

Why Did Colonel John P. Slough Resign?

Colorado Volunteers at Apache Cañon

Although Colorado had been a territory only six weeks when the first shell was fired on Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, April 12, 1861, the new western commonwealth played a significant role during the Civil War, in helping to hold the Southwest and the West for the Union.

A stunning victory one hundred years ago—in March, 1862—at Gloriéta Pass in Apache Cañon, New Mexico, in which Colorado troops led by Colonel John P. Slough took part, often is referred to as “the Gettysburg of the Southwest.”

Much has been written about the battle of Apache Cañon including the fights and skirmishes at Pigeon’s Ranch, at Kozlowski’s place, at Gloriéta Pass, and at Johnson’s Ranch where Major John M. Chivington and his men destroyed the Confederates’ supply train. Not very much, however, has been written about the man, John P. Slough, who commanded the troops that participated in these battles.

“Why,” the question has been asked, “did Colonel Slough, in the flush of a major victory, resign his commission out in the field, and fade from the western scene so hurriedly?”

Answers to this question may be found in the following article written by Arthur A. Wright for *The Colorado Magazine*. Mr. Wright, of Denver, a native of Missouri and a former teacher of history and social sciences in Florence, Mancos, and Ouray, here presents a detailed study of Colonel Slough, commander of the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. For those who are unfamiliar with Colorado’s part in the Civil War, the following summary preceding Mr. Wright’s article, may give a background for the Slough study.

Colorado’s scant population, not exceeding 26,000 persons, was concentrated in 1861, chiefly in the Denver area and in the mining camps scattered through the mountains westward. Among its population were many stalwart, physically hardened, courageous young men who answered Colorado’s call for volunteers to defend the Union.

William Gilpin Arrives

When William Gilpin, first governor appointed for Colorado Territory, arrived in Denver on May 27, 1861, he found an active secession element at work. It was natural that there should be many Confederate sympathizers here as there had been an influx of men from the South following the discovery, by some Georgians, of gold in Cherry Creek and Dry Creek in the summer of 1858.



Westernaires of Jefferson County, Colo.
Equipped With Authentic Civil War Gear
Commanded by E. E. Wyland
At Civil War Centennial, Fort Garland, August 27, 1961

William Marshall

Governor Gilpin, sensing that the majority of the citizens were Union sympathizers, began to prepare to overwhelm the "secesh" element. With Confederate backers boldly posting handbills in Denver and the mining camps, offering good prices for rifles and ammunition, Gilpin appointed a military committee and sent out agents to buy firearms and ammunition. Without waiting for full authorization from Washington, he began to assemble a military regiment.

New Mexico's Situation

For a year or more before the secession of the Southern states began, John B. Floyd, Secretary of War in President Buchanan's cabinet, had at great labor and expense, been transferring from northern arsenals to the various forts in the Southwest, all of the military supplies they would hold. Floyd, known to be in sympathy with the South, also sent into New Mexico a large number of soldiers of the United States army. Many of the officers were known to be favorable to the Southern cause.

Word of the outbreak of the war reached New Mexico early in May, 1861. Immediately a number of the regular army officers who were stationed there, resigned their commissions and hastened to Texas, which had seceded in February. Enlisted men could not resign; to leave their posts would have been desertion, so most of them remained.

Among those who resigned was Major Henry H. Sibley, who had been in command of Fort Union in northern New Mexico, some 318 miles south of Denver. Sibley knew intimately the location and condition of all the forts located 350 miles southward along the Rio Grande River.

As soon as he arrived among his Confederate friends, he was made a Brigadier General by President Jefferson Davis. At once Sibley began to lay plans to invade New Mexico, Colorado, and the Far West.

If the proposed campaign were successful, the Confederacy would control the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails, as well as the southern route across Arizona to California; would have access to Colorado's gold fields; could form an alliance with the Mormons in Utah, who were known to be anti-Union; and might acquire a great wealth of supplies in California, plus trade with the Orient.

As the first step in the Confederacy's plan of conquest of the Southwest, Colonel John R. Baylor's command left Fort Bliss (El Paso, Texas), in July, 1861, and with little opposition took over posts on the Rio Grande, which had been vacated by the Federals. Baylor set up a seat of government at Mesilla, New Mexico, proclaiming that New Mexico and Arizona were under his control.



Westerners with Authentic Civil War Cavalry Equipment
Leaving Gate at Fort Garland, August, 1961

William Marshall

Canby Commands Union Troops

Colonel Edward R. S. Canby, who took over the command of the Department of New Mexico for the Union on June 14, 1861, received an order from Washington to send all regular infantry in New Mexico to Leavenworth, Kansas, as soon as practicable, and to replace them with two regiments of volunteers to be raised in New Mexico.

Canby, a seasoned army man, with considerable service in the Southwest, knew that to send these regulars away would leave New Mexico in a desperate predicament with the Texan Confederates on the east and the raiding Apaches on the west. Too, he knew it would leave Colorado's gold fields exposed to certain invasion.

Since no transportation was then available to send the troops to Kansas, as ordered, Canby concentrated what regulars he had in three places: Fort Craig, Fort Union, and in Albuquerque. His troops had not been paid for months. He lacked funds to buy mounts, uniforms, guns, and ammunition for volunteers, but he endeavored to follow orders. In the summer of 1861, he requested Governor Rencher of New Mexico to issue a call for recruits. Then, although he did not have the authority to do so, he asked Governor Gilpin of Colorado to raise several companies to garrison Fort Garland, located in the San Luis Valley to the north of Fort Union.

On August 29, 1861, Governor Gilpin appointed James H. Ford, captain, and authorized him to raise a company of infantry. The next day he appointed Theodore H. Dodd, first lieutenant, with instructions to recruit a second company. These companies, assembled in Canon City, made up chiefly from recruits from the mining camps, were completed in December as "Captain Jim Ford's Independent Company" and "Captain Dodd's Independent Company." Some months later these two companies formed the nucleus of the Second Regiment of Colorado Volunteers.

Captain Dodd's company was the first from Colorado to see active war service. The men were mustered into the military service of the United States at Fort Garland on December 14, 1861. With only oxen for transporting equipment, they pushed on to Santa Fe, thence to Fort Craig where they joined Canby. They arrived in time to participate in the Battle of Valverde, on February 21, 1862.

These Colorado Volunteers, under fire for the first time, fought like seasoned veterans. Their casualties were heavy with thirty killed and wounded. In this battle Colonel Kit Carson was in charge of the First Regiment of New Mexico Volunteers. Although Canby's men put up a fierce fight, the Battle of Valverde was conceded to be a Confederate victory.

After the battle, General Sibley sent three of his officers



Westernaires of Jefferson County, Colo.,
On Patrol Near Fort Garland During Celebration of
Civil War Centennial, August, 1961

William Marshall

to Fort Craig, where Canby had retreated, and asked him to surrender. Canby refused. Apparently the Texans thought Fort Craig was better manned and fortified than it was, so did not press an attack.

Various historians have stated that Canby and Sibley were brothers-in-law. One states that their wives were cousins. The record is not clear, but at any rate, it is certain that the two officers had been especially close friends for years. And at various times during the New Mexico campaign their relationship or friendship may have influenced them in sparing each other's forces from attack.

Captain Ford's Company

Captain Ford's company, which arrived at Fort Garland on December 21, 1861, was mustered in for three years' service, provisionally as Company B, Second Colorado Infantry. On February 4, the company headed for Santa Fe. It arrived there a month later, having struggled through deep snow. After only a day's rest, the men were sent on March 5, to reinforce the small garrison at Fort Union.

Gilpin's "Pet Lambs"

In the meantime, during the summer and fall of 1861, Governor Gilpin had concentrated upon raising, drilling, and equipping the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteer Infantry. He was himself a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point. Recruiting offices were opened in nearly all of the larger towns of the territory. Colonel John P. Slough, a Denver lawyer, formerly from Ohio, was made commander of the regiment whose members dubbed themselves, "Gilpin's Pet Lambs."

By early autumn the regiment was completely raised. The men, some accompanied by their wives, moved into Camp Weld. This thirty-acre, well-built army post, located two miles up the Platte River from the center of Denver, was named in honor of Territorial Secretary Lewis L. Weld. The buildings, fringing a parade ground, consisted of officers' headquarters, quarters for soldiers, mess rooms, guardhouse, and hospital.

In addition to the regular military training, many social events took place in the camp, such as dinners and full-dress balls, with the post band furnishing music.

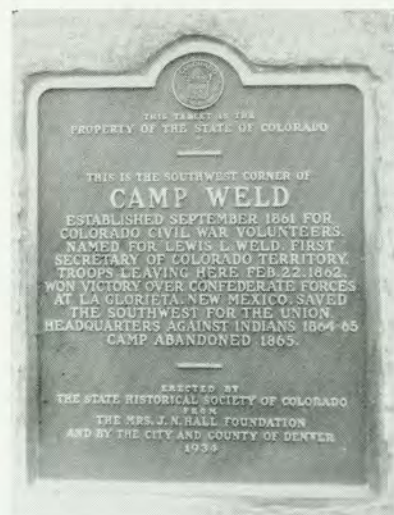
Three of the companies were sent in mid-December to garrison Fort Wise, later known as Fort Lyon, on the Arkansas River. The remainder of the regiment at Camp Weld was under the command of Major John M. Chivington, former presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Colorado. Colonel John P. Slough was over-all commander.

Early in January, 1862, having learned that Sibley's brigade of 3,000 Confederates was sweeping everything before it in New Mexico, the authorities in Colorado asked Major General David Hunter at Fort Leavenworth, in command of the Depart-

ment of Kansas which included Colorado and New Mexico, to send the Colorado soldiers to New Mexico to assist Canby. A month of silence followed. Then, on February 10, the hoped-for orders were issued.

On February 22, the companies at Camp Weld were on the march for New Mexico. Those at Fort Wise started southward on March 3, under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel F. Tappan. Despite the bitterly cold weather and snow under foot, the troops reached Fort Union in a remarkably short time.

Mr. Wright's article on Colonel John P. Slough, which follows, will carry on from here, with emphasis upon the colonel as a commander. For further details of the various skirmishes and battles that took place in and near Apache Cañon, the reader may wish to consult the book, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War* by William Clarke Whitford, published in 1906, by the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado.—*Editor*.



Colonel John P. Slough and the New Mexico Campaign

1862

By ARTHUR A. WRIGHT

Smarting from the defeat at Valverd  and wistfully scanning the horizon for help, the Union leaders in New Mexico were tense with anxiety. Some idea of the gravity of their situation as they themselves conceived it may be derived from the following excerpts from a letter written by a member of Colonel E. R. S. Canby's staff and addressed to Major-General H. W. Halleck, then in command of the Department of Missouri:

"You will probably learn . . . that we have had a most desperate and bloody struggle with the Texans . . . and retreated to Fort Craig.

". . . It is needless to say that this country is in a critical condition. The militia have all run away and the New Mexican Volunteers are deserting in large numbers.

"A force of Colorado Volunteers is already on the way to assist us, and they may possibly arrive in time to save us from immediate danger; but my dear sir, we must look to the future. The conquest of it [New Mexico] is a great political feature of the rebellion. It will gain the rebels a name and a prestige over Europe, and operate against the Union cause.

"These Texans . . . will have large additions to their command here, in order to extend their conquest toward old Mexico and in the direction of Southern California. I therefore beg you, in the name of Colonel Canby, who is fighting two to one, and laying valuable lives upon this issue, to send at once—lose not a day—at least two regiments infantry and a battery of rifled cannon to Fort Union. These troops cannot serve the Government better than by saving this Territory."¹

The fires of hope burned lowest for the Union cause in New Mexico in the days just following the defeat at Valverd .² Regular troops were scarce; volunteers from outside the territory were even scarcer; the native New Mexican troops, considerable in number, were no longer looked upon as an effective fighting force.³ The invaders were moving north.

And Colonel John P. Slough, with his First Colorado Volunteers, was moving south. He left Denver with seven companies of his regiment on the day following the Valverd  engagement. As he marched south, he was to be joined on the

¹ Correspondence: Gurden Chapin, Captain, Seventh Infantry, Acting Inspector-General to Major General H. W. Halleck, February 28, 1862. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. IX, 645-46. (Hereafter referred to as *Official Records*.)

² Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regt., N. Mex. Vols., to Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 11, 1862, *ibid.*, 645-46.

³ Correspondence: Jas. L. Donaldson, Quartermaster, Brevet Major to General Lorenzo Thomas, March 1, 1862, *ibid.*, 635-36.

Purgatoire by the balance of his regiment from Fort Wise.⁴

News of the fight at Valverde had reached Fort Wise on March 1, two days before the troops from that post going south with Slough took up their line of march. But these troops had gone no farther than Bent's Old Fort when a Captain Garrison, Chief of Subsistence at Fort Union, rode into camp in a special



Colonel John P. Slough
Commander
First Regiment Colorado Volunteer Infantry

coach and expressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, in command, the urgency of a speedy advance. As a result, Tappan's men left behind all but bare essentials and, traveling light, pressed forward with all haste. On the day they joined Slough's column, they marched forty miles.⁵

⁴ Cf. Correspondence: Lewis Weld, Secretary and Acting Governor of Colorado Territory, to Brig. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, February 14, 1862, *ibid.*, 631-32; Ovando J. Hollister, *History of the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers* (Denver: Thos. Gibson & Co., 1863). Reprinted as *Boldly They Rode* (Lakewood, Colorado: The Golden Press, 1949), 33, 36. One of the three companies joining Slough from Fort Wise was the mounted Company F, to which Private Hollister belonged.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Somewhere north of Red River, the whole force was met by an ambulance bearing news that Fort Union was being threatened by "the Texans." The result of this was that Slough left at the river, under a corporal's guard, everything but arms and a pair of blankets per man. This lightening of burdens was small comfort to the animals, however, for men climbed into the wagons in place of the discarded baggage. Many of the poor brutes died of exhaustion. The men suffered most from the cold—there was wind-driven snow, too—and traveling light could only add to that kind of misery.⁶

When the first of Slough's tired and hungry soldiers arrived at Fort Union, everything had a peaceful appearance. It was in the dusk of the evening, and Colonel Gabriel R. Paul, commander of the fort, and Governor Henry Connelly greeted them with little speeches of welcome in which nothing was said of the Battle of Valverde nor of the whereabouts of the enemy. It appeared as if the newcomers would have an opportunity to refresh themselves a little before meeting the invaders head-on.⁷

Colonel Slough asserted the seniority of his commission almost immediately.⁸ Colonel Paul, a seasoned veteran of the Mexican War, was not prepared for such an eventuality. He accepted it, however, but complained to Washington that "an officer of only six months' service," and without experience, takes precedence of one of many years' service and who has frequently been tried in battle." Moreover, he petitioned the War Department for the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers so as to "prevent in [the] future such mortifications."⁹

Colonel Paul set about organizing a column from the newly-arrived troops and the regulars and Captain James H. Ford's "Independent" Colorado Company at the Post¹¹—a column which was to march south with the purpose of forming a junction with Colonel Canby, then at Fort Craig. While Paul was thus occupied, a dispatch arrived from Canby on or about March 18,¹² in which the latter approved of a plan formerly proposed by Paul, according to which the column at Fort

⁶ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

⁸ Slough's commission as Colonel First Colorado Infantry dated from August 26, 1861, whereas Paul's commission as Colonel Fourth New Mexico Infantry dated only from December 9, 1861. Hence, Slough claimed seniority of volunteer commission. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), I, Part 2, pp. 892, 776.

⁹ Slough had entered the service as a Captain in Colorado on June 24, 1861. *ibid.*, 892.

¹⁰ Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regt. N. Mex. Vols., to Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 11, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I., Vol. IX, 645-46.

¹¹ "Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry," March 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 534-35.

¹² Paul wrote on March 17: "I expect an answer tomorrow from Colonel Canby to a dispatch I sent him proposing a plan for his relief." Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regt., New Mexico Vols., to the Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, *ibid.*, 648-49.

