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The British and Colorado Mining Bureau

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By the end of the Civil War, the mineral industries of Colorado were undergoing changes common to the mining frontier in general. For the first few years from the period of discovery, placer and gulch mining by individuals or small local combinations predominated. Gold was usually found in sand or gravel on the bedrock and the comparatively simple processes of panning or sluicing could be readily and economically applied. Surface mining soon played out, however, and as hard-rock mining below the surface was resorted to, new and expensive problems were encountered. The hoists, pumping equipment, and drilling and tunneling machinery necessary to carry on operations hundreds of feet under the earth or into the side of a mountain meant greatly expanded operating costs. Yet development or "dead work" might go on for months before a mine became a paying proposition, if ever.

Since gold in hard-rock veins was often found in combination with other metals, the relatively simple process of extraction by stamping heretofore used almost exclusively, now broke down. With new discoveries and the increased importance of silver during the mid-'sixties, the problem of smelting and refining assumed new proportions. The stamp mill was useless in extracting silver from combination. Consequently the introduction of complex concentrating or roasting processes produced incessant demands for more capital.

In the early 'sixties, eastern capitalists stepped boldly into the field. But gross inefficiency, mismanagement, over-capitalization, and excessive speculation combined to plunge the Colorado mineral industry into depression by the spring of 1864. One contemporary describes this phase in the Central City region:

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Over a hundred eastern companies were formed, and were instrumental in bringing to the country large sums of money, which was chiefly expended by men of no experience, in putting up ill-contrived mills, in all sorts of places, containing worthless machinery, instead of opening the mines as they should have done.¹

Another early pioneer, in a retrospective account, relates that

Many costly and fantastic constructions have gone to swell the junkheaps of the foundries, and this, together with the last rites attending the forced closing out of many of the operating "process" companies by the sheriff, has not been altogether without its pathetic features.²

One of the "pathetic features" was undoubtedly to make outside capital decidedly chilly toward Colorado mines in the middle of the 1860's. But at the same time, such spectacular failures also served to point up a very real need for capital and for reliable processes in the Rockies. The age of the individual entrepreneur, working with his hands on a small scale, was at a close in the older, established mining camps. Capital was now essential to carry on where labor alone had previously been sufficient.

So it was that men turned farther afield in the quest for capital and carried their solicitations not only to San Francisco and New York but to London as well. One of these was Robert Orchard Old, an American by choice, who was by 1867 promising to bring "every laudable influence to bear" in order to bring Colorado and its resources to the attention of the British public.³ A resident of Colorado since 1860,⁴ Old had returned to his native England in April of 1866,⁵ had visited several of the large Swansea smelting works,⁶ had contacted a number of capitalists,⁷ and had managed to sell several lodes in Boulder County to an association of British buyers known as the Mineral Mines Company.⁸ But more than this, when he returned to Colorado in the spring of

¹ Ned E. Farrell, *Colorado, the Rocky Mountain Gem, As It Is In 1868* (Chicago, 1868), 18.

² Frank C. Young, *Echoes From Arcadia* (Denver, 1903), 56.

³ Robert O. Old to editor (Bath, 18 February 1867), *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 April, 1867.

⁴ Born in Somersetshire in 1829, Old migrated to New York in 1847, then pushed westward to Illinois where he engaged in newspaper work and the operation of a bookstore. In 1858 he moved to Nebraska and two years later was attracted to the Colorado mines, first to Canon City, then to Montgomery and Denver, where he was in the mercantile business. Later he was to become one of the most influential mining men in Georgetown. Robert Orchard Old, Bancroft Statement (Georgetown, 21 May, 1886), Pacific MS No. 137. Bancroft Library, University of California; Aaron Frost, "History of Clear Creek County," in *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (Chicago, 1880), 524; Henry Dudley Teeter, "Some of the Mines and Miners of Georgetown, Colorado," *Magazine of Western History*, XII (5 September 1890), 503.

⁵ MS. Diary of Robert O. Old, 14 April, 1866; 29 April, 1866. In possession of his son, Mr. George Old, Georgetown, Colorado.

⁶ Old to editor (Bath, 18 February, 1867), *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 April, 1867; Old to editor (London, n.d.), *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 May, 1867.

⁷ Old informed a friend that an English acquaintance was arranging a dinner at which a number of prominent capitalists and smelting and mining men were to be present. Old to H. C. Justice (London, 9 November, 1866), *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 December, 1866.

⁸ Old to editor (Ward District, Colorado, 15 May, 1868), *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 May, 1868. Apparently this was a private concern with unlimited liability, for it is not registered at the Companies Registration Offices of the Board of Trade, Bush House, London, or with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, 17 North Audley Street, London.

1868, Old was convinced that the potential British investor demanded proof that mill run ores were rich enough to warrant the risk of capital to erect smelters in the Rockies or to purchase mines.

As a result of this visit, Old announced the contemplated establishment of a joint-stock company—the British and Colorado Mining Bureau—to have its main offices in London and branches in Colorado.⁹ Publicizing his plans, he explained that such an agency was designed to function in at least three different capacities. First, it was to act as a medium through which ores might be contracted for and shipped to England for smelting, thus providing the Bureau with a profit as intermediary and at the same time proving the richness of mountain ores abroad. Then, when the smelting of Colorado ores in Britain had clearly indicated the value of the mines, the Bureau was to be the agency through which refining works were to be erected in the territory by English companies. Finally, the Bureau was intended to operate as a clearing house and center for publicizing Colorado and its resources and for the sale of mining properties on the London market.¹⁰

Old needed both funds and materials for display in London, and spent the summer of 1868 in active solicitation of both. Circulars announced the project to important territorial newspapers,¹¹ and Old made personal appeals for ore specimens, large and small.¹² He sought information on specific lodes,¹³ as well as books, newspapers, maps or other materials publicizing Colorado¹⁴ and he toured the territory for two months amassing nearly twelve tons of ores, representing between 1,500 and 2,000 different lodes,¹⁵ and collecting the meager sum of \$269 in cash.¹⁶

Having laid this groundwork, Old returned to England and the British and Colorado Mining Bureau was organized in the autumn of 1868.¹⁷ Manager of the concern in London was William Cope, an energetic, if rather naive British lawyer who linked his future with the mineral wealth of the Rockies. "Poor me bound

⁹ Central City Herald, 11 May, 1868. Plans for the concern were based on an actual capital of \$50,000 in 100 shares. One-half was to be payable at the time of subscription or before the twenty-fifth of the current month, with the remainder due a year from the subscription date. When two-fifths (\$20,000) had been subscribed and \$10,000 paid in, then a company was to be organized with a nominal capital of \$500,000 or its equivalent in sterling and share certificates of a par value of \$1,000 issued to owners of every \$100 paid up interest in the association. Golden Transcript, 17 June, 1868.

¹⁰ Denver Tribune, 25 April, 1868.

¹¹ Ibid.; Rocky Mountain News, 30 April, 1868; Central City Herald, 11 May, 1868; Golden Transcript, 17 June, 1868.

¹² Rocky Mountain News, 9 July, 1868; 30 April, 1868; Denver Tribune, 25 April, 1868.

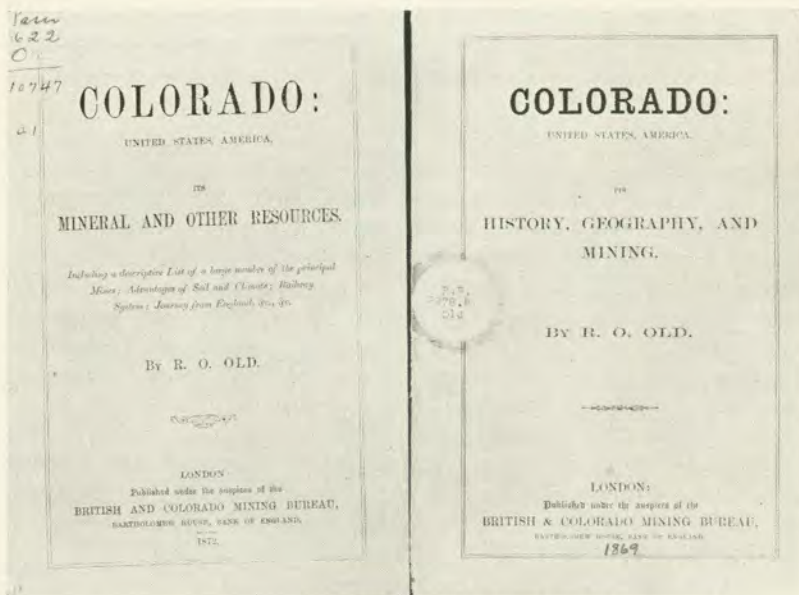
¹³ Old prepared a special form to be filled in by mine owners, giving detailed information of all types. Central City Herald, 9 May, 1868.

¹⁴ Rocky Mountain News, 30 April, 1868.

¹⁵ Denver Tribune, 9 July, 1868.

¹⁶ Rocky Mountain News, 10 July, 1868.

¹⁷ There is no record of the Bureau in the files of the Registrar of Companies or the Registrar of Friendly Companies in London, which indicates that this was a private venture.



BROCHURES COMPILED BY ROBERT O. OLD
Owned by State Historical Society Library

to my desk, until Colorado makes me a millionaire (and I mean to try to be one)," he confided to an acquaintance late in 1869.¹⁸

The Bureau set up its offices in Bartholomew House, immediately behind the Bank of England. Its display of ores, consisting of 562 selected specimens in 1869, was impressive and carefully chosen to represent different mines.¹⁹ Common and precious metals made up a large portion of the exhibit, but included also were miscellaneous items of general interest. Mica, fossil shell, a "Petri-fied Antelope Kidney," and an onyx "Tooth of a Mastodon (*very large*) from Hoosier Gulch," were representative pieces along with a few selected Indian artifacts.²⁰ The Bureau maintained a small library in its display rooms, where a number of Colorado newspapers were received weekly²¹ and where photographs, maps, plats of mines and mining surveys, a number of books about Colorado, as well as prospectuses and annual reports of various Rocky Mountain mining companies were on file.²²

¹⁸ William Cope to George Heaton (?) (London, 17 December, 1869). Randall Collection, University of Colorado Libraries.

¹⁹ Robert O. Old, *Colorado: United States, America* (London, 1869), 38-57. Cited hereafter as *Old, Colorado* (1869).

²⁰ Old, *Colorado* (1869), 57-59.

²¹ Apparently these were donated in return for advertising in the Bureau's pamphlets.

²² Included were seventy-two prospectuses and nineteen company reports in 1869. Among printed materials were Gilpin's *Central Gold Regions*; Hollister's *Mines of Colorado*; Taylor's *Travels in Colorado*; Wharton's *History of the City of Denver*; Mathews' *Pencil Sketches in Colorado*; the Denver Board of Trade's *Resources of Colorado*; Ned Farrell's *Colorado, the Rocky Mountain Gem*. Old, *Colorado* (1869), 60-61.

When Robert Old returned to England in the summer of 1868, he had announced his intention to write a pamphlet publicizing Colorado mineral wealth and had promised that from 20,000 to 30,000 copies would be distributed free to "every bank, broker, insurance office and capitalist in the three kingdoms."²³ This pledge was fulfilled when a modest, sixty-four page endeavor titled *Colorado: United States, America* was placed before the public late in the spring of 1869.²⁴ The object of the pamphlet, according to its author, was

simply to give such a concise statement of facts in reference to this "bright star" of the American Union—its situation, main features, history, settlement, mining, &c. as would not only be pleasing, but of great interest as affording much matter for consideration to capital.²⁵

With this in mind, Old gave mining and mining information a place foremost in the booklet²⁶ and its publication brought enthusiastic comments from American editors in the territory. "It is accurate, truthful, and very moderate in its statements," proclaimed the *Rocky Mountain News* approvingly.²⁷ Editor Woodbury of the *Denver Tribune* insisted that "the only fault is that it is too brief, not making enough of our resources, as we know them to exist."²⁸ The *Golden Transcript*, however, under the veteran George West, could point out one very glaring inaccuracy. Included as a frontispiece, an eight by ten inch folding map of Colorado showed no less than eight railroads converging on Denver from all directions. Actually at the time the pamphlet was printed none of these lines were completed. "Nearly all of them still reposed in the brain of a visionary, or at most had only been talked about in a 'Board of Trade' pamphlet," charged editor West,²⁹ who accused Old of "making a tarantula" out of Denver and vicinity.³⁰ But, whatever its inaccuracies, twenty thousand copies of the work were printed and sixteen thousand of these distributed in England.³¹

In 1872, a revised edition was issued, entitled *Colorado: United States, America, its Mineral and Other Resources*.³² Mining received a more comprehensive treatment in its ninety-six pages

²³ Quoted in *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 December, 1868.

²⁴ One of the first notices of this was an advertisement in the *London Mining Journal*, giving the price as one shilling per copy. *London Mining Journal*, 15 May, 1869, 358.

²⁵ Old, *Colorado* (1869), 3.

²⁶ One chapter was devoted to the Bureau, with a list of most of the mineral specimens in the London office. An encouraging picture of prospects in the Rockies was painted and particular attention given Clear Creek and Park Counties. Throughout, the need of capital, lower freight rates, and more economical management was stressed.

²⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 June, 1869.

²⁸ *Denver Tribune*, 29 June, 1869.

²⁹ *Golden Transcript*, 7 July, 1869.

³⁰ *Golden Transcript*, 11 August, 1869.

³¹ *Denver Tribune*, 17 July, 1869.

³² The date on this pamphlet is 1872, but notice first appeared in the *London mining periodicals* in February, 1873. Advertisements noted that it could be supplied free by mail for two postage stamps or obtained from the Bureau's office in Bartholomew House. *London Mining Journal*, 1 February, 1873, 121.

than previously and a more direct selling approach was evident. Much space was devoted to mining as a business enterprise, with chapters dedicated to both speculative and legitimate mining. Old warned that every business had its risks, but if carried on properly, mining presented fewer risks than any other.

It is free from the risk attending close competition, over importation, dull markets, dead seasons, changing fashions, stock remnants, bad debts, and the worry of a hundred annoyances . . . If a good mine is owned, with each shaft, each level and stope in order, and all the dead work with the opening a year ahead, and large reserves in store, it is the most steadfast and then trustworthy of all investments, and the most remunerative for revenue. No advertizing needed to make it known, no higgling to beat down, no white lies told to make a penny, no adulterations to swindle, no customers to please, and all seasons, however severe, alike.³³

This second pamphlet was received with mingled comments. The Colorado Press, as might be expected, took pains to compliment the author³⁴ and the editor of the short-lived *Journal of the American Bureau of Mines* in Chicago thought so highly of the booklet that he copied long passages and printed them as his own work.³⁵ Rossiter W. Raymond, however, editor of the influential *Engineering and Mining Journal* of New York assailed Old in no uncertain terms. "The author's experience as a mining captain is known; his ignorance of geology and mineralogy need not have been known if he had not laboriously exposed it in these pages," he said.³⁶ Raymond further criticized Old for making biased statements with the intent of selling undeveloped property in England, and for the failure to include substantial facts or statistics of actual workings.³⁷ Old could but reply lamely that actual costs of operation were normally much higher than they should be were scientific methods utilized and that he purposely kept statistics at a minimum in his writing for fear British readers would be unable to distinguish between waste and economy!³⁸

Meantime, the British and Colorado Mining Bureau was beginning to function along the lines originally contemplated. Returning to Denver in June of 1869, after a year's absence abroad, Old announced that he was prepared to purchase any gold, silver or copper ores which would pay a profit on shipment to England.³⁹ Coloradans with bona fide mining properties to place on the market abroad were especially urged to consign their ore through the Bureau for their own benefit.⁴⁰ At the same time, William Cope,

³³ Robert O. Old, *Colorado: United States, America, its Mineral and Other Resources* (London, 1872), 11. Cited hereafter as Old, *Colorado* (1872).

³⁴ Georgetown *Miner*, 2 April, 1873; *The Mining Review*, II (April, 1873), 24.

³⁵ *The Mining Review*, III (December, 1873), 389.

³⁶ *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XV (18 March, 1873), 170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Old to editor (n.d.), *Ibid.*, XV (22 April, 1873), 251.

³⁹ William Cope to editor (London, 22 May, 1869), *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 June, 1869; *Denver Tribune*, 23 June, 1869.

⁴⁰ Cope to editor (London, 22 May, 1869), *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 June, 1869.

the London manager, contributed timely support through the press by asserting that

We have millions of idle capital here and all that is asked to insure its introduction into Colorado, is that the ores of this Country, be proved to be approximately as rich as represented . . . Let your mines prove their shipping value of their ores and establish their character, as mineral producing, of their districts, by shipment of ores through Mr. Old to us, and we will guarantee the introduction of large amounts of Capital from this Country into Colorado and the erection early of smelting works adopting the Swansea Method of Reduction.⁴¹

Old began a circuit of the mining camps, contracting for ores to be sent abroad, and by December of 1869, when he again sailed for England, he had collected and forwarded more than seventy-two tons of ore, much of it from the Terrible mine, near Georgetown.⁴² Estimates of the cost of shipment varied from \$55 to \$95 per ton,⁴³ but the initial results were encouraging enough to return profits⁴⁴ and to provoke sharp criticism from the territory's leading smelter, Nathaniel P. Hill, who hitherto had enjoyed almost a virtual monopoly in Colorado.⁴⁵ "We don't propose to ship any ore to Liverpool just yet," commented the editor of the *Central City Register*, "but as the further it is carried, the more it nets, we may send a lot to China round the Horn."⁴⁶

Next, Old announced that in view of the fine showing of ores already shipped to Swansea and Liverpool, the Bureau contemplated the erection of processing works on Clear Creek early in the spring of 1870.⁴⁷ When he returned to the mountains in April of that year, he reported that "for the last three months the office

⁴¹ Cope to editor (London, 12 June, 1869), *Georgetown Miner*, 8 July, 1869.

⁴² *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 December; 13 December, 1869.

⁴³ Fred Clark and Henry Crow, the owners of the Terrible, reported shipping costs at never more than \$85 a ton and sometimes less, but this figure did not include the cost of sacking which would add another \$10 per ton. *Central City Register*, 10 November, 1869. Old later declared that the cost had been approximately one cent a pound by wagon to the railroad, then \$35 a ton for transit to England—a total of about \$55. Old, Bancroft Statement, Pacific MS. No. 137. In 1870, Old gave figures for shipping ores to England after the railroad had been completed to Denver. These amounted to \$69 from the mine to Liverpool, not including \$9 per ton for sacking expenses. Old to George W. Heaton (Georgetown, 7 September, 1870). Randall Collection.

⁴⁴ According to Old's estimates, the initial consignment from the Terrible brought profits of \$650 per ton after deduction of mining, transportation, and processing expenses. *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 December, 1869.

⁴⁵ This criticism began when the Bureau issued a circular in England seeking financial support for bringing Colorado ore to Britain and ultimately for erecting refining works in the Rockies. The circular referred to an earlier experiment of Hill in sending ore to Swansea, which returned profits of \$6,886 on seventy tons. It pointed to Hill's Black Hawk works as the largest and most profitable in the territory. Hill responded with an advertisement in the *London Mining Journal* in which he pointed out several misstatements and challenged the Bureau as "a questionable enterprise." He insisted that his own ore shipments abroad had been financially disastrous and in general he did what he could to discredit both the Bureau and Colorado ores in foreign eyes. Nathaniel P. Hill to editor (Black Hawk, 27 July, 1869), *London Mining Journal*, 11 September, 1869, 667. For the rejoinders, see Cope to editor (London, 15 September, 1869), *London Mining Journal*, 18 September, 1869, 678; Old to editor (Georgetown, 5 November, 1869), *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 November, 1869.

⁴⁶ *Central City Register*, 10 November, 1869.

⁴⁷ *Denver Tribune*, 8 December, 1869.

of the Bureau has been thronged every day.⁴⁸ Cope followed on a visit to the territory and expressed his satisfaction with his tour of the mines and announced that he would do all in his power to interest his friends at home in backing the establishment of a smelting plant. When he asserted, however, that the most perplexing question was the location of the contemplated works,⁴⁹ his words caused a stir of anticipation and brought evidence of the competitive spirit from several communities. The comments of the *Boulder County News* were typical:

To help the gentleman from his dilemma, allow us to say that three or more such reduction establishments can find abundant employment as soon as they can be created. It is a *sine qua non* that they have an abundance of cheap fuel, and that the ores come to them on a down grade. No other place answers these conditions better than does Boulder.⁵⁰

Georgetown also bid for the proposed works when fourteen local mine owners agreed to furnish high grade ore to the Bureau for smelting and to donate mining property, provided that the projected smelter be erected at a point convenient to Clear Creek mines and that they be guaranteed higher prices for ores than currently obtained. Further, if the plant were built in Clear Creek County itself, the signers agreed to double the amount of property to be contributed.⁵¹

By July of 1871, Cope, now back in England, wrote that organizational plans for a company were going ahead and that he was

... in a position to say, that the British and Colorado Mining Bureau can find any amount of Capital, if the mine owners of Colorado will assure the Bureau that it can be constantly and profitably employed. The Bureau is prepared [sic] at once to invest \$1,000,000, in the erection of Smelting Works, and for the buying of ores, if mine owners will give sufficient guarantee that the said works shall always be supplied with all ore it can possibly use.⁵²

A month later, the *Central City Register* publicized a letter from Old announcing that a British company with a capital of £500,000 was interested and in a few days would have a representative in the field to select a site upon which a smelting plant capable of treating one hundred tons of ore per day was to be

⁴⁸ *Weekly Central City Register*, 13 April, 1870.

