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## San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787<sup>1</sup>

A Study in Comanche History and Spanish Indian Policy

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### INTRODUCTION

The present paper is a study of Spain's later eighteenth century Indian policy dealing with the Jupes, a Comanche tribe north of New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> In brief, these Indians attempted in 1787 to settle, with Spanish aid, in fixed villages on the Arkansas River. Behind this friendly cooperation of Comanche and Spaniard lay almost a century of hostility, a sketch of which will give a setting to consider this experiment on the Arkansas.

Students of Comanche life believe that these Indians lived before their entrance into history in the area of northern present-day Colorado and southern Wyoming.<sup>3</sup> They first appear in known historical records about 1700, possibly, as Bandelier suggests, introduced into the New Mexican area by their allies the Utes.<sup>4</sup> Their southward movement naturally brought them into contact with various bands of Apache who at that time occupied lands east of New Mexico and north apparently as far as the river now called the South Platte. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the Apache, hammered by Ute and Comanche, early appealed to the Spaniards, who likewise suffering, readily sent armed expeditions east and north to protect the Apache and themselves. However, by the middle of the century the Comanche

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<sup>1</sup> The following article presents an aspect of the writer's study of *Spanish Activities North and East of New Mexico, 1592-1821*. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this and other documentary material in the archives of Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> Expediente sobre la Poblacion de San Carlos de los Jupes en el Nuevo Mexico. Año de 1788. Leg.<sup>o</sup> 7.<sup>o</sup> 1.<sup>o</sup> Q.<sup>uo</sup> 10. Núm. 11. Provincias Internas, Tomo 65. Archivo General, Mexico.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Hodge *Handbook*, I, article "Comanche," p. 327. The Yamparicas were noted to be living in northwestern Colorado in 1776 by Dominguez and Escalante. See A. B. Thomas, "Spanish Explorations into Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 7, November, 1924, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Bandelier, "Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos," in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American Series, I, p. 124.



had entirely driven the Apache from their ancient homes northeast of New Mexico and turned their attack on the Spanish now without the Apache buffer.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the force of Comanche invasion carried these Indians deep into the area between New Mexico and Texas, forced the abandonment of the San Saba Apache mission in 1769 and struck terror generally throughout the Texas establishments.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, Spain's policy between 1750 and 1786 was directed to ward off these attacks of Comanche, other northern Indians, and the Apache, now on the search for new homes.

An important step was taken in defending the north in 1776 with the erection of the *Provincias Internas*, an organization of the northern provinces of New Spain into a separate administrative unit under a Commandante-General whose chief task was to protect this area from Indian assaults. Don Teodoro de Croix, the first Commandante-General of the newly established unit, at once adopted as a cardinal point in his general Indian policy the establishment of peace with the powerful Comanche nation. Various factors contributed to the formation of the De Croix policy. Behind him lay the work of Rubi and Oconor, the former of whom had proposed in 1772 the idea of using the northern tribes as allies in a war against the Apache.<sup>7</sup> A beginning toward this end already had been made both in New Mexico and Texas. In the former province, Governor Cachupin established temporary peace with the Comanche in 1762;<sup>8</sup> in the latter the trader Gaignard signed a treaty with the Naytane, a Comanche group, on the Red River in 1773.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, during these years 1769-1776, Athanase de Mezieres, a famous French Indian agent, now in the employ of Spain, had won over other Indians in northern Texas to Spanish allegiance and was extending his efforts in the direction of the Comanche.<sup>10</sup> With these achievements as a basis, De Croix evolved Rubi's idea into a plan to unite the nations of the north against the Apache, who warred indiscriminately on Spaniard and Indian alike. Thus De Croix, recognizing the common enemy, based his plan on common interest.

However, the American Revolution, the breaking of the peace by the Comanche themselves, and other factors delayed the consummation of his ideas, so that once more campaigns against the

Comanche became the order of the day in New Mexico and Texas. New Mexico, particularly, suffered the brunt of attack from both Apache and Comanche, whose rancherias lay on the very borders of the province. Governor Mendinueta and his successor Anza, founder of San Francisco, California, ably defended the province. Indeed, Anza almost at once cracked the heart of the Comanche offence. In 1779 he led a powerful expedition from Taos into the San Luis valley, thence over the mountains into present east-central Colorado and finally defeated their famous leader, Cuerno Verde<sup>11</sup>, near present Greenhorn Mountain, which is close to the village of Rye, Pueblo County. After this blow, to be sure, Comanche raids continued intermittently, but the movement towards peace was steady. At last, through the ability of Anza, the growing Comanche-Spanish trading relations, and the absence of the Apache in the north, the principal Comanche chiefs met Anza at Santa Fe in 1786 to sign with great ceremony a treaty of peace and alliance, the fruition of De Croix's policy in New Mexico.

The peace provisions themselves and the attendant correspondence reveal the major outlines of Spanish-Comanche relations at this moment. The Comanche lay on the north and east of New Mexico in four groups. Across the northern part of present Colorado the Yamparica ranged almost to the borders of Utah of today; the Jupe occupied the lands north of the Arkansas River, the Cuchanec those south of the Arkansas to the Red River, while the last group, the Orientales, the harriers of Texas, extended south of the Cuchanec as far as Coahuila across the Rio Grande. The Yamparica, Jupe and Cuchanec, held together by a loose confederation, recognized as their principal chief a famous warrior, called by the Spaniards Chief Ecueraacapa or Cota de Malla. In fact, these three groups, previous to signing the peace, had held a great meeting on the Arkansas River at a spot known as Casa de Palo, where they selected Ecueraacapa as their general attorney to treat with Anza. The peace itself, besides allying the Comanche and Spaniards, also bound both to wage ceaseless war on the Apache to the south. Upon Ecueraacapa the Spaniards conferred the title Comanche General-in-Chief and upon other prominent leaders that of lieutenant-general, giving them at the same time

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Thomas, "Spanish Exploration into Colorado," *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1915), pp. 87-92, 109.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Representaz<sup>on</sup> del Govern<sup>or</sup> D. Thomas Velez Cachupin sobre restablecim<sup>iento</sup> de la Paz con los Comanches. Santa Fe 27 de Junio de 1762. Provincias Internas Tomo 161, No. 34, Archivo General, Mexico.

<sup>9</sup> H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (A. H. Clarke Co., Cleveland, 1914).

<sup>11</sup> Anza went north from Taos through San Luis Valley, crossed the Sierra Blanca near present Salida, searched South Park, then crossed the present Front Range just east of Cripple Creek, and met a band of Comanche near Wigwam of today on Fountain Creek. After defeating this enemy, the Spaniards went down to the Arkansas River of today, and crossed near present Pueblo. At the foot of Greenhorn Mountain, a peak in the southeastern part of the Wet Mountains, Anza met a second band of Comanche under their principal leader called Cuerno Verde, thoroughly defeated them and killed Cuerno Verde himself. The name Cuerno Verde, meaning Greenhorn, has become attached to the present peak, doubtless from this engagement and the death of Cuerno Verde there. De Croix to Galvez, Arispe, January 23, 1780, 103-5-9, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. The present writer summarized this expedition of Anza in *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 7, but additional material found since then alters the route there suggested.



badges and batons, the symbols of their offices. Such in brief was the situation, geographical and political, between the Spaniard and Comanche about New Mexico in 1786.<sup>12</sup> A final word needs to be added to explain the relationship which the Ute bore to this Spanish-Comanche arrangement. As noted above, in the early part of the century, Ute and Comanche made common attack on Pueblo, Spaniard and Apache. However, with the removal of the latter and the settlement of the Comanche in their lands, an enmity sprang up between the old allies from causes obscure. Doubtless, trade rivalry at Taos, their proximity to one another, and the absence of a common enemy, contributed to this end. In any event, at the signing of the above peace, the diplomacy of Anza successfully ended this hostility, an additional triumph to be credited to the long list of Anza's achievements. To be certain, the jealousy of the Ute remained, but peace reigned on the northern border of New Mexico.