Union was to leave that place on March 24. (Canby's force had farther to go in order to reach the point of junction agreed upon; hence, it was to commence its march four days earlier.) Paul completed the organization of the column and turned it over to Slough, regulars included, on March 20. Paul had not until this time formally turned over the regulars to Slough, and he afterwards regretted his action.¹³ On the following day another dispatch arrived from Canby, which concluded with the charge: "Do not move from Fort Union to meet me until I advise you of the route and point of junction."¹⁴

In face of this and the remonstrances of Colonel Paul, Slough determined to leave the post on March 22—two days sooner than the original plan contemplated.¹⁵

Slough defended his proposed movement by reminding Paul that the instructions of Canby were "not only to protect Fort Union, but also to harass the enemy."¹⁶ What Canby had actually written was: "While awaiting re-enforcements harass the enemy by partisan operations; obstruct his movements, and remove or destroy any supplies that might fall into his hands." Besides Colorado, the department commander had named Kansas and even California as regions from which troops might arrive.¹⁷ It is evident that Canby had been informed of the arrival or near approach of the Colorado troops to Fort Union by this time, but he probably had not given a thought to a possible change of commander at that post.

However, Slough had more than merely partisan operations in view. As to the risk involved by a potential encounter with the enemy in force, he observed that "if the enemy at San Antonio are no stronger than reported by Captain Walker, the troops under my command will be sufficient to control their action and to defeat them in case of attack."¹⁸ Slough referred to Captain Charles J. Walker, who commanded a company of regular cavalry at the fort. Slough was not uninformed as to the strength and whereabouts of the enemy in whose direction he proposed to march. An engagement in force was within his calculations, and he refused to leave part of the regulars for the defense of the post. Paul's final note went unanswered and the former Denver lawyer set out with his column.¹⁹

¹³ On March 22, Paul wrote to Slough: "You must be aware that no part of the regular force of this district would have been turned over to you had the instructions of Colonel Canby of the 16th instant [received on the 21st] been received twelve hours earlier." Paul retained his command of the Eastern District. Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth N. Mex. Vols., to Col. J. P. Slough, First Regiment, Colorado Volunteers, *ibid.*, 655.

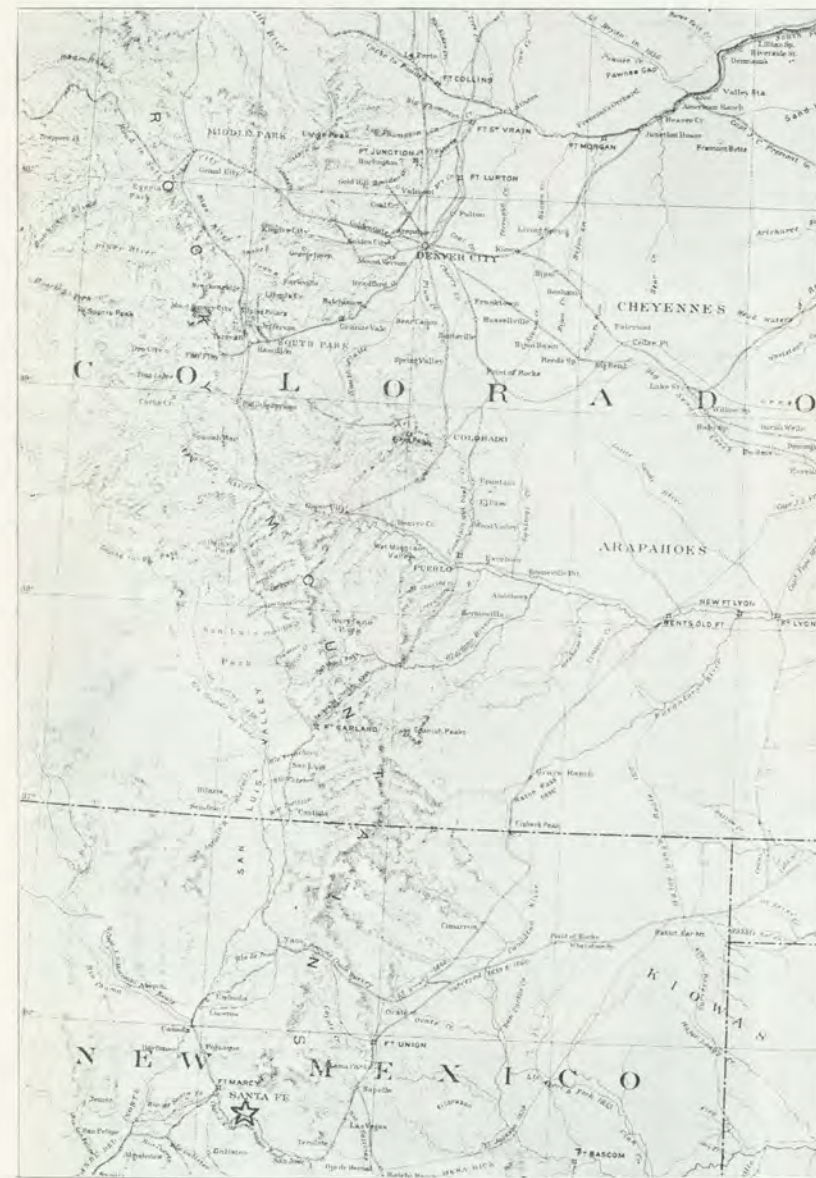
¹⁴ Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regiment, N. Mex. Vols., to the Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 24, 1862, *ibid.*, 652-53, with enclosures A, B, C, D, and E, 653-55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Correspondence: Gurden Chapin, Captain, Seventh Infantry, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General to Col. G. R. Paul, March 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 654.

¹⁷ Cf. Correspondence: Ed. R. S. Canby, Colonel, to [Col. G. R. Paul], March 16 [1862], *ibid.*, 653; Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, March 11, 1862, *ibid.*, 645.

¹⁸ Correspondence: Gurden Chapin, Captain, Seventh Infantry, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, to Colonel G. R. Paul, March 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 654.



Map of Parts of Colorado and New Mexico. Star near lower left-hand corner marks the locality of Glorieta Pass

Since Slough's command did not get started until around noon on March 20,²⁰ it marched only about eight miles that day and bivouacked on a small stream.²¹ Was the delay caused by the exchange of notes between Slough and Paul? Some time the next day it marched into the "Mexican town" of Las Vegas, thirty miles from the fort, where Governor Connelly on fleeing Santa Fe had established his government in exile.²²

Slough's halt at Las Vegas gave the governor an opportunity to get firsthand information concerning the movement in progress, some of which he passed on to Secretary of State William H. Seward at Washington. Writing to the secretary under date of March 23, 1862, the governor said:

Today the whole force from Denver City, Colorado, together with the Territorial forces, numbering 1,400 men in all,²³ will leave this place [Las Vegas] in the direction of the enemy,²⁴ but I am informed will go but a short distance until they receive further communications and orders from Colonel Canby, who still remains at Fort Craig. These orders are daily expected, and with them a simultaneous movement of the two forces so as to reach the position of the enemy on the same day.²⁵

The Colorado colonel would go but a short distance farther when he would receive orders from Colonel Canby. What he would do then would depend upon those orders.

But how did Slough explain his movement from Fort Union with the bulk of Canby's northern army? The governor continued:

There has been some little discord in relation to the movement now made from Union, in consequence of the want of orders from Colonel Canby. Colonel Paul, in command at Union, was of opinion that the orders of Colonel Canby were essential to an effective forward movement from Union; whereas Colonel Slough, in command of the forces from Colorado, was of opinion that an advance of a day or more march in advance could lead to no evil, and would curtail the limits of the enemy, and mayhap lead to the expulsion of the enemy from the capital, now occupied by about 100 men, with two pieces of artillery.²⁶

The discord had resulted from "the want of orders." The handsome, silvery-haired Paul, in referring to the last message from Canby to reach Fort Union, had insisted in his final note to Slough that "Colonel Canby must have had good reasons for the change directed in the plans he at first approved, and

¹⁹ Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regiment N. Mex. Vols., to the Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 24, 1862, *ibid.*, 652-53, with inclosures A, B, C, D, and E, 653-55.

²⁰ Cf. Hollister, *op. cit.*, 55.

²¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 55-56. Hollister calls this stream "the Sepulco." It seems likely that it was the present day Sapello River.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*, 55-58. Hollister "by a rough guess" estimated the population of Las Vegas at 2,000, including "a few whites, mostly Jews."

²³ The actual number—officers and men—was 1,342. "Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry," March 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 534-35.

²⁴ Hollister's diary has the departure of Slough's command from Las Vegas taking place on the morning of March 24, Hollister, *op. cit.*, 58.

²⁵ Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of N. Mex., to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, March 23, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 651-52.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

his anxiety to have the change made known is indicated by his sending duplicates of his instructions by different messengers, both of which have been received." And Paul had concluded his final note with a fervid protest:

In the name of the department commander, of the best interests of the service, and of the safety of all the troops in this Territory, I protest against this movement of yours, made as it is two days before the time agreed upon, and as I conceive in direct disobedience of the orders of Colonel Canby.²⁷

Paul's last note to Slough, as mentioned above, received no reply.

Paul had lamented earlier that with the coming of Slough to Fort Union he had been deprived of a command "which I had taken so much pains to organize and with which I had expected to reap laurels."²⁸ Neither he nor Slough had given a thought to personal danger; both had dreamed of a glory to follow. Paul was destined to fight at Gettysburg.

But—to return to Governor Connelly's letter—the governor went on to indicate where he stood in the controversy as between Slough and Paul:

I think this slight difference of opinion and movement will lead to no unfavorable result, as Colonel Slough will advance upon the road that the enemy will necessarily have to march to reach Union, should an attempt be made upon that place, which seems to be the fear entertained by Colonel Paul.²⁹

Colonel Slough had his eyes on Santa Fe, and of course the governor was anxious to return to the capital. The governor gave some credence to a late rumor that the invaders were preparing to retreat from the territory by way of Fort Stanton and the Pecos River. General Sibley's main force was then located in the mountains some fifteen miles east of Albuquerque and directly on the road to Fort Stanton. Had it taken this position with such an end in view? From their "sudden and mercenary" demands on the civilians for money, the governor deduced that the Confederates were in desperate straits financially. He complained that they had been inordinately destructive of property of every kind.³⁰ Perhaps he feared not only for the safety of the inhabitants of Santa Fe, but for that of the public buildings as well. His general view of the military situation, however, was a bright one. He observed that the

²⁷ Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth New Mex. Vols., to Col. John P. Slough, First Regiment Colorado Volunteers, March 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 655.

²⁸ Cf. Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regt. N. Mex. Vols., to Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 645-46; Hollister, *op. cit.*, 52. Paul's command, before Slough's coming, had included "probably four hundred" regulars, according to Hollister. In addition to the regulars, the command had consisted of Captain Ford's independent infantry company from Colorado and some New Mexico volunteers.

²⁹ Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, March 23, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 651-52.

³⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, April 20, 1862, 665. Governor Connelly, in this same communication, reported his own house near Peralta as having been "despoiled of its entire contents, including a valuable stock of goods, together with everything in the way of subsistence." It was at this house that the Confederate colonel, Thomas Green, camped later, as he was retreating from the country.

forces in either of Canby's commands (which Canby planned to unite) were nearly equal to those of the enemy, and that there was no probability of the enemy's receiving large reinforcements.³¹

Colonel Slough, who evidently had given "firsthand information" to Governor Connelly, must have derived a great deal of satisfaction from the fact that the governor had reacted favorably to his movement and his course of action. He could not help but have some apprehensions as to how the whole affair would strike the department commander, once he learned of it.

Did the forward officer believe (or have a misguided premonition) that Canby would leave Fort Craig on March 20, the date agreed upon under the original plan? Canby had not definitely stated that he would not do so.

It is evident (from Governor Connelly's letter) that Slough expected to receive from Canby, any time now, a communication containing a definite plan for the junction of the two Union forces. Hence, he must have been bitterly disappointed when, within a day or two after his halt at Las Vegas, a dispatch reached him from Canby, bearing the date of March 18,³² and leading off in the following manner: "Keep your command prepared to make a junction with this force. I will indicate the time and route." Of course, the message was meant to reach Slough at Fort Union, and some of the things said therein could only bring up unpleasant memories. For instance: "If you have been joined by a sufficient force to act independently against the enemy, advise me of your plans and movements, that I may co-operate." And this: "Fort Union must be held. . . . If you move, a reliable garrison must be left in it." And again: "Reports in relation to plans and movements will be made in cipher. Colonel Paul will give you the key." Canby used his familiar phrase: "Nothing must be left to chance." While waiting for reinforcements, Slough was to "harass the enemy by partisan operations"; and Canby gave him some instructions as to how this last was to be done and, of course, it did not involve the bulk of Slough's command. Canby cautioned against a premature movement for his relief, explaining that he had at Fort Craig enough supplies of all kinds to last until the end of the following month (April).³³

Since this was a sort of introductory letter to Slough,³⁴ the old West Pointer at Fort Craig took occasion to set down for him an outline of his, Canby's, "general plan" for the prosecu-

³¹ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1862, 651-52.

³² Canby had probably just learned that Slough was in command at Fort Union when he addressed this communication to him. The *Official Records* do not indicate the date on which Slough received it. Messages were commonly carried from Fort Craig to Fort Union in five days.

³³ Correspondence: Ed. R. S. Canby, Colonel Nineteenth Infantry, to Col. J. P. Slough, First Colorado Volunteers, March 18, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 649.

³⁴ Hitherto, Canby had addressed communications sent to Fort Union to Colonel Paul.

tion of the war in New Mexico. It was grim, and mostly defensive in nature:

The question is not of saving this post, but of saving New Mexico and defeating the Confederates in such a way that an invasion of this Territory will never again be attempted. It is essential to the general plan that this post should be retained if possible. Fort Union must be held and our communications with the East kept open. . . . The communication by Fort Garland should also be kept open.³⁵ If it cannot, that post should be destroyed. All other points are of no importance.³⁶

The general situation was unchanged except as Slough himself had changed it. Canby had not moved from Fort Craig, and, judging from the tone of his message, it might be a matter of weeks before he did so.

Slough Sets Up Camp

But the former lawyer and politician was not entirely unprepared for the embarrassing situation in which he found himself. The manner in which he explained all his movements, the part played by primitive communications, and the ironic turn taken by events—all combined to make the story of Colonel Slough's part in the New Mexico campaign not only interesting but unique.

Down at Bernal Springs, on the old Santa Fe Trail, about forty-five miles from Fort Union, on March 25, 1862, Colonel Slough set up a temporary camp for his command and named it Camp Paul.³⁷

It was on March 25 also that Canby, having learned that Slough had left Fort Union, dispatched a courier to meet that unruly officer and send him with his column, back to the post.³⁸

On the following day, March 26, the vanguard of Slough's Union forces, under Major John M. Chivington, defeated the vanguard of the Confederate forces at Pigeon's Ranch just within the eastern entrance of Apache Cañon. Colonel Slough promptly sent off to Canby a report of the engagement and, with it, an announcement of his intention to move against the enemy with his, Slough's, entire column.³⁹ This communication, though it did not get into the *Official Records*, is significant

³⁵ Fort Garland, Colorado Territory, was transferred from the Department of Kansas to the Department of New Mexico on February 14, 1862. General Orders, No. 14, Paragraph 1, February 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 631.

³⁶ Correspondence: Ed. R. S. Canby, Colonel Nineteenth Infantry, to Col. J. P. Slough, First Colorado Volunteers, March 18, 1862, *ibid.*, 649.

³⁷ Cf. Hollister, *op. cit.*, 58; Correspondence: G. R. Paul, Colonel Fourth Regiment, N. Mex. Vols., to the Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 24, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 652-53; "Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry," March 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 534-35. The main body of Slough's command seems to have reached Bernal Springs from Las Vegas late on the 24th.

³⁸ Cf. Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, March 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 656-58; *ibid.*, April 6, 1862, 659-60. The courier, several days later, brought news to Bernal Springs that Canby "had not on the 25th of March left Fort Craig." Hence, the courier is presumed to have left the fort on that date.

³⁹ The communication would necessarily have been written in the interval between the battles of the 26th and 28th. Apparently, it reached Canby on the 31st. Correspondence: Ed. R. S. Canby, Colonel Nineteenth Infantry, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, March 31, 1862, *ibid.*, 658.

in that it decided Canby to march from Fort Craig—on April 1! Of Slough's intended movement, Canby wrote to the Adjutant-General at Washington on the last day of March: "This movement is, in my judgment, premature, and is at variance with my instructions, but as it may involve serious consequences, I have determined to move tomorrow. . . ."40 Canby had not planned it that way; Slough was forcing his hand.