⁴⁹ Cope to editor (Georgetown, 3 January, 1871), *Georgetown Miner*, 5 January, 1871.

⁵⁰ *Boulder County News*, 18 January, 1871.

⁵¹ Eleven men offered one-fourth of a lode each; one offered one-third of a lode; one offered one-fourth of two different lodes; and one offered 700 feet. George Barrett, et al. to Robert O. Old (Georgetown, 19 June, 1871). Letter filed in Clear Creek County Recorder's Office, Georgetown.

⁵² Cope to editor (London, 13 July, 1871), *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 August, 1871.

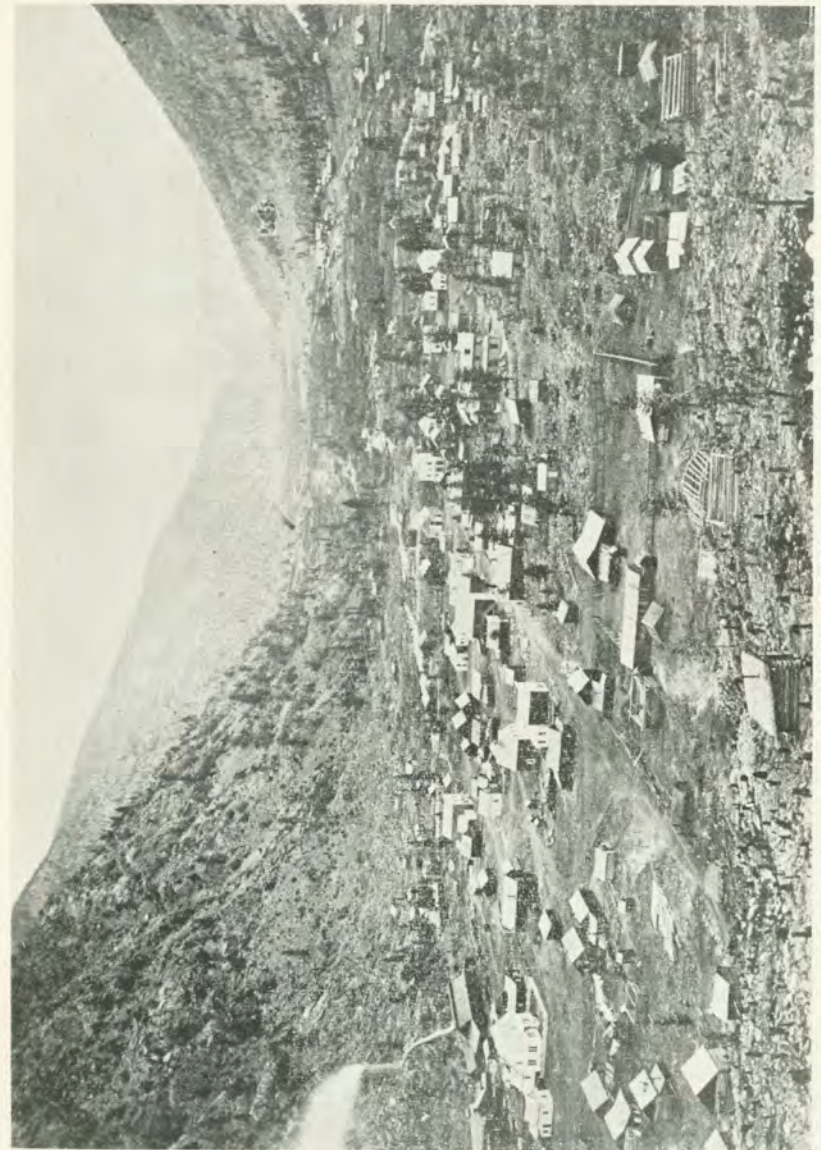


PHOTO BY CHAMBERLAIN

GEORGETOWN, 1867
Center of Old's Activities

erected.⁵³ No such concern materialized, however,⁵⁴ and in December, 1871, Cope made a second trip to Colorado.⁵⁵

The day after Christmas found both Cope and Old before the Denver Board of Trade eliciting support, which was very quickly forthcoming. Inviting capitalists to step forth promptly and exploit the territory's virgin fields, the Board of Trade adopted a resolution to

guarantee to capitalists contemplating the erection of smelting works in the Territory of Colorado sufficient lands for their use, not to exceed twenty acres, in the immediate vicinity of the city, adapted to the purpose contemplated; provided works shall be constructed thereon sufficient to treat one hundred tons of ore per day.⁵⁶

While other towns squabbled with Denver over location, Old and Cope once more journeyed to England.⁵⁷ In mid-May, Old saw fit to report that organization had been completed and that a company was willing to accept the offer of the Board of Trade.⁵⁸ An elaborate prospectus was issued from London and an agent was appointed to carry on negotiations in Colorado,⁵⁹ but time passed and nothing happened. Becoming impatient, Denver citizens demanded some indication of good faith. "What has become of the coquettish English company, and of this splendid enterprise," said a correspondent of the *Denver Times* in December, 1872—"no one seems to know."⁶⁰

In October, the Bureau had endeavored to float an English Company to erect smelting works and to purchase or lease a "Mineral Estate" of some three hundred acres at Golden, but, although the British and Colorado Smelting Works Company, Ltd., was officially incorporated, the capital was never subscribed and no business undertaken.⁶¹ Later, in April, 1873, Old could again announce that he had completed the organization of a company to

⁵³ *Weekly Central City Register*, 30 August, 1871.

⁵⁴ Of fourteen English joint-stock companies registered in 1871 to operate in Colorado none could boast a nominal capital of more than 120,000 pounds. One, the Swansea Smelting and Silver Mining Company, Ltd., did send out a metallurgist to examine mountain smelters and to select a location during the summer. Except for its nominal capital, which was only 60,000 pounds, this concern seems to fit Old's description. See *London Mining Journal*, 1 July; 21 October, 1871, 561, 916; *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, 4, Swansea Smelting and Silver Mining Company, Ltd., File No. 5483 in the Companies Registration Office, London. Such files are cited hereafter as C.R.O., with their number.

⁵⁵ *Denver Tribune*, 11 December, 1871.

⁵⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 December, 1871.

⁵⁷ *Boulder County News*, 1 March, 1872. Boulderites were particularly perturbed, charging that Denver leaders, building up their own interests, did so "regardless of truth, and at the expense of others." *Boulder County News*, 5 January, 1872.

⁵⁸ According to Old, the concern was to have a nominal capital of \$500,000, four-fifths of which was to be raised in Britain and the remainder by subscription in Colorado. *London Mining Journal*, 4 May, 1872, 119; *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 May, 1872. This sounds suspiciously like the Miner's Smelting and Reduction Works which was organized earlier in Central City. Proposed capital was similar and W. W. Ramage was to help boost the proposal in England. *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 November, 1871.

⁵⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 May, 1872.

⁶⁰ *Daily Denver Times*, 20 December, 1872.

⁶¹ Certificate of Incorporation, 7 October, 1872; *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, 2; A. W. Wetherell to Registrar of Companies (London, 28 August, 1878), in British and Colorado Smelting Works Company, Ltd., C.R.O. 6654.

erect a reduction plant in Clear Creek Valley,⁶² but this, like earlier promises, vanished into thin air. Meantime, the Denver Board of Trade, despairing of action from abroad, gave a local group an option on the proposed site and works were constructed by an American concern.⁶³

The British and Colorado Mining Bureau apparently met with at least a little more success in introducing mineral property on the London market than it did in bringing English capital into western smelters. Old's bald statement in 1872 that the Bureau "has been the means directly and indirectly, of interesting *all* English capital at this present invested in Colorado,"⁶⁴ is perhaps a bit too presumptuous, but records indicate that in this area the agency was not wholly inactive. Of seventeen joint-stock companies listed by the Registrar of Companies as having been incorporated in Great Britain to carry on mining or smelting operations in the Rocky Mountains during the period of the Bureau's lifespan, one can be definitely attributed to the work of the Bureau. This involved the sale of the Terrible mine, near Georgetown, in 1870, in what was the first major transfer of a Colorado silver mine to an English concern.⁶⁵ The Terrible passed into the hands of the Colorado Terrible Lode Mining Company, Limited for the price of £100,000.⁶⁶ Old became the concern's first superintendent and his return to Colorado was heralded with enthusiasm. "All hail! We say to the British and Colorado Mining Bureau and will not our citizens, one and all, shout back the same?" cheered the editor of the *Miner*.⁶⁷

There is some evidence, too, that the Bureau was probably connected with the sale of Clear Creek property to the Snowdrift Silver Mining and Reduction Company, Ltd. in July of 1871,⁶⁸ but direct links with any of the other British concerns organized before the end of 1872 are not obvious. There can be no doubt, however, that the Bureau served as an important clearing house for information and for Americans interested in contacting English

⁶² *Georgetown Miner*, 2 April, 1873.

⁶³ This was the Denver Smelting and Refining Works, organized by Hiram G. Bond, Joseph S. Miner, and Joseph E. Bates with a capital of \$100,000. Certificate of Incorporation, 7 December, 1872, *Records of Incorporation*, Colorado Territory, Book D, 603-604. Colorado State Archives.

⁶⁴ *Old, Colorado* (1872), 3.

⁶⁵ Old, Cope, and John Orchard, all of the Bureau, were to receive a percentage of Terrible profits after deduction of expenses. *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, 25. Colorado Terrible Lode Mining Company, Ltd., C.R.O. 4804. This provision was later cancelled by the company.

⁶⁶ *London Mining Journal*, 25 June, 1870, 531. Actually the company acquired only part of the Terrible: owner Frederick Clark retained 500 feet of the lode, while 1,100 was sold. *Old, Colorado* (1872), 39. The company's nominal capital was registered as 125,000 pounds in shares of 5 pounds each. *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, 1-2. Colorado Terrible Lode Mining Company, Ltd., C.R.O. 4804.

⁶⁷ *Georgetown Miner*, 14 April, 1870.

⁶⁸ John Collom of Empire concluded the transaction, but Old reported favorably on the property and held twenty shares in the company. *Memorandum of Agreement* (5 July, 1871) between John Collom and James Arthur Morgan; Summary of Capital and Shares to 9 June, 1876. Snowdrift Silver Mining and Reduction Company, Ltd., C.R.O. 5537.

investors or potential investors in London. Letters indicate that George William Heaton, an adventuresome British colonel who dabbled in a number of Colorado mining enterprises in the early 'seventies, maintained comparatively close contacts with the organization and even received mail from Americans through its offices.⁶⁹

Exactly when the Bureau closed its doors is difficult to determine. Certainly it was sometime in 1873, and as Old explained later, its demise came about when local smelters were established in the Rockies.⁷⁰ This would imply that the shipping of smelting ore to England was one of its most important functions, although by no stretch of the imagination might the venture as a whole be considered successful. Yet it does stand out as one of the first systematized efforts to interest foreign capital in the mines of the Rocky Mountain region.

⁶⁹ See letters, John Innes to George Heaton (Georgetown, 4 January, 1871); Charles M. Leland to Heaton (Central City, 29 September, 1870). Randall Collection.

⁷⁰ In 1886 Old stated that the concern closed down in 1872. Old, Bancroft Statement, Pacific MS. No. 137. However, advertisements for his revised pamphlet in February, 1873, indicate that the office in Bartholomew House was still open at that time. *London Mining Journal*, 1 February, 1873, 121.

Mary Hallock Foote

EARLY LEADVILLE WRITER

By MARY LOU BENN*

It was a long hard ride through the dark, blizzardy night as Arthur Foote took his wife in a horse and buggy over the rough and rugged stage coach road from Fairplay to Leadville. The time was 1879—the year of the great mining boom—and Mary Hallock Foote had come to join her husband in the mining camp. It was not her first trip West for she had spent the first year of her marriage at the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines in California, but it marked the beginning of a series of experiences unique for a gentlewoman of the period. Little did Mrs. Foote know that the pattern of her marriage was being set, or that a by-product of this existence would be a career involving anything more than normal housewifely chores.

At the time of her marriage to Arthur DeWint Foote, Mary Hallock was a promising young artist with many friends and connections in the East. Her first letters to these old friends and acquaintances contained many interesting descriptions of scenery and life in the West. Richard Watson Gilder, her best friend and a member of the *Scribner's Century* staff, insisted that anyone who could converse so well could also write.¹ Thus encouraged, Mary Hallock Foote began to submit descriptive sketches and stories. To her surprise they were published and widely read. Three factors seem to explain the success of these writings.

First, was the renewed interest in the West following the Civil War. With the cessation of hostilities, the nation could now turn its thoughts and energies to the vast and rich territory west of the Mississippi. Those who did not make the trek West were intrigued by its possibilities and wanted to read about it.

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One of the major contributions of the study was discovery of Mrs. Foote's three hundred and forty page unpublished manuscript, "Reminiscences," which is invaluable not only for the insight it gives on Mrs. Foote's life, but also for the picture it presents of the period and the characterizations of famous people. This manuscript was supplied through the great kindness of Mrs. Foote's granddaughter, Mrs. Janet Foote Micoleau. Since the survivors intend to publish the "Reminiscences" in the near future, the writer has been careful in noting and giving credit to the manuscript and in omitting references to incidents and situations which would detract from the originality of Mrs. Foote's own material.—*The Editor*.

¹ Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators," *Critic*, XXVII (August, 1900), p. 174.



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MARY HALLOCK FOOTE
Author-Artist

Second, in addition to this renewal of interest, there occurred a phenomenal rise in the circulation of magazines. "Since magazines found their way into more homes than separately-published books, they probably contributed more to forming the popular concept of the West than any other medium . . ."² A recent study shows that seven well known magazines published between 1870 and 1900 had 226 stories and serials with western themes.³ The field of magazine publication was a most desirable medium for qualified writers, and such prominent authors as Rudyard Kipling, Hamlin Garland, Helen Hunt Jackson, and many others were writing for periodicals.

Third, it was unique for a woman to write of western life. Bret Harte and Mark Twain had written humorous and anecdotal

² Lawana Jean Shaul, *Treatment of the West in Selected Magazine Fiction, 1870-1900*. University of Wyoming: Unpublished Master's Thesis, 1954, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

accounts of life and society on the Trans-Mississippi frontier, but Mrs. Foote was one of the first women to write realistic and serious first-hand accounts of life on the new frontier. Mrs. Foote was particularly well qualified to write about the pioneer West for she lived between 1847 and 1938, and from her home in Milton, New York, she traveled to many parts of the United States and Mexico and lived in Leadville, Colorado, in the boom year of silver mining, in and near Boise, Idaho, during a pioneer era in irrigation development, and in Grass Valley, California, where she at last found peace and permanency in her declining years. Hand-in-hand with her engineer husband, a man devoted to building new enterprises in the West, she experienced trials and tribulations, heartaches, and happiness. She saw the West at its roughest, and in five descriptive sketches, eleven novels, twenty adult short stories, some of the sixteen children's stories, and her "Reminiscences," she recorded the life and times of these years.

In general, her writings are not noted for their brilliance of style and technique, although some of them show fine descriptive ability, and others are examples of excellent characterization and plot development. It might be mentioned here that she usually wrote under the pressure of financial straits and, as she admits, many of her works were "pot-boilers." Another hampering factor was pressure from her publishers, which reflected public demand for conventional romances and adventure stories, so that there was little opportunity to "let herself go." Final evidence that, in another era and with less pressure from financial needs and her publishers, Mrs. Foote might have been a truly outstanding writer is found in her "Reminiscences," which give a vivid portrayal of personalities, scenes, and experiences in the West as it took its infant steps toward adulthood and a spawning of minerals, irrigated crops, and industry.

A study of Mrs. Foote's life and writings cannot help but impress one with the fact that *she was a very remarkable woman* and that she presented a picture of life in the early West not found elsewhere in literature of the times.

It is the writer's purpose to record some of the details of Mary Hallock Foote's life with particular emphasis on the time spent in Leadville and her writings with a Colorado scene.

Mary Hallock was born in 1847, on a farm near Milton, New York, to Nathaniel and Anne Burling Hallock. The Quaker tradition into which she was born was to influence her entire life. The atmosphere of her childhood home was one of culture and learning. "The stiff-necked Hallocks" were not only constant readers but were also intensely involved in the affairs of the nation. It was the custom of Mrs. Foote's father to read to the family in the eve-

ning. He read not only Scott, Burns, Pope and other authors, but also the Congressional debates and the *New York Tribune* editorials.⁴ Also leading woman suffragists, such as Susan B. Anthony, and anti-slavery missionaries, found their way to the Hallock home as the result of Aunt Sarah Hallock's crusading and interest in reform.



Original Drawing by Mary Hallock Foote for a short story in *Century Magazine*, 1885. The title was, "The Coward."

The family discovered early that Mary Hallock had artistic ability, so upon conclusion of early education at the Friends School and the Poughkeepsie Female Seminary, she was sent to the Cooper Union Institute of Design in New York City. Her four years in

⁴ Mary Hallock Foote, "Reminiscences" of Mary Hallock Foote. (Unpublished Manuscript). The writer acknowledges this manuscript as the source of many of the interesting facets of Mrs. Foote's life which were not presented in any other biographical material and which the writer has used to supplement the meager information available.

art school were happy ones. She was not only studying under some of the prominent artists and engravers of her time, but she was also meeting stimulating and brilliant people. She formed life-long friendships with such prominent people as Helena DeKay Gilder and Richard Watson Gilder, George Cable, E. S. Nadal, W. J. Linton, George MacDonald, and others. It was during this period that she met Henry Ward Beecher and his cousin, Arthur DeWint Foote.

Arthur DeWint Foote was a poor but promising young engineer, and had little to offer this young woman who was starting to make a name for herself in the field of magazine illustration. He was attracted to her, but was unable to support a wife. He accepted a position as resident manager of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine in California in order to obtain the security he thought necessary before he could propose. Mary Hallock pursued her art career, but when Arthur Foote proposed, she accepted him. He wanted her to come to California to marry him, but she did not feel that she had courage enough to do this, so he came to New York where the couple were married in a Quaker ceremony. He returned to California alone, but Mrs. Foote followed four months later with a young mother and child. The woman was to serve as maid and model. During the one year there, Mrs. Foote finished the sketches she had started in New York for *The Scarlet Letter* and also gave birth to a son, Arthur B. Foote. Sketches and descriptions of the mining camp and the coastal town of Santa Cruz sent home by Mrs. Foote were to become her first published literary work. They appeared in *Scribner's* in 1879 under the titles, "A California Mining Camp" and "A Sea Port on the Pacific."

Mr. Foote had disappointing experiences both in California and at his next job with the Homestake Mine in Deadwood, South Dakota. Meantime Mrs. Foote had returned East to the old home in Milton, New York. Mr. Foote moved on to Leadville to accept employment as a mining engineer for the Adelaide mine, and Mrs. Foote joined him in the summer of 1879 after a year's separation.

It must have been a queer sight indeed to this quiet little Quaker woman—Leadville with its milling humanity—its mushroom of shacks—its silver fever—its excitement! While Mrs. Foote never became identified with or affected by the hysteria and excitement of the camp, she was not blind to it, and so she caught some of the feeling in the following description of Leadville's main street as given in *John Bodewin's Testimony*:

The avenue was straight and wide as befits the avenue of the hopeful future; but the houses were the houses of the uncertain present. They were seldom more than two stories in height, miscellaneous in character, homogeneous in ugliness, crude in newness of paint or rawness of boards without paint. . . . There

were tents doing the duty for houses; . . . The passing crowd was a crowd distinguished with a look of preternatural age or startling newness. There was a dearth of skirts; and these, when they appeared, were given a respectful, and almost humorously respectful, share of the sidewalk. The crowd . . . slouched and straggled and stared and stopped in the middle of the common way, and greeted its friends, and vociferated its sentiments, and exhibited its ore-specimens of fabulous promise, regardless of incommoded passers. It was invariably good natured.⁵

Life in this early mining camp was a test of a woman's ingenuity, and Mrs. Foote proved that she could meet the conditions of the primitive situation. It must be remembered that hardships were tremendous. There were shortages of everything—housing, food, services—and the essentials that could be purchased were extremely dear.

