

Historic Preservation and the Environment

Robert M. Utley, director of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation of the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior, addressed the banquet launching Historic Preservation Week at the Colorado Historic Preservation Conference held in the Albany Hotel in Denver the evening of 4 May 1973. As we face an unpredictable 1974 and an approaching centennial celebration, his message holds a particular challenge, and we want to thank him for his permission to print his speech. As you read, we hope that you will find a greater understanding of and a renewed dedication to historic preservation—and the environment.



I want to preface my remarks with a brief prayer that seems appropriate to the theme of tonight's observance. It was drawn up almost one-half century ago by the Council for the Preservation of Rural England for inclusion in the church litany. I obtained it from one of Colorado's most valued citizens, a distinguished scholar known to many of you, Dr. Robert Stearns.

From all destroyers of natural beauty in this parish and everywhere; from all polluters of earth, air and water; from all makers of visible abominations; from jerry-builders, disfiguring advertisers, road hogs and spreaders of litter, from the villainies of the rapacious and the incompetence of the stupid; from the carelessness of individuals and the somnolence of local authorities; from all foul smells, noises and sights—good Lord, deliver us.

Today the deterioration of the environment has become so alarming as to prompt more specific action than an appeal to heaven. This is revealed by a growing public concern. The news media give the environment broad coverage. The scientific community probes it intensively. Government departments and congressional committees investigate it frequently. New laws and new regulations are addressed to its manifold problems. Assessments of the prospects of improving the environment, even of arresting its deterioration, range from the pessimistic to the frightening.

But because the environment involves all the things from which the pastoral Englishmen would be delivered, it is understandable that it means different things to different people. Physical scientists emphasize air and water pollution and waste disposal. Biological and natural sci-

tists think in terms of the ecology of nature—the balance between animal, plant, water, and air. Conservationists stress wilderness, scenery, and flora and fauna. Architects and planners are concerned with visual surroundings, from the street scene to the highway and the countryside.

It is understandable, indeed essential, that water and air pollution and the disruption of nature's critical interrelationships dominate environmental concern. On these factors may well depend the very existence of mankind on this planet. But the existence of life is not the sum of the crisis. The quality of life is also very much at issue.

The quality of life, as architects and planners stress, is in large part a product of our visual surroundings, which powerfully if subtly condition our mental and emotional state. It follows, then, that the quality of life is profoundly affected by the man-made elements of the environment. Most of us are urban dwellers. For us, the works of man usurp the environment. Even for the country dweller, the works of man loom large in the environment. Only on those rare occasions when we escape to the few remaining wilderness areas have we entered a relatively pure "natural" environment.

So we may say that our total environment consists of the natural environment *and* the man-made environment—which we shall call the cultural environment—and that both are crucial ingredients in the quality of life.

We hear much of "plant ecology" and "animal ecology"—the mutual relations between these organisms and their environment. The term "human ecology" is also coming into use, though without so precise a definition as its counterparts in the biological sciences. Let us postulate now a branch of human ecology that we may label "cultural ecology," meaning man's interrelationship with and dependence on his cultural environment. Let us then recognize that our cultural ecology must be kept in balance just as the ecology of nature must be kept in balance.

Such a balance, I submit, requires an evolution from past to present, a harmonious blending of past and present, a continuity between past and present. This ambience of the past in the modern setting is a connection between historic preservation and the environment that is coming to be increasingly recognized in public sentiment and accordingly in law, policy, and regulation. The environmental dimension thus takes its place in the philosophy and practice of historic preservation along with the older and better established dimension of historical association. As we mark historic preservation week, it is appropriate to trace the development of these two dimensions and note how they have combined to give the historic preservation movement new depth, new breadth, and new meaning.

On a statuary pedestal in front of the National Archives building in Washington, D.C., is a Shakespearean inscription that states, simply

yet profoundly, "All the past is prologue." Less profoundly but at least equally simply, a Washington taxi driver translates this as "Brother, you ain't seen nothing yet." The famed English historian Lord Macaulay expressed like sentiments: "A people that takes no pride in the accomplishments of their remote ancestors will probably produce nothing worthy of recollection by their remote descendants." Shakespeare, Macaulay, and the anonymous hack driver obviously share beliefs at variance with those of Henry Ford, who declared succinctly that "History is bunk." History, they were saying, is the cumulative memory of mankind, without which neither individuals nor nations can fully understand the present or wisely plan for the future.

There is no better way to recall the past than to save the tangible evidences of the past—the places where history was made. The traditional motives and objectives of historic preservation in the United States have centered on saving these historic places. Beyond the educational motive, historic sites are prized for the inspirational and patriotic feelings they evoke. Franklin Roosevelt emphasized this value when he wrote that "the preservation of historic sites for the public benefit, together with their proper interpretation, tends to enhance the respect and love of the citizen for the institutions of his country, as well as strengthen his resolution to defend unselfishly the hallowed traditions and high ideals of America."

In 1896 the Supreme Court of the United States justified the taking of private property to commemorate the Battle of Gettysburg on the same grounds. "Such action on the part of congress touches the heart," declared the Court, "and comes home to the imagination of every citizen, and greatly tends to enhance his love and respect for those institutions for which these heroic sacrifices were made. The greater the love of the citizen for the institutions of his country, the greater is the dependence properly to be placed upon him for their defense in time of necessity, and it is to such men that the country must look for its safety." In essence the Supreme Court ruled that historic preservation was basic to the existence of the nation.

Resting on educational, patriotic, and inspirational motives, therefore, the historic preservation movement has concerned itself mainly with historic sites and buildings worth saving because of their association with a person or an event significant in the history of the nation, a state, or a community. In 1850 the state of New York stepped in to save the Hasbrouck House, George Washington's headquarters at Newburgh in 1782-83, which the state still administers. In 1859 the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union insured that Washington's Potomac plantation would be preserved for posterity after the federal government and the state of Virginia had failed to act. The surge of patriotism aroused by the centennial observance of 1876 stimulated interest in sav-



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ing the places where the nation's history was first made, most notably Independence Hall in Philadelphia; and the politically powerful Grand Army of the Republic saw to it that the great battlefields of the Civil War were set aside.

This type of approach was implicit in the legislation that involved the federal government in historic preservation. The Antiquities Act of 1906 empowered the president to establish national monuments on the public domain. The National Park Service Act of 1916 created a federal agency to administer historic as well as scenic parks. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 established a national policy of preserving historic sites and buildings of national significance. It authorized the secretary of the interior to conduct a historic sites survey to identify such places, to acquire and to administer some of them as federal properties, and to aid in the preservation of others through cooperative agreements.

Under these and other enactments the National Park Service now administers over 180 parks, established for their national significance in American history or prehistory, and the Historic Sites Survey has identified more than one thousand nationally significant places as National Historic Landmarks. Most of the National Historic Sites and Parks and most of the National Historic Landmarks have attracted recognition and support because of an inherent significance in history. They include battlefields and forts, the homes of statesmen and military notables, and places that represent the turning points or milestones in the nation's

political, economic, social, and technological development. Here in Colorado the National Park Service administers Mesa Verde National Park and Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site. Among the National Historic Landmarks are Pike's Stockade and famous old mining towns, such as Leadville and Georgetown.

Some of these places represent a second type of approach to historic preservation—the outdoor museum. This approach, springing from the precedent of Skansen in the 1890s in Sweden, is aimed at the restoration and the reconstruction of an ensemble of buildings, mostly anonymous in origin and distinction, in order to display the way of life of ordinary people of earlier times in particular localities. Williamsburg is the best-known example, although Cooperstown, Sturbridge Village, and Old Salem are notable too. But like the individual landmarks, the context of evaluation is still primarily historical, and the motives of preservation still largely patriotic, inspirational, and educational.

Reconstructed by the Society according to Zebulon M. Pike's detailed description, Pike's Stockade, located near La Jara in the San Luis Valley, was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1964.



Efforts on the state and local level and in the private sector have taken a similar focus. Public agencies, private societies, and even individuals operate thousands of sites and historic house museums across the country that are exhibited to the public because of a historic connection with some person or event of importance in the past of a state or community. The home of the "Unsinkable Molly Brown" here in Denver immediately comes to mind.

To summarize, then, the historic preservation movement in the United States has traditionally been propelled by patriotic, inspirational, and educational motives, and it has been aimed primarily at the preservation of places significant for association with historic persons or events.

More recent in origin and somewhat different in motives and objectives is the environmental dimension of historic preservation. It was born of the sudden and almost revolutionary changes wrought in the look and the life of America by mid-twentieth century industrial and technological developments. Urbanization and the construction of high-



ways, dams, power lines, pipelines, and other necessities of modern civilization have obliterated much that was familiar in both our natural and man-made environment. In addition, we have become a mobile society, in which one family in five moves to a new home each year. The result is a feeling of rootlessness and a loss of the sense of stability and belonging imparted to our everyday lives by the familiar things of the past.

There is a poignant scene in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* that dramatizes this need for tangible links with the past. The Oklahoma farm wives are loading their few possessions on an old truck for the long journey to California, away from the Dust Bowl. There is not enough room. "The women sat among the doomed things," wrote Steinbeck, "turning them over and looking past them and back. This book. My father had it. He liked a book. . . . Here's a letter my brother wrote the day before he died. Here's an oldtime hat. These feathers—never got to use them. No, there isn't room. How can we live without our lives? How will we know it's us without our past?"

In this brief passage Steinbeck captures the shock and the pain of discontinuity in our lives and our surroundings. "How will we know it's us without our past?" Can we live without our past? No, we cannot, he says. We need those images that have value in themselves, that recall associations, that hold special meanings for us and thereby give us our identity.

And so as we have gone about this task of saving the homes of prominent people and the scenes of memorable events, we have become increasingly aware that anonymous evidences of the past are worth saving too. A building or a group of buildings, a historic open space, a bridge or canal, even a historic town plan, as expressed in the street layout, may capture the flavor of past generations, while remaining visually pleasing to the present generation, and also may lend itself to an economically viable modern use, without compromising the integrity of the basic historical fabric.

Most cities contain districts of old buildings that, when properly restored, not only illustrate past life ways of the community but also offer opportunities for modern functional uses. They may be residential, commercial, industrial, public, or combinations of all. They may represent one period and one architectural style or an evolution of several styles over several generations.

Many cities are discovering that the definition and the restoration of such districts can give scale and texture, richness and diversity, historical depth and continuity, and economic viability to an urban environment that otherwise tends toward an unedifying compound of drab slums and unimaginative modernity. Notable examples may be found in Philadelphia, Annapolis, Savannah, Charleston, Providence, Newport, Boston,



New Orleans, Columbus, and San Francisco. The Larimer Square restoration in Denver has earned well-merited acclaim throughout the nation as one of the most imaginative, tasteful, and successful efforts to bring new life and use to buildings of a past era.

The origins of this environmental dimension, although not so explicitly rationalized in environmental terms, may be traced to 1931, when the battery area of Charleston, South Carolina, was defined by selective zoning as a historic district. This zoning project restricted the development of that area of the city and limited the individual property owner in what he could do with his property. A similar zoning ordinance for the Vieux Carré, or French Quarter, in New Orleans, was passed in 1937,



and Boston enacted one in 1955. At the latest count about one-half of the fifty states had passed legislation enabling communities to set up historic districts, and approximately one hundred municipalities had adopted ordinances for this purpose.