#### THE FOUNDING OF SAN CARLOS DE LOS JUPES

Such is the background against which we may now consider the Anza and Ugarte documents presented here, which reveal a striking development in Comanche-Spanish relations. In short, these official reports signify nothing less than a Comanche attempt, with Spanish assistance, to reduce themselves from rovers of the plains to growers of wheat and builders of houses. Unhappily the move proved abortive, a result not to be unexpected in view of Comanche tradition and civilization.

On July 14, 1787, Governor Anza notified Commandante-General Ugarte that the Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco had appeared before him and proposed that the Spaniards aid his people to establish themselves in fixed villages on the Rio Napestle (Arkansas River<sup>13</sup>). On the twenty-fifth he again came to Santa Fe and renewed his urgings so strongly that Anza, though lacking proper authority from Ugarte and yet wishing to favor the Comanche in this important undertaking, agreed to assist him. Accordingly, the governor gave into the hands of Paruanarimuco at Taos on the tenth of August, thirty laborers with tools and implements under the direction of a master worker, apparently Master Manuel Segura. At the same time the two chiefs agreed to call the settlement San Carlos de los Jupes. With a will, the Comanche and

<sup>12</sup> A. B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," in *American Anthropologist* (N. S.) in press. The documents translated therein contain the above details of the peace drawn up in 1786. It will be observed there that Cuchanec is also spelled Cuchantica; which the Spaniards explained meant eaters of buffalo meat; Jupe is also given Yupinis, or Gente de Palo (Stick or Timber People). See note No. 16 below. The name Jupe is also frequently spelled Yupe in Spanish documents of this period.

<sup>13</sup> Anza to Ugarte, Santa Fe, October 20, 1787 (translated below).

Spaniards set to work and by the next October had completed nineteen houses and had begun many more<sup>14</sup>. The settlement, apparently, was laid out in Spanish manner, if we may conclude from Anza's remark that Paruanarimuco had a suitable plan, furnished him doubtless by the former in accordance with Ugarte's orders that Indians seeking aid for such undertakings were to be given a model to imitate<sup>15</sup>. Whether the constructions were of stone, adobe, or wood is an intriguing speculation. The location of San Carlos seems to have been well within present Colorado<sup>16</sup>. Its exact location is not apparent; the available correspondence indicates simply that it was on the Rio Napestle near a spring with good lands. To the new village the Spaniards at their own cost transported sheep, oxen, maize and seed.

With the beginning made for the Comanche, the interesting experiment promised to repeat itself with respect to the Utes. These Indians, ever jealous of the attention paid to their rivals, promptly petitioned Anza, soliciting aid to form themselves into pueblos. For their site they sought some lands about a league and one-half below the Pueblo of Abiquiu on the banks of the Rio Chama. Anza at once wrote Ugarte for guidance so that he could advise them when they should return on August 1st from their yearly visit to the Saguaguanas<sup>17</sup>, from whom they secured pelts to trade at the fair at Taos<sup>18</sup>. Ugarte's reply is not among the present papers but his instructions to Concha, Anza's successor, translated here, convey his approval of such projects in general.

The settlement at San Carlos was undertaken, possibly unfortunately for its success, just at the moment when Anza was retiring from the governorship of New Mexico. The news of his release reaching the Jupe upset them so greatly that in their ignorance they believed his going meant the end of Spanish support. Accordingly, they returned the implements to the Spanish manager of the project and sent him and his men back to New Mexico<sup>19</sup>. Such

<sup>14</sup> Anza to Ugarte, Santa Fe, October 20, 1787 (translated below).

<sup>15</sup> Order to Concha, Ugarte to Concha, Arispe, January 22, 1788 (translated below).

<sup>16</sup> It will be noted that there is today a stream called San Carlos which empties into the Arkansas River just below Pueblo. Possibly, as Mr. H. A. Dubbs has suggested to the writer, there is a connection between the name of that stream and these Comanche. It is also of interest to know that the Spaniards called the Jupe, Gente de Palo, Wood or Timber People, a term which may identify them with the country near the mountains rather than with the plains area. Moreover, as noted above in the text, these Indians had held their meeting to select Ecueraçapa in a spot called Casa de Palo (House of Wood or Timber), on the Arkansas River. See note 12 above and note 29 below.

<sup>17</sup> The Saguaguanas (also spelled Sabuaganas), a Ute tribe, had their rancherías in west central Colorado of today, somewhat northeast of the junction of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre Rivers. A. B. Thomas, "Spanish Expeditions into Colorado," pp. 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Anza to Ugarte, Santa Fe, July 14, 1787, No. 523 in Expediente sobre la Poblacion de San Carlos de los Jupes en el Nuevo Mexico, Año de 1788, ff. 6-8.

<sup>19</sup> Despatch of Governor Anza. Anza to Ugarte, Santa Fe, October 20, 1787 (translated below).



was the situation facing the new governor, Fernando de la Concha, in this quarter. Meanwhile, Anza's reports of his aid to the Jupe had received the wholehearted approval of his superior, Commandante-General Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola. Thus, when Concha assumed the office of governor, Ugarte sent him general instructions for his guidance in handling problems arising under the new policy. The instructions are included in the translations here and need not be repeated. One or two reflections suggest themselves, however. For one thing, the principles laid down therein for dealing with aborigines reveal in Ugarte himself a profound awareness of Indian psychology, an understanding doubtless gained from his long frontier experience. In the second place Ugarte's references to the zeal of the king for the welfare of Indians generally, and the viceroy's and his own hearty approval of the expenditure of several hundred pesos in this civilizing undertaking, suggest that the Spaniards had other interests above that of extermination so frequently attributed to them. In short, reports such as these require that accounts of Spain's Indian policy be written more in accord with the facts as well as in the interest of fairness.

Governor Concha obeyed his orders well and apparently soon won the confidence of the Jupe, who, with Spanish aid, shortly completed their unfinished houses. There they remained until the following January, 1788, when abruptly they abandoned San Carlos. Concha reporting the incident to Ugarte, laid the cause to their superstitious nature: "This nation," he wrote, "like almost all the gentiles, is full of superstitions. At the moment that any person of estimation dies in any suitable spot where they have set their rancherías, they take them up and change the site, going even to a distance and a place ordinarily lacking everything necessary for subsistence in their manner. In the month of January, above mentioned, there died on the Napestle or San Carlos, one of the women whom the Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco esteemed. Immediately following their custom he abandoned the settlement and moved a long distance." Thus was shattered on the rock of Comanche tradition this interesting attempt to change these roving Jupe to a settled, sedentary people. With his report of the Comanche departure, Concha forwarded a statement, translated here, of the cost of San Carlos to that date, and concluded his letter somewhat philosophically: "I do not have the least idea concerning conduct on such occasions, thus I believe it suitable for them to depart docilely, but I feel that unless Divine Providence performs a miracle they will never emerge from their rusticity and barbarity. Nevertheless,

I have acquired this knowledge in order not to lend myself to similar operations hereafter<sup>20</sup>."

