's adobe fort; and a number of Americans and Frenchmen had made their way from the St. Louis region to this area and New Mexico shortly after 1800. R. E. Twitchell's *Spanish Archives of New Mexico* lists many documents referring to these intruders. James Purcell, Baptiste La Lande, Lorenzo Durocher, Santiago Clamorgan and Zebulon Pike are merely the more famous ones of the first decade. Among the more prominent fur trappers on the upper Arkansas between 1810 and 1820 were Ezekiel Williams, Philibert's party, and the large companies of Chouteau and De Mun. So the Bents and St. Vrain were in no sense the pioneers in this region.

Another line of evidence indicating that Bent and St. Vrain were not trading with the Indians of the upper Arkansas before 1833 is found in the record of licenses issued by William Clark to persons engaged in Indian trade.

The record of licenses granted by William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, should reveal data on Bent and St. Vrain's trade on the upper Arkansas, if any such existed prior to 1833. The Abstract of Licenses granted for the years ending in September of 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833, published in the government documents—Serial numbers respectively, 207, 219, 234, and 254—do not list licenses to either Charles or William Bent or to Bent and St. Vrain. The Licenses for 1830 and 1831 do not list locations on the upper Arkansas or Platte as places for trade. The abstracts for 1832 list "Union Point on the Arkansas" as one of the several places at which William Sublette is authorized by his license of April 25, 1832, to trade. For 1833 the only pertinent license is that of "Soublette and Campbell," issued April 15, 1833, and which lists among the places of authorized trade, "a point of woods on the north side of the Arkansas near the foot of the Rocky Mountains."

Among the licenses for 1834, is one of April 2, 1834, to Nathaniel J. Wyeth to trade—among various places listed—"at Union point, on the north side of the Arkansas, near the foot of the Rocky Mountains." Astor, Bonneville and Company, by the license of April 16, 1834, also may trade "at Union point on the north side of the Arkansas," in addition to other named places.

and Blackwell permission to take 180 gallons of whiskey "for use of their boatmen" etc. The permit was dated April 10, 1831, and the period was for three years.—St. Louis Supt. File, Indian Department, National Archives. The company left St. Louis in the spring of 1831, and for at least two years was engaged in trapping and trade in the Rocky Mountain region.

[49]E. Coues (Ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, etc. (New York, 1898), 75-77. This structure may have been destroyed soon thereafter by fire or flood, for we find no subsequent mention of it by name.

Then comes the first positive item that especially concerns us. The list reads: "1834, December 13.[50] To Charles Bent for two years, with 29 men employed, at Fort William, on the north side of the Arkansas, about forty miles east of the Rocky Mountains, about 20 miles north of the Spanish Peaks and about five miles below one of the principal forks of the Arkansas." Also he may trade at "Union Point on the north side of the Arkansas near the foot of the Rocky Mountains." He may trade with the "Arepahoes, Cheyennes, Kiawas, Snakes, Sioux and Arickaras" (Ser. 273, Doc. 97, p. 3). Thereafter the licenses were issued regularly: May 9, 1835, to "Bent and St. Vrain"; November 8, 1836, to "Bent and St. Vrain," at "Fort William," "Big Timbers," on South Platte, twelve miles above the mouth of Cache la Poudre, on "Boiling Fountain Creek," and at "Gantt's Old Fort," for two years, with thirty-eight men; July 26, 1838, to "Bent and St. Vrain" for trade at "Fort William" and approximately the same places as listed in the license of 1836; etc.[51]

It is surprising that despite all the records of trade and travel over the Santa Fe Trail and of accounts of fur trade activity in the West, no contemporary account of the building of Bent's Fort has been found. The present writer has searched for years for such a story, but without success. In 1936 Elmer R. Burkey spent a year working for the State Historical Society of Colorado, searching contemporary newspapers and collections of records in Kansas, Missouri and elsewhere, with instructions to look especially for anything on Bent's Fort and the Santa Fe Trail traffic during the 1820s and '30s. His search for a contemporary account of the founding was fruitless.

The earliest contemporary report found is in the letter of William Laidlaw to Pierre Chouteau Esq., written from Fort Pierre, present South Dakota, on January 10, 1834: ". . . I understand from the Sioux that Charles Bent has built a Fort upon the Arkansas for the purpose of trade with the different bands of Indians, that he may be able to draw about him, and if judiciously carried on cannot fail to be very injurious to the trade in this part of the Country. The Cheyennes have remained in that part of the Country depending I have no doubt on that very establishment and if kept up I have very little doubt but that a great many of the Sioux will follow their example. . ."[52]

[50]At first it looked as if this date might be wrong, as the method of reporting was changed this year, and this item is out of proper sequence. But in the National Archives in Washington we found a William Clark letter of December 15, 1834, which says: "Enclosed herewith a statement showing the necessary particulars of a license for Indian trade, granted by me to Charles Bent on the 13th inst."—St. Louis Superintendency File.

[51]St. Louis Superintendency File, Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington. The abstracts of license for the years 1835-38 inclusive, apparently were not published in the government documents.

[52]Upper Missouri Outfit, Letter Book B, December 20, 1832, to August 25, 1835, in the Chouteau Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

This would indicate that the fort was built the preceding summer, in 1833.

When Colonel Henry Dodge and his First Dragoons came down the Arkansas in the summer of 1835 they mentioned passing the remains of Gantt's Post;[53] and they stopped at Bent's Fort and held a council there with the Indians, but none of the diaries or reports say when the post was founded.[54]

Robert Newell, who took employment with Bent and St. Vrain in the spring of 1836, tells of going to the fort[55] in July, but he does not give the date of the fort's establishment.

Matt Field, prominent journalist of St. Louis and New Orleans, visited the post on his way to New Mexico in 1839 and wrote: "Fort William was founded six years ago by William Bent of St. Louis, after whom it is called."[56]

Thomas J. Farnham who passed Bent's Fort on his way to Oregon in 1839, wrote a long description of the post and said: "Fort William, or Bent's Fort, on the north side of the Arkansas eighty miles north by east from Taos in the Mexican dominions, and about one hundred and sixty miles from the mountains, was erected by gentlemen owners in 1832, for purposes of trade with the Spaniards of Taos, and the Eutah, Cheyenne and Cumanche Indians."[57]

William Waldo, whom we have previously mentioned as being with Charles and William Bent on the trip of 1829 to Santa Fe, wrote: "I believe it was in 1833 that Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain built Fort William, or, as it was subsequently called, Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River."[58]

Frank Triplett, in his *Conquering the Wilderness* (Chicago, 1883), 182, writes: "Bent's Fort, or Fort William, as it was at first known, was situated on the Arkansas, and was the property of St. Vrain and William Bent. It was built in 1833."

As indicated above, contemporary historical sources on the founding of Bent's Fort are almost non-existent, and far from so definitive as we would like. But unless and until some fugitive contemporary record is happily discovered, we shall have to depend on the extant primary sources, and these indicate that Bent's Fort was built in 1833.

[53]The official journal of the expedition, *House Doc.* 181, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 23, records on August 1st: "Captain Gantt [who was guide of the expedition] started this morning for the purpose of collecting the other villages of Arepahoes together; marched four or five miles; passed a deserted trading establishment." Hugh Evans, who kept a journal on the march, wrote: "Aug. 1st. The command marched today about 5 miles passed and old trading establishment formerly occupied by Capt. Gant" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV, 210). Rufus B. Sage, who went down the Arkansas in 1843, writes in his *Rocky Mountain Life*, etc., 303-304, "Some six miles below the mouth of Fontaine qui Bouit are the ruins of an old fort, occupied several years since by one Capt. Grant [Gantt] as a trading post." As late as 1860 a traveling correspondent of the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), reported in his paper that on April 10 of that year he "reached and crossed the Arkansas at Gantt's Fort." John Gantt's interesting career need not be traced here. See A. B. Maloney, "John Gantt, Borderer," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVI, 48-60.

[54]See the official journal of the expedition and Hugh Evan's diary, both cited in the preceding footnote. Captain Lemuel Ford, leader of one of the companies, also kept a journal of the tour. On August 6 he reported reaching "Bent's Fort a trading house on the Arkansas River here we found one of the Bents and a Mr. S[t. Vrain] Traders with a considerable establishment of goods these were the first White men we found living in the Indian country in a march of One thousand Miles. . . [Aug. 7] dined with Mr. Bent Styrain [St. Vrain] called (Saura) [Ceran] where we had a good dinner" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 566-67).

[55]"Memorandum of Robert Newell's Travels in the territory of Missourie," original manuscript in the University of Oregon library, Eugene, Oregon; microfilm copy in possession of the writer.

[56]Printed in the *New Orleans Picayune*, July 12, 1840.

[57]Printed in R. G. Thwaites (Ed.) *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1906), XXVIII, 161. The journals of Sidney Smith and O. Oakly, companions of Farnham, do not give the date of the founding of the fort; nor does the journal of E. W. Smith who also passed the post in 1839 (*Colorado Magazine*, XXVII, 161-88). Farnham's statement as to the date of founding cannot be depended upon, in view of the fact that when he reaches Fort Hall and Fort Boise, present Idaho, he says that each of these was built in 1832. We know positively, from contemporary sources, that both were built in 1834.

To The Bear River Country in 1883

Reminiscences of a Routt County Pioneer

DAVID TAYLOR

[Note by Angus E. Taylor, University of California at Los Angeles, and a son of the author: This article has been prepared from an incomplete manuscript left by my father, who died September 2, 1952. He was born in Prince Edward Island, July 7, 1862, and came to Colorado before he was 20. He came of a large family, and his brothers William, Donald, John, Angus, and Charles also came to Colorado. At the time this narrative begins David and his older brother Donald lived in Golden.

In the process of preparing this article for publication the original manuscript has been very much shortened, and subjected to a certain amount of editing.]