Following the battle at Pigeon's Ranch, Slough sent a preliminary report of the engagement to Canby. (If he sent any further report to Canby, it did not get into the *Official Records*.) This report, of March 29, began: "Learning from our spies that the enemy . . . were in the Apache Cañon and at Johnson's ranch beyond, I concluded to reconnoiter in force, with a view of ascertaining the position of the enemy and of harassing them as much as possible. . . ." Such were the Colorado colonel's reasons for attacking the enemy in force. A little further on in his report he had the following:

The character of the country was such as to make the engagement of the bushwhacking kind. Hearing of the success of Major Chivington's command, and the movement being successful, we fell back in order to our camp.⁴¹

It is impossible to believe that the battle was terminated in any such matter-of-fact manner. More than one writer has seen in Slough's casual tone here an attempt to smooth over the circumstance of his having engaged the enemy in force.

In his report to the adjutant-general at Washington, covering both battles in Apache Cañon lately fought by his troops, Slough asserted that "this has been done with the purpose of annoying and harassing the enemy and under orders from Colonel Canby, commanding department. But," he continued, "as the instructions from him are to protect Fort Union at all hazards and leave nothing to chance, and as the number and position of the enemy in a mountain cañon are too strong to make a battle with my force, I shall now occupy a position to protect Fort Union and at the same time harass and damage the enemy."⁴²

The movement referred to was already in progress. Slough had moved off from the scene of the Glorieta engagement, leaving the enemy on the field, and had withdrawn as far as San José when he addressed his report to Washington.⁴³ In it, as in his report to Canby of the previous day, he was doing

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ "Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry," March 29, 1862, *ibid.*, 533.

⁴² Cf. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1862, 534-35. Slough explained that this report was being sent direct to Washington "as the department commander is at Fort Craig, beyond the lines of the enemy." (Slough apparently did not detail the full intensity of the seven-hour battle which had raged between his men and the Confederates in Glorieta Pass on March 28, while Major Chivington and some 440 men, who had gone over the mountains were destroying the Texans' supply train at Johnson's Ranch.—*Editor*.)

⁴³ Cf. Hollister, *op. cit.*, 73-74: "Reports of W. R. Scurry, Fourth Texas Cavalry," March 30, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 541-42; *ibid.*, March 31, 1862, 542-45; The Federalists left behind their sick and wounded at their camp at Kozłowski's Ranch.

all according to the department commander's instructions. But there was a reason for the backward movement independent of Canby's instructions: "The number and position of the enemy in a mountain cañon" were too strong to make a battle with Slough's force. Slough did not explain further. Were his spies responsible for this statement of his that would prove to be so utterly incorrect? They had served him well in previous operations. Curiously, Governor Connelly when writing to Secretary Seward on the same day (March 30) remarked:

It is the opinion of those who are better capable of judging that the enemy lost their entire stock of provisions and ammunition in the train that was burnt, and hence that he will have to fall back on Santa Fe or scatter in confusion through the country seeking subsistence.⁴⁴

Who were those who were "better capable of judging"? Slough was not among them—not if credence is given to his words on the subject, quoted above.

This too, it appears, was part and parcel of the façade Slough had been maintaining all along. He knew after receiving Canby's communication of March 18, that he was pursuing a precarious course. Now he had annoyed and harassed the enemy with his whole force intact, whereas Canby had said that this was to be done *by partisan operations*. He had left a weak garrison at Fort Union; and he had gone beyond the approach to Fort Union by way of the Pecos (in the vicinity of Bernal Springs) with the main body of Canby's northern army. He knew that he had made himself liable to a court-martial. He could imagine that Colonel Paul's reports to Washington had done him no good in that quarter. It might have been deduced from Slough's report that he would have favored the return to Bernal Springs—not to Fort Union—Canby's orders aside; surely his words showed no objection to the backward movement. He seemed to represent himself as a cautious commander—mindful lest his troops encounter a force too strong for them. His reports had a respectful tone throughout in their bearing on Colonel Canby, and this talk of a superior enemy force could have been used to clear the department commander from any possible blame for the withdrawal now under way.

Much as Governor Connelly had hoped for an early recovery of Santa Fe, he had no word of criticism for Slough; on the contrary, he put in a word in defense of the course he had taken. In his letter of March 30, quoted from above, the governor told Secretary Seward:

There were some reports that General Sibley was moving by another road upon Fort Union with the balance of his forces. It was thought best to fall back to a point at which he must necessarily pass in order to reach that place. This was done, and our forces will tomorrow take a position at Bernal Springs for the purposes indicated.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, March 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 656-58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

If Slough gave credence to these reports—the governor implied that he did—why did he not mention them in his own reports? To have done so would have pointed up the fact that he had taken his column beyond the point at which “another road” approached Fort Union. Private Hollister made no mention in his diary of the said reports, and whether they affected the situation or not, there seems to have been no particular haste on the part of Slough’s troops to get back to Bernal Springs.

Colonel Slough Resigns

Colonel Slough arrived back at Bernal Springs on the last day of March; and here, on the same day, Canby’s courier (and adjutant-general) arrived in the Union camp with orders for the return of the whole force to Fort Union. And it was at this juncture also that Slough resigned his commission.⁴⁶

Down at Fort Craig, General Canby—his brigadier’s commission dated from this day⁴⁷—was making preparations for a northward march, to begin on the morrow.

Ultimate Union Triumph

Primitive communications played a large part in the drama, and everything took an ironical twist. Canby’s courier, sent out on the eve of the Battle of Apache Cañon, found Slough at Bernal Springs, six days later. Slough advised Canby of his plans to march against the enemy with his whole force, that is, he wrote to Canby to that effect, on the eve of the Battle of Gloriéta; and Canby, having received the advice on March 31, set out from Fort Craig to join him on April 1—the day after Slough had resigned his commission! The doughty colonel (with Chivington) fought two battles in the high country, using his entire force in the last one, “with the purpose of annoying and harassing the enemy and under orders from Colonel Canby,” and withdrew to Bernal Springs thereafter “to protect Fort Union at all hazards and leave nothing to chance.” (Quotations are Slough’s.)

Slough left the fort when ordered to remain there; he resigned his commission when ordered to return there; and in between, and at variance with the department commander’s orders, he directed a campaign that was to result in the ultimate triumph of Union arms in New Mexico.

Bernal Springs was as far as Slough intended to go in his backward movement from the camp at Kozlowski’s Ranch. He had contended all along that he could perform his duties better from that place than from Fort Union. Perhaps he pointed to the folly of marching back to the latter place when an early movement in the opposite direction was contemplated, or, at least, should be contemplated. Unlike Canby, he seems never to have worried about reinforcements. But these circumstances

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, April 6, 1862, 659-60. Hollister, *op. cit.*, 74, 78, 86.

seem to have had little, or possibly nothing, to do with his resignation.

The reasons for the early withdrawal from the Gloriéta scene, and those for Slough’s resignation seem to be closely related. Both were simple matters as seen by Private Hollister and his companions in the ranks of Slough’s column: Canby was to blame for both—he ordered the withdrawal, and he humiliated Slough into resigning.⁴⁸ So far as the withdrawal was concerned, Slough probably gave out to his soldiers in the same manner as he gave out to Colonel Canby and the War Department: He was simply following the department commander’s orders—he was annoying and harassing the enemy, and he was leaving nothing to chance. His professing to resign his commission because he felt that to obey Canby’s order would have been disgraceful,⁴⁹ has evidence of being only a convenient subterfuge.

Be it noted that Gloriéta was a fiercely fought and hardly contested little battle; that (on the main field) the Union troops were considerably outnumbered, though they had more artillery;⁵⁰ that they had to fight desperately to save their batteries—repelling three attacks on them;⁵¹ that casualties were heavy on both sides;⁵² that the Union troops made two withdrawals during the contest;⁵³ and that the battle closed with the Unionists in full retreat.⁵⁴

His Own Men Plot Against Slough

But to add to his otherwise trying situation, trouble of a peculiar, personal nature erupted to disturb and dishearten the

⁴⁷ *Complete Regular Army Register of The United States for One Hundred Years (1779-1879)*, (Washington, D. C.: Compiled, edited and published by Thomas H. S. Hamersly, 1880), Second Part, 17. (Hereafter referred to as *Army Register of the United States*, etc.—thus: *Army Register of the United States*, Second Part, 17.)

⁴⁸ There is a dearth of available information concerning Slough’s resignation. The *Official Records* seem never to mention it, though, of course, they contain relevant material. Private Hollister’s work taken alone is misleading; his work and the *Official Records* complement each other to good purpose.

Hollister represents Slough as resigning his commission “in dismay” (and because his sense of honor demanded it) because of the arrival of an order from Canby on the day following the Battle of Gloriéta, calling for the immediate return of Slough’s command to Fort Union, and thus preventing the pursuit of Scurry’s demoralized troops. In his diary under date of March 29, Hollister has the following:

“Flushed with an honorable and complete victory, his brave troops eager to complete the destruction of the enemy, Col. Slough read the dispatch brought by Capt. Nicodemus, in dismay. He could not destroy the order; it had been too openly delivered to leave any room for evasion. To obey it was to let the enemy, broken and disheartened, escape; to refuse was to subject himself to court-martial and disgrace.

“He issued the order for the backward movement, but resigned his commission.”—Hollister, *op. cit.*, 73-74.

⁴⁹ Hollister, *op. cit.*, 86.

⁵⁰ William Clarke Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War, The New Mexico Campaign in 1862* (Denver: The State Historical and Natural History Society, 1906), 119; Hollister, *op. cit.*, 68-76.

⁵¹ “Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry,” March 29, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 533.

⁵² Whitford, *op. cit.*, 123-25, 143-51.

⁵³ Hollister, *op. cit.*, 68-71.

⁵⁴ Cf. “Reports of Col. W. R. Scurry, Fourth Texas Cavalry,” March 31, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 542-45. Colonel Scurry probably refers to the last stage of the battle when he reports as follows concerning the Federal Troops: “So precipitate was their flight that they cut loose their teams and set fire to two of their wagons.”

Union commander as he directed his troops upon the field. It all went back to a time before the First Regiment left Colorado. Friends in Denver had warned Slough against going to New Mexico with his regiment, telling him that members of one company had threatened to kill him.⁵⁵ Then, one night as the regiment was camped in the Raton Mountains on its way to Fort Union, a plot took form according to which the sentinel was withdrawn from the colonel's tent and some soldiers hid themselves in the bushes to watch it with murderous intent. The plot somehow miscarried, and Slough, until long afterwards, knew nothing of the incident.⁵⁶ The sad state of affairs in the regiment reached a crisis again during the Glorieta engagement, and this time, a part of the company whose members—as he had been told in Denver—had threatened to kill him, actually fired a volley at him. It was Slough himself who told of the affair many months later, in a letter to a former staff officer. Here follows a part of that letter:

... at the battle of Pigeon's Ranch a volley was fired at me by a part of this company—Lt. Murphy of New Mexico and Lt. I. C. Anderson will testify to this fact, hence I hid myself from that flank so as to avoid a repetition—this is what gave rise to the report that I acted cowardly at that time—I resigned the colonelcy because I was satisfied that a further connection would result in my assassination. I am now satisfied that men now high in rank and command were at the bottom of this thing. I am satisfied that to-day [February 6, 1863] if a chance offered I would be murdered. I say this in confidence that you will keep it secret.⁵⁷

What must have gone through the venturesome man's mind during the closing scenes of the battle! Fearful of death at the hands of his own men, and with his troops fleeing before the enemy; with disaster threatening his whole enterprise, and a court-martial looming—did certain memories haunt him?—"In the name of the department commander, of the best interests of the service, and of the safety of all the troops—"

A white flag had come into the Union camp about five o'clock that eventful evening of March 28, and Chivington's party returned from its foray at Johnson's Ranch some five hours later, explaining all. The victory had been won at Johnson's Ranch.⁵⁸

An armistice of eighteen hours' duration was granted by Slough, and, at the Confederates' request, was extended the following day to eight o'clock of the morning of March 30. Slough's command had been making preparations to withdraw

⁵⁵ Cf. Letter of "Slough" to Lt. Col. Sam Tappan, First Colorado Cavalry, February 6, 1863. Microfilm copy of the original. Microfilm copy on file at the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado. (Hereafter referred to as: Letter of Slough to Tappan—microfilm copy—February 6, 1863.)

⁵⁶ Letter of Sam F. Tappan to General John P. Slough, U. S. V., December 28, 1862. Microfilm copy of the original on file at the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

⁵⁷ Letter of Slough to Tappan—microfilm copy—February 6, 1863.

⁵⁸ "Reports of Col. John P. Slough, First Colorado Infantry," March 30, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 534-35; "Report of Maj. John M. Chivington, First Colorado Infantry," March 28, 1862, *ibid.*, 528-29.

from the scene when the second truce flag came in. His rear-guard set out from Kozlowski's Ranch about two o'clock on the afternoon of March 29.⁵⁹ He had needed little time, if any, to make up his mind in the matter; he invoked Canby's orders and set out. Whether the stresses and strains of the previous day had influenced him in his course is hard to say. The malignant attitude of some of his own men toward him must have caused him grave concern. And perhaps, after all, he had had misgivings about taking his whole column into Santa Fe, some one hundred miles from Fort Union, at this time. The fear of disciplinary action may have been a potent reason for Slough's acting as he did.

Slough Feared Assassination

It was Canby's adjutant-general who brought the order to Bernal Springs for the return of Slough's command to Fort Union. Hollister represented the order as having been written.⁶⁰ If it were, it did not get into the *Official Records*. It may have been accompanied by a rebuke. In any case, Slough, after receiving Canby's order, was convinced that the department commander had not approved of his course of action, and that he had sided with Paul all along. The fear that a court-martial awaited him had he remained in the service, has strong evidence of being the main cause of Slough's resignation. Possibly he would have resigned for this reason alone. But nearly a year afterwards, as noted above, Slough himself stated that he had resigned the colonelcy when he did because he was "satisfied" that "a further connection" would have resulted in his assassination.⁶¹ It seems that the two circumstances combined to sever him from the army.

There is no evidence that Slough made any effort to apprehend and bring to justice the murderously inclined soldiers, although he claimed to be aware of the particular company to which they belonged. He was at this time especially anxious, no doubt, to avoid anything that might discredit him in the administration of his regiment. He seems to have suspected that some of the officers had somehow been involved in the attempts on his life.⁶² He must have reasoned that this was a poor time to attempt to clean up the regiment. Why did he not apply for a transfer to some other military district? Such action would most likely have been interpreted against him; and he must have felt that if Canby were considering court-martial proceedings, his chance of obtaining a transfer was slim in any case. He must have reasoned that the best course was to hand in his resignation with the hope that the department commander would accept it and not press for disciplinary

⁵⁹ Hollister, *op. cit.*, 71, 73-74.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶¹ Letter of Slough to Tappan—microfilm copy—February 6, 1863.

⁶² *Ibid.*

action instead. For obvious reasons, Slough would not make public the real causes of his action.

Slough remained with his former regiment until junction was made with Canby's command, on which occasion the two men, so different in temperament, met face to face.⁶³

Confederates Retreat

Governor Connelly feared that Colonel Slough's failure to pursue the destitute and broken Confederate force following the Glorieta fight had made necessary another major battle.⁶⁴ In this he was happily mistaken, but it would be some time before he was disillusioned in the matter. In the meantime, he watched with increasing satisfaction the turn events were taking. The Confederates' reverse at Glorieta proved to be a crippling blow to the whole invading army. Both of Canby's commands were on the march by April 6, and the governor estimated that the one from Fort Craig alone was about equal in numbers to that of the enemy—"say 1,100 or 1,200."⁶⁵ The Union troops were "buoyant with the late success" and another major battle could have but one result. By April 11, the governor had been informed that the Confederates had abandoned Santa Fe and struck out with all haste down the Rio Grande. Now there was "not a Texan in Santa Fe, except the wounded, one surgeon, and a few attendants." The road to the capital was clear of the enemy, and there was nothing to prevent governor and government from returning to it.⁶⁶

When writing to the secretary of state at Washington concerning this promising prospect, the governor of New Mexico took occasion to make favorable mention of the man he had upheld all along, and who was now fading from the scene. To Secretary Seward, on April 11, 1862, he wrote:

We are greatly indebted to the command of Colonel Slough, from Denver City, for the favorable result in our struggle with the Texan invaders. Their defeat and utter annihilation is now sure, and I think it will be the last attempt upon the Territory from that quarter.⁶⁷

A copy of the governor's letter was furnished to the War Department by the secretary of state on the sixth of the following May.⁶⁸

Colonel Slough's success at Glorieta covered a multitude of sins. President Lincoln appointed him brigadier-general of

⁶³ Hollister, *op. cit.*, 88-89.

