

Colorado and the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867

BY LISTON E. LEYENDECKER

At the end of 1865 mining in Colorado, the primary cause for the existence of the territory, was a very risky enterprise. First of all, there was a shortage of credit, the legacy of the Gilpin County speculation boom that had crashed in April, 1864, and which had not enhanced the investment possibilities of Colorado in the eyes of eastern capitalists. Such men distrusted not only Colorado mines but its miners, and refused, therefore, to share their bank accounts, bulging with spendable greenbacks, with the area's developers.

The region's seekers of mineral wealth also faced another hard fact. The halcyon days of quick, inexpensive ore recovery were gone, and many individuals found that their former one- or two-man operations had reached a point of sophistication where additional capital would be needed before newly uncovered ore bodies could be mined at a profit.¹

In addition there was the problem of milling the ores, confined as they were in sulfides of iron, copper, and quartz—strongboxes which refused to surrender their precious contents to contemporary methods of bullion recovery used in Colorado and in other mining areas such as California and Nevada.² Along with mining, this dilemma caused a decline in population as the independent miners became discouraged and moved on to other camps in Idaho and Montana where ores were still easily extractable.

Finally, the population and production centers of the territory were located some six hundred miles from the Missouri

¹ Frank Fossett, *Colorado: A Historical, Descriptive and Statistical Work on the Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Region* (Denver: Daily Tribune Steam Printing House, 1876), pp. 152-53.

² Charles W. Henderson, *Mining in Colorado: A History of Discovery, Development and Production*, United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper no. 138 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 30.

River, the last frontier of easy transportation accessibility. Mining equipment destined for Colorado camps had to be hauled in wagons over dangerous routes made even more hazardous by the threat of Indian attacks. Naturally, when the costs of such transportation were added to the steep prices placed on new machinery (much of which proved to be worthless once it had reached its destination), the expense was more than an individually operated mining concern dared to undertake.³

Thus in late 1865 Colorado Territory was faced with high mining and transportation costs, a lack of finances, a reputation as a poor investment risk, a loss of its labor force, a recalcitrant body of ores, and no foreseeable means of increasing the profitable recovery of its bullion. Small wonder then that for the next two years many Coloradoans fell prey to what Rossiter W. Raymond, United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics, termed a "process-mania" as miners tried desperately to discover a method which would force the sulphurets to release their treasures and thereby allow Colorado to resume its place among the producing mineral regions in the United States.⁴ In spite of their efforts, the hard times which residents sought to forestall began to settle into the once prosperous area. As though the injury of a depression were not enough, there was the frustrating fact that Colorado ores assayed a much higher gold and silver content than the stamp mills and amalgamators were able to produce.⁵

What the territory needed (besides a revolutionary method of bullion extraction) was a new group of interested investors from points other than Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Therefore, as numerous Coloradoans experimented with roasters and desulphurizers, Ovando J. Hollister, a local Gilpin County newspaper editor, began to write a book, while other citizens looked to Europe and the proposed Paris Exposition which was scheduled to open in the spring of 1867.⁶ Hollister's treatise would be fine for North Americans, but a good display of Colorado ores at Paris would reveal the region's mineral wealth and investment possibilities to Europe and the rest of the world.

Here indeed was the spot to advertise Colorado mines so that wealthy European miners would give at least some attention to operating those lodes too expensive for individuals to handle. Therefore, territorial leaders began agitating for a mineral exhibit at the forthcoming *Exposition Universelle* in Paris.

In December, 1865, Coloradoans were urged to contribute ores to a collection point established by "a lady, Mrs. Pratt of Black Hawk," who had already gathered close to a hundred pounds of choice specimens.⁷ Mr. Whiting of Russell Gulch offered to furnish and ship, at his own expense, five hundred pounds of the required amount (at that time five thousand pounds) of ore, but he asked that his example be followed by others who were financially able to do so.⁸

By June, 1866, a Mr. Cheney of Lake Gulch had secured space for a display of Colorado specimens.⁹ It was asked that samples donated (which were to be assayed free of charge) contain descriptive data such as the name of the mine, its location, the depth at which the ore was obtained, and the name of the mine-owner.¹⁰ Such notices did not supply the desired stimulus, for at the end of October a group of prominent Gilpin County residents met to consider measures for the territory's representation at the fair. George W. Maynard, a mining engineer and assayer, was appointed to receive and classify the specimens. A committee composed of John Kip, Central City; Truman Whitcomb, Nevadaville; and Dr. N. S. Keith of Black Hawk was assigned to issue circular letters to the other counties inviting them to cooperate.¹¹ Meetings were held in Denver and Central City to impress upon the miners the importance of the exposition, yet it required many trips by wagon and countless hours on horseback, along with persistent entreaties, to obtain a representative collection.¹²

Governor Alexander Cummings appointed George Maynard commissioner to take the ores to the exposition.¹³ At the time of Maynard's appointment the territorial legislature was not in session, so an appropriation could not be made for the expenses

³ Ovando J. Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1867), p. 138.

⁴ U. S., Congress, House, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains*, by Rossiter Raymond, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., 1870, H. Ex. Doc. 207, p. 347.

⁵ Samuel Cushman and J. P. Waterman, *The Gold Mines of Gilpin County, Colorado* (Central City: Register Steam Printing House, 1876), p. 27.

⁶ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), May 27, 1867, p. 2. Hollister's book became his classic *Mines of Colorado*.

⁷ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), December 16, 1865, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), June 6, 1866, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1866, p. 4. See also *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), October 31, 1866, p. 1.

¹² George W. Maynard, "Early Colorado Days," undated typewritten manuscript apparently copied from the *Mining and Scientific Press*, State Historical Society of Colorado Library.

¹³ Executive Record, Vol. I (July 8, 1861-May 29, 1870), p. 273, Colorado State Archives and Records Service.

of the commissioner and for the installation costs of the exhibit. However, on November 22 a meeting was held and several leading miners and mining companies pledged varying amounts ranging from \$25 to \$100 toward the transportation charges which would be incurred in carrying the samples to Paris.¹⁴

The first ores were shipped on December 1, and the final lots were off by December 3.¹⁵ The heavier exhibitions were carried to North Platte, then the terminus of the Union Pacific, by wagons which were returning to the railway. The more valuable ores were delivered by Wells Fargo and Company without charge.¹⁶ The railroads were equally liberal with the exception of the New York Central and Hudson River, which held some cases until the freight bill of \$64 was paid.¹⁷ Mr. Maynard had preceded these shipments to New York in order to be there when they arrived. When the ores reached that city the first stage of their journey was completed. But there were certain financial problems which had to be faced before they could be sent on to Paris.

In December, 1866, those who had subscribed money to the transportation of the exhibit were asked to deposit their donations in the Rocky Mountain National Bank at Central City.¹⁸ Denver had been put down for \$1,500 to \$2,000 and assurances had been given that it would be raised; however, as late as the latter part of January, 1867, nothing had been paid.¹⁹ A group of Denverites gathered in the chambers of the city's First National Bank to raise funds which would defray the expenses of Commissioner Maynard to Paris, and they chose Frank Palmer, the popular manager of the City National Bank, to solicit subscriptions.²⁰ In spite of this action some of the bills for packing, boxing, and shipping the specimens continued unpaid, and George Maynard remained in New York awaiting funds to take him to France. George T. Clark, chairman of the Colorado finance committee for the exposition, was forced to write the commissioner that he could raise only \$300 (Maynard had requested \$3,000). However, Clark believed that if Maynard went on to the world's fair and installed the exhibit, an additional amount would be forwarded.²¹

Maynard then called a meeting of Coloradoans living in New York, and many attended the conclave held at the St. Nicholas Hotel,²² at that time considered to be the "headquarters" for Coloradoans in New York.²³ He received only one response to his pleas for money, and that came from James E. Lyon, a smelter owner and operator in Central City. Lyon offered to pay the \$64 due the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, provided that the ores were delivered to his office and turned over to him. His attitude was shared by several other Coloradoans who believed that the ores should remain in New York so that they could be placed on permanent exhibition and used to promote territorial mining interests on the East Coast.²⁴ Maynard refused to accede to their wishes.

The Commissioner, feeling that Colorado ores would be second to none at the exhibition, journeyed to Boston with the hope of interesting the monied men of that city in his cause.²⁵ There he was called upon by Joel Parker Whitney, a wealthy sportsman with Colorado mining interests who had visited the territory twice in 1865 and again in 1866.²⁶ During his first trip he had become fascinated by Colorado minerals and, once he had returned to Boston, had written a small pamphlet entitled *Silver Mining Regions of Colorado*.²⁷ In addition, he had also accumulated a sizable collection of Colorado ores.²⁸

Apparently Whitney knew of Maynard's predicament, as evidenced by the proposal he offered Colorado's representative. The Bostonian volunteered to meet the total expense of transporting and installing the exhibit, and to add to it his own extensive collection of Colorado specimens, if Maynard would allow him to become commissioner in his stead. Whitney believed that with his connections he could influence foreign capital to invest in Colorado. Having little choice, Maynard bowed out of the picture after furnishing his successor with lists of the ores, the names of the contributors, mines, and districts, the condensed descriptions, and assays of typical samples of ore.²⁹

¹⁴ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), February 27, 1867, p. 4.

¹⁵ Irving W. Stanton, *Sixty Years in Colorado: Reminiscences and Reflections of a Pioneer of 1860* (Denver: n.p., 1922), p. 134.

¹⁶ Maynard, "Early Colorado Days."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ J. Parker Whitney, *Reminiscences of a Sportsman* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Company, 1906), pp. 137-38.

¹⁹ *Silver Mining Regions of Colorado, With Some Account of the Different Processes Now Being Introduced for Working the Gold Ores of that Territory* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1865).

²⁰ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, p. 173.

²¹ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), March 19, 1867, p. 2. See also *American Journal of Mining*, II (March 2, 1867), p. 360. In spite of the acute disappoint-

¹⁴ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), November 22, 1866, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, December 2, 1866, p. 4; December 4, 1866, p. 4.

¹⁶ Maynard, "Early Colorado Days."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), December 25, 1866, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), January 30, 1867, p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Maynard, "Early Colorado Days."



Napoleon III
ruled France from
1848 to 1870.

Whitney lost no time in combining his minerals with those from Colorado and shipping them to the French port of Le Havre. Shortly afterward Whitney, by then the official Colorado commissioner, sailed for the same city.³⁰ At long last the representatives of Colorado's mineral wealth were on their way to Napoleon III's fair.

Upon arriving in Paris in March, 1867, Whitney reported that although the city's night life was not up to standard, because of Lent, over two hundred visitors had already arrived to await the April 1 opening of the fair.³¹ Accommodations were easily obtained since many Parisians were vacating their dwellings for temporary quarters in other, less expensive, areas of France, hoping that the high rents extractable during the fair would be of personal profit to them. The principal Paris hotels planned to advance their prices fifty per cent after April 15.

ment Maynard must have felt at not being able to attend the world's fair, he did not disappear from history. Instead, his career after 1867 was quite successful and ranged from a professorship of metallurgy and practical mining at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute to a London office where he was, for several years, a consultant to various steel operations in England and Wales. When he returned to the United States in 1879 he continued to practice as a consulting engineer and maintained his offices in New York City although his work forced him to travel all over the western hemisphere. When he died in 1913 he was considered to be a leader among American mining engineers. See the biographical sketch of George William Maynard by Thomas T. Read in Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), XII, 458-59.

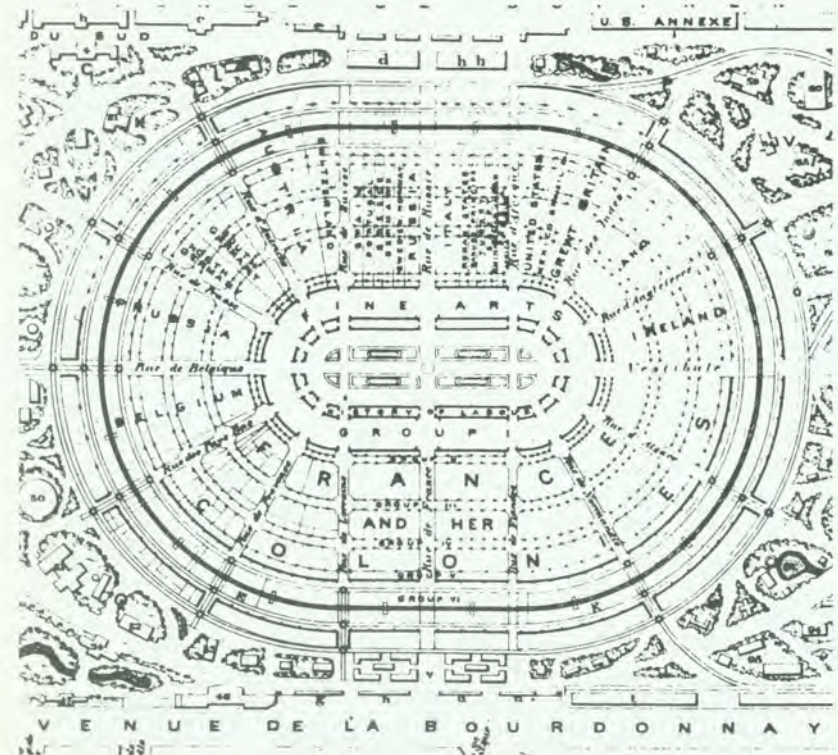
³⁰ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, pp. 173-74.

³¹ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), May 9, 1867, p. 1.

Colorado's commissioner visited the grounds on March 26 and found it unlikely that they would be ready by opening day, as all was confusion.³² The refreshment saloons which encircled the outer rim of the fair building were the only completed structures. As for the interior, only workmen and those connected with the installation of exhibits were allowed within, and every entrance was guarded by *gendarmes* who checked all persons for the blue entry ticket issued by the Imperial Commission.³³

The area allotted the United States for its displays was in no better state of completion than most, and was in fact behind some. Therefore, even though all the Colorado ores had arrived and Whitney was prepared to set up the exhibit, he was prevented from doing so because the department was not ready. However, he did write that he had been able to obtain a large and desirably located space in which to display the minerals.³⁴

The space allotted to the United States was on the Rue d'Afrique, according to this floor plan of the exposition building.



Meanwhile, he applied for permission to issue a pamphlet on Colorado which would contain statistics and provide an index of Colorado resources and results. He anticipated no difficulty since the United States Minister to Paris, General John Adams Dix, as well as the principal commissioner, Mr. N. M. Beckwith, and the New York commissioner, the Honorable Samuel B. Ruggles, all favored the use of such a publication.³⁵

Whitney also informed his readers that the thirty United States commissioners had met and decided that the minerals and cereals of the country would be given primary attention. However, they deplored that neither of these departments would be properly stocked due to a lack of interest on the part of Americans which had resulted in few representative collections being forwarded.³⁶ It was granted that the Colorado and California collections would give their regions better representation than any other section, but the United States would by no means receive the representation it deserved. Perhaps to console himself over the above conditions, Whitney visited the Imperial School of Mines which housed a very large and very complete collection of minerals, but he found no specimens which equaled the beauty nor which had the peculiarities of Colorado ores.³⁷

The Paris Universal Exposition formally opened on April 1, 1867. Since the physical plant was far from complete and very few of the exhibits were arranged, the inauguration was by no means auspicious. Generally, it was felt that the exposition would be little more than mediocre.³⁸ In one respect it was successful, however, because several European monarchs visited France to see the fair as guests of Napoleon III.³⁹

By April 20, Colorado's commissioner could state that the Americans were beyond competition in four areas: (1) pianos; (2) sewing machines; (3) steam engines; and (4) minerals. Naturally, he devoted much space to describing the mineral display for the benefit of his Colorado readers. As yet not all of the American minerals had been placed on display, but it was quite evident that the Colorado collection was far greater

and much more complete than that from any other section in the United States.⁴⁰

To begin with, Colorado had decidedly the best spot in the mineral department for exhibiting its ores, and this included plenty of wall space on which to mount the maps and photographs Whitney had taken with him. The Colorado ores had been in place by April 10, and they covered about four hundred feet of shelving, the shelves measuring about seven and one-half inches in depth. The largest pieces, those submitted by the Alps, Bates, Gregory, and Gunnell lodes, all Gilpin County mines, were set upon the floor underneath the shelves. Whitney had the cases covered with blue velvet cloth and glass casing, an idea which appealed to Commissioner General Beckwith, who gave orders to have all shelves in the mineral department so decorated. Beckwith also assumed the expense, which amounted to about \$300 in gold.⁴¹

Every Colorado specimen was labeled with the name of its lode and district. On the lower shelf were photographs in black walnut frames, while higher on the wall were maps of the United



³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Harpers' New Monthly Magazine*, XXXV (June, 1867), 129.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXV (September, 1867), 536. One ruler, the Sultan of Turkey, created a sensation by his presence. It was the first time an Ottoman chieftain had ever entered Europe without an invading army.