Away back in 1883 three friends became interested in the Bear River country. Our interest sprang partly from the reports of gold discoveries over there, and partly from the attraction of the idea of taking up land in what might be a country of rich opportunity. We three friends were Archie McLachlan, my brother Donald, and myself. Archie lived with his mother and stepfather, Mr. Chantler, on a ranch near Golden. My brother Donald, known as Dan, was a partner in a blacksmithing and wagon-making business in Golden. I was a blacksmith's apprentice in Dan's shop. After much talk, we determined to make the trip across the mountains and seek our fortunes in the new country.

The big item in the preparations was the wagon. It was to be large and strong, for a four horse team, and it had to hold all our needs for the journey and for getting settled at the end of the

[58]Waldo, *op. cit.*, V, 78.

DAVID TAYLOR

trip. Dan and I built it in the shop, and fitted it out with all manner of equipment: chains, rope and a pully block for aid in getting out if we mired down; blacksmith tools, horseshoeing equipment, axes, shovels, tent, grub-box and all the camping accessories. It was a beautiful wagon, resplendent in its new paint and fresh canvas cover.

Archie owned two colts which were barely broken in when we started. Dan had a well-mated, experienced team. We worked hard to get the horses trained, for we knew that they would have a difficult time with the heavy load and the steep, rough, road.

A fourth member was added to our party before we actually started. This was Captain Ralston, who owned the grocery store where we were to lay in our supplies. He caught the fever from hearing us talk about our plans. I soon saw that the Captain would be a jolly good companion, and a sort of balance wheel for the rest of us. He had been a captain in the Federal Army in the Civil War.

One day near the middle of June, 1883, we learned that the road over Berthoud Pass had just been opened by a crew of men shoveling out the snow. Our route was to be over Berthoud, down through Middle Park, over the Gore Range, through Egeria Park, and down the Bear River. In those days the river was called the Bear, instead of the Yampa, as it is known now. We made ready and departed a few days later.

We were heavily loaded. Buckets, coffee pot, nosebags for the horses, hobbles, halters, and tie-ropes were swung at the rear of the wagon. Axe, shovel, pinch-bar, extra chain, heavy rope and block were stowed in a box beneath the side board. A grub box, with everything for cooking and sewing, was securely placed at the back end of the wagon bed. The Captain rode his mare, Dolly, and the rest of us were in the wagon. The young horses were fretful, and we made slow progress; the first night's stop was at a small flat just out of Idaho Springs. During the day a few lighter outfits passed us, headed for the Burn's Hole country, about which rumors of "rich finds" were flying.

It was a thrilling new kind of experience for me, this camping out along the way, and heading into a new, undeveloped country. Here I was, climbing over the great Rocky Mountain chain, of which I had read in school back in Prince Edward Island. What lay beyond? Speculation came only in the moments before falling asleep, for the daytime was filled with work and attention to things at hand.

The next day we passed Empire, and went on to within a couple of miles of the summit. There were snow flurries, but we were prepared for cold. The Captain made a speech when we reached Berthoud Pass early the following morning, and we all gave him a lusty cheer. Then down the other side, where the road was rough and badly washed by melting snow. Our stopping place that night was at Cozzen's Ranch: a collection of low, narrow log cabins, some log stables, and large corrals. Cozzen's was a well known stopping place for travelers into Middle Park. We set up the tent and camped in a pasture of buffalo grass. Here, the next morning, I got thrown in the mud by old Turk, one of Dan's horses. I was riding him, rounding up the other horses, and I flew over his head when he stepped in a bog hole while running full speed. I was a green hand with horses then, and the rest of the party had a good laugh at my muck-plastered appearance. Old Turk pulled a shoe, and we had to heat and straighten it before nailing it back on.

We took a little over two days from Cozzen's Ranch to Hot Sulphur Springs. The road was bad. As I recall, there were a few toll gates along the way, but the toll collectors had done a poor job of everything except collecting the toll. We passed some ranches where branding was going on. This was new to me, and I remember that I thought the branding of calves a cruel practice. Another day took us from Hot Sulphur Springs to the Troublesome River. The road through this region was almost nonexistent, but there was a kind of beaten path made by the herds of cattle which had been driven along the route. We laid over a day at the Trouble-

some, since it was Sunday, and we thought we might do some hunting and fishing. But we had no luck.

Some ten miles beyond was the Muddy, a stream almost at flood stage, with steep banks and a treacherous bottom. After some preliminary survey of the situation we attempted the crossing. The colts were on the wheel at this time; the leaders went steadily enough into the current, but when the colts felt the cold water they pulled back. Soon there was a confused situation, and one of the colts plunged so that he got a front foot over the tongue and threw himself. The current pulled him under and in a second the other colt was also down. Dan quickly waded in, secured by a long rope, unhooked the leaders, and tried to free the colts. But they were drowned, and to save the wagon we had to cut the harness free. The fine span of geldings drifted with the current and grounded on a sandbar some two hundred yards downsteam. Here was a terrible blow. Archie was overcome at the loss of his team, and our whole trip was threatened with complete disaster for the wagon was itself in danger of being swept away. The Captain rode several miles down the Muddy to a place called the Hermitage Ranch, and came back with two men and a big team of Percherons. They pulled the wagon out safely, and then we were all invited to the ranch for dinner. I can't recall the ranchman's name; he showed us unforgettable hospitality and kindness. We had to lighten our load now that we had lost the two colts, so we left a lot of tools, flour, sugar and other things in care of this friend until we could someday return for it all. We salvaged the harness from the dead horses, and got slowly under way the next day.

There was a place known as the Crazy Man's Cabin, built right at the foot of the Gore Range. We passed it about noon one day, and just there we met an outfit coming toward us. They had been prospecting at Carbonate, in the Burns' Hole country, but they hadn't found anything. They were just about out of grub, so we gave them a few things to last them until they could reach a ranch.

Crossing the Gore Range was a hard job. We had to use the block and tackle to haul the wagon up several steep pitches, and at the top, where there was a great boggy flat, we built a corduroy road by cutting small trees and laying the trimmed trunks crossways and close together. So, in a couple of days, we got across past Black Tail Hill, Rock Creek, to Oak Creek, and on to Egeria, where we first crossed the upper waters of the Bear (Yampa). The country there was most beautiful. There were large tracts of natural meadow grass, and the undulating hills were decked with a great variety of wildflowers. We met several of the settlers in this locality: the Birds, the Wilsons, and others.

A few miles below the Buttes we turned left on a dim road which was said to be a cut-off through the Oak Hills and Twenty Mile Park. We laid over a day in this region, and I shot my first deer, a yearling buck. I used Archie's 45-70 hammerless Sharp's rifle. We had plenty of work to do getting through the Oak Hills—block and tackle on a few steep places, and lots of pick and shovel work to level the road enough to get the wagon along without tipping over. So, past Trout Creek, Fish Creek, Lone Spring, and Sarvis Spring, to the edge of the Bear River valley not far from Hayden.

On our maps Hayden was the county seat of Routt County, so naturally we were expecting a place of importance. We meandered along through the sage brush until we reached some ranch buildings which proved to be a substantial part of Hayden. Here we saw two negro families, the Buckners and Davises, and we were greeted by Ezekiel Shelton, who owned the ranch. At his invitation, we camped right there on the afternoon of July 3, 1883. Our journey thus far had taken nearly three weeks.

Shortly after our arrival at the Shelton ranch another outfit drove up. This party of three, the Ranney brothers (Alvor and Frank) and Al Ryan, had come originally from Michigan. They outfitted in Denver and were headed for Washington Territory, but as it turned out they stayed in Colorado.

Mr. Shelton and his son Byron had come out from Ohio the year before. Only a few weeks before our arrival Mrs. Shelton had come to join her husband and son. Mr. Shelton was a surveyor, and he had found plenty of work to keep him busy.

The Hayden Post Office was at the Reid ranch, a mile away, and there was a saloon at the Walker ranch. These ranches and Shelton's were all there was of Hayden.

The next day was the Glorious Fourth. There were some pony races, and a futile effort was made to organize a baseball game. There was a dance at Walker's in the evening, with ice cream, cake, and a midnight lunch.

We went on down to Yampa on the 5th and 6th. Yampa was just a post office in the house of a man named J. H. Cheney, who had a homestead a mile east of Fortification Creek. The Ranney and Ryan party camped with us. Here we began to consider our prospects—where to settle and how to provide for the future.

In those days the government had a mail line from Rawlins, Wyoming, to the Grand River country. Mail was carried by stagecoach, distributing at Baggs, Lay, Bear River Bridge, and Meeker. From Lay the mail was brought to the up-river points, Yampa, Hayden, Steamboat Springs and Hahn's Peak, mostly by buckboard or on pack horses, and sometimes on snowshoe.

One day the mail carrier—it was John Adair, I think—told us that "Uncle Sam" Reid wanted a man to work putting up hay at his ranch. I "hitched" a ride up to Hayden and took the job. Mr. Reid had a good many cattle, and to feed them he leased several hay ranches in addition to keeping his own ranch. His wife was postmistress and kept a small store. The haying job lasted about six weeks, during which time I got acquainted with the people and their customs in this country new to me. The principal amusement was dancing, admission to the dance was secured by buying a number for $1.00. This also provided supper for a couple. Since space on the floor was limited, the floor manager would call the couples in turn: first quadrille, numbers 1-8, the next square dance, numbers 9-16, etc. For the round dances no numbers were called. If a fellow wished to take a girl for a ride on Sunday, it was always on horseback. Some of the girls owned side-saddles, but the use of side-saddles was giving way to the use of regular cowboy saddles.

When I went back to join the boys at Yampa, they were getting ready to lay out some claims. Dan and Archie and I decided to locate in the sage brush valley west of Fortification Creek. The Captain selected a place ten or twelve miles farther down the river, in a small round valley including some bottom land. We sent for Mr. Shelton to survey and stake out the claims. Dan and Archie and I each took a preemption of 160 acres. It was impossible to get the three tracts of uniform quality in soil and location, so we drew stakes to make the allotment amongst us. These claims were a mile or so west of the eventual site of the town of Craig, and between the river and the present road west out of Craig. We soon had our filing papers on record at the U. S. Land Office in Central City. That was the nearest Land Office then; a few years later another such office was established at Glenwood Springs.