The Footes lived at 216 West Eighth Street. It was then on the outskirts of Leadville. Mrs. Foote wrote of her new home, "We were half a mile from the town in our gulch, but the sound of tramping feet on the new board-walks could be heard in a queer perpetual chorus mingled at nightfall (when the tramping was louder), with bands of music blaring away—there was no comfort—there was at that time hardly food or shelter for these homeless men, but every form of human excitement was provided—they had money enough, most of them, with hardly a place to lay their heads—and all those heads were full of schemes and dreams."⁶ Mrs. Foote managed to make a comfortable home for her husband amidst the chaos and confusion. In spite of this atmosphere of excitement and turmoil, she was actually very little affected by her environment for, as she says, she was a *protected woman* and "knew only as much of Leadville life as my husband thought I could 'get away with,' he told me, but the men of Leadville whom I saw were the 'sifted pickings' and they were able men, most of them, and very charming."⁷

Clarence King, Director of the United States Geological Survey, and the author, Thomas Donaldson, visited the Footes at their log cabin home and were much impressed by Mrs. Foote's graciousness and with the pleasant, homey atmosphere she had created in the rude and rugged surroundings. Her rigid training in the household arts of a Quaker home stood her in good stead. In writing about his visit to her in his book, *Idaho of Yesterday*, Mr. Donaldson has given the public a good description of Mrs. Foote. "She was dressed in white and she rounded out a pleasing picture in contrast to the rugged nature all about her home. Mrs. Foote put us at ease with her sweet manners. . . . We went inside the house and saw every evidence of artistic taste and culture. The main room

which served for parlor, bedroom, and reception room, was skillfully decorated in brown and gray—as neat an arrangement as I had seen." He goes on to say, "Mrs. Foote settled herself for a chat until her husband returned, and my, my, how she did talk! She was well read on everything and ripped out an intellectual go-as-you-please backed up by good looks and brightness. She told us of their hopes, hers and Arthur's, in Mr. Foote's engineering schemes. What was more interesting, she showed us some of her black and white illustrations for the work of other authors. She spoke of her early childhood. . . . Love of nature was her dominant theme, and there was evident contentment with their life, arduous as it must have been at times because of the lack of comforts and dearth of suitable female companions in Leadville." He notes that "Mrs. Foote said that, because of household duties, the mountains and her husband, she had little time to be idle. . . . Mr. Foote came in. . . . Mr. Foote, a handsome, intelligent, healthy man of thirty or thirty-five years, said that Leadville pleased him in all but the isolation forced upon his wife. Mrs. Foote laughed and said, 'Never mind about me! You see after while Arthur will be rich and then what a life and home we shall have! Hurry up, Arthur!' she said to him. 'Stick your pick in the magic Foote ledge and let your silver run out.'"⁸ Ah, what dreams these were—dreams that were never to become fully realized, but to a woman who had just been reunited with her husband after a year's separation, no doubt life looked full of promise and hope.

Mrs. Foote's isolation and dearth of female companionship were partly the result of conditions and partly due to choice. She accompanied her husband on field trips which gave her an opportunity to sketch and write but, even more important, gave her insight into his work. This enabled her to build rather conventional love stories upon the framework of actual conditions and situations with which Arthur Foote was in daily contact.

She enjoyed the association with Mr. Foote's friends and business associates, particularly the men of the United States Geological Survey who were camped just behind the little cabin by the ditch. She says, ". . . never was there better talk (I at least never have heard better) than we used to have by our stone fireplace . . ."⁹

One of the highlights of the summer was a visit from Helen Hunt Jackson who had an introduction to Mrs. Foote from their mutual friend, Helena DeKay Gilder. The Footes and the Jacksons dined together at the new hotel, The Clarendon. ". . . the main dining room was jammed and at every table there was excited

⁵ Mary Hallock Foote, *John Bodewin's Testimony*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1896, p. 32. Originally published in *Century Magazine*, XXXI (November, 1885, to April, 1886).

⁶ Levette J. Davidson, "Letters from Authors," *Colorado Magazine*, XIX (July, 1942), p. 122.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁸ Thomas Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday*. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers Ltd., 1941), 358-360.

⁹ Levette J. Davidson, "Letters from Authors," p. 122.

talking. The service was of the noisiest kind—waiters charging on the swinging doors, kicking them open—dishes clattering, men's voices only, no women, talking above the din. We sat speechless, smiling at each other—exclamation points understood."¹⁰ Mrs. Foote's impression of the famous woman continues thus, "Mrs. Jackson was a charming woman. Not quite pretty, or handsome, but distinguished—a personality and all right. You knew at once she was an unusual person. She was also thoroughly *comme il faut*—nothing queer about her or her dress; an Eastern-looking lady or gentlewoman, though she was perhaps too eager and brilliant and arresting in her way of speaking, and in her animated expression, for such a conservative world. I, of course, was completely charmed by her. She was enough older and more famous to make her notice of us an honor."

Mrs. Foote returned to her Milton home in the winter of 1879, but came back to Leadville the following summer, this time with her son, Arthur, and a niece of her husband. Mr. Foote had enlarged the cabin on the Ditch and they were quite comfortably situated. People came and went, many of them memorable, some soon forgotten—but the Footes had a propensity for making and keeping their friends. Mrs. Foote says of their Leadville experience, "We had the experts the first summer, studying the proposition Nature had hidden there on deposit; the second summer brought the younger men who were to work out these problems in practice. We knew them in our homes because of the little homely ways that tied us together."¹¹

Out of her Colorado experiences, Mrs. Foote was to write three novels, *The Led-Horse Claim*, *John Bodewin's Testimony*, and *The Last Assembly Ball*—all concerned with life in the Leadville mining camp.

The *Led-Horse Claim* was first published serially in the *Century Magazine*, November, 1882, to March, 1883, and was later published in book form.¹² It is the only one of the three Colorado novels which Mrs. Foote illustrated. This story represented one of the first attempts to handle the Colorado mining theme realistically. The anthology, *The Literature of the Rocky Mountain West*, contains the following comment about the novel, "The ridiculous exaggerations of 'Deadwood Dick' and the romantic flights of an Emerson Bennett are gone; . . . [the author] establishes a setting which truthfully portrays the rough life of a camp in a grim mountain canyon and creates a plot which grows out of the actual

passions of men who war for riches buried in the earth."¹³ And well Mrs. Foote knew of these passions for while her husband was employed in the operations of the Adelaide mine, there was a rough brush with men from the Argentine mine. The Argentine gang "broke into the bottom drift of the Adelaide, the territory in dispute, and set up a barricade with a door in it. . . . But robbery under arms did not succeed that time. The Adelaide had a dauntless foreman named Steve who went down the shaft alone and waited for them in the dark drift; one man, with a Winchester, held up the gang man by man as they came through and showed against the light."¹⁴ This incident provided the framework for *The Led-Horse Claim*.

The value of the novel lies in its theme which deals with the mining problems and practices of the time. Mrs. Foote's intimate knowledge acquired from her husband made it possible for her to deal with this subject. There are three important elements in the theme as Mrs. Foote handles it: the control of the mines by misinformed and unrealistic Eastern business interests, the practice of certain illegal mining techniques, and the crudeness of the legal system.

Mrs. Foote is probably one of the first novelists to play up the exploitation of the West by Eastern interests. She suggests the influence exerted by these interests in the opening sentence of the book, "The ark of mining . . . rested doubtfully, awaiting the olive-leaf of Eastern capital. Through the agency of those uncertain doves of promise, the promoter of mining schemes and the investor in the same, the olive-leaf was found, and, before the snows had blocked the mountain-passes, the gay, storm-beleaguered camp, in the words of its exhibitory press, began to boom."¹⁵ She also says, "The Led-Horse proudly boasted in its prospectuses that its stock was 'non-assessable.' The men who held it were engaged in larger schemes, which made the fate of the Led-Horse of comparative little consequence. They were scattered far and wide, on board yachts, at remote fishing and hunting grounds, at watering places, at home and abroad. To hold a timely meeting of stockholders under these circumstances would have puzzled the most active administration."¹⁶

Competition between mines was keen, and the desire and greed of men for mining profits often led to dishonest practices. In *The Led-Horse Claim*, there are two examples of dishonesty. The first is the tapping of the Led-Horse vein. The second is the jumping of the Led-Horse claim, in other words, trying to take it over

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹ "Reminiscences," p. 145.

¹² Mary Hallock Foote, *The Led-Horse Claim*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883.) Originally published in *Century Magazine*, XXV (November, 1882 to March, 1883).

¹³ Levette J. Davidson and Prudence Bostwick, *The Literature of the Rocky Mountain West*. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers Ltd., 1939), 48.

¹⁴ "Reminiscences," pp. 148-149.

¹⁵ Foote, *The Led-Horse Claim*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

without legal jurisdiction. Both were not uncommon practices and often led to mining wars and bloodshed.

The third element with which Mrs. Foote is concerned was the remoteness of legal facilities. All hearings were held at the district court in Denver. It was impossible, therefore, to obtain immediate hearings of mining cases. The delay involved in obtaining an injunction or a judgment, or in filing a suit, often was responsible for men taking the law into their own hands.

Mrs. Foote says of her first attempt at a novel, "It told of things that interested the writer and was called a success; if it was, it was a most ingenuous one."¹⁷

Mary Hallock Foote's second full-length novel continues with one of the problems raised in *The Led-Horse Claim*—the legal technicalities concerned with various mining claims. *John Bodewin's Testimony*, like its predecessor, first appeared in the *Century Magazine*. The story ran as a serial from November, 1885, to April, 1886, and was published as a book in 1896.

The basic elements of the story are autobiographical. In 1878 Mr. Foote was an expert witness in a litigation involving the Iron Mine. He spent two months at the mine making surveys and maps and constructed a model of the vein. His testimony won the case for the owner and defendant. Mrs. Foote says of the incident, "The gentlemen's agreement was settled by the owner of the four million dollar mine handing his expert a cheque for one hundred dollars. A good dishwasher could have made more at a pantry-sink in the Clarendon Hotel, or washing tumblers behind a bar, as wages went (not to speak of fees) in Leadville then."¹⁸

One aspect of the lawlessness of the West furnishes the theme of *John Bodewin's Testimony*; that is, the inadequate legal facilities available on the frontier. There was, at this time, a lack of adequate and trained legal counsel, a lack of law-enforcing agencies, and a lack of court facilities. A man morally right, and even with grounds well-founded legally, often had little chance of winning a case against the shrewd confidence men and shysters operating in the early mining camps.

There is almost a plea in the book for the West to protect its Eastern investors. In his summation at John Bodewin's trial, the lawyer says, "We are Western men; we want to encourage Eastern capitalists to seek investments in the West. One way to do it will be to show them that their investments in the West can and will be protected by the West."¹⁹ The implication is that on the one hand Eastern investors were exploiting the West, and on the other

hand they were often duped by dishonest representatives, or through lack of knowledge and experience mismanaged their own affairs.

Depiction of the social life of Leadville is Mrs. Foote's prime concern in her third Colorado novel. *The Last Assembly Ball: A Pseudo Romance of the Far West* appeared in the *Century Magazine* from March through June, 1889.²⁰ It was later published in book form with one of Mrs. Foote's short stories, "The Fate of a Voice."

The Last Assembly Ball is, in reality, social criticism. Mrs. Foote is aware of the differences in the social patterns between the East and the West. Introductory to the novel is an analysis of these differences. This analysis presents some of the important concepts and misconceptions concerning the social life of the frontier. She says, "The East generalizes the West as much as England has the habit of generalizing America; taking note of picturesque outward differences, easily perceived across the breadth of a continent. . . . The West is not to be measured by homesick tales from an Eastern point of view." According to Mrs. Foote, measurement could only come in future generations when a Western novelist acclimated to the region, bred in its traditions, and a "cosmopolite by blood," writes of the true nature of the West and not the picturesque.²¹

Another misconception Mrs. Foote strikes at is that the "East had decided that nothing can be freer and simpler than the social life of the Far West, exemplified by the flannel shirt and the flowing tie, the absence of polish on boots and manners." She feels that, in spite of all their "perpetuated grooves and deep-rooted complexities," Eastern society is "freer and more cheerful" than the young society of the West. In speaking of this frontier society, she says, "No society is so puzzling in its relations, so exacting in its demands upon self-restraint, as one which has no methods, which is yet in the stage of fermentation."²² Throughout the novel Mrs. Foote continues to emphasize differences between the native Western attitude and that of the Easterner.

Although the plots and characters of the Colorado novels are conventional and trivial, the writings are valuable for their presentation of facets of life in a mining camp, discussion of legal complications in mining operations, description of social changes when Eastern culture came in contact with primitive Western conditions, and explanation of the effect of exploitation of Western resources by Eastern investors. In these writings is seen the

²⁰ Mary Hallock Foote, "The Last Assembly Ball: A Pseudo Romance of the Far West," *Century Magazine*, XXXVII and XXXVIII (March, 1889, to June, 1889).

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVII, p. 773.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 773.

¹⁷ "Reminiscences," p. 195.

¹⁸ "Reminiscences," p. 106-107.

¹⁹ Foote, *John Bodewin's Testimony*, p. 291.

birth of an author. They are unique because they represent a woman's impressions. For the first time a woman novelist wrote fiction based on personal experiences in the West.

The Eastern interests which Mrs. Foote represented decided to abandon the Colorado venture, and the family was again out of work. Mr. Foote accepted an assignment in Mexico and took his wife on the trip. They left their son with Sister Bessie at Milton and took a cruise ship south to Cuba, Yucatan, and thence to Vera Cruz. From there they travelled by "diligence" (a Concord coach drawn by eight mules) to Mexico City and Morelia. The 250-mile return trip from Morelia to Mexico City was made on horseback and took six days. The Footes were among the first tourists to journey to Morelia and were received most hospitably and graciously by the people of old Mexico. This trip was the high point in the Footes' experiences. Arthur B. Foote speaks of his mother's recollection of the trip and mentions that some of the pottery and blankets brought back are still in existence.²³ This trip inspired three fine travel articles, written and illustrated by Mrs. Foote, which were published in 1881 and 1882.

Upon their return from Mexico, the Footes stayed in the East for a considerable period. It was a gay winter spent with dear friends and new acquaintances. Among the latter was Henry James. During this time the Footes had entree into some of New York's most fascinating society.

Arthur Foote was off again, this time accompanied by Sister Bessie's husband, John Sherman, to open a new mine in Idaho. While he was away, Mary Hallock Foote gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. At Milton she finished the last chapter of *The Led-Horse Claim*.

Within a few months Mr. Foote resigned from his position as manager of the Wolfstone Mine, since the operation did not appear to be promising, and went to southern Idaho to investigate possibilities there. He wrote his wife of the opportunities in irrigation development, but the idea was received with little enthusiasm by Mrs. Foote. In "Reminiscences" she says

I had thought we were committed to deep mining, and here we were turning our backs on the experience and friends we had gained in the last six years and beginning all over again in a new branch of engineering. What did "we" know about irrigation?—and not an assured job, but as authors and projectors from the ground up. The ground indeed!—three hundred thousand acres of it, in an unknown region the great attraction of which seemed to be that it needed water. It was a desert to be reclaimed, a scheme so vast that millions would be needed to carry it through. Who were we that we should think we could influence capital to that extent! There it was in a nutshell as

²³ Letter from Arthur B. Foote, January 25, 1955.

it looked to that "eternal misbeliever" a man's own wife. The mother of a two weeks' baby has had all the adventurousness taken out of her.²⁴

In spite of these misgivings, when her husband returned in February, he convinced his wife that he was not mad, and Mrs. Foote agreed to join him later, even though with reluctance. It was difficult to break family ties and, as Mrs. Foote says, "This meant farewell to music, art, gossip of the workshop, schools that we knew about, new friends just made who would forget us, old friends better loved than ever and harder to part from,—all the background receding hopelessly and forever. . . . But darkest Idaho! Thousands of acres of desert empty of history."²⁵ In the fall of 1883, Mrs. Foote and Sister Bessie left for Boise, Idaho, to join their husbands. The following passage from "Reminiscences" reflects Mrs. Foote's feelings at that time as well as exemplifies her skill in description. In it she pictures the country as she saw it upon arrival at Kuna, Idaho.

It was a place where silence closed about you after the bustle of the train, where a soft, dry wind from great distances hummed through the telegraph wires and a stage road went out of sight in one direction and a new railroad track in another; but that wind had magic in it. It came across immense dry areas without an object to harp upon except the man-made wires. There was not a tree in sight—miles and miles of pallid sage-brush: as moonlight unto sunlight is that desert sage to other greens. It gives a great intensity to the blue of the sky and to the deeper blue of the mountains lifting their snow-capped peaks, the high light along the far horizon . . . The birds and the wind filled the vast brooding silence—the desert wind that talks, that whispers, that brings messages from the infinite filled with whatever each human soul that listens can put into it.²⁶

The years from 1883 to 1893 were to bring heartbreak, failure, and discouragement. But being the true pioneer that he was, Arthur Foote faced each new problem bravely and without complaint, and his valiant wife worked with him, often supporting the family with her "pot boiler" writings, and meeting each family disaster, with the help of Sister Bessie, calmly and bravely.

Arthur Foote was the Chief Engineer and Manager of the Idaho Mining and Irrigation Company. Through the construction of a great engineering project involving storage reservoirs, dams, and two canals, water was to be provided for 600,000 acres of land in the vicinity of Boise. As was true of many of these early projects, funds were insufficient, and he was hampered in his efforts to build an adequate project. After completion of the smaller canal and a year of work on the main canal, the Company became bankrupt.²⁷ This marked the beginning of a long period of discouragement.

²⁴ "Reminiscences," pp. 204-205.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 210.

²⁶ *Loc. Cit.*, 214-215.

²⁷ Arthur B. Foote, "Memoir of Arthur DeWint Foote," *Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, XCIX, 1934, pp. 1449-1450.

ments, for Mr. Foote unsuccessfully attempted to promote the project on his own — preparation of reports for possible investors, visits by inspectors for Eastern interests, moments of high hope followed by grim despair, and little or no salary. Finally Mr. Foote had to give up and take a position with the United States Geological Survey, remaining with the dream project only as a consulting engineer without pay. The family lived with Bessie Sherman who now ran a boarding house in Boise.

The stay in Idaho came to an end when a California offer took them out of the State with their dreams and hopes unfilled, but as Mrs. Foote said in a letter to the Boise Writers' Club in 1932, "The finest dreams of our lives we had in Idaho. We came away 'dead broke' but so rich in memories."²⁸

Along with the sad times came some interesting experiences such as the beginning of correspondence with Rudyard Kipling and his father, Lockwood Kipling. Rudyard Kipling wrote to ask Mrs. Foote to do the illustrations for one of his stories and, although the project was abandoned, it led to a long and fruitful exchange of letters.

During this period their third child, a daughter, Agnes, was born. The children were all nursed through childhood illnesses; Arthur was sent East to school; and Mrs. Foote wrote constantly, for the need was great. Her Idaho experiences furnished the background for some of Mrs. Foote's most imaginative short stories and for two of her most significant novels, *The Chosen Valley* and *Coeur d'Alene*. Idaho provided the setting for the greatest number of her stories and for the period of her greatest creative activity. Mrs. Foote says "... I look back to that third-story bedroom at Bessie's where my writing was done, as the best place for the purpose I have ever known, and my work in that room was blessed if it be blessed to 'sell'—I am not so sure about that! The themes were the best that ever came to me, but if they had been returned and kept for ten years till they had ripened and settled on their lees, I might have poured a purer wine. But quick sales were needful at that time."²⁹

Perhaps the diversity of scenery and setting accounts for Mrs. Foote's more vivid and extensive use of Idaho locales in her stories (four novels and nine short stories) than was true of any other state in which she lived. She wrote of the flat desert land, the Black lava fields, and the mountainous mining districts. Also in this period she contributed works of definite significance and value as pictures of social and economic problems of the period. *The Chosen Valley* is important for its depiction of the specific prob-

²⁸ Contained in information sent to the writer from the Idaho State Historical Society, April 1, 1955.

²⁹ "Reminiscences," p. 272.

lems encountered in the development of early irrigation projects. *Coeur d'Alene* gives an accurate account of an actual event in Idaho mining history and of an attitude which prevailed toward early mining labor unions.

Although Mr. Foote was forced to abandon his dreams, the project he started was later completed by the United States Reclamation Service and exists today as the very successful Boise Project. Mrs. Foote says of their departure, "We did not leave our bones on that battle-field but we left the crown of his years [Mr. Foote's] and the greatest of his hopes, the dream that satisfied the blood of farmers and homemakers in him, and the brain of the conductor he was born to use."³⁰

The move from Idaho again brought a time of separation before the family could be settled in California permanently. Mr. Foote had a position which entailed development of an onyx mine in Lower California and there was no place there for a wife and children. Mrs. Foote temporarily remained with Bessie in Boise.

When the onyx mine was forced to close down, Mr. Foote moved to Grass Valley, California, where he was engineer on a mine construction job. Mrs. Foote came to visit her husband after the long separation and remained for thirty years. Again these were uncertain times, but finally Arthur Foote became manager of the North Star Mine, one of a number of mines known as "The Hague Group" which became one of the most profitable mining enterprises in the country.

Management of the North Star Mine brought a permanency which the Footes had not previously experienced. In spite of the fact that these were more pleasant and satisfying years for the Footes after almost twenty years involving hardships and frequent separation, it was not the end of their sorrows and trouble, for in 1904 they lost their youngest daughter, Agnes, "a blow from which she [Mrs. Foote] never really recovered."³¹ Mrs. Foote wrote very little in her reminiscences about the years after 1904 and brought them to an end with the death of Agnes. Very little information is available on these years of relative seclusion—it includes what could be gleaned from vital statistics, Arthur B. Foote's memoir of his father, and limited correspondence which the writer of this paper was able to obtain from the descendants. It is known that in 1913 Mr. Foote made good fifty thousand dollars in extra costs caused by a surveyor's mistake on a road construction project Mr. Foote had undertaken, thus proving his great integrity.