States, Gilpin's map of the Territory of Colorado, Lowe and Buren's new map of Clear Creek County, the Buell, Pratt, and Dillingham map of Central City and surrounding districts, maps of the Griffith, Nevada, and Russell Districts, and others.⁴²

Whitney had already received three visits from the jury on minerals whose chairman, Monsieur A. Daubree, was Inspector General of Mines in France. The committee was composed of eight or nine other distinguished men from different parts of Europe and, Whitney wrote, they surprised him by their knowledge of Colorado.⁴³

The *American Journal of Mining* stated that Colorado was the only region exhibiting ore specimens which had attempted to classify them and explain their history or the nature of the area from which they had been taken.⁴⁴ In all there were some three thousand samples of gold and silver ores, some weighing as much as twelve hundred pounds with several being worth between \$2,000 and \$3,000.⁴⁵

Mr. Whitney had a splendid collection with which to work, and he made the best of it by arranging it to perfection and by advertising it with his printed pamphlet *Colorado, in the United States of America: Schedule of Ores Contributed by Sundry Persons to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867, With Some Information about the Region and its Resources*. Issued in three languages (English, French, and German), the booklet was illustrated with maps and photographs and included a history of Colorado and descriptions of its mining areas and population centers.⁴⁶

Such loyalty and devotion to duty on the part of Joel Parker Whitney was richly rewarded, for Colorado ores received a gold medal. This token was presented to Whitney by Napoleon III at a ceremony in Paris on July 1, 1867.⁴⁷ Thirty-nine years later

⁴⁰ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), May 16, 1867, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ "The 'Representation' of our Mineral Wealth at the Paris Exposition," *American Journal of Mining*, III (June 22, 1867), 250.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1867). Each language was printed in a separate pamphlet. Whitney's booklet presented a reasonable description of contemporary Colorado mines and mining; however, on page 38 he asserted that the outstanding feature of Colorado gold veins was that they became richer as they were sunk to greater depths. This controversial statement was refuted by Thomas A. Rickard in an article entitled "Persistence of Ore in Depth," in the *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, XXIV (1915), 3-190; and later in *A History of American Mining* (1932; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 119.

⁴⁷ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), July 12, 1867, p. 4. See also *ibid.*, July 23, 1867, p. 4, and July 24, 1867, p. 1.

the Colorado commissioner described the medal as a large one, "intrinsically worth fifty dollars. Upon one side was the raised bust of the Emperor Napoleon and the words 'Exposition Universelle Francais, 1867,' and upon the other [Whitney's] name and award for exhibition of Colorado ores."⁴⁸ Colorado was not the only mineral producing area of the United States to carry off a prize, however, since Idaho also won a gold medal while California and Nevada each received one of silver for their exhibitions.⁴⁹

Commissioner General Beckwith estimated a crowd of about seventeen thousand persons, of all classes, observed the bestowal of awards which took place in the iron and glass Palace of Industry.⁵⁰ The audience was seated about a central area within which a raised dais two hundred feet long had been erected. The platform, which was reached by several steps, was completely covered with a crimson carpet, while at the rear was hung a huge canopy embellished with a Gobelin tapestry and Napoleon's coat of arms.⁵¹ The profusion of flowers used to decorate the stand led Whitney to comment that every conservatory and garden in Paris had probably been stripped of its blossoms for the occasion.⁵²

At the center of the stage were seated the Emperor and Empress of France, while on either side of them were placed most of the reigning monarchs of Europe together with the American ambassador and the Czar of Russia. Additions to this majestic crowd were the Prince of Wales, the Shah of Persia, the Sultan of Turkey, Chancellor Bismarck, and other well-known European dignitaries, all invited by Napoleon to furnish the ceremony with the proper tone. Doubtless each believed he had been regally received since the avenue which ran between the Tuileries and the Palace of Industry was lined with forty thousand French troops, each of whom came to present arms as he was passed by the royal party.⁵³

A chorus composed of twelve hundred girls, dressed in white, sang a composition by Rossini which was punctuated by salvos

⁴⁸ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, p. 180.

⁴⁹ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), July 24, 1867, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Introduction, with Selections from the Correspondence of Commissioner General Beckwith and Others, Showing the Organization and Admission of the United States Section, in Vol. I of Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867, ed. by William P. Blake (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 119.

⁵¹ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, pp. 180-81.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 181.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

of artillery from the Champs des Mars. The pageant was opened by the Emperor, who read a few words and who was then followed by the French Minister of State, M. Rouher, who delivered a lengthy welcoming address.⁵⁴

The recipients of first prizes, all attired in full dress, gathered at a spot on the main floor in front of the assembled royalty. As the name of each winner was called, he ascended the platform steps to receive his award from Napoleon or Eugenie.⁵⁵

Coloradoans were ecstatic when the news of their prize arrived on July 3, 1867. The *Rocky Mountain News* announced that it was most gratified to have the rich mineral areas of Colorado receive world-wide recognition.⁵⁶ The *Daily Miners' Register*, in Central City, commented that the "richness and variety" as well as the abundance of Colorado ores made the territory the world leader in minerals and placed her beyond competition by any other country.⁵⁷ Both newspapers believed that the fame gained at Paris would lead to further examination of mines in the region by interested persons and would, in time, bring great benefit to the area and its dwellers.

Nor did the Colorado press fail to laud the efforts of the territorial commissioner, J. P. Whitney:

All this, or nearly all, we owe to Mr. Whitney, as the greater portion of the expense he bore himself. He spared neither money nor labor. He prepared descriptions of minerals and the mines, and the country from which they came, and had them printed in three languages. It is to be hoped and expected that the enterprise will prove personally profitable to him, as well as to the country. He certainly will receive the well deserved thanks of the country.⁵⁸

Shortly after the awards were made, the French ruler made a lengthy examination of the Colorado ores and invited the Colorado commissioner to visit him at the Tuileries.⁵⁹ Whitney hastened to accept the invitation and, upon being received by

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), July 3, 1867, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), July 12, 1867, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, p. 183.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 185. Simonin accompanied Whitney on his journey back to the United States and, as will be seen, he left an account of his trip.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 188. What Whitney's specific reasoning was in making a trip to Vivian and Sons for the purpose of ascertaining such information is now lost in the mists of the forgotten past. By then it was well-known that the process used by the Welsh could retrieve the bullion from the sulphurets with relatively little difficulty. This writer's only answer would be that perhaps Whitney wished to become acquainted with the heads of the organization and used his personal sulphurets as an excuse to do so.

the Emperor, presented him with a bound volume containing his three descriptive pamphlets of Colorado. The informal conversation which followed was carried on in English and dealt with mining in the western United States and Mexico. The American marveled at his host's knowledge of the areas discussed which, he was told, was based on the reports of commissioners who had been sent to those regions.⁶⁰ So highly did Whitney extoll the virtues of Colorado ores that His Majesty decided to send a commissioner to examine the territory and then report his findings on the subject. The man who was selected was Louis L. Simonin.⁶¹

Colorado's representative also journeyed to Great Britain, where he visited the great Welsh smelting firm of Vivian and Sons in Swansea. There he was informed by the experts of that establishment, after they had examined his sample of Colorado sulphurets, that they could easily process such minerals.⁶²

Joel Parker Whitney, as shown in the frontispiece of his *Reminiscences of a Sportsman* (1906).



Whitney then recrossed the Channel and remained in Paris until he departed from that city sometime after the middle of September. Prior to his departure, he presented Commissioner General Beckwith with several boxes of Colorado ore. These samples, together with those from other states and territories in the United States, were donated to the various museums and universities of Europe.⁶³

Whitney returned to the United States accompanied by Simonin and Colonel Wilhelm Heine, both Europeans who were interested in the Colorado gold fields.⁶⁴ On October 3, 1867, the three gentlemen arrived in Denver, registered at the Planters' Hotel, and immediately entered into the royal welcome and lavish entertainments that were held in honor of the Colorado commissioner who, it was already rumored, would be Colorado's next territorial representative to Washington.⁶⁵ As was typical of him, the honoree reciprocated by donating a photograph of the exhibition of Colorado ores at Paris along with copies of his three pamphlets to the Agricultural Society of Colorado. Residents of the territory who were not members of that august group were able to obtain copies of the picture and of the brochures at Denver's well-known booksellers Woolworth and Moffat.⁶⁶

Later, in a speech delivered before the Denver Young Men's Christian Association, Whitney took the opportunity to level a scathing attack at Congress for its dilatoriness in furnishing sufficient funds to allow many United States citizens to set up decent displays at the exposition. He also criticized Commissioner General Beckwith for not cooperating more fully with the commissioners from the various states and territories.⁶⁷

From Denver the two Europeans and their American host inspected several mining centers such as Boulder and Georgetown and finally arrived in Central City, where they were welcomed by a brass band.⁶⁸ There they were house guests of W. A. Whiting and his family.⁶⁹ While they remained in the area they

⁶³ Blake (ed.), *Reports of the United States Commissioners*, I, 134. These ores were given due to reasons of economy since there was no money provided to send them back to their places of origin. It was also considered very doubtful as to whether their true owners could be ascertained and therefore it was decided that the ores should be given to the universities and colleges of Europe.

⁶⁴ Louis L. Simonin, *The Rocky Mountain West in 1867*, trans. Wilson O. Clough (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. x and 161. See also Whitney, *Reminiscences*, pp. 184-85 and 188-89.

⁶⁵ Whitney, *Reminiscences*, p. 191; Simonin, *Rocky Mountain West*, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁶ *Daily Colorado Tribune* (Denver), October 15, 1867, p. 2, and October 20, 1867, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1867, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Simonin, *Rocky Mountain West*, p. 46.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 44. Whiting was agent for J. P. Whitney in Colorado.

examined the mining properties in the vicinity of Central City and also spoke before the Mining and Mechanics Institute of Gilpin County before returning to Denver on October 30.⁷⁰ The following day they boarded the Overland stagecoach for Cheyenne and departed from Colorado.⁷¹

After the Paris Exposition the *American Journal of Mining* reported that there was an increased interest in Colorado mining areas among Europeans.⁷² And well there should have been since Whitney's handbook had been widely distributed and advertised; he admitted, though, that the booklet printed in French went faster than the other two. However, by that time conditions in Colorado mining were taking an upswing, as Nathaniel P. Hill had very nearly completed his smelter at Black Hawk, Ovando J. Hollister's classic *Mines of Colorado* had been published, and men were beginning to operate Colorado lodes as groups rather than as individuals.

History has shown that Hill's method for treating Colorado ores proved to be successful, and the syndicates which moved in were not only able to introduce more efficient methods of mining operation, but they were also backed by sufficient capital. Such improvements eventually made Colorado a state renowned for its mineral production.

The standard multivolumed histories of Colorado make little⁷³ or no mention of the exposition and say nothing about the prize captured by Colorado ores at that event. Perhaps one significance of the French award lay in the fact that it helped to convince wealthy easterners that Colorado minerals, if handled properly, were not after all the products of "wildcat" schemes to be looked at with extreme hesitancy. Certainly the prize assured Coloradans that their ores were still worthy of a great deal of effort, and possibly that was all that was needed to revive the lagging spirits in the territory's chief industry.

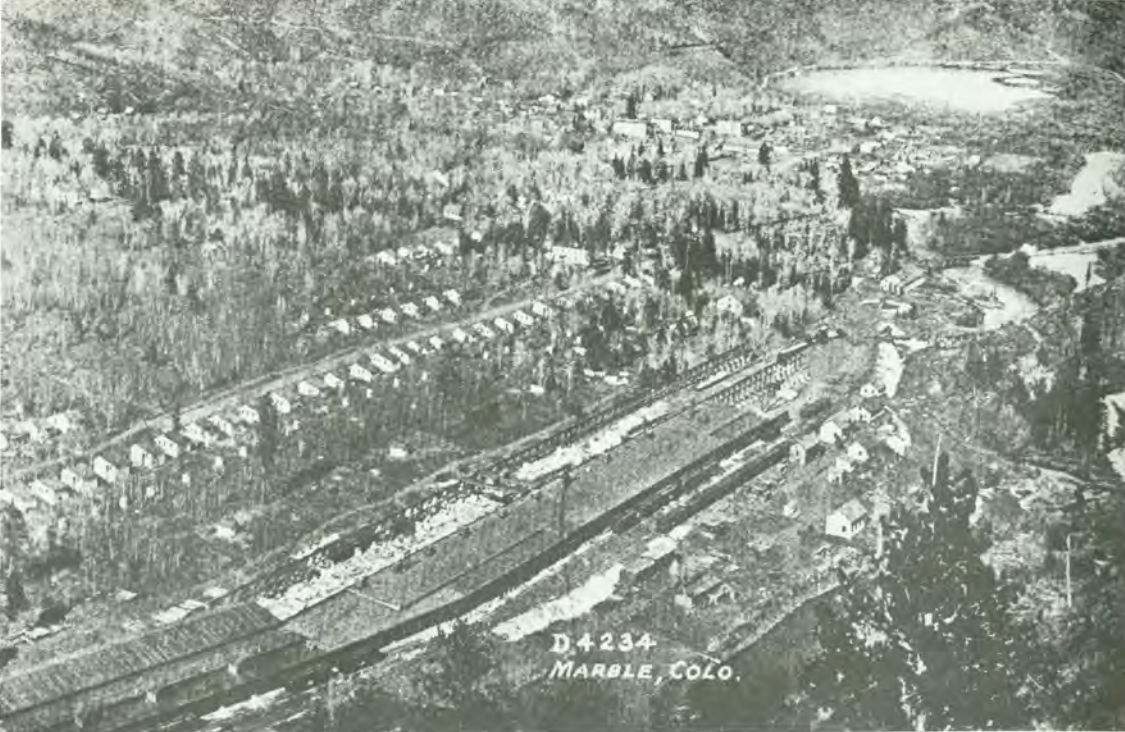
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⁷⁰ "Mining Summary: Colorado," *American Journal of Mining*, IV (October 26, 1867), 261.

⁷¹ Simonin, *Rocky Mountain West*, pp. 46-47. See also *Daily Miners' Register* (Central City), October 31, 1867, p. 1.

⁷² "The Colorado Minerals," *American Journal of Mining*, IV (July 27, 1867), 57.

⁷³ See, for example, Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: The Blakely Printing Company, 1889), I, 440-41.



Marble: Past to Present

BY DUANE VANDENBUSCHE

A soldier stands guard over a tomb for the unknown dead from America's great wars; a tourist reads the Gettysburg Address carved in a memorial of white stone; a crumbling wall and an empty foundation stand amid the scenic grandeur of the Crystal River Valley. The same fate which links a fifty-six-ton block of marble in Washington, D. C., with numerous small tombstones in forgotten cemeteries across the land ties a nation to a nearly deserted mountain town and a vast deposit of pure white marble along a stream called Yule Creek. The history of these monuments, the history of this town, and the history of the dollars and dreams invested in each is the story of Marble.

While the "booms and busts" of most western towns depended on the glamour of gold and silver, Marble was an exception. Her history rested not with precious metals, but rather on a foundation of pure white building stone. Nestled high in the Rocky Mountains in the beautiful but isolated Crystal River Valley in the northern corner of Gunnison County, Marble was the home of the finest quality marble in the world. Surrounded

by Crested Butte, Aspen, Carbondale, Schofield, Elko, Crystal, and Placita, all old mining towns, Marble overshadowed all of them and became world-famous, with its pure white stone being used in over four hundred major buildings throughout the world.