#### SPANISH PLAN TO OCCUPY THE ARKANSAS RIVER VALLEY

Upon receipt of the letter, Ugarte ordered Concha to investigate the possibility of occupying the abandoned settlement with Spanish families. From such an advanced point, the Commandante-General thought the governor could better observe the northern Comanche, and in case they broke the peace, he could fortify the spot and use it as a relief for expeditions<sup>21</sup>. He next reported the desertion to Viceroy Florez, also recommending the project of utilizing San Carlos as an outpost, as being in accord with the king's instructions to De Croix to reduce the Indian gentility generally, and with the order to establish new settlements on the frontiers of the Province. Above all, he concluded, this would pave the way to the acquisition of lands in that direction and assure their possession as against the "European nations established not very far distant from the Comarcas Indians, next to the Yamparicas, a branch of the Comanche, the farthest removed to the north<sup>22</sup>." The viceroy replied in temper, stating that he never did have any confidence in the undertaking and that henceforth under no circumstances must expenses be incurred for such projects. As to the point regarding the Spanish occupation of San Carlos, he said that he was awaiting Governor Concha's report and had, meanwhile, referred the matter to the assessor general, Posada, and to the fiscal, Valenzuela, for an opinion<sup>23</sup>. On January 28, 1789, Ugarte acknowledged Concha's report dated November 8, wherein the governor set forth the difficulties and inconveniences of establishing a Spanish settlement at San Carlos, but stated that there were real hopes that the Jupes might again settle in their former village. Ugarte, in reply, urged him to use all means to persuade the Indians accordingly, but not to incur any expenses for the purpose whatever, without viceroyal permission<sup>24</sup>. Whether the Jupes re-settled at San Carlos is at present not known and awaits further archival investigation<sup>25</sup>.

The record of this interesting attempt to fix the Jupe in villages on the Arkansas River contributes important details to

<sup>20</sup> Official Letter No. 29. Concha to Ugarte, Santa Fe, June 26, 1788 (translated below).

<sup>21</sup> Ugarte to Concha, Chihuahua, July 22, 1788. Expediente sobre la Poblacion de San Carlos de los Jupes en el Nuevo Mexico. Año de 1788, f. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Ugarte to Florez, No. 254, Chihuahua, July 31, 1788. Expediente sobre . . . los Jupes. ff. 15-18.

<sup>23</sup> Florez to Ugarte, Mexico, September 16, 1788. Expediente sobre . . . los Jupes, f. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Ugarte to Concha, Valle de San Bartolome, January 28, 1789. Archive 1039, R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, p. 311.

<sup>25</sup> A brief note by the Fiscal, added to Ugarte's letter to Concha of October 13, 1788, dated June 19, 1789, reveals that to that date no action had been taken concerning Concha's report to Ugarte of November 8, 1788.



Comanche history, and to Spain's Indian policy in the later eighteenth century; calls attention to the strategic significance of the Colorado region for Spanish New Mexico; portrays a part of the background necessary to understand fully American expeditions into the territory after 1803; and, finally, adds to the history of the area later cut off to be the state of Colorado.

DOCUMENTS<sup>26</sup>

Despatch of the Governor S<sup>r</sup> Command<sup>te</sup> Gral. In continuing  
D<sup>a</sup> Juan Baut<sup>a</sup> de Anza what I informed your Lordship in  
official letter of the fourteenth of  
July No. 557 relative to the voluntary supplication which the Lieutenant-General Comanche Paruanarimuco made concerning the fixed establishments in the spot to which I also referred in the same official letter, (this chief) presented himself to me on the twenty-fifth of the cited month making such urgent insistence for its effect, that not being able to lessen (his insistence) nor prevail upon him to wait a longer time, I complied with what I likewise set forth to your Lordship. I agreed with him at his anxious entreaty that he should immediately proceed, and to this end I supplied him with thirty workers, implements, and other tools which he came himself to receive at the Pueblo of Taos on the tenth of August, bringing with him a suitable plan (which I suppose my successor will deliver to your Lordship) to begin the new settlement. We also agreed it should be named San Carlos de los Jupes.

I recommended to the individual on whom I conferred this commission that, in preference to others, in the projected establishment advantage should be taken of a spring of water with abundant lands for sowing. The two objects appear achieved according to the despatch, both in writing, that he sent me from that place, which I have turned over to my successor, as well in a verbal report which he has given to both of us. However, on this basis alone, because those interested petitioned so from the first, the building of houses should be given preference for the present as the most urgent (thing), as is referred to in the above mentioned official report.

Of these there are nineteen finished and the work on a larger number suspended because, when they were working with the greatest zeal and had hopes of continuing to the end of the present month, the petitioners had news of my release, and not knowing in their ignorance there were more persons and government than those with

whom they had been treating, they determined, in view of their misguided belief, to return to the above mentioned manager the workers and the others who were being employed in their behalf. The same manager communicated this information to my designated successor whose zeal for the best service of the king and known talent are awaiting the first opportune meeting and conference with the Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco to adjust matters so that he may promote again with the greatest advantages this important undertaking.

May Our Lord protect Your Lordship many years. Santa Fee, October 20, 1787—Juan Bapt.<sup>ta</sup> de Anza—S.<sup>or</sup> Brig<sup>er</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Jacovo Ugarte y Loyola.

Order to the Successor  
D.<sup>n</sup> Fernando de la Concha

The predecessor of your Grace  
D.<sup>n</sup> Juan Baptista de Anza, in  
consequence of previous reports

communicated to this Commandancy General, indicated to me in an official report of the twentieth of October last the state of the new settlement of San Carlos, established on the Rio Napestle by Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco. He says that for this purpose he supplied him with thirty workers, implements and everything else necessary, under the direction of a skilled artisan. There were already at that date, nineteen houses finished and a large number begun: to this advice his Grace added in a report of the tenth of November, No. 19, that from the sixteenth of September the Comanches were living in them and that he was proposing to give me an account of its costs and all other things appertaining.

I have looked with much satisfaction on what has been done in this affair; I approve it thoroughly; and I desire that the gentiles may become attached to living in fixed establishments and that your Grace ought to assist them, conforming yourself to the order of the fifth of October, as I required of your predecessor. But it is necessary that they should themselves petition and propose, stimulated by expediency. We ourselves must only encourage them with everything useful without making formal engagement in order that they may adopt it. The greatest injury that could befall us is the prejudice of which the Indians could persuade themselves that we have an interest in their reduction. They should believe that they are pleasing us sufficiently by giving their consent to this end. They should not consider that they are obligated to labor on their own part. They may easily come to pretend that we ourselves should shoulder all the costs of the establishment. From this it may result that after causing the public treasury considerable expense in

<sup>26</sup> The documents translated herewith are all selected from the Expediente sobre la Poblacion de San Carlos de los Jupes en el Nuevo Mexico. Año de 1788. Leg.<sup>o</sup> 7.<sup>o</sup> 1.<sup>o</sup> Q.<sup>no</sup> 10, Núm. 11. Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General, Mexico.



building them houses, constructing canals for them, opening fields for them, they may not develop an affection for their possession, which is valued as a rule only in proportion to the anxiety which it costs to acquire, so that in the end they may return upon the slightest cause or pretext to their roving life<sup>27</sup>.