Between 1898 and 1919, Mrs. Foote wrote three novels—*The Prodigal*, *The Valley Road*, and *The Groundswell*—one long short

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Letter from Mrs. Foote's granddaughter, Janet Micoleau, July 18, 1955.

story, and three short stories. These writings seem to reflect Mrs. Foote's own adjustment and settling down, and show an increasing tendency to follow a conventional pattern and to emphasize a moral purpose. There is little of the social criticism so evident in the Colorado and Idaho works, but she occasionally touches on the subject. Mostly the stories are light fiction for popular consumption, little different from other magazine stories of the day.

In 1932, Arthur and Mary Foote left Grass Valley to spend their last days in Hingham, Massachusetts, with their daughter, Betty. Arthur Foote died in 1934, at the age of 84, but Mary Hallock Foote lived on to the age of 91 with death coming June 25, 1938.

A study of her complete works and a review of her life, including reading her own "Reminiscences," lead to the conclusion that Mary Hallock Foote was one of the remarkable and fascinating women of her period. Mrs. Janet Micoleau, in a letter to the writer, pays her grandmother her finest tribute in the following:

I know of no honors which she received during those later years, although I remember as a child being impressed on several occasions by the distinguished people who came to see her. I remember her as a charming, animated little person, with an almost girlish air of shyness. She blushed easily, kept her eyes cast down a great deal of the time (partly, I think, because they were sensitive to bright light) and had a way of covering her face with her hands when she laughed. She was, however, a great talker and, when with stimulating people, would often get 'carried away' and would groan with shame afterward at having 'talked too much.' But her conversation was never dull. Her life had been interesting, and she was witty and well-read, with an extraordinary memory which enabled her to quote liberally from her favorite authors.

She sewed beautifully and made most of her own clothes, according to her own style, which was not that of the times. When other grandmothers wore short skirts, bobbed hair and permanents, she wore skirts to her ankles and white caps in the Quaker tradition over hair, which had never turned grey but had become very thin. She also followed the Quaker custom of using 'thee' instead of 'you' when talking to members of the family.

She must have been very pretty as a girl. She was said to have had such white skin and such brilliant color in her cheeks that she often had to wear a veil because men thought that she was 'painted.'

A Visit to Wagon Wheel Gap as Told in a Letter*

WRITTEN BY CHARLEY H. TOLL

Del Norte Aug. 6, 1876

Dear Parents:

Everything here has been so stagnant that I have really had nothing to write you. Yesterday afternoon however I determined to vary the monotony by a pleasure excursion, and went with the San Miguel party, up to Wagon Wheel Gap—a narrow pass in the Mountains through which the Rio Grande flows,—and which derives its name from the incident that in '48 when Fremont was passing from St. Louis to the Pacific,—on a tour of exploration, one of his wagons broke down there and the wheel remained there for many years. It is between 30 and 35 miles West of here. Upham and I started together, and overtook the remainder of the party some miles up the river and from there we all journed together, reaching the gap, a little after sunset. You would have thought the party a rather curious affair, if you had seen it in the East. All carried a roll of blankets, clothing &c strapped on behind the saddle and over a pair of saddle bags, and all except myself wore a belt, loaded with huge revolvers,—bowie knives and a tin cup. Then, too, each had a lariat and an oil cloth coat strapped to the saddle.—The amt. of camp equipage one can carry on a horseback trip is rather surprising,—You may remember that I went up the river abt 20 miles last winter, but from that point to the gap the scenery is by far the finest. The valley narrows till it is but a few hundred feet in width, and on other side the rocks rise to heights varying from 200 to 300 ft. to perhaps 1200, sometimes almost perpendicularly and—again in shelves or benches which gradually recede.

Most of the way the river runs along close to the road, and is all the time in sight.

* This letter, written only 28 years after Fremont's Expedition visited what later became known as Wagon Wheel Gap, has been made available to the State Historical Society by Mr. Caldwell Martin, a Director of the Society. Charles Hansen Toll, distinguished Colorado citizen, was born in Onondaga County, New York, April 26, 1850. After graduating from Hamilton College in 1872, he studied law in the office of Senator Hiscock at Syracuse. Mr. Toll came to Colorado in 1875, locating in Del Norte. On August 12, 1876, he was appointed County Attorney of Rio Grande County and held the office until November 6, 1877. In 1878, he was elected a member of the House of the Colorado General Assembly. The next year he was appointed United States District Attorney. In 1880, after his election to the office of Attorney General of Colorado, he moved to Denver, where he made his permanent home. In that same year, he married Katharine E. Wolcott, sister of Henry R. and Edward O. Wolcott. Four sons were born to them: Charles H. Toll, Jr., Roger Wolcott Toll, Henry Wolcott Toll and Oliver Wolcott Toll. Mr. Toll died on December 4, 1901.—*Editor.*

Del Note Aug 6th 1876.
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 Dear Parents.
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 down there and the wheel remained there
 for many years. It is about 80 or 85
 miles West of here, Upstream and distant

There were two or three little showers on the way, and once, when we were riding along near a small mountain which lay between us and the sun, I could see the rain drops falling through the air for a thousand feet and 200 or 300 feet above the earth. The sight was quite a novel and interesting one, and the drops seemed to fall as leisurely as snow flakes.

For nearly 2 miles before we reached the place where we were to camp, the rocks on the northern bank of the river rose, almost perpendicularly, for a thousand feet from the water, - save where the rock shaling off had been deposited at the base. We had supper at a hotel, constructed in rather a substantial manner - for it was a log house, - and it wasn't a very wretched supper either, for it consisted mainly of trout such as you haven't seen for many a year - and went, till you come to Colorado.

In the morning I was up before sunrise - (which wasn't much of a virtue since the sun doesn't appear there until abt an hour after it has exhibited itself to the rest of the world) - and walked up to the hot springs, which are about a mile to the south on a little stream flowing into the Rio Grande. There are two of these springs, - and near one of them, quite a large bath house has been built, - and around it perhaps 25 people were camped. - At times there are more there, for it is a favorite stopping place for people passing in and out of the mines. The water in the springs is 130° in temperature and is impregnated with sulphur, soda and iron. It is stronger with these pleasant ingredients when warm than after it has cooled - and the ardent visitors drink it when quite hot. I think Ma would be enthusiastic about the place. The baths are very pleasant and it would be a famous place if near a more populous country.

Going back to the Gap, we had a trout breakfast, - saddled our steeds and while the others went westward, I turned to the East and came back to town, reaching here a little before noon - and having been but 4½ hours on the way, - though I had one of the hardest riding horses that I have seen. We reached the Gap in company with a man who had ridden 115 miles within the last 24 hours, but had taken 3 horses to do it.

Evening - I have just read Pa's letter, in which he speaks of Mr. Mills' visit. He is working for apptmt. as U.S. Dist. Judge - a position similar to Wallace's of Syracuse - I think he has a very good prospect of securing it - if he can obtain Conkling's influence - which is what he is after in the East, I suppose.

I am very glad you had the house photographed for I take considerable satisfaction in looking at it.

Charley
 (Charles Hansen Toll)

Municipal Beginnings At Boulder, Colorado, 1871-1900*

By LYNN I. PERRIGO

Within a few years after the arrival of the first settlers at Boulder, Colorado, a town government was organized to serve the needs of the growing community, and in the succeeding three decades, as the population increased and local desires multiplied, the municipality was called upon to inaugurate many services.

The first agency of local government was provided by the mining districts, organized in 1859, and the next was Boulder County, established in 1861.¹ Within a few years the county was torn with sectional animosities and political strife. In the midst of the turmoil a movement arose for the organization of a town government for "Boulder City." As one man put it, people were "eager to cast this town out of their county."² There were, however, more fundamental reasons, mostly derived from the fact that after a decade of difficulties Boulder City finally was coming to life. Railroads and a university were on the way, and town additions were being platted.³ In view of the expected growth the townsmen realized the need for a better supply of water and for protection against fire, two services not provided by the county.⁴

A few prominent citizens who owned considerable real estate and who had long worked together in county politics,⁵ applied to the county commissioners on November 4, 1871, for the setting apart of the original townsite and three additions as the Town of Boulder, with its own trustees and other officers.⁶ This was granted, and the commissioners designated the five applicants to serve as trustees until others should be elected the following April. These five "founding fathers" met together that same Saturday to elect officers and to set a regular time for meetings. After a set of

ordinances had been drafted and adopted at some busy sessions during the next ten days, Boulder's town government was fairly launched.⁷

A minor change in the form of organization followed seven years later, merely because Colorado became a state in 1876, and the legislature provided for incorporation of towns under state statutes, instead of under county authority, as before. Consequently, the Boulder town government was duly reincorporated in January, 1878. The only noteworthy change was that now instead of electing five trustees, a clerk, a street supervisor, and a constable, the electors chose a mayor, a recorder, and five trustees, and these filled other offices by appointment.⁸

In 1882, after the census of 1880 had shown the population of Boulder to be above 3,000, that made possible the next step, incorporation as a city of the second class.⁹ This was effected merely by the adoption of an ordinance by the town trustees.¹⁰ The principal changes at this time were that the town was divided into four wards, that election procedure and salaries of officers were to be governed by state law for cities of this class, that the elective officers were henceforth mayor, treasurer, and four aldermen, and that the latter were to serve for two years.¹¹ A new town hall was completed in time for the mayor and council of the new city to take possession in April.¹² The mayor-alderman plan thus adopted in 1882 continued in effect with only minor changes until 1918.

One of the functions of the municipal government was the improvement and the care of the streets. In the first set of ordinances, adopted in 1871, was one providing that the street commissioner should make a list of all able-bodied men and call on each for two days of labor on the streets each year, or else collect four dollars in lieu of work and use the funds for improvement of the streets.¹³ Keeping the streets in good condition, however, was a difficult, endless task, because of the steep grades and the clay soil. Consequently there were many complaints about their "horrible condition," especially after heavy rains. One disgusted townsman contributed this poem to the newspaper:

Oh the mud, the miserable mud!
Into its depths you go with a thud
That causes the sticky nasty clay
To slide up your boots in a horrible way;
Sticky, nasty, filthy stuff!

¹ Minutes of the Town Trustees, November 4 to 14, 1871.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1877, Jan. 9, Feb. 19, 1878; *Boulder County News*, Jan. 4, 11, 1878.

³ The population in 1880 was 3,069. U. S., *The Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (1883), 112.

⁴ Minutes of the Town Trustees, Dec. 5, 1881, Feb. 18, 1882.

⁵ Minutes of the City Council, April 24, 1882; Ordinances, Book II, Feb. 18, 1882.

⁶ *Boulder County Herald*, Nov. 23, 1881; *passim*, 1881-1882.

⁷ Minutes of the Town Trustees, Nov. 11, 1871.

* This article is comprised of selections from *A Municipal History of Boulder, Colorado, 1871-1946*, prepared under the joint sponsorship of the Boulder County Historical Society and the City of Boulder. Dr. Lynn I. Perrigo, the author, who has previously written for *The Colorado Magazine* is Head of the Department of History and Social Sciences, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, N. M.—Editor.

¹ Percy S. Fritz, "Mining Districts of Boulder County, Colorado" (University of Colorado thesis, 1933), 11-21; Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Blakeley, 1889-1895), III, 296.

² *Boulder County Pioneer*, August 24, 1869, *et passim*, April to September, 1869.

³ Amos Bixby, "History of Boulder County," in *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys* (Chicago: Baskin and Co., 1880), 393; F. L. Moorhead, compiler, *Charter and Code of Boulder, Colorado* (Boulder Publishing Co., 1925), list of town additions in Appendix; James F. Willard, "Early Days of the University of Colorado," in *University of Colorado Studies*, X, No. 1, 17-18.

⁴ *Pioneer*, Feb. 10, 1869; *Boulder County News*, July 8, 1871.

⁵ M. G. Smith, F. A. Squires, Alpheus Wright, Anthony Arnett, and J. P. Maxwell. See the Minutes of the County Commissioners, *passim*, 1861 to 1871, and the Boulder County Tax Roll for 1872.

⁶ Minutes of the County Commissioners, Nov. 4, 1871; *Boulder County News*, Nov. 10, 1871.

Why, the devil, it's enough
To cause oaths to come from pious saints.
Everything here is damned with the taints
Of the nasty, adhering real estate,
That's loafing around your town to date.¹⁴

Nevertheless some improvements were made in the years 1871 to 1900. First, some trees were set out in 1871. Then the city engineer established grades for the streets, and when they were evened up to the proper grade that improved the drainage. After 1874, to cope with the dust in dry weather, the merchants employed a man to sprinkle the business thoroughfares. In addition, some of the confusion of the earlier naming of streets was cleared up by action of the city council. A system of numbering houses was adopted in 1893, and street markers were erected on spruce posts three years later.¹⁵

In those years sidewalks were built along most of the improved streets, made of "sound two inch planks, firmly set upon and spiked to suitable bearings . . ." The ordinances provided that property owners should build the walks in front of their places whenever a majority in a block so requested; but, if not done, the city would build them and assess the cost to the property owners.¹⁶ It was not long until the nails protruded and the boards came loose on those sidewalks, creating a "woeful state of man traps," which caused many a tumble and several lawsuits.¹⁷ Experiments with stone flagging led to its adoption on the main street in 1886, and finally in 1898, the city council ordered the street supervisor "to tear up all the wooden sidewalks in the city limits."¹⁸ The era of concrete sidewalks and paved streets, however, did not arrive until later, near 1910, when the major local improvements were undertaken.

The building of a water system proved to be even more difficult than improving the streets. At first the householders obtained their water from the creek and from the irrigation ditches, and later a few residents had water piped from the ditches into their houses.¹⁹ With the rapid growth of the town after 1870, a better water system was needed, consequently, after some "mass meetings," the town voted a bond issue of \$18,000 in 1874, and the town trustees let bids for the building of a small reservoir in the canon and for laying

¹⁴ *Boulder County News*, Dec. 1, 1871; also, *ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1871, March 29, 1872; *Boulder County Herald*, Oct. 30, 1889; *Boulder Camera*, June 10, 19, 1891; University of Colorado, *Boulder County Studies on Health, Sanitation, Recreation, Relief, Municipal Administration, and Business* (Boulder: 1921), 163.

¹⁵ *Boulder County News*, May 24, 1872; *Boulder County Herald*, July 5, 1882; *Camera*, June 7, 1892; Town Minutes, May 2, 1876, Oct. 6, 1879, July 11, 1881; Council Minutes, July 5, 1882, Feb. 4, March 4, 1882, June 20, Nov. 14, 1890, May 2, 1892, April 3, June 5, August 7, 1893, Feb. 3, 1896, June 6, 1898.

¹⁶ Town Minutes, Dec. 13, 1871, June 1, 1872, Dec. 9, 1875, Oct. 16, 1877; Council Minutes, August 14, 1882, *passim*.

¹⁷ *Boulder County Herald*, March 3, 1880, Sept. 24, 1884; *Camera*, June 14, Sept. 23, 1891; *passim*.

¹⁸ *Boulder County Herald*, April 23, July 26, 1882; Council Minutes, June 7, 1886, August 1, 1898.

¹⁹ *Boulder County Pioneer*, Feb. 10, 1869; Town Minutes, Nov. 29, 1872; *Boulder County News*, Jan. 10, 1873.

a cast iron pipe down the main street.²⁰ Then the president of the town board was assigned an official chore. He was appointed "to canvass the town and find out whom [sic] will take water and what they are willing to give per annum or per quarter for the use of water."²¹ Even before the first line was laid it became clear that this system was inadequate, and another bond issue of \$12,000 was required to complete the supply ditch and to lay pipes along cross streets. When the work was finished the contractor was required to give bond to "make tight all joints, connections and hydrants now leaking or that may be found to be so leaking within twenty days." The town board should have specified twenty years instead of twenty days, because that first water system was a constant source of trouble.²²

The growth of the town was another source of trouble, for it required one extension after another, for which the water supply was inadequate and was also "clouded with mill tailings."²³ In the summer of 1882, the pressure was down to ten pounds, and limited hours for sprinkling lawns was adopted.²⁴ Proposals for expansion became the subject of extended controversy in the late 1880's, and finally the city council drew up plans for a reservoir and a mountain supply system to cost \$150,000.²⁵ It was about time, too, for the water situation was growing steadily worse. A local physician suggested that each home and office be provided with some kind of a water filter; and a university professor recommended to householders a method of treating the water with soda and alum solutions which would "settle 95 per cent of the dirt in twenty minutes."²⁶

The bonds were voted for the mountain system and it was built and in operation by March, 1891, but more troubles arose.²⁷ The reservoir had been rushed into use without being paved first, so this had to be done, and while the work was under way, according to the newspaper, "the city council as a committee of the whole, resolved itself into a committee of the hole and visited the much maligned reservoir," where they saw "mud and microbes."²⁸ At that time, too, the city began to grow so rapidly that more mains were needed, and then the supply line proved to be too small. Consequently there was another vote on more bonds in 1893, the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1873, Jan. 2, March 27, 1874; Town Minutes, July 14, Nov. 29, 1874, April 6, 7, May 5, 19, 26, June 23, 1875; *Daily Denver Times*, March 20, 1875.

²¹ Town Minutes, July 24, 1875.

²² *Ibid.*, August 5, 30, Oct. 5, Nov. 25, 1875, August 1, 1876, July 1, 1878, June 10, 1880; *Boulder County News*, August 6, 1875, March 29, 1878; *Boulder County Herald*, August 24, 1887.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 5, 19, 1882; Town Minutes, April 29, June 20, July 13, 1878, March 1, 1880, July 7, 1881, August 14, Sept. 5, 1882, May 7, 1883.

²⁴ *Boulder County Herald*, August 16, 1882, July 4, 1883.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 21, May 19, June 16, July 14, 1886, April 20, 1887, April 10, 1889, Jan. 22, 1890; Council Minutes, March 3, 1890.

²⁶ *Boulder County Herald*, Feb. 26, July 23, 1890.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1891; Council Minutes, April 7, 1890.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1891, May 11, 1892; *Boulder County Herald*, Jan. 7, 1891; *Camera*, Oct. 17, 20, 1891.

larger pipes were laid, and finally Boulder's water system began to win praise.²⁹ A visitor in 1896, wrote:

The city water supply comes from an open reservoir two or three hundred feet higher than the town, which is supplied through pipes reaching several hundred feet still higher several miles "up the mountains." It is snow water, and the clearest, coolest, purest and softest water we have ever used.³⁰

Quite different from providing a water system, but just as essential to the community, was the police service rendered by the town and city. In fact, the maintenance of order was the first responsibility to receive attention upon organization of the town. At the initial meeting of the trustees they appointed a constable, and a week later they adopted an ordinance governing that office.³¹ The constable's duties were "to suppress riots, disturbances and breaches of the peace, to apprehend all rioters, disorderly persons, and disturbers of the peace," as well as anyone violating a town ordinance. The full extent of his duties, then, is revealed in the various ordinances concerning misdemeanors. For one thing, he should not permit anyone to appear in a public place "in a state of nudity, or in a dress not belonging to his or her sex, or in any indecent or lewd dress." He was also to apprehend all persons who became intoxicated and put them in jail until they were sober (but there was no town jail yet!). In addition it was unlawful to fire any cannon, gun, or "squib cracker" without permission, or to throw a stone or missile at any building, tree, or property in a public place, or to obstruct or damage the streets in any way. Further, no one should ride or drive a horse "inordinately," nor leave horses on the streets without tying them; and the use of profane language was a misdemeanor calling for a fine of from five to a hundred dollars.³²

The first constable went to work immediately, judging by the reports of arrests made in December, 1871. Apparently the ordinance about profanity was not to be taken lightly, either, for in one case the culprit drew a five dollar fine for "the use of indecent and improper language."³³ By the spring of 1873, a local editor observed that "business in the local courts is remarkably dull," and a few years later another added that "the criminal record of the town is almost at zero."³⁴ The good record in this respect was praised by a local historian in his work published in 1880; consequently all the mayor had to be disturbed about that year was the violation of ordinances on "the explosion of firearms and fast driving, and the running at large of cattle and poultry."³⁵

²⁹ Council Minutes, June 14, August 9, Oct. 2, 1893, Jan. 15, May 18, 1894.

³⁰ Editor of the Sheldon, Iowa, *Mail*, quoted in *Camera*, Feb. 14, 1896.

³¹ Town Minutes, Nov. 4, 11, 1871.

³² *Ibid.*, and Nov. 14, 1871.

³³ *Boulder County News*, Dec. 22, 29, 1871.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1873; *Boulder News Courier*, March 14, 1879.

³⁵ Amos Bixby, *op. cit.*, 396; Town Minutes, July 6, 1880.