As I remember it now there were only two settlers actually located around there when we came, namely John Mack and Curtis Rose. W. H. Rose had been in the year before and had selected a homestead, but he had not established a residence. Consequently there was a slight conflict between him and one of our group, which was settled by a compromise. That year many settlers came from other states and other parts of Colorado. Across the river about a dozen families took land, among them Lewis and Lem Breeze, Clarke Tilton, J. L. Tower and W. W. Wayman. F. M. Haughey and family arrived about the same time.

There was much work to be done. We cut and put up about five or six tons of wild grass. It was no easy job, with all the sagebrush and greasewood to contend with, but we got enough to pull the stock through the first winter.

We three partners, the two Ranneys, and Al Ryan, got a job which helped to buy grub and supplies for the winter. Mr. Shelton had to do some assessment work on some oil claims about twelve miles above Hayden and back in the hills. We were hired to make some roads back into the timber and build some cabins. There were also bridges and culverts to be constructed. We camped on the job and lived on deer meat, potatoes, bread, coffee, and dried fruit. As far as I know, this was the first assessment work ever done on oil placer claims in Routt County. The names of the owners, as I recall were Wells, Smith and Mackey, all of Denver.

While on this job I was taken with a fever, "mountain fever" it was called, and mighty hot it raged for several days. "Uncle Tom" Blamey, who had a ranch down by the river, prescribed a cure. "We 'ave a medicine 'ere what cures heverything," he said, "We just take the tender leaves of the sagebrush, steep them a few hours, and drink the tea. It does the business; bitter as quinine, and that ain't 'alf the truth." With this prescription, and a big drink of warm water to which salt and mustard had been added, I somehow improved. I will always remember the kindness of the Blameys during this very unpleasant illness of mine. I liked to hear Mr. Blamey's stories of the mining days around Central City, Blackhawk and Georgetown. He had been a hard rock miner in the boom days, and could tell many fine tales of the boisterous life in the mining camps. Mrs. Blamey, goodhearted soul, often fed me cookies and jam when I went to get buttermilk and eggs for our camp.

Just before we left this job, Ryan shot an elk, a two-year-old bull. It was the first elk any of us had ever seen. We dressed the carcass and packed the best part of it back to Fortification Creek with us, leaving a large chunk with Mr. Shelton.

Our next task was to get some cabins built on our claims. We had to hustle, for it was then the latter part of September, and we had to reckon on the possibility of early storms. We cut cottonwood logs and poles and got a lot of heavy hauling done first. Then Dan took the wagon and went "to the road" at Rawlins to get supplies and grub for the winter. Rawlins was the nearest place on a railroad; it was 110 miles away over extremely bad roads. Archie and I worked on the first cabin while Dan was gone. It was on Archie's preemption. We used the logs without peeling off the bark. The roof was made of split poles with a layer of hay, and then earth shovelled on top of that. We had only a dirt floor because we couldn't get any satsifactory board flooring at the time. The nearest sawmill was at Steamboat Springs, and that was a long, rough trip. We also built a log stable for the horses. Both structures were daubed and chinked with clay to keep out the cold air.

Dan brought back strap hinges for our home-made door. He also brought a window—the only one in that first cabin. After Archie's cabin was ready, and we had moved into it, we went on to build cabins for Dan and me, one each on our separate preemptions. Mine was of hewed logs, with a fireplace at one end and a door at the other. I made a rustic bedstead of cottonwood and scrub cedar, with wild hay for a mattress. The stones for the fireplace were quarried up toward Cedar Mountain. When I built my first fire I thought I was going to be blown up or shot, for some of the rock exploded when it got hot.

We didn't get a well dug before the first winter, so we had to haul water from the river, about a half mile away. Toward spring our venison supply gave out, but we shot some antelope. We made a start on the clearing and fencing of the land, but it was not an easy matter, and a number of years went by before we solved all the fencing problem and got the land put to maximum use.

About the only amusement in the winter was at the dances. The Ranney brothers usually furnished the music with violin and bass viol. Sometimes we loaded all the available dancers in a couple of sleighs and drove up to Hayden for a fine party. Mr. Parker and Mr. Kohler at Hayden also played the violin, and we had music that was more than fiddle-scraping when they and the Ranneys got together.

In the first approach of spring, when the "honk-honk" of the wild geese echoed through the cottonwoods, when the breaking up of the ice could be heard and the warm sunshine brought streams of muddy water from the gulches to swell the river and clear out the ice, when such roads as there were became all but impassable in slush and mud, there was little that could be done. It was the worst time of the year, but we knew it would not be long 'till the snow would all be gone, the frost would be out of the ground, and the earth would begin to dry. Then the song of the meadowlark, robin, bluebird, then the spring flowers and soon the green grass.

As soon as the road was dry enough we fitted up for another trip to Rawlins, for barbed wire and other supplies. This time Archie made the trip and Dan and I kept busy digging post holes, grubbing sagebrush, and doing some blacksmithing. We used both cedar and cottonwood for posts. The cottonwood posts were cut nine or ten feet long, because we had been warned that they would rot out after a few years in the ground. When they did, we merely re-set the posts and re-stapled the wire in a new position.

The first fully fenced area was a 40 acre piece of Archie's which had some natural meadow on it with good grass. We had to save that from the roaming cattle. We also had trouble with range

horses, especially when our own horses got with them, for then we had a devil of a time catching them.

Even with fences in we had trouble keeping the gates closed, for there was no established public road. The road that was actually used was just a trail which wound along without regard for newly laid out property lines. Travellers went through our gates, but seldom closed them. There was a route surveyed for a county road along the township line, but the road had never been opened. Finally, by concerted agreement among the settlers, we managed to put in enough work to make the new road passable, and thus the problem was solved.

As it became known that we had blacksmithing tools we were called on to do various jobs of wagon repairing, horseshoeing, and so on. It was a good way to earn some money, and we put up a small blacksmith shop, the first in that country. Among other jobs, Dan and I built some light sleighs for the Adair brothers, who had the mail contract from Lay to Steamboat Springs. Coal was a problem, for although there were many outcroppings of coal along the river and in what later came to be known as the Little Bear country, none of this coal was suitable for blacksmithing. We made a pit of charcoal from several loads of scrub cedar, and that lasted awhile. Several years later we found a vein of very satisfactory coal, a hard bituminous variety, down the river canyon below the mouth of Williams Fork. We hauled our coal supplies from this vein in the winter, because we could not get to it with the team except across the ice when the river was frozen. It was a rather dangerous business. We usually got the coal out in January, with sleds. We had to test the ice carefully, for it was soft in places from springs in the channel. We broke through several times over a period of years, and once we lost a horse.

The next few years saw many new settlers coming in. In 1884 the Brotherton family came, and about the same time—perhaps in 1885—came David J. Davis, Thomas Humphrey and Matt Johnston with their families. About that time, at a meeting which was held in Matt Johnston's cabin, School District No. 4 was organized with Mr. Johnston as president and this writer as secretary. The first school was held in Frank Ranney's log cabin, and Captain L. H. Ralston was the teacher. A few years later the first school house for District 4 was built on land owned by A. M. Ranney, near the present site of the town of Craig. It was built by a number of settlers who volunteered their services, out of cottonwood logs hewn from trees donated by Martin Weisbeck. I think the first teacher to teach in this primitive school house was Miss Rosella Johnson, but my memory is dim on many of the events of that far off time. The school was used for a number of years for occasional

church services and for Sunday School. Services were sometimes held when a traveling preacher happened to be in the vicinity. There was always a good crowd for such preachings. At that time there was no church organization. The Sunday School flourished, however, and it was attended by people of all ages.

As the population increased we developed a variety of pastimes. A literary society was formed, and we had readings, declamations, and spirited debates.

In the course of time the cottonwood log cabins with their dirt floors and roofs gave way to a better grade of houses, built of sawed logs of pine or spruce, and with shingled roofs and matched flooring. Getting a sawmill started took a lot of effort, and the machinery had to be hauled overland from the railroad. All kinds of problems were discussed in meetings with our neighbors. One of the biggest jobs, which took years of hard work, was the construction of ditches to irrigate the land.

[Note by Angus E. Taylor: My father's manuscript was left incomplete at this point. He began writing it about 1932 and worked at it sporadically; the last of it was written about 1946. Memories of his early experiences in Colorado never failed to stir his enthusiasm, and though he eventually moved to Boulder and later to California, he never forgot the pleasures and satisfactions derived from his years in the Bear River country, where he spent 32 years of hard work, adventure and achievement. He served two terms as County Commissioner of Routt County before the county was divided. He married Betty Ellis at Craig in 1895, reared a family, and finally moved away from Craig in 1915.]

Pioneer Hotels of Larimer County

JESSIE L. CLARK*

Some of the early hotels discussed here were in Walden, present Jackson County, the others were in Fort Collins.

I learned much of the history of these hotels from Henry Alphonso Mosman, now residing at the Lincoln Hotel in Loveland. He was called the "Daddy" of North Park, and was born to Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Mosman, August 2, 1865, in Vineland, New Jersey. There were five sons and three daughters in the family. Mr. Mosman early received the nickname of "Fon," and that is the name that I have always known him by since I was a young girl.

His parents and all of the children, except Fon, came to Fort Collins in 1881. Fon had a job in the East, but joined the family

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THE SNYDER HOUSE, WALDEN
A Fourth of July Crowd in North Park

here a few years later. The father and his sons had a mercantile store in the Mosman block on Linden Street, Fort Collins, later moving into my father's building on East Mountain Avenue. In reading one of my father's ledgers I found where Will Mosman, brother of Fon, paid $40 a month for the rent of the store room. That was in 1890, when rents were low.

One of the first hotels which Fon ran was the Tedman House on Jefferson Street, from 1889 to 1893. Then he, his wife and three of his brothers, Jim, Will and Eugene ("Gene") moved to Walden, North Park, then part of Larimer County. There Fon built the first hotel in Walden and called it the Mosman House. The four brothers owned the first general mercantile store in Walden. Later Jim had the first creamery and cheese factory. In fact the four brothers practically ran the town, then a wild frontier place. They were also active in politics there.