High in the mountains which surround the Crystal River Valley the great marble quarries are deserted and quiet today. Buildings that once hummed with activity are gradually decaying, though they still rest near the great mountain of marble that brought about their birth and death. The trolley and railroad have been ripped up for salvage, and the great derricks and cranes have gone the same way. Inside the quarries, only rotting timbers and the marks of the saws and channeling machines indicate that man was once there. Water has slowly seeped in from the mountain to flood the cavernous openings. The old mill, which has fallen into decay, reminds one today of the great marble ruins of ancient Greece and Rome.

The climate and geography of Marble greatly affected its growth and development. The town is subject to wide ranges of temperature and precipitation common in mountain districts of high altitude. Great amounts of snow accumulate during the long winter months, and there is considerable rain during the summer. On the south and untimbered slopes and in the lower valley the snow is usually gone by late May, but on the north slopes and on those protected by timber, the snow remains until late August. Snowslides are common and are especially frequent in the Crystal River Canyon between Marble and Crystal, six miles away, where slides come from the high and steep slopes of Treasure Mountain. May and June in Marble are usually warm and sunny with nights remaining cold. The rainy season begins early in July and continues well into August. Late in August, snow becomes more common than rain and in September, snow is the general rule. From October to April, the dreary months of winter descend upon Marble, sometimes isolating the town. Temperatures often plunge to thirty degrees below zero and the annual snowfall amounts to over two hundred inches.

The first people to live in the Crystal River Valley were the Ute Indians, who resided there during the summers in pursuit of ever-plentiful fish and game needed for food and shelter. The first white men to venture into the Marble area were Spanish explorers and missionaries before 1800.¹ After 1800,

¹ Wilson Rockwell, *The Utes: A Forgotten People* (Denver: Sage Books, 1956), p. 59.

mountain men in search of beaver pelts moved out from Fort Uncompahgre near present-day Delta to cover the Crystal River Valley. Despite knowledge of fur trappers operating near the site of present-day Marble, the only concrete evidence of non-Spanish white men in the valley involves the exploits of one William Gant. Gant made a trapping and prospecting trip through the Crystal and part of the Roaring Fork Valley on his way to Fort Garland in 1859 and reported that he found rusted gold pans three miles down river from what was to become Marble.²

Two separate geological surveying parties were in the Crystal River Valley in 1873, led by F. V. Hayden and Dr. John Parsons. A member of the latter party, Sylvester Richardson, struck out on his own after the group had completed its work and became the first known man to recognize the rich marble deposits near Yule Creek. Richardson later recalled that stunning sight: "half way up the valley . . . I discovered that the rock . . . was marble and I . . . started up . . . to examine it."³

Marble was established in 1881 by William Woods and William Parry, two miners who had worked silver claims at the base of Mount Daly on Carbonate Creek, north of Marble, the previous year.⁴ At the same time, John Mobley, a former Indian scout, and W. F. Mason founded the rival town of Clarence, just east of Marble.⁵ All hoped to sell lots to prospectors working their way down the Crystal River Valley looking for promising claims. By 1884, a Mr. Howell had opened a quarry of the "purest white, yellow, and variegated marble" three-quarters of a mile upstream from Crystal.⁶ This was the first known marble quarry in the valley.

The marble in the Crystal River Valley was not exploited during the 1880's, however, because of a lack of transportation. Although the Denver and Rio Grande extended its line from Gunnison to Crested Butte and then started another extension toward the coal fields near Anthracite and Pittsburg, it made no effort

to reach the marble beds. Likewise, rumored extension of the Colorado Midland from Carbondale to the marble deposits never materialized. The Crested Butte *Elk Mountain Pilot* was grudgingly forced to admit that until a railroad was built, the marble deposits would "never be of any great value."⁷

The rival communities of Clarence and Marble both applied for post offices in 1890 and soon had platted their towns to put both on a more permanent basis. It was obvious to both communities that the one given the post office would become the permanent community in the region. Though the competition was brisk between the two little towns, political influence decided the issue. William Woods, one of the two founders of Marble, sold one-half interest in the town to Dr. R. H. Kline, a personal friend of John Wanamaker, the postmaster general of the United States. Kline contacted Wanamaker about the possibility of Marble gaining the post office and, not coincidentally, the request was granted.⁸ Clarence now accepted the inevitable and realizing it was useless to exist side by side with Marble as a rival, joined its former archenemy on July 4, 1892.⁹ In 1899, when the new community was officially incorporated, it was under the name of Marble.¹⁰

John C. Osgood, founder of nearby Redstone and head of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, was the first to publicize extensively the marble deposits around Marble. Osgood, who had established the Yule Creek White Marble Company, incorporated at \$5,000,000, quarried a massive block of marble from one of his claims and showed it at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The venture cost Osgood \$1,700 but was worth every penny as orders for marble soon started pouring in to his company.¹¹

The Panic of 1893 caused the death of most silver towns in the Crystal River Valley, but while they were on their way to oblivion, Marble was just starting to build on its foundation of

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1889, p. 1.

⁸ Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 24; Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, p. 48.

⁹ *Colorado Sun* (Denver), July 10, 1892, p. 23.

¹⁰ Town of Marble, Articles of Incorporation (July 17, 1899), Gunnison County; *Denver Times*, December 31, 1899, p. 20.

¹¹ Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, p. 48; Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 22. This was not the last effort to publicize the deposits. To liven things up after the Panic of 1893, Marble staged a publicity stunt to get its name in the newspapers of the country. The town offered to stage the upcoming heavyweight championship fight between champion Gentleman Jim Corbett and challenger Charlie Mitchell. Marble offered \$75,000 in cash to each fighter with all expenses paid and "a ten ton monument to the man who got killed." Though the offer was not seriously considered, it did bring needed publicity to the town. Fred Mazzulla, "The Marble Story," typescript in the possession of Mr. Mazzulla, Denver.

² Teresa B. Francis, *Crystal River Saga: Lore of the Colorado Rockies*, in association with Will L. Francis (Marble via Carbondale: n.p., 1959), p. 17; Rosemae Wells Campbell, *Crystal River Valley, Jewel or Jinx?* (Denver: Sage Books, 1966), p. 11; Alvin Foote, *The Fabulous Valley* (New York: A & T Co., Inc., 1950), pp. 24-25.

³ *Gunnison Daily Review*, December 13, 1881, p. 2.

⁴ Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, p. 47; Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 24; interview with Charles Orlosky, Marble, May 2, 1967, hereafter cited as Orlosky Interview.

⁵ Betty Wallace, *History with the Hide Off* (Denver: Sage Books, 1964), p. 166; Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, p. 47; Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 24.

⁶ *Gunnison Review-Press*, November 22, 1884, p. 7.



Workmen in the Colorado-Yule Marble Company's Quarry No. 2.

solid white stone. The first major marble contract to be obtained by Marble was to furnish the stone to be used in the construction of the State Capitol in Denver in 1895. The contract called for 140,000 square feet of marble to be furnished—a prodigious amount for that time. The quarried stone had to be taken by sled over the winter snow down a treacherous grade three and three-quarter miles from the quarry to the town. From there, it was taken by wagon or sled, depending on the time of year, thirty miles to Carbondale where it was loaded aboard the Colorado Midland for shipment to Denver. Marble continued to ship stone to Denver for the interior of the State Capitol, and experts were astounded by its purity.¹² Few realized at the time that a unique and wonderful era had started.

The contract for the State Capitol helped expand marble operations. By 1897, the quarry carved into the cliff of white marble on White House Mountain had four openings. Buildings

¹² *Gunnison Tribune*, November 8, 1895, p. 3; December 6, 1895, p. 1.

were constructed under the overhanging cliffs of marble and here the men lived. Later, in 1914, when marble production was at its peak, so many buildings were constructed beneath the marble cliffs that a haphazard “community” of bunkhouses and shacks sprang up. The settlement was known as Quarrytown and was made up of single men working at the quarry. During the winter, the men skied down to Marble. A few years later, when the electric tram was built, the men hung on to the cars and skied back up to Quarrytown—Colorado’s first ski tow!¹³

Mail and passenger service to and from Marble was provided by the Crystal River stage line before the turn of the century. The stage left Carbondale and Crystal daily except on Sunday. It advertised careful drivers and prompt service, but also declared in smaller print: “This line will not be responsible for accidents.”¹⁴ It was of immense value to Marble before the railroad, as it provided the only real link with civilization.

Marble was overjoyed in August, 1898, when the newly formed Crystal River Railroad Company announced plans to build a line from Carbondale to Marble to capture the business of the marble industry.¹⁵ However, during the winter of 1898-1899, work had to be stopped because of severe snows and avalanches.¹⁶ Old-timers maintained that it was the worst winter they could remember. On February 11, 1899, the *Denver Post* printed the following letter dated February 5 from Crystal:

Crystal is snowbound. The stage road . . . between the city and Marble, six miles below, is under from ten to fifty feet of snow and the mail carrier has only been able to come through once in the past week and then on snow shoes. Supplies will be exhausted in a short time and unless the road can be opened up, several of the mines will probably be forced to close down and the miners go out on snow shoes.

As soon as the storm had ceased and weather settles, a force of fifty men will begin work to open the road for a train of pack horses to bring in supplies and it is believed that by tunneling through the snow at points most exposed to avalanches it will be possible to open a trail long enough to bring in supplies. . . .

The past week witnessed the worst storm ever experienced in Elk Mountain district but . . . no lives have been lost. . . . The people in these mountains know too well the severity of storms to take any chances.¹⁷

¹³ Interview with Frank Gertig, Littleton, March 7, 1967, hereafter cited as Gertig Interview; Orlosky Interview.

¹⁴ *Silver Lance* (Crystal), August 27, 1897, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1898, p. 1; Francis B. Rizzari, “Railroads of the Crystal River Valley,” *Brand Book of the Denver Westerners*, XX (Denver: Denver Westerners Inc., 1964), p. 388.

¹⁶ *Silver Lance* (Crystal), April 7, 1899, p. 1.

¹⁷ *Denver Post*, February 11, 1899, p. 3.

Because of a lack of capital plus the short working season and the threat of avalanches, the Crystal River Railroad was forced to discontinue work on the line. Marble was destined to be without a railroad for another seven years.

The severe winters experienced by Marble affected the town in other ways. To avoid bad weather and minimize the costs of operation, school began in April and ended in October or November, whenever the weather turned bad. In addition to depriving the children of much needed education, there were other serious implications involving the school term. Families who lived in Marble during the summer moved out every winter either because the quarries were not operating at full strength or because they wished to enroll their children in a regular school. During the four or five winter months, merchants' profits dropped, needed labor left the community, and the growth of the town was further disrupted. Added to these woes was the fact that many prospective settlers refused to settle in Marble because their children would have to attend the shortened school term.¹⁸

Marble became an incorporated town in 1899, after years of talking about it. On June 20, the citizens of the community voted thirty-three to four in favor of incorporation. One month later, the first town election under incorporation was held. J. H. Hoffman of the Citizen Party defeated W. W. Woods of the People's Labor Party for the post of mayor. Marble, with ninety residents, had now changed from a fledgling camp into a legalized town and was on the verge of reaching its peak, both in prosperity and in population.¹⁹

A devastating fire in New Jersey in 1903 indirectly had a great effect on the future development of Marble. The fire demonstrated that while granite walls crumbled when exposed to intense heat, those of marble remained intact. As a result of this proof of marble's great resistance to high temperatures, the stone was in great demand throughout the country for its safety features as well as for its beauty. Entire floors, walls, and ceilings were overlaid with marble in an effort to fireproof buildings in cities throughout the United States.²⁰ Marble quarries in Vermont, Tennessee, and Georgia, as well as in the Crystal River Valley, were hard put to keep up with the demand.

Marble suffered a setback in 1903, however, when John C. Osgood, one of the leaders in the early development of the marble industry, engaged in a fight for the control of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company against his rivals John W. "Bet a Million" Gates and Jay Gould. The fight led to a lessened involvement in the marble industry because even though he retained possession of his marble interests, Osgood seldom returned to Marble.²¹ Thus passed John C. Osgood from the scene. He had given a start to the marble industry of the Crystal River Valley, but the future looked grim as Marble groped for a man to take his place.

Channing F. Meek was the man who replaced Osgood and built the marble industry into a multimillion-dollar business by 1914. Meek was born in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, in 1855 and became a railroad executive during the formative years of his life, working for such lines as the Wabash, the Denver, Texas and Fort Worth, and the Union Pacific. Meek also had organizational ability which he showed in setting up such concerns as the Shredded Wheat Company, the American Biograph Company, and Mexico City Streetcar Lines. The colonel (the title was honorary) also had interests and important friends in New York and other world financial centers. Meek visited the Yule Creek marble deposits between 1890 and 1893 and was very impressed with the possibilities the industry presented. Meek took over control of the Colorado-Yule Marble Company in April, 1905. Under his direction, the largest single marble finishing mill in the world was built, and Colorado rose from tenth to fourth in marble production among the states.²²

During his years in Marble, Meek developed quarries that provided material for over one hundred major structures across the nation, including such great monuments as the Lincoln Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The colonel sought, with little apparent regard to cost, to construct a physical plant of the highest quality. Before he was through, he spent over \$3,000,000 developing the quarries, mill, and transportation facilities.²³ Meek realized that the marble industry could never

¹⁸ Elizabeth Snair, "A History of the Marble Operations at Marble, Colorado" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Denver, 1961), p. 12.

¹⁹ *Sketches of Colorado*, ed. Will C. Ferril (Denver: Western Press Bureau Co., 1911), I, 215; John W. Vanderwilt, *Geology and Mineral Deposits of the Snowmass Mountain Area, Gunnison County, Colorado*, United States Geological Survey, Bulletin no. 884 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 154.

²⁰ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 24.

¹⁸ *Silver Lance* (Crystal), May 12, 1899, p. 1.

¹⁹ Town of Marble, *Articles of Incorporation*, *Denver Times*, August 6, 1899, p. 2.

²⁰ Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, pp. 78-79.

prosper without a cheap and easy way to transport the stone to market. With this thought in mind, he started work in 1905 on what was to become the Crystal River and San Juan Railroad, by purchasing from the Crystal River Railroad Company a lease on the right-of-way between Placita and Marble.²⁴ Meek's original rolling stock consisted of a single engine, one passenger car, and one flat car.

Colonel Meek incorporated his railroad as the Crystal River and San Juan on October 26, 1906, after he had already started to lay track from Placita to Marble.²⁵ The railroad company had \$100,000 to work with and could extend wherever needed in the Marble region. It was a glorious day for the people of Marble when the long awaited first train pulled into town at 3:00 P.M. Friday, November 23.²⁶ Flags were hoisted, salutes fired, and Colonel Meek, construction bosses, and even the Japanese track-layers were the center of attention at the town station. A wild celebration honoring the event lasted far into the night.

The railroad revived confidence in Marble and through Meek's connections in New York, a \$3,000,000 stock promotion venture was financed to further the marble industry. The *Gunnison News-Champion* projected the town into "one of the largest and most important cities in Western Colorado." While its builders forecast 15,000 to 20,000 people, the paper was willing to go "5,000 to 10,000 and be conservative."²⁷ This was the height of enthusiasm considering that the town population in 1907 was 250. Yet, there was little doubt that the town was booming—lots were selling for \$250; lumber mills could not keep up with the demand; all businesses were prosperous; and a new marble mill had been constructed, measuring 228 feet in length and 75 feet in width.²⁸

To handle the increased orders for marble, Colonel Meek improved transportation between the quarries and the mill, a distance of 3.9 miles. Accordingly, the nine horse-drawn wagons which had been used to get the marble to the mill were replaced by a huge 110-horsepower steam tractor. This mammoth machine, with its eight-foot-high steel wheels, had been used



Shown at the left is the finishing mill at Marble, while below is the site as it looks today.



²⁴ Robert Ormes, *Railroads and the Rockies: A Record of Lines in and Near Colorado* (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), p. 159.

²⁵ Crystal River and San Juan Railroad, Articles of Incorporation (October 26, 1906), Colorado State Archives and Records Center.