⁶⁴ Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, April 6, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 659-60.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1862, 661-62; "Report of Col. Edward R. S. Canby, Nineteenth U. S. Infantry, . . ." *ibid.*, April 11, 1862, 549-50. Governor Connelly, setting down this estimate on April 11, had in mind the number of troops with which Canby had left Fort Craig on April 1. Canby reported having left that post with 1,210 men—"860 regulars and 350 volunteer troops." This force had included Captain Theodore H. Dodd's infantry company of Colorado Independent Volunteers, which had fought at Valverde. The governor estimated General Sibley's effective force, as of April 11, at about 1,150 men.

⁶⁶ Correspondence: Henry Connelly, Governor of New Mexico, to Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, April 11, 1862, *ibid.*, 661-62.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Notation in the *Official Records* accompanying Governor Connelly's letter to Secretary Seward of April 11, 1862, 662.

volunteers, effective August 25, 1862,⁶⁹ and, at some time within the next few months thereafter, he was placed in command of the Military District of Alexandria with headquarters at Alexandria, Virginia.⁷⁰

Slough was a brave man and able, but he lacked Chivington's genius for leadership. Private Hollister wrote of him:

He has a noble appearance, but the men seem to lack confidence in him. Why I cannot say—nor can they, I think. His aristocratic style savors more of eastern society than of the free-and-easy border to which he should have become acclimated, but that is bred in the bone.⁷¹

He had run for governor of Ohio in 1857, and had only moved to Colorado Territory in 1860. There he had practiced law before entering the volunteer service.

But for all his seeming aloofness, Slough was capable, on occasion, of assuming a modest role and of manifesting a warm personal interest in his men. In his parting address to his regiment he "referred to the engagement in Apache Cañon as proof of his earnest endeavors in our country's cause, expressing regret wherever he had failed to give satisfaction, and ended by desiring us to remember that we were Colorado's men and Americans, and could not afford to do anything to dishonor ourselves as such."⁷²

Men are commonly remembered for what they have achieved in any cause; ways and means tend to fade into oblivion. Colonel John P. Slough will continue to be remembered as the officer who commanded the troops that won the decisive battle of the war in the West and turned back the invasion of New Mexico.

⁶⁹ *Army Register of the United States*, Second Part, 98.

⁷⁰ Letter of Slough to Tappan—microfilm copy—February 6, 1863.

⁷¹ Hollister, *op. cit.*, 86, 47.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 86.



Orin Seely

Hotel De Paris, Georgetown, Colorado

Two Historic Houses in Colorado Now Preserved as Museums

By MIRIAM W. ADAMS*

We are a small Society—155 members, twenty-five of whom are nonresident and sustaining. We are The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Colorado. With this long and complicated name it would seem we should have hundreds of members. Our membership is limited. However, we carry this name in a splendid manner with our 155 members loyally backing anything we undertake.

The Hotel De Paris

In the fall of 1953, we thought *some day* in the years to come we would preserve a relic of the early Colorado settling days. In November, 1953, Dr. James Grafton Rogers, head of the Colorado Historical Society, talked to us at a Society meeting . . . talked about a unique and fascinating building—The Hotel De Paris¹ in Georgetown, Colorado. A group of us went to Georgetown to see the Hotel De Paris on December 14, 1953. We were entranced with this building, the furnishings, and its history. We realized that Dr. Rogers had only begun to tell us of the possibilities, the charm, and the value of the Hotel. After a month of careful investigation we held a meeting on January 25, 1954, and voted to offer Mrs. Hazel Burkholder McAdams, owner, \$13,000 for the Hotel De Paris and its contents. This was very daring of us to offer \$13,000 as we literally had about \$50.00 that we could spend. Also, it was a fantastically low sum to offer Mrs. McAdams, but she was willing to accept our offer, for we promised never to sell the Hotel, but if we ever wished to give the proposed Hotel-Museum up, we would give it to the State Historical Society of Colorado so that it would always be a museum.

That the Hotel De Paris should some day be a museum had been a dream of Mrs. McAdams' mother, Mrs. Burkholder. In 1901, when Mr. and Mrs. Burkholder bought the Hotel, Mrs. Burkholder realized the value of the Hotel and its furnishings, and carefully saved everything. Colorado should always be grateful to Mrs. Burkholder for this vision—this realization of the value of Louis Dupuy's Hotel De Paris and its furnishings, and also be grateful to Mrs. Burkholder's daughter, Mrs.

*We are pleased to publish in this issue of *The Colorado Magazine*, the address given by Mrs. Frederic A. Adams, Honorary President of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Colorado, before the annual meeting of the Mountain and Plains Museums Association in Boulder, Colorado, on September 8, 1961. Mrs. Adams was asked to repeat the talk for the State Historical Society of Colorado on November 20. She showed a number of splendid slides in color. Mrs. Adams has been outstanding in her efforts to preserve the Hotel De Paris and the McAllister House.—*Editor*.

¹ Louis Dupuy used the large "D" for "De" in putting the name on the outside of the Hotel.



Hazel McAdams, for carrying out her mother's wishes, even to accepting our very low offer for the Hotel.

We finally paid in full \$13,000 to Mrs. McAdams in June, 1959. It had been a nightmare struggle. It can be told, now, that once during these five years we had exactly \$75.00 in the bank. The reason for this nightmare struggle was that, on top of the \$13,000, we had to put on a new roof; rewire completely; do much painting, plastering, repairing, and plumbing. For instance, we had to find authentic borders of 1875 for two of the downstairs rooms. We found the paper borders! But they were very difficult to put on as the paper was fragile with age! We could never have done all this buying of the Museum or taking care of the renovation without stupendous gifts of money from our members and friends, plus Bonds subscribed, too, by our members living in Colorado. Beginning in June, 1959, we agreed to pay Mrs. McAdams \$25.00 a month for the rest of her life. So if Mrs. McAdams lives twenty years from 1959, the Museum purchase price will be \$19,000.

Since 1959, the Museum has been self-supporting—opened only 92 days annually—we have enough revenue to pay Mrs. McAdams every month; and put aside money to pay off our bonds in 1965. (I must add that twenty-five of our generous Colonial Dames have cancelled their Bonds.) Also, from our Museum entrance fees we have a little money for some restoration each year and money for the salaries and other running expenses. I only tell you this, that our Museum is now self-supporting, because I believe it is a miracle for a house Museum to be self-supporting.

Never was an organization more fortunate than we were in having Dr. James Grafton Rogers living in Georgetown and Mayor of the town. He was there advising us, watching everything so that we wouldn't make mistakes in the restoration or management of the Hotel. Immediately upon the purchase of the Hotel De Paris, Dr. Rogers arranged for the Museum to be real estate tax free in Georgetown. He knew that our Society, as it was set up, could not own property according to the Colorado law, so Mr. Stephen Hart gave the Colonial Dames Society all the legal work that it took to form the Colonial Dames Society Historical Foundation, Inc. The same members, the same officers. This foundation has created seven years of complete mystery for some of our Society members. It took two years to get this Foundation tax free, as our Society, itself, had been since July, 1946. Soon you will see how wonderful it is that we have this Foundation and its tax free status.

To run the Museum from June 15 to September 15 each year,

← *Dean Conger, Denver Post*
In Dining Room of Hotel De Paris
Mrs. Hazel Burkholder McAdams (left) and Mrs. Frederic A. Adams (right)
Examine Fountain



Interior Views—Hotel De Paris
Upper: Dining Room
Lower: Writing Room

Orin Sealy

it takes three curators who stagger their hours, and a fourth who fills in at least once a week. These curators are Georgetown people. Their salaries are based on a scale of salaries recommended by the American Association of Museums . . . but I doubt if the American Association of Museums has ever known of such wonders as the Hotel De Paris curators. They sweep, mop, dust, clean, wash dishes, keep the fires going in the stove and fireplaces, make coffee, garden and water the plants—everything—beside talking charmingly and authentically to myriads of people.

We have had three or four volunteers who live in Georgetown. The first two years we had a group of wonderful volunteers from Idaho Springs. One faithful summer resident of Georgetown has volunteered on Mondays for three solid years. The Colonial Dames do marvelous volunteer work at the start of each season and at the closing. One Colonial Dame vacuumed ten bedrooms in two hours; another Colonial Dame cleaned the books twice—more than a thousand volumes each year. One young and delightfully thin Colonial Dame crawled between the roof and the top ceiling to inspect the condition of our sieve-like roof. Our members do excel in planting, cleaning cellars, ice boxes, stoves, and what have you.

We have had practically no paid publicity. The newspapers and radios give us wonderful publicity. In February, 1954, the most wonderful TV interview took place. Dale Morgan interviewed Joseph Emerson Smith. This started our publicity on a very high plane. Ben Draper² twice put on TV shows based on some past history of the Hotel De Paris . . . each time the Television Station gave us the time. We are proud to be in the Directory of the National Association of Museums. We are a member of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. We have belonged to the Colorado Tourist Bureau since 1954. We are in the Automobile Association information folders. The Colorado State Advertising and Publicity Bureau has done wonders for us, one year sending our leaflets to five hundred cities over the United States. The State Historical Society has provided us with delightful pamphlets that the tourists like and they have bought them all. One pamphlet was by James Grafton Rogers; the other, by Gene M. Gressley. In June, 1956, Mr. John J. Lipsey, of Colorado Springs, wrote a lyrical short article about the Hotel. The National Trust for Historical Preservation in its quarterly of July, 1961, had a splendid article entitled, "Rush to the Rockies." The Cooper Union in New York City asked for a setup of a dining room table of the

² Ben Draper, a former resident and a present property owner of Georgetown, is Director of the Television Programs for the California Institute of Science in San Francisco, California.

Hotel for exhibit from October through November, 1961.³ A splendid television series, "Expedition Colorado," had a story about Georgetown written by Marranzino and illustrated by Fred and Jo Mazzulla which was shown last June. The erstwhile television show "Hotel de Paree," gave us national publicity, but it had not a ray of the Hotel De Paris . . . just the name, *but* that was spelled wrong.

Our best publicity probably is from the people who see the Hotel . . . and tell their neighbors about it. One man from Texas pounded on the door as the Museum was about to be closed, saying, "Please let me in. A neighbor told me not to miss seeing the Hotel De Paris, and I have come two hundred miles out of my way to see it."

He saw it and liked it. Mrs. Henry Anderson, our head curator since 1956, says, "Never once has anyone complained about anything . . . everyone, without exception, has stopped on the way out to say how much they have enjoyed it all and admired everything. They have been much impressed that everything has been in the Hotel these 86 years."

Counting this last season of 1961—eight times of being open daily from June 15 to September 15 (92 days as July and August have 31 days each!)—eight times which is 736 days (approximately two years)—we have had an attendance of 63,500, an average attendance of 86 per day. At least 25,000 of these visitors have taken pictures inside and outside of the museum. Intangible publicity.

In the big, rambling kitchen we have hot coffee, tea, and cold soft drinks with delicious home-made sugar cookies, petits fours, and candy. All of which is self-service, guests paying a nominal sum. Visitors can enjoy this in the courtyards (on good days). The courtyards, with massive stone walls, are hemmed in by mountains so lovely, so foreign, and away from the bustling world.

We put back the fretwork around the roof and the railing on a little balcony on the front of the Hotel, this 1961 summer. It is aluminum painted black, cast from the original. The aluminum being not so heavy as iron, we were assured it will sway with the wind and not break or fall, injuring anyone on the street below. We still must do quite a lot of plastering on the outside of the Hotel—paint and put back the lines that outlined suggestions of large square blocks. Some day we must

³ Since writing this speech I have seen the exhibit at the Cooper Union. Six hundred of the members of the National Trust for Historic Preservation viewed this large and varied exhibit at the Cooper Union and it was most amusing to hear many of the National Trust members saying, "Have you seen the can of beans of 1875?" Later, Mr. William Murtagh told me that he went to the Cooper Union before the Cooper Union had arranged the exhibit. They had the can of beans from the Hotel De Paris of 1875 out on the fire escape. They were afraid it might explode!

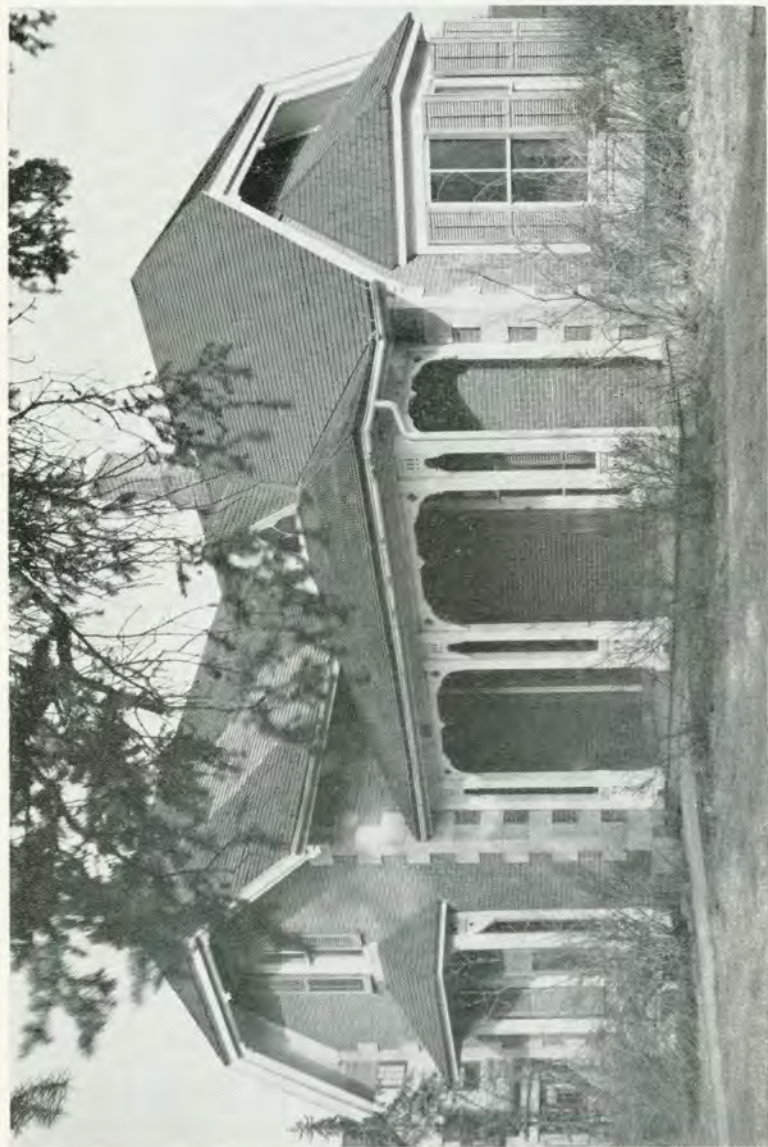
replaster at least half the ceiling in the dining room and paint it exactly as Louis had it.⁴

The Parking Lot: What a worry to us is the Parking Lot. Money was given to us to make the Parking Lot presentable and it was all done up beautifully as a memorial to some early Georgetonites. But, in no time flat the weeds took over. This year we have had some attractive annuals added to the perennials in the border by the sidewalk and are getting perennials growing on the south side of the Parking Lot. We do have some fascinating rhubarb. I believe, beside looking most entrancing by the side of the Hotel, it has aided many Georgetonites in having delicious rhubarb pies. We have in the courtyards, in addition to Georgetown's specialty, yellow roses, some gorgeous delphinium and one bleeding heart plant that should be as famous as the Hotel, *but* the weeds overrunning the Parking Lot have us completely stymied.