As to gambling, there was a report in 1873, that a keno establishment had started and was "running in full blast every evening." Promptly the town trustees adopted an ordinance against keeping a keno table, faro bank or any other "device or thing whatever" on which "any money or other article shall in any manner be played for." Soon the newspaper reported the closing of the gambling house, but a few years later this problem again became a matter of concern. The local editor then observed that "the question is, shall the gambling be allowed under police surveillance or shall it be secret. It is bound to exist one way or the other as long as the state of society is as it is."³⁶

The problem of prostitution also received attention from time to time. Although an ordinance of 1873, outlawed "bawdy houses," a few years later there was a news item about "the denizens of the house of questionable fame near the old hose house" asking the police to throw out some intoxicated customers. Presently a local editor urged that prostitution be suppressed, or at least "driven away from the most prominent places in the city." The evil was not promptly suppressed, and in the 1890's Boulder had an established "red light" district.³⁷

In the meantime the city had also become troubled with "hoodlums" and petty thieves, yet the number of cases brought before the police court had decreased from 214 in 1882, to seventy-seven in 1888.³⁸ The task of enforcement then fell to a vigorous individual who served as marshal from 1889 to 1893. For his first year in office he reported 154 arrests—sixty-eight for intoxication, twenty-two for being "inmates of house of ill fame," thirteen for vagrancy, eleven for disturbing the peace, eight for fighting, and so on.³⁹ In 1892, following one of the pay days at the mines, "the boys had been boisterous and had taken possession of the saloons, but quietly dispersed on notification by the Night Watch that Sunday had come and the saloons must close."⁴⁰ Evidently pretty good order had been restored to Boulder once more.

One of the purposes of municipal organization had been to provide protection against fire, and one of the first ordinances to which the town trustees gave their attention in 1871, outlined several precautionary regulations concerning fireplaces, stoves, chimneys, lamps, candles, hay, and ashes. It also provided that the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1873; *Boulder County News*, Feb. 14, 28, 1873, April 21, 1876; *Denver Daily Times*, August 5, 1876; *Camera*, March 8, 1892.

³⁷ Town Minutes, Feb. 18, 1873; *Boulder County Herald*, March 29, June 9, July 14, 1886; Council Minutes, August 2, 1886, Feb. 7, 1887; *Camera*, Jan. 14, 1898; reminiscences in *ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1945.

³⁸ *Boulder County Herald*, August 8, 1883, July 13, 27, Sept. 7, 1887, Dec. 19, 1888; Council Minutes, July 12, 1884.

³⁹ "Shep" Madera. *Boulder County Herald*, Feb. 4, 1889, April 16, 1890, April 22, 1891.

⁴⁰ *Camera*, August 21, 1892.

constable and trustees should be fire wardens, responsible for inspecting buildings, and for reporting any violations of the rules to the justices of the peace. At a fire all citizens present were subject to the orders of these wardens, and if someone refused to obey he was to be fined five dollars and "taken into custody until the fire was over."⁴¹

In 1874, when steps were being taken to build a water system, the town board concluded "to ascertain the probable cost of getting hooks and ladders sufficient for a fire company." This was followed by a meeting in February, 1875, at which eleven men signed up as the charter members of a volunteer company. Immediately the town bought a hook and ladder cart from the Denver fire department, and soon the Phoenix Hook and Ladder Company had appeared in uniform on its first parade and had sponsored its first dance.⁴²

Next to organize was Boulder Hose Company No. 1 that July, followed by Macky Hose Company No. 2 in January, 1877. Other companies appeared later, but down through the years the first three were the town's principal fire fighters and most active sponsors of dances and other social affairs.⁴³ When dressed for the latter events, or for the parade and review by city officials each spring, the volunteers appeared in nifty, colorful uniforms and elaborate firemen's hats and belts.⁴⁴ The Macky Hose Company had the special distinction of being sponsored by a well-to-do townsman, A. J. Macky, who entertained the company royally at a banquet once a year. At one of these events,

while the delicacies were being enjoyed the Italian band enlivened the occasion with "music's voluptuous swell." After dinner the room was cleared and for an hour the fire laddies and their wives, sweet-hearts, etc., indulged in a pleasant dance.⁴⁵

The hose companies participated in many firemen's tournaments from 1877 to 1901. Boulder Hose led off by winning a silver urn and tray at Georgetown in 1877, and it continued to win consistently in other contests, including the final one at the Quarto-Centennial celebration at Boulder in 1901. This team was credited with a "world's record" of thirty and two-fifths seconds for the run in the "wet test" at Canon City in 1896. The Macky Team also established a "world's record" of 29.1 seconds in the "dry test" at Greeley in 1890. These tournaments were great events

⁴¹ Town Minutes, Nov. 11, 1871.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1874; Feb. 20, March 23, 1875; *Boulder County News*, Feb. 19, April 2, 1875.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1875, April 6, 1877, *passim*; Bixby, *loc. cit.*, 415-416; *Denver Daily Times*, Jan. 13, 1877; Town Minutes, July 22, Sept. 7, 1878; Fire Department Minutes, June 5, 1876, *passim*.

⁴⁴ *Boulder County Herald*, April 23, 1883; history in *News Herald*, Feb. 17, 1932; uniforms in trophy case at Central Fire Station.

⁴⁵ *Boulder County Herald*, Jan. 12, 1884, Jan. 2, 1889; *Denver Daily Times*, Jan. 13, 1877; *Camera*, April 15, 1893, April 11, 1895, May 1, 1897.

in those days; for one held at Boulder in 1890, several committees of firemen and citizens made the preparations. The cost of trophies and entertainment was \$1,590.90.⁴⁶

The fire companies had more important business than their tournaments and dances and parades. They were organized to fight fire, and this they did well, too. Occasionally, however, there were unexpected difficulties. One incident was reported as follows:

Last Friday afternoon, as the thermometer indicated several degrees below zero, the alarm of fire was given. It soon brought a crowd on the street, but when the location was known, most of the people crowded near to their own stoves and let the fire laddies go alone. The fire was a smoke house on the south side of the creek, and was an entire loss, as the hydrant near by was out of order and no water could be thrown. Both hose companies were out, but the Boulder Hose, having taken the short cut, gained the plug. The Macky's very sensibly hitched on to an express wagon, and returned from the scene not near so worn out and exhausted as the Boulder Hose.⁴⁷

There were instances when the water pressure was too weak to be effective, and on one such occasion the hose companies, unable to spray a stream on a roof, had to stand by while the hook and ladder company poured on water carried up in buckets.⁴⁸ On the other hand, many times the newspapers carried reports about the effective work of these volunteer companies, and many times they saved important landmarks and valuable buildings from being devastated by fire.⁴⁹

Civic security also called for measures to safeguard the public health. In 1875, the town trustees ruled out the keeping of cattle, sheep, or swine, if offensive, and ordered that no privy or open sewer should be allowed to become "nauseous, foul, offensive, or injurious to the public health."⁵⁰ In 1878 the town board employed a part-time health officer, who was to combat epidemics and to work for elimination of nuisances.⁵¹ Sometimes all the facilities at command were taxed to the limit by serious epidemics of smallpox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever.⁵²

Another function of the health department was to have the town cleaned up once in a while. In 1881, the health officer was commended for this as follows:

No refuse is allowed to remain in the ditches and gulleys, no vegetable or animal matter is allowed to remain in a decaying condition within the city limits. Every street, every alley, every

⁴⁶ Trophies in case at Central Fire Station; Town Minutes, Sept. 4, 1877, *passim*; Fire Department Minutes, August 1, 8, Oct. 17, 1890, *passim*; *Camera*, Sept. 16, 1896, Aug. 3, 1901; history in *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1932 and April 20, 1940.

⁴⁷ *Boulder County Herald*, March 17, 1880.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, June 28, Oct. 25, 1882, July 18, 1883.

⁴⁹ *Boulder County News*, Oct. 13, 1876, Jan. 25, 1878; *Boulder County Herald*, March 22, June 28, Oct. 25, 1882, July 18, Dec. 26, 1883, Jan. 20, Nov. 24, 1886, March 25, 1891, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Town Minutes, June 17, 1875.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1877; Ordinances, August 14, 1878.

⁵² Town Minutes, Jan. 8, 1879; Council Minutes, Jan. 2, 1888, May 6, June 3, August 5, 1889, Oct. 6, 1890, March 1, 1897, Nov. 20, 1901.

open lot of ground has been cleaned, and the rubbish hauled away.⁵³

Nevertheless the town would not stay clean, and a few years later:

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Council that the sanitary condition of Boulder is in a fearful state; the ditches, alleys, and drains are in a filthy condition; infectious diseases are known to be prevalent, and in the opinion of the Council absolute quarantine in several cases should be maintained.⁵⁴

Presently the health officer reported that there would be no relief until the city could get sewers. Already a proposed bond issue for sewers had been rejected by the townsmen once, and a similar measure was voted down in 1895.⁵⁵ Then a special committee of citizens recommended that the city arrange anyway to lay a sewer "on the grounds of Emergency and absolute public necessity."⁵⁶ The council immediately authorized the sale of special city warrants up to \$18,000, obtained \$6,500 by subscription of property owners, bought a tract east of town for a city dump and a sewage settling basin, and had the first sewer main laid in the winter of 1895-1896.⁵⁷ This provided an effective beginning in city sanitation.

Presumably also belonging in the category of regulations for safety and security were the restrictions placed upon the city's bovine and canine population. In the 1880's there was some trouble about cattle running at large,⁵⁸ but that was inconsequential compared to the perennial dog problem. Before the town was organized one citizen complained that there was "not another small town in the world that can support as many lazy, useless, cussed dogs as Boulder. Oh for a municipal government so that we can have a poisonous, killing, exterminating dog law."⁵⁹ Probably he was satisfied when one of the first ordinances in 1871, provided for the licensing and tagging of dogs and for the elimination of all those not thus identified.⁶⁰ The treasurer's reports for the 1870's, however, reveal that few dog licenses were sold, and in 1883, petitioners were asking the city council "to have some of the dogs of the city killed off."⁶¹ Shortly after the turn of the century a vigorous dog catcher was employed, and then for awhile most dogs were properly licensed and stray ones were rare.⁶²

⁵³ *Boulder County Herald*, May 18, 1881.

⁵⁴ Council Minutes, June 6, 1892.

⁵⁵ *Camera*, June 13, 1891, April 19, 1892, March 8, 15, 1893, April 16, 1895; Council Minutes, Jan. 5, 1891, Dec. 5, 13, 1892, Jan. 13, March 6, April 17, 1893, Dec. 3, 1894, Jan. 7, March 8, April 15, 1895.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1895.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, August 5, 6, 9, Sept. 19, Nov. 1, 15, 18, Dec. 18, 1895, Jan. 6, 16, 22, 23, 29, Feb. 15, March 2, 1896; *Camera*, Jan. 6, 1896.

⁵⁸ Council Minutes, Nov. 5, 1883, Feb. 4, 1889; *Boulder County Herald*, Jan. 4, 1888.

⁵⁹ *Boulder County News*, May 20, 1871.

⁶⁰ Town Minutes, Nov. 13, 1875.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1872, April 3, 1877; Council Minutes, May 7, 1883.

⁶² *Ibid.*, May 16, 1906, June 1, 1908, July 1, 1912.

The city government was also called upon to take positive action for the public welfare. The problem of relief for the poor and for the unemployed received attention following the severe panic of 1893. A private benevolent association and the county poor fund carried most of the burden, but city help was solicited.⁶³ In 1898, a delegation from the local "Charity Organization" asked that the city sponsor "public work of some kind for destitute but worthy persons out of employment." They requested specifically that the city provide

a yard where stone may be on hand to be broken up for the use of the streets of the city, and second, that the labor of any persons sent to said yard shall be under the control of someone appointed by the city, and third, that the person so appointed shall endorse all orders given to laborers for work done, before such orders shall be valid for meals or lodging, upon the restaurants working with this Association.

The council voted acceptance of this proposal, thereby establishing an early precedent for municipally-sponsored work relief.⁶⁴

Another movement for the sake of the general welfare came with the crystallization of sentiment for local prohibition. One of the first ordinances of the town assessed a license fee of twenty-five dollars quarterly for selling "spirituous, vinous, fermented and intoxicating liquors." This was done in part to establish control over the saloons, but mainly to supply revenue.⁶⁵ After the organization of the Prohibition Alliance in 1879, prohibition became a regular campaign issue, and those who favored keeping the saloons then adopted a high license fee as their compromise solution. In 1888, the license fee was raised to \$1,000 annually, which caused the number of saloons to decrease from fourteen to six.⁶⁶

Beginning in 1894, the temperance workers appeared before the "high license" council periodically to ask that the saloons not be licensed at all, and two years later when council submitted this question to the electors, licensing was sustained by a close margin, 621-534.⁶⁷ The prohibition workers continued their agitation and, finally, in 1907, stimulated by two successive state conventions of the Women's Christian Temperance Union held at Boulder, they nominated a candidate for mayor and organized the campaign which led to victory.⁶⁸ A local editor reported that the women workers had been busy all night, had gone to church at six o'clock for prayers and coffee, and then had appeared at the polling places at 7:00 A.M. He added, "woman suffrage, if on trial, had proved

⁶³ *Camera*, August 9, 1893.

⁶⁴ Council Minutes, Dec. 5, 9, 1898.

⁶⁵ Town Minutes, Nov. 13, 1871, May 5, 1875, March 31, 1876.

⁶⁶ *News and Courier*, May 16, 1879; Council Minutes, July 2 to Sept. 3, 1883, Sept. 7, 1888, Sept. 13, 1889; *Boulder County Herald*, March 18, 25, April 8, 1885, Dec. 19, 1888.

⁶⁷ Council Minutes, March 5, 1894, March 2, April 20, 1896.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, August 2, 1897; *Camera*, Oct. 9, 1901, July 26, 1906, March 7, 8, 27, 28, 1907.

itself an institution," and then he concluded that "a splendid organization and an almost fanatical zeal rendered it impossible for the non-partisan [high license] organization to make the slightest headway."⁶⁹ The new city council then responded by adopting an ordinance which prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors in the city and within a mile of the city limits.⁷⁰

The liquor interests would not give up immediately, however, and the sponsors of prohibition had to wage another campaign in 1909, to preserve their gain. In opposition the editor of the *Camera* wrote, concerning the reformers of the "Better Boulder" party:

They don't grasp an idea. The idea grasps them, takes possession of them and drives out of their heads all other ideas.

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

But let that spirit dominate, and the result is as deadly as the torrid winds that sweep the Sahara, withering all things with its fiery touch.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the spirit did dominate, and local prohibition was reaffirmed decisively, 2495 to 1124.⁷²

Quite early a tendency for the community to provide positive and uplifting attractions found expression in efforts to maintain some kind of a reading room. As early as 1869, a local newspaper maintained a public reading room, and after that newspaper ceased, the following announcement appeared in its successor:

An effort will be made to start up the Reading Room for the next six months. Our citizens will be waited upon for subscriptions. Season tickets for gents \$3; ladies \$1.⁷³

Soon the newspaper urged that a public library be established, and for several years a reading room frequently was being started again by someone or other.⁷⁴

In 1886, the Boulder Library Association was organized, and that year the local Board of Trade lent recognition by appointing a committee to work for a public library.⁷⁵ When the Library Association tried to raise funds by means of a series of lectures, without success, a local editor wisely commented:

The failure of the lecture plan of raising money for a free reading room is not very complimentary to Boulder, and yet it is not much of a surprise to those posted on such matters. Lectures are nowhere very popular. People are so constituted as to want something light, if even trivial, to entertain them when the affair is public.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, April 2, 3, 1907.

⁷⁰ Council Minutes, June 17, 1907.

⁷¹ *Camera*, April 2, 1909.

⁷² Council Minutes, April 19, 1909.

⁷³ *Boulder County Pioneer*, Feb. 10, 1869; *Boulder County News*, Dec. 1, 7, 1869.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1872, Nov. 7, 1873, Dec. 10, 1875, May 10, 1878; *Boulder County Herald*, Jan. 4, 1882, June 11, 1884.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, April 17, 1886.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1888.

Finally in 1895, the ladies of the W.C.T.U. enlisted those of the Fortnightly Club and other groups to open a reading room which later became a public library. A campaign for funds obtained pledges amounting to \$600, which enabled the renting of a room and the employing of a librarian. In return for living quarters and eight dollars a month the librarian was "to keep the rooms clean and open from 8 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. every day" and also to keep a record of periodicals, of books lent, and of daily attendance. By July, that year, the reading room had 200 books, and for August the average daily attendance was reported to have been 55 5/7 persons.⁷⁷

Subscriptions were well paid that first year, but after that it became "a question of great anxiety how to make ends meet." An "eloquutionary entertainment" brought in \$6.80; a benefit concert made \$1.50; a contribution box collected a few dollars a year; a lecture course was considered but given up as "impracticable," and an appeal was made to the churches to take up a collection.⁷⁸ There was one other chance; the city council might lend some support. In 1897, representatives of the Reading Room Association appeared before the council and obtained an appropriation of \$100.00.⁷⁹ The council soon named two representatives on the board and granted a regular allowance of fifty dollars a month.⁸⁰

The next development was a campaign to convert the reading room into a public library. With encouragement coming from a newly formed state library board, local citizens petitioned the city council to establish a library and to provide a building.⁸¹ In 1901, the city council bought and turned over to the reading room the 500 volume library of a labor union, and when a member of the union protested that he was being charged a dollar to use the reading room, the secretary of the board promptly promised to the city council that thenceforth all books of the "Free Reading Room" should be "circulated free of any and all charge." Thus finally by four successive steps, namely, the appointment of council members to the board, the annual city appropriation, the city's acquisition of books, and the elimination of fees, the reading room by 1901, had been converted into a public library.⁸²

A desire to secure facilities for individual improvement, as in the case of the library, and a desire for general beautification of

⁷⁷ *Annual Report of the City of Boulder*, 1911-1912, 32; Minutes of the Reading Room Association, April 22, May 3, 24, July 1, Sept. 2, 1895.

⁷⁸ Reading Room Journal, monthly entries, 1895-6; Reading Room Minutes, April 6, 1896, April 6, 19, June 1, July 6, Sept. 6, 1897, April 18, 1898.

⁷⁹ Council Minutes, June 7, 1897.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1899, *passim*, Reading Room Minutes, March 25, 1901; *Camera*, June 18, 1901.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1897; Council Minutes, Sept. 5, 1898, Jan. 3, 1900.

⁸² *Ibid.*, March 6, 20, April 3, July 1, 1901; Reading Room Minutes, March 25, 1901.

the city led to provision of public parks. Prior to 1898, the town acquired and then relinquished one small park—the public square. The shareholders in the original townsite had set aside a public square, for which the title later passed to the town, but in 1881, the town trustees granted the county perpetual use of the square as a site for the courthouse.⁸³

The city was without a public park, then, from 1881 to 1898, and at that time it was the founding of the Chautauqua that brought results. Since the city had agreed to provide the site and buildings, when the Texas-Colorado Chautauqua Association selected a tract the city council submitted two propositions to the electorate. One asked approval for the municipal acquisition of parks, while the other asked authorization to issue bonds for their purchase and improvement, and both carried almost unanimously in April, 1898.⁸⁴

Consequently the city simultaneously purchased a tract south of the city limits for the Chautauqua and a government tract on the east slope of Flagstaff mountain for a mountain park. That spring an auditorium and a dining hall on the Chautauqua grounds were rushed to completion in time for the opening of the season's program on July 4, and that fall the city council formally adopted names for the newly acquired parks.⁸⁵ In this manner the city initiated a program of park acquisition and development which led to extraordinary achievements in this respect in subsequent years.

Thus within three decades, from 1870 to 1900, this community in Colorado had moved successively from a town to city organization and then had employed the municipal agency to provide needed services for communication, for security, and for the general welfare. The predetermined pattern, influential in the development of this city, was in the minds of townsmen who brought ideas here from their experience elsewhere. Through the years the local pattern also was affected by state legislation which provided a skeleton outline and certain requirements. Thus the emerging municipality incorporated many provisions typical of cities in Colorado and elsewhere in those years.

Otherwise local factors were influential. The normally dry climate made the fire hazard serious and consequently caused unusual emphasis upon fire protection. The mountain hinterland offered unique opportunities, which were capitalized upon in the

development of a good water supply and the attractive mountain parks. In these respects Boulder became different from other communities located elsewhere.

Outstanding is the spontaneity of it all. As a need became urgent, the citizens studied the need, brought forth suggestions, and presently called upon their municipality to undertake relief. Soon the requirements of growth elicited further efforts to improve and expand the particular services. There was no outside power directing that the city become an omnipotent local agency, and the extent to which a local municipal bureaucracy became a vested interest eager for more functions and power was so small as to be inconsequential. Instead, voluntary action based upon a suggested pattern along with local needs laid the foundation for municipal functions, ready for further development in the current century.⁸⁶ That was the American way.

⁸⁶ Later developments, especially the adoption of the city manager plan and the trial of the Hare system, are described in my "The Trial of Proportional Representation in Boulder, Colorado, 1917-1947," *Colorado Magazine*, March, 1948, 66-70.

⁸³ *Boulder County News*, Nov. 24, 1871; *Boulder County Herald*, March 23, May 4, Dec. 7, 1881; Town Minutes, Dec. 4, 1878, March 7, May 2, June 2, Oct. 22, Dec. 5, 1881, April 3, 1882.

⁸⁴ Council Minutes, March 18, April 18, 1898; *Camera*, March 16, 1898.