²⁶ *Gunnison News-Champion*, November 30, 1906, p. 1; *Denver Republican*, January 1, 1907, p. 2.

²⁷ *Gunnison News-Champion*, September 13, 1907, p. 1.

²⁸ H. G. Baughner, *Colorado-Yule Marble Company: Reports of Engineers and Marble Experts* (New York: Knickerbocker Syndicate, 1908), p. 4; *Gunnison News-Champion*, September 13, 1907, p. 1.

previously to haul timber in California. Now, it was refitted with four trucks or wagons, each capable of carrying twenty tons, and greatly speeded up the movement of the marble to the mill.²⁹ However, even the steam tractor could not keep up with the increased orders for marble and, with another addition to the mill, a way was needed to speed up the transportation of the marble from the quarries to the mill. This problem was solved in 1910 with the completion of an electric tramway between the quarries and mill. Although the tram was faster than



the tractor, it was destined to have many runaways on grades up to seventeen per cent. One of those runaways would prove fatal to the town.³⁰

Few mining towns in the history of the West have ever voted to go dry but Marble proved an exception in 1908 and elected to do just that. All saloons were closed for good after the Colorado-Yule Marble Company indicated to the people that that was the way they wanted them to vote.³¹ However, while it was illegal to sell or give away liquor, it was perfectly legal to purchase it out of town for home consumption. As a result of the law, wholesalers in Carbondale did a land-office business and bootlegging became the local, profitable pastime. It proved to be as tough to enforce the liquor laws in Marble as it would be to enforce the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution during the 1920's. Even the town jail was not immune from the illegal liquid. Perplexed Marble jailers were continually astounded to find prisoners who had been cold sober and without visitors during the night, dead drunk in the morning. After careful investigation, the sheriff found that friends of jailed men had concocted an ingenious method of smuggling whiskey inside the jail. A strand of macaroni, leading from a bottle of whiskey outside of the jail, was passed through the screened jail window and the prisoner inside contentedly sucked the liquor through the strand until he had his fill. To end these shenanigans, an eight-foot barbed-wire fence was built around the jail and the building was watched more closely.³²

On August 4, 1909, the worst labor disturbance in Marble's history threatened to shut down marble operations completely. The strike started with the firing of a crane runner and two assistants when they refused to work extra time without extra wages. The next day, five hundred men walked off their jobs, demanding an eight-hour day, time-and-a-half for overtime, and double time for working Sundays. The Colorado-Yule Marble Company declared that the marble workers were making ten per cent more than marble workers throughout the rest of the country and, therefore, should be willing to work overtime for regular wages. Colonel Meek also played up the foreign anarchist and union agitator issue, declaring that most of the strikers were Italians or strike leaders sent in by competitive

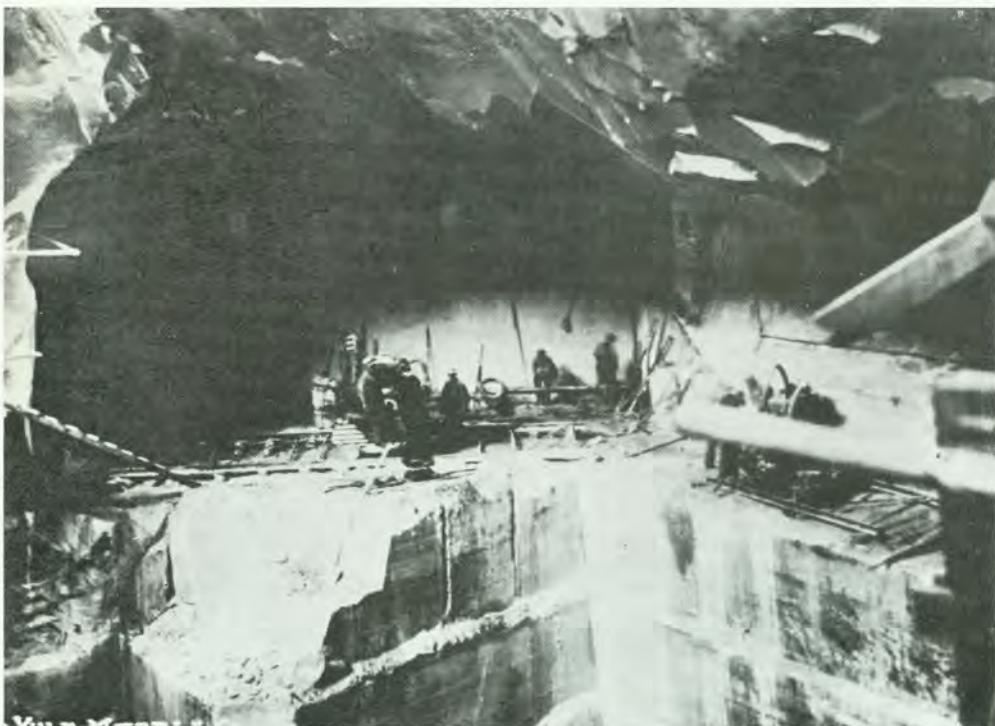
²⁹ Gertig Interview.

³⁰ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 25.

³¹ Orlosky Interview; *Gunnison News-Champion*, July 22, 1910, p. 1.

³² Orlosky Interview.

companies from the East. The strike, which lasted for three months and seriously disrupted the economy of the town, was finally broken on November 2 when union leaders were forced to leave town under threat of bodily harm. That the company controlled the town was readily seen by the fact that workers' wages were cut ten per cent before the men were allowed to return to the job.³³



Starting a tunnel into new marble at a Colorado-Yule quarry.

1910 was one of the peak years in Marble's history. Two thousand people, the most that would ever live in the town, lived in tents and in any shack they could find. Between five hundred and seven hundred men were employed in the various marble operations. A high school, grade school, and manual

training school were available for those interested. Business establishments included three hotels, three newspapers, six general stores, a bakery, and a jewelry store, but no saloons. The finishing mill was now 1,465 feet by 80 feet and processed 40,000 cubic feet of stone per month. It was fully mechanized from its diamond saws to its rubbing beds.³⁴

There is little doubt that during the years of its operation, the Colorado-Yule Marble Company dominated Marble politically and economically. Marble, like many other mining towns in the West, was controlled by the company which provided its economic livelihood. Into this cockpit, however, stepped a fire-brand woman newspaper editor named Sylvia Smith, who had come to Marble from Crested Butte in 1909. Miss Smith had edited the *Crested Butte Weekly Citizen*; she now accepted the editorship of the *Marble City Times*.³⁵ Sylvia Smith quickly became a crusading "muckraker," exposing the highhanded tactics of the Colorado-Yule Company whenever they occurred. The new newspaper editor became very unpopular with Colonel Meek and with many of the townspeople who felt that Sylvia was biting the hand that fed them. Nevertheless, numerous derogatory articles continued to appear in her paper. She sent many copies of the *Marble City Times* to the East free of charge, warning prospective stock buyers to beware of buying stock in Colorado-Yule because of what she called the uncertain economic condition of the concern.³⁶

The issue between Sylvia Smith and the town of Marble came to a head as a result of a sensational editorial in the *Times* on March 22, 1910. "Destiny Keeps her Appointment and Redresses Many Wrongs," screamed the editorial. The article continued: "Colorado-Yule Marble Mill crushed like an Egg Shell by Avalanche: Warning unheeded. Organized by Strenuous Promoters Its Stock-Selling Scheme Had Carried Desolation Into Many Homes and Written Despair Over Many Lives that Cannot Give Worthless Paper Back for Hard-earned, Lifetime Savings."³⁷ In an emotional bit of journalism, Miss Smith went on to describe the slide which had come down White House Mountain at 6:10 A.M. hitting the mill between shifts. Though considerable damage was done to the mill, fortunately there

³⁴ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 32.

³⁵ *Gunnison Tribune*, July 20, 1909, p. 3.

³⁶ *Smith v. Meek et al.*, Gunnison District Court, Case 1515 (1913); Orlosky Interview.

³⁷ *Marble City Times*, March 22, 1912, p. 1.

³³ *Gunnison News-Champion*, July 23, 1909, p. 1; August 20, 1909, p. 1; *Denver Post*, August 4, 1909, p. 8; *Denver Republican*, September 21, 1909, p. 3; *Marble City Times*, November 5, 1909, p. 1.

were no workmen in the shop. The editorial went on to say that the slide had been inevitable and that the company had been warned years ago not to build its mill in its present location.³⁸ "The long expected had happened," said Miss Smith. She then ended her article with a scathing indictment of "Kunnel" Meek and the alleged financial insolvency of the Colorado-Yule Marble Company.³⁹

On Monday, March 25, over 300 townspeople met in the Masonic Hall, at the indirect request of the Colorado-Yule Company, to discuss what to do with the fiery Sylvia Smith. The company made it known to the people attending the meeting that their jobs would not be secure if they did not vote in favor of ridding the town of Sylvia Smith. The result was a petition signed by 232 people, asking the editor to leave town and not return. The next day, when the petition was presented to Sylvia, she refused to leave. The following day, March 27, on orders from the mayor, town marshal R. J. Mahoney placed Miss Smith in jail and, the next morning, took her to the train and told her to leave town, ostensibly so she would not be harmed by the people of Marble. When Miss Smith refused to pay the fare, the conductor paid it out of his own pocket, and she was taken to Carbondale, where she was let off. Meanwhile, back in Marble, Miss Smith's printing press and entire physical plant were dismantled and stored, again on the pretense of protecting it from damage by the townspeople.⁴⁰

Marble had not heard the last of Sylvia Smith, even though she was no longer in town. She continued on to Denver, hired a lawyer, and sued thirty-seven townspeople, the town of Marble, the Colorado-Yule Marble Company, and the Crystal River and San Juan Railroad for \$52,500 in damages.⁴¹ Thus began a three-year legal battle between the parties involved. In 1913, a district court, meeting in Gunnison, allowed Miss Smith \$10,344 in damages. That ruling was upheld by the Colorado State Supreme Court two years later.⁴² In the meantime, the case had attracted

national interest, and Miss Smith made a tidy sum on the lecture circuit commenting about the case. Many of the individual defendants named in the suit had to sell their businesses or homes in order to pay their share of the damages to Miss Smith. Other residents had their wages garnisheed to make payment.⁴³ The Colorado-Yule Marble Company, which had intimidated the people to get the petition signed, and which should have paid the entire bill, did not.

While the furor over Sylvia Smith continued, Marble was hit with a tragedy that foreshadowed doom for the marble industry in the region. On Monday, August 12, 1912, Colonel Meek and four employees were bringing several blocks of marble down from the quarry over a stretch of recently-completed track. The air brakes failed on the tram car and the vehicle started down the steep seventeen-per-cent grade at a speed estimated at sixty miles per hour. Fearing the car would jump the track on a curve, Meek called for the men to jump. They all leaped from the runaway tram and were knocked unconscious. At first none of the five appeared to be seriously injured, but it later became apparent that Meek had suffered severe internal injuries. Despite the efforts of local doctors and specialists brought in by train from Colorado Springs, Channing F. Meek died on August 14.⁴⁴ The irony of the accident was that the blocks of marble on the tram fell off on a sharp curve and with the weight gone, the car slowed down. On a later curve, it did jump the tracks, but only when it had almost halted. Meek would have lived had he remained on the car.⁴⁵

Meek's death in 1912 marked the end of an era for Marble. The new management found it impossible to handle the vast financial structure that Meek had managed so well as president of the Colorado-Yule Marble Company. Although business continued to be prosperous for another year, Marble suffered irreparable damage when Meek died.

J. F. Manning replaced Mortimer Matthews, an interim appointee, as president of the Colorado-Yule Marble Company in 1913 and immediately obtained the largest marble contract in

³⁸ The very prevalent danger of such avalanches was lessened in 1915 when a unique fifty-foot snowslide wall was constructed of huge blocks of excess marble. However, successive slides necessitated the addition of fifteen more feet of wall before the slides were effectively checked and the mill made safe. *Gunnison News-Champion*, January 29, 1915, p. 1; October 29, 1915, p. 1.

³⁹ *Marble City Times*, March 22, 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Smith v. Meek et al.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Meek et al. v. Smith*, 59 Colo. 461 (1916). Frank Zugelder of Gunnison, who served on the jury, believes that the decision was a good one and that Miss Smith deserved the damages awarded. He stated that if there was any injustice in the decision, it was the failure of the Colorado-Yule Marble Company to pay more of the damages. He indicated that the company com-

pletely dominated the town and practically forced the people to sign the petition against Miss Smith. If they did not, they were fired. Interview with Frank Zugelder, Gunnison, April 28, 1967, hereafter cited as Zugelder Interview.

⁴³ Orlosky Interview.

⁴⁴ *Gunnison News-Champion*, August 16, 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁵ A month to the day after Meek's death, another tragedy occurred on the tram line that took the lives of four people. Ironically, only the rider that jumped was saved from the fate of the other four. Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 28.

Marble's history. Colorado-Yule marble was used in constructing the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C. A memorial commission, which included Illinois Senator Shelby Cullom, "Uncle Joe" Cannon of the House of Representatives, and ex-President William Howard Taft, awarded the contract to the Colorado-Yule Marble Company after taking bids from companies all over the world. Colorado-Yule marble was accepted because it was regarded by the commission as the highest quality marble in the world.⁴⁶

The Lincoln Memorial contract required the building of a new shop at the finishing mill, complete with special equipment, to finish the marble perfectly for the trip to Washington. After work was completed on the project two years later, the shop and machinery lay idle, never to be used again. The contract called for the cutting of thirty-six columns, forty-six feet high, seven feet in diameter, and valued at \$15,000 each. Eighteen hundred stones weighing from fifteen to thirty tons were required to produce the finished products. The columns were made up in drums cut by barrel saws. Six hundred freight cars were needed to transport the marble, with each car carrying from fifty thousand to seventy thousand pounds of stone. Forty trains of fifteen cars apiece were eventually required to transport the marble to the nation's capitol.⁴⁷ On June 8, 1916, several months ahead of schedule, the last shipment of marble for the Lincoln Memorial left the quarries. The number of men employed at the quarries and finishing mill from 1914 to 1916, when the Lincoln Memorial contract was being filled, ranged from five hundred to one thousand. During that period, the Colorado-Yule Marble Company paid out \$95,000 per month in wages.⁴⁸ The Lincoln Memorial contract made Marble the center of the world's marble industry.

1914 was destined to be the high-water mark in Marble's history. Life would never be the same again in the little mountain town because war clouds were gathering in Europe and the great conflict would irrevocably alter the destiny of the little town in the Rockies. The first effect that the war had on Marble was the loss of many of its skilled workers, who were primarily Italians and Austrians. Both national groups went home in great numbers to fight for their countries. The Marble *Booster* reported:

... There'll be lots of those Italian boys who never will see Marble again that's sure. They're leaving here in squads of ten or fifteen, sometimes twenty-five, every few days now, at the call of their consuls, and there'll be plenty of them who never will take up a marble tool again. This is just one more argument why the Italians whose good sense ought to persuade them—should become naturalized citizens of the United States instead of earning their money here, making a home here, and then be subjected to call to go back to Italy to be shot.⁴⁹

The war also affected Marble in other ways. After the United States entered the conflict, the marble industry was declared non-essential to the war effort. This meant that coal and steel and other needed materials could not be obtained. In addition, that sector of the building industry which used marble was hurt badly as a result of the war and accordingly, the demand for the stone virtually ceased for the duration of the conflict.

Primarily because of World War I, the Colorado-Yule Marble Company, second in the world behind the famed Carrara marble concern in Italy in assets with \$13,673,000, went into receivership in 1916.⁵⁰ The company was badly overextended financially, owing \$3,500,000, mostly in bonds to creditors. Already reeling because of the collapse of the Colorado-Yule Company, Marble staggered again on August 24, 1916, when a major fire raged through the main street of town. Six business establishments were destroyed with a total loss of \$40,000. The general feeling of the town at the time was that the fire had been set by one of the owners who had heavily insured his building.⁵¹

The years after the first World War were not good ones for Marble. The Colorado-Yule Marble Company, responsible for the building of the marble industry, was forced to dissolve. The quarries, railroad, claims, houses, and equipment were sold at a sheriff's sale in Gunnison in 1919.⁵² Only eighty-one people were left in Marble as the 1920's dawned.⁵³ Many companies attempted to fill the shoes of Colorado-Yule, but none ever succeeded. The Yule Marble Company of Colorado, the Carrara Yule Marble Company, made up of eastern interests from Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the Colorado Quarry Company, and the Colorado White Marble Company, representing the Mormon Church of Missouri, all failed to replace the company in the 1920's.