All these reflections I have kept in mind in my above cited order; I indicated them with less amplification. I renew them to your Grace for your guidance. I think it exceeding just that the Indians be given the indispensable supplies which they can secure only from our hand; that there should be put before them models to imitate: but it is necessary that they persuade, bestir, and work themselves according to their own expediency; as they are the principals in interest, so they ought to be in industry. I advise your Grace according to this general rule for cases of this kind, in the concept of which it is not my purpose to bind you inseparably to this advice, which I only make as an instructive procedure. Since I feel entire confidence in the discernment, prudence and zeal of your Grace I am persuaded that you will decide always on what is most proper in this and all other grave affairs of your charge.

May God guard your Lordship many years.

Arispe, 22 of January, 1788. Jacovo Ugarte y Loyola.—  
S.<sup>or</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Fernando de la Concha<sup>28</sup>.

It is a copy of the original of which I certify. Janos, 13 of March of 1788, in virtue of the order of the S.<sup>or</sup> Com.<sup>te</sup> Gral. Juan Gasiot y Miralles (rubric).

N.º 30

The Commandant General of the Provincias Internas of the West is giving to Your Excellency an account of there having been established a settlement of Comanches on the Rio Napestle, and of the Ute nation soliciting another.

Comanches the inclination which they might naturally show to form fixed establishments, to develop agriculture, and useful arts, furnishing them for this purpose models and necessary assistance.

605 P. Y. N.º 186 fs 142

Most Excellent Lord

One of the points recommended to the former Governor of New Mexico, D.<sup>n</sup> Juan Baut<sup>a</sup> de Anza in my order of the 5th of October of 1786, which copy marked No. 3 is in my official report of this date, No. 128, was that he should encourage in the Co-

The first ones who since then have revealed sincere desires to take root were the Jupes, under the direction of the Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco, according to creditable information of the above governor of the 20th of October last, contained in copy, adjoined No. 1. There is already a village named San Carlos de los Jupes set up on the banks of the Rio Napestle. Their completed houses have been occupied. At present they are continuing by themselves the building of others which they voluntarily undertake. They are numerous, and will constitute a considerable settlement.

For the perfection of this establishment and others of its class, I made on the 22nd of January last, representations, which appeared to me opportune, to the new governor, D.<sup>n</sup> Fernando de la Concha by instructing him in the principles by which he must be governed to the end that he should not involve the public treasury in useless or superfluous expenditures and to assure the permanence of the new establishments. The cited copy No. 1 comprehends that of the order directed to that chief concerning this particular which I hope merits the approbation of Your Excellency.

It appears not only that the Comanches are disposed to form pueblos, but that the Utes also, in imitation of the former whom, as a result of a kind of national jealousy, they wish not to allow projects or undertakings which would distinguish them, as Your Excellency will be pleased to note in Copy No. 2 of the report which the above mentioned Anza gave me, on the 14th of July of the last year.

Knowing that the resolution to unite these gentiles in pueblos is the most likely to assure their quiet, I shall not omit fortifying them in it, aiding them with the necessary supplies, distributing these systematically and appropriately by means of which they will no doubt progress infinitely in civilization and within a short time will regard themselves as vassals of His Majesty. To this end they will be inspirited continually with the ideas of his power, of the certain protection of his laws, of the gentleness of our government and of the happiness which will be enjoyed in it.

The above achieved will open the door easily to the preaching of the Gospel, the principal end which the incomparable piety of the King proposes concerning the widespread gentility of this continent, whose insatiable religious desire for the propagation of the Faith is manifested in all his resolutions. I must then continue to prove my loyalty and due respect to those (resolutions), directing my measures according to his sovereign intentions to achieve such a worthy object.

<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that Ugarte forecasted here the exact action of the Jupe.

<sup>28</sup> This letter is also listed in R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 328, No. 1114.



May God guard Your Excellency many years. Janos, 13 of March, 1788.—Jacobó Ugarte y Loyola (rubrica). Most Excellent Lord D.<sup>n</sup> Manuel Antonio Florez.

Official Letter No. 29 I pass to the hands of Your Lordship the adjoined account of the expenses incurred by the building done on the banks of the Rio Napestle, for the establishment of the Comanches Yamparicas as proposed in my official despatch of November 10th, last.

On my entrance into this province during the month of August past, I found the work begun and directed through the dispositions of my predecessor. I concluded it with such efficacy that in that of October following the houses were already inhabited by the above mentioned Comanches and they remained in them until January of this year, when they abandoned them.

This nation, like almost all the gentiles, is full of superstitions. At the moment that any person of estimation dies in any suitable spot, where they have set their rancherias, they take them up and change the site, going even to a distance and a place ordinarily lacking everything necessary for subsistence in their manner. In the month of January, above mentioned, there died on the Napestle or San Carlos<sup>29</sup>, one of the women Lieutenant-General Paruanarimuco esteemed. Immediately following their custom he abandoned the settlement and moved a long distance. From that time he had not thought, nor I believe will he ever consider re-establishing himself in it. I do not have the least idea concerning conduct on such occasions, thus I believe it suitable for them to depart docilely, but I feel that unless Divine Providence performs a miracle they will never come out of their rusticity and barbarity. Nevertheless I have acquired this knowledge in order not to lend myself to similar operations hereafter.

<sup>29</sup>The phrase here "on the Napestle or San Carlos" is of interest. The Spanish reads "... en el mes de Enero citado se murio en Napestle ó San Carlos, una de las mugeres . . ." The name San Carlos, to the writer's knowledge, has never been applied as an alternative to the present Arkansas River, for Napestle. Mr. H. A. Dubbs has made the suggestion: "Is it not probable that the location on or near the Arkansas and at or near what is now the San Carlos River thereafter gave the name to the smaller stream."

"The letter of Ugarte to Florez, March 13, 1788, refers to the Settlement as 'on the banks of the Rio Napestle.' But this is probably a general statement. Irrigating ditches are almost invariably taken from the tributaries in the first instance, frequently near the main stream rather than from the main stream itself. This is for physical reasons, as has been the case in the later history of the Arkansas and the San Carlos." If this suggestion is true, then the phrase "on the Napestle or San Carlos" indicates that the settlement was at or near the junction of the Arkansas and San Carlos. Such a location would be directly upon the Indian trail which came from the plains to Taos via the Sangre de Cristo Pass.

May God guard Your Lordship many years. Santa Fe of New Mexico, 26th of June, 1788.—Fernando de la Concha—Senor Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola.