The environmental view of historic preservation found its most concrete expression in 1965 in the report of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation, sponsored by the United States Conference of Mayors. This group, called the Rains Committee for its chairman, former Congressman Albert Rains of Alabama, issued a clear and compelling call for an environmental reorientation of the historic preservation movement. In its report, published as a book entitled *With Heritage So Rich*, the committee declared that

if the preservation movement is to be successful, it must go beyond saving bricks and mortar. It must go beyond saving occasional historic houses and opening museums. It must be more than a cult of antiquarians. It must do more than revere a few precious national shrines. It must attempt to give a sense of orientation to our society, using structures and objects of the past to establish values of time and place.

This means a reorientation of outlook and effort in several ways.

First, the preservation movement must recognize the importance of architecture, design and esthetics as well as historic and cultural values. Those who treasure a building for its pleasing appearance or local sentiment do not find it less important because it lacks "proper" historic credentials.

Second, the new preservation must look beyond the individual building and individual landmark and concern itself with the historic and architecturally valued areas and districts which contain a special meaning for the community. A historic neighborhood, a fine old street of houses, a village green, a colorful market-place, a courthouse square, an aesthetic quality of the townscape—all must fall within the concern of the preservation movement. It makes little sense to fight for the preservation of a historic house set between two service stations, and at the same time to ignore an entire area of special charm or importance in the community which is being nibbled away by incompatible uses or slow decay.

Third, if the effort to preserve historic and architecturally significant areas as well as individual buildings is to succeed, intensive thought and study must be given to economic conditions and tax policies which will affect our efforts to preserve such areas as living parts of the community.

In sum, if we wish to have a future with greater meaning, we must concern ourselves not only with the historic highlights, but we must be concerned with the total heritage of the nation and all that is worth preserving from our past as a living part of the present.

The Congress responded to this call and in 1966 enacted no less than four major laws broadening and strengthening the federal role in historic preservation.

The Department of Transportation Act and the Federal-Aid Highway Act both declared a national policy that special effort be made "to preserve the natural beauty of the countryside and public park and

recreation lands, wildlife and waterfowl refuges, and historic sites." Where such lands are threatened with adverse effect from federal transportation projects, the secretary of transportation and the federal highway administrator are enjoined to consider alternate plans that would avoid or minimize harm.

The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act relaxed previous restrictions of law against the use of urban renewal funds for historic preservation and authorized new programs of historic preservation in urban areas.

The National Historic Preservation Act significantly broadened the national preservation policy charged to the secretary of the interior by the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and provided important new tools for carrying it out. These tools are a National Register of Historic Places listing districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects worthy of preservation; a matching grants-in-aid program to the states and the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to advise the president and the Congress and assess the public interest where federal or federally supported undertakings imperil properties listed in the National Register. In the National Historic Preservation Act the Congress gave historic preservation the reorientation called for by the Rains Committee. It brought together the inspirational, patriotic, and educational motives, on the one hand, with the environmental and esthetic, on the other, and placed the whole firmly in the environmental context.

Twice since 1966 this public policy has been further strengthened. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 addressed itself to the man-made as well as the natural environment. Federal agencies must not only evaluate but also publicly explain the impact of their projects on both natural and cultural resources and make every effort to eliminate or mitigate damaging effects. Executive Order 11593, issued by President Nixon on 13 May 1971 and entitled "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," explicitly places every federal agency in the historic preservation business. Agencies are to inventory historic properties in their custody, nominate them to the National Register, and adopt measures to insure their preservation.

Still needed in our growing body of preservation law are tools to lessen economic pressures on historic buildings and districts. President Nixon has proposed significant tax relief for owners of historic properties. The environmental protection tax act, which he has twice recommended to the Congress, would place historic buildings in the National Register on the same footing in the tax laws as new construction. Projects for the restoration of registered historic buildings could qualify for accelerated depreciation allowances, while new construction that caused the demolition of a registered building would not be eligible.

The developments of the past decade—in federal, state, and local government and in the private sector—record an evolution of our national attitudes toward historic preservation. The associative and environmental motivations have been joined to give us a new and more mature rationale, one that explicitly acknowledges historic preservation as vital to the maintenance of our cultural ecology. This rationale holds that there are two major reasons why a worthy old building, or a fine old neighborhood, should be preserved and restored. One is ethical. The other is esthetic.

Ethically—historic preservation is important because it preserves for the future the flavor and the essence of the past, because it hallows places where great events occurred or where great men once trod, because it maintains a living evidence of the past and the growth of a community, and because it is history in brick, stone, and timber. These reasons are just as valid for history of community significance as for history of national significance. Historic buildings and sites are an integral part of the life of a community or a nation, and they should be treated as such.

Esthetically—historic preservation is important because it is the means by which the visual fabric of a community is enriched, because it offers scale and historic perspective to the buildings of today and provides a necessary contrast to them, and because it reminds us of the pace and the taste of life in days gone by.



But there always will be found powerful interests opposing the application of this philosophy in particular cases. The appeal of short-term profit obscures the long-term public benefit. Rare is the preservation undertaking that did not begin with a struggle between preservationists and the forces of profit and expediency. Many are the preservation undertakings shattered at the outset because of the strength and the organization of these forces.

Despite the growing list of preservation victories, despite the demonstrated success—esthetic and economic—of preservation projects throughout the country, and despite the signal legislative advances of recent years on the national, state, and local levels, the connection between historic preservation and the quest for a quality environment has not become explicit enough in the minds of legislators, policy makers, and the general public.

What is needed now is—first, public awareness of the place of historic preservation in the total environment; second, integration of historic preservation programs with all other programs and resources dedicated to environmental improvement; and third, public willingness to become involved in the political process at the local level in behalf of environmental causes.

The last is of the most compelling importance. Federal laws and programs are helpful tools, but without local concern, and local action, they are of little use. It is in the city council, the zoning board, and the planning commission that the real decisions are made, and these decisions turn largely on who talks with the loudest voice—the speculator and developer or the public.

There are now some new weapons. Federal and state officials can help. But in the final analysis the balance of our cultural ecology depends on an informed, active, and persistent local citizenry working on and within the local power structure.

We are not the first people to live on this land, and we will not be the last. Our national environment has come to us in our time, to be enjoyed by us in our time. At the end of our time we shall relinquish our temporary stewardship to other hands. As past generations have done, we shall leave upon this land the mark of our tenure. The question we must all ask of ourselves is what this mark will be. Each of us possesses the choice to save or to destroy. We exercise it through action or through apathy. We are trustees of an irreplaceable resource that we, as a nation, must preserve with dedication if we are not to create around us an environment of sterility and chaos.

"One Who Dares to Plan": Charles W. Caryl and the New Era Union

BY H. ROGER GRANT*

During the 1890s Americans experienced a decade of unprecedented change. Not only did the frontier close, but the nation rapidly became an industrialized-urbanized society and the first-great-industrial depression struck. This depression, which lasted from 1893 to 1897, did more than throw tens of thousands out of work; it caused Americans from all walks of life to rethink their traditional attitudes about the inevitability of economic progress and the adequacy of existing political institutions. This traumatic experience of hard times produced what David P. Thelen has called "the New Citizenship"—the rise of a new, public-spirited citizenry that initiated and sustained a nationwide reform drive that later would be labeled "progressivism."¹

Another product of the nineties, and one directly related to change, was the appearance of a sizeable number of secular utopian novels and communities. Although utopianism had long been a part of American life, such activities prior to that time had been largely of a religious nature—three of the better known examples being Shakerism, Mormonism, and the religious perfectionism practiced by John Humphrey Noyes' Oneida, New York colony. The dawn of the "Age of Trusts" after the Civil War, however, prompted a renewed interest in utopia. The new economic order encroached severely upon individual liberty and committed a variety of "arrogant" acts; wealth and power became concentrated in the hands of the new industrial elite, while workers became a part of an impersonal and often exploited labor force.

These conditions, commonplace by the late 1880s, accelerated during the nineties and thus produced a milieu conducive to the writing of a

* Dr. Grant wishes to thank the Research Committee of the University of Akron for financing his research on Caryl.

¹ David P. Thelen, *The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885-1900* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972).

host of utopian novels and the founding of scores of reform or utopian communities.² Utopian novelists, like Edward Bellamy, Zebina Forbush, and Henry Olerich, deeply disturbed by existing socioeconomic conditions, sought to uplift America by depicting their particular versions of the ideal society. All conceived the problems of the nation as economic ones and hence they framed their solutions in similar terms. These writers, moreover, advocated either communal or socialistic solutions to such problems: all property had to be commonly owned or the means of production at least owned and operated in common.³ Most utopian communities that appeared after the Panic of 1893, with few exceptions, followed the latter plan of organization. The Colorado Co-operative Company located in Montrose County proved typical of the new secular utopias. Established in 1894 as a direct response to the ravages of the depression of the 1890s, this socialistic enterprise was founded on two fundamental principles: to provide immediate relief to those adversely affected by depression and to create a model economic structure that would later be emulated by the larger society.⁴

Most of the utopian novelists and colony experiments of the late nineteenth century have not been fully studied, and no book-length overview of American utopianism during this period exists. One notable utopian of the period, Charles Willard Caryl, author of the *New Era*,

"One who
dares to plan,
for peace, happiness
and prosperity for
all human beings. . . ."
Charles W. Caryl.



prime instigator behind the Brotherhood of Light and the "Vril" Society, and founder of the New Era Union, has been virtually ignored.

Caryl, an eighth generation American, was born in Oakland, California, on 12 November 1858. At an early age he showed indications of possessing great drive. Graduating from the Sacramento Business College at the age of sixteen, Caryl then became deputy county assessor for Los Angeles County, a post he held for two years. He then returned to Oakland where he went into business for himself. In 1880 Caryl, now twenty-one years old, left California for Philadelphia. There he used his inventive genius and business acumen to perfect and market a commercial fire extinguisher. Apparently this proved financially successful, for John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company and several other firms purchased sizeable quantities of the Caryl invention.⁵

While traveling in the South during the spring of 1887, Caryl became interested in that region. Settling in Chattanooga, Tennessee, he quickly succeeded in securing Eastern and British capital, which he used to build several manufacturing plants. Yet all was not well. The failure of the English banking house of the Baring Brothers in October 1890, which had invested heavily in his enterprises, caused Caryl's financial empire to collapse. Reflecting on this in 1897, Caryl wrote that this event prompted his conclusion that "the competitive struggle for wealth was wrong and must be abolished."⁶

² Allyn B. Forbes in "The Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900," *Social Forces* 6 (December 1927):179-89 suggests that more than fifty utopian novels appeared between 1884 and 1900. Yet his bibliography reveals that a large number of utopian works were not included in this count.

No thorough compilation of utopian communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exists. However, such published works as Ralph Albertson, "A Survey of Mutualistic Communities in America," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 34 (October 1936):375-444; Frederick A. Bushee, "Communitistic Societies in the United States," *Political Science Quarterly* 20 (December 1905): 625-64; and Alexander Kent, "Co-operative Communities in the United States," *United States Department of Labor Bulletin* 6, no. 35 (July 1901): 563-646 provide a general idea of the scope of utopia-building during this period.

³ See, for example, Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887* (Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1888); Zebina Forbush, *The Co-opolitan: A Story of the Co-operative Commonwealth of Idaho* (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 1898); Henry Olerich, *A Cityless and Countryless World* (Holstein, Iowa: Gilmore & Olerich, 1893).

⁴ For the story of the formative years of the Colorado Co-operative Company see *Denver Altrurian*, January 1895-September 1896; *Naturita Altrurian*, October 1896-April 1897; *Pinon Altrurian*, May 1897-December 1898. Of interest too, are C. E. Julihu, "Pinon—A New Brook Farm of the West," *National Magazine* 11 (October 1899):29-34; Ellen Z. Peterson, "Origins of the Town of Nucla," *The Colorado Magazine* 26 (October 1949):252-58; and Duane D. Mercer, "The Colorado Co-operative Company, 1894-1904," *The Colorado Magazine* 44 (Fall 1967): 293-306.