⁴⁶ *Gunnison News-Champion*, November 21, 1913, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Denver Times*, June 9, 1916, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 58.

⁴⁹ *Marble Booster*, n.d., quoted in the *Gunnison News-Champion*, September 24, 1915, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 93; Orlosky Interview.

⁵¹ Interview with Frank Hodgson, Crested Butte, February 24, 1967, hereafter cited as Hodgson Interview; Orlosky Interview.

⁵² *Gunnison News-Champion*, September 12, 1919, p. 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1920, p. 1.

The night of April 22, 1925, was one of the worst in Marble's history. At 9:30 p.m. a fire started in Shop No. 3. The blaze gained tremendous headway in the mill before it spread into Mill B, where forty barrels of oil added to the fire's fury. The townspeople rushed to the mill in an effort to check the conflagration, but soon discovered the water supply was being repaired and that the pressure was insufficient to cope with the fire. An effort to save the company records stored there was successful, but nine hundred feet of the mill were a complete loss. The flames were seen as far away as Salida and were clearly visible in the night sky at Gunnison. Damage was appraised at \$531,000.⁵⁴ The real tragedy of the fire was that the building was covered by a mere \$195,000 of insurance, making only limited rebuilding of the mill possible.⁵⁵

The Vermont Marble Company of Proctor, Vermont, one of the nation's leading marble producers, purchased almost all of the marble operation in Marble in 1928 to buoy hopes of disillusioned town citizens.⁵⁶ The following year the Vermont concern received one of the most prestigious marble contracts ever awarded; the company was awarded the contract to provide marble for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Yule marble was chosen for the monument because it came from the only quarry in the world capable of providing such a large and solid block of marble as was required for the tomb. Seventy-five men working for more than a year were required to cut the block of marble out of the quarry. When first cut the block weighed 124 tons, easily the largest block of marble ever quarried. A wire saw was then installed in the quarry to cut the block to the required dimensions: 14 by 7.4 by 6 feet. This reduced the weight to an amount that could be safely handled and also made it possible to detect any defects in the marble. The block, when trimmed, weighed 56 tons.⁵⁷

In January, 1931, the huge block of stone was ready to be lifted out of the quarry, and even the most skilled and experienced men grew tense. Never had such a block been taken out of a quarry. A massive derrick, heavily rigged and with special reinforced bracing, had been sent from Vermont for the express



Taken in 1963, this photograph shows the interior of a marble quarry. Note the stairway at the left.

purpose of lifting the block out of the quarry. Late in January, a stout reinforced boom leaned out over the quarry opening and slowly dropped its thick cable into the depths below. The block was attached to the cable 125 feet down, hoisted off the quarry floor, and then was allowed to hang freely in the ropes for fifteen minutes to test their strength before beginning the lift to the quarry opening. Soon the cable began to ease upward, with all eyes on every part of the equipment to check for any strain or weakness. After an agonizingly slow ascent, the huge block of marble finally reached the opening and swung out into the white light of a Colorado winter.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Hodgson Interview.

⁵⁴ Edward C. Hanley, "History of the Yule-Colorado Marble Companies' Properties at Marble, Colorado," typescript dated February 12, 1929, p. 5, Western State College Library, Gunnison.

⁵⁵ *Gunnison News-Champion*, April 24, 1925, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Gunnison Empire*, November 29, 1928, p. 1; *Gunnison News-Champion*, December 6, 1928, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Vanderwilt, *Geology and Mineral Deposits*, p. 169.

Upon reaching the quarry opening the block was swung about ninety degrees and lowered to a homemade railroad car which had two low wheels in front and nothing but a skid of oak timbers, reinforced with iron, in the back to assist in braking the load. The block was then carried two hundred feet along a track, which had a twenty-per-cent grade and a twenty-degree curve, along the edge of the quarry. As the block was too heavy for the eight-hundred-foot cableway which ordinarily lowered the marble to the electric trolley, a temporary six-hundred-foot-long track was built up the slope to connect to the trolley line. The special car with its valuable cargo then began the descent to Marble on the trolley line over a minimum grade of four per cent and a maximum grade of seventeen per cent. Two electric locomotives, one in front of the car and the other behind, were tied together to bring the marble down. The trip over the 3.9-mile run from the quarry to the mill took four days. On February 8, 1931, the huge marble block, now crated and braced, was moved down the canyon on the first leg of a journey which would take it to West Rutland, Vermont, for sawing, thence to Proctor, Vermont, for cutting, and finally to Arlington Cemetery in Virginia where it would guard the nation's dead.⁵⁹

Despite such projects, however, the Depression years were grim ones for Marble. After the contract for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the town became depressed economically like much of the rest of the nation. There were seldom more than 55 men employed at the quarry and mill. Fewer than 150 people lived in the town during the 1930's and contracts of any sort were hard to come by.⁶⁰

August 8, 1941, started out as a beautiful day in Marble. The morning was clear and sunny. About noon, however, clouds started rolling in and a few big drops of rain sprinkled the dusty streets. Soon thunder rumbled off White House Mountain and echoed down the valley. At 3:15 P.M. the complexion of the day suddenly changed to danger as a dirty brown wall of mud rolled down Carbonate Creek and into the drowsy little community. Flash flood! Water, mud, and rocks smashed into the town and began a systematic destruction of the community. The mud flood cut a thousand-foot swath through Marble, leaving mud, rocks, and twisted trees piled up to a depth of twenty feet. When

the water finally subsided, residents peered out from the surviving buildings to see what nature had left. The water system, located up Carbonate Creek, had been ruined, making it necessary to carry water from nearby springs. Many homes had been destroyed or moved off their foundations and the hospital buildings had been destroyed. Mrs. John Smith and baby, in the hospital at the time, narrowly escaped being swept away in the raging torrent. Damage estimates of the flood were put at \$10,000.⁶¹

Much has been written about the mud flood in Marble and most accounts exaggerate its significance.⁶² It has often been blamed for causing the shutdown of the marble operation at Marble. This is not true. Prior to the catastrophe, the Yule-Marble Company, a subsidiary of the Vermont company, had told its few employees to look for work elsewhere because operations would soon be closed down. The flood of August 8 did not wash away the foundations of a thriving town, it merely knocked out its weakened supports. As Charles Orlosky, longtime resident of Marble put it: "They [the Yule-Marble Company] were going to shut down the town, so the Lord decided to bury it."⁶³

Marble moved toward ghost town status in the 1940's. The Vermont Marble Company ceased operations for good on October 25, 1941, when the electric tram brought the last white stone down the seventeen-per-cent grade into town. The Crystal River and San Juan Railroad, affectionately known to the people of Marble as the "Can't Run and Seldom Jumps," was dismantled in 1943.⁶⁴

Any possibility of an economic revival in Marble went down the river with another mud flood which struck at 7:00 P.M., July 31, 1945. This flood was far worse than the 1941 tragedy and was proclaimed by old-timers as the worst in Marble's history. The *Elk Mountain Pilot* reported that the destruction was reminiscent of the bombing raids of World War II. "It looked like the whole valley was going to be covered. . . . This has been a regular waterspout summer: hot and dry, then clouds and terrible electric storms, but little rain. . . just leading up to this."⁶⁵

⁵⁹ *Elk Mountain Pilot* (Crested Butte), August 14, 1941, pp. 1, 12.

⁶⁰ Richard M. Pearl, *Colorado Gem Trails and Mineral Guide* (Denver: Sage Books, 1958), p. 64; Foote, *Fabulous Valley*, p. 29; Campbell, *Crystal River Valley*, p. 56.

⁶¹ Orlosky interview.

⁶² *Elk Mountain Pilot* (Crested Butte), June 24, 1943, p. 4; Jack Carver, et al., *Land of Legend* (Denver: Caravan Press, 1959), p. 129.

⁵⁹ *Elk Mountain Pilot* (Crested Butte), February 12, 1931, p. 1; Vanderwilt, *Geology and Mineral Deposits*, p. 169.

⁶⁰ *Colorado State Business Directory*, Vols. LIX-LXIV (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing & Printing Co., 1931-39).

Marble was hit by a thirty- to forty-foot wall of water, mud, and rocks. Fortunately, only forty people were in town at the time, and they were not directly in the path of the flood. Had Marble been at the height of its boom, the 1945 flood would have caused much damage and scores of deaths, but there was little left to destroy in the town. Most of the flood signs visible in Marble at the present time are from the 1945 flood.

Much of the busy and thriving past in Marble is gone today. The noise of the mill finishing stone for the Lincoln Memorial, the laughter of children around a maypole, the music from the bandstand or the clang of the firebell, the harsh sounds of the dismantling crews—all are gone. Yet, Marble has never been a ghost town; there have always been at least three or four residents who have stayed with the town during the lonesome winter months. Among the year-round residents of Marble are Mr. and Mrs. Charles Orlosky. Orlosky has lived in Marble since 1909. When the mill was running, he operated the overhead electric traveling cranes in the mill yard. Today, he hunts and traps and serves as a deputy sheriff.⁶⁵

For years, many people believed that the Crystal River Valley was jinxed. There are several reasons for the demise of Marble, but a "jinx" is not one of them. Perhaps the major reason for Marble's downfall was the high cost of producing the stone. The high altitude and severe winter seasons raised havoc with all phases of production.⁶⁷ Also, eastern quarries had the advantage of being located near the largest and richest markets, which were along the eastern seaboard. Unfortunately for Marble, few markets existed west of the Mississippi River because that region was not as developed or urbanized as the East. The cost of shipping stone from Colorado forbade competition with Vermont or Georgia quarries. Only when quality, rather than cost, was a factor was Yule marble used. The decreased demand for marble after World War I was also a factor in Marble's demise. After the war, there was no great demand for large public monuments of marble because of inexpensive substitutes. Although marble looks very attractive when taken from a quarry, the porous nature of the stone soon causes it to lose its beautiful appearance. The stone is also much too heavy today to be used in modern skyscrapers. Another reason

⁶⁵ *Elk Mountain Pilot* (Crested Butte), August 9, 1945, p. 1; August 30, 1945, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Orlosky Interview.

⁶⁷ Snair, "History of Marble Operations," p. 22.

⁶⁸ *Elk Mountain Pilot* (Crested Butte), October 30, 1952, p. 11; interview with Ben Snyder, Gunnison, April 27, 1967; Zugelder Interview.

for Marble's collapse, with less foundation, however, is given by local people. Many old-timers and Gunnison County residents believe that the Vermont Marble Company purchased the Yule Creek quarries so they could restrict production and eventually shut them down, thus eliminating dangerous competition.⁶⁸ While this is open to question, there is some evidence that the Vermont concern has been keeping the extensive holdings around Marble in reserve until its eastern quarries are exhausted.

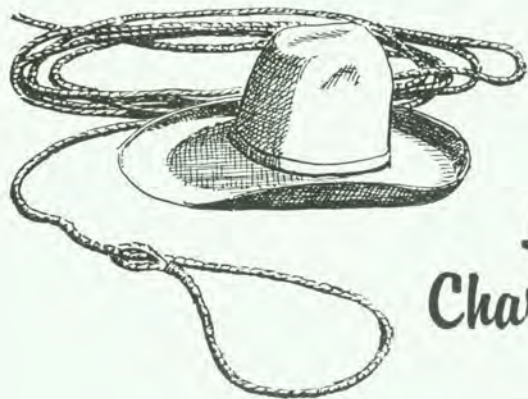
The view that snowslides and fires were important reasons for the ultimate collapse of the town and quarries is debatable. While it is true that fires and the ever-present problems of winter hindered operations, there is little evidence that any one such disaster was responsible for the cessation of activity in Marble. What is true is that these disasters added immeasurably to the cost of producing the stone.

Today there is the possibility that the recreation industry may bring many more people and much more prosperity to Marble than the great quarries ever did. Marble is an untouched summer paradise with stunningly beautiful mountains, green valleys, and sparkling clear streams. Opportunities for fishing, hiking, hunting, and skiing are matched by few other areas in Colorado, and these activities stand a strong chance of making Marble a truly thriving and prosperous town.

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Today recreational opportunities may bring more people to Marble than did the great quarries in past years.





the Legend of Charlie Glass

BY WALKER D. WYMAN AND JOHN D. HART

In the Fruita, Colorado, cemetery stands a large tombstone with the simple inscription "Charles Glass, Died February 22, 1937" carved upon it. Nearby are the markers for several members of the famous Turner and Young families whose cattle have roamed eastern Utah and western Colorado for many years. Glass spent much of his life working for these families, but he was generally known as the top foreman of the Lazy Y Cross ranch of Oscar L. Turner. These people lived and died believing that the men who worked with cattle were a Chosen People and that those who worked with sheep were among the lower breeds of men. It is not strange that a foreman was buried among the men he worked for, even if he was a Negro in an all-white society, but it would be unheard of to find a shepherd buried close to a cattleman even if they were both white. However, the interment of Charlie Glass in the Fruita cemetery seems strange since the town charter prohibited the burial of Negroes there. The tombstone marks the dramatic ending of a lingering range war and stands as a permanent symbol of the legendary Charlie Glass, a Negro cowboy.

Each year on Memorial Day, an old cowhand who once rode with Charlie Glass brings flowers to the grave and stands

humbly and respectfully in memory of his foreman. Charlie was probably three-fourths Negro and one-fourth Cherokee, but he always referred to himself as a black man. "When I was a lad learning to ride broncs," remembered this old friend, "he'd hit me across the fingers with his quirt when I pulled leather. I was afraid of Charlie Glass, but I always liked him."

In western Colorado and eastern Utah, the name of Charlie Glass is well-known in ranching circles, and in Grand Junction, Colorado, where he kept a permanent room for his few possessions, he was a legendary character in his own time. It is believed that he grew up in Indian Territory, and that he left his home range after he killed the man who shot his father. He first worked for the Thatcher cattle interests in southeastern Colorado and shifted to the Pinon Mesa country in western Colorado in 1909 where he worked for the S-Cross ranch. Whether this change was motivated by a desire to get farther away from the Indian Territory marshals or drifting cowhands who might want to even up an old score, or whether he was "imported" to do a killing job, is not known. However, the legend neither connects him with the range feud on Pinon Mesa nor explains why he moved north of the Colorado River in 1917 where he spent the rest of his days around Cisco and Thompson in Utah.

Everyone who will talk about Charlie—none will allow his name to be used for publication—says that he was silent about his past, but that upon occasion he did board the D&RGW for a two- or three-week trip believed to be "back home." When he left, he always checked his gun with the station agent, and this may indicate that the old wounds had healed or that the legend about his Oklahoma killing was unfounded. In the generation that he worked for cattle interests in the Utah-Colorado border areas, he was known to be fiercely loyal to his employers, enjoyed the confidence and respect of all who worked with him, and in after hours was devoted to poker as well as to wine, women, and song for recreation. In a day when rustling was so common that a rancher "had to have a cow with seven calves in order to have veal for Christmas," Charlie earned his keep as a range boss, a Negro in white society taking orders from and giving orders to whites who accepted him for what he was, a good man on a horse. The legend of Charlie Glass might well have grown out of this situation. However, the legend grew by leaps and bounds when he shot a shepherd in the range "war" of 1921, and it exploded when he mysteriously died in 1937.

In this undated photo the woman is probably Mrs. E. J. Turner; the man in the center next to Charlie Glass is not identified.