Account and calculation of the expenses incurred in the new settlement of San Carlos for the establishment of the nation Comanche on the Rio de Napestle.

	towit:		
Fifty-four pesos, three reales, nine granos on account of iron and wooden tools, and workmanship which were paid to Master Manuel Segura	054"	3"	9"
To the Indian governors of the Pueblos of Santo Domingo and Cochiti for maize, flour, and their transport to this Villa	058"	6"	4"
To Don Antonio Jose Ortiz, for seed, sheep and oxen, one hundred twenty-one pesos, two reales	121"	2"	0"
Felipe Moya, Antonio Dominguez, and Luis Rienera for the transport of supplies and tools to said settlement	106"	2"	0"
To the Alcalde of Taos Don Juan Joseph Levato for four fanegas of flour for the workers	009"	0"	0"
To Vizente Sena for milling the maize	003"	0"	0"
One hundred twenty-nine pesos, six reales delivered to Don Antonio Jose Ortiz for seed and sheep for the said establishment	129"	6"	0"
One hundred thirty-eight pesos, four reales, six granos to settle in full with the manager of the workers	138"	4"	6"
Seventy pesos paid to Don Salvador Garcia and Diego Montoya for freightage in transporting seed	070"	0"	0"
Amounts to (save error)	691"	0"	7"

There has been expended on this building six hundred ninety-one pesos and seven granos which the above relation comprises. They are the same which I have paid in full to these interested in virtue of the written order of the Senor Governor. Santa Fe, May 6, 1788.—Josse Maldonado—V. B.—Concha.



## The Founding of Steamboat Springs and of Hahns Peak

CHARLES H. LECKENBY\*

Steamboat Springs became a settlement not by accident but by design.

Fifty-six years ago an adventure-loving young couple set out from their home in Missouri to find their future home in the west. They were looking for a new country with fertile soil, with invigorating climate, with abundant timber and water, with magnificent scenery and prospects for the future. The young Missourians, Mr. and Mrs. James H. Crawford, found the promised land in North-western Colorado.

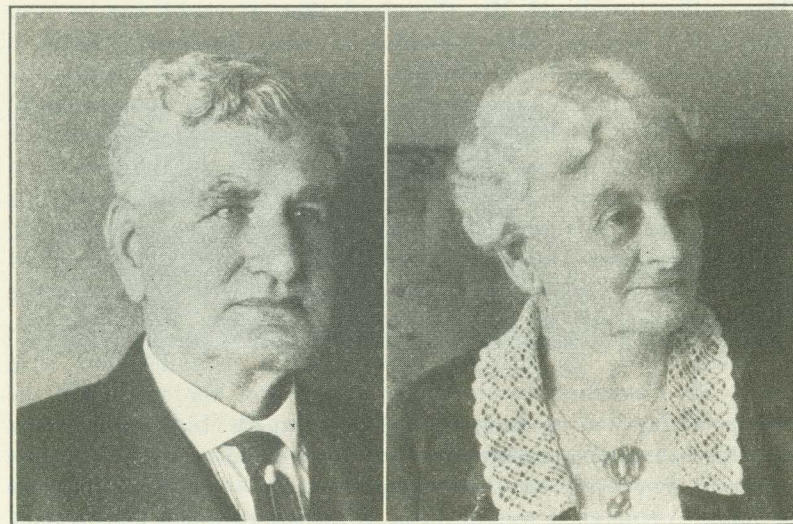
It was the first day of May, 1873, that Mr. and Mrs. Crawford, with their three small children, left their home in Sedalia, Missouri, to start the search for a new home in the west. They made the trip across the plains by ox team with several other families and arrived in Denver on June 4th. Indians stampeded their horses on one occasion and the high streams and quicksand made the journey to the new land one to be remembered. The Crawfords camped on Cherry Creek but remained in the vicinity of Denver but a short time. They wanted to get into the mountains and continued on to Empire, where they remained until December and then went back to the Culver ranch, three miles above Beaver Brook, and remained until June 8th of the next year.

Lured by the unknown country that lay across the continental divide they set forth for Middle Park. On the tenth day of June the Crawford party camped at Yankee Doodle Lake. John Q. Rollins was making a road across the mountains where the Moffat road crossed the divide before the Moffat tunnel was built. The grade on the road was very steep. The Crawfords had a pair of mules and a span of horses and Mr. Rollins hitched his yoke of oxen on to pull the wagon over the mountains. Because of the steepness of the road Mrs. Crawford and her three children, one seven years old, one four and one a year old, were forced to get off the wagon. A sudden snow storm came up while the ascent was being made and the children became frightened and started crying. Mrs. Crawford found a saddle blanket and all covered their heads and waited until the storm had subsided. No heavily loaded wagon had made the trip over the mountain range by that

\* Mr. Leckenby is the publisher of *The Steamboat Pilot* and is an outstanding journalist of Colorado. He is a member of the Moffat Tunnel Commission and is prominent in business and political affairs.—Ed.

route before Mr. Crawford made the perilous trip. He had with him eight cows and calves in addition to his wagon heavily loaded with equipment.

Finally the party landed at Hot Sulphur Springs, where the Crawfords camped until a cabin was built. Mrs. Crawford relates that the cabin roof was covered with bark until Mr. Crawford could find a good tree to rive some boards to cover it. During the summer, she says, for about a month it rained almost every afternoon and the inside of the cabin was about as wet as the outside. The children developed scarlet fever and a wagon sheet was hung over the bed to keep the children dry. A carpet for the dirt floor



MR. AND MRS. JAMES H. CRAWFORD  
Pioneer Founders of Steamboat Springs

was made of elk skins with the hair all turned one way so it could be swept.

Soon after the arrival of the family, Mrs. Crawford relates, two squaws rode up to the camp and started begging for biscuit. On another occasion when Mrs. Crawford and the children were alone, Old Colorow, well-known Ute chief, came to the cabin and demanded that Mrs. Crawford swap some money for a pony. Mrs. Crawford refused to be intimidated by Colorow and he soon left. The Indians told the Crawford family that in "one sleep" they must go. They did not leave. The time was extended to "one moon," and still the Crawfords refused to leave.



But Hot Sulphur Springs wasn't the place they had been searching for. Mr. Crawford continued his exploration trips from there in search of his future home. In the summer of 1874 while on one of these trips, Mr. Crawford gazed for the first time on the magnificent Yampa valley and knew that his search had ended. Another Missourian, Houston Richardson, was with him on the trip and Mr. Crawford urged him to become a partner in the enterprise and locate land. Mr. Richardson wanted to return to Missouri and declined the proposal but helped Mr. Crawford make his location and assisted his comrade to build a rude cabin of stones.

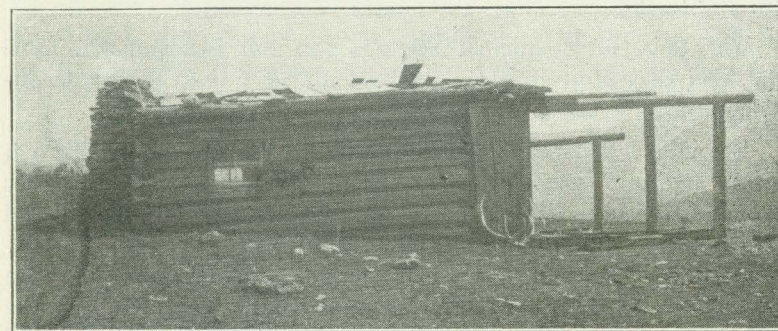
The manifold charms and prospective wealth of the Yampa River valley convinced Mr. Crawford that it would not be possible to find another place possessing so many features of value to the home-seeker, and on returning to Hot Sulphur Springs, he announced his intention of conducting his family to the wonderful springs in the Yampa Valley and taking permanent possession of the land he had located there. It was too late in the season to carry out this plan before winter might be expected to set in, as there were no roads leading into the country, which was then an almost unexplored and entirely unsettled region. Mr. Crawford spent the winter about twenty miles down the Grand River where he put up some hay for his few cattle.