The man who built the Hotel De Paris was born in Alencon, France. He was studying to be a priest when he escaped to Paris. In Paris he was an assistant to a chef in a hotel. There he learned his cooking wizardry. He came into a lot of money which, alas, he spent and fast, even having to flee to London. He left London for the United States. He couldn't make a go of it in New York, so he enlisted in the United States Army and was sent to Wyoming. I blush to say he deserted, coming to Denver and assuming the name of Louis Dupuy. He was a reporter for a Denver newspaper, being sent to the mountains to report on the mining. He thought, "I will give up reporting and do a little mining myself."

He was almost mortally wounded while saving a fellow miner in a delayed mine blast. Upon his recovery, Georgetown collected money to help him. With this money he bought a small bakery on Alpine Street (now called Sixth Street) in Georgetown, and from that minute bakery he made enough money to build the Hotel De Paris. It had eleven bedrooms, three living rooms, dining room, an enormous kitchen, two bathrooms (with the deepest tin tubs), running water in every room, hot water heat (radiators throughout), the wine cellar, an underground passageway to the street, a long row of buildings in the back including a barn, outhouse, and three bedrooms, and the high walls enclosing the two courtyards. He was very eccentric, very intellectual, and a marvelous cook. He was one of the first in this country to realize the connection between food and health. This Louis Dupuy was born Adolph Francois Gerard.

⁴ Since writing this I attended a meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in New York City. A Mademoiselle Raymonde A. Frin from Paris gave a marvelous explanation of European renovations. She said, "When the artist himself had done the actual painting or work we never renovate that document." So as Louis Dupuy actually did most of the dining room decoration himself, what we should do is try to preserve the ceiling from falling. Maybe there could be some form of cellophane stretched on the ceiling to save it.



McAllister House, 423 No. Cascade Avenue
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Guy Burgess

Georgetown, the mountain town in which the Hotel De Paris is situated, is one of the loveliest, unchanged towns in Colorado.

The McAllister House

And now to Colorado Springs. . . .

On September 21, 1960, all necessary papers were signed to make our Colonial Dames Society Historical Foundation, Inc., owner of McAllister House, 423 North Cascade Avenue in Colorado Springs. This illustrates what I meant when I said we were fortunate in having this Historical Foundation. We could own this Museum also and our Foundation being tax exempt, our more than generous donors could benefit. Again, Mr. Stephen Hart gave us hours—days literally—of most complicated legal work. Because of the most generous gift from El Pomar Foundation and Shepard's *Citations* we were able to own and restore this gem of a little house built in 1873. It is one of the three oldest houses still standing in Colorado Springs.

Major Henry McAllister of Pennsylvania was asked to come to Colorado Springs by General William J. Palmer to help settle Colorado Springs. Major McAllister did much of the intricate work of planning and forming the town. He was a very foresighted man as attested by the firm foundation which he created for Colorado Springs and by the brick house he built. The bricks were brought all the way from Philadelphia.

The house is an example of a small cottage, plain and simple in construction. George Summers, of Philadelphia, was the architect. It was said that "he was probably influenced by Isaac H. Hobbs and Son of Philadelphia who designed villas, cottages and other edifices." After these eighty-eight years the house is still quite perfect in every detail. The furnishings are all of this early date, and have been given and loaned to perfect McAllister House, which opened June 18, 1961. It is closed for the winter but will be opened again in early June.

The Indians used to camp across the street from McAllister House and came to the McAllisters for water from their well and for any food that the McAllisters might be able to give them. To quote from two notes received from neighbors: "I will never forget Mrs. McAllister so trim, with her hair brushed straight back into a bun at the back of her head," and, "The McAllisters had apple trees that we loved to climb and a white horse and buggy in their barn."

We have had again wonderful publicity in the Colorado Springs newspapers; a splendid article by Marjorie Barrett in the *Rocky Mountain News*; an article in the *National Trust's Quarterly* of January, 1961; and an article and picture in the April, 1961, issue of *Antiques*. In October, 1961, there was an

article by Marshall Sprague in the *New York Times*. It really hasn't been opened long enough to give me much to tell about the running of the Museum. I will say, however, that the Dames in Colorado Springs have done a tremendous amount of volunteer work—collecting and arranging the furniture and staffing the house in a most unbelievable way. I know of one Colonial Dame who went to a coal yard and hand picked coal for the three marble fireplaces.

Mr. Marshall Morin oversaw the reconstruction of the house, giving his time plus wallpapers, at cost, making curtains for nothing, all because he felt McAllister House should be preserved for posterity and not torn down for a parking lot. As a man said at the annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, "The bulldozer is the termite of this era."

The Broadmoor Garden Club has taken over the McAllister garden yard. The El Paso Bar Association is giving money to furnish the study in memory of Henry McAllister. In fact, the Museum House is in memory of Henry McAllister, the son of the Mayor who was a Trustee of the El Pomar Foundation. Major McAllister's two daughters are still living, which has been so wonderful for us in the restoration of the house. We have put back two windows in Miss Matilda's room just as she remembered them . . . even found the same window panes.

Much money and lovely authentic furnishings have been given to perpetuate the names of the early settlers of Colorado Springs.

Be sure to see McAllister House and live a bit in the past of Colorado Springs.

Prospector's Statue Atop Mining Exchange Building

By NOLIE MUMEY

The following story about one of Denver's landmarks and the man who posed for the prospector's statue, was given as a speech before the Denver Mining Club on October 25, 1961, by Dr. Nolie Mumey of Denver. Dr. Mumey, one of Colorado's most eminent physicians and an authority on Western History, says: "Interest and curiosity, due to numerous inquiries from visitors and residents about the prospector's statue and the Mining Exchange Building, led me into various channels of research. Relatives were interviewed and dusty files were searched in order to bring together the facts about the building and the man who posed for the symbolic figure reminiscent of the heyday of mining. I wish to express thanks to Harold Straughn of Boulder, Colorado, and to Mrs. Ethel M. Perkins, Denver, Colorado, grandchildren of Colonel John William Straughn, for their help in obtaining information and photographs."—*Editor*.

Towering high above some of the old buildings, almost hidden from view by Denver's ever-changing skyline, stands the statue of a prospector. It is on top of the parapet of the Mining Exchange Building, located at Fifteenth and Arapahoe Streets in Denver, Colorado.

The model for the design of this twelve-foot statue was born in Putnam County, Indiana, on February 4, 1842. His name was John William Straughn. He spent his early boyhood days on a farm and received a common school education, but did not take advantage of a university training which was offered to him by his grandfather, for the first shot fired at Fort Sumter resounded around the world and sent the young man to help defend the Union.

Young Straughn enlisted as a teamster in September, 1861, and was mustered into active service on February 1, 1862, as a private of Captain William H. Lane's Company H, 43rd Regiment of the Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He was slightly wounded in the battle of Helena, Arkansas, which occurred on July 4, 1863. He was honorably discharged at Little Rock, Arkansas, on February 1, 1864, but re-enlisted in the same company and was promoted to corporal, and then to sergeant on March 31, 1865. Later he was commissioned a second lieutenant, assigned to Company A of the 156th Regiment of Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He remained with his company until he was honorably discharged on August 4, 1865.¹

At the close of the Civil War, John W. Straughn married Sarah E. Kennedy at Greencastle, Indiana, on September 7, 1865. Five children were born of this union: Carrie L., Lewis F., Frank O., Carl, and Pearl.

There are a few years of Straughn's life for which I have been unable to account. However, in 1878, he was in Dodge

¹ From the service record compiled by the Soldiers and Sailors Historical and Benevolent Society, June 9, 1908.



Mining Exchange Building, Denver
Completed in 1892. Now owned by Albert A. Riede.

Albert A. Riede



Ethel M. Perkins
John W. Straughn During Civil War

City, Kansas, where records show he was allowed twelve dollars for cleaning the Court House.² He is best remembered in Dodge City as the man who moved the bones of unfortunate victims from Boot Hill.³ He was the coroner, as well as the undersheriff, and the County Commissioners ordered him to remove the skeletal remains to Prairie Grove Cemetery on February 4, 1879.⁴ There were twenty-seven graves to be moved. Straughn was paid one hundred dollars for the task. Small wooden crosses were erected over each grave without any inscription on them.⁵

From the 1880 records of Ford County, Kansas, we know that he was paid \$8.50 for acting jailer; and, \$37.85 for boarding prisoner Wilcox.⁶ Two years later, in 1882, he was paid \$44.30 for coroner's fees.⁷ In 1884, he was associated with a man named Hess; they were paid for work on the county courthouse well in the sums of \$150.00 and \$37.89 for material.⁸ This was at a time when Bat Masterson was in Dodge City, for he was paid for guarding prisoners.

² Ledger of the County Commissioner, Ford County, Kansas, January 7, 1878, p. 218.

³ Boot Hill was a promontory about one hundred feet above the Arkansas River Valley, and was used as an early day lookout. According to legend, two cowboys had a gun fight on the promontory, in 1872. One of them was killed. He was then wrapped in his blanket and buried with his boots on. The place became known as Boot Hill. Other unknown and unfortunate victims were buried there. After the bodies were removed to Prairie Grove Cemetery, a schoolhouse was built on the site in 1879. In 1927, Dodge City purchased Boot Hill and built the City Hall there in 1929-30.

⁴ Prairie Grove Cemetery was abandoned in 1886, and the dead were buried at Fort Dodge, four and one-half miles away.

⁵ The account of the removal of the bodies appeared in the *Weekly Ford County Globe*, February 4, 1879.

⁶ Records in the County Clerk's Office (Dodge City), Ford County, Kansas, July 6, 1880, p. 291.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1882, p. 351.

⁸ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1884, p. 447.



Ella Sarah Kennedy Straughn

Straughn, who modeled for the prospector's statue, came to Colorado after 1884. He did some prospecting, but also worked at the trade of blacksmith and wheelwright in Black Hawk, Colorado. He located a claim in the Alma District and organized the Beverly Gold Mining Company. He wore a flowing beard with long hair, and was usually attired in a longtailed coat made of black broadcloth. He wore shiny, black boots which gave him the appearance of a southern gentleman, thus he acquired the title of "Colonel."

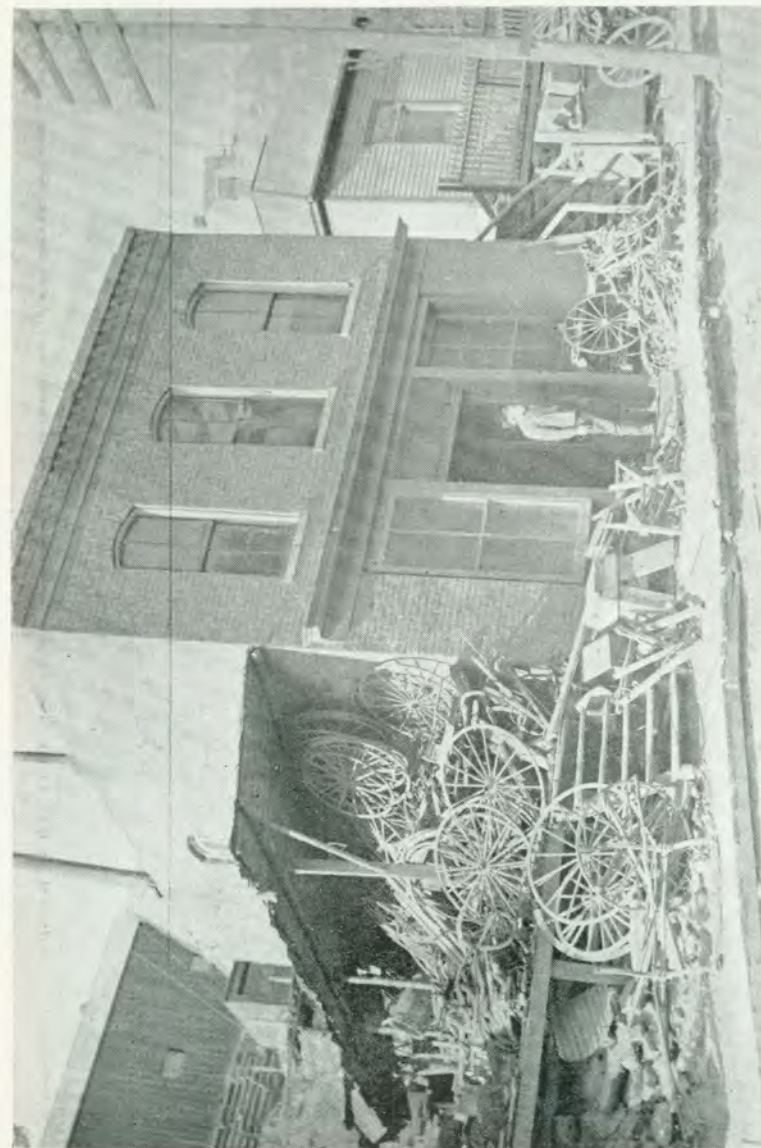
The Colonel frequently would be stopped on the streets and asked for his permission to be photographed, for he was always neat and

distinguished looking. He was very affable, never cross or grumpy. He was asked to pose for a full-length picture for the statue for the Mining Exchange Building, which was done by sculptor Alphonse Pelzer, employed by W. H. Mullens, a metal contractor of Salem, Ohio.

The Mining Exchange Building was one of the most ornamented buildings in the world, and it was the first to be designed and devoted exclusively to mining activities. The entire structure, including the grounds, cost \$450,000.⁹ It is located on Fifteenth and Arapahoe Streets, with a frontage of one hundred and twenty-five feet on Fifteenth Street and one hundred feet on Arapahoe Street. The building is of red stone granite and pressed brick and was entirely completed in 1892. There are seven stories: the first floor contained offices, a store, and a bank; the second floor had the famous stock exchange, which was in a hall 50 x 70 feet, with a ceiling 30 feet high. The walls of this room were heavily paneled. The exchange also had a large exhibition space for the display of minerals, a telegraph office, and other accessories. A gallery above the hall was for visitors to observe the trading.¹⁰ The fourth and sixth floors consisted of offices, while the seventh floor was used as a club room with a cafe. Transportation was by two elevators, both

⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, Colo., Feb. 1, 1892.

¹⁰ *Mining Industry and Tradesman*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 3.



"Colonel" John W. Straughn At His Blacksmith Shop, Black Hawk, Colorado

Ethel M. Perkins



STATUE OF PROSPECTOR
Atop Mining Exchange Building
Denver, Colo.



JOHN W. STRAUGHN
Whose Picture Was Used in
Modeling the Statue

of which led to the observation tower and carried passengers to this point for a fee of fifteen cents.

The entire construction was unique: the first, second, and third stories were of red sandstone; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, of pressed brick, while the seventh consisted of a stone colonnade. The building was covered with a red tile roof, topped by a square tower.

The walls of the tower still have eight heads of Hercules, the famous Greek hero. They are distributed as follows: two heads on each side, two in front, and two in the back. The history of Hercules is rather a complicated saga; he could have been a real man—a great hunter. He is worshipped or depicted in art as a very strong man. His representation on this building is that of the god of merchants and traders, many of whom prayed to him for good luck or rescue from danger.

Four gargoyles project from the corners of the square tower, extending downward from the gutter. The statue, on top of the tower, stands 165 feet high from the sidewalk.¹¹

The material in the statue is sheet copper, which weighs thirty-two ounces to the square foot and was finished to resemble antique brass. The cost of the statue was one thousand dollars. It is twelve feet high, showing a bronze prospector standing in an easy attitude, with one hand resting on the handle of a pick. In his other hand he holds a mineral specimen which he has discovered. The entire figure symbolized *industry*, *patience*, and *enterprise*—the reward of honest toil. All is exemplified by the bright gold the man holds in his hand. The statue, characteristic of a prospector, has originality.¹² It was placed in position in 1891.¹³

The main entrance of the Mining Exchange Building is of interest for it consists of a semicircular archway with the life-sized head of a bull on one side and that of a bear on the other side. The bear operates for a decline in stocks, while the bull represents one who tries to raise prices in the stock market. The vestibule was finished with hardwood and marble, with some stained glass. A winding stairway with cast iron rails led upward from the lobby. The pilasters were of polished granite.¹⁴

A full-length photograph of James W. Straughn was used by an artist who painted a portrait that was exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. The painting was called "Typical Prospector." It was returned to Denver and later found its way to the bar at the Windsor Hotel. Buffalo Bill, on one of his

¹¹ *Colorado Springs Gazette*, March 20, 1935.