The cowboy was a large man, very black in color and handsome in appearance and carriage. In his later years he had a fringe of white hair showing beneath the well-worn and sweaty Stetson which he always wore. He wore his boots outside of his Levis, a custom stemming from his Oklahoma days that was different from the western Colorado style where Levis were always worn inside the boot. Glass often came to Grand Junction to celebrate, and as he put it, "to make the rounds with Charlie." Dressed in polished boots, a new Stetson, pressed pants, silk shirt that was white, blue, or of mixed colors, and a loud scarf, he would "make the rounds." After he had cut the dust out of his parched throat, he would visit the "Barbary Coast" where he was a favorite of the Mexican girls. Occasionally, he got gloriously high and cleaned out the house, leaving only himself and his girl friend pro tem. The next day he would peacefully pay his fine and go back to the hills. In Grand Junction, his closest associate seems to have been a mulatto who worked in the pool hall and whose wife worked on the Barbary Coast. Though everybody knew him, his friendships were limited to cow people with whom he worked round-the-clock. He was cowman through and through.

Charlie began working for Oscar L. Turner, a highly respected cattleman, in 1917. The Lazy Y cattle roamed the Cottonwood district of eastern Utah, but the Turner-Young livestock grazed Mesa, Garfield, and Rio Blanco counties in western Colorado and Grand and Uintah counties in Utah, plus some lands leased from the Indians and the federal government.

There was little regulation of the range in these years. The few large ranches apparently agreed among themselves about the division of the range, and sought help from the state capital in drawing lines between themselves and the sheepmen. It was common practice for cowboys to homestead a quarter section at some strategic spot—waterhole or canyon entrance—and thus help the rancher control the range that he did not own. Charlie filed for a homestead for Turner and proved up on it. He became the foreman of the Turner ranching operation and proudly and effectively protected the range interests of his boss from marauding sheepmen.

When the "Cowpuncher's Reunion" was held each year in Fruita, Charlie was always present and was a great favorite with the crowds. He had a reputation as a "bronc snapper," was fair to good at roping, and only fair to middlin' at bulldogging. It was common for him to pocket more than his entry fees in bronc-riding contests.

The sheep industry had been important in the Utah-Colorado borderlands for many years. Looked after by Basques imported from Spain, the herds fed on the high country grasses in the summer and spread over the desert areas in the winter. In Charlie Glass's day, flocks from western Colorado's high country moved into the range land above the Colorado River in Eastern Utah during the winter months. They did much as they pleased, paid little attention to range rights based on tradition or lease, and were a constant threat to the established cattle ranches. Charlie regarded himself as a protector of the cattle range, and no doubt his attitude toward sheepherders hardened in these years.

The Joe Taylor sheep outfit, during the winter migration, roamed over parts of the range above the Colorado River every year, and according to one old cowboy, they "sheeped" the Lazy Y range and others repeatedly. It was easy for a Basque who could not understand English very well, if at all, to misunderstand when told that he was trespassing on the Turner range. When pushed off the Lazy Y range, the Basques, often called "Greeks" by the cow country people, would move their herds peacefully, would not talk back, but would return another day.

When Glass became Turner's foreman, the migratory sheepmen appeared to be "plenty spooked," in the words of one who rode with him. Whenever Charlie came into their area, they might start shooting at some object or into the ground, but

never at him, just to let him know that they carried guns. In so doing they would also put their dogs to work moving the sheep in the other direction, making it unnecessary for Glass to ride any closer. It seems apparent that the Basques understood that Charlie represented a new strength in the resistance to the migratory sheepmen, and besides, he had a reputation of having certain notches in his gun. Although the legend does not picture Charlie as a gunman brought in from Pinon Mesa to do a job, he does symbolize the traditional hatred of cattlemen for sheepmen, and represents the strength of the mounted cowboy with a gun. Perhaps the fact that Charlie was a Negro, who referred to himself as "this old black boy" and who always carried a gun in a shoulder holster and never buttoned his coat, may have contributed to his local reputation as a good man to put a stop to the wandering marauder wrapped in wool.

In the winter of 1920-1921, the Turner range was "sheeped" repeatedly despite the line that had been drawn by Sheep Inspector H. E. Herbert. A large number of sheep had been quarantined, apparently those from out of state, and a line had been established to protect the cattle from them. This was state government in action to protect Utah cattle interests. Despite this legal effort to keep the two ancient enemies apart, the Basques continued to trespass across the line.

On the morning of February 20, 1921, a Basque camp-mover named Gerrold Yaber, working for William Fitzpatrick, was stopped by Jimmy Warner and Glass fifteen miles west of the Turner ranch. Warner accused Yaber of moving his sheep right past his tent while he slept and into a canyon claimed by Warner. When Yaber threatened to cut Warner's bridle reins with his horseshoe hammer and knife, Warner pulled his gun. As Yaber ran toward the tent to get his gun, Glass beat him there and took possession of it, then suggested that they sit down and talk over this matter of trespass. Later, Yaber found his gun under his pillow.

Charlie and his dogs, in a photograph probably taken in the 1920's.



Four days later, there was a confrontation between Glass and Felix Jesui, camp-mover for Fitzpatrick, which occurred one mile south of the Turner ranch. According to sworn testimony taken in court, Jesui was taking the place of the regular herder and was moving some sheep toward the canyon in which the Turner ranch was located. When Glass and one of his men saw him, Charlie moved toward the trespasser while his man moved up on a rim and sat there with his .30-30 across his saddle. Later, this associate said that he could not have covered Charlie completely but he could have got the man who shot at Charlie.

According to the court testimony, Charlie dismounted, shots were fired, and the Basque lay dead upon the desert floor. Charlie then remounted, rode to the Turner ranch, and reported to his boss that he had killed a Basque. Turner then rode to Cisco, phoned Sheriff J. S. Skewes at Green River, and reported that Glass had shot a shepherd and would surrender peacefully. The sheriff went immediately to the Turner ranch, bringing with him Dr. J. W. Williams, County Attorney A. O. Tangren, and others. Charlie's "back-up" man rode to Cisco and back with him to view the body with the officers and doctor. Soon after that, the back-up man disappeared. Officials were told that he was the son of a preacher in Fruita and that the family had moved to California. Consequently, the only presumed witness to the shooting was not present at the inquest or trial when Glass was tried for murder. The only evidence that he was a witness is his own statement made under the cloak of anonymity in 1964. Why did he leave the country? Could it be that Charlie pulled his gun on a shepherd and solved the range problem for the cattlemen for many years? It may be of passing interest to know that in the trial that followed, Turner footed the bill for the defense of his foreman, and Charlie remained in the employ of the family long after Turner died. Certainly, the loyal foreman was treated as if he had the full support of his employer.

The coroner's inquest was held the following Saturday in Moab, Utah, and the jury brought in a verdict that Jesui came to his death from a gunshot wound inflicted feloniously by Glass. It was stated that there were no witnesses and that Glass had shot in self-defense. According to the *Moab Times-Independent*, March 3, 1921, the testimony disclosed this account of what happened at the incident one mile south of the Turner ranch: Jesui was a camp-mover in the employ of

William Fitzpatrick, but on the morning of the killing he took the place of his herder, Eusebis Astegaraga, and was in charge of a herd of sheep which he had started to move up the canyon where the Oscar Turner ranch was situated. Glass, according to his story, had left the Turner ranch in search of a calf in close proximity to the ranch. He walked up to Jesui and told the herder to move the sheep back. Some words doubtless ensued. There were no eyewitnesses and only the Negro knew who shot first. The tracks of the men showed that they were perhaps fifty feet apart when the shooting took place. The herder had two guns, and an examination of the weapons after the shooting showed that one of the guns, a .25 Colt automatic, had been emptied. The other gun, a .30 caliber rifle, contained one empty shell and this gun was cocked. The Negro had a .38 Colt automatic and he fired four shots. The herder was still gripping one of the guns when his body was found, and the other weapon was lying by his side. The newspaper account concluded:

The herder was shot once, the ball entering the head just above the right eye and penetrating the brain.

The body of Jesui was buried in the Moab cemetery. The man was about 26 years of age, and was born at Navarro, Spain. He had been employed by William Fitzpatrick for some time.

After a brief inquest, Glass was arraigned and charged with second-degree murder. He was released on bond in the sum of \$10,000 provided by Oscar Turner, W. E. Gordon, Don Taylor, Max H. Taylor, and Tom Taylor. It was later said that Turner "spent a small fortune out of his own pocket" in defending Glass and told his foreman that he wanted no reimbursement for the money spent. However, Glass said: "I want to pay my own freight" and deeded his homestead and its improvements to Turner and continued in his employ until his trial.

Shortly after the killing, around thirty-five horses belonging to the sheep outfit were found dead in the area of the Turner ranch, possibly on range claimed by Turner. Charlie Glass and his fellow cowboys were accused of killing these horses. One of the Turner cowpunchers has stated that though they were in the valley at the time they knew nothing of the affair until they read it in the newspapers. No charges were ever filed against anyone. Considering the high level of distrust or even hatred between cattlemen and sheepmen at the time, the charge could be true or highly exaggerated and the guilt, if any, placed

upon any one cattleman and any one cowboy riding for him. Considering the testimony made privately by one of Glass's associates at a much later date, it is probable that Glass had nothing to do with the affair. Since this range lay across the main north-south "Robber's Roost" trail for stolen livestock, famous from the 1880's to the 1930's, the slaying of the horses may well have been done by the specialists in mayhem and murder.

When District Judge F. E. Woods convened court in Moab in April, 1921, District Attorney B. W. Dalton presented a motion for a change in venue in the Glass murder case. Affidavits were given to show that a feud existed between cattlemen and transient sheepmen which would mitigate against the state in the trial. Sheriff W. J. Bliss testified that such a feeling existed but on cross-examination he expressed a belief that "a fair and impartial trial could be secured in the county to try the case." The defense introduced affidavits from businessmen and other citizens stating that they had no knowledge of antagonisms between sheepmen and cattlemen in Grand County and "in their opinion an absolutely fair and impartial trial could be had in the county." In the end, the court overruled the motion, according to the *Moab Times-Independent*, April 14, 1921, saying that the state's showing "was rather weak as compared to the large number of defense affidavits which he stated came from men whom he knew to be representative citizens." However, the case was continued until the fall term of court upon the request of the state and with the consent of defense attorneys. In reporting this action, the *Times-Independent* referred to the case "of the state against Charlie Glass, the Negro cowpuncher who is charged with murder for the killing of a French sheepherder last winter." Among the folk of the region, sheepherders were sheepherders though they might be referred to as Greek, French, Mexican, or Basque.

It is interesting to note that the official file of all transcripts and testimony taken at the trial cannot be located at the Moab Court House. One volume, Book B of the Seventh Judicial District, does list the dates between February 26 and November 1, 1921, when the official documents such as the verdict of the coroner's jury, bond, and affidavits for change of venue, were filed. In a letter of December 13, 1967, the present Grand County Attorney, Harry E. Snow, says that the actual court proceedings were taken by a court reporter, but were never transcribed because of the acquittal of Glass. Consequently, the pages of

the weekly Moab newspaper, possibly based on the transcript, and certain interviews with people who were associated with Glass in some way constitute the only source of information on the trial. However, it must be said that there is no reason to doubt the account as given in the newspaper. The *Times-Independent* said during the trial that "few criminal cases in the annals of Grand County have attracted the widespread interest that is centered upon the Glass murder case. Since the trial started [Friday, November 18, 1921], the courtroom has been crowded almost to capacity. The case is being warmly fought on both sides and frequent clashes between opposing counsel have featured the hearings."

The following excerpts of the trial were taken from the *Times-Independent*, November 24, 1921:

The first witness called by the state was Eusebis Astegaraga, a Basque sheepherder in the employ of William Fitzpatrick, who with Felix Jesui, the decedent, was herding a bunch of sheep at the time of the shooting. The witness said he had a "jangle" with Charlie Glass on February 20, Felix not being present; that Glass showed him the lines of the Turner range and directed him to keep his sheep outside of them. The witness said he saw Glass again on the 22nd, at which time Charlie told him his camp was all right and passed the time of day with the herder. Again on February 23 Astegaraga saw Glass, he testified, and this time Glass said he would herd sheep for him as the Basque wouldn't keep them outside the line. He said Charlie had his rope down and was swinging it. The Spaniard said he was not afraid of Glass. He told Felix of his meeting with Glass. On the morning of the killing, the witness said Felix went out with the sheep in the direction of the Turner Ranch, and had with him a rifle and a .25 automatic pistol; that about twenty minutes later he (Astegaraga) heard four shots, coming apparently from behind a hill about three-quarters of a mile away; that he was impressed by the shots by reason of his talk with Glass the day before, but that he remained in camp about an hour or an hour and a half and then went toward a nearby mountain to get some snow for dinner; that at the mountain he saw Alvee Field, who told him Felix was shot.

Alvee Field, a sheepman, testified that he was at the Turner ranch at the time of the shooting; that he and Oscar Turner had just returned to the ranch from a trip up Nash wash when they heard the shots; that Turner went to investigate; that somewhat later Charlie Glass rode in rapidly and said he had had trouble with a Frenchman, and asked Field to go and see that the guns on the body of Felix were not disturbed; that he and Glass then rode to the scene of the homicide; arriving just as Mr. Turner reached the scene; that Turner and Glass went to Cisco to notify the sheriff, while Field stayed with the body about an hour and then went over on an adjoining mesa to round up the sheep. Field said that he saw a bullet hole in Felix's right temple, and a rifle in the crotch of his

arm, but that he saw no other gun. A Mr. Matlock was with him, he said.

Dr. J. W. Williams next testified to the examination of Felix's body in company with other officials. He said the body showed evidence of a struggle. The decedent was struck in the right temple, the bullet ranging toward the center of the head. Dr. Williams testified that three .32 caliber shells were found near where Glass's horse had stood, some twenty-five feet from the body.

J. B. Skewes, former sheriff, testified regarding the tracks and other evidence found around the body. He said that he found boot tracks going to within several feet of the body, then turning back toward some horse tracks about twenty-five feet away. He said he picked up three .32 shells about 24 feet from the body, which evidently had been fired by Glass who delivered to him a .32 automatic pistol. Mr. Skewes said he found two guns on the body, one a rifle and the other a .25 automatic pistol. After a search he also found one .25 shell about fifteen feet from the body. Glass, he testified, gave himself up to the sheriff the night of the shooting soon after the officers' arrival at the Turner ranch.

Simon Bideganeta, a Basque or Spanish sheepherder working for Billy Fitzpatrick, next testified. He said he had a quarrel with Jimmy Warner, a cowpuncher, and Glass on February 20. Bideganeta created considerable merriment in the courtroom when he said he didn't know who the defendant was, but thought it was Attorney Dalby. On cross-examination, the witness was very fiercely examined as to whether or not he had burned down Warner's corral and fence and had run sheep on range allotted to Warner. His testimony indicated that he didn't know much about anything connected with the case.

Gerrold Yaber, a Spanish campmover working for Billy Fitzpatrick, said he saw Glass about 15 miles west of Turner's ranch. Warner was present, and Yaber and Warner had a quarrel over range matters, Warner accusing the herder of going right past his (Warner's) tent with his sheep to get up a certain canyon on range claimed by Warner. Joe Sinas, herder for Yaber, was also present. Yaber testified to having a horse shoe hammer in one hand and a knife in the other. He threatened to cut Warner's bridle reins and Warner pulled his gun. Yaber started to run for his tent and Charlie Glass got ahead of him, and secured Yaber's pistol. The witness said that Glass then suggested that as it was getting late they should try to reach some agreement about the range, and they then sat down and talked the matter over.

The defense opened with testimony of H. E. Herbert, sheep inspector in charge of the quarantine for the state sheep commission. He stated that he had established certain lines for the protection of the cattle from the quarantined sheep and had informed the Fitzpatrick herders and Glass about them. Turner's line was approximately the same as that agreed upon between the sheepmen and cowmen. The *Times-Independent*, November 24, 1921, thus reported the testimony:

Herbert stated he learned at Thompson's that the sheepmen were crossing over the quarantine lines toward Thompson's and he went to investigate; he saw Simon Bideganeta and told him he was over the line with his sheep; that Simon said he didn't know the directions or lines and would go wherever he pleased; that Herbert threatened to arrest him, and that the herder was very defiant, sitting with a Winchester across his lap. Herbert said that later in the presence of Glass he talked with Fred Merein, another foreman of Fitzpatrick's; he told Merein about the lines, and warned him that the gun talk on the part of the herders must stop. Herbert testified that he later met Yaber who was over the line near Warner's range; he told Yaber he must stay back within the lines and respect the cattlemen's rights; that Yaber was very angry and said he would come back next year and eat out all the cattlemen's range.