⁵ Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado . . . from 1858 to 1890*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1895), 2d ed., 4:497.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Charles W. Caryl, *New Era: Presenting the Plans for the New Era Union to Help Develop and Utilize the Best Resources of This Country* (Denver, [1897]), p. 61. Arno Press in New York reprinted this edition in 1971.

[Caryl] proposes to issue 1,000,000 shares of stock of a par value of \$100 each, payable in yearly installments of \$10 each. At the end of the first year he will have \$10,000,000. With part of this money he will purchase a tract of land on the seaboard and set 10,000 unemployed men at work building a city. With the \$10,000,000 which will come in at the end of the second year he will buy a forest and set more men at work getting out timber for the extension of his city. The third year he will buy mines and work them, and the fourth installment of \$10,000,000 will be used to connect the city, the forest and the mines by railroad. Thousands more of men will be required as the work goes on. The installments as they come in will be used for the development of the manufactures of the city, the mines and the land from which the forest has been cleared. At the end of the ten years the institution will have become self-supporting and from 200,000 to 250,000 men will have been provided with homes and permanent employment. Efforts will then be made to extend the scheme until eventually every unemployed man in the country will have been provided for.¹³

Few took Caryl's plan seriously in 1892. Edward Everett Hale, the famous author and Unitarian minister, and Robert Treat Paine, the crusading philanthropist from Boston, agreed that Caryl's intentions were noble, but both questioned the feasibility of the plan.¹⁴ Perhaps the severity of the depression of the mid-nineties had prompted Caryl once more to propose a utopian solution to hard times. Modifying his original scheme, he now sought greater publicity and support for it.

Written largely in a play format, the *New Era* consists principally of eight chapters or "acts." Although frequently repetitive, Caryl's actors clearly express those problems that plagued Americans during the depression and that troubled Caryl the most: industrial unemployment, "slave" wages and long working hours for those fortunate enough to have jobs, slum conditions in factory centers, and growing class tensions caused by the ever-widening gulf between rich and poor.

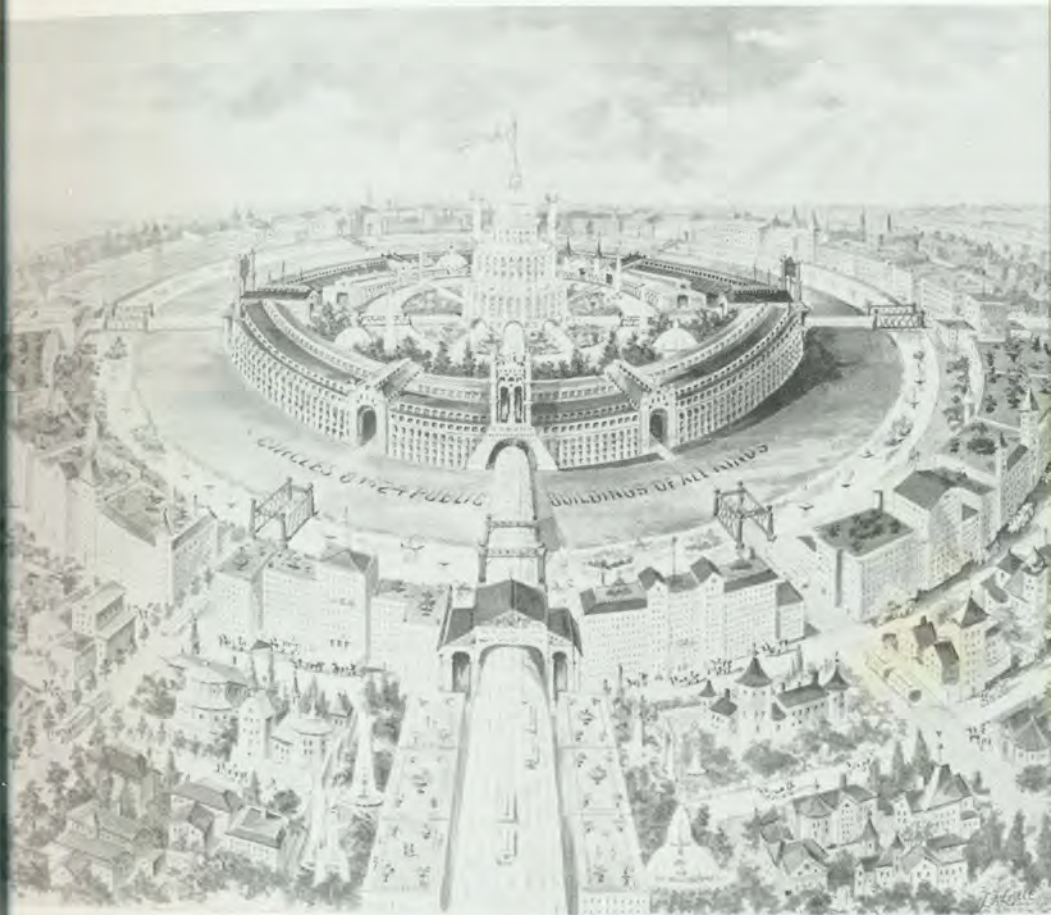
In revealing the woes of society Caryl uses two forms of characters. He introduces contemporary figures, like Coloradans Alva Adams, Henry M. Teller, and Davis H. Waite, who join Jane Addams, Edward Bellamy, Mary Elizabeth Lease, and others in discussing the needs for a model secular utopia, and he also employs archtypical characters: "Mr. Railroad," "Mr. Banker," "Mr. Politician," "Mr. Oil," and "Mr. Dude." Portrayed as public enemies, he depicts these men as benefiting from the status quo and living in fear of all reform efforts, whether the eight-hour day or Populism. In one act containing such individuals, Caryl, in highly melodramatic fashion, describes the daily lives of the poor with entire families "barefooted, ragged and wretched."¹⁵

¹³ *Enterprise* (Kan.) *Integral Co-operator*, 7 April 1892.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Caryl, *New Era*, p. 79.

The *New Era's* hero, T. A. Sutta (none other than Charles W. Caryl), discusses and debates the shortcomings of society with both character types. Then in the concluding two acts, set in Boston's Faneuil Hall—"the Cradle of Liberty"—he reveals his plans for the New Era Union to a wildly enthusiastic audience.



Sutta begins with a description of the New Era Model City. It was to be constructed on a level tract of land, ten miles square, and would ultimately employ and house one million residents. Divided into governmental, commercial, industrial, cultural, and residential sections, the city would be built on a series of 239 circles or rings around the "Administration Capitol" of the New Era Union. Caryl describes the capitol in great detail.

This building will be three hundred feet in diameter, three hundred or more feet high, and have the highest tower or dome of any building in the world. The ground floor will be a grand central exchange depot for all the electric railways radiating to all parts of the city. The second story will be a grand Auditorium, to hold twenty-five thousand people, for important public meetings, and for use of the Captains' Council of the New Era Union. The next floor above will be a still more beautiful grand Auditorium, though smaller, for the use of the Majors' Council of the New Era Union, with rooms for its officers. Above this will be the grand and magnificent Generals' Council Hall, and apartments for its officers. The floor above for the Executive Officers of the Recruits' Division, and so on up, a floor for each division of the New Era Union, to the highest or Generals' Division. Then the highest floors for the General Executive Officers, and the top floor for the Supreme Council and Supreme Trustee.¹⁶

As Sutta suggests in his description of the "Administration Capitol," the New Era Union, like free masonry, would be divided into degrees,

ranging from the "First or Recruits' Degree" to the "Seventh or General's Degree." The Recruits would be common laborers paid two dollars a day for eight-hours of work. They would have to purchase a membership, "costing \$600, to be invested in the bonds of the New Era Union, from one-fourth of their earnings or otherwise."¹⁷ The Generals would serve as the executive officers and directors of the utopia and would receive a daily salary of twenty-five dollars. Generals would also be required to buy a membership of \$7,500, either by investing a quarter of their earnings or using their own savings. The other five degrees—Privates, Sergeants, Lieutenants, Captains, and Majors (semiskilled and skilled workers and white collar and professional people)—would be paid daily salaries ranging from three to fifteen dollars and they too were expected to invest in New Era Union bonds. Money raised from members would construct the New Era Model City and would pay salaries. In time the city would be economically self-sufficient and all bondholders would be repaid their initial investment and six percent interest.

Sutta emphasizes that class lines, while fluid, would exist in all aspects of community life. The Generals would live in circles 34 through 40, the Majors in 41 through 53, and so on down to the Recruits' circles. Each class, too, would have a separate social organization, designed for its own special needs and duties. All classes would strive toward the ultimate goal: "To attain peace, happiness and prosperity for its members, as far as possible, on a basis of justice and reciprocity."¹⁸

The government of the New Era Union would be based on democratic principles. Stockholders, which would include all adults, would annually elect a board of twelve general directors. These directors would have charge of "all the interests of the New Era Union, subject to the supreme trustee."¹⁹ The supreme trustee, presumably Caryl, would be elected for a ten-year term. Although this office would be a powerful one—for example, the supreme trustee would have the right to veto decisions of the general board of directors—the stockholders could initiate legislation or programs and could force referendum votes on all legislation and decisions approved by the board and the supreme trustee. Residents, moreover, would be protected by the civil service department, which "will keep a careful account of each member's record and time of service and insure that all promotions and dismissals will be in accord with the laws of justice and reciprocity, and for the best interests of all concerned."²⁰ Members, also, would be protected from acts of private

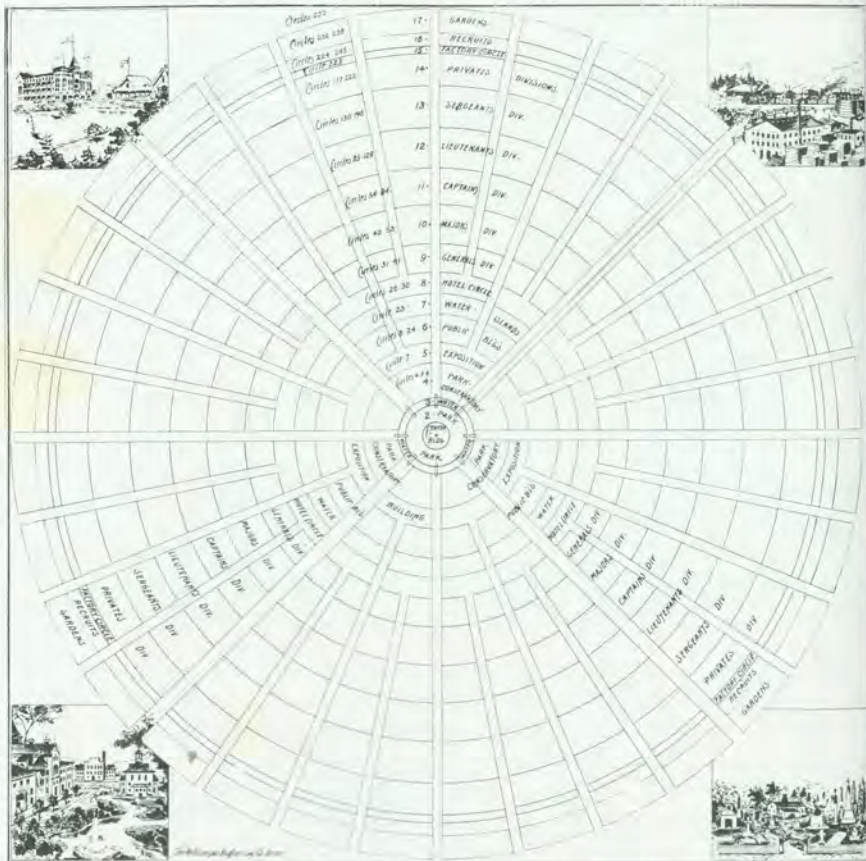
¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-36.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.



corporate arrogance, since the means of production would be cooperatively owned and managed. Similarly all utilities would be municipally operated.