¹² There is a difference between a miner and a prospector. This explanation is given because many have referred to the statue as that of a miner, but it is of a prospector. A true prospector seldom mines; he finds the mine and the miner works it. A prospector will dig a hole ten to twenty feet, enough to hold the claim, then will sell it. He is happier when he is on the move looking for better claims.

¹³ *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, Colo., May 24, 1935.

¹⁴ *The Denver Republican*, Denver, Colo., Jan. 1, 1892.

sprees, is said to have shot a hole through the shovel in the painting. (I have not been able to locate the final resting place of this piece of art.)

In 1897, a full-length photograph of "Colonel" Straughn was in the studio window of F. E. Post, who had a gallery at Fifteenth and Lawrence Streets in Denver.

In 1938, the nugget in the hand of the prospector was coated with gold leaf; in 1939, the entire statue underwent a cleaning, gold lacquer was sprayed over it by Gordon Brown and Al Lenhart of the Craftsmen, Painters and Decorators, the expense being borne by the Denver Mining Club. A fire, in 1939, caused a fifteen thousand dollar damage to the interior of the building.¹⁵

An attempt was made by the Territorial Daughters to have the statue removed and placed near the Capitol grounds. This plan was thwarted by some of the citizens who wanted it to remain in its original place.

The interior of the building underwent a remodeling in 1953 and 1954, at a cost of \$200,000. It now has one hundred and thirty offices and seven retail stores.¹⁶ The old mining exchange hall is now used for dances.

There is an air of nostalgia about the entire building, which is surrounded by modern architecture. It still has an appeal for those who are interested in having the old landmarks preserved, for they are rapidly disappearing from the scene in this continuously progressive age, where parking meters have replaced the old hitching posts of pioneer times.

John William Straughn, the man who posed for the statue, died at his home, 2101 West 32nd Avenue, Denver, on Wednesday, May 17, 1908. His death was rather pathetic; he had a long, protracted illness, during which time he recounted his life in the army and relived his early days as a prospector. He made this final cryptic remark: "I have made a failure of everything from a financial side that I have ever undertaken, down to posing for a prospector."¹⁷

The statue of the prospector is one that will always be a monument to the heyday of mining. It is representative of an era and a group of men who helped to settle this western country.

¹⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, Colo., Feb. 17, 1939.

¹⁶ *The Denver Post*, Denver, Colo., March 15, 1953.

¹⁷ *The Denver Republican*, Denver, Colo., May 19, 1908, p. 12.

Note: The Denver Mining Club maintains a small mining museum in this building.—Editor.

First Ladies of Colorado-- Ellen Kellogg Hunt

(Governor Alexander Cameron Hunt—1867-1869)

By HELEN CANNON*

At eleven o'clock on the morning of June 27, 1859, a long caravan of oxen-drawn prairie schooners pulled into the young, booming settlement of Auraria-Denver located on the banks of Cherry Creek in what was soon to be known as the Territory of Colorado. The leader of this caravan manned by twenty men was Alexander Cameron Hunt, who in less than ten years became one of the leading citizens and fourth governor of the Territory of Colorado. The only woman passenger was Ellen Kellogg Hunt, the wife of the leader, who has the unique distinction of being Colorado's Fifty-Niner First Lady.

Ellen Kellogg Hunt came from a family of pioneers. Her most famous pioneer ancestor was Governor William Bradford of Plymouth Colony, the second signer of the *Mayflower Compact*. It is through the Kellogg branch of the family that the descendants of Ellen Kellogg Hunt may claim their own Mayflower descendancy. Her great-grandmother, Ruth Hosmer, was the great-great-great-granddaughter of the distinguished governor. The Kelloggs of her father's family in both the Old World and the New World have been characterized as farmers and devout Congregationalists with a tendency to migrate. The first Kellogg ancestors of her father to migrate to the New World from Great Leighs, England, were settled in Farmington, Connecticut, by 1651 and joined the Congregational Church on October 9, 1653. Hosmer Kellogg, her father, was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, and in the 1830's and 1840's, he and four of his five brothers one by one moved to White Pigeon, Michigan, where they became prosperous farmers, merchants, and lumbermen. In her mother's family, the Clarks were likewise inclined to migrate in search of new opportunities. Her great-great uncle, Dr. Thomas Clark, who was a physician and Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, came to the New World from Ireland in 1764 with three hundred of his parishioners and colonized in Salem, Washington County, New York. And her grandfather, Dr. Richard Clark, Jr., moved his large family from the rocky hills of Stamford, New York, to Monroe, Michigan, in 1823 when her mother was seven years old. He purchased a large fertile farm, practiced medicine, and for many years managed the Government Land Office.

*Copyright by Helen Cannon, 1962. This is the third in a series of articles about wives of Colorado governors, written by Miss Helen Cannon, Associate Professor of Home Economics, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Miss Cannon holds a B.S. degree from the University of Arkansas, and an M.S. degree from Iowa State University. She is at work on a monumental task—that of preparing biographies of Colorado's first ladies, with a view to combining them into a book.—*Editor*.

On December 25, 1835, Ellen Elizabeth Kellogg, the oldest of four children, was born in the farm home of her parents, Hosmer and Ann Eliza Kellogg, in the pretty little prairie village of White Pigeon, Michigan. It was for its day a handsome and comfortable home marked by a cultured and religious atmosphere. Mrs. Kellogg was a deeply religious woman who at the age of sixteen had joined the Presbyterian Church, and though she was of a gay and happy disposition, she willingly gave up all amusements not in accord with the teaching of the church. Also, she was studiously inclined, being an avid student of the Bible and fond of literature and good music. She had been educated in Monroe, Michigan, in a seminary for girls taught by Miss Emily Chickering, the niece of the famous piano manufacturer. Ellen, like her mother, accepted the Christian faith early in life and joined the First Presbyterian Church in White Pigeon on March 26, 1847, by confession of faith. Later as a young girl, she was sent to Monroe, Michigan, to finish her education at the Monroe Seminary for Young Ladies under the direction of Professor Erasmus J. Boyd and his capable wife.

Both the Kelloggs and the Clarks were large families and Ellen had many cousins her own age with whom she visited and had gay times. At the age of seventeen she went to Freeport, Illinois, to visit in the homes of her aunt, Catherine Clark Mitchell¹ (Mrs. James Mitchell) and her uncle, John Anderson Clark. It was on this visit that Alexander Cameron Hunt met, admired, and asked permission to marry her. He was a wealthy business man who had recently returned to his boyhood home of Freeport after having made a fortune in the California Gold Rush of the 1840's. According to family account, Ellen did not take kindly to the idea of marriage. She thought the twenty-six year old Mr. Hunt much too old.² But the family considered it a good match, rather insisted, and so they were married in White Pigeon, Michigan, on May 11, 1854. Ellen, no doubt, enjoyed her position as the wife of one of Freeport's leading citizens.

Freeport was incorporated as a town on February 14, 1855, and the names of Alexander Cameron Hunt and John Anderson Clark were on the first list of elected aldermen, and A. C. Hunt served as mayor from 1856-1857. Three of the Hunt children were born in Freeport: Ada Ellen who died in infancy; Isa Ellen born June 3, 1856; and Albert Cameron ("Bertie") on November 3, 1857.³

¹ Catherine Clark Mitchell was the mother of John Clark Mitchell, a prominent Colorado banker, and the grandmother of Clara Mitchell Van Schaack (Mrs. Henry Cruger Van Schaack) of Denver, Colorado.

² Most biographical sketches of A. C. Hunt give the date of his birth as Dec. 25, 1825. His marriage license on file in St. Joseph County, Michigan, gives his age as 26, which would place his birth in December, 1827. This date coincides with the date given by Isa Hunt Stearns in a manuscript in the possession of the West Denver Historical Society. His memorial in Riverside Cemetery, Denver, gives the date as Dec. 23, 1825.

Alexander Cameron Hunt lost his fortune in the panic of 1857, and once again he followed the gold rush west. This time he joined the Pikes Peak Gold Rush to Colorado, not in search of gold but new business opportunities. He was apparently impressed with what he saw and returned to Freeport in the fall of 1858, and started preparation to move his family to Colorado. The twenty-three year old Ellen Hunt was among the early women to make the overland trip by wagon from the States and pioneer on our western frontier. It is not likely that she had any real conception of what lay ahead for her and her husband and their two small children as they left Kansas City on the afternoon of April 25, 1859, for a nine-weeks trek across the prairies. She left behind the only way of life she knew,



Denver Pub. Lib. West. Coll.

ELLEN KELLOGG HUNT

From an oil portrait ordered by Governor Hunt.
The family did not consider it a good likeness.

³ The Death Certificate of Albert C. Hunt on file in the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Los Angeles, Cal., gives the date of his birth as Nov. 3, 1857. According to Mrs. Hunt's *Diary* and a manuscript written by Isa Hunt Stearns, he was born Oct. 3, 1857.

security, devoted relatives, and most of her cherished possessions. Fortunately she kept a diary¹ during the trip and for the first few weeks after arriving in Colorado. It gives a realistic picture of the hardships, the perils, the fears, the homesickness, and the loneliness of the trip across the plains in her "home on wheels." The trip was made more difficult by her illnesses. A week after the start she had a severe attack of cholera, and a week later a disease set-in which her father-in-law, who was a doctor, diagnosed as erysipelas. For the next three weeks as the disease ran its course, her limbs were covered with large purple blotches and she screamed with pain at every turn of the wheels except when under the influence of strong opiates. The caravan made short drives and stopped often for her benefit, but being in Indian country, it was necessary to move on. To Ellen each weary mile covered a world of space and pain, and she longed for a home and rest, even if a grave by the wayside in the wilderness. But the trip was not without its pleasures and even moments of high adventure. There were an encounter with some Indians, a buffalo chase and juicy steaks, star-gazing, the beauty of the moonlit prairies, the voices of the men singing hymns around the campfire, and her lovely carpet of strawberry blossoms, Johnny-jump-ups, and daisies. And, she read Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and enjoyed it very much.

The settlement of Auraria-Denver in June of 1859, at the time the Hunts arrived, was a community of approximately one thousand people of which several hundred were Indians. Of the estimated three hundred buildings of rough logs, about one-third were unfinished. Very few had glass windows or doors, and only two or three had board floors and shingled roofs. The cabin engaged for the Hunts was on the very outskirts of Auraria, built of logs and mud, with neither windows or floor. Mrs. Hunt felt blue at the prospect of living in such a place, but woman-like, when once at work trying to make it comfortable, she felt better about her new home. A partition was made of the wagon cover, shelves hung here and there, and cozy cottage bedsteads constructed. The travel-weary and ill Ellen now became for the next two months the money-maker for the family and relatives. There was little business in the settlement and money was scarce and in great demand. Cameron and his brother had spent their last copper in Council Grove in eastern Kansas, and during their first days in Auraria, the only money they had was the thirty dollars Ellen earned from the sale of butter and cottage cheese.

The first week in July, Cameron and his brother opened an eating house, and during the month Ellen made 175 loaves of bread and 450 pies. August was another month of work and

pain. Hangers-on, poor relations, and buttonhole acquaintances ate up the profits of the eating house and they were poorer than when they started. Ellen sold her best carpet for fifty-five dollars and a mirror for five dollars to buy flour. She left the dreary cabin only twice: once for a walk and once to visit some ladies staying at the Pollock House who had arrived by Express over the newly established stagecoach route.

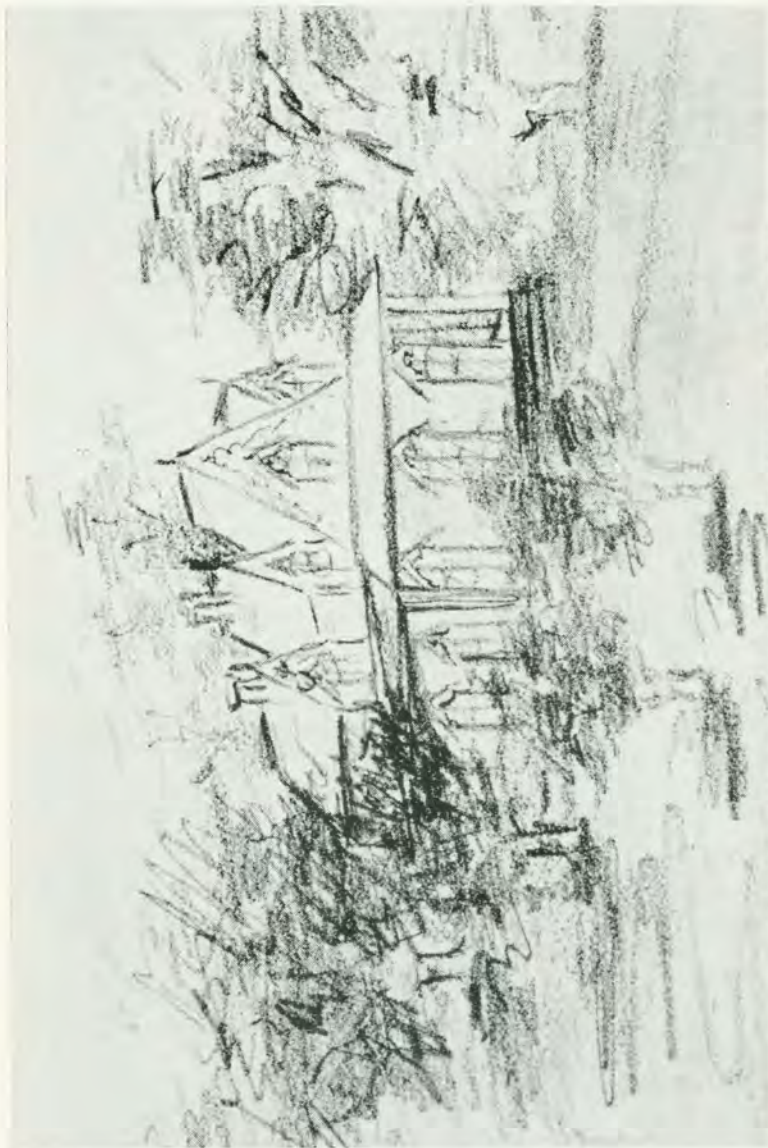
By September the fortune of the Hunts took a turn for the better. Cameron sold the eating house, bought a corral, and was making money. They moved into a new cabin with a wooden floor and a shingle roof. Ellen was more contented, but she was tired, tired, always tired, and her back was lame and weak. The next spring in this cabin, Robert Bruce, the second son who became his mother's pride and comforter, was born on June 3, 1860.⁵

The enterprising and energetic A. C. Hunt continued to prosper. He quickly won the admiration and respect of the people, and was recognized as a man of courage and force who stood for law and order in the new community. He served as a judge on the early Vigilance Committee and subsequently on the People's Court. Before the end of 1859, he was elected vice-president of the Auraria Town Company, and in March 1860, he presided over the meeting that united Auraria and Denver City and gave the name of Denver to the settlement on the east and west banks of Cherry Creek. Abraham Lincoln appointed him second United States Marshal of the new Territory of Colorado, a post he held from 1862-1866. And in May 1867, he was appointed fourth territorial governor of Colorado by President Andrew Johnson.

At the time A. C. Hunt was governor, the family lived in their third and Ellen's last home on a 160-acre site south of town, a part of which is now Lincoln Park in West Denver. Originally a small red brick house, it was added to from time to time until the result was a comfortable, rambling, story-and-a-half Victorian house of fifteen rooms. It was profusely trimmed in white peaked gingerbread work, and French doors with green outside blinds opened off the parlors onto a stone terrace. The approach to the house was from the north by a long winding avenue from the stagecoach road into town, and many decades before the advent of the electronic-eye, the red gate at the entrance automatically opened as a conveyance approached. The spacious lawn was landscaped with evergreens from the mountains and many varieties of ornamental trees and shrubs. Nestled close to the big house was a miniature house completely furnished and equipped for housekeeping for the enjoyment of the children and their friends from town when they tired of the wonders of their 160-acre playhouse.

¹ LeRoy R. Hafen (ed), "Diary of Mrs. A. C. Hunt, 1859," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXI (September, 1944), 161-170.