Before leaving the stand, Herbert reported on the scene of the shooting which he visited with the official group. He said that the Basque's rifle had a shell stuck in the chamber and that no shells were found in Yaber's pocket though Astegaraga told them that Yaber had put some in his pocket that morning in camp. Herbert's testimony appears to have stood up in cross-examination though the prosecution frequently objected to the evidence trying to prove a sheepman's conspiracy to disregard the quarantine lines.

On the witness stand, Glass told his story "in a straightforward manner." As the *Times-Independent* reported on December 1, 1921:

According to Glass, for several days preceding the homicide the Basque shepherds had persisted in driving their herds across the line which had been established to protect a small nook of country surrounding the Turner ranch, which country had been reserved for weaner calves and poor cattle belonging to Oscar Turner, for whom Glass was working. On the morning of the killing, Glass had been going about his usual work when he discovered a herd of sheep about a half mile over the line; that he rode to within 25 feet of the herder, dismounted, and then advanced to meet the Basque, Felix Jesui, and talk the matter over with him; that Felix was armed with two guns, a rifle and a pistol, and was very defiant; that Glass said he wouldn't quarrel with the herder but would see his boss, and started to leave the scene; that he reached his horse, about 25 feet distant, when the herder yelled and shot his rifle, the bullet whizzing past the cowboy's shoulder; that Glass whirled around, and drew his gun, which was in a shoulder scabbard under his coat and shirt; that by the time he got his gun into play Felix had shot at him two more times with his pistol; that both men fired at each other several times simultaneously before the herder fell; that Glass then returned to the ranch, told what had happened, and gave himself up to the sheriff.

The case went to the jury at 10 P.M. after a week of testimony and summary, and shortly after midnight the jury reached a verdict of acquittal on one ballot. In spite of the late hour, a large number of people waited for the verdict, and indicated that they approved the judgment of the twelve citizens who held that Charlie Glass had not murdered a transient sheepherder. Charlie received hearty congratulations from many citizens who had followed the case. No doubt the residents of Moab and Grand County deeply sympathized with the efforts of a cowboy, be he black or white, who would stand up against the transient sheepmen who threatened the range and way of life of the old-time cowmen. Had there not been a system of law that defined murder and established penalties, the citizens of that range country would hardly have bothered with a trial of a cowboy who killed to protect his range.

Following the trial Charlie returned to his foreman's job and spent the next sixteen years working for ranchers in that borderland range country of eastern Utah. One of his old cowpuncher friends says that "all along all of us figured that the sheepmen—sheepherders—relatives—or someone would try to get even—no one said anything and Charlie never talked—Charlie did not want any one to help him or to look out for him—always contending that 'this ole black boy' can take care of Charlie." This perhaps explains why he wore a shoulder gun down to the end of his life. He continued to ride in the rodeos, make the rounds on the Barbary Coast, and play cards with his cronies in Cisco, Thompson, and Grand Junction. He had a passion for poker and enjoyed putting his wages on the line even when he played with the Basque friends of Felix Jesui.



Charlie Glass
riding in a
parade in Moab,
Utah.

On the night of February 22, 1937, Charlie sat in a big game at Thompson. The bottle was passed again and again as the evening wore on. Someone proposed that they drive down to Cisco and get in the big game going on there. Charlie agreed, and three of them got into a pickup truck owned by one of the transient sheepmen and away they went. Their spirits were high as they left town.

Within an hour after the station agent went to work at midnight in the Thompson depot of the D&RGW, someone came into the telegraph office and asked the agent to call the doctor because Charlie was "bad hurt." When the doctor came to the depot, he was escorted to the shed behind the building by the agent who carried a lantern. There lay the legendary cowboy in the back of the pickup truck, dead of a broken neck. He had died with his boots on. The two Basques, Andre Sartan of Grand Junction and Joe Savorna of Montrose, transient sheepherders wintering their herds in eastern Utah, had suffered some minor scratches and bruises. They reported that the truck had upset one and a half miles west of Cisco, rolling over three times.

The Grand Junction *Sentinel* carried this tribute to the Negro cowboy in its report on the "accidental" death, February 24, 1937:

Cattlemen, former employees and acquaintances of Glass, all agree that fiction could produce no more colorful nor picturesque a character than Glass. He arrived in the Grand Valley about 20 years ago . . . and from that time on his name has been closely linked with range-riding exploits.

As a cowpuncher, those who worked with him declare he was as expert as anyone in the game—a good rider, and a top-notch man with the lariat.

The fact that he was one of the very few Negro cowboys in the west added to his notoriety. . . . His age was believed to be about 65.

The body was taken to the Stark Funeral Home in Fruita and buried in the Turner plot not far from the place where Charlie's old boss, who had died in 1929, lay. The inquest simply reported that he had died of a broken neck suffered in an automobile accident. However, his old cowboy friends still hold that the Basques killed him, turned the truck over to put some scratches on it, and then drove back to Thompson with the body in the back. The Basques were cousins of Felix Jesui, these friends point out, and had long planned the revenge that took the life of Charlie Glass. Otherwise, how can you explain why there was an upset on a straight road on a night when

there was no sleet or ice and why the two Basques were unhurt? The only answer is, and this is the apparent reasoning of the inquest jury, that drunken drivers can do strange things such as driving off broad roadbeds without any particular reason.

But even today there lingers the belief that Charlie was killed by the Basques in a revenge murder. That is perhaps why few people in the region will talk about Charlie's death. One man who knew him well said to the writers that he "sure got lockjaw" when he heard us ask him what he knew about the fatal ride to Cisco. Another old cowman said in 1964 that "I rode with him for several years and I guess the 'Greeks' did just what they intended to do—and that was 'get even.' Charlie's dead and buried and they can't prove anything on me anyway—I've got to be going now."

An old law enforcement officer of thirty years' service in this borderland summarized the Glass case in this way: "I have always been inclined to think that they finally got Charlie in a card game and got him drunk enough to knock him in the head. Then they put Charlie in the back of the pickup truck and started toward Dewey Bridge on the way to Cisco to get rid of the body, but in their excitement, they drove too fast, upset the truck, and wound up things at Thompson."

After one interview which took place in a restaurant in a western city in 1965, a Basque sheepherder came in and sat on the far side of the horseshoe counter. When he noted that an old cowman friend of Charlie Glass was being interviewed, he moved his coffee cup three times in twenty minutes in order to get closer to the conversation. When the Basque moved within earshot of the two discussing the death of Glass, the old stockman rapidly finished his conversation and left.

Even the old Negro who lived in Grand Junction most of the years when Glass came there for week ends and celebrations refused to talk about the matter of the death of his old friend, though he did contribute the statement that Charlie had a sister who once visited him.

Another old-timer who knew Charlie well was too busy on several occasions to discuss the matter, and even when an interview was arranged for an evening, his wife called to say that they just did not have anything to say on the matter of Charlie Glass's death.

The legend persists. A well-known, much-respected Negro cowboy worked the Colorado and Utah ranches for nearly thirty years, and in the years after 1921, the sheepherders carried on

the fight, and finally on February 22, 1937, two of the transients from western Colorado found old Charlie drunk enough to hit him on the head, break his neck, or push him out of a truck over the cliff, and were successful in scratching themselves up enough to make the story stick that they had an accident. At this late date, no one can ever successfully prove or disprove their story. But the legend of Charlie Glass will roll on, and the legend will always have him dying at the hands of the people he hated all his life, the sheepmen who invaded the range of his cattleman boss. It is good to know that he lived a life generally without prejudice and in his death went to rest in a cemetery where only white bodies lay.

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Bent, Carson, and the Indians, 1865

EDITED BY RICHARD N. ELLIS

In the autumn of 1865 a treaty was concluded with the tribes of the South-Central Plains. It was not greeted with any enthusiasm by military officials, however, for despite claims to the contrary, there was little reason to hope that it would provide more than a lull in the fighting which had been raging. William Bent, the famous Colorado trader, and Colonel Christopher Carson, mountain man, Indian agent, and army officer, participated in the negotiations near the mouth of the Little Arkansas River in southern Kansas, and in October, after the conclusion of the talks, they submitted their recommendations on federal Indian policy at the request of General John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri.

As Pope's department included within it the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches as well as other major Plains tribes, he was vitally interested in Indian relations and federal policies for these tribes. Pope was an experienced frontier officer and by 1865 he had become an authority on the Indian problem. Following his defeat at the second battle of Bull Run in August, 1862, he had been transferred to the frontier to deal with the Sioux uprising in Minnesota. Having directed operations against the Sioux with some measure of success, Pope was rewarded in 1865 with a new command which placed him in charge of most of the Plains and mountain West.¹ By

¹ The decision to organize the Division of the Missouri for General Pope was made in November, 1864, although Pope did not assume command until February, 1865. In time the division included the region between Texas and Canada and the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. In June, 1865, General Sherman was given command of the Division of the Mississippi, which included Pope's old command and more, and Pope was given the Department of the Missouri under Sherman. This department had the same boundaries as the former division, and it was soon enlarged to include Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico.



General John Pope, as shown in a drawing made from a Brady photograph.

the time he assumed this position, however, he was no longer dealing with just the Sioux. The surprise attack upon a Southern Cheyenne village on Sand Creek on November 29, 1864, by Colonel John Chivington and his Colorado Volunteers had brought a violent reaction from the Indians. Julesburg and other stations along the South Platte were attacked repeatedly before the hostiles moved north into the Powder River country of Wyoming.²

One of Pope's primary tasks during 1865 was to open the main lines of travel, and he planned a coordinated campaign against the Sioux and Cheyennes in the North while envisioning action against the Kiowas and Comanches south of the Arkansas River. Government efforts to deal with these tribes during

1865, however, were unsuccessful. The Powder River campaign in the North failed for several reasons, while the troops along the Arkansas River never went into action.³

The Kiowas and Comanches had disrupted travel along the Santa Fe Trail for some time and had openly defied the government. Colonel Kit Carson had operated against them in 1864 with no success, and when raiding parties continued their activity along the road, Pope authorized a campaign against them. Colonel James Ford of the Colorado Volunteers promised that he would "guarantee to make it so hot for the Indians. . . that they will hunt a cooler district or throw up their hands and retire from the game."⁴ He was ready to give the Indians "one good thrashing,"⁵ but before he could complete his preparations Jesse Leavenworth of the Upper Arkansas Agency and a former army officer began to make arrangements for peace talks. Washington officials debated the merits of his proposal, issued orders, and then rescinded them before Leavenworth finally received the support of Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Dole and Senator James Doolittle's committee on Indian affairs. The government had decided upon peace with the Southern Plains tribes, and General Pope, who was concentrating his efforts in the campaign in the North, was willing to accept this.⁶

On August 15 a truce was made with the chiefs of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches at the mouth of the Little Arkansas River, and arrangements were set for treaty negotiations in October. On the recommendation of General Pope, both William Bent and Kit Carson were included on the peace commission. Their knowledge of the Indians and their influence among these tribes made their presence indispensable.

William Bent and Christopher Carson were men with long experience in the West. Bent was one of the best known traders and was a close friend of the Southern Cheyennes. He and his brother Charles, who was killed in a revolt during his tenure as governor of New Mexico, had joined with young Ceran St. Vrain

² Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), describes the events leading up to the attack and the massacre itself. Donald Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 224-44, describes the movement to the North. George Hyde, in his *Life of George Bent, Written from his Letters*, ed. by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 164-243, provides a firsthand account of this period. Bent was living with the hostiles during this time.

³ For the Powder River campaign see H. D. Hampton, "Powder River Indian Expedition of 1865," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, XIV (October, 1964), 2-15, and LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Powder River Campaigns and Sawyers Expedition of 1865*, Vol. XII of *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961).

⁴ Ford to Major C. S. Charlott, January 8, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 1, p. 462, hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

⁵ Ford to Major General Grenville M. Dodge, March 3, 1865, *ibid.*, 1079.

⁶ Berthrong, *Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 232-44.



William Bent,
fur trader,
Indian agent,
peacemaker.

about 1828 in an effort to create a great economic empire in the region south of the Platte River. Bent's Fort, which was probably built in 1833, became the center of their operations and a landmark on the Arkansas River and Santa Fe Trail. William Bent moved his operations several times, blowing up one of his posts and selling another to the army, but he remained in the region until his death, serving for a brief period as agent for the Southern Cheyennes. In 1865 he probably knew the Cheyennes better than any other white man, and he was on good terms with the other tribes of the South-Central Plains.⁷

Christopher Carson, the runaway apprentice from Missouri and an old friend and associate of the Bent family, probably equalled Bent in experience and knowledge. By the time of the Civil War, when he became a military officer, Carson was a legendary hero. In the 1860's he rounded up the Mescalero Apaches and the Navahos and placed them on a reservation near Fort Sumner in the Pecos Valley and in 1864, following the conclusion of the Navaho campaign, he led an unsuccessful

expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches in the panhandle of Texas. Carson and Bent could be of great value to the government, and it was for this reason that General Pope recommended them for the peace commission.⁸

When the negotiations began at the mouth of the Little Arkansas River in early October, the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Arapahoes, and Southern Cheyennes were represented, but only a small portion of the latter tribe was there. The bulk of the Cheyennes had gone north after Sand Creek and had spent the summer attacking the troops sent against them. Black Kettle, leader of the peace faction of the Southern Cheyennes, was reluctant to enter into negotiations when most of the tribe was absent, but the arguments of William Bent convinced him to agree to the treaty. Bent had been confident that an accord could be reached, and he had earlier predicted that he could make a treaty with the Southern Cheyennes and would "guarantee it with his head." But Bent had planned to locate the tribe on a reservation between the Platte and the Arkansas Rivers. By October this was impossible, for the opening of the Smoky Hill Trail between the Kansas City area and Denver ruled out this possibility. It was doubtful that the warrior societies would ever accept the cession of their favorite hunting grounds, but the commissioners hoped that they would do so.⁹ General Pope had no confidence that the treaty would be successful, but in an effort to make it as lasting as possible he used his influence to have Major Edward Wynkoop¹⁰ of the Colorado Volunteers appointed as agent for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and he issued orders to his subordinates that great weight be given the advice of William Bent, who would winter with the two tribes.¹¹

It was in this context that General Pope called Carson and Bent to St. Louis for consultation. For the past several years Pope had been engaged in a long and often bitter struggle with

⁸ A recent biography of Carson is M. Morgan Estergren, *Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962). Both Carson and Bent had married into the Cheyenne tribe, although for Carson the alliance was not long lasting.

⁹ Berthrong, *Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 239-44. The treaty negotiations are in the *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1865*, H. Ex. Doc. No. 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865, pp. 699-719.

¹⁰ Edward Wynkoop was originally from Pennsylvania. He went to Kansas in 1856, and joined a gold rush party to Colorado two years later. He was a miner, sheriff, and an officer in the Colorado Volunteers, participating in the Battle of Glorieta Pass in New Mexico. In May, 1864, Wynkoop was given command of Fort Lyon.

¹¹ Pope to Bent, October 30, 1865, and Joseph Bell to Dodge, December 27, 1865, Department of the Missouri, Letters Sent, Records of the War Department, U.S. Army Commands, National Archives.

⁷ David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954), describes Bent's career.



*The last known
photograph of
Kit Carson, taken
in the East in 1868.*

the Interior Department over the conduct of federal Indian policy. His experiences as a frontier commander had convinced him that the present Indian policy was a total failure and that immediate alterations were required. Pope envisioned radical changes, proposing that the management of Indian affairs be transferred to the War Department. He raised this issue during the Civil War years, and as other army officers and politicians took it up, it became a matter of political debate in and out of Congress for several decades. Carson and Bent were in general agreement with the basic principles of Pope's Indian policy, and Pope sought their advice with the hope that their views might have some influence in Washington.¹²

Carson and Bent concurred with the view of Pope and other army officers that control of Indian affairs should be shifted to the War Department. They pointed out that the West was rapidly changing and that the Indians would have to be placed on reservations. Those tribes which refused to accept this voluntarily would have to be forced to go to the reservations

and remain there. It was clear to Carson and Bent that this was a job for the military, but experiences with volunteer troops during the Civil War had also demonstrated that regular troops and patient and clearheaded officers were needed for this delicate task.