Long before the intended journey could be undertaken with safety, Mr. Crawford received information that his location in the Yampa Valley was in danger of being jumped. In order to frustrate the intended jumpers, Mr. Crawford and Lute Carlton made a hurried trip to the new home to perfect Mr. Crawford's right to the land. Although it was in June, 1875, the two men had to buck their way through the snowdrifts on the Gore range and they plodded along day after day in the face of great danger to make the trip.

When they arrived at the Yampa River springs, Mr. Crawford found no sign of the jumpers. To strengthen his title he added something to the cabin begun the year before, and left other evidences of occupation, including a "garden," which was made on a small spot of bare ground with seeds brought along for that purpose. In order that there would be no misunderstanding concerning the purpose of this bit of cultivated ground it was decorated with small cards, on which was written: "This is lettuce," "these are radishes," etc. These improvements made, the two men started the return trip to Hot Sulphur Springs and again had a trying journey because of the high water.

In July, 1875, Mr. Crawford again loaded up his wagons and started for his new home. There was no road and the Crawfords found it no light task to make a way through the unbroken brush and undergrowth with their heavily loaded wagon and the livestock. Mrs. Crawford was charmed with the new location and no time was lost in erecting a substantial log cabin, a short distance from the present home of the Crawfords in Steamboat Springs.

Life in the new land was not without its flaws. The presence of so many Indians was one of the drawbacks, as the Yampa Valley was one of the favorite hunting grounds of the Utes and they camped at the springs in bands of five or six hundred. For years after the pioneer family of Steamboat Springs had taken up



FIRST CABIN AT STEAMBOAT SPRINGS

residence on the Yampa's banks they saw more Indians than white people. The white population did not increase with any great speed but the Crawfords had abundant faith in the future of the settlement.

Mr. Crawford lost little time in perfecting title to the land and formed a company to promote the interests of the property. In this company, besides himself, were A. E. Lea, J. P. Maxwell, A. J. Macky and O. C. Cheney, all residents of Boulder. This move helped to attract attention to Routt county. After the "Meeker massacre" by Indians, which occurred in September, 1879, the Indians were removed to Utah by the government, and that also improved the prospects of the northwestern part of Colorado. The demand for ranches increased and new settlers started to trickle into the new country and before long the Crawfords had neighbors both up and down the Yampa River.

The first year that the Crawfords lived in Steamboat Springs they sent to Hot Sulphur Springs to get their mail. Early in 1878, Mr. Crawford went to Denver and while there told Gov. John L.



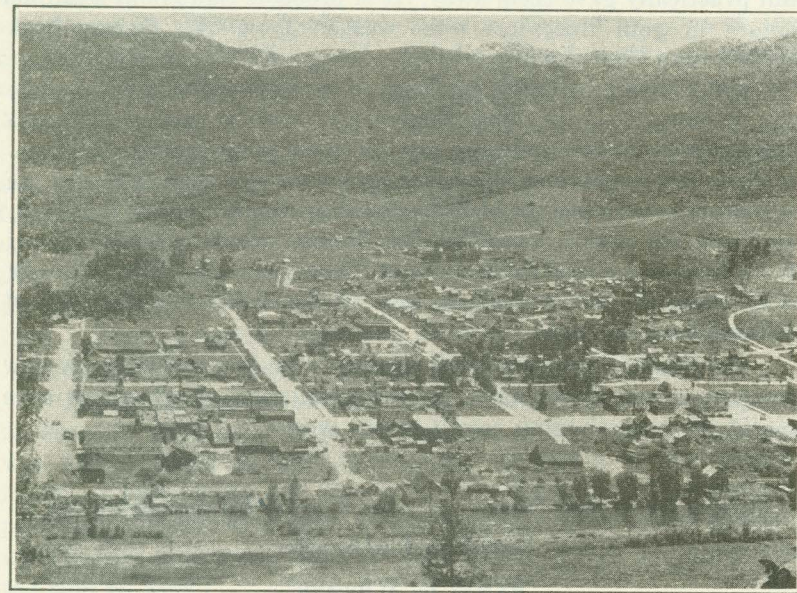
Routt, for whom the county was named, that there was no mail route to the new country. Mr. Crawford had not been home but a few days when he happened to be up on the Morrison Creek trail when he saw a horseback rider across the creek, making his way down the stream, but evidently unfamiliar with the country. He crossed over to the rider and found it to be Mann Redmond from Middle Park, having on his saddle a mail sack and carrying keys and other paraphernalia necessary for the establishment of a post-office. Mr. Crawford was named postmaster and a weekly mail service was established. In the winter, snowshoes were used by the mail carrier and often he did not arrive for two weeks. It gave encouragement to the pioneers, however, to feel that they were in touch with the outside world and not entirely cut off from contact with civilization.

The town of Steamboat Springs was not incorporated until 1900, and very appropriately the first mayor was James H. Crawford, founder of the town.

Steamboat Springs had a newspaper, however, long before it became an incorporated town. In 1885, *The Steamboat Pilot* was founded by James Hoyle. The *Pilot* could boast of but one local advertisement in many of its early issues. That was an advertisement inserted by the H. H. Suttle saw mill, which had been freighted in from Empire in 1883 and set up on Soda Creek a short distance above town. For a long time this advertisement had for company only the cards of two or three stores in Rawlins, Wyoming, and elsewhere. Rawlins then was the chief supply point for Steamboat Springs.

In addition to Steamboat Springs, there was another settlement in Routt County during the early '70s. It was in 1862 that Joseph Hahn and two companions started westward from Georgetown in search of gold. After prospecting for weeks along the range in Middle and North Parks, they finally crossed to the west of the second range and gazed upon the Yampa Valley. Attracted by the great gray peak that stands sentinel over the country, they wended their way to what is known as Hahns Peak. On a creek in Hahns Peak basin, placer gold was found. Winter was approaching and after a hurried survey of the creeks and gulches the prospectors were forced to turn their way eastward again. The two companions of Hahn drop out of the succeeding history, but in 1863 Hahn told his secret to William A. Doyle and Captain George Way and with them laid plans for an expedition to the new fields.

In 1865, Hahn, Way and Doyle, with a few companions, made another trip to the new gold field and prospected the country in a superficial manner but received assurance that there was gold in paying quantities. They returned to the settlements across the range and early in 1866 organized a larger expedition to come to the new country. In the late summer of 1866 a large amount of gold was washed out by the crude methods at hand. All of the party except Hahn, Doyle and Way decided to return to settlements before winter set in. In October, Way volunteered to go



STEAMBOAT SPRINGS TODAY

outside to get winter supplies and said he would return by the fourteenth of the month. He never returned.

Hahn and Doyle were in a terrible predicament. With the heavy snows, the wild game departed to the lower country. How they survived through the terrible winter they themselves never could explain. Finally it became necessary for them to obtain food, and on April 22, 1867, emaciated and weak, they started with snowshoes on the long and heartbreaking journey to Empire, more than 150 miles over the mountains. Hahn died near the Muddy in Middle Park, long before he reached his destination. Doyle was rescued by two men living in Middle Park.