The first hotel was built of logs, covered with siding. It had two large front porches, one on each story. There were thirty-five rooms and as they used kerosene and acetylene lamps, there was a fire seven months later and the building was burned down. Undaunted, the men started another hotel on the same site. The only difference was that the second one had sixteen rooms. This hotel was later known as the Snyder House and the Chedsley House. Others beside the Mosmans who ran this hotel were Charles Snyder and Mrs. Elizabeth Gresham. She was the mother-in-law of Ray Mosman of the second generation. Mr. Mosman told me that he

kept the North Park stage running, as his help came on the stage and returned to civilization as soon as they had enough money for the trip back. The town was too wild for most of them.

Fon Mosman married Miss Eva Pickens, April 3, 1889, and they had three children, Eloise (now Mrs. Arthur Collamer of Fort Collins), Ben Mosman and Mrs. Margie Churchill, both of Stockton, California. Mr. Mosman married Miss Christine Fink of Masonville in 1922 and she lives with him in Loveland.

Now I'll tell you some of the things that Mr. Mosman told me of the early days in Walden. There were only ten women there when the Mosman brothers arrived. When the first church was built it was stolen one night, and later the town folks chipped in and built another, the Methodist. The presiding elder of the church died before the second church was finished and dedicated. Later it was used as a Catholic church. In recent years the Catholics built a lovely new church. Walden also has a Community church. "The first three teachers nearly lost their minds," said Fon, "and had to frighten the children with pick handles, as many of them were larger than their instructors." There was a typhoid epidemic and the general store ran out of coffins. Frank and Arthur Collamer ran the stage line and in those days the stage cut across Tie Siding to the Baldwin ranch, not through Laramie, Wyoming, as it did later.

Mr. Mosman remembers when a group of cowboys got drunk and shot out a lot of the windows and got a barrel of beer and proceeded to duck a number of I.O.O.F. members in their lodge paraphernalia, and even the minister in the barrel. Walden's first cemetery was started when a team ran away and threw a woman and child out of a wagon, killing them both. Ike Green gave some land for a burial plot. Once some of the Mosman boys went fishing in the creek and a three pound trout pulled Miller Mosman into the stream. He climbed out and the boys took the fish to the saloon to show the men. That was the beginning of trout fishing on Michigan Creek. The second Mosman House burned down in 1936 and the Gresham hotel is now the largest pioneer hotel in Walden.

First Fort Collins Hotel. The first hotel in Fort Collins is now known as the Pioneer Cabin, located at 215 South Mason Street, and is used by the Pioneer organizations for their meetings and dances. According to Ansel Watrous in his *History of Larimer County*, this cabin was built in 1864 by Judge Lewis Stone to be used as a mess hall for the officers then located at Camp Collins, later named Fort Collins. It was built in the 300 block on Jefferson Street, facing north. After Mr. Stone died, his widow, known historically as "Aunty Stone," fed the officers until they left the camp and then in the words of Mr. Watrous "Aunty Stone threw

the mess hall open to the public as a hotel." Mrs. Stone sold the cabin to Marcus Coon in 1873 and he moved it to the back of the Agricultural Hotel—to be discussed presently—to be used as a kitchen and laundry. O. C. Peck, grandfather of Mrs. Mary Ballman of Fort Collins, then built the Peck's Rooming House on the site where the cabin had been. I'll mention this hotel later.

After the Agricultural Hotel was moved the Pioneer Cabin was made into a home for Mr. and Mrs. James F. Vandewark, who were the daughter and son-in-law of Mr. D. M. Harris. The cabin was covered with siding, painted white and had a white picket fence around it. Here Floyd and Edith Vandewark were born. In 1909 the newly organized Pioneer organizations bought the cabin and moved it to the present location.

The *Blake House* was built in 1870 by George G. Blake, who served as one of the town's early trustees for several terms. Mr. and Mrs. Blake's daughter, Louella, married Joseph A. Mason, prominent pioneer, in 1870 and after his death she married Judge L. R. Rhoades. She was active in social, church and political affairs and was a frequent visitor at our home. Harry Conly was proprietor of the hotel in 1871. It was in the 200 block of Jefferson Street and faced south. It too had the traditional two front porches and was a large frame building. Across the street was the old Grout Building, which Mr. Mason and Major Asaph Allen built in 1865. Col. Joseph Albert Mason, greatgrandson of Joe Mason, resides in Amarillo, Texas. He is also the great grandson of the Blakes. The Blake House was one of the hotels which was torn down to make way for the Union Pacific.

Agricultural Hotel. Another early hotel was the Agricultural Hotel, built in 1873 by Marcus Coon at the corner of West Mountain Avenue and Mason Street. This was a large frame hotel. D. M. Harris purchased this hotel in 1877 and changed the name to the Commercial Hotel. He later moved it to the corner of Walnut Street and North College Avenue. It too had the large front porches. After Mr. Harris became ill and went to California, and while he was there, Mr. Howard (who was the son of Ash Howard) and his wife, daughter of Russell Fisk, took charge of the hotel. Mr. Harris died in September, 1904, and a group of Fort Collins men bought the hotel and built the Northern hotel on the corner.

Blain Hotel. A small hotel, called the Blain Hotel, was built on Pine Street by Isaac B. Harris, who came to Fort Collins in 1880. I find no other information about this hotel.

Cottage House. Another pioneer hotel which had to give way to the Union Pacific was the Cottage House, also on Jefferson street. It was built before 1868, as Mrs. Jessie Loomis McKibben told me that her father stayed there that year when he first came

to Fort Collins. His name was James Cullin Loomis. Before that time John Tingle ran the hotel. Sam Clammer told me that he stayed there on his first visit to Fort Collins, 1891, and at that time Frank Campbell and his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Rich, were running the hotel and had made a lot of improvements. It too had the two porches which extended to the street. It was a large frame house and even into the 1900s it was a very popular place. Many of the students who came to A&M College in those days stayed at the hotel until they found a permanent location for the school year. Some one told me that part of this hotel was moved to 402 Edwards Street to form part of a home. Mr. Loomis was elected a mayor of Fort Collins.

The *Poudre Valley Hotel* was located in what was first known as the Yount Block. This block was on Linden and Jefferson streets. It was built by Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Yount, who had their bank on the northwest corner. That was in 1873. I have an idea that there were offices on the second floor and stores on the first until 1896, when Joseph W. Mefford leased the upstairs and part of the first floor and started the Poudre Valley Hotel. The office, dining room, parlor and kitchen were on the first floor and the bedrooms on the second, twenty of them. Mrs. Anna E. Durand, a daughter of the Meffords, and her brother, Lines W. Mefford, both live in Fort Collins, she just a block from me, and she told me that the work at those early hotels was appalling. They had large heating stoves on the first floors and two on the second floor. Of course most of the bedroom doors in those days had transoms above them for ventilation and circulation of heat. Each room contained a wash stand holding a washbowl and pitcher of water. These had to be cleaned and filled each day and wood and coal had to be hauled up stairs for the stoves. There were very large washings and ironings.

After Mr. Mefford sold the hotel to his brother-in-law, L. P. Wasson, the latter ran it for a year. I do not know who ran it between that time and 1921, when Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Schureman bought the block from A. W. Horn. Sometime in the interval Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Mosman owned the building and it was known as the Mosman Block. The Schuremans had stores they rented on the first floor, also their apartments, and the upstairs was a rooming house. Eight years ago Mrs. Schureman, now over 90, sold the block to Clayton Watkins and E. L. Pennington. They have part of it rented and the north end of the block is used for an automobile sales, service and parts garage.

Antlers Hotel. In 1902 the Rev. Father Joseph LaJeuness built the Antlers Hotel in the block just south of the above mentioned building. He was the priest of St. Joseph's Catholic Church

THE OLD STONE HOTEL, FORT COLLINS

for a number of years. The hotel at 224 Linden Street is now owned by Mrs. Minnie Wicks, who told me that there was a porch on the front of this brick hotel when she purchased it. There are 38 rooms in the hotel.

Peck's Rooming House. Another hotel built in 1873 was Peck's Rooming House, which was to go under many other names until it was torn down when the Clayton-Pennington transaction took place. The same alley, with one opening, was used for both this hotel and the Horn Block. O. C. Peck built the stone hotel, which had walls three feet thick and in the back the brick walls were reenforced with steel rods. There were three stories, 26 rooms and two bath rooms. The rooms were small and the stairs narrow. A double porch met the street in the front. This was the hotel which was built on the site of the first hotel in Fort Collins. Some of the names that the hotel boasted were City Hotel, Collins House, Old Stone Hotel and the Blue Hotel. This last was after some one painted the stone front a slate blue. Mr. and Mrs. Peck, who were the grandparents of Mrs. Mary Ballman of Fort Collins, sold the hotel when Mrs. Peck's health failed and Mr. Kalfus and Thomas Lee Moore operated it for nine years and their son, Frank W. Moore, retired assistant cashier of the First National Bank, was born there September 17, 1877. It was during this period that my father, J. A. C. Kissock, roomed there before he was married. The

next proprietor was Mrs. Elizabeth Rogers. This was around 1887. Then Mr. and Mrs. R. Q. Tenney took over in 1895. The owner then was Charles Mantz, who deeded the building to Mrs. Mantz, who lives in Denver. She sold it to Mrs. May Barkley Schureman, daughter-in-law of the Schuremans.