The two old plainsmen realized that the Indian problem had no simple solutions, and they were aware, also, that tensions and difficulties were bound to increase as white pioneers continued to move westward. Carson and Bent urged the government to take steps to eliminate some of the causes of dissatisfaction and hostility, and they believed that strict and effective enforcement of the trade regulations and prompt punishment of offenses by both whites and Indians would go a long way toward accomplishing this.

In their criticisms of the management of federal Indian policy Carson and Bent were joined by a host of other citizens in the years after the Civil War. Many Americans pointed to the need for change and offered their recommendations, and General Grant took note of these complaints and suggestions. When he became president some changes were made, and he sought to place the Indians on reservations by peaceful means, although he was willing to use force when necessary.¹³

The Carson-Bent report undoubtedly influenced Generals Pope, Sherman, and Grant. William Bent and Kit Carson confirmed Pope's ideas and proposals, and the General sent their report to his immediate superior, General William Tecumseh Sherman. Sherman, too, was pleased with the report, and forwarded it to General Ulysses S. Grant with the endorsement: "Probably no two men exist better acquainted with the Indians than Carson and Bent and their judgment is entitled to great weight."¹⁴ Here then are the views of the two prominent frontiersmen on one of the central issues of their time—the relationship of the Indian to the white man and to the federal government.¹⁵

¹² Pope's views are best summarized in a lengthy policy statement in his letter to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, February 6, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, pp. 239-64.

¹³ Henry Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 55-85, and Robert Utley, "The Celebrated Peace Policy of General Grant," *North Dakota History*, XX (July, 1953), 155-67, describe the changes under the Grant administration.

¹⁴ Sherman to Grant, November 6, 1865, William T. Sherman Papers, Vol. 17, Library of Congress.

¹⁵ The report of Carson and Bent to Pope is in the Department of the Missouri, Letters Received (file C185), Records of the War Department, U.S. Army Commands, National Archives.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
October 27th, 1865

GENERAL.

We have the honor to report as follows, in accordance with your verbal request of yesterday.

The question that appears to us of the gravest importance, and consequently should receive the first consideration, is as to the policy of placing all Indians under the control of the War Department.

From a long continued personal observation of the working of the present system, acquired both in the transaction of business of a private character, as well as of those appertaining to agents of the Federal Government, we are satisfied that it offers no security, either to the Indian or Government, against the rapacity and cupidity of the Agents, with no check on their actions, abuses of power naturally occur, with salaries barely sufficient for their support it not unfrequently happens that parties after a few years performance of the duties of Agent, retire with enough for a comfortable maintainance, if not the possessors of positive wealth; jealousies too at present naturally exist between the agents of the two Departments, resulting frequently in a want of that harmonious co-operation in action so necessary to produce satisfactory or successful results.¹⁶

With regard to the character and manner of transacting business by agents no better illustration can perhaps be given, than that of the Indians, at the late council near the Mouth of the Little Arkansas, "Our Great Father in Washington," they confidently exclaimed, "speaks the truth, acts honest, and makes big bales of goods for his Indian children, but then he gives them into the hands of his agents, who commence rolling them out to us, they have a long ways to go, pass through a number of hands, each time getting smaller and smaller, so that when they get out to us they are hardly worth receiving."¹⁷

This course of action makes the Government appear to act in bad faith, and irritation on the part of the Indian is caused

¹⁶ Many observers criticized the graft and corruption in the Indian service. "It is a common saying in the West," commented General Pope, "that next to, if not indeed before, the consulship to Liverpool, an Indian agency is the most desirable office in the gift of the government." Pope to Grant, January 26, 1867, in John Pope, *General Pope's Reports and Letters on Indian Affairs* (n.p., n.d.), p. 10.

¹⁷ The United States was represented by Major General John B. Sanborn, Major General William S. Harney, an experienced frontier officer, James Steele of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Thomas Murphy of the Central Superintendency, Leavenworth's immediate superior, Leavenworth, Carson, and Bent.

by dishonesty on the part of the agent, who through personal fear, or to cover his mal-practice in office, will report the Indians hostile to the Military authorities, and the latter, wearied of the monotony of a frontier garrison life, gladly and without much enquiry as to its justice, seize the opportunity for an active campaign. Thus in order to enable them to judge of the necessity of action, and make such action effective when determined upon—to remove the control of the Indians from the hands of a set of irresponsible citizens—to restore the confidence of the Indians by a faithful and scrupulous fulfilment of the promises of Government—to justly and equitably distribute the presents, annuities, etc.; we would earnestly recommend the immediate transfer of Indian affairs to the War Department.

The time is now fast approaching when decisive action in regard to the reservation policy for Indians must be pursued, as each year passes away the game so necessary for the Red Man's subsistence is gradually dying off, in fact we know by personal experience, that there is not one buffalo at present, to one thousand that forty years ago swarmed upon the plains, this enormous decrease will probably continue, and in a few years the last herds of buffalo will have disappeared.¹⁸

For a number of years past the policy of our Government has been, to remove our Indians Westward,¹⁹ before the steady advancing stride of eastern progress, but now emigration leaps forward from the West itself; its advance swarming over the Eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and will probably ere long make the Rocky Mountains resound throughout its entire length to the hum of busy life as the hordes of adventurous miners search every hill and gulch for its hidden treasure of mineral wealth; gradually encircling them in its ever steady advance, civilization now presses them on all sides—their ancient homes forcibly abandoned—their old hunting grounds destroyed by the requirements of industrious agricultural life, how pitiable a picture is presented for the preservation of any portion of that vast number of aboriginal nomads, that swarmed

¹⁸ Carson and Bent mention a problem which really became serious in the 1870's and would force the issue. General Sheridan favored the destruction of the buffalo because it would destroy the Indians' commissary. Wayne Gard, *The Great Buffalo Hunt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 215.

¹⁹ Removal had indeed been a dominant aspect of federal Indian policy. During the 1820's and 1830's the eastern tribes were moved west of the Mississippi River. Some tribes had been removed repeatedly as the frontier line continued to move westward. A general account of American Indian policy with a section on the removal policy is in William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 65-91.

through the interior of our continent, the happy possessors of a country full of game, and replete with everything that tended to realize their uncultivated ideas of happiness and comfort.

The cruel or the thoughtless might leave to this steady advance of a superior race, the ultimate destruction of the various Indian tribes, as it came in contact with them, that it would occur from this cause alone is certain, but humanity shudders at the idea of the destruction of hundreds of thousands of our fellow creatures until every effort shall have been tried for their redemption and found useless, by dispossessing them of their country we assume their stewardship, and the manner in which this duty is performed will add a glorious record to American history, or a damning blot and reproach for all future times.

The removal of Indians on to reservations, many of which must be effected by force and will have to be effected by the War Department, and strict military rule will be necessary on these reservations for a number of years in proportion—as the respective Indians located thereon exhibit a capacity for industry and civilization; when they are capable of self subsistence by agricultural and mechanical pursuits upon their allotted grounds, the question of their re-transfer from the Military to a civil branch of the Government might with propriety be considered and probably entertained.²⁰

Should it be found necessary to locate two or more tribes upon the same reservation, care should be taken to choose those whose characters assimilate, for this purpose carefully prepared classified lists should be made, and furnished officers, entrusted with their removal.

When it has been decided to remove a nation, a vigorous and determined war should be immediately made on those refusing to accept the Government offer, until all opposition is effectually destroyed; where they remove peaceably great care should be taken to consult as far as possible the Indians views with regard to point of location, etc.

With regard to the establishment of Forts more directly affecting the safety and security of the southern line of travel to Santa Fe, New Mexico, we would recommend that Fort Larned, Fort Dodge and Fort Lyons of the present established line of Posts be retained and garrisoned in such a manner, that

²⁰ Donald J. D'Elia, "The Argument over Civilian or Military Indian Control, 1865-1880," *The Historian*, XXIV (February, 1962), 207-25, describes the struggle over transfer.

the Commanding Officer's may be enabled to render prompt, energetic and effectual assistance in case of necessity.²¹ A strong Post established on the Canadian Fork of the Red River about fifty miles East of Bent's old adobe Fort would be in the heart of the Comanche and Kiowa country, and exercise a commanding influence over these tribes, both for the prevention of crime, and its prompt and speedy punishment when committed.²² When at war with the Indians a post should be established at Cedar Springs, near the head of the Cimarron on the Santa Fe road, it would effectually protect the trade on that route, and is the only place where there is sufficient wood for that purpose, in that section of the country.

We would earnestly recommend that all posts in Indian country be garrisoned by Regular troops, and officers of known discretion and judgment placed in command, with special instructions to be cautious, and not to rashly place the country in danger of a devastating Indian war, in consequence of any slight provocation on the part of the Indians, but to be governed by the agreement made at the late Indian council held near the mouth of the Little Arkansas, as follows.²³

In case of any depredations being committed by any of the Southern Indians they have agreed to deliver up the offender to the Commanding Officer of the nearest Military Post for punishment by law, and any white man committing depredations on the Indians are to be delivered up to the Military authorities for trial and punishment by law, on the Indians making application for redress, in writing, through their agents—could this

²¹ Fort Dodge was established a few miles east of present Dodge City in September, 1865. Fort Larned, established in October, 1859, was named for Colonel Benjamin Larned, paymaster general of the U. S. Army. It was for a time the location of the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency. Fort Lyon was established in August, 1860, near Bent's New Fort on the left bank of the Arkansas River near Big Timbers and the present town of La Junta. It was called Fort Fauntleroy, Fort Wise, and in June, 1862, was renamed Fort Lyon in honor of Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon who was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri in 1861. This post was moved slightly in 1867 and continued in operation until 1889. Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 39-42, 52-53, 55.

²² The government did not act upon this suggestion until after the tribes of the Southern Plains had been defeated. Fort Elliott was built on the Sweetwater in 1875 in the general area which Carson and Bent had recommended. *Ibid.*, 149-50.

²³ There were numerous instances during the Civil War period in which volunteer troops demonstrated that they were unsuitable for the delicate task of dealing with the Indians. George Bent, half-breed son of William Bent, who lived with the Southern Cheyennes after 1863, described several attacks upon these Indians in Colorado and Kansas. Among these were the incident near Fremont's Orchard on the South Platte and the attack by Lieutenant George Eayre near the headwaters of the Republican River in 1864 (Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 122-26). Eugene Ware of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry described how they used passing groups of Indians for target practice in *The Indian War of 1864*, ed. by Clyde Walton (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960), p. 54.

system be successfully and practically carried into effect, many of these petty actions of wrong perpetrated by individuals on either side, that now unfortunately result in indiscriminate warfare, may be avoided.

Another continued source of danger arises from the reckless character, of many of the parties trading among the Indians, unprincipled adventurers whose sole object is to secure the enormous profits incidental to illicit trade, they treat with contempt all restrictive laws imposed by Congress respecting the sale of intoxicating liquors, and do not hesitate to sell weapons and ammunition to Indians, at the very time an outbreak is contemplated by them, nay even when in actual hostilities against the whites—to prevent this no one should be allowed to trade with the Indians except by permit from the proper authorities, and any person so doing should be liable to loss of property by confiscation, and fine and imprisonment in addition, and the Military authorities should enforce this law when called on so to do, on information from an Indian agent or properly authorized Indian traders—all persons travelling through the country or trading among the Indians should also be prohibited by severe fines and penalties and Indian Agents if retained should strictly enforce the prohibition of the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to Indians—the deleterious demoralizing effect of the use of ardent spirits by Indians is of a fearful and destructive nature and cannot be prohibited by laws of too strict a character.

Hunting game being the Indians natural mode of existence they look with jealousy and justly so to the indiscriminate slaughter of game by hunting parties of whites upon the prairies—all such parties should be prohibited by the Government from killing in excess of their actual want of provisions—nor is the loss of game the only danger to be apprehended by the Indians, not many years since a party of Cheyennes whilst hungry came upon the body of a fine buffalo cow, just killed, lying upon the plains, they used a portion of it to appease their hunger, and were seized immediately afterwards with the pains incidental to poison, the cow after being killed, had been sprinkled with strychnine by a party of hunters in the vicinity for the purpose of poisoning wolves, without any remedy, ignorant of all modes of relief the fearful sufferings of this band of unfortunate Indians can be far better imagined than described—it also leads to bad feelings, and frequently to quarrels, often resulting in

bloodshed and murder, and in these transactions the blame is often with the whites, though invariably attached to the Indian.

The Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Apaches present at the late Indian Council before referred to, are we believe actuated by principles of good faith, and agreed to enforce peace by taking up arms to assist the soldiers in war against all Indians South of the Arkansas, that may commit acts of hostility against the whites, their services as scouts and guides, and taking possession of stock from hostile Indians when in action, Col. Carson from a number of years experience pronounces invaluable—we would recommend that whilst engaged in services of this kind, should circumstances unfortunately render it necessary or desirable, that they be issued rations, and allowed to retain whatever stock they may capture from the enemy; the destruction of stock of hostile Indians, is a matter of primary importance in campaigning against them, and when thoroughly captured or destroyed the Indians are effectually subdued.

Col. Bent will remain the ensuing winter with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, which tribes have agreed to inform him of any rumors they may receive or hear of hostile intentions on the part of other Indians against the whites as early as possible, any such information, Col. Bent will cause to be forwarded to the Commanding Officer of the nearest Military Post without delay, so that by early action the intention of the hostile Indians may be frustrated or possibly they themselves destroyed.

We believe it would be of great advantage to the Government of the United States to induce or at least allow all Cheyennes and Arapahoes, now at warfare in the North, to return to their respective tribes in the South, with as little delay as possible²⁴—we have no doubt that if assured of safety on the way they would come without trouble and peaceably, and after joining their nations again would doubtless behave well under the advice and council of their Head Chiefs—the benefits that would accrue to them under the late treaty would also be a powerful incentive to them to remain at peace—and last though not least, they would at the same time be in a position to be more easily managed and controlled by the Military Authorities if still inclined for war.

We have the honor to recommend Charles Rath as Indian Agent for the Comanche and Kiowa nations.²⁵

²⁴ Berthrong, *Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 245-65, describes the return of the Southern Cheyennes from the North and their dislike of the recent treaty.

²⁵ Charles Rath was an experienced frontiersman. He was a trader and later would become important in the buffalo hide trade.

In conclusion we respectfully beg to call the attention of the Commanding General to the working of the reservation system, in the case of the Navajo Indians, at the Bosque Redondo, near Fort Sumner, New Mexico, there some nine thousand (9,000) Indians, that two short years ago, waged a malignant war upon the frontier settlers of New Mexico and that for one hundred and eighty (180) years had carried on a successful warfare against all troops sent to reduce them, destroyed each year tens of thousands of head of stock, whilst burning houses, and murdered men, women and children marked their destructive raids, are now engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, and prior to the time of our leaving New Mexico, had, this season over five thousand (5,000) acres of corn planted, the preparation of the land, and planting of the grain being solely the labor of the Indians; and we are pleased to state that on the 1st of August last, their corn crop presented as fine an appearance as any we have ever witnessed.

This reservation appears to be founded and carried on by a spirit of humanity and good faith, is a successful example of the benefits to be derived from the system, and gradually proves the capacity of the Indians for the benefits to be received from civilization.

We have the honor to be, General

Very respectfully,

Your obed. servants

C. CARSON

Col. 1 Cavalry NM Vols

WM. G. V. BENT

To

MAJ. GEN'L. JNO. POPE

Comd'g Dept. of Mo.

St. Louis,

Mo.

RICHARD N. ELLIS received his doctorate from the University of Colorado, where his dissertation concerned General Pope and the development of federal Indian policy. He is presently teaching at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.