The *New Era* lays bare much of Caryl's world view. Various passages not only show his displeasure with current conditions but also reveal many of his pet reform schemes: the eight-hour day, civil service, public ownership of utilities, slum eradication, city planning, and direct democracy—particularly the concepts of the initiative and the referendum. The play also depicts Caryl's eccentric side. He details, for instance, the laying of the cornerstone for the Administration Capitol.

Plans will be arranged for having at least one million people present, by arranging cheap excursions from all over the world, but especially from every part of the United States. The event will last three days . . . and will be the grandest and most stupendous and glorious celebration that can be conceived of and executed by the grandest minds in our country. . . . Five million dollars or more will be spent in advertising and promoting this grand celebration, feeding the people and paying for the different attractions and other expenses.²¹

Clearly this is a grandiose scheme but consistent with the grand, if not impractical, plan of the New Era Model City.

Reaction to the *New Era* was mixed. The reform newspaper, the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, devoted considerable space to Caryl's utopian proposal.²² While the paper did not comment editorially, it published statements that indicated that some of the readers of the book backed the scheme. "I think your plan such an admirable one," wrote Benjamin O. Flower, the founder of the reform magazine *Arena*, to Caryl, "that it ought to be taken hold of by organized labor everywhere in such a manner as to make labor independent." The *News* quoted C. B. Russell, president of the Tackmakers' Union, who said, "I am convinced that your idea is capable of vast possibilities."²³ But the principal organ of the Labor Exchange, a regional workers' cooperative with Colorado chapters, criticized the *New Era*.²⁴ "From general appearance," wrote the editor of *Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity*, "we should say that if the gentleman author was really sincere in doing the working people a good turn he could have done an immense amount of valuable service by applying his ability and means to effective work through the Labor Exchange."²⁵

²¹ Ibid., p. 144.

²² *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 3, 13 September 1897.

²³ Both quotations appear in the *News*, 13 September 1897.

²⁴ The Labor Exchange, first organized in Missouri in 1875, operated cooperative stores and businesses in several Colorado communities, including Aspen, Del Norte, Denver, Monte Vista, Steamboat Springs, and Trinidad (see *Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity*, 1892-1897, published in Olathe, Kansas).

²⁵ Ibid., December 1897. See also *Ores and Metals* 6, no. 11 (November 1897):9.

Perhaps a crusty old Socialist, Edward L. Gallatin, best summarized the reaction to Caryl and the New Era Union. "Mr. Caryl is full of energy and good intent, but we fear he gets overwrought in cloud walking theory that will fall flat when he attempts to put it into practice." Pinpointing why many reformers and others failed to flock to Caryl's blueprint for a better life, Gallatin argued that his system of degrees of labor and wages would result in "creating or containing the same old system of classes that builds up aristocracy and rotten ideas of superiority of one above another."²⁶ Few, if any, secular utopians of the late nineteenth century would have institutionalized class lines as did Caryl, just as no others offered a grander plan for the ideal society.

Caryl must have been disappointed that a ground swell of support never materialized for the New Era Union. In the months after the appearance of the *New Era*, however, he remained convinced that his objectives and his methods were correct. Moreover, he was psychologically prepared to handle criticism. As Sutta said to "Mr. Dude" in the *New Era* play, "I have never known of a man or woman in this world who had any grand, important or new ideas, who, if they were sincere and aggressive in carrying them out, but had to endure censure and condemnation, and be called cranks, until in the course of years or centuries the people were finally able to comprehend that invariably the so-called cranks have turned out to be their chief benefactors."²⁷

Using his mining properties and town lots in Wall Street as the nucleus for the New Era Union, Caryl, early in 1898, sought to have un-



A sketch of Wall Street in 1899, formally the old Delphi district.

employed miners work his mineral deposits and live in the community. They would receive a living wage and profits could then be turned over to the development fund of the New Era Union. By the spring of 1898

²⁶ Edward L. Gallatin, *What Life Has Taught Me* (Denver: John Frederick, 1900), pp. 94, 97.

approximately one hundred fifty miners had found jobs in Caryl's camp—the closest the New Era Union ever came to fruition. This part of Caryl's story, like so much of his life, is obscure. Apparently all attempts at creating a utopia on the New Era Union format collapsed by 1899. What interest existed flagged, due probably to the end of the depressed conditions and the proposed class structure so repugnant to Caryl's constituency.²⁸

Business directories and other sources show that Charles Caryl remained in Colorado after abandoning the New Era Union. He continued his mining activities, principally through the Gold Extraction, Mining, and Supply Company and the newly organized Caryl Coal Mining Company. But this indefatigable social reformer and utopian continued to become entangled in minor, eccentric utopian ventures, the first being the Brotherhood of Light.²⁹

Founded by Dr. John B. Newburgh in the 1880s, the Brotherhood of Light opened a Colorado branch in 1901. The overall objective of the group was "the gathering of babies and castaways, . . . educating them to be self-supporting and bringing them up with a religious belief."³⁰ Yet the Brotherhood of Light was interested in more than a form of eugenics. The cult stressed communal living, spiritualism, and vegetarianism. Caryl, who became a brotherhood member shortly after its organization in the state, quickly helped the group establish a "baby colony" south of University Park, near Denver. Trouble with the Colorado Bureau of Child and Animal Protection after the death of several children in 1902 prompted Caryl, now brotherhood president, and other members to relocate their colony at Arboles, a village on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in Archuleta County. There the colony operated until 1906, when the deaths of nine babies caused state officials to close it permanently.³¹

In 1903 he founded the "Vril" Society. In a series of pamphlets he proudly announced that he had discovered a marvelous secret force that could create wealth. He called this force "vril."

It is not necessary to create this power as with steam or electricity, for it has always existed and is as available as air. It is the power or force that created the earth, maintains it in its place in space and causes all kind of life, light, heat and power. But [I] have discovered the means of creating vastly more wealth and thus advancing to a greater degree the wisdom, health, happiness and prosperity of all who use it, than has resulted from all the uses of steam, electricity, that the world has ever known.³²

Not surprisingly Caryl organized the "Vril" Society on a communal basis with the avowed intention of building a New Era Union-type world. He expected to achieve his old dream not through the sale of

bonds but rather by harnessing the new-wonder-force "vril." This society, too, had major classes or divisions with Caryl, of course, the leader. How many Coloradoans joined the "Vril" group is unknown, although one source said the new cult "spread like wildfire."³³

Yet, this particular utopian plan did not survive either. It quickly became evident that Caryl had copied the "vril" idea, and even the word, from *The Coming Race*, a utopian novel written in 1871 by the well-known English author Lord Bulwer-Lytton.³⁴ "Following upon the discovery of Caryl's plagiarism," commented the *Denver Post*, "the new cult collapsed suddenly and swiftly." The paper noted that Caryl had attempted to regain his following by exhibiting a "sun-ray" invention at the 1904 World's Fair in Saint Louis, which he claimed "would soon replace steam and electricity as driving power."³⁵ At times, then, Charles Caryl appeared unable to distinguish literary fantasy from reality. His inventive tinkering, however, may have convinced him that he had indeed discovered the key to a better life.

With a handful of Brotherhood of Light colonists from Arboles, mostly women, he also started a virtually unknown experiment about 1907 in California, the Caryl Co-operative Industrial System. This scheme contained a combination of New Era Union notions (cooperative ownership of industry and the eight-hour day) and Brotherhood of Light concepts (spiritualism, vegetarianism, and race improvement). The activities of the colony in California are sketchy, for, as Caryl later admitted, the utopians had been "forced to move so frequently that now [1912] I do not intend to make public where we are."³⁶

²⁸ Caryl, *New Era*, p. 68.

²⁹ *Colorado Springs Mining Investor*, 9 April 1898; *Denver Times*, 16 August 1899.

³⁰ *Twenty-Seventh Annual Denver City Directory for 1899* (Denver: Ballenger & Richards, 1899), p. 261; *Twenty-Eighth Annual Denver City Directory for 1900*, p. 287; *Twenty-Ninth Annual Denver City Directory for 1901*, p. 312; *Ores and Metals* 6, no. 9 (September 1901):15-16.

³¹ *Denver Times*, 8 April 1902.

³² *Ibid.*, 21 February 1903; *Denver Rocky Mountain Daily News*, 6 February 1912; *Denver Express*, 10 February 1912; *Denver Post*, 14 February 1912.

³³ *Denver Post*, 14 February 1912.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Edward G. E. L. Bulwer-Lytton, *The Coming Race* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1871). Lytton is today best remembered for his novel *The Last Days of Pompeii*. For an analysis of *The Coming Race* see Robert DeMaria, "From Bulwer-Lytton to George Orwell: The Utopian Novel in England, 1870-1950" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1959). See also *Denver Post*, 14 February 1912.

³⁶ *Denver Post*, 14 February 1912.

³⁷ *Denver Express*, 10 February 1912. The sectarian colonies that Caryl became associated with may best be described as quasi-religious. These experiments (the Brotherhood of Light and the Caryl Co-operative Industrial System) expressed the contemporary fascination with Spiritualism. The Spiritualist interest in "Atomic Theory" and the wonders of psychic powers gave the faith a pseudoscientific flavor and, therefore, links this religion to various nonreligious ideas and concepts.

PRIEST of "Applied Science of Living University" and Woman to Whom He Is Accused of Sending Objectionable Letters



Charles Willard Caryl

SUN-HARNESSESS CARYL
CAN'T GIVE BOND,
GOES TO JAIL

EXPLAINS "NEW LIFE" CULT

Denies He Said It Was to Be Composed Exclusively of Women and Himself.

Charles Willard Caryl, looking much the sage, and talking much his philosophy, arriving in Denver yesterday in charge of a United States mar-

Not being able to give the \$1,000 bonus

of faith, was to be excluded. But Caryl repudiates this. "Men were to be admitted, when they had reached a certain stage in the teachings," he says.

Both Cary and Miss Richardson were the leaders of the organization in San Francisco. When the sun was harvested, humanity was to be led out of its slavery. The tolling millions were to toll no longer. Man and man were to live together as brothers. Happiness was to permeate the land.

TAFT HUSHED SCANDAL
TO SAVE HENCHMAN,
ARMY MAN SWEARS

COMRADE'S WIFE INVOLVED

the perfect race. Presumably Caryl would father this band of "perfect human beings" with his "spiritual mates" as mothers. The Post Office subsequently charged him with sending more than two-hundred obscene letters. "I was not myself who wrote the letters but my worst self that was predominant," Caryl told arresting officers. "I was under the influence of my vile sub-conscious self, and I will prove this by members of my cult when I am brought to trial."³⁸ The case apparently never came before the court.³⁹

Caryl subsequently returned to his business interests, mining and real estate, and remained in Denver through 1915. After that he left Colorado, returning to his native California, and died in Los Angeles of a bladder disease on 27 November 1926.⁴⁰

As a historical figure Charles Caryl is difficult to assess. His response to human suffering at a time of great economic hardship was noble. Moreover, he reflected the reform impulses felt throughout the nation between 1890 and 1915. Caryl's utopian proposals, particularly his plan for the New Era Union, while people-oriented, were severely crippled by his idiosyncrasies. Although a democrat, Caryl consistently strove to single out and reward those individuals, like himself, who possessed business and inventive skills. But a meritocracy did not appeal to most workers, and the New Era Union failed. Only his bizarre, quasi-religious utopias attracted followers who were willing to build more enduring colonies. Here, the ideas of class and race improvement had appeal. Yet Charles Willard Caryl was, as the caption under his portrait in the *New Era* proclaimed, "One Who Dares to Plan."