The *Linden Hotel* was and is on the upper floor of the Poudre Valley Bank Block, corner of Linden and Walnut streets. This block was built in 1878 and the Poudre Valley Bank moved into it from their original place farther north on Linden Street. The bank was in the southeast corner and my father, A. A. Edwards, and J. T. Budrow had their abstract, loan and insurance office on the southwest corner. The office for the hotel was between the two. Mrs. Beals, who lives in Denver, formerly in Fort Collins, told me that she and her husband, Bard Beals, bought the hotel from Harry Nightingale and she thought before that a Mrs. Davidson ran the place. The Beals sold the hotel equipment to D. D. Hallen. Others to manage the hotel were Mrs. Della Miller, Robert Edwards, R. Q. Tenney, and J. A. Froids. Roy Liggett, now of Denver, clerked for the Beals. The present owner is Warren Miller. There are 95 rooms in the present hotel. Mrs. Beals said that when they had it they had a door cut into what I remember as Loomis Hall and often she dried her stretched lace curtains in that room and at one time it was used for the overflow guests as a banquet hall. The third floor was used as sample rooms for the salesmen who stopped there.

The *Tedmon House* was built of brick and stone by Boliver Seward Tedmon, better known as "Bob," in 1879 and completed in the early part of 1880. It was the largest and nicest hotel north of Denver at that time, had 84 rooms, three stories high, and faced south on the corner of Jefferson and Linden streets. Mr. and Mrs. Tedmon ran the hotel for a year, then sold it to George S. Brown. Fon Mosman operated the hotel from 1889 to 1903. He told me that Mrs. Virgil Heumesser was in charge of the laundry, which was located in a log building back of the hotel. Her son, George, was the clerk in the store. Mrs. Heumesser's son, Edward, lives in Fort Collins. I remember the many Sunday dinners that our family ate in the hotel, which was lavishly furnished, and I also remember the plain white bone china, round and oval, which was used then in all of the hotels. There were side dishes for the vegetables and desserts. Some of the other proprietors were George M. Brown, Charles Ramer, Nellie Harris and at the time the building was torn down for the Union Pacific railroads and depot, H. M. Sholine was in charge of the hotel. The Tedmon family went to New York after they sold the hotel but returned to Fort Collins to make their home here until they died, she at the age of 86 and he 88. They were my next door neighbors at that time. It was in 1904 that they returned to Fort Collins to put their sons, Allyn H. Tedmon, and Boliver Seward, Jr., in college here. Both are graduates of A&M. A daughter, Miss Anna, died shortly after her parents.

The Northern Hotel. A group of energetic men bought the Commercial Hotel, tore most of it down and erected the large Northern Hotel at the corner of Walnut and North College Avenue. It was a three storied brick, with a balcony over the front entrance. The men who built this large hotel in 1904 were Sam Clammer, still active in real estate at the age of 80, and a former mayor of Fort Collins; C. R. Welch and F. C. Avery, both former presidents of the First National Bank; George W. Bailey, attorney; and Dr. P. J. McHugh, who also served as mayor, as did James F. Vandewark, whom I mentioned earlier. A few years ago when Barry Cahill purchased the building he remodeled and added another story to the hotel. The first man to operate the Northern Hotel was Howard Dailey, who was followed by D. D. Hallem. The present owners of the hotel equipment are Mr. and Mrs. Ace Gillett, who came to Fort Collins from Fort Morgan. Preceding them were Mr. and Mrs. John Sutton.

The hotel has 105 rooms, a mezzanine floor, large banquet room, dining room, office, coffee shop, reception room, and up-to-date kitchen. The original porch was removed when the fourth story was added. Mr. and Mrs. Gillett have many friends and own a beautiful ultra modern home.

The *Home Restaurant* and rooming house was built in the late 1880s on the corner of Remington and East Mountain Avenue, where the *Coloradoan* newspaper is now located. My memories of this little restaurant and boarding house goes back to the early 1900s, but it was not a new building at that time. Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Buck were the first proprietors whom I remember. They sold the place to Mrs. Andrew Price, after the death of her husband. She and a Mrs. Martin ran it for several years, then Mrs. Price married a Mr. Abel and they bought out Mrs. Martin. The Abels conducted the business for four years. Mrs. A. L. Breniman, daughter of Mrs. Price, remembers that they kept two cows in the back yard to supply milk and cream for the restaurant. This building was torn down to make place for the Lyric Theater and the Colonial Hall building. The large hall was converted into apartments a number of years ago. The present buildings were erected about forty years ago.

I've tried to cover the early pioneer hotels in Fort Collins and Walden and without the help of my many pioneer friends and the *History of Larimer County,* by Ansel Watrous, I could not have done it and to all of them my sincere thanks.

P.S. After writing this article I had the pleasure of going to Steamboat Springs and stopped in Walden to see Mrs. George Bailey, whose mother, Mrs. A. L. Gresham, was a pioneer hotel woman in Walden. When she died in 1951 she left the Gresham (largest hotel in Walden) to her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Quinn, and the hotel annex to Mrs. Bailey. The annex is called the Gresham Apartments. Both of these buildings are on the main street of Walden. Mrs. Bailey is a member of the State Historical Society and has contributed articles to the magazine.

The Denver Record Stockman, Defender of Colorado Cattlemen

JOHN C. PINE*

Throughout the history of the West a paramount economic factor has been the cattle industry. This industry and its representatives fought for years to hew from the mountains, plains, and prairies an organized agrarian society—a democratic society based upon law and order. By the end of the nineteenth century, the era of the cattle barons and organized rustlers had evolved into one of organizational discontent. These years were characterized by a gradual development of law and order on both a state and national level. During the period of the first two decades of the twentieth century, Colorado was considered by many to be the pivotal point of the cattle industry, and Denver, the cattle capital of the West. It is significant that the publishers and owners of a daily Denver newspaper should dedicate their paper to the support of the Denver livestock market, the State of Colorado, and the cattlemen in the West. The selected material for the following article was derived from an intensive examination of news articles and editorials found in the *Record Stockman*, 1897 to 1918.[1]

In December of 1897, the *Daily Denver Stockman* stated that, ". . . the interest of the stockmen in the West in general and Denver live stock market in particular will in the future be the principle excuse for the continued existence of the paper." The publishers believed in the future of the livestock interests of this area and believed that a lively daily newspaper would be of assistance to ". . . publish reliable and accurate reports of the market . . . to keep the producer and consumer . . . posted on the conditions surrounding the industry (and) . . . will endeavor to merit the

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[1]The *Record Stockman* was published as the *Colorado Price Current and Live Stock Journal* until 1897; as the *Daily Denver Stockman* until 1900; and as the *Denver Record Stockman* until 1917, at which time the paper was named the *Record Stockman* as it is today. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations are from these newspapers.

support of everyone connected with the live stock interest of the Western country. . .". The paper was consulted by thousands of stockmen throughout the Rocky Mountain territory and included the states of Colorado and Wyoming; parts of Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Utah, Idaho, and Montana. With the change in the western cattle industry from the large individual owner to the small owner, the Denver market and Colorado became increasingly important. The publishers believed that by acquainting the stockmen with the Denver market they would be ". . . doing the industry and votaries a service which will eventually be appreciated." It was estimated that eighty per cent of all lands in Colorado could only be utilized for grazing, and the encouragement of the growing of livestock was considered an excellent business investment for the state.

The *Record Stockman* as an established livestock newspaper merited the support of the various organizations within the livestock industry. Upon the organization of the National Live Stock Association in 1898, the executive committee stated:

> In order that the members of this association may think and act upon lines that are at least parallel . . . the association should have a live stock newspaper which it could control and through which the widely scattered members of the association could keep constantly in close touch. . . . The offer of the *Daily Denver Stockman* was accepted . . . and the paper is appointed the official organ of the association.

It was an honor which the newspaper retained for a number of years. Since 1903, the State Board of Stock Inspection has designated the *Record Stockman* as its official publication. The Board authorized the publication of advertisements for estrays, new, recorded and transferred brands, all official information, the Denver market, and all other livestock markets. During World War I the *Record Stockman* was designated by the United States Department of Labor as a Farm Labor agency, ". . . for the purpose of assisting farmers and stockmen in securing help and for the purpose of securing employment on farms and ranches for those qualified to accept such employment." Not only was the publication active in its support of the various organizations, but the editor-publisher, Fred P. Johnson, for many years served as secretary of the Colorado Cattle and Horse Growers Association, as assistant secretary of the National Live Stock Association, as secretary of the Cattle Grower's Inter State Executive Committee, and as secretary of the Denver Live Stock Exchange.

In 1898, two thousand delegates met in Denver to form a permanent national livestock organization which would unite the stockmen in restrengthening the industry, in activating the members politically, and for the exchanging of information. Delegates to the organizational meeting of the National Live Stock Associa-

tion of the United States of America were selected from each state and territory, each range association, each dairyman's association, livestock sanitary boards, boards of agriculture, agricultural colleges, livestock commission exchanges, stock yard companies, and chambers of commerce. For all practical purposes the legislative program and discussion topics during the conventions of 1898 and 1899 set the pattern for succeeding annual conventions.

Among the important issues sponsored by the association were the recommendations that: the state legislators adopt a uniform bounty law for the extermination of predatory wild animals and prairie dogs; the public lands be leased by the states for grazing purposes with necessary safeguards to prevent the monopolizing of such lands by syndicates or individuals; a uniform brand law be adopted; a law be passed prohibiting the importation of any live stock. Discussion topics included the relationship of the shipper to the railroad and the stockyards, the present and the future of the live stock industry, methods of control of contagious diseases, the humane treatment of livestock, and the encouragement of the livestock industry in the West. Cattlemen, fearing domination by wool and swine interests, withdrew from the national organization, forming the American Stock Growers Association in 1905. After some months of wrangling and bickering over various organizational objectives, the livestock men again reorganized, forming the American National Live Stock Association. The association was furnished permanent headquarters in Denver by the Chamber of Commerce, thus allowing the editors and reporters of the newspaper to keep in close contact with organizational actions.

> The association is a good thing and should be pushed along, for the business of raising stock is an honorable one and no class of citizens contribute more to the wealth and happiness of the nation. The stockmen are entitled to all the protection that a government can give and through the association they can show their strength.