⁸⁵ Council Minutes, April 13, 18, May 2, 4, 11, 18, July 6, 1898; *Camera*, August 15, 1898; Ordinances, No. 321, Dec. 4, 1898; history of the Chautauqua in *Camera*, Feb. 6, 8, 12, 1926.

Cloudburst Disasters in Colorado

By RALPH C. TAYLOR*

Colorado cloudbursts have struck heavily, taking human lives and washing away millions of dollars worth of property in the 100 years and more since the white man has inhabited the plains and mountains of the Centennial State.

By strange coincidence, Colorado's two greatest disasters have been due to cloudbursts—and both of them have struck in the Pueblo region. One was the Eden train wreck of August 7, 1904, and the other was the Arkansas River flood of June 3, 1921. In each tragedy ninety-seven bodies were found, but the toll is known to have been greater. Many missing persons never were found—alive or dead. Their bodies undoubtedly were buried under several feet of sand and silt.

In both instances Nature's fury struck about 8:30 o'clock at night. Darkness, lightning, thunder and driving rain were the companions of death.

The 1921 flood trapped and overturned Denver & Rio Grande Western and Missouri Pacific passenger trains. Many of the passengers escaped before the water covered the cars—others died screaming for help that couldn't reach them. About 2,000 box-cars were smashed like match sticks and many of them were piled against a railroad bridge below Pueblo, forming a barrier to back the wreckage-laden waters higher in the city.

Water and lime started lumber yard fires. Floating boards ignited buildings above the tide. Flames cast eerie shadows—the dance of death. A roof floated through the city with seven men clinging to its edges. They could not climb aboard because the roof was ablaze. As the flames ate toward the water's edge the men were forced to make a choice of death by fire or water.

While scores were drowning, blind Harry Wade survived. He took a terrible beating from floating debris, but managed to

keep afloat with his wooden leg. He had lived through the San Francisco fire and the Pueblo flood—it wasn't his time to die.

By dawn volunteers in boats rescued scores of men, women and children. They were found on house tops, in trees and on piles of wreckage. One woman was found standing in water up to her armpits. She was holding above her head a baby—her own. It had been born as the flood waters struck the woman's home. She and the baby lived through the flood. They were taken to a temporary hospital, but died from the ordeal.

It was a night no one wanted to remember—a night no one could forget. One woman was rescued three times. The first time

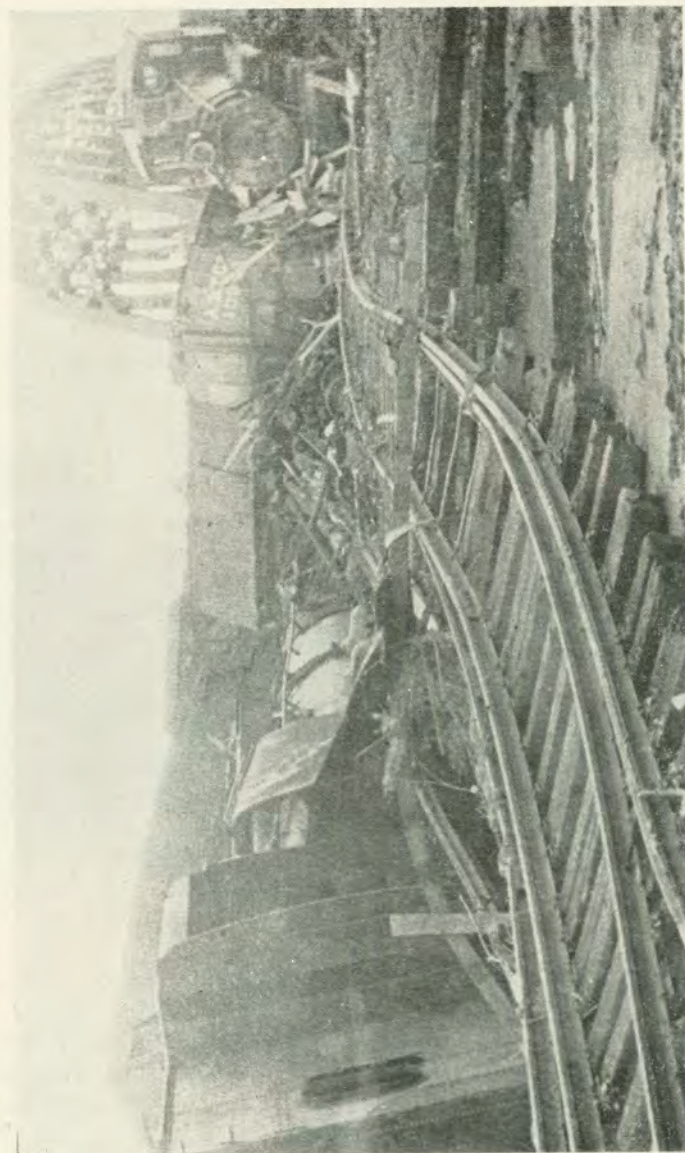


UNION STATION, PUEBLO FLOOD
1921

she was taken from a tree, but her added weight sank the rescue boat. She was pulled to a roof but in a short time had to abandon it because it was ablaze. Retrieved from the water once more, she was reported dead and taken to an emergency morgue. Several hours later she sat up, crawled from the rows of bodies and assured everyone that she was only exhausted.

The flood had its pranks with the dead as well as the living. There was a corpse in a coffin aboard a wrecked train. It floated in the eddying waters and finally came to rest in the flooded parlor of a mortuary.

* Ralph C. Taylor, News Director of the *Star-Journal* Publishing Corporation of Pueblo, and Vice President of District 11 of the State Historical Society of Colorado, is a native of Pueblo. Mr. Taylor went to work on *The Chieftain* three days after the 1921 flood and has been with both *The Pueblo Star-Journal* and *The Chieftain* since then. His story "Cloudburst Disasters in Colorado" is Number 383 of the Colorful Colorado series prepared by Mr. Taylor. Each Saturday at 6:30 P.M., this series is narrated over Radio KCSJ (590kc) in Pueblo and the script appears the next day in the combined Sunday *Pueblo Star-Journal* and *Chieftain*. In approximately seven and one-half years there has not been a break in the weekly Colorful Colorado series. Schools throughout Southern Colorado use the feature in classroom work because it is based entirely on fact. The Southern Colorado Power Company sponsors it on radio as a community service. Mr. Taylor has, during the past two years, traveled more than 40,000 miles to Hawaii, Mexico and through many states from California to New York in "running down material on Colorado." Material for this disaster story was obtained from the *Pueblo Chieftain* and *Star-Journal*. (A detailed account of "The Pueblo Flood of 1921," written by Guy E. Macy, was published in *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XVII, No. 6, November, 1940.)—Editor.



D.&R.G. RAILROAD YARD, PUEBLO
1921 FLOOD

As debris-littered streets were uncovered there were found bodies of humans and animals. Wrecked buildings became temporary tombs of the unfortunates. Skeletons were unearthed for years afterward miles down the Arkansas River as new floods swept the channel.

How many died on June 3, 1921, only the Almighty knows.

The catastrophe of August 7, 1904, came with lightning swiftness. It was so sudden and complete that its ninety-seven known victims had no chance to cry for help. Everything was as mute as death—everything but the crashing lightning; roaring, angry water and one awful hiss as the railway locomotive plunged into the torrent.

The combination Missouri Pacific-Denver & Rio Grande passenger train was en route to Pueblo from Denver. At Pinon, ten miles north of Pueblo, Engineer Walter Hinman received orders to reduce the train's normal speed because of heavy rain that had been falling in the area.

Hinman cut the speed to eighteen miles an hour. He and Fireman Dave Mayfield kept their eyes focused to the path illuminated by the engine's headlight. The Fountain River was running high, but the track was an eighth of a mile away from the stream.

As the headlight picked up the Porter Creek bridge everything looked in order. Normally it is just a dry gulch, but this night the creek was running bank full as it drained the cloudburst area. The trainmen did not know that the county highway bridge had been swept downstream and that its timbers had battered away the underpinnings of the railroad bridge.

The stringers, ties and rails remained suspended a few inches above the raging water across the ninety-six foot chasm. The locomotive's momentum carried it practically to the far bank before the structure collapsed. As the engine toppled on its right side Fireman Mayfield was thrown from the cab.

As quickly as he could gain his feet he looked into the storm. Nothing remained but the Pullman coach and diner on the far bank. The locomotive, tender, baggage car, smoking car and chair car all had disappeared into the night, flood and death. He yelled but got no answer. Those who perished had no time to utter a sound. Those who survived in the Pullman and diner were too stunned to realize what had happened. Fortunately the other cars had pulled loose from the diner as they overturned.

Survivors got word to the Pinon station agent, who telegraphed to Pueblo to halt all other trains and "for God's sake send help." Within thirty minutes a special train left Pueblo with as many doctors and volunteers as could be found. By eleven o'clock, a

second relief train departed with stretchers, coffins, police and more volunteers. There was little need for doctors. Those who survived were not hurt badly. Of about 150 passengers, only twenty-eight could be accounted for that night.

In the mud and rain police, railway officials and volunteers patrolled the banks of Porter Creek and Fountain Creek into which it was emptying its cargo of debris and human wreckage. Kerosene torches and lanterns only made the scene more eerie.

Half an hour after midnight, the first bodies were found—those of a woman and girl had lodged against a clump of sagebrush 1,000 feet downstream.

Grief-stricken and dazed, Fireman Mayfield joined the searchers until at three o'clock in the morning they found the body of Engineer Hinman. It was lodged under an uprooted cottonwood tree. Beside him were a woman's parasol, the newsbutcher's chest of candies and fruit and the Wells-Fargo Express Company's safe from the baggage car. His watch was in his pocket. It still was ticking—and right on time!

Three-fourths of a mile below the wreck, and in the main stream of the Fountain River, searchers found the half-submerged chair car. From this wreckage the volunteers removed three men: John M. Killen, Pueblo hardware merchant, and two others named Fisher and Gilbert. They were bruised badly and Killen was unconscious, but all lived.

At 1:45 A.M., the first relief train returned to Pueblo. The large crowd waiting at the depot learned only that about one hundred and twenty-five persons were missing. Conductor J. H. Smith and Brakeman J. H. Turner, who might have known more about the passengers, were among the missing.

By morning, the severity of the blow struck Pueblo. Many stores did not open. The owners had gone to Denver for a weekend of pleasure. They never returned. At least fifty of Pueblo's leading citizens had perished.

At 10 A.M., a special train arrived in Pueblo with eleven bodies. Then the caravan of hearses and express wagons started arriving over the wagon road with corpses. By mid-afternoon sixty-one bodies were in Pueblo's morgues. Identification was slow because clothing had been torn away; many bodies were battered.

Hardly a local family escaped a loss directly or remotely. Business was suspended. Huge crowds gathered at the mortuaries. A procession moved from one morgue to another as families searched for missing relatives. Families tried to console each other.

Hundreds of men hitched horses to their rigs and drove to Eden to join the search for the missing. Yes, they were going to

Eden—so utterly unsuited to its name. The Fountain flood raged till far into Monday, handicapping searchers.

Mayor B. B. Brown called a public meeting to institute an organized search. As grief-stricken Pueblo mourned its dead, its citizens formed an association which offered \$100 reward for each additional body found. Every night at half-past seven the volunteers met to report on progress and to make plans for the next day's hunt.

The coaches were raised and torn to pieces. Each day more bodies were taken from the sand. Some were found on sandbars in the Arkansas River at Avondale, more than twenty-five miles from where disaster struck.

By Wednesday, funerals were being held every half hour. The dust never settled on the roads to the cemeteries. One cortege was headed by three hearses. Two black hearses, drawn by black horses, carried the bodies of Mr. and Mrs. J. Q. Thomas. The third, a white hearse, pulled by white horses in white harness and plumes, bore the body of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas' 10-year-old daughter. In the fourth rig of mourning rode the survivors—the four orphaned Thomas children. Outgoing trains carried some of the dead elsewhere for interment.

By August 14, one week after the wreck, eighty-three bodies had been found. Twenty-four persons still were missing. The Fountain River flooded again from heavy rains near Colorado Springs and delayed search. The relief committee hired 300 men to continue searching. By August 16, five more bodies were discovered.

In the meantime, Dr. A. L. Fugard, coroner, started an inquest. The jurors met daily to visit the disaster scene and to hear testimony of witnesses. Newspapers printed every word of testimony. The press and civic leaders called for a full investigation. It became obvious that public pressure demanded that the railroad be held responsible.

The Rio Grande Railroad was accused of rebuilding the bridge and getting trains running again when it should have been devoting its manpower to hunting bodies. The railroad officials pointed out that they were engaged in the search. The railway paid to the relief committee \$3,724 and the money of all subscribers was returned. The railway also assumed payment of the rewards for discovery of bodies.

On August 20, the coroner's jury held the Rio Grande to be responsible for the wreck. Some persons said it was an "Act of God," but the jurors said the bridge was of inferior quality. They believed that it should have been substantial enough to withstand

the buffeting of the highway bridge. They said the 96-foot bridge should have been in one span instead of three, so that two sets of piers would not have impeded progress of the water and debris. They also said that the bridge should have been in charge of a section gang at Eden, one mile away, instead of a section gang at Pinon, five miles distant.

There eventually were ninety-seven bodies found. The Eden wreck became the worst in American railroading up to that time. Today it still is the third major railroad tragedy.¹

Only those who lived in Pueblo in the weeks following the Eden wreck knew how terribly sickening it was. There were those who tried to be brave, such as the gray-bearded, old gentleman who walked into the McMahon & Collier Undertaking Parlors.

"I have seen sorrow before," he calmly told the mourning group. "I have helped bury 1,000 dead on a Civil War battlefield."

He walked into the different rooms where the dead were lying and suddenly exclaimed, "My daughter! Oh, my daughter!"

¹ On July 9, 1918, there were 101 killed in a train wreck at Nashville, Tenn. That same year, November 1, there were ninety-seven lives lost in a New York subway train accident. Statistics relative to railway disasters have been compiled by the National Association of Railroads.—*Author*.

Ranching in Chicorica Park

A DIARY KEPT BY GEORGINA MILLER, 1874-75.

(In the January, 1956 issue of *The Colorado Magazine*, there was printed the Diary (1873-74), kept by George Miller, an Englishman, who pioneered in the ranching business, thirty miles south of Trinidad, Colorado, in Chicorica Park, New Mexico. The Colorado-New Mexico state line divided his horse pasture. In December, 1873, Mr. Miller agreed to pay expenses from England to Ottawa, of his brother-in-law, Arthur Marsland, if he would escort his wife, Georgina (Gina), and their children from England to New Mexico. In January, Arthur Marsland went to England and in April brought the family to this country. The following Diary, kept by Mrs. Miller, was made available to the State Historical Society by her son, the late G. Kercheval Miller. In 1884, the George Miller family moved to Denver, where they made their permanent home.—*The Editor.*)

April 23 1874. Left Liverpool by the tender at $\frac{1}{2}$ past three per *City of Brussels*. Gustaf and Charlie Behrens saw us on board. Also Arthur Miller. Fri. 23. Got to Queenstown about one o'clock. Fog so dense, waited for the mail till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock. Arthur and Mr. Kinsey just on ship . . . 25 Sat. Spent most of the morning in Music. Children in bed most all day. On deck in the aft. with them for a little time. 26 April. Sun. Arthur and I came into service wh. was led by Capt. Leitch. Wild night. 28 Tu. Began to be Wild weather. Played (word not clear) with Mr. Kinsey in the evening. In the Saloon all day. Passed *The Idaho*. Very wild night again. 29 Wed. In the Saloon all day. Very bad weather. Gisique in the evening. Worse night again. 30 Cloudy in the morning. Lovely aft. Everyone showed up on deck all aft. The children all right again. Fortune telling in the evening and Gisique. Saw my first ice berg. 1 May Wrote and read with the Gulls in the morning. Out on deck all aft. In the evening played whist with Mr. Kinsey, Arthur and Miss Templeton. Thunder and lightning in the night. 2 Sat. The *Culabsia* passed before breakfast. Wrote letters before breakfast. On deck before luncheon. Gisique in evening. May 3 Sun. Had a very nice service. Arthur and I got up some music for it. Pleasant aft. service with our own clique. Mr. Keles, Mr. Kinsey and Mr. Nurnelin. 4 Mon. Mr. Kinsey took me all over the ship. A lovely day. Sea like glass. Sighted the light ship before 12 o'clock. Wrote to George. Mama. Mrs. Davy and Mina. Went on deck after tea to see the phosphores. light. 5 Tu. Mr. Kinsey went off with the mails early. Herbert, Tom and Marie came to meet us. Got on to the pier abt. 12. Marie took the children and Sarah¹ to Greenville. I staid with Herbert and Arthur to claim our boxes and then we four went over the ferry also. We staid with Herbert. Arthur and Tom at the Hotel.

¹ Sarah Cullen, the children's maid, later went to Scotland and married a stonemason. The children were Pleasance, about six and one-half years old; G. Kercheval (Herpie), almost five; and Georgina, the baby.

6 Wed. The boys up early to New York to send our heavy luggage. Marie and G went in to New York at one o'clock and did Broadway. All came home at 5 o'clock. Also Mr. Maxwell. A wild evening. 7 Th. The boys in New York in the morning. We packed and started for New York about six o'clock, starting for Chicago at 8 o'clock. Herbert, Marie and Tom seeing us off. Our first evening on the "cars" too hot to live. 8 Fri. On the cars. Roasted alive! 9 May Sat. Got to



MRS. GEORGE MILLER
Georgina (Gina)

Chicago at 8:30. Had a two hour rest and then on to Ottawa. Where we arrived at 2 o'clock. Mr. Swift and Ted met us. A very cordial welcome. Dead tired. 10 May. Arthur, self, Helen and Ted Swift to morning Church. Wrote to George and Herbert in the afternoon. 11 Mon. Arthur went to Chicago. Very hot. Went out driving. 12 Tu. May. A thunderstorm at 5 a.m. which cleared the air. Arthur got back about 11 o'clock A.M. Heard from Mina, and Lizzie Sykes. 13 Wed. Out driving most of the day and went over the Glass works in the evening.

[The next six days were spent in Ottawa shopping, attending church, rowing up the river to Two Miles Island, and then to the City to be photographed. The Diary continues—*Editor*]

20 Wed. Left Ottawa at 2 p.m. en route for Las Animas (Colorado). 21 Th. On the cars crossing the Prairies. 22 Arrived at Las Animas at 7:45 P.M. Before George. Stayed at the Hotel 23 Sat. George arrived at L. P.M. also Mr. Denby.²

24 May Whit Sun. In the afternoon the two wagons started en route for "home." Mr. Denby with the luggage and Arthur driving the live freight staid the night at Sizer's Rancho. 25 Mon. Up at



FIRST FRAME HOUSE BUILT IN COLFAX COUNTY,
NEW MEXICO, IN CHICORICA PARK

dawn and en route again. The whole arrived at Bent's Canon at 7 o'clock P.M. 45 miles where we staid all night. 26 Tu. Up at dawn and on again to Hog's Back where we endured the night. 26 miles. 27 Wed. Up again early and made Trinidad 4½ P.M. Staid at the Overland House.

26 Th. Shopping in the morning with people in Trinidad and left in the afternoon traveling as before. Staid the night at "Dick" Whotton's.³ 29 May Up early and got home to a good dinner prepared by Frank⁴ at their rancho. Walked up after with George and Arthur to the new house.⁵ A severe hail storm. 30 Sat. Rather

² Mr. Denby was an early pioneer in New Mexico.

³ Dick Wootton had a toll gate and ranch near Raton Pass (Willow Springs). He came to Colorado in 1858. His name has been spelled various ways by writers, but the family states that the correct spelling is "Wootton."

⁴ Frank Marsland, a brother of Gina Miller.

⁵ This house, built by George Miller for his family, was the first frame house erected in Colfax County, New Mexico. The lumber for it was hauled from Trinidad, thirty miles away. The house had two stone fireplaces. It cost \$675, without the chimneys.

a wet reception owing to heavy rain which came in on us. Tried to straighten things a little but dreadfully tired. 31 May. Walked down to the Rancho with Frank and rain kept me to dinner with Arthur, Frank, Messrs. Armitage⁶ and Clifton.⁷

1 June. Set to work in earnest. Mr. Armitage went off till Tuesday. 2 Tu. Arthur and Frank to Trinidad. Busy settling. 3 Wed. Arthur and Frank came home. Heard fr. Mama. 4 Th. June. Had a batch of callers. Messrs. Garnett, Stockton, B. Parker and Mr. Jessup⁸ who staid tea with us and slept at the Rancho. 5 Fri. Mr. Jessup took letter to post for us. G. wrote to Mr. Swift, Herbert, Mr. Davy, Arthur went to return Col. Marr's wagon.⁹ 7 June. Got so far settled that we had a little Service at home. Arthur came back and had dinner with us. Mr. Armitage rode to Red River and posted. Letter fr. G. to C. Behrens. 8 Mon. Mr. Gray¹⁰ came back with Mr. Armitage. He staid all night with the boys but had tea with us. 9 Tu. Washed. Mr. Gray left. Arthur with him cattle-hunting. 10 Wed. Mr. Denby came over. Sewed watercress seed up the creek. Very heavy hail storm. 11 Th. George fetched lumber from Willow Springs [Raton Pass]. Arthur came back at night bringing letter from Lizzie, Susie and Papers. G.M. pd Mr. Denby \$11.50 washing. Frank dined with us. 12 Fri. Arthur and Mr. Clifton fetched 7 cows and calf and 2 yearlings fr. Larneds Coral. 13 Sat. Every body busy "rounding up" and branding the cattle. Mr. — went thro the pass with 436 cattle. 14 June. Mr. Armitage off to —. Home in the evening bringing letters fr. Lucy, Mina, and Mrs. Hasker, also papers. Arthur dined with us. 2 men came over from Mr. Jessups.