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¹⁷ *Denver Post*, 14 February 1912.

¹⁶ *Denver Rocky Mountain Daily News*, 11 February 1912.

²According to the *Denver Post* of 11 February 1912 Caryl's case was to be presented to a federal grand jury in Denver in May. A careful search of the Denver daily newspapers for the period April through December 1912 failed to unearth additional information concerning either Caryl or his legal difficulties.

⁴⁰ See the *Forty-Second Annual Denver Directory 1914*, p. 638, and the *Forty-Third Annual Denver Directory 1915*, p. 640. Caryl's death certificate is located in the State of California, Sacramento, Department of Public Health, file number 26-052236.

The Antiimperialist Crusade of Thomas M. Patterson

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

Thomas M. Patterson received his highest political recognition in 1901, when, as a reward for his fusionist efforts on behalf of silver, he became United States senator from Colorado. As a vigorous advocate of domestic reforms designed to enhance the influence of the common people, he had consistently used the pages of his *Denver Rocky Mountain News* to support proposals of both the Populists and the democracy of William Jennings Bryan.¹ Destined to serve only one six-year term, Patterson failed to develop the power that comes from reelection to office, and distracting events at home in Colorado persisted throughout his term of office.² However, during the first administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, he became a leading voice of protest against the foreign policies of the United States.

The Democrats, vastly outnumbered in the Senate and lacking cohesion, failed to offer effective opposition to the majority Republicans.³ Senate legislation became primarily Republican caucus action, and the function of the minority Democrats became almost entirely one of criticism.⁴ In the entire Congress reformers did not exist in any



Senator Patterson



Senator Teller



Senator Carmack

significant numbers in either party. Pressure for domestic reform during the first half of the decade stemmed from the administration, and expediency made even Roosevelt appear too willing to compromise during much of his first term.⁵ In this environment Patterson soon became one of the most vocal members of a small group of combative Democrats. He was consistently supported by his colleague from Colorado, Henry Moore Teller, and by Senator Edward W. Carmack of Tennessee. It was not unusual for Patterson to vote in the company of Senators Charles A. Culberson and Joseph W. Bailey of Texas, Fred T. Dubois of Idaho, and Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina.⁶

Although his Senate colleagues usually looked with disapproval on any new man who asserted himself aggressively, Patterson apparently

¹ Because of his leadership of the Colorado fusionists, some confusion existed concerning Patterson's party identification. In 1900 he was chairman of the National Populist Convention; however, in accepting the senatorial nomination he announced his decision to work with the Democratic Party and praised Bryan as "the father of us all" (*Denver Times*, 15 January 1901).

² These included Patterson's involvement in heated municipal and state elections, a challenge to his leadership in the Democratic Party, and a legal action in which he was cited for contempt by the Colorado Supreme Court for what he regarded as a defense of the freedom of the press. For an examination of these and other events affecting his public career, see Robert E. Smith, "Thomas M. Patterson: Colorado Crusader" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1973).

³ In 1901 Republican conservatives controlled the Senate, led by Senators Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, and William B. Allison of Iowa. Even Republicans who later voiced discontent with conservative policies, such as Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, seemed content in 1901 (George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912*, New American Nation series [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958], pp. 117-19).

⁴ Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller: Defender of the West* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton

Printers, 1941), p. 336. Democratic Party unity was suffering from a struggle for control of the party between the followers of Bryan and Grover Cleveland (*Denver Times*, 5 July 1902).

⁵ Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 130.

⁶ Since 1890 Teller and Patterson had agreed on nearly all public questions and Carmack possessed a background similar to Patterson's, for both edited and published metropolitan newspapers. Carmack published the *Nashville Democrat* and the *Memphis Commercial* (Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, pp. 336, 337; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Official Congressional Directory for the Use of the United States Congress*, 58th Cong., 1st sess., 1903, S. Doc. 1, p. 113). On the senators' voting affinity over the question of Philippine independence, see the series of votes on the Philippine Civil Government Bill, U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 3: 2131-34 (*Congressional Record* hereafter cited as *Cong. Record*).

made a favorable impression during his first debates.⁷ He soon gained the reputation for thriving on the "cordial roastings" he received from those whose policies he opposed.⁸ The friendly *Indianapolis Journal* applauded him as a fighting Irishman whose greatest delight in Washington consisted of "making someone squirm."⁹ The *New York Sun* complained that Patterson could not shed his defense lawyer tactics, interrupting speakers, persistently cross-examining his opponents, and showing little appreciation for the concept of dignity in the Senate.¹⁰ While a thorough reading of Patterson's remarks in the *Congressional Record* reveals that his aggressiveness certainly involved him in some petty exchanges and occasional discourtesies, he generally adhered to the rules, and both he and his adversaries used the forms of address customary in the Senate.¹¹ While criticism of the Coloradoan for overly lengthy speeches seems valid, Elmer Ellis, biographer of Teller, observed that Patterson generally performed with courage and eloquence.¹²

Since Patterson's two chief interests were antiimperialism and anti-trust regulation, he felt especially fortunate in being assigned to the Committee on the Philippines and the Committee on Interstate Commerce. During his first session in the Senate he became most prominent as an antiimperialist and devoted nearly all of his time and energy to the issue of the Philippines, impressing his aide Arthur Johnson with the time he spent in the study of the situation.¹³

The proceedings of the Committee on the Philippines quickly developed into an openly partisan duel between the Republican members,

led by Senators John C. Spooner of Wisconsin and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, and the Democrats, led by Senators Patterson, Carmack of Tennessee, and Culberson of Texas, a trio soon labeled the "syndicate of vituperation" by the opposition press.¹⁴ The imperialists argued that expansion in the Far East held the key to solving a growing national surplus. The minority Democrats, with Patterson and Carmack as the leading spokesmen, challenged American commitment to imperialism on ideological grounds and questioned witnesses before the committee concerning the propriety of American actions during the war and during the insurrection and occupation that followed. Claude G. Bowers, biographer of Senator Beveridge, concluded that Patterson performed as a vigorous and resourceful prosecutor when he and his allies cross-examined a distinguished list of witnesses regarding United States policy and the manner in which the Filipino insurrection had been quelled.¹⁵ Patterson also became the chief spokesman for the minority members of the committee in carrying the fight to the full Senate, where he and Teller jointly attacked United States policy and performance.¹⁶

In the Senate Patterson pointed out the alternatives if the United States became involved in the Philippines on a permanent basis. He argued that either the islands must become a territory and subsequently a state or they would revert to anarchy, causing more armies to be sent to bring about complete subjugation. He strongly suggested that the Filipino resistance to American rule was well founded, declaring that "this country should be frank with the Filipinos. They should know whether they are intended for statehood, . . . under the protection of the Constitution, or whether they are to resort to the last avenue that is open to those who aspire for liberty and love independence."¹⁷

Being concerned over newspaper reports that civil liberties were being denied the Filipinos and having read communications from the Federal Party of the Philippine Islands, Patterson challenged the authority of the United States Philippine Commission to pass the alien and sedition act that it had applied to the islands.¹⁸ When his minority col-

¹⁴ *Denver Times*, 3 July 1902.

¹⁵ Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), p. 179. The witnesses included Secretary of War William Howard Taft, Admiral George Dewey, General Arthur MacArthur, and several other high-ranking military officers; complete testimony before the committee is in U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Doc. 331, 3 parts (hereafter cited as *Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, S. Doc. 331).

¹⁶ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 1576-83, 1640-52, 2023-25.

¹⁷ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 1657, 1658. Patterson also likened the position of the United States to France's relation to the United States during the Revolutionary Era; the two countries were allies and as such the United States should not be considered sovereign over the Philippines (*ibid.*, pp. 1398-99).

¹⁸ The Federal Party, according to the Roosevelt administration, was a mainstay in

⁷ *Washington Post*, 21 February 1902; Arthur C. Johnson, Washington, D.C., to Catherine Johnson, Denver, 10, 23 February 1902, Arthur C. Johnson Papers, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder. Arthur Johnson, Patterson's nephew, who had been a reporter for the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, served as the senator's personal secretary in Washington.

⁸ A. C. Johnson, Washington, D.C., to C. Johnson, Denver, 6 March, 2 April, 23 May 1902, Johnson Papers.

⁹ *Indianapolis Journal* as quoted in the *Denver Times*, 21 February 1902.

¹⁰ *New York Sun* as quoted in the *Denver Republican*, 22, 23 May 1902. Clearly established as one of the most successful criminal lawyers in Colorado, Patterson achieved fifty-seven clear acquittals, one pardon, one five-year sentence, and three convictions with sentences of less than five years each in sixty-two murder cases (*Denver Post*, 24 July 1916).

¹¹ Patterson engaged in an embarrassing exchange with Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio concerning which of them interrupted the most, and Senator Platt of Connecticut once vowed to remain on his feet until "the Senator from Colorado ceases to be in a state of eruption" (*Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 2d sess., 1903, 36, pt. 3: 2984; 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 3: 2310).

¹² *Washington Post*, 25 March, 23 April, 3 July 1902. Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana criticized Patterson's tendency to be redundant, and Senator Chauncey M. Depew of New York simply noted that lawyers with leanings towards Populism always had the gift of words (*Cong. Record*, 59th Cong., 1st sess., 1906, 40, pt. 4: 3514, 3522, 3529); Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, p. 337.

¹³ A. C. Johnson, Washington, D.C., to C. Johnson, Denver, 23 May, 6 March 1902, Johnson Papers.



Members of the United States Philippine Commission, from left to right: T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Jose Luzuriaga, Vice-governor Luke E. Wright, Governor William H. Taft, Henry C. Ide, James F. Smith, Benito Legarda. Dean C. Worcester absent.

leagues insisted that he discuss this point in the full Senate, Patterson asserted that the commission had exceeded its power in trying Filipinos without worrying about such constitutional safeguards as trial by jury. Noting that the commission's law followed old Spanish statutes rather than United States law, Patterson singled out a clause calling for punishment for "giving aid and comfort" to any person engaged in insurrection. Such a measure, he said, outlawed even "Good Samaritanism" and suggested that compared to commission law, the sedition laws of 1798 were a "beacon light of liberty." During the debate, Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota defended administration action by supporting the legitimacy of the United States Philippine Commission's actions as an agency of the executive department since Congress had not yet established *any* government in the Philippines.¹⁹

securing peace in the Philippines, although the party frequently criticized American policies (*Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 1657). The United States, or Taft, Philippine Commission was organized by President McKinley in 1900 with federal judge William Howard Taft as president. The commission was to examine conditions on the islands, to formulate United States policy toward the Philippines, and to serve as a legislature under the military governor General Arthur MacArthur. The next year, Taft relieved MacArthur and became the first civilian governor with the twin purposes of replacing the military administrators and involving Filipinos in the government. The deescalation of the insurrection enabled Taft to accomplish these goals and his successes led Roosevelt to appoint him secretary of war in 1904 and prepared the way for his election as president in 1908. On the activities of the commission, see the *Annual Reports of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1900-35).

¹⁹ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 1965-74. Patterson also predicted that the Filipinos would be prosecuted for mere offenses of the mind by some government "satrap" 8000 miles from constitutional relief and suggested that "the hangman's noose" would be in "merry demand" (*ibid.*, 1968, 1966); Senator Knute Nelson's remarks on pp. 1879-80.



"A jail is too good for any newspaper man who will circulate any story such as that."

"Not Pulling Together,"
from the
Denver Republican,
11 May 1902.