The Colorado Cattle and Horse Growers Association had functioned as a political organization determined to better the conditions of the Colorado live stock industry and to make the industry profitable. At the state convention of 1901, there were an estimated two thousand delegates. They were men who had been building up the industry and were in the business for a livelihood. At the meeting there were probably not more than thirty stockmen who could muster one thousand head of cattle. There were many with herds of from five to six hundred and far more with fifty to one hundred head. In general, the objectives of the conventions were to organize methods and take steps for legislative action. The Colorado cattlemen agitated for the codification of the state stock laws; favored a law authorizing such reciprocity treaties

with foreign countries as would open their markets to United States beef; and demanded the collection and publication of agricultural statistics of Colorado under the direction of the state board of agriculture. The organization demanded the enactment of an effective railroad commission and rate law and of a law requiring all members of the state board of agriculture to be principally engaged in agriculture. They endorsed the Great Western Livestock Show of Denver; urged that the state adopt more adequate laws against infectious diseases; favored a bill to regulate use, registration and inspection of brands; and favored a law providing for a bounty on predatory animals. The members of the association pledged to lay aside party politics and to support for public office those men who were known to be of unapproachable integrity and honesty, and who favored the interests of the livestock growers. Time and time again, the editors of the paper enumerated the benefits accruing from membership and active participation in the state organization.

The *Denver Record Stockman* appealed to the stockmen to get out and vote for men whom they knew would support the livestock interests, and who were not of the politician type. This denunciation of the politicians grew out of the state legislative sessions at the turn of the century, when little attention was paid to livestock interests. Many measures were introduced, printed and placed on the calendar but they were passed over. The editors called for the stockmen to, ". . . jump into the breach and deluge the assembly with petitions for the passage of these measures." Colorado stockmen incurred the displeasure of the politicians by insisting that they wanted more business and less politics in the administration of the laws that affected the industry. The cattlemen resented paying fees for work never performed and for the corrupt and inefficient practices of the stock inspectors and the veterinarian board. In 1901, headlines in the paper blazed, "The Legislature Gives the Stock Bills the Double Cross and Laughs at Protests." The legislature had adjourned without passing the measures recommended by the stockmen.

The resolution passed by the Lincoln County Cattle Growers was typical of that passed by cattle organizations in the counties of Gunnison, Yuma, Arapahoe, Bent, and Otero, and was commended by the publishers. Lincoln County cattlemen resolved, ". . . that those members of the Thirteenth General Assembly who refused to support the measures asked for by the stockmen of Colorado are opposed to the interests of the stockmen and should be regarded as enemies of the industry, men not to be trusted in public office." The year 1903 saw a reversal of conditions, and the establishment of a trend toward legislation favoring livestock in-

terests. Many of the new laws were prepared by the associations or by legal advisors of the stockmen, and the organizations were justly proud of their work. The *Record Stockman* justified its existence in the unwavering support of the principles and objectives of the livestock associations. Ceaseless and enthusiastic support of the national association won for the *Record Stockman* the reputation of a dependable and responsible newspaper throughout the Trans-Mississippi West. The effective presentation of available statistics and conditions of the livestock industry gained for the paper the unwavering support of the Colorado cattlemen and various organizations.

The early years of Colorado territory and of the state saw the passage of legislation primarily based upon the old "cow customs." These laws were applicable to the open range and only a relatively few cattlemen were involved. Smaller ranch units depending upon agricultural diversification and graded stock, and a general increase in the population, necessitated a revision of the state statutes governing the livestock industry. Among the more important statutes to be revised were those pertaining to the State Board of Stock Inspection, the estray law, the humane society, the brand laws, cattle thievery, and the inspection of cattle.

One of the first battles to be fought was political corruption, which the stockmen felt had crept into the state legislature. The stockmen wanted politics eliminated from that part of the government which administered the laws relating to their industry. The State Board of Stock Inspectors was the chief governmental agency in the protection and regulation of the livestock industry. This board inspected livestock for transit disease and in addition, the estray laws, the brand laws, and the humane laws came within its jurisdiction. In 1899, the administration was accused of packing the State Board with mere political appointees, who were nothing but a farce. "With politics as the basis of appointment rather than ability, the result has been that some inspectors . . . do not know a brand when they see it." Two years later the legislature provided for a State Board of Inspection Commissioners who would be selected from actual men in the industry. In addition the bill provided for the appointment of inspectors and veterinarians for the control of sanitary and quarantine regulations, created controls for brands and estrays, and specified penalties for violations of the bill's provisions. A new inspection law, a new estray law, and a new brand law were passed in 1903, giving the Colorado range stockmen more police protection than any other range state. Repeatedly, the editors of the *Record Stockman* warned against the granting of political plums to the State Board, for as

long as qualified stockmen were chosen, everything would be satisfactory.

An estray was legally defined as an animal whose owner was unknown or an animal that had strayed fifty miles from its home range. A person who took up such an animal must notify the State Board of Stock Inspection, who in turn took possession of the animal or animals. The board then advertised the estray in the official state livestock paper, *Denver Record Stockman*, and if it was not claimed in ten days, the animal was sold and the money held for a period of three years for the owner, at which time it reverted to the board funds. The law was later changed to allow persons other than the state board to retain estray animals. Provisions were made that the impounder of an estray animal must post two notices, must send description and notice of sale to the official live stock paper, and if the animal was branded, notice must be given to the Secretary of State. If the animal was not claimed in seven days, it might be sold, the cost of advertising and feed deducted from the sale price and the remainder was to be returned to the owner. As the legal newspaper of the State Board of Stock Commissioners for the State of Colorado, the *Record Stockman* stated that if a stockman re-possessed an estray through the classified columns of the newspaper, the resulting value would be equivalent to a life-time subscription.

Under the laws of the state no stock brand was legal evidence of ownership unless it was recorded in the office of the Secretary of State. There were many stockmen running cattle with brands that were not recorded. "A recorded brand is prima facie evidence of ownership. In using an unrecorded brand owners assume the risk of branding their stock with the lawfully recorded stockbrand of others." One of the editorial campaigns of the *Denver Record Stockman* was for more efficiency in the filing of recorded brands, and for prompt registration of brands. In 1898, Colorado was suffering from an overstock of unused brands. Over twenty-three thousand brands were recorded, but not over one-third were in actual use. It was proposed that there be an annual assessment for active registered brands, which would eliminate recorded but unused brands. The following year, a tax of fifty cents per annum for two years, and a one dollar filing fee was assessed for every brand. The revenue went into a fund for the payment of bounties on wolf, coyote, and mountain lion scalps. There were numerous pleas to the livestock industry for the owners to record their brands, as it meant increased protection for the whole industry. As the official organ of the State Board of Stock Inspection, the *Record Stockman* agitated for the removal of the registered brands from the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State to the State Board of

Stock Commissioners. The reason was that the stockmen had practically been barred from free access to the records, because the Secretary of State had been inefficient in recording the brands, and wished to increase the price of recording. Later a bill passed the state legislature transferring the brand records from the office of the Secretary of State to the inspection board.

If there is one thing a Western state or territory was jealous about it was the reputation of its livestock for health. False reports about contagious diseases among stock made all the stockmen in the area "get up and prance." In order to protect cattle from the spreading of disease, the State Stock Inspection Board and the State Veterinary Sanitary Board cooperated with the federal government in the eradication of contagious diseases. Colorado cattle have been subjected to epidemics of such diseases as Texas or splenic fever, anthrax, blackleg, mange, tuberculosis, and hoof and mouth disease. Constant reminders were seen throughout the paper that diseased cattle were not only a detriment to the industry, but constituted a loss of time and money for the individual cattleman. Colorado quarantine laws were recognized as the most stringent and thoroughly enforced of any in the states. When Kansas, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Arizona wanted to effect a compromise with the Colorado Veterinary Sanitary Board whereby shipments of livestock meant for them and from their states could pass through Colorado without first being inspected for fever, the board declined the offer. The governor, in 1899, appointed a new chief of the State Veterinary Sanitary Board, an appointment considered purely a political one. Again the editors urged that politics should be kept out of state boards. "For some ward heeler fit only to drive a scavenger wagon will be demanding a seat on the board." In addition the Board was criticized for being inefficient and duplicating with state funds many tasks performed by the federal government. "Evidently the members . . . believe . . . the appointments are a soft snap. If they do not retire politely, they will be kicked out unceremoniously."

Colorado law maintained the legal right to create health and sanitary regulations for the protection of livestock within the state. The law demanded a state bill of health and a state fee for cattle in transit in addition to the federal bill of health. Many of the cattlemen openly stated that they refused to comply with the law and where they had a federal government bill of health, they would not pay a state inspection fee. In order to test the law, E. H. Reid of Omaha, Nebraska, shipped cattle through Colorado refusing to pay the hold-up and inspection fee. The State Supreme Court handed down a decision which upheld the state. Much to the surprise of the cattle industry, the Supreme Court of the United

States upheld the lower court's decision. The decision was based upon the premise that the federal laws were not broad enough to cover interstate transportation of cattle and that the states had the right to create health and sanitary regulations to protect their livestock. The federal government passed a bill in 1903 which rectified this condition. The bill granted the Secretary of Agriculture power to enforce the laws providing for the suppression of contagious and infectious diseases among animals being shipped from one state to another or for shipment abroad. The bill rendered the Colorado Veterinary Sanitary Board unnecessary. Under the new law any stock carrying a bill of health from the government could not again be inspected or compelled to pay fees. Shortly thereafter the Colorado quarantine regulations provided that there be no importation of cattle unless accompanied by a certificate of health signed by the United States Bureau of Animal Industry, or the State Board of Stock Commissioners, or authorized agents.