The next authentic account of operations at Hahns Peak, though others may have intervened, is that in 1874 a number of companies went in and opened the mines on an extensive scale. They found large rewards and succeeded in interesting J. V. Farwell of Chicago, who expended \$160,000 in constructing a twenty-seven mile ditch from Elk River to the placer ground. He opened a road from Laramie, Wyoming, brought in a saw mill and established a large store. Several extremely rich streaks of gravel were found, but in most places the gold did not come up to expectations and Farwell became discouraged with his investments and practically gave them away. It is probable that about a million dollars in gold dust has been washed from the Hahns Peak placers since their discovery.

From 1879 until 1912, the town of Hahns Peak was the county seat of Routt County. The rivalry between the towns along the Yampa River prevented any one of them from getting the two-thirds vote necessary to become the new county seat. Finally the legislature settled the problem by dividing Routt County and making Craig the county seat of Moffat County, which was formed out of the western part of Routt County. Thus there was little difficulty in securing the removal of the seat of Routt County government to Steamboat Springs.

At present Hahns Peak is nearly a deserted village. A few prospectors remain to make up the population of what was once one of the boom mining camps of the west.



## Spreading the News of the Early Discoveries of Gold in Colorado

JAMES F. WILLARD\*

The story of the early discoveries of placer gold in the tributaries of the South Platte has been told by a number of authors, but by none better than by Jerome C. Smiley in his *History of Denver*. It need not be repeated here at any length. On the other hand those who have written on Colorado's early days have not told how the news of the discoveries reached the Missouri Valley and the eastern states. It is the purpose of this paper to describe in brief compass, with quotations from the Valley newspapers of the day, the first stages in the vigorous campaign of publicity that followed the discoveries of the Russell Company. Unfortunately

\* Doctor Willard is head of the History Department at the University of Colorado. Although his field is English History, he has made extensive researches into the Pike's Peak gold rush and upon the colonization projects in Colorado. In this article he presents valuable new material gathered from Missouri Valley and eastern papers.—Ed.

my knowledge of the news contained in far eastern newspapers is confined to two published in Boston.

It will be recalled that two parties of gold hunters made their way towards the Rockies during the summer of 1858. The first, the Russell Company, was composed of white men from Georgia, Missouri and Kansas, and of a group of Cherokee Indians. The number of men in the party, according to one of its members, was one hundred and four<sup>1</sup>. As the company crossed the plains it was almost unnoticed by the papers of the Missouri Valley<sup>2</sup>. It had started out to find gold in Ralston's Creek, north of where Denver now stands, but found little there. Subsequently a small quantity was found in Cherry Creek and more in other tributaries of the South Platte during the month of July. The exaggerated reports of these finds aroused the gold fever in the river towns along the Missouri.

The other group of adventurers, organized in Lawrence, Kansas, was known as the Lawrence Company<sup>3</sup>. It started late in May for Pike's Peak. No gold was found there or anywhere else in the south. Hearing of the discoveries in Cherry Creek the company moved northwards and settled down on the present site of Denver on September 2, 1858. One of the members of the company, William J. Boyer, kept the home town informed of its progress through letters sent home and published in the *Lawrence Republican*<sup>4</sup>.

During the greater part of the month of July, because of lack of news of gold discoveries from either of the companies, there was little interest in their movements. Suddenly on the twenty-fourth of that month the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, published the following item, which contains a modicum of accurate information and much more misinformation about the mines and the men at work:

"OLIVER P. GOODWIN arrived here on Wednesday last direct from Fort Bridger, in twenty-one days, with an express to Majors & Russell. . . .

"On the headwaters of the South Fork of Platte, near Long's Peak, gold mines have been discovered and 500 persons are now working them. These mines are now yielding on an average \$12 a day to each hand. They are 175 miles from Fort Laramie, and 25 from St. Vrain's Fort, in Nebraska."

<sup>1</sup> Luke Tierney, *History of the Gold Discoveries on the South Platte River*, p. 10. Tierney gives an excellent account of the company's search for gold. My brief narrative is largely based on his small pamphlet, published in 1859.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, the report of an interesting conversation with Beck, the leader of the Cherokees, in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, June 12, 1858.

<sup>3</sup> The best account of the movements of the company is found in the *Lawrence Republican*, October 28, 1858.

<sup>4</sup> See the issues of July 15 and September 23, 1858.



This piece of news seems to have aroused no enthusiasm in the editorial rooms of the Missouri Valley papers and no more information was received for several days.

Interestingly enough the next news item that I have found comes from the *Boston Journal*. That paper published, on August 16, a letter from its regular correspondent dated at Topeka, August 7, 1858. The correspondent was A. D. Richardson, so well known in Colorado in 1859. A part of this letter reads:

"... several weeks since a party of young men from Lawrence, influenced by reports which have been coming from the West for several months past, started for the mountains in the Western part of the Territory, some six hundred miles from this point, on a gold hunting expedition. A letter has just been received from one of the expedition, stating that they have met with more than hoped-for success, and that the hitherto unexplored region to which they have gone undoubtedly abounds in gold mines of the richest character. Further letters, containing detailed information, will probably be received within a few days. Meanwhile much interest is felt in the matter and if the intelligence is confirmed there will immediately be a great "rush" for the auriferous locality."

The editor of the *Journal* commented on the news, under the heading GOLD AND PEARLS IN KANSAS, in the following fashion:

"Our Kansas correspondent, in his letter published to-day, states that favorable accounts have been received from a party of young men who went to the mountains of Western Kansas on a prospecting tour for gold. They were remarkably successful, and it is thought that the region is rich in gold. If the reports should be verified there may be a rush for the gold placers of Kansas which will throw the Fraser river excitement completely in the shade."

A letter to the editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, dated Lawrence, K. T., August 10, was published on the nineteenth. Modestly hidden in the midst of other information we find this paragraph:

"Reports of gold on our western border have made quite a stir in our community, reawakening the *auri sacra fames* of our California adventurers, some of whom have gone in pursuit of the glittering treasure. Their friends are apprehensive they will have a hard time and come back leaner than they went in body and estate."

Meanwhile the Missouri Valley newspapers, as far as I have examined their files, remained silent. There was no news and no

comment in such papers as the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis, the *Nebraska News* of Nebraska City, the *Herald of Freedom* of Lawrence, or the *Lawrence Republican*, though their editors were certain to be interested in any gold discoveries in the Rockies. Since the files of other papers are defective, it is quite possible that items were printed, though now lost. Such, however, were the borrowing habits of the editors of the little papers in the Valley that it seems hardly likely that anything escaped the attention of those in charge of the papers named, for which the files are complete.

On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of August the *St. Joseph Gazette* published a bit of news that was widely noticed. The item about to be quoted was copied in part or whole by the *Omaha Times* and *Missouri Republican*, and even the far distant *Boston Evening Transcript* thought the news worthy of its columns<sup>5</sup>. Doubtless other papers, now with defective files, and those not examined by me, found it equally worth while. Under the heading RICH DEPOSITS OF GOLD NEAR FORT LARAMIE, the item was quoted in the *Missouri Republican* with comment by the editor:

"We learn from S. Tennent, Esq., that gold has been found in large quantities about seventy miles from Fort Laramie, in the direction of Laramie's Peak. A young gentleman, Wm. Bryan, formerly of this city, has written a letter to his father, living in Kansas, urging him to leave everything here and go to those mines. He writes that he was shown one lump that weighed four pounds, and was assured by those who made the discovery that these mines equal the richest of California placers.