15 Mon. Arthur over to Red River with Frank. Took two letters. I wrote to Mrs. Hill. G. to W. Gafey, and Lucy and Mr. Green. Arthur and Mr. Armitage had supper here. Frank came up afterwards and we had a game of "Pedro." 16 Tu. Arthur and Mr. A. cattle hunting, home in the eveng. Mr. Clifton came to tea and we all walked down to the coral after. Sewed my sweet peas—"Ambrieta Pupareal" in a box. 17 Wed. Busy having the stove moved into the kitchen. Dr. Cooper came over staid with us. Arthur came up for a nippie in the eveng. Baby walked and stood on her head! Wrote to Mama and Mina.

18 Th. Dr. Cooper left us after breakfast dining at the Rancho.

⁶H. Armitage, an Englishman from Bedford, who was formerly with Fowler and Collins, Engineers Hall, designed and built the Miller house.

⁷According to Mrs. A. C. Stockton, of Raton, N. M., The Clifton House, a stage station and general meeting place for a large area, was built by William H. Stockton and his son, Thomas L., in the 1860's. The land on which the Clifton House stood is now owned by A. C. Stockton, son of Mathias Stockton, and grandson of Dove Stout Stockton and William Stockton.

⁸G. M. Jessup, an Englishman, was a neighbor of the Millers.

⁹According to the late G. Kercheval Miller, Colonel Marr, a ranchman, "was quite a character. He had one of the first 4-wheeled conveyances in the Chicorica area." George Miller borrowed the Colonel's harness and wagon to bring his family from Las Animas to the ranch.

¹⁰Bob Gray was an Englishman.

Mr. Armitage busy ceiling the nursery. Walked down with Sarah and the Children to the Rancho after tea. Early to bed. 19 Fri. Mr. A. busy in the room stile. Arthur dined with us and he and Geo. after firewood. Water dries up. Mr. A. took us all a walk up the creek to Wh. Stone after tea. 20 Sat. Mr. Denby came over. Busy moving the children and arranging our sitting room. Mr. A. had tea here and then rode to Mr. Meeks. Arthur and Frank fetched the Ottawa freight. Oh the Vinegar!! 21 June. Frank spent the day here. Mr. Evans came in the eveng. Frank and G. returned him to the Rancho. Mr. A. came back late. 22 Mon. Washing. Frank came to help. Mr. Armitage took up his abode with us. Arthur rode out to Dillon's Canon his two boys came over here. Mr. Gray came back with Arthur. All the world came up in the evening. 23 Tu. Arthur and Frank off to Trinidad also Mr. Gray. Frank en route for Emporia. In the evening Two Indians came up to beg. Frightened me. Mr. Clifton came up and George returned. Mr. A. got lost. 24 Wed. Finished washing. Walked down to the ranch with George. 25 Th. Arthur and Mr. Gray came back fr. Trinidad. They spent the eveng here sat out on the steps after supper in the moonlight. 26 Fri. Mr. Gray up to breakfast. Mr. Wadsworth rode over and staid with us sleeping at the rancho. Arthur and Mr. Gray left in the evening for a roundup. Mr. Armitage rode with them as far as Mr. Denby's and back. Mr. C. to supper. 27 Sat. Mr. Wadsworth left after breakfast. Arthur came back late bringing mail. 28 June. A very pleasant Sunday. We belonging to the house started off up the Creek at midday taking "Gilly" [horse] with robes and provision and staid till nearly four o'clock. Home to tea. Dinner at 5 o'clock. Arthur came up. 2 lbs. prunes. 29 Mon. Very wet again, so the house swam. Down to the rancho in the eveng. Arthur shot a doe. A wh. tail. He dined with us. 11¼ lb. rice? The rancho had a barrel of molasses from us. 30 Tu. Very hot. Arthur rode to Mr. Finch's but got back in time for his birthday supper here six of us. Mr. Clifton included. Played "Pedro" Pleasant evening till nearly 12 o'clock. Coffee 9 lbs. Tea 5 lb. 6 oz.

1 July. Arthur and George off with the wagon to fetch freight in the eveng. Home at tea. Arthur had his here and then rode off with Mr. Armitage to Red River. Wrote to Lizzie Sykes and Edith. 2 Th. Very hot. Very busy "settling" my room. Walked down to the ranch before dinner. Oh, the heat! Arthur and Mr. Armitage came back to supper. Saw the comet. 3 Fri. Mr. A. having hurt his hand we all played holiday. Arthur came to tea. Mr. A. and G. walked up the nearest hill and found some brilliant flowers after tea and then down to the Rancho. 4 Sat. Very busy preparing for tomorrow. Arthur, Mr. A. and Albert went up the Canon after

wood. Mr. A. shot a black-tail buck, a beauty. 5 July. After all our preparations no one came. Arthur dined here in the eveng. I walked with Mr. Armitage to . . . Coming back met Arthur and Mr. Gray. All staid supper. Heard from Mrs. Davey. 6 Mon. Arthur off after cattle. Mr. Armitage to Trinidad. Mr. Gray staid here sleeping at the Ranche. Wrote to Miss Sykes, Mrs. Davy and Mrs. Lester. Col. Marr rode over to tea.

7 Tu. Mr. Gray left early. Mr. Armitage came back at dinner time. Washing. Arthur came home brought letters from Frank, Edith and Mina. 8 Wed. Arthur dined with us. Went up the hill with Mr. A. after tea.

8 Th. After breakfast Mr. Denby and Arthur rode up and sent us off to Trinidad for fear of Indians. So we started in the wagon Arthur driving as far as Denbys. Mr. A. and George riding. George driving on reached Trinidad at 7 o'clock. Staid at Overland House. 10 Fri. Walked about in the Town with George in the morning. Rested on the Balcony all aft. and played "Happy Families—" 11 Sat. Wrote to Mama and Mina, George to Frank, Herbert, and Arthur Miller. Started back home but decided to stay till tomorrow for further news. George wrote to Charlie Behrens, Mrs. Goodale, George, Mrs. Abbott and I walked up the hill in the twilight.

12 July. Got up at 20 to 5 o'clock and drove out to Dick Whottons to breakfast. Rested there 2½ hours and then on with Arthur at Bartlett's and he came home with us and slept here. Mr. Armitage away. Heard fr. Helen Swift and Gertrude.

13 Mon. July. Arthur living with us. Mr. Armitage came home. Very busy rearranging our house. Mr. Gray came over in the eveng. and came up to supper. He living at the Ranche. 14 Tu. A busy day again. Frank came back, came up to supper. July 1874 15 Wed. Mr. Gray over to Red River. Wrote to Miss Whisland. Turned out very wet. Arthur, Mr. Armitage and Jim up at the hut. A. and Mr. A. home to supper. Mr. Finch slept at the Ranche. Heard fr. Mr. and Mrs. Bell. 16 Th. Mr. Finch and Arthur off after cattle. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage up to the hut. Arthur got back at night. 17 Fri. Busy with Yard. Mr. Deardon¹¹ rode over came up here to supper. Staid at the Ranche. 18 Sat. Mr. Deardon left after breakfast. Arthur and Frank drove over to Bartlett's brought back letters. Heard fr. Mama and Mina.

19 July Arthur went to Thackers¹² Nina Sanda (?) rode back with him to tea. Arthur escorted her home going after cattle the next day. Frank dined with us today to tea. 20 Mon. Washing. Frank came up to help. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage busy pitching

the roof. 21 Tu. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage still busy at the roof. Frank rode up with Mr. McBride and got a sheep. Glad to have fresh meat again. 22 Wed. Mr. Lynn came over to the house about painting, took our letters to Red River. We wrote to Lucy and Mamma. Mar. and Mr. Gray busy on the roof. Arthur returned home with Dr. Cooper here to supper and sleep. Letters forgotten. 23 Th. Mr. Lynn, Dr. Cooper and Arthur all rode off after breakfast. Arthur only as far Thackers. Mr. Gray and Mr. A. busy on the roof. Finished it. 24 Fri. After dinner Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage rode over to Red River. Home late. 25 Sat. Usual busy day only Arthur and Mr. Armitage to dinner, etc.

26 July. My birthday. Frank to Red River. Messrs. Bartlett and Savery and wives and a child came over to spend the day. Left early in the aft. Mr. Gray, Arthur, Frank and Mr. Armitage to supper. Wrote to Mina.

27 Mon. All our people busy "rounding up" and branding. Finished Mina's letter wrote to Edith and Mrs. Barker, Helen Swift. 28 Tu. still busy branding cattle in the eveng. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage went hunting and Mr. G. shot a white tail deer. Mr. Clifton came to supper. Missed that eveng for an hour and half? 29 Wed. Arthur and Mr. Gray over the Mountains around to the Trinchera and on to Trinidad took the mail. Dr. Cooper arrived before dinner and staid with us. 32 lbs. sugar. 30 Th. Dr. Cooper left after dinner. Mr. Armitage riding with him to Red River and back at night. No mail. 7 rattlesnakes killed in 6 days. 31 Fri. Mr. Armitage and G. walked down to the 3rd Crossing and picked a quantity of wild currants and saw plenty of bear "trail" . . .

1 Aug. Arthur and Mr. Gray got back traveling all night and getting home to breakfast. Mr. Armitage and G. off after tea after currants, but started too late, however, Mr. A. got a beaver. 2 August Arthur rode over to Thackers. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage to Mr. Jessups. A quiet Sunday. Mr. Clifton came to supper. Arthur got home to supper, bringing mail for us. Letters from Mama and Mina. 3 Mon. Washing. Mr. Lynn came over about Frank's house. Did caution as to where. Letters. Wrote to Masie. 4 Tu. Mr. Lynn and Frank out hunting. Settled that the Ranche is to be improved with a tent. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage got back this eveng. 5 Wed. Mr. Lynn left took the mail. George, Frank and Arthur went to a Sheriff's sale at J. Paeneet's. Home to supper. Rained in the evening. Mr. Gray staid. Wrote to Gertrude. 6 Th. Arthur, Messrs Gray and Armitage busy up at the hut adobing. Home to supper. Mr. Clifton came for a book. 7 Friday. The trio again up at the hut till late, finished adobing. Home late. 8 Sat. Busy Mornng. Arthur off to Jessups at R. River.

¹¹ Deardon was an Englishman from Halifax.

¹² The Thacker ranch was the stage station at Willow Springs on the north edge of Raton Pass.

Made a cherry¹³ expedition after tea. Frank and then M. Clifton called in the evening. 9 August. Kept Herpie's¹⁴ 5th birthday. Arthur came back to dinner bringing mail. George heard from Mr. Swift. Wrote to Miss Douglas, Mina. Frank from Mamma, Ged and Herp. 10 Mon. Herpie 5 years old. Arthur and Mr. Gray to Trinidad and on to Trinchera. Took the mail. Mr. Jessup rode over. Mr. Armitage out hunting all day. 11th. Cold day. After dinner Herpie, Mr. A. and I walked to the Third Crossing and got a basket of currants. Edith's little daughter born. 12 Wed. George, Albert and Mr. A. fetching wood all day. Albert had his dinner here. Thunder showers in the afternoon. Killed the yearling at last. Fresh meat again. 13 Th. Arthur and Mr. Gray got back in the eveng with 14 head of cattle. Mr. Deardon came to stay. 14 Fri. Mr. Deardon to Red River and brought mail. I heard fr. Mina and Gapere. Everybody busy branding the new cattle. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage up at the hut. Heat and thunderstorm. 15 Sat. Mr. G and Mr. A up at the hut all day. George and Arthur out riding till near 7 o'clock.

16 Aug. Mr. Deardon to Red River. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage to Bartletts, Arthur to G Finch's. All came back in the eveng. Heard fr. Mama and Mrs. Swift. Sent paper to Ch. Behrens. Arthur wrote to Gertrude. Showered in the aft. 17 Mon. Arthur to Red River. Mr. and Mrs. G.A. and D to Bartletts to fetch their things. Heavy thunderstorm. It rained in the aft. severly. Messrs G. A D and Arthur all here to supper. Mrs. Savery sent 2 doz. eggs. 19 Tu. Messrs G A etc. moved up to the hut. George and Arthur busy with the cattle. 19 Wed. Arthur drove over to Thackers to fetch some pigs. I went with him as far as Mrs. Denigh's home to tea. Set two hens on 11 eggs each. 20 Th. George and Arthur finished the well. Wrote to Mama and Lizzie. 21 Fri. Mr. Gray and Mr. Deardon drove into Trinidad, took the mail. George sent crystal to Charlie Behrens. Arthur and G walked up to the hut. Mr. Armitage walked back with us. A flight of grasshoppers. 24 Sat. Arthur rode over to Mr. Finch's home to supper. Mr. Armitage rode into Trinidad. Mr. Clifton dined with us. Thunderstorm in the aft. 30 Aug. Arthur rode over to Thackers. Mr. Grey and Mr. Deardon rode over to Mr. Jessup, took the mail to Red River. Mr. Armitage came to dinner and we all went back with him to the hut to tea. A very heavy thunderstorm. Home at seven. Arthur home to supper. 31 Mon. Mr. Grey and Mr. Deardon got back and brought the mail. Heard fr. William of Edith's little girl. Arthur and George after a steer to kill. Dined at the hut. Did not get it. Washing. Ashhurst's third son born.

¹³ Evidently choke cherries.

¹⁴ "Herpie" was a nickname for G. Kercheval Miller.

1 Sept. Tu. Grand fracas between Frank and Mr. Clifton. Mr. C came up here with Arthur and to breakfast. Arthur and George and Mr. Clifton got the steer at last. Messrs. Gray and Deardon to supper. Mr. Clifton went up to the hut with them. 2 Wed. Frank retired from Partnership with Arthur and George. Mr. Clifton up at the hut all day. 3 Th. Arthur and Frank left early for Trinidad. F. en route for Emporia. Mr. Clifton came down to the Ranche. Mr. Gray and Mr. Deardon off to the Trinchera. Mr. Armitage came to stay with us. The second day we have been in the clouds. Had a fire in the evening and egg nogg. 4 Fri. Bright and sunny again and very hot a thorough change from the two wet cold days. George dined at the ranche with Mr. Clifton! and busy working there all day. I walked down twice.

5 Sat. Busy mornng. Mr. Dan Young came over and had tea here. Arthur drove up at the same time. Mr. Young slept at the Ranche. Arthur here. Mr. Armitage went back to the hut. 6 Sept. Mr. Young left. Mr. Armitage rode to Mr. Denby's and got the mail. After tea with Sarah and the children got lily seed. Mr. A. joined us. Arthur went down to sleep at the Ranche. Mr. Armitage at the hut. 7 Mon. George and Arthur polled River for voting. Dined at Thacker's. Home to supper. Mr. Armitage here all day. Went for a walk in the aft. All fine. 8 Tu. Heavy showers. Albert left. George down at the Ranche most of the day. Dined there. Dickie gave up his bottle. 9 Wed. Messrs (Finis P.) Earnest and Stockton rode over and had an early dinner here. Mr. Gray Mr. Deardon having got back to the hut last night—a present of a hind quarter of a cow from the . . . Mr. Gray gave me a pr. moccasins. 10 Th. George and Arthur busy fetching firewood all day. Arthur dined here. 11 Fri. George and Mr. Armitage rode over to Mr. Finch's. Brought the mail from Red River. Home to tea. 12 Sat. Busy in the mornng. Mr. Armitage was going for some plums but "Gilly" bolted off. He staid at the ranch. They yoked two steers. 13 Sept. Mr. A. got us some plums in the aft. Mr. Armitage, Arthur, Mr. Clifton dined here. Showery in the mornng and such a storm we were glad to have a fire again. Mr. Gray called. In the eveng Arthur and Mr. A. to supper. A. slept here. Mr. A. to the hut. A wolf bit a pig in the night which had to be killed. 14 Mon. Mr. Deardon took the mail to Red River. George and I had a walk after dinner. Chilly but sunny. Fire light in mornng. 15 Tu. Fine day. Walked down to the Ranche with Dickie and helped to wash milk pails. 16 Wed. Mr. Denby came over called invited us all over for a plum-gathering. 17th. Arthur drove Sarah and the children down to Mr. Denbys to dinner and to gather plums. They got home at 6 o'clock. George and I together with Mr. Clifton's com-

pany. Arthur also came to supper. First frost. 18 Fri. Pleasance 7 years old. Mr. Gray came to dinner. George and Arthur after cattle as far as Mr. Denby's in the aft. 19 Sat. Frosty mornng. George and Arthur out after cattle. Brought the mail from Red River. Arthur here to supper. 20 September Sun. Arthur spent the day with us and wrote letters. Mr. Armitage came down in the aft. We had a short walk after tea. A rattlesnake killed by the front door steps. 21 Mon. Busy preparing plums. Did 31 quarts. The children & Sarah went up to the Hut to tea. Mr. Armitage came down with them and staid all night. Mr. Gray rode into Trinidad. Took the mail.

22 Tu. A wet day. Mr. Armitage taken ill last night, invalided all day. A Mexican took shelter with his sheep in the stable. Left a lamb as payment. Mr. Yearby at the Ranche. 23 Wed. Again wet. Mr. Armitage better. Mr. O'Neil and Mr. Denby rode over to the Ranche to dinner. It poured! 24th. Delightful to see the sun again. Mr. Yearby left the Ranche. A short walk, after dinner with George who had hurt his knee. Arthur and Mr. Clifton busy driving up the cattle. Arthur had a snatch dinner. Mr. Gray got home and walked up to see us with Mr. Deveden in the eveng. 25 Fri. Mr. Armitage busy about the house. Mr. Gray came to spend the day. George's knee painful. Mr. Clifton and Arthur busy riding after the cattle again. Arthur walked up in the eveng. Baby poorly with her teeth both today and yesterday. 26 Sat. Baby much the same. George and I took her down to the ranch in the aft. with Dick and Queen and weighed them. Mr. Armitage left. Arthur shot a black tail in the eveng. C.A.M. 159 lbs. G.M. 153 lbs. M.B.B. 40 lbs. F.M. 161. N.L.M. 30. S.G.M. 30. 27 Mon. Arthur and Mr. Clifton dined here and after dinner Arthur and I rode to the Thackers Ranche where I staid while he and Mr. Thacker rode to Red River for the mail and then we came home by moonlight. Very enjoyable. 28 Sept. Mon. Very tired. The Coes divulged their plans of taking up ranches on the Maza. . . . Went for wood. Mr. Deardon down to supper. 29 Tu. Washing. George poorly in the night. Moved him this mornng. Did not go to the ranche. Messrs Gray and Armitage shot two wh. tail bucks on the bluff. A. drove to Mr. Denby's.

30 Wed. Mr. Earnest and two others rode over in the mornng with the news that Mr. Jessup had been shot in Trinidad last night. They joined by Arthur, Mr. Denby, Messrs Gray and Armitage started north . . . in pursuit of the murderer. Mr. Clifton dined here . . . George.

1 Th. Oct. Nothing occurred. George and Mr. Clifton went through the usual routine. 2 Fri. Messrs. Gray and Armitage arrived 8 o'clock. Arthur later, all here to supper. "Tex" not caught.

Mr. Jessup may get over it. 3 Sat. Down to the Ranche three times for exercise. Mr. Armitage over to Red River. Usual busy day. 4 Oct. Wet. Expected the Thackers but they did not come, neither Mr. Armitage. Arthur spent the day with us and staid the night. Baby her little self again. 5 Mon. As Mr. Armitage had not returned yet, Mr. Gray went off after him. 6 Tu. Mr. Gray came back with the mail finding Mr. Armitage had gone to Cimarron on Thursday. A herd of horses came through. George out after mules, back to supper. Also Arthur. Mr. Armitage arrived and had tea here. 7 Wed. Arthur and Mr. Clifton after cattle. Mr. Denby and Mr. O'Neil called *en passant* from the hunt. Mr. Armitage came down in the eveng. Staid supper and all night. 8 Th. 50 lbs. flour. Queenie better after two days bilious attack. George, Arthur and Mr. Clifton busy rounding up and driving the cattle up Johnson's trail. Messrs Gray and Armitage called. Sarah and G. busy pasting and papering the "little house." A. gave the Coes notice. 9 Fri. Began milking once a day. Mr. Denby busy today and yesterday at Arthur's chimney. Mr. Deardon to Red River for the mail. Arthur up to supper. 10 Sat. George went to Fine Earnests. Mr. Armitage called with a Chapasil (?) cock.