Patterson became increasingly committed against retention of the Philippines under any circumstances, and he and Carmack exploited every opportunity to expose questionable results of the American occupation, such as the use of water torture by American troops and the allegations of rapes and violence directed toward helpless natives. Patterson, carrying the results of the testimony to the Senate floor, recounted the brutalities involved in the "pacification" of the islands. He complained that the capture of the rebel chief, Emilio Aguinaldo, had violated the rules of war and international law and urged that Aguinaldo be asked to present in person his side of the case to the committee.²⁰ Patterson and Carmack repeatedly accused the Committee on the Philippines of refusing to summon many crucial witnesses.²¹

The *Washington Post* conceded that Patterson had correctly exposed some American officers who had violated the "rules of civilized warfare" by employing spies to defeat the Filipinos.²² In Colorado, however, the *Denver Republican* applauded the statement made by Senator Charles H. Deitrich of Nebraska that Patterson actually was doing all he could to injure the army, a charge that Patterson denied. Patterson had argued that the improper policies of the United States government had put our army in such a position that certain elements had responded with excessive actions. Nevertheless, the *Denver Republican* insisted on calling both Patterson and Teller "modern copperheads" for having

²⁰ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 5: 5072-75; pt. 6: 6226. Patterson consistently defended the right of the Filipinos to fight for their independence, a position that led to an exchange with General MacArthur. MacArthur said that he had ordered one military thrust after he had determined that friendly relations could not be restored. Patterson suggested that the important result was that 3000 Filipinos were killed or wounded. MacArthur testily replied that "fortunately with the result that a great victory was won by the American Army" (*Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, S. Doc. 331, 2: 1396).

²¹ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 4: 3326-29; pt. 5: 4862-68, 4920-23; pt. 6: 6226-28.

²² *Washington Post*, 28 March 1902.

given aid and comfort to the enemy and tried to promote mass meetings in Colorado to protest their "despicable" conduct.²³ The *Denver Post*, archrival of Patterson's *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, accused Patterson of advocating a "namby pandy" [sic] approach to the rebels. It criticized Patterson's tendency to view everything with an alarm, which caused Americans to appear to be a "dreadful and unholy" people, and advised him to "cheer up a bit."²⁴ Upon the completion of a particularly vigorous interrogation of Admiral George Dewey by Patterson and Carmack, the *Washington Post* wryly observed that the two senators at least had not made Dewey seem contemptible for having defeated the Spanish fleet.²⁵

As the witness bearing the ultimate responsibility for the occupational policy in the Philippine Islands, Governor General William Howard Taft received such sharp questioning that Senator Spooner accused Patterson of harming basic American interests and of adding to Taft's problems in the Philippines. Taft, though depressed and irritated by the attitude of the Democratic members of the Philippines Committee, maintained his composure and insisted that the unfortunate events in the islands, such as the incidents of cruelty, were isolated and did not represent United States policy toward the Filipinos.²⁶



Succeeding Roosevelt to
the presidency in 1909,
"Big Bill" Taft
was a kindly conservative
Republican who later
became chief justice of
the United States
Supreme Court.

At times tension ran high in the Philippines Committee meetings, and Patterson engaged in many sharp exchanges with fellow senatorial colleagues who opposed his views.²⁷ Arthur Johnson observed that Patterson was camping hard on the trail of the Republicans, and he also believed that a number of them felt sorry that the Coloradoan had been appointed to the committee.²⁸ Republican Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio tried to embarrass and discredit Patterson on the floor of the Senate by charging that he was inconsistent and insincere in his antiimperialistic concern. Quoting editorials from the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, Foraker asserted that Patterson had not always spoken for independence for the Philippines.²⁹ Patterson replied that the *News*, under his direction, had indeed reversed its position by December 1898 because of the way in which the United States had acted after taking control of the islands. The shift, said Patterson, represented a change of honest conviction, not of political expediency.³⁰ He charged that the government had misrepresented what was actually transpiring in the Far East by implying that the Filipinos were yearning for the care and

²³ *Denver Republican*, 22 May 1902; *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 6: 6226-27. Senator Spooner had remained openly unhappy about the "anti-army" senators on the Committee on the Philippines, commenting on them in the closing days of the congressional session (*ibid.*, pt. 8: 7744-46; *Denver Times*, 3 July 1902). *Denver Republican*, 14-17 May 1902.

²⁴ *Denver Post*, 12 April, 12 March 1902.

²⁵ *Washington Post*, 3 July 1902.

²⁶ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 2021; Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939), 1: 219; *Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, S. Doc. 331, 1: 75-78.

²⁷ When Patterson accused committee chairman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts of having a menacing attitude toward a witness Lodge responded, "no more in the attitude of menace than you [Patterson] have been in the attitude of defending him" (*Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, S. Doc. 331, 3: 2580, reported in the *Denver Republican*, 22 May 1902). Patterson privately expressed satisfaction over having "talked back" to Lodge on this and other occasions (T. M. Patterson, Washington, D.C., to Margaret Patterson, Denver, 25 May 1902, Thomas M. Patterson Family Papers, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder).

At one point, after Senator Beveridge had persisted in interrupting the questioning by the Democrats, Patterson declared that if Beveridge had performed in such a manner in court, he would have been fined for contempt and sent to jail (Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*, p. 180). For his part, Beveridge frequently objected to Patterson's aggressive questioning of Admiral Dewey and the army witnesses, even instructing Dewey that he did not have to answer (*Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, S. Doc. 331, 3: 2973).

²⁸ A. C. Johnson, Washington, D.C., to C. Johnson, Denver, 6 March 1902, Johnson Papers.

²⁹ Teller had also changed his views about imperialism and was taken to task for speeches that he had made in the campaign of 1898. *Cong. Record*, 56th Cong., 2d sess., 1901, 34, pt. 1: 535-37.

³⁰ Patterson noted that the policy change had occurred immediately following the November elections of 1898, and thus it could not be attributed to campaign rhetoric. Moreover, it did not represent a bid for patronage benefits since no Democrat was president. *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 6: 5909-21.

the protection of the American nation and quoted at length from *News* editorials explaining the reversal of his position.³¹

Patterson, with support from Senators Teller, Carmack, and Republican Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, strongly denounced the proposed civil government bill for the Philippines and expressed fear of corporate influence in the islands. He argued that the bill simply provided a scheme to facilitate exploitation of the area by American capital



*Denver Rocky
Mountain News,
19 February 1902.*

— H. J. GRIFF FOR FEBRUARY 22
— I Cannot Tell a Lie. Farmer, I chopped down the whole damn forest
With My Little Hatchet

and predicted that if the Filipinos ever did achieve independence, the islands would be simply “a sucked orange.”³² In addition to objecting to provisions in the bill concerning landholdings as opening the way to external exploitation of the Philippines, he attacked the sections providing for a legislature, a judiciary, and an educational curriculum. Popular assembly would be impossible, said Patterson, and there could be no appeal from a decision of a United States court in the Philippines. Furthermore, although the Filipinos would be paying taxes for the sup-

³¹ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 6: 5909-21; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 2, 7 December 1898. Patterson also noted that Foraker had shifted from his original position of advocating only temporary control of the islands (*Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 6: 5915-16). According to Arthur Johnson, Patterson knew of Foraker's plan to embarrass him, and he had prepared his rebuttal carefully (A. C. Johnson, Washington, D.C., to C. Johnson, Denver, 23 February 1902, Johnson Papers).

³² Responding to a challenge by Senator Dietrich of Nebraska that Aguinaldo had promised up to 15,000 acres of land to his future cabinet members while the U.S. civil government bill allowed only 2,500 acres to each United States corporation, Patterson argued that the 2,500 acres would only mark the first step to much larger consolidations by the American investors. *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 8: 7735-37. While Patterson again drew a parallel with the absentee landlord of Ireland, he had earlier carefully explained away any religious bias to his position by stressing that he was not a Catholic (*ibid.*, pt. 2: 2021).

port of the schools, they would have no part in determining what should be taught. He feared that the compulsory teaching of English might destroy the native languages, a “cruel” consequence of United States policy.³³

Patterson's position as an antiimperialist reveals the strain of racism that ran through the arguments of both expansionists and antiimperialists. He apparently shared the views on the inequality of the races characteristic of his time, asserting that no amount of assimilation could ever bring the Anglo-Saxon and the Filipino to the same plane of equality.³⁴ Though Patterson would battle to secure legal rights for oppressed peoples, he was not disposed to accept them as political equals. Thus, his avowal of hopes for freedom for the Philippines may well have been influenced by a reluctance to see the islands of brown-skinned inhabitants elevated to American statehood.³⁵

Patterson's voting record on the Philippine civil government bill consistently matched the antiimperialistic tone of his speeches, as was true also of Carmack, Tillman, Culberson, Dubois, and Teller. Patterson's own amendment to repeal the sedition act lost by a vote of forty-seven to twenty-eight. He supported Teller's two amendments, which



*“Colorado's Misrepresentation
in the Senate,” from the
Denver Republican,
15 May 1902.*

³³ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 2: 1965-70. Patterson also viewed the United States Philippine Commission and the American judges on the islands as an oligarchy (*ibid.*, pt. 8: 7736).

³⁴ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 6: 5968.

³⁵ Virtually the only senator, imperialist or antiimperialist, who did not share this racist view apparently was Senator Hoar (Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve against Empire* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968], pp. 152, 153). It should be noted that Patterson was not included in Beisner's antiimperialists since Beisner wrote primarily about events before Patterson arrived in the Senate and most of his subjects represented fields other than politics.

would have extended constitutional law to the islands and would have proclaimed America's intention to grant the Philippines liberty and self-government. Both failed by a margin of two to one. The Coloradoans secured a minor victory in a close thirty-eight to thirty-four vote that insured that no immediate relative of an insurrectionist could be punished for failing to give information against his kinsman. However, in opposing the bill in its final form Patterson and his allies went down to defeat, forty-five to twenty-six.³⁶

The evidence seems clear that Patterson and Teller, supported primarily by Carmack, Culberson, and Hoar, attacked nearly every provision of the proposed legislation for civil government in the Philippines. Patterson feared that even temporary occupation of the islands would inevitably lead to permanent occupation as the economic stakes became more pronounced. Basing his argument essentially on the inherent dangers to the freedom and the rights of the Filipinos, he stressed the traditional American commitment to the democratic principles of self-determination. In a time of feverish commercial striving he feared that all interests except those of a materialistic nature would be obliterated. He maintained his position even though he believed that the anti-imperialist cause was doomed,³⁷ and even though his position was not popular in Colorado.³⁸ He succeeded in causing many embarrassing moments for the defenders of imperialism, and his primary accomplishments lay in lodging a protest, in raising moral questions, and in reminding a changing society to remain aware of its founding principles. According to Ellis, the biographer of Teller, the attacks on exploitive economics and the defense of civil rights for the natives by the anti-imperialists helped to keep alive the cause of Philippine independence.³⁹

Patterson had also succeeded in attracting marked attention as one of the chief spokesmen of the anti-imperialists. Senator Beveridge observed that not even the Holy Writ could sway the senator from Colorado and those "who follow in his wake," and the *Denver Post* complained that because of his apparent leadership he had become "saturated" with his own importance.⁴⁰ During the summer of 1902 while vacationing in Colorado, Beveridge invited Carmack to join him, point-

ing out that while in Colorado Carmack could also see Patterson in order to plan "more diabolical schemes against us on the Philippines Committee."⁴¹ However, convinced that he could accomplish nothing more by his presence on the Philippines Committee, Patterson succeeded in transferring to the Committee on the Judiciary for the next session of Congress.⁴²

In 1904 both Colorado senators renewed their attack on the foreign policy of the administration after the "secession" of Panama from Colombia.⁴³ Senators of both parties received pressure from their constituents urging the ratification of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, and contemporary popularity for imperialistic adventure once again placed Patterson and Teller with the minority. Spirited debates concerning the justice and the morality of the actions of the administration occupied the Senate during much of January 1904. The Coloradoans and Senator Bailey of Texas presented the bulk of the criticism, engaging in extended arguments with Senators Lodge, Spooner, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana.⁴⁴

After Teller had destroyed Lodge's defense of the legality of Roosevelt's action, clearly exposing it as an act of aggression, Patterson engaged administration apologists on nearly every major point. Roosevelt, he said, had abandoned Nicaragua, flouted Colombia, revolutionized

³⁶ Albert J. Beveridge, Torrington, Colorado, to Edward W. Carmack, Memphis, Tennessee, 8 August 1902, Albert J. Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³⁷ In his final speech of the session Patterson denounced the "foot-dragging" by the Republican members of the Committee on the Philippines following the introduction of testimony by lower ranking military witnesses concerning alleged atrocities (*Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 8: 7738); *ibid.*, 58th Cong., 1st sess., 1903, 37, pt. 1: 478.