The loss of cattle from Texas or splenic fever for many years constituted one of the chief difficult problems for both the state and the federal government. By the end of the century the cause of fever was traced to the Texas tick, and dipping experiments were being conducted by the federal government in cooperation with states to eradicate the dreaded disease. Most of the cattle states, including Colorado, were exceedingly cautious of such experiments as they did not wish to infect their herds with a highly communicable and deadly disease. Colorado clamped a quarantine on all cattle from Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Indian territory, Missouri, and Tennessee, unless they were inspected and received a clean bill of health from the state Board of Stock Inspection. The editors praised the board for this stringent ruling and pointed to the tick-free herds of Colorado. As government experiments with control of disease progressed, Congress passed an act providing the Secretary of Agriculture with authority to quarantine any state or territory to prevent the movement of any diseased or exposed cattle. Until Texas fever was completely eradicated, government quarantine regulations served to maintain a sufficient check. Great efforts were made to eradicate ticks from the Southwest. A gigantic area was freed, but the editors urged the need for constant vigilance.

In the decade prior to World War I, cattle mange constituted a severe threat to every cattle raiser in the state. Adherance to quarantine and dipping regulations around the turn of the century was lax. In 1904, mange reached an epidemic height in the eastern part of the state. Quarantine and dipping regulations were stringently invoked by the State Sanitary Board in that area, which prevented the further spread of the disease. A few years later a

proclamation was issued by the federal government and the State Board of Stock Inspection which ordered all cattlemen to dip their cattle before sending them to market, and eliminating inspection upon arrival at market. Dipping had to take place with an inspector present, a regulation which inconvenienced the cattlemen. "Of all the expensive impositions ever foisted upon a legitimate industry in the guise of protective, paternalistic government, this mange inspection farce is the limit. . . . It is not the mange that is worrying the stockmen now, it is the fool government rules and regulations." The ever increasing epidemics of mange could not be handled by the State Board of Stock Inspection and it was suggested that the Board turn the problem over to the United States government. In 1911, the government inspectors were assisting the states in bringing the mange under control. The Bureau of Animal Industry insisted that unless Colorado granted additional funds to the program, the federal inspectors would be withdrawn and the whole state put under quarantine. Anxious to rid the state of the disease, the Colorado legislature passed a bill appropriating $10,000 to the State Board of Stock Commissioners to assist in the eradication program. With the passage of this bill, it was hoped that the disease would be brought under control, but the disease was still prevalent and a problem in 1918.

Although blackleg, tuberculosis, and hoof and mouth have been diseases of concern, Colorado, during the period under discussion, had no major epidemics with these diseases. Statistics showed that as high as one-third of cattle losses in many Western states were due to blackleg. A blackleg vaccine had been developed in 1897, but it did not prove to be one hundred per cent effective. There were many fears that blackleg would reach an epidemic stage, and the editors of the paper constantly urged the cattlemen to use the vaccine even it it was not wholly successful. When the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1917 perfected a germ free blackleg vaccine "The cattlemen's dream was finally made a reality. . ."

Colorado cattle were primarily free of tuberculosis. However, cattle imported from other states were often affected and the editors made a plea to have all imported stock checked. The State Board of Stock Inspectors passed a resolution calling to the attention of the governor the fact that the cattle of all the states and territories were more or less infected by tuberculosis and asked the governor to issue a proclamation prohibiting the importation of breeding and dairy cattle into the state except under the regulation of the inspection board. They suggested that the resolution take effect on August 1, 1909. A few years later, a bill was passed prohibiting the importation into the state of breeding bulls, heifers, and

dairy cows unless first tested for tuberculosis and accompanied by a certificate of health.

In the fall of 1914, the dreaded hoof and mouth disease reached an epidemic stage in many Eastern states. In order to protect Colorado cattle, the State Stock Inspection Board issued a new quarantine order, the most drastic ever issued. The order stopped all movement of cattle from the diseased areas into Colorado. Shortly after the discovery of the outbreak, the United States Department of Agriculture set up quarantine regulations throughout the nation. In reference to the epidemic, the *Record Stockman* urged that no expense be spared by the federal government to eradicate the foot and mouth disease. After the first of the disease was stamped out, special provisions were made for the shipment of trans-Mississippi cattle. But, Colorado stock buyers had to receive a permit from the inspection board. With concerted effort on the part of state and federal officials, the hoof and mouth disease was wiped out. "We believe that in the way the bureau has handled the outbreak of foot and mouth disease, it is entitled to congratulations from all of the stock interests of the country."

Many Western cattlemen were accused by humane societies of being sadistic and cruel to their cattle—in this respect, Colorado was no exception. A vocal and legal contest was necessary before the disruptive activities of the society were turned into more productive channels. The *Daily Denver Stockman* vehemently defended the cattlemen against the "bosh" put out by the humane societies. It was pointed out on a number of occasions that cattlemen do not take particular delight in starving their cattle to death, as they represent dollars to their owners. The state Humane Society reported many starving cattle throughout the state. Agents for the Humane Society took possession of cattle, fed them, and billed the owners for the feed. The cattlemen resented this, declaring that the agents took up cattle that were not suffering and ran up big bills against the rancher. After a particularly cold and snowy winter, the Humane Society accused many cattlemen of inhumane treatment. "But, it is difficult to see just how the Humane organization is going to prevent it." It was recommended that the legislation controlling the Humane Society be amended, for the Society was accused of disposing of stock which lawfully came under the jurisdiction of the estray act. In the fall of 1907, the Supreme Court of the state denied the right of the Society to go upon a ranch and take up a herd of cattle on the plea that they were starving and drive them to a corral, and feed them at the expense of the owner. "The court put an end to another graft of the agents of the Colorado Humane Society and punched an-

other hole in the law." Legislation in 1909 transferred the authority of the Humane Society to the State Board of Stock Inspection, ending the long bothersome fight between the rancher and the Humane Society.

Predatory animals had caused major losses among stockmen, and had long been considered a problem worthy of state legislation. The practice of placing bounties on such animals was the common method of encouraging the extermination of the animals. Wolves, coyotes, prairie dogs, mountain lions, and bears were the chief predatory animals in the Western area, and were sought by both the professional and amateur hunter. The newspaper often published notices concerning wolf and coyote hunts, urging local stockmen to participate. Such hunts were very common and clearly illustrate the magnitude of the wolf problem.

The thoroughness with which the *Record Stockman* conducted a successful legislative campaign may be illustrated by the ten months fight against the proposed Krammer Herd Law in 1916. The so-called Herd Law, ". . . is certainly a misnomer . . . it is a terrible law, pure and simple." The proposed law provided that all domestic animals should be restrained at all times and seasons of the year from running at large, unless permitted by an election which would be held in newly established cattle districts. The more than forty million acres of public lands in the state including the forest reserves which were used for grazing could not be legally fenced, and the Herd Law would render the vast grassland unavailable to grazing. The editors of the *Record Stockman* estimated that the Herd Law would cut in half the value of Colorado's seventy million dollar livestock industry. All feeding of livestock on the open range would have to cease. "The bill is essentially vicious in all of its features and no similar law can be found on the statute books of any other state." The editors believed that the motive behind the Herd Law was found in the fact that a Denver paper and its proprietors were interested in cheap Colorado land which they proposed to colonize. A petition was circulated to gather signatures in support of the Herd Bill. The editors time and again warned against signing such a petition for it was passed by, ". . . professional circulators who were paid so much per name." The stockmen of the state strengthened their organizations to effectively take action against the bill, and over the state there developed determined opposition to it. "It seems monstrous that such a measure could even be suggested." In November the Krammer Herd Law bill was soundly defeated by a majority of two to one. Its defeat dispelled the dark clouds which hung over the state livestock industry, and almost immediately optimistic conditions prevailed.

Railroad transportation played an important role in the development of the livestock industry throughout the West and especially in Colorado. Being a land-locked state and having no navigable rivers, the only link to the Denver market and other markets in the area was the railroad. Dependence upon one means of transportation and communication, brought not only benefits to the people of the area, but created various problems. Cattlemen constantly depended upon the railroads for transporting their stock. Among the chief conflicts between the cattle industry and the railroads were rates, service, feeding in transit, time in transit, and payment for stock killed.

The question of railroad rates on a state and federal level inevitably caused much hard feeling between the shipper and the railroads. Colorado did not possess a Board of Railroad Commissioners, making it difficult to retaliate when discriminatory rates were charged against the Western states. Denver as a growing market, the editors said, was being stymied because of the unjust railroad rates. The freights from many Western points to Denver was the same as to the Missouri River points; therefore, making little difference to the shipper, and favoring the Eastern markets over the Denver market. The cattle shippers of Colorado were entreated to unite and, ". . . do a whole lot of kicking to have things changed." Such discrimination by intent does not give the Denver market a "square deal."

The *Record Stockman* offered as a solution to the railroad rate question the creation and regulation of controls by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which could most efficiently set rates and prevent injustices to the shipper. The appearance of many legislative measures in Congress, brought the railroads into a concerted effort to publicize their side of the rate case. They formed a national board to gain this objective. "Only by misrepresentation can the railroads hope to create any sentiment for their side of the controversy." The railroads appealed to the newspapers of the country, stating that all rates had to be changed, which would upset the whole system. This, states the editors, was not true.

In spite of the railroad lobby, the new rates went into effect in 1907. It was felt that the stockmen were again getting "the short end of the deal." The bill as it was passed was set up for the Eastern states, and it failed to fit conditions in the West. The rates were very confusing and the tarrif rates were complicated—". . . the average cowman looks at the tarrif sheet as he would a treatise in Greek." Even during the boom market of the first World War in 1918, Denver market men were complaining that rates were unfair and outmoded. An equitable re-adjustment of

rates would discourage shipping of livestock to the river markets and result in an increased number of cattle on the Denver market. During this period the whole West struggled with the problem of railroad rates. Suits were brought and fought, legislation tried and changed, and to the Westerner, little seemed to have been accomplished. The *Record Stockman* made a constant and concerted plea for the standardization of rates, to make it equitable for those stockmen concerned.

Despite the fact that no other business paid the railroad as much as livestock transportation, many of the railroad companies did not give the service expected by the shippers. Oftentimes the livestock freight was treated as any other merchandise needing transportation. The *Denver Record Stockman* insisted that there be legislation compelling the railroads to give stock trains right-of-way over all trains but passenger, and forcing them to transport cattle from point of shipment to destination with the least possible delay. To shippers of cattle, feeding in transit and time in transit were services which, if poorly performed by the railroads, caused decreased profits. The cattle organizations were determined not to be shoved around and vowed to fight the "aristocratic manner" with which the railroads dealt with the problem. Agitation continued for revised legislation which would compel the railroads to speed cattle shipments to market.