11 October. Arthur rode off after dining here to Thackers to go "round up." George walked with us all up to the hut. Messrs. Gray and Armitage walked back with us and staid supper. Arthur also got back and staid all night. 12 Mon. Arthur and George both sick in the night. A. in bed till evening. Mr. Armitage came and played "Good Samaritan." 13 T. George still poorly. Arthur better. Children also troubled, more or less. Mr. Denby came to finish chimney. Messrs G and A tolled him. No letters only papers. Arthur staid the night. 14 Wed. George better. Arthur all right. Mr. Denby at the Ranche and finished the chimney. Washing. 15 Th. George and Arthur fetched a load of wood and then sand. Arthur to supper. 16 Fri. Mr. Denby here painting the house. Dined here. 17 Sat. Mr. Denby here finishing the house. Arthur dined here. Mr. Denby at the ranche. George rode to Whitely's for cabbages. Arthur and I walked up Johnson's Trail to the new claim. A. cut some pine down. Mr. Armitage brought us a haunch of venison. 18 Oct. Our 8th Anniversary. Arthur and Mr. O'Neil dined here. Mr. Armitage came in after he took Sarah and G. and the chicks a walk. Mr. O. N., Arthur and George talking cattle. Mr. O.N. left. Arthur and Mr. Clifton to supper. 19 Mon. Arthur rode off early to Trinidad with Mr. Denby, Mr. O'Neil, and Mr. Cook. Mr. Armitage came down in the eveng. 20. Sarah and G. went down to the Ranche with Baby and Dick leaving the other chicks in the Creek bottom. 21 Wed. George and Mr. Gray drove to Fine Earnests for straw. Got home

at dusk to supper. George got the mail from Mr. Denby, he having fetched it on Sunday. 22 Th. Busy all morn'g. With Sarah's mattress. Aft. a walk with Mr. Clifton and George up the hill about prairie dog town. George dined at the Rancho. Mr. Clifton had supper here.

23 Fri. Wrote letters in the morn'g. 24 Sat. Mr. Armitage came down in the aft. staid supper. Arthur here all day. Mr. per. Mr. Deardon over to Red River. Mr. Gray and Mr. Armitage came down in the aft. staid supper. Arthur here all day. Mr. Clifton drove over 43 miles and staid all night. English. 26 Mon. Arthur rode off to Thackers after dining here. En route for D. Youngs. Mr. Clifton, George and G and I walked up Johnson's trail in the aft. Mr. Clifton to supper. Whist. 27 Tu. Mr. Clifton weather-bound. Stormy night and morn'g. Cleared after dinner. Went out for a short walk with Mr. Clifton. "Patience" in the eveng. 28 Wed. Fine but windy. Mr. Clifton left after breakfast took A's letters. Washing. Messrs Gray and Armitage to the hut late. Arthur got home and came up in the evening. 29th. Mr. Armitage brought some letters down and staid dinner. Arthur, Mr. Clifton after cattle. Only saw seven horses. George rode to Whitely's for cabbage etc. Mr. A. staid all night. 30 Fri. Mr. Armitage making the nursery cupboard door. Arthur and Mr. C. busy at the calf corral. Very cold. 31 Sat. Very cold. All the world busy down at the rancho killing a yearling. 1 November Sun. Bright and warm. Mr. and Mrs. Thacker drove over early. Arthur dined with us and walked up to the hut after dinner. The three had supper with us. Mrs. Thacker slept here, Mr. T. at the Rancho. 2 Mon. Mr. Deardon to Red River. Arthur and Mr. Thacker drove up to the Hut and staid dinner. Mrs. T. dined with us and they both left about 3 o'clock. Arthur came up to supper. Sarah milked 3 cows. 3 Tu. Arthur and Mr. Clifton busy rounding up down by Fine Earnests. We all went down when Sarah milked. Arthur and Mr. C. to supper. Mr. Gray to Red River. No mail. 4 Wed. Sarah and George down to milk. I busy with house work. Mr. Clifton and Arthur down the Creek again. Arthur, Mr. C., Mr. Deardon, Mr. Gray here to supper. Mr. Deardon here all night.

5 Th. Mr. Deardon and Arthur drove over into Trinidad. Mr. Gray, George and Mr. Clifton helping them as far as Thackers where our two mules were left to go into Trinidad with his and bring out the new wagon. Mr. Armitage with us. A surveying Ex. came through camping. Lieut. Booth came down to supper, also Messrs. Gray and Clifton. Mr. A. left in the aft. No milking. 6 Fri. George and Mr. Clifton busy herding cows and calves. Mr. Clifton dined here and helped Sarah with the milking after. Mr. Armitage walked down in the aft. 7 Sat. Again herding. Mr. C.

to dinner. Sarah milked in the aft. Mr. Clifton up to supper. Mr. Deardon got home late. Arthur at Thackers. 6 Nov. Nobody to dinner. Sarah and Mr. Armitage a walk after. Arthur got back to supper. Mr. A. and Mr. Clifton here also. 9 Mon. Herding as usual. A hurly burly. . . Coe, Bendale in the morn'g. Down at the Rancho getting our things and seeing the new wagon. Mr. A. to Red River. Mr. Bendale dined at the Rancho. Arthur busy moving the hogpen and then back to Thackers about a school meeting. Staid all night. 10 Tu. Arthur back early all day at the hog pen. Staid here and slept here. Milked for Sarah. Busy after supper copying petitions. Herding as usual. 11 Wed. Finished hog pen and shut them in. George herding as usual. Arthur helped us to set up the children's beds, dined, supped and slept here. Accounts after supper. 12th. Arthur and Mr. Clifton out after cattle but did not bring any up, only all the pigs. Mr. Gray drove our wagon to Cook's for flour. Mr. Deardon came and took up his abode with us to help George in herding. I went down and washed 50 pails, etc. 13 Fri. Mr. Clifton and George churning. Arthur went for wood. Mr. D. herding. Mr. Deardon down at the Rancho. 14 Sat. Mr. Deardon herding in the morn'g. Arthur and he up in the [Chicorica] Park in the afternoon. Mr. C. packed butter. 15 November. Arthur drove me and Pleasance and Queenie to Willow Springs. Found Messrs. Bartlett and Geesewicked (?) at home. Home by moonlight.

16 Mon. Arthur and Mr. Clifton out after cattle. Mr. Deardon herding. Mr. Bendale came began getting stone for the cellar. George helping him. Mr. Deardon dined here. I churned and made up and moulded a bit of butter. 17 Tu. Mr. Bendale here busy getting stone. A yearling killed. Arthur and George fixed a tub in the creek. Mr. Gray came down staid dinner. Arthur up to supper. Staid all night. 18 Wed. Snow fell last night and continued slightly all day. Arthur came up to dinner and staid all night. Messrs. Gray and Armitage went to Red River. A. letter writing. 19 Th. Sharp frost then bright sun. The snow going quickly. A. to dinner. I walked down to the Rancho. A. walked back with me and staid all night. Mr. Armitage came back with the mail. Mr. Cliff, Mr. Deardon kept each other company.

Arthur and Mr. Clifton went down to the Creek. Mr. Deardon up to dinner. A walk with George up to where the stone is being got. Arthur up to supper and staid all night. 21 Sat. Mr. Bendale came and went up to fell logs up Johnson's Trail. Here to dinner, do Arthur. Messrs. Deardon and Clifton down the creek. 22 Nov. Mr. Armitage to dinner. All the world to supper. Mr. Gray got back from Cimarron. Arthur went to Trinidad early. 23 Mon. Mr. Bendale came up and three had a great pig

killing. Messrs. G. and Cliff to dinner. Dr. Cooper rode over with Deardon gave him dinner at the Rancho and then they came up. Dr. Cooper staying here. 24 Tu. Dr. Cooper left after breakfast. Mr. Bendale, Mr. Clifton and George busy with the pigs. Mr. D. helping generally. George and I fetch the calves in. Arthur got back in the evening. Here to supper and staid all night. 25 Wed. Arthur and Mr. C. off early after cattle. Mr. Bendale busy making a load of the stone in the evening. Mr. D. went back to the hut. Arthur and Mr. C. back in time for supper here and staid all night. 26 Th. Arthur, Mr. C., George, and Mr. Bendale all busy pig killing. George's birthday. Arthur dined here and here to supper. 27 Fri. Showers of snow but cleared off. Mr. C. and Arthur came up to supper. Whist and a pleasant evening. 28 Sat. Fine and warm. Very busy. Arthur, George and Mr. C. cutting up bacon. Arthur to supper.

29 Nov. Arthur off early to Red River. Home to supper and staid all night. 30 Mon. Mr. Bendale came and began to clear out the cellar. Arthur and Mr. Clifton up Johnson's Trail after cattle. Arthur up to supper and staid all night. 1 Dec. Arthur drove the calves up Johnson's Trail after he and G went up beyond the hut for firewood. Mr. Bendale busy on the cellar. 2 Wed. Arthur out after cattle again. Mr. Bendale busy at the sand. George drove cattle up Blown's Canon. Arthur, Mr. Clifton to supper. A. staid all night. 3 Th. Arthur and Mr. Bendale busy at the well. Mr. Clifton to Red River. Mr. Godding, Mr. Clifton drove over. Arthur staid all night. A pleasant evening. 4 Fri. Cold showery with snow. Arthur busy with Mr. Bendale. George and Mr. Clifton after cattle in the mornng. Messrs H. and C. walked up to the hut with me. Messrs Gray and Armitage to supper. Also Mr. Clifton. Pedro and a merry evening. A. slept here. 5 Sat. Mr. Godding churned for me and then drove to Red River with Mr. Armitage. Mr. Clinton went hunting with Mr. Gray. Mr. Bendale here at the well for a 1/2 day with Arthur. A. rode to Coes in the evng. I had a stroll with Mr. Chilton in the aft. Pleasant evng. Whist for Messrs. Chilton, Godding, Clifton, and George. Arthur home late. Slept here. 6 Dec. Sun. Messrs Godding and Chilton left before dinner and just as they were leaving Col. Marr drove up with his wife, 4 children, Mr. and Mrs. Mingus, dinner for 14. Walked down to the dairy and then they left. Quiet evening. Arthur here. Messrs. Gray and Armitage went with Messrs. C. and G. 7 Mon. Arthur took up his abode with us for good. Mr. Bendale busy making road. Arthur and Mr. Clifton after cattle. Home to supper. Very busy day washing, etc. 8 Tu. Mr. Miller and Mr. Bendale, hauling stone for the cellar and well. Arthur and Mr. Clifton after cattle. Mr. C. and Mr. Deardon to supper. Mr. D. slept at

the Rancho. 9 Wed. Arthur and Mr. Bendale to Cooke's for straw. Mr. Clifton, Mr. Deardon, Messrs C. and D. here to supper. Mr. D. up to the hut. 10 Th. Arthur and Mr. Bendale up Blown's Canon getting poles. Mr. Clifton over the Divide after cattle. George curing bacon. Getting dinner for Messrs Blower, Coe and Thacker and the latter here to supper and he down to the Ranch to sleep. Washing finished up.

11 Fri. Arthur and Mr. Bendale fixing corral. George and Mr. Clifton down the Creek. Mr. Thacker left early. 12 Sat. Geo. and Arthur off for firewood. Usual busy day. Mr. Deardon to dinner. 13 Dec. Sun. Messrs Gray and Armitage returned bringing the mail. News of our Father's death Nov. 15th. Buried at Buckingham Nov. 19th. 14 Mon. Arthur and Mr. Deardon to Red River. Mr. Bendale and Mr. Clifton busy at the corral. Mr. C. up to supper. 15 Tu. Snow fell last night. Arthur and George read papers and were entertained by a visit from Miss H. Dixon and Deardon. 16 Wed. Sunshine again. Arthur and Mr. Bendale all day at the corral. George and Mr. C. after turkeys. Arthur went after a deer that came close past our house. Mr. Gray and Mr. Deardon to Trinidad. Mr. D. off buffalo-hunting. Churned. 17 Th. Bitterly cold. Busy making sofa. Mr. Clifton to dinner and supper. 18 Fri. Still cold. Arthur shot a wh. tail fawn. (No. 4) Mr. Armitage called. 19 Sat. Very busy day. Mr. Clifton up carpentering. Staid supper. Mr. Gray got back from Trinidad. 20 Dec. Arthur to Red River for mail. Mr. Armitage here in the aft. staid supper. Mr. Clifton spent the day. 21 Mon. Arthur and Mr. Armitage started for Messrs. Godding and Chilton's Rancho. Mr. Gray sick. Snow fell again before the last had melted. Very cold, not been out since Wednesday. Edith's birthday. 22 Tu. Mr. Gray walked down. George out shooting. No luck. Mr. Clifton up in the evng. 23 Wed. Sarah and G. and the children down to the ranch for the first time for a week. Still very cold. 24 Th. Very busy preparing for tomorrow. 25 Fri. (Christmas) Xmas Day. Arthur got home early. Mr. Clifton and Mr. Gray to dinner. Mr. Brown called. Arthur took Sarah to a dance at Coe's. We four passed a pleasant evening. 26 Sat. Very busy day "riding." Arthur and George went for wood. Mr. Clifton up to supper. 27 December Sun. Arthur to Trinidad. Mr. Gray to dinner and spend the day. 28 Mon. Mr. Denby up early to fetch George & Mr. Clifton to a jury on Mr. Whitley's death. I walked to the hut to fetch Mr. Gray to stay with us. Mr. Clifton up to supper. Mr. Gray back to the hut. 29 Tu. Mr. Gray and Mr. Denby down again to Whitley's. 2 more sent from Trinidad. Arthur got home to dinner. Mr. Gray and Mr. Clift. to supper and sleep at the Rancho. 30 Wed. George, Arthur, Messrs. Gray and Clifton all down the

Creek again. Jury reassembled. Case settled. Poor Whitley's brother. Mr. Gray home early. George and Arthur to supper. Mail from Mr. Denby's. 31 Th. Arthur put the stove in the fireplace and we had an explosion! Busy cooking most of the day. George and Mr. Gray out hunting.

1875. Jan. 1. Gave a party to the Creek. Mr. and Mrs. Thacker, all the "Willow Springs" party (8), Mr. and Mrs. Cook, Mr. (?) and Browns and wives. Mr. Lewis Coe, Mr. Saunders Dinner and chat, all left before sundown. Mr. Gray and Cliff to supper. Jan. 2. Sat. Busy tidying and all tired. Sarah and the 4 children walked up to the hut to return cups and saucers. 3 Sun. Arthur, George and I walked to the top of the Divide, a most glorious view. . . . Beautifully warm.

[Mrs. Miller kept Diaries for many years.—*Editor*]

In the Red Mountain District

By CHARLES MCCLUNG LEONARD*

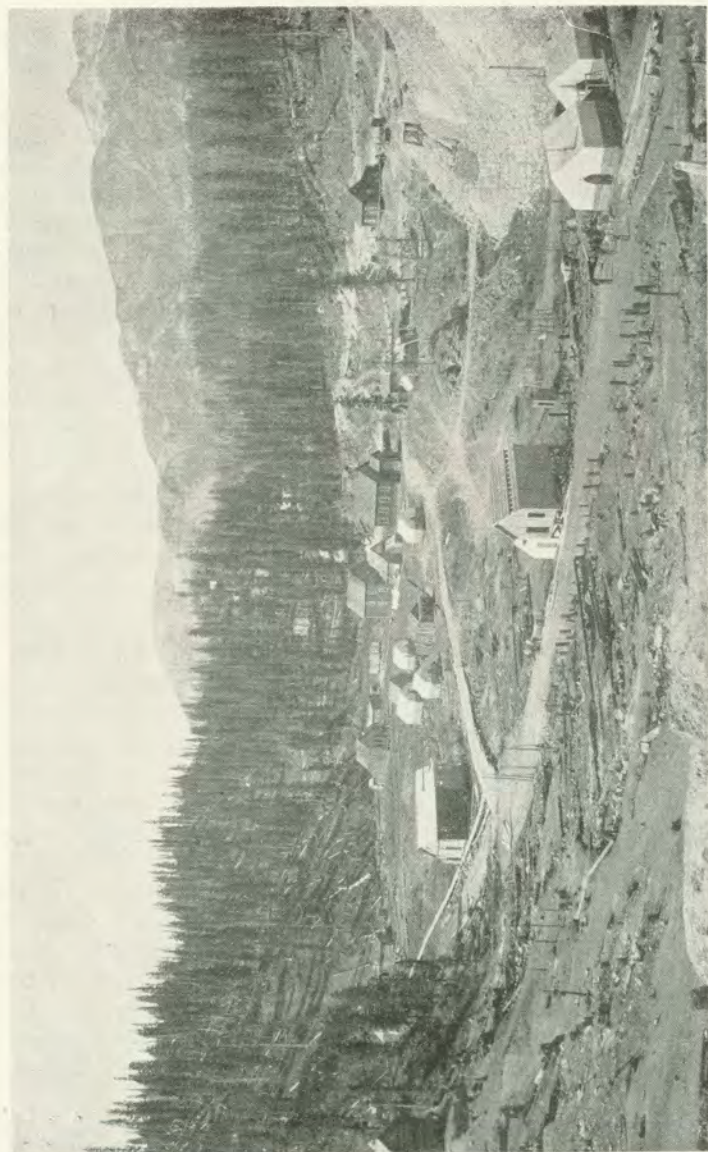
It was early in 1890, that I received the offer of a *position* on the Yankee Girl Mine in Ouray County, and left Leadville in May to take charge of the machinery there.

I arrived at Ouray in the evening, and, after a night at the Beaumont Hotel, which was managed by Chauncey Nichols, a former Leadville man, left the next morning on the stage for the mine. The road up the Uncompahgre was then a toll road and owned, as was the Silverton Railroad, by Otto Mears. On the stage, not knowing the road, I took the wrong side which put me on the outside where I could look almost straight down for from sixty to six hundred feet. And while I did not say anything about it, I was very glad to see the last of the canyon as we neared Ironton. The road then was very narrow. The present Million Dollar Highway follows the old toll road through the canyon but is considerably wider.

We found the train at Ironton consisting of engine, baggage and passenger coaches, all of old D. & R.G. stock, so we embarked for the Yankee Girl. While the mine was less than three miles from Ironton, the railroad had to go about eight miles to make the elevation.

The Yankee Girl Mine, located some ten miles from Ouray in the Red Mountain District, was quite a different proposition from any mines I had seen before. Their ore was Bornite, a form of copper, and carrying Stromeayerite, a rather rare combination of silver, copper and sulphur. Owing to the upper two or three miles of the gulch having a large amount of the copper ore, the water coming down (Red Mountain Creek) was quite strongly impregnated with sulphur, iron, and copper, making it impossible to use for domestic purposes. And as the water opened in the mine came through the ore bodies it was of concentrated strength and sufficiently so to eat through a three-inch standard pipe in nine hours. So our pumps all had bronze water ends and the water columns (discharge pipes) in the shafts were lined with redwood staves. Lead was the only metal for pipes that could resist the acid and that, of course, would stand only a very low pressure.

* This manuscript was submitted to *The Colorado Magazine* by Katherine Leonard, of Pasadena, California, daughter of Charles McClung Leonard. Miss Leonard writes: "This manuscript was written at my urging that the family might have a record of my father's remembrances of the early days. My father died in 1951, at the age of 91. He had lived in Colorado since 1876, until he came to California in 1926. His father was Abner Leonard, representative from Weld County, in the first State Legislature. He spent most of his years from 1878, in the mining camps—Leadville, San Juan and Cripple Creek. I was born in Cripple Creek."—*Editor*.



RED MOUNTAIN AFTER THE FIRE, AUG. 12, 1892.

The Yankee Girl Mines were sold to an English company soon after I went there, the purchasing company owning an adjoining property, the New Guston Mine. The two properties employed about three hundred-fifty men and it was quite a difficult thing to provide domestic water and also get enough fit to use in the boilers from the few small springs available. We got along fairly well in the summer while the snowbanks were melting but in the long winter had to use the mine water in the boilers. That meant tubes giving out nearly every day. It was hard to keep cutting out and putting in new tubes so we had a dozen plugs cast and turned so we could keep going. My experience there made me quite an expert at it.

From the time of my arrival at the Yankee Girl I had been told almost daily of the heavy snowfall there. When Christmas came, however, and the Superintendent and I walked to Ironton, about three miles down the gulch over bare ground to a Christmas tree and dance, I began to doubt the stories. And when by the middle of February we had less than two feet of snow and the little narrow gauge Silverton Railroad which ran between Silverton and Ironton was still in operation, I felt sure that the "San Juan Country" held the biggest liars I had met. About February 15, though it started snowing in earnest, and if it stopped for a minute in over six weeks, I never heard of it. There was very little wind so the weather control just attended to dropping snow. When it let up, in April, there were about fourteen to sixteen feet of it on the level, and I was prepared to believe almost any story about the snow in the "San Juans." At what was called Riverside, about halfway between Ouray and Ironton, snowslides always ran unless the winter happened to be very mild. In the spring of '91, when the snow began to soften, the slides at Riverside, one from each side, ran on the regular schedule. They started from above timberline and more than a mile away, so by the time both came down, a lot of snow was piled up. When the county roadmen opened the road later, they bored a tunnel through which the stages ran till the following September when the last of the roof fell in. The tunnel when opened was 294 feet long.