³⁸ The failure of the French-backed New Panama Canal Company to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama led to legislation authorizing the United States government to purchase the company and complete a canal. Secretary of State John Hay entered into negotiations with the Colombian government to secure their approval of the transfer of the French concession to the United States and the resulting Hay-Herran Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate early in 1903. Following the rejection of the treaty by the Colombian government, Panama "seceded" from Colombia in a relatively bloodless revolution on 4 November, while American troops "protected" American property on the Isthmus. Secretary of State Hay recognized the Republic of Panama on 6 November 1903 and signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, guaranteeing the independence of Panama and leasing the Canal Zone from Panama "in perpetuity," on 18 November 1903. See Sheldon B. Liss, *The Canal: Aspects of United States-Panamanian Relations* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967) and David Howarth, *Panama: Four Hundred Years of Dreams and Cruelty* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966).

³⁹ Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, p. 355; *Washington Post*, 15-22 January 1904; *Denver Republican*, 20-24 January 1904. The *Denver Post* suggested that there was so little popular support for Patterson on the matter of Panama that if recall was available, he would be removed from the senatorship (22, 23 January 1904). The *Washington Post* commented that the fencing between Patterson and Spooner was particularly entertaining (28 January 1904).

³⁶ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 3: 2125, 2131-34.

³⁷ As late as 1904 Patterson admitted that his views on imperialism still did not represent the majority in the Senate, in the nation, or in Colorado (*Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 3: 2912).

³⁸ *Denver Times*, 30 June 1902; Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, p. 346. The *Denver Post* claimed that Patterson's position varied so greatly from public sentiment that his party would certainly suffer for it in the November 1902 elections (9 July 1902).

³⁹ Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, p. 341.

⁴⁰ *Cong. Record*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, 35, pt. 5: 5072; *Denver Post*, 5 March 1902.



Senator Beveridge
Chicago Examiner



Senator Platt
Cleveland Plain Dealer



Senator Dolliver
Chicago Examiner



Senator Lodge
Philadelphia Press



Senator Spooner
Chicago American



Senator Fairbanks
Chicago American

Panama, abetted a secession movement, and negotiated an agreement with a "mushroom" republic.⁴⁵ When Senator Spooner of Wisconsin tried to use the treaty of 1846 with Colombia as the legal basis for United States intervention in Colombian affairs, Patterson countered with a well-documented denial stating that no violations of the treaty had occurred that warranted United States action, and he also used quotations by previous government figures to illustrate the degree to which Roosevelt had deviated from past interpretations of the treaty.⁴⁶

When Senator Fairbanks challenged Patterson's assertion that the United States had tried to bully the Colombian Congress into accepting the Hay-Herran Treaty of 1903, Patterson quoted from a communication from Secretary of State John Hay to the Colombian Congress that contained an obvious threat. Colombia, argued Patterson, had every right to resent coercion by the rich and strong; rejection of the treaty could be traced to the deliberate threats of the United States.⁴⁷ In an

⁴⁵ Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller*, pp. 356-57; *Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1: 796-805, 918.

⁴⁶ On this occasion Patterson's preparation was typical of the kind of research he used on those issues where he had a chance to prepare for an obvious confrontation. In the course of his argument he meticulously cited and interpreted the two crucial clauses of the treaty of 1846. (The treaty guaranteed the right of American transit across the Isthmus and allowed the use of American troops to assure the protection of American property in the area [Liss, *The Canal*, p. 13]). He illustrated the similarity between the Panama affair and United States policy at the time of the Ostend Manifesto. He contrasted Roosevelt's speeches in regard to alleged violations of the 1846 treaty with interpretations by previous Secretaries of State William H. Seward and Hamilton Fish and by Thomas F. Bayard, a diplomat during the second Cleveland administration. He also cited correspondence from Colombian officials and referred to portions of several Republican campaign platforms that were contradicted by Roosevelt's actions (*Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1: 913-16).

⁴⁷ Patterson quoted the following passage from Hay's message: "If Colombia should now reject the treaty or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly understanding between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that action might be taken by the Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would re-

exchange over whether or not the United States had been precipitate in recognizing the New Panama Canal Company's secessionist government, Patterson elicited the blunt statement from Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver of Ohio that the ancient rules of recognition must give way to the desires of the United States government.⁴⁸

Patterson's arguments triggered lengthy rebuttals from both Spooner and Platt, who described the United States as the trustee for the commercial nations of the world and as the agent of civilization.⁴⁹ This argument particularly incensed Patterson, who answered that "Civilization means respect for law, regard for the obligations of duty, coveting neither a man's wife nor another country's territory."⁵⁰ Noting that the president had boldly announced his intention to steal Panama or take it by sheer force, Patterson indicted those senators who had supported the power play of the administration. In their hearts they knew that the United States had been both legally and morally wrong, he said, and he offered as proof a suggestion by Senator Eugene Hale of Maine that compensation should be paid to Colombia for the loss of territory. When Senator Platt accused him of impeaching the integrity of the president and the Congress, Patterson responded that it was quite proper to question both the president and the Congress, especially in the latter's collective capacity.⁵¹

gret" (*Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1: 916). Patterson received considerable support during this debate from Senators Carmack and Edmund W. Pettus of Alabama (*ibid.*, pp. 916-20).

⁴⁸ *Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 2: 1026-27.

⁴⁹ Platt became so exasperated as to suggest sarcastically that perhaps Patterson might want the United States to assist Colombia in recapturing Panama (*Washington Post*, 21 January 1904).

⁵⁰ *Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1: 915.

⁵¹ In Colorado the *Denver Post* editorialized that Patterson had reached his pinnacle by calling the president a cold-blooded, deliberate thief and the newspaper ran a

However able, the arguments by Patterson and Teller, just as in the case of the Philippines, stood no chance of changing the outcome of the vote ratifying the treaty with Panama. Supported during the debates primarily by Carmack, Tillman, and John T. Morgan of Alabama, the Coloradoans argued well but the imperialists had the votes. Patterson and Platt dominated the debate. Arguing that Patterson did not represent the desires of the American people and even granting that the United States somehow might be in the wrong, Platt stated that the fact remained that Panama was ready to negotiate with the United States, the trustees of the world, for accomplishing the great work of building a canal in the interest of commerce, civilization, and peace. The Coloradoans and their allies went down to a sixty-six to fourteen defeat in the final vote on the treaty.⁵²

Thus, during Roosevelt's first term, Patterson and his small group performed their role of dissent, questioning the actions of the majority, but they had no success in defeating the foreign policy that they viewed as unjust and unwise. At a later time Patterson referred to his defeats by the imperialists in describing the frustrations of being constantly out-voted. As a senator with a minority view, he said that he soon realized that he was some sort of a "vermiform appendix" with no particular function to perform, except to "irritate the body of which he is a part."⁵³ Patterson did not believe in regard to foreign affairs—as he did in domestic problems—that his current positions, while still in advance of public opinion, would eventually be vindicated.

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front-page cartoon showing Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina surrendering his crown to Patterson as the "blackguard of the Senate" (*Denver Post*, 22 January 1904). *Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1: 630, 916, 919.

⁵² *Cong. Record*, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1904, 38, pt. 1:924. In addition to Patterson and Teller, the other negative votes were cast by Senators Joseph W. Bailey, William B. Tate, Joseph C. S. Blackburn, Edward W. Carmack, Charles A. Culberson, John W. Daniel, Fred T. Dubois, Arthur P. Gorman, John T. Morgan, Francis G. Newlands, Edmund W. Pettus, and Benjamin R. Tillman (*ibid.*, pt. 3: 2261).

⁵³ *Cong. Record*, 59th Cong., 1st sess., 1906, 40, pt. 9: 8394.

A Notice of Silver Ore on the Upper Platte in 1808

BY CHARLES J. BAYARD

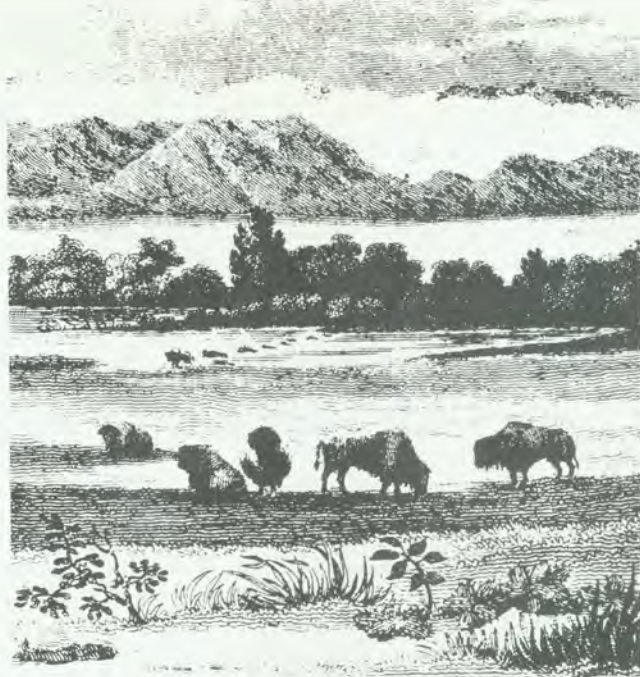
Since the founding of Jamestown and Quebec early in the seventeenth century, English and French colonists on the East Coast of the New World knew that gold, silver, and riches existed somewhere in the interior of America. A century after initial settlement, Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, echoed these early reports by noting that unnamed Frenchmen had traveled down the Mississippi River in hopes of finding a route to the Spanish mines.¹ Throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, others sporadically recorded the same impulse.

By the end of the eighteenth century, after expelling the French government from its empire in Canada, British agents were leaving their bases on the Great Lakes and were crossing the upper Missouri and Cheyenne rivers, thus threatening the defenses of the developed Spanish mining centers.² This was about the same time that the United States established its independence, and some of its citizens also knew about the vague but promising accounts of mineral wealth to the west of their Mississippi boundary. With the image of Spanish mines coming into slightly sharper focus, Thomas Jefferson speculated on the meaning of the West to the future of America.³ During these same years, other Americans also pondered, and probed, for the wealth that lay across the flat, easily penetrable, central Great Plains.

¹ Abraham P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804*, 2 vols. (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 1:8.

² Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 84-109.

³ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia, 1782* in Saul K. Padover, ed., *The Complete Jefferson* (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, 1943), pp. 571-72. In 1783 Jefferson communicated his fear that the British were planning a move into the Trans-Mississippi West to George Rogers Clark and suggested that Clark lead an expedition to explore the country (Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, 4 December 1783, Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al. [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950-], 6:371). During the 1790s Jefferson resurrected this scheme several times and, of course, subsequently sent Clark's younger brother along with Meriwether Lewis westward for that purpose.