⁵ The immediate foregoing paragraphs are based on Mrs. Hunt's Diary.—Editor.



"Cloverside," The Home of Governor and Mrs. Alexander Cameron Hunt
Lincoln Park, West Denver, Colorado.
A sketch made from memory by Ellen Stearns Ament, Granddaughter of
Governor and Mrs. A. C. Hunt.

Governor Hunt was an amateur experimental farmer. His experimentation in growing alfalfa and clover attracted widespread attention and caused the homestead to be known as "Cloverside."

Life at Cloverside was industrious, bustling, and hospitable, and often taxed the strength of Ellen who never completely recovered from the illnesses and hardships of her earlier life and the birth and death of another child in 1864. Governor Hunt's official duties and personal business interests frequently took him away from home on extended trips, leaving Ellen with the responsibility of the family and the numerous enterprises on the large acreage. His spontaneous and democratic hospitality brought scores of guests to Cloverside. These Ellen found difficult to entertain in what she considered an appropriate style due to the lack of servants and the scarcity and uncertainty of provisions, many of which had to be shipped from the States in freight-wagons. It was during the Hunt administration that numerous negotiations were carried on with the Ute Indians of Colorado. To them, Governor Hunt, their friend and trusted adviser, extended his famed hospitality and generosity. They pitched their wigwams on his "Cloverside" grounds, curiously peered into the windows, squatted on the doorsteps awaiting an opportunity to slip-in, begged, and stole. Even after Ellen lost her fear of them, she found their presence distasteful, but they added an additional note of excitement to the life of the children. Isa later recalled that her yellow hair was greatly admired by the chiefs who visited her father, while she in turn greatly enjoyed arranging the black hair of the giggling and chattering squaws in the latest fashions worn by the white ladies.

The more distinguished guests from the States and abroad who came to see the wild West enjoyed pitching their tents in the Rockies, and Governor Hunt's camping trips became famous and earned for him a national reputation as a cook. Another favorite diversion of the Hunt family and their friends was dancing, and guests attending a reception at the Hunt mansion were likely to find the lawn brilliantly illuminated by lanterns, the parlors cleared for dancing, and a fine band playing.

Possibly in deference to the religious beliefs of Governor Hunt, the orthodox Presbyterian training and practices which characterized the girlhood home of Ellen were not a part of the life of Cloverside. She and the children strictly kept the Sabbath Day by not working or playing with toys. Her later diaries reveal that when health permitted, she attended Sunday service at the Presbyterian church. Governor Hunt was not a member of a church, and oddly, the available Presbyterian church records in Freeport and Denver do not show that she was a member; likewise, the records of the First Presbyterian

Church of White Pigeon, Michigan, do not show that she ever transferred her membership to another church.

When Governor Hunt was removed from the governorship of the Territory of Colorado in April 1869, he left politics and entered into the building of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad and towns along its route in partnership with General William J. Palmer of Colorado Springs, an endeavor from which he amassed a large fortune.

After the death of his wife and three years later the assassination of his son, Bruce, by a bank robber on July 16, 1883, he dissolved his business interests and left Colorado. In 1885, the homestead was sold to the city of Denver for Lincoln Park for \$40,000.00. It must have pleased Governor Hunt that as the city-fathers dickered over the price, someone wisely pointed out that the trees alone were worth that amount for the enjoyment of future generations of Denverites.

Ellen Kellogg Hunt died at Cloverside at the age of forty-four on August 8, 1880, after a long and painful illness. The funeral service was held from the Central Presbyterian Church, where her mother and sister⁶ were members, and she was buried in Riverside Cemetery, Denver. Other members of the family buried in Riverside Cemetery with Mrs. Hunt are: Robert Bruce Hunt; Isa Hunt Stearns (Mrs. Eldredge Stearns) who died May 30, 1896; and Ann Eliza Clark Kellogg (Mrs. Hosmer Kellogg) who died in Denver on December 21, 1895. Albert Cameron Hunt died October 2, 1915, and is buried in Rosedale Cemetery, Los Angeles, California. There is a large impressive monument on the family lot to Governor Alexander Cameron Hunt, but he is buried in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D. C., on the lot of Judge Curtis Underwood with his second wife, Alice Underwood Hunt, and their daughter, Gloria John Hunt.

An unsuccessful search has been made to ascertain the nature of the illness from which Ellen Hunt suffered for many years and which forced her to lead a quiet life and make frequent trips East for medical care. When this question was asked of a granddaughter,⁷ her answer was: "What caused my grandmother's death? Weariness. *Webster's Dictionary* says: 'Weary: Having strength much impaired by toil and suffering.'" While this is not the complete answer, Ellen Kellogg Hunt, in spite of her pioneer heritage, was neither physically nor temperamentally suited to the life of a pioneer.

⁶ Kate Louisa Kellogg (Mrs. Charles Y. McClure) of Denver.

⁷ Ellen Stearns (Mrs. Caleb B. Ament).

The Religious Philosophy of Governor Alexander Cameron Hunt

Edited by HELEN CANNON*

The biographers of Alexander Cameron Hunt, the fourth territorial governor of Colorado from May 27, 1867, until April 15, 1869, have made no comment either on his religious beliefs or as to his church affiliation. His daughter, Isa Hunt Stearns (Mrs. John Eldredge Stearns), wrote in May 1896, shortly before her death, a biographical sketch for her children in which she gives what seems to be the only published view on this aspect of her father's life:

There were no religious observances in our home; my father disapproved of everything in this direction. I never knew of his going inside of a church, nor ever speaking on the subject of religion. He never objected to our going to church. We were taught to keep the Sabbath by not working or playing with our toys—that was all. Father always worked on that day more than any other, as it was a day free from his office work.¹

Recently a water-stained and crumbling letter written by A. C. Hunt on February 5, 1854, to his future mother-in-law, Ann Eliza Clark Kellogg (Mrs. Hosmer Kellogg), was found. The letter was written in answer to Mrs. Kellogg's letter granting him permission to marry her daughter, Ellen Elizabeth Kellogg, but apparently expressing deep concern that her son-in-law-to-be had not professed the Christian faith and joined a church. In apt and beautiful language, this honest and forthright man thus strove to tactfully yet sincerely explain and defend his beliefs and acts of deviation from orthodox religious practices:

Freeport Feb. 5th 1854

Dear Madam

Your very friendly answer to my first communication came to hand some days since & was welcomed with pride & satisfaction. I would here acknowledge my obligation for the kind consideration you have seen fit to give to the matter in question upon which devolves so much of interest to you & your family & of such vital import to myself.

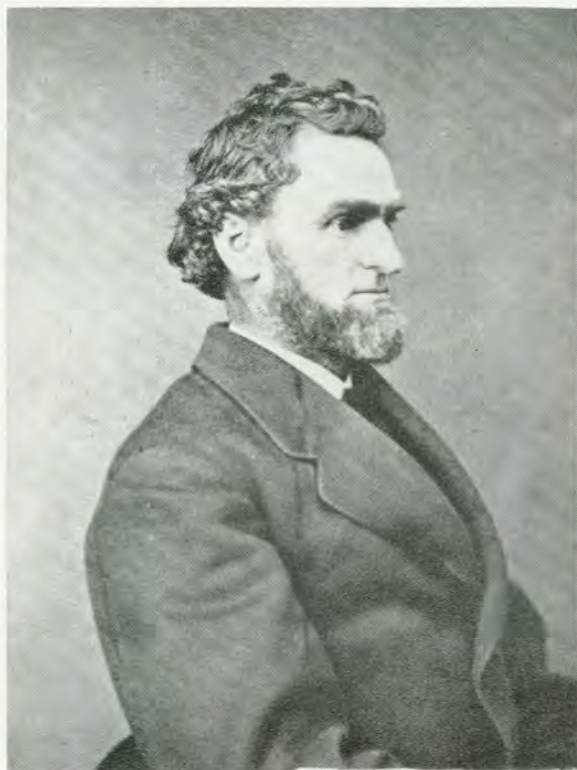
For the frank & generous manner you have met my proposal for the *hand* of your daughter I shal ever feel greatfull—& for the good opinion entertained for me & expressed by your friends in this place I am likewise thankfull and sincerly hope I may never betray their confidence in the slightest degree. To you *no doubt* it is a sad reflection that your daughter is to pass into the care & keeping of one with whom you have so little acquaintance, *mainly* upon her judgment & the good opinion of distant friends. Still confidently hope you may never se cause to regret that you gave your consent to our *union*. Of your pecuniary circumstances I have never enquired—that to me *personaly* was of no consideration—though much I regret the misfortunes of your husband—in that wise I feel a much deeper commiseration for his broken health & ruined constitution for with health alone a man has a sure guarantee of a good livelyhood without it wealth is not worth possessing.

¹ "Reminiscences of Isa Hunt Stearns," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXVI (July, 1949), 183-193.

*Copyright by Helen Cannon, 1962.

In asking for the hand of your daughter, I consider I make a sufficient requisition of the *mother* who has so carefully guarded & guided her from infancy to a marriageable age & in the paths of virtue and propriety without requiring a dowry in addition to this. *But* one boon I crave with *Ellen*—A Mothers blessing with a remembrance in your daily prayers.

For her temporal wants I shall doubtless be able to provide for I well know she will never require what my circumstances will not allow. This was one of my earliest resolves: Never to marry any woman I did not love with that disinterested reverence that is above all desire for *lucre*. Although I have been accused of that *sin* more



Library, State Hist. Soc. Colo.
GOVERNOR ALEXANDER CAMERON HUNT

than once within the last two years—yet time will prove to those persons how true was their accusation.

Of Ellens professions of Christianity I am well aware & glad am I that such is the case besides I am confident of her sincerity that she is all that she professes to be. Confident am I that they who are led by the teachings & live up to principals laid down in *Holy writ*—(if in error) cannot be wicked & of a consequence must be truly good.

The time may come when your kind wish for my spiritual welfare will be realized—if so depend upon it—I shall be sincerer—though I fear me it will never come of uniting with any of the many sects or denominations with which I am now acquainted. I have ever in life held aloof from *societies, clicks or unions* save those dictated by

nature & the welfare of my *Country*. So peculiar has been my taste in this particular that never in my life have I made choice of a bosom friend—I might except my mother). In your daughter I think I behold one to whom my every thought may be confided & know that it is safely lodged. Why this I cannot explain for I believe I am not at all arbitrary or headstrong, but on the contrary enclined to conservatism. I am not noted for credulity—seldom giving credit to flying reports or falling in with popular opinions. However we have but little control over our sentiments—more than our affections—there is an *alwise hand* that directs & shapes each. With *him* I am willing to leave my destiny.

I would gladly hold converse with you upon this all important subject & perhaps be convinced of what you will term my errors.

I am ever open to correction. Still if I cannot see as others do, surely I am not to blame & that it should not be laid up against me as criminal. It is a generally conceded opinion that our earliest impressions are the most lasting. With me it is quite the contrary—from my earliest childhood to the time I left the parental roof to do for myself—my parents were members of the Baptist Church and I with others of my brothers & sisters compelled to attend church services regularly—two of those sisters are now members of that church while the remainder make no profession. This lack of sentiment (if so it be) in me may be accounted for from association—as a great portion of my life (or of my mature years) has been spent in the society of rough men of the world but among them I have ever found the truest hearts and to them I would first apply for sympathy and assistance in the hour of need. This sentiment I do not wish to (nor ever will I) use as an argument further than in my own defence—for I have said before I am well assured that those who are truly Christians cannot be far awry & have a sure reward hereafter. I have a profound reverence for my *Creator* yet have quite a different view of his beneficence and of the final reckoning from which none will escape. You will readily conjecture from where I received this impression—in that you will be mistaken—for since my return to the *States* I have almost always attended the Presbyterian services & must say to me it is more con-



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MRS. HOSMER KELLOGG
(Ann Eliza Clark Kellogg)
Mother-in-law of Governor A. C. Hunt

genial than any other profession I have the privilege of listening to.

Upon this hear I fear I may have said too much. However believing you had rather see a person come out and speak their mind than to remain neutral I ventured to make these disclosures. Hoping to hear from you again as soon as your domestic duties will give you sufficient time to address me. Wishing you to feel at liberty to present any suggestions and advises in relation to my temporal or Spiritual welfare your good judgment may dictate & here I promise to pay strict attention and mark well your teachings for well do I know that the precepts of the one who has moulded the precious mind & sentiments of Ellen Kellogg should not be lightly thought of & with every wish for the restoration of the health of your husband I will now close this lengthy & disjunctive Epistle.

Ever yours with profound respect

A. C. Hunt

Mrs. Kellogg eventually came to Denver, Colorado, to live and transferred her membership from the First Presbyterian Church of Floyd, Iowa, to the Central Presbyterian Church of Denver on December 29, 1876. In connection with this letter written by her son-in-law, Alexander Cameron Hunt, these facts from the history of the Congregational Church of Denver are of interest:²

In 1881, former Governor Hunt gave to Mrs. Kellogg land in the area of present-day Lincoln Park in West Denver on which to build a church. Mrs. Kellogg offered the land to the officials of the Central Presbyterian Church who refused it, saying they could not accept it at that time. Then Mrs. Kellogg, whose husband had been a Congregationalist, offered it to a group of that denomination who had no building with the stipulation that the church be built within a year. The group accepted the land, organized a Sunday School, engaged a minister, and proceeded to build a small brick building thirty-two by forty-eight feet at a cost of \$3,500.00. A few days before the date of dedication there was still \$800.00 to be subscribed. Mr. Hunt then gave a cash donation of \$500.00 as a memorial to Mrs. Hunt. The final \$300.00 was collected and the church was dedicated free of debt on October 16, 1881. This church, located on Eleventh Avenue between now Kalamath and Santa Fe Streets, was known as the West Denver Congregational Church until it was sold on December 29, 1892, and its members built the Third Congregational Church.

² Walter S. Hopkins, "A Brief History of the Third Congregational Church in Denver," September 18, 1954. An unpublished manuscript.

George W. Kassler: Colorado Pioneer

By PHILIP K. ALEXANDER, JR.

Part II

George W. Kassler, a native of New York, came to Omaha, Nebraska, in 1857, and on to Denver, Colorado, in 1860, where he became associated in business with David H. Moffat, Jr., and C. C. Woolworth of New York.

In 1863, he began a correspondence with Miss Maria T. Stebbins, an old-time acquaintance in New York. These letters kept Miss Stebbins informed of life in Denver until 1865, when Mr. Kassler went back to New York to marry her.

Through the efforts of a great-grandson of the Kasslers, Mr. Philip K. Alexander of Denver, an extremely valuable collection of diaries, letters, photographs, and accounts was assembled from various members of the family and presented, in 1961, to the State Historical Society of Colorado. Mr. Alexander prepared a book-length manuscript from this material, and is permitting *The Colorado Magazine* to publish from it.

We present in this issue a number of letters which follow chronologically those used in the January, 1962, issue.—*Editor*.

Denver, Dec 23d, 1863

Dear Maria,

I should have answered your very welcome letter some days ago, but have been more than usually busy this month. Having resigned my position in the Mint to take effect on the 15th, had a good deal of extra work to get things in proper shape for my successor, and then another job to arrange my own matters which had been sadly neglected, but apologies are more tedious than interesting, and as you wrote "time flits away" without our scarce noting it. Two days more brings Christmas, another week closes the eventful 1863, and opens a New Year, that will perhaps from the important events likely occur within it, exceed this in importance to our Country, possibly ourselves as each month rolls around with its unlooked for changes.

A year ago I passed December in Washington, listening daily to the Combined wisdom of the country in Senate and House of Representatives. With but few exceptions the people have derived little or no benefit from their wise counsels, and I fear the present session will be devoted more to President making than patriotism.

This Territory, with others, will probably be admitted into the Union as the State of Colorado, and another star be added to the old flag.¹ May it never be erased from but prove an honor to it.

It hardly seems possible that it is almost a year since I met you in New York, the ride to the Park, and later to Greenwood with Mrs. Kate Cory, Charley Burch, and the *short walk* from Barnum's to 27th Street, occupied hours that were pleasant indeed to me, and will ever be remembered as among the happiest of the happy.