Legislation pertaining to time in transit limited the number of hours cattle could remain in a cattle car. However, the law did not provide a differential sliding scale for miles traveled. Cattle could be kept in cars for the specified length of time whether they were being transported one hundred or five hundred miles. According to the law, cattle could be kept in transit for a total period of twenty-eight hours. Cattle and livestock organizations protested that in many instances, twenty-eight hours was too long a period, but hastily explained that on long runs, additional hours were needed. In 1902, a bill was before Congress that would allow cattle in transit a maximum period of forty hours. It was better to leave the cattle on the train a little longer than to take them off for they are, ". . . pounded and hammered, frightened and excited, and often will refuse to either eat or drink for hours after being unloaded." The bill was not passed by Congress, and the active laws concerning the time in transit were maintained. An irate cattleman wrote to the editors: "This law is a damnable outrage against the stockmen as well as the railroads. Why should we have a lot of cheap fanatics and ignorant fools making laws and regulations for us to handle our cattle to market?"

Probably the most vitriolic and bitter conflicts between the stockmen and the railroads was concerned with the killing of stock

by the railroads, and the reticence on the part of the railroad companies to pay for the dead stock. In general, the stockmen believed that the solution to the problem was to compel the railroad lines to fence their property, and in addition to be legally liable for all stock killed by railroads. Although, in 1893, a stock killing bill was passed forcing the railroads to fence their lands and to pay for killed stock, the state supreme court declared the law inoperative and unconstitutional. In 1899, a stock killing bill was defeated by the "politicians" who did not keep faith with the cattlemen of Colorado. Such a bill, it was claimed, would have ended the indiscriminate slaughter by the railroads. Two years later, another similar bill was presented to the state legislative assembly, but was again soundly defeated by the railroad lobbyists and politicians. The editors, in defending the bill, said: "The railroad lobby in the Colorado Legislature has sworn a big dark blue oath that the . . . railroad bill shall not pass." The railroads fought "tooth and nail," gaining the support of the politicians. "Thirty members of the Colorado Legislature . . . declared by their votes that they wore the railroad collar, that they belonged to the railroad rather than to their constituents." The editorial continued in a cynical tone. It was significant that many members of the legislature planned to take trips following the session and such trips would be financed by the railroad. Many of the thirty delegates were from districts completely supported by stockmen, "Will they ever come back? Just watch and see."

The following year, the stockmen were successful in getting the legislature to pass a stock killing and fencing bill. The law granted the railroads six months to fence their right-of-way, and at the expiration of the six months, any stock killed by the railroad would have to be paid for by the railroad. Payment was to be based on the market value in Colorado. As in the past, the railroads refused to comply with the law. In due time, the case was in court, and again the law was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court. But, said the newspaper, the legislature will have to pass a law that can withstand the aspects of constitutionality. An additional attempt was made through the Public Utilities Commission, who strongly intimated that if individual cases requesting fencing by the railroads were filed with the commission, the railroads would be ordered to fence the land. "While this is only half a loaf, it is better than no bread. . ."

As a result of the editorials in the *Record Stockman*, the Western livestock and cattle industry had a spokesman who interpreted for them the conditions surrounding the business, and ably represented them in the conflicts with vested interests. The paper used its influence to support the organization of local, state,

and national associations, and to campaign for specific legislation which would give to the industry and individuals more just and equitable treatment. The editors and reporters were no mere gatherers of news, for they took pride in their technical knowledge and comprehension of the livestock industry. This daily newspaper played an outstanding part in the development of the Denver market, the Colorado livestock industry, and in the growth of the trans-Mississippi West.

The Colorado Mineral Society

RICHARD M. PEARL*

Founded in 1936, coincident with the beginning of the phenomenal growth of popular interest in the United States in collecting and studying minerals that has continued to the present day, the Colorado Mineral Society has become one of the largest non-technical mineral organizations in the United States and one of the most active. A few years ago it was undoubtedly the largest, but the written applications for membership that are now required have purposely tended to reduce the rate of growth, although all interested persons still are welcome to join. A total of 994 persons have joined to date, of whom about 330 are currently active. Attendance at the meetings, held monthly from October to May in the Denver Museum of Natural History, has reached 150 much of the time during recent years, and occasionally it has been close to 200.

The seed that grew into the Colorado Mineral Society was planted by Dr. Henry C. Dake of Portland, Oregon, in the September, 1936, issue of *The Mineralogist*, which he has edited under that name since January, 1935. Mentioning in a brief paragraph the interest in mineral collecting in Colorado and the abundance of mineral deposits, he quoted a reader who had suggested that the formation of a mineral society here would fill a need. "Who will undertake the task of aiding in founding an organization?" he concluded.

The seed germinated in the dual response of Chester R. Howard, of Denver, now an insurance executive, and Prof. Richard M. Pearl, of Colorado College, then a student at the University of Colorado in Boulder. Pearl, who had not previously thought about such a group, took the first step toward starting the society by writing to Dake on September 5 and 12 about his intentions, volunteering his services, and asking for advice and publicity.

*Professor Pearl, of Colorado College, was a founder of Colorado Mineral Society.—Ed.

Even before the notice was published in the October issue, Howard—who had earlier realized the advantages in a mineral club owing to his extensive travels and wide acquaintance throughout the state—had written to the same effect and was told of this joint interest and put in touch with the other inquirer. During their first visit together in Boulder both agreed that Denver was a more advantageous place to meet.

Thus it was that seven mineral enthusiasts met in Howard's apartment at 1538 High Street on September 24, 1936. Howard was elected President; Charles W. Reitsch, Vice President; and Pearl, Secretary-Treasurer. The others present were Cloyd F. Wooley, Guy B. Ellermeier, and Allan Caplan, the last now of New York.

According to its original constitution, "the Colorado Mineral Society is a non-profit educational organization to promote the study of Colorado minerals and other geologic materials, to encourage mineral collecting as a hobby, and to conduct public meetings, lectures, and field trips." The society was incorporated in 1948 under a revised constitution and by-laws prepared by Minor F. Wasson, Denver attorney.

Upon the invitation of Harvey C. Markman, curator of geology (and now also of paleontology) at the Denver (then the Colorado) Museum of Natural History, in City Park, the first regular meeting was held at the museum on October 9, 1936, with an attendance of thirteen persons, from four towns. "A lucky 13—for everyone joined, and we have a very enthusiastic group," wrote Pearl in *The Secretary's Bulletin*, which announced the second meeting. Four issues later the title *Mineral Minutes*, a happy combination of purpose and alliteration, was adopted; the name was registered in April, 1938. In April, 1939, the monthly bulletin was increased from a single-page sheet to a four-page folder, and at several times as many as ten pages have been used. A complete file of *Mineral Minutes* has been kept by the Denver Museum of Natural History and the Science and Engineering Department of the Denver Public Library.

An outstanding activity of the Colorado Mineral Society has been its one-, two-, and three-day field trips. About 125 have been conducted according to schedules arranged in advance for each summer. The only trip which failed to materialize was the first one, which was planned to leave from Golden as late in the year as October 25, 1936, "but something happened to the weather," and this particular mistake has not been repeated.

The climax of field trip activities was the summer camp maintained for five weeks in 1938 on Mount Antero, the highest

mineral locality in North America. Sponsored by the society but largely financed by Chester R. Howard, the camp consisted of four tents pitched in the canyon between Mount Antero and White Mountain, at an altitude of over 12,000 feet. Seven members of the society shared collecting experiences there. Acting upon a suggestion passed along by Howard at the time, the society in 1949 proclaimed the creation of Mount Antero Mineral Park on Colorado Day, August 1. With the permission of the United States Forest Service, a bronze plaque was erected on a granite cliff near the summit, but after four arduous hours spent in drilling the holes to mount the tablet, James Hurlbut and the two husky boys (Don Brown and Paul Humphreys) who helped him were too fatigued to carry out the elaborate ceremony intended.

The Colorado Mineral Society sponsored the formation of the Rocky Mountain Federation of Mineral Societies in 1941 and was host to the first convention of that regional federation at the Argonaut Hotel in Denver, August 9 and 10 of the same year. It similarly helped in the formation of the American Federation of Mineralogical Societies in 1947 and held the first national convention at the Shirley-Savoy Hotel in Denver June 13-16, 1948, with registration from 45 states.

Special meetings and some of the regular monthly programs have been held elsewhere than the museum. These places are the University of Denver, Regis College, Colorado State Bureau of Mines Museum, United States Bureau of Reclamation, Charles Parker's assay office, and the Colorado School of Mines—the meeting in Golden having become an annual event. In addition, public symposia on gems, mineral identification, lapidary techniques, and other subjects have been held in the museum, the Denver Art College, and the Young Men's Christian Association. A late-summer picnic and specimen trading post at Sloan's Lake, Denver, has brought members together for an outdoor September program during recent years.

Under the sponsorship of the society the Opportunity School in Denver has offered a series of courses in mineral identification for the past three years. Educational lectures have been sponsored in Colorado and several adjoining states, and mineral collections have been presented to Boy Scouts and to various schools and reformatories. Certificates of recognition are awarded to deserving persons of outstanding merit. Selection was made of a Colorado mineral, gem, metal, and rock.[1]

[1] The following members have served as officers of the society: President: Chester R. Howard 1936-48; Richard M. Pearl, 1948-50; Harold T. Hofer, 1950-51; James Hurlbut, 1951-53; C. William Hayward, 1953-. Vice-president: Charles W. Reitsch, 1936-38; Harvey C. Markman, 1938-48; Ray W. Thaler, 1948-51; Ernest E. Parshall, 1951-53; C. R. Williams, 1953-. Second Vice president: Richard M. Pearl, 1946-48; Chester R. Howard, 1948-50; James Hurlbut,