An early nineteenth-century impression of the front range of the Rocky Mountains.

Curiously, Spanish imperial officers heralded information about the mines being exposed to alien intrusion before Americans consciously sought out linkages between the Mississippi Valley and the mountains near the Rio Grande. For example, the Baron de Carondelet warned the commandant of the Spanish Interior Provinces—occasionally defined to include the Rockies all the way north into Canada—that Americans were on the upper Arkansas River in force as early as 1796. Exaggerating out of apprehension or for political necessity, he wrote that “five or six thousand of those ferocious men who know neither law nor subjection are those who are starting the American establishments and are attracting in their footsteps the prodigious emigration both from the Atlantic States and from Europe, which menaces the *Provincias Internas* which the Americans believe are very abundant in mines.”⁴ Just a few days earlier he had written to the leading minister of Spain, Manuel de Godoy, that the Americans had already crossed the Platte River in their search for trade and gold.⁵

Spanish imperial representatives were increasingly alert to the mounting pressure from the American frontier. Americans indeed flooded westward; however, that they had reached the region now called Colorado in such numbers as Carondelet reported seems very unlikely. Yet, knowledge of mineral deposits was common enough to attract the attention of some frontiersmen of the Louisiana Territory.

⁴ Baron de Carondelet to the Marquis de Branceforte [sic], 7 June 1796, in Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark*, 2:439-40.

⁵ Baron de Carondelet to the Prince of Peace [Godoy], 3 June 1796, *ibid.*, 1:354-56.

In early 1808, about the time the scientist-politician Thomas Jefferson's longstanding dream of transcontinental exploration reached gratification, Anthony G. Bettay wrote the president that he had found silver on the upper Platte River. Perhaps typical of such minute points of history, discretely isolating and identifying Bettay defies efforts. The best that can be offered is an abbreviated survey of official and unofficial activities on the central plains during the year or two preceding the end of 1807.

The list of identified travelers in the region between the upper Platte and the upper Arkansas before 1808 is surprisingly long, including Zebulon Pike, his troops, James Purcell or Pursley,⁶ and the others Pike met or avoided—not the least of whom was Facundo Melgares and his large command sent from New Mexico toward the Platte country.⁷ Juan Chalvert, who was probably a Philadelphian rather than a Frenchman and who had crossed the plains several times with Pedro Vial, was also in the region at the direction of Spanish officers of the border provinces.⁸ Several came from the Mississippi Valley; they included Jacques Clamorgan,⁹ Robert McClellan,¹⁰ perhaps John McClallan,¹¹ and others.¹² What can be ascertained from the sources describing the men who went with Pike and the others is that there is no reference to Bettay.

However, of some pertinence is the fact that several, such as Pike and Patrick Gass, noted references to precious metals. Influential people, not at all reluctant to keep their information secret, knew about the various trips. Pike and his confidants, John Robinson and John Sibley, as well as President Jefferson, all prolific writers, made the West more clearly known. Assuming that they and others talked about their experiences and knowledge as well as wrote reports, accounts, and letters, it is possible that Bettay, even if he never went up the Platte Valley, could have heard about the natural phenomena that he referred to in his letter of early 1808.

⁶ Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 2:59-62, 59n-60n.

⁷ Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, pp. 178-79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

⁹ Abraham P. Nasatir, “Jacques Clamorgan: Colonial Promoter of the Northern Border of New Spain,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 17, no. 2 (April 1942): 101-12.

¹⁰ Reuben G. Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904-5), 5:387; Jackson, ed., *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2:136n.

¹¹ Jackson, ed., *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2:136n; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, p. 239.

¹² Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, pp. 172-78; and numerous entries in Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. ([Cedar Rapids, Iowa]: Torch Press, 1914), 2:480, 483, 487, 505, 517.



To his Excellency

Thomas Jefferson President
of the United States

Washington City,

Fayette County State of Pennsylvania (10)
Jan. the 27th 1808

Honourable Sir

Fayette County State of Pennsylvania

Jan. the 27th 1808

Honourable Sir

Having lately Returnd from the interior parts of Louisiana Where I Have Spent the last three years during that time I made Some discoveries of the most interesting nature to the united States and feel it my duty as a citizen of the united States to communicate the Same to you as Chief Magistrate, I was on my way from Louisiana to Washington, and would have been in Washington Before this date had not Several causes combind to have prevented it, therefore I think proper to address you by way of a letter, and hasten to inform you that I have found ~~and~~ an immense bed of Rich Silver ore or at least it has the appearance of being immense I feel Restless to See the United States in the possession and injoying the benefits that may arise from it, if it may be thought So, which is unquestionable with me, therefore if a knowledge of the Spot where this treasure lies is desirable to the united States I am willing to conduct any party that may be appointed to make a further examination of its extent, and value, for one hundredth part of the proceeds of the mine for Seventy five years to be paid to me or my heirs or assigns or for a Suitable Sum paid to me of the first proceeds of the mine this mine lies on the River Platte or at Least on one of its Branches about 1700 computed miles from St Louis I have been at the trouble to mark the way and to commit it to paper So that if I Should never Live to reach that Spot again the papers will direct the inquirer to the place. I have likewise discovered an eligible passage across that chain of mountains dividing the waters of the atlantick from those of the Passifick by way of the River platte and Cashecatrango River a learge navigable River of the Passifick on the waters of which I found a plant that I suppose hitherto unknown to the world and one that

promises to be highly beneficial to the world this plant I have given the name of the Silk nettle from its inflicting Severe pain to whoever touches it when growing it grows to about eight feet high produces a thick Strong bark that after being exposd to the weather for a few month the bark of which assumes the appearance of Silk the fibers of which are inconcievably fine, of a transparent white and Somewhat Elastic its Strength Surpassing anything of the kind hither to known to me this bark is properly calculated for the manufactory of the finest wares and may be cultivated to great advantage for cordage of every discription if your Excellency wishes to have any further information on those Subjects you can Signify the Same to me by way of a letter directed to me at Union Town Penn Where I will wait on you to explain any question that may arise or if it Should be desirable for me to come to washington you may calculate on my attendance when ever it may be desirable by the government, or his Excellency, with respect I conclude by Ascribing myself your Verry Obedient

Where I will wait on you to explain any question that may arise or if it should be desirable for me to come to washington you may calculate on my attendance when ever it may be desirable by the government, or his Excellency, with respect I conclude by Ascribing myself your Verry Obedient
Srvts

His Excellency

Thomas Jefferson

Anthony G. Bettay

NB I inclosed a few of the Seed of the Silk nettle to one [illegible] members of congress with instructions to offer [illegible] I Brought in with me for Sale to the members of congress (there being about three quarts) in order that the cultivation of this valuable plant may be commenced throughout the union I look forward with anticipation when this plant Will produce an imence Store of wealth to the people of the united States¹³

¹³ Anthony G. Bettay to Thomas Jefferson, 27 January 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Also printed in *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934-), vol. 14, *Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814*, pp. 165-66.

(393)

Sir Copy Washington Feb. 18. 08.

I have duly recieved your letter of Jan. 27. with respect to the silver mine on the river Platte, 1700 miles from St. Louis, I will observe that in the present state of things between us and Spain, we could not propose to make an establishment at that distance from all support. it is interesting however that the knolege of its position should be preserved, which can be done either by confiding it to the government, who will certainly never make use of it without an honorable compensation for the discovery to yourself or your representatives, or by placing it wherever you think it safest.

I should be glad of a copy of any sketch ^{or account} you may have made of the river Platte, of the passage from its head across the mountains, and of the

Washington Feb. 18. 08.

Sir

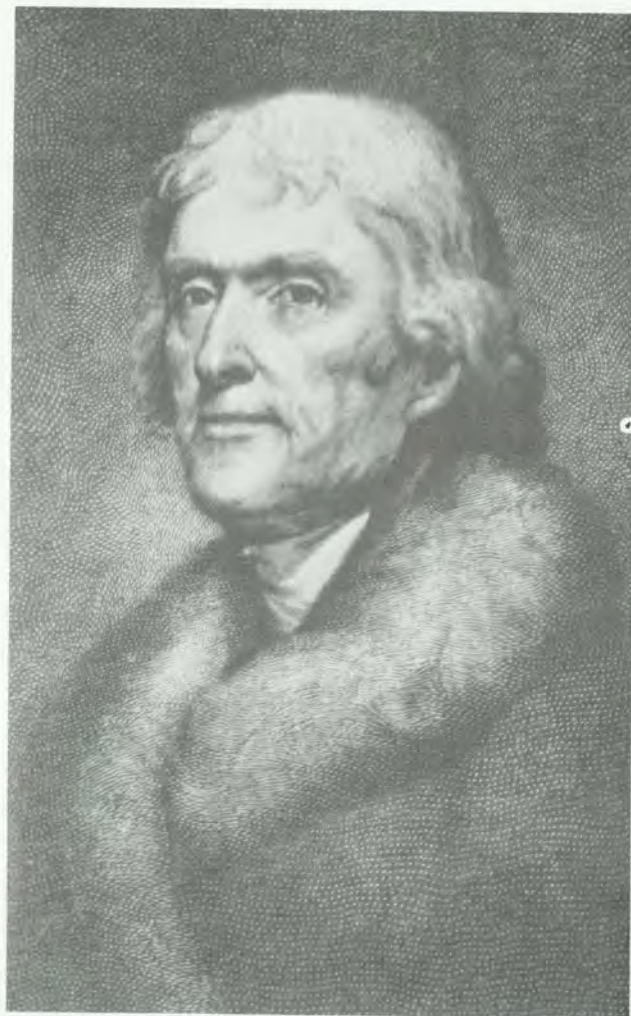
I have duly recieved your letter of Jan. 27. with respect to the silver mine on the river Platte, 1700 miles from St. Louis, I will observe that in the present state of things between us and Spain, we could not propose to make an establishment at that distance from all support. it is interesting however that the knolege of its position should be preserved, which can be done either by confiding it to the government, who will certainly never make use of it without an honorable compensation for the discovery to yourself or your representatives, or by placing it wherever you think it safest.

I should be glad of a copy of any sketch or account you may have made of the river Platte, of the passage from its head across the mountains, and of the river Cashecatungo which you suppose to run into the Pacific. this would probably be among the first exploring journies we undertake after a settlement with Spain, as we wish to become acquainted with all the advantageous water connections across our Continent.

I shall be very glad to recieve some seed of the silk nettle which you describe, with a view to have it raised and it's uses tried. I have not been able to find that any of your delegates here has recieved it. if you would be so good as to send me a small packet of it by post it will come safely, and I will immediately commit it to a person who will try it with the utmost care. I salute you with respect.¹⁴

Th Jefferson

Bettay's geographical terms are a mixture of familiar references, such as to the Platte, and unfamiliar, notably his citation of the Cashecatungo River. His estimate of the distance up the Platte as seventeen hundred miles explains little unless he allowed for its meander or intended to indicate that his find was a great distance from existing settlements. Regrettably, he failed to specify on which branch of the Platte he had located his find. But clearly Bettay had fixed the location of the silver ore in his mind. Equally clearly Jefferson, the scientist, could not resist trying to draw out more information, while Jefferson, the chief



In 1803,
at the age of 60,
President
Thomas
Jefferson
acquired the
Louisiana
Purchase from
France and
commissioned
Lewis and Clark
to explore
the territory.

¹⁴ Jefferson to Bettay, 18 February 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers. Also published in altered form in Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh, Monticello Ed., 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903-4), 2:442-43.