It is very pleasant here now. Winter seems to have given way to Spring. The snow is nearly gone, the streets dry, idlers stand about

¹ Colorado was not ready for statehood in 1864. Probably few people today would claim that it was. But the Civil War had brought about chaotic conditions in national politics. The exigencies of the dominant political group at Washington led to a desire for more States from the West, and enabling acts were passed providing that Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada should hold elections to determine whether they would come into the Union under constitutions of their own making.—Elmer Ellis, "Colorado's First Fight for Statehood, 1865-1868," in *The Colorado Magazine*, Volume VIII, No. 1 (January, 1931), 23-30.

the corners, some earnestly canvassing the latest news, praising that great hero Gen. Grant, and very likely giving "the powers that be" at Washington particular fits for so misusing the brave Army of the Potomac, or perhaps calculating on the rush there will be to Bannock² next spring, or the prospect of getting "through the cap" as they term solid rock that they sometimes have to dig through a hundred feet or more before again "striking pay dirt," but tomorrow this may be changed, instead of a bright sun, Old Sol may hide himself behind some storm clouds, the streets be deserted, and the falling snow seeking all sorts of impossible places, as if it too was trying to find some warm comfortable spot.

I trust it will not be so until the holidays are passed. I would like to have it continue pleasant. On Christmas Eve there is to be a masquerade party here. I have paid but little attention to it as I will not attend, but on New Years Eve we expect to get up a "Baille" as the Mexicans call a ball, or party. Can't you come? There has been less dancing here than usual. This season, so many of our young folks got married is, I suppose the reason, they don't seem to care so much about running around after marriage. I have attended three weddings since I returned, and fully expect to go to another soon, or I am much mistaken in my guess.

Among some books we received a short time ago, I discovered a copy of Pages and Pictures by Cooper. It contained some plates that I thought would perhaps be familiar and pleasing for you to look at. Therefore I had it wrapped up and started it toward Clinton by Our Uncle Samuels U.S.M. to your address. Please accept with my best wishes for a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Ever Most Sincerely

Geo W. Kassler

Denver, C.T., Jan. 12 1864

Dear Maria,

You have undoubtedly heard through the eastern papers, that Mr. Indian is again amusing himself, in his peculiar way, on the road between here and Fort Kearney, probably in retaliation for the sound whipping they received some time ago. They have organized a large force, and made an attack on Valley Station, and Julesburg, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles from Denver.³ There was quite a battle and official reports state thirteen whites and thirty-five Indians killed. I am glad it occurs now, as the coaches are again taken from the road, stopping for a short time communication with the east by mail, making it absolutely necessary for Government to take proper measures to settle with the Indians in such a manner as to prevent a recurrence of these difficulties, and of course to do so as soon as possible, so that by next spring the road will be free from danger.

I presume all sorts of telegrams have been sent to the eastern papers, that, like the first reports we received here were very much exaggerated, and for aught I know they may have had Denver attacked, and all of us killed, but I assure you we are not in the least troubled, or our rest disturbed from fear of anything so unpleasant coming to pass. A couple large trains start east tomorrow, and I send this by a friend going in. It will be somewhat longer in reaching you, but

² During 1863, Colorado newspapers had contained many reports of activities in the "mines of Montana" which at that time stretched down to the South Pass area of Wyoming. Tons of provisions and other supplies for the Bannack (Bannock) and other new mining districts to the north, went forward from Denver.—Editor.

³ In 1863 the travel over the Overland Trail through the Platte Valley had been so heavy and the inroads upon the game which the Indians thought belonged to them, were so great that they began seriously to object. Many were the invasions on trading posts and travelers and upon the very few ranches that were being established.—Mrs. C. F. Parker, "Old Julesburg and Fort Sedgwick," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (July, 1936), 143.

will I hope get there soon, and relieve you from any apprehension of danger you may have felt for Denver. What I regret most is, I cannot hear from you, and having received but one letter from you since I returned, be assured the next one will be welcome indeed. There will probably be several of them together when they do arrive.

We are having splendid winter weather, a little snow but no sleighing, and quite lively times for a blockaded people. We have just got through with the worst job of the season, invoicing our stock of goods,⁴ and I feel not only very much relieved at getting through, but well satisfied with the result of the years business.

This is the night for our club party, as I did not attend the last one, suppose I will have to go for a while tonight, and see how they are, they are said to be very pleasant.

Did Ellery go to New York with Charley, of course, it would be useless to ask if he enjoyed the trip.

Remember me kindly to all.

I just got through copying statements, etc., to send to Mr. Woolworth and have a number of letters to write yet tonight, have done so much writing the last few days will be glad to get through with the balance.

With much love I am, Dear Maria,

Truly and Affectionately Yours,
George

Denver, Feby 10th, 1864

Dear Maria,

Your welcome letter of Jan 21st was rec'd on time. I presume my last took advantage of the snow blockade on the H & St Joseph R.R., that road being blocked or snowed up for sixteen days. During this time we received no mail from the east, and most of the time the telegraph was out of order, so you can imagine our situation.

Directly after New Years it turned warm. The snow has disappeared. The streets dry, dusty, and everything has more the appearance of spring than winter. I am rather pleased that we had our cold weather so early in the season, but the sudden change caused a great deal of sickness. Nearly everyone suffering with a cold.

Our Territorial Legislature convened here on Monday. They first met at Golden City, a small town fifteen miles from here, but in four days the Hon. members were pleased to adjourn to Denver.⁵ They have tried several times to hold a session away from our young city, but always find it convenient to come back. Of course, we should reciprocate the honors paid the town by their removing here, therefore, we give them tonight, a complimentary ball. No trouble or expense has been spared to make it one of the most pleasant of the season. The hall, a new one is very large. Eighty couple can dance in it comfortable. I dare say if you could come here "in a minute" and see the party that will be assembled there tonight, you would hardly think it possible, that we lived almost within the shade of the Rocky Mts, but would think it more probable, that you were somewhere in the populous East.

The Mint doesn't coin at present. The gold deposited there is melted, run into bars, assayed, stamped, and shipped to N.Y. where they are soon converted into Treas. Notes, which is the only money we see much of. There is no gold in circulation here now. I do not think they will coin any in the mint until the discount on Treas. Notes is so reduced that they will be almost equal to coin.

You speak of Oyster suppers, soliciting committees, etc., you ought

⁴ George W. Kassler was then associated with Woolworth & Moffat, who had a stationery store, in addition to his Mint appointment.

⁵ Golden City was the official capital of the Territory of Colorado from 1862 to 1867, but the Legislature usually met there and then adjourned to Denver for its sessions.

to live in some new Western town. For instance, take this, since last spring, there has been built *by subscription*, a fine brick seminary, Presbyterian Church, a large addition to the Episcopal, a very fine Methodist Church nearly completed, the Catholics have purchased a large building for Sisters of Charity, and a farm where they intend building an Orphan Asylum, to say nothing about the relief society, and numberless volunteer committees that are around almost daily—(and not an Oyster do we get).

I have no doubt you would enjoy yourself in N.Y. excepting perhaps the house hunting, but I regret to hear your family desire you to go on account of your health. I would much rather know it was for pleasure only.

I would like right well to assist you in skating, but am afraid I would prove a poor teacher now. It would be necessary for me to learn over again.



Library, S.H.S.C.

MR. AND MRS. GEORGE W. KASSLER

You spoke of having sent me a letter of acknowledgment, it must have been captured "en route" as I have not rec'd it. I expect it will come some day by way of Calafornia. Letters for Colorado very frequently get in with the Calafornia through mail, and go past Denver to Sacramento before the sack is opened. I regret it is missing. Not that I desire your thanks particularly, for the book, although I

hope of course that it pleased you, but because I prize your letters too highly to lose one after it is mailed, especially.

I send you a paper containing the notice of the death of Mr. Howland,* and adventures of his sister. You will perhaps remember Mrs. Stowell was enquiring about them one day last winter.

Most Sincerely Yours, Geo W Kassler

Denver, April 11th, 1864

Dear Maria,

I should have answered your letter before, but immediately after its receipt business called me up to the mountains, also a trip to Golden City and other matters which pretty fully occupied my time.

They are having very lively times now up in the mountains. Gold claims have suddenly assumed an almost fabulous value, partly owing to the demand for them in the market, and also to the improved method of saving the gold, making claims that a year ago were considered nearly worthless, now of immense value.

Eastern capitalists having made enormous sums by speculation or contracts, are turning their attention to and investing some of their surplus "Greenbacks" in our gold mines. Speculative excitement naturally runs high, and reminds me very much of the old times in Nebraska during the spring of 1857, which corner lots or a quarter section of land was all a man asked for, only in the present case the property is of much greater value.† Some of the "freaks of fortune" are indeed wonderful. Many a good man who having expended his last dollar in prospecting or working some claim, has enlisted, turned soldier perhaps as much for a living or more, than out of patriotic motives, suddenly finds himself a wealthy man by the sale of his gold interests. A few days since a poor private received Sixty Thousand Dollars that being his share of some property sold. Again, last week an old fellow who has been working here in a coal bed for a dollar or so a day had a claim that he was around trying to dispose of for an old gun. Just then the man he had been working for came along, and got him to wait a while until he could look into the matter. He done so. Within an hour the claim was found to be a valuable one. He was offered and refused four thousand dollars for it. These are but two instances. I could fill a sheet of foolscap with similar ones.

Your missing letter was received a short time ago, after taking as I supposed a trip to Calafornia. It was missent through one of the distributing Postoffices to Duroc, Calafornia.

It must be with deep regret that you must think of leaving your old home. May you find the new one so pleasant that it will be only a temporary feeling.

I presume I can hardly appreciate it having been tossed about so long, from town to town, living at Hotels and boarding houses, being in reality almost without a place that I could call home, until my old time friend* and now my associate in business took unto himself a wife, and commenced house keeping, I have since that, lived at their house, and a pleasant time have we had, but in a few weeks they start east, leaving me to the mercy of the Hotels for my "Grub" as the miners term it, unless I can induce some of my friends to take me in for a few months as *one of the family*.

I am glad to learn that Marietta Winslow has returned home. The last few years in the south could not have been very pleasant.

It is getting quite dark and is also supper time, which is a great inducement to *quit*. I remain,

Most Sincerely Yours, Geo W Kassler

* Howland. Evidently from Kassler's home town.—*Editor*.

† Mr. Kassler was in Omaha, Nebraska, before coming to Denver.

* David H. Moffat.



Cherry Creek Goes On Rampage

Denver, C.T., May 23rd, 1864

Dear Maria,

Denver has just passed through another terrible ordeal, more disastrous even than the big fire, one that will long be remembered in its history. I have seen a good many freshets, but never any that could compare with the one that we had here on Thursday night. During the afternoon we had noticed indications of a severe storm towards the headwaters of Cherry Creek, a stream running through town dividing East and West Denver. It is in fact nothing but a bed of sand. There has been water in it but twice since the country was settled, four years ago, but very little, and two years ago a few feet, but dry again in a day. No danger was apprehended of a flood. Buildings were erected in the centre of the creek, and the lots considered valuable.

No water had appeared this season until 11½ O'C Thursday night, then in one huge roll the water came rushing down accompanied by an awful noise, sweeping everything before it, being from eight to ten feet deep.⁹

First came the Methodist Church, then the bridges, Offices, Stores, dwelling houses, the News printing office, several two story brick buildings, etc., from some the inmates just escaped, losing everything, others were more unfortunate were carried away with the buildings they occupied. There were some wonderful escapes. One boy was found three miles down: alive: in the top of a tree. A whole negro family, six, were swept away in one house, and all including dog and cat landed safely on an island after a ride of two miles. I saw one building float away with two men clinging to it. It was the most terrible sight I ever witnessed, we were utterly powerless to assist them, a boat if we had one would have been useless, could not even hear their voices above the roar of the angry waves. There we stood a large crowd, silent, almost entranced until the building gave way and they floated off. One finally reached shore, the other has not been heard from.

So far, four persons are known to have drowned. The loss to farmers of their growing crops, loss of Merchandise, buildings, furniture, etc., is immense. The water was within six inches of coming in my store, but with the exception of a pretty big scare, I got off very well. I certainly never saw so desolate a sight as this, when the water had receded enough to permit us to survey it. The greater portion of the West side was covered with driftwood and brush, houses half filled with sand and many moved from their foundations—Doct. and Mrs. Hamilton,¹⁰ took charge of Mr. Moffat's house, where I had been boarding, until they returned from the East, and very kindly invited me to remain with them and get my rations, which I was very glad to accept, but the floods came and away went the wood house, store room, and part of the kitchen. Consequently, for a while I will have to "board around" like a country school master.

You are undoubtedly enjoying yourself now in that great Metropolis, that fair must have been an immense institution. The sum realized was worthy of New York. I too was disappointed at the result of the Sword contest, but hope the people will have another opportunity of casting their votes for "Little Mac" and that then he will be more successful. We have received no telegrams for several days, from last accounts Grant was doing nobly. Should he win a decisive victory there may be a chance of bringing this fearful war to a close. I trust

⁹ An unexpected flood of usually shallow streams caused a major disaster. The bed of Cherry Creek, normally a mere trickle of water, had been laid out in lots, with buildings erected on piles driven into the sand. On the night of May 19, 1864, heavy rains resulted in a flood that cost twenty lives and great property damage.—*Colorado: A Guide to the Highest State*. (New York: Hastings House, 1948), 131.

¹⁰ This may have been Dr. John F. Hamilton.

it will prove so, the south already nearly or quite ruined, and the north will I fear suffer from a surplus of Chase¹¹ or his "greenbacks."

How I would like to be in New York now, and take a ride over to Greenwood, or through the Park with you. It must be beautiful there.

Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Stowell.

Truly Yours Geo W Kassler

Denver, July 15, 1864

Dear Maria,

I presume you are now enjoying the quiet of home life with that feeling of relief and satisfaction, more fully appreciated after a sojourn at this season of the year, in a city like New York. . . .

Denver has been the scene of another excitement, unequalled even by the flood. The Indians some time ago committed some depredations for which they were pursued and punished by our troops. Afterwards a small band of Indians came within thirty miles of Denver, stole a lot of stock, and murdered a whole family.¹² This of course raised some excitement. A few evenings after, a man came riding furiously in town, stating a large force of Indians were at the Toll Gate nine miles distant, and marching on Denver. The report was soon circulated, bells pealed forth a general alarm, guns were fired, women were screaming, fainting, and running frantically to and fro seeking protection and safety in the strongest brick building. The most intense excitement prevailed, more so because the soldiers had left town a few days before. The people naturally rallied around the Governor as the proper person to bring some kind of order out of the confusion, but he was scared as badly as any one. At last they got into the armory and distributed several hundred guns among the men. Companies were organized. Scouts sent out in various directions, one advanced as far as the gate house. All seemed quiet. No Indians visible. They entered the house, found the supper still on the table untouched, as the family had hurriedly left it. On their returning to town comparative quiet was restored.

The next day it was ascertained that the whole fright had been caused by a lot of harmless Mexican Ox Drivers who were driving up their cattle for the night and that in all probability there were no Indians within a hundred miles.

There were a good many of our *braves*, who would have sold themselves pretty cheap, and very few could be found who would own up to being frightened, but all were saying how cool and collected they were, etc. It was a night that will long be remembered in Denver. From it we can form some idea of the excitement which now prevails in Washington, Baltimore, and other places in danger from the present rebel raid.

The 4th passed off very quietly. In the evening a few of us met at a private house, and got up a celebration on our own account. Fire works, ice cream, etc. It would have been far different if we could have heard that day that Grant had taken Richmond.

If Lincoln dare do it (speaking politically) I wonder if he wouldn't like to call on "Little Mac"¹³ to protect Washington.

It is rather quiet in Denver. This warm weather don't hold out any inducements for unnecessary exercise. We are now waiting patiently for the next excitement, earthquake or hurricane, to keep us in good humor.

Truly Yours, G. W. Kassler

¹¹ Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury at that time.

¹² On June 15, 1864, the inhabitants of Denver and vicinity were shocked by the news that the Hungate family, living about thirty miles southeast of Denver, had been murdered by Indians.—Elmer R. Burkey, "The Site of the Murder of the Hungate Family by Indians in 1864," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (July, 1935), 139-145.

¹³ "Little Mac" was General George Brinton McClellan who was the Democratic nominee for President in 1864. He was defeated by Abraham Lincoln.