"The fact that this region of country has been so frequently passed over by emigrant trains, and subjected to repeated mineralogical surveys, both private and governmental, favors the assumption that the whole story is apocryphal, and it would be folly in any one to go there in search of gold until the report receives further and abundant confirmation."

The incredulity of the editor is apparent and reappears in a note published the following day:

"A private letter to a gentleman of this city, written from Fort Laramie, has been shown us. The date is a day or two later than that received through the St. Joseph papers, mentioning gold discoveries, and published yesterday; but the writer makes no mention whatever of such rumors. The writer was in a position to give him early knowledge of the subject if any discovery of that kind had been made."

<sup>5</sup> *Omaha Times*, August 26, 1858; *Missouri Republican*, August 25, 1858; *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 30, 1858.



In contrast to this the *Omaha Times* was optimistic. After reprinting the item from the *St. Joseph Gazette*, the editor comments:

"We would inform the *Gazette* that gold quartz has been found upon the Platte bottoms to the westward of here some 30 miles, and reports assure us that some three or four dollars per day can be made washing from the bed of the same stream not over one hundred miles westward from here. That gold has been found upon the headwaters of that stream we do not doubt and were we a prophet, or a son thereof, we would predict the day not far distant when the gold diggings of Nebraska would create as much excitement as those of California."

On August 26, the day on which the above item appeared, the *Lawrence Republican* sent forth to the world a long report of an interview with J. E. Chase, who had been with the Lawrence Company. Mr. Chase brought home news of the discoveries in Cherry Creek, told of the Georgians at work, and exhibited a small quantity of placer gold. His story, as reported, is somewhat confused, but he added the encouraging information about the miners, "had they proper apparatus for collecting this gold, it would pay \$20 per day, to each."

The same day Monsieur Bordeau and party arrived in Kansas City from the mountains. They came to purchase outfits, brought some gold, and confirmed the existence of mines in Cherry Creek. A report of their arrival was sent to the *Missouri Republican* and to the *Boston Journal*<sup>6</sup>.

The coming of men from the vicinity of the mines was quite different from rumors and letters. Did they not bring gold with them and did they not tell stories of the excellent results of a day's work? What happened in Leavenworth is stated in a telegram sent from that town on August 29 to the *Missouri Republican*<sup>7</sup>:

"Considerable excitement exists in Lawrence and Kansas City in consequence of recent arrivals from the gold region of Pike's Peak, confirming the existence of the ore in abundance at that locality. A company which went from Lawrence in June had met with good success. The gold found at these diggings is similar to that of Fraser river and California.

"A Mr. Richards arrived at Kansas City on the twenty-eighth, reported that with very limited prospecting satisfactory results were obtained. Two men with inferior implements, washed out \$600 in one week, on a small stream fifty miles from Pike's Peak.

"A second Fraser river is apprehended."

<sup>6</sup> *Missouri Republican*, August 29, 1858; *Boston Journal*, August 30, 1858.

<sup>7</sup> *Missouri Republican*, August 31, 1858.

The early days of September witnessed a great increase of the excitement in the Valley, an increase due to the arrival of more men from the mines with encouraging news. John Cantrell, once a citizen of Westport and now a trader in the West, spread glowing tales after he reached the river towns. He showed three ounces of gold "which he dug with a hatchet in Cherry Creek and washed out with a frying pan." His story was told in the *Lawrence Republican*, in the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, in the *Herald of Freedom* of Lawrence, the *Nebraska News* of Nebraska City, and was referred to without name in a letter sent by A. D. Richardson to the *Boston Journal*<sup>8</sup>. It was claimed that Cantrell was the first man to arrive direct from the mines. During the final days of August and the first ten days of the month of September, John Richards, a mountain trader, C. C. Carpenter, a member of the Lawrence Company, and Elmore Y. King, reached the towns on the river from the "diggings," showed gold to the curious and told more or less trustworthy, but always enthusiastic, tales of the prospects at the gold fields<sup>9</sup>. When the staid *Boston Evening Transcript* could print on September 1, "Two men, with inferior implements, washed out \$600 in one week, in a small stream fifty miles from Pike's Peak," is it amazing that the Missouri Valley papers published even more wonderful stories or that parties began to prepare to go at once to the mines?

As early as August 22 the writer of a letter to the *Missouri Republican* from Rulo, Nebraska, states: "A company is about organizing to start from here immediately to the mines, and several other companies will leave here early in the spring"<sup>10</sup>. The month of September witnessed the appearance of many similar items in the papers. Of these some were general in character, like the following from the *Weekly Kansas Herald* of Leavenworth, dated September 11:

"The excitement is still on the increase, and spreading in every direction. St. Joseph, Council Bluffs, Nebraska and Omaha Cities; Leavenworth, Kansas City, Independence, Westport, and Lawrence, are all preparing to send forward a living stream of emigration to the gold regions. Those who go out this fall, will probably return before winter, as the climate is very severe in the mountains, and they will not have time to build cabins and make themselves comfortable before winter is upon them. Some will winter in New

<sup>8</sup> *Lawrence Republican*, September 2, 1858, quoting the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce* and the *Westport Star of Empire*; *Herald of Freedom*, September 4, 1858; *Nebraska News*, September 4, 1858; *Boston Journal*, September 14, 1858.

<sup>9</sup> *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 1, 1858 (Richards); *Lawrence Republican*, September 9, 1858 (Carpenter); *Missouri Republican*, September 10, 1858 (Carpenter); *Leavenworth Journal*, September 11, 1858 (King).

<sup>10</sup> *Missouri Republican*, September 1, 1858.



Mexico, while others will go to Fort Laramie or Kearney. In the spring we may expect a general rush to the mines.'"

Other papers reported companies as nearly ready to start or starting from Leavenworth, Atchison, Wyandott, Kansas City, Topeka, Lawrence, Pacific City, Iowa, and other towns<sup>11</sup>. Though the migration to the mines in the autumn was not a stampede, the fact that men were going, and that companies had actually started, was the best kind of publicity for the mining district.

With the spreading of the news of these companies of gold seekers the story of early publicity comes to an end. It was only the difficulty of travel up-river late in the year and the need of some sort of preparation that prevented a "rush" to Colorado in 1858.



## Conditions and Customs of Present-Day Utes in Colorado

JAMES RUSSELL\*

From the Ute mineral water spring at Manitou, and the Ute Pass through which the automobile tourist penetrates the mountains in driving west from Colorado Springs on the eastern slope, to Chipeta Park, near Montrose, and that gem of Colorado mountain towns, Ouray, on the western slope, we find many reminders that the mountainous region of our State was the home and the hunting, fishing—perhaps fighting—grounds of the Ute Indians.

Where are those warriors who so successfully defended their mountain fastnesses against the Indians of the plains—the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Cherokee? Have they entirely disappeared like the former inhabitants of the Cliff Dwelling Ruins? When the Indians ceased to be at war with the white men most white people proceeded to forget about the Indians. No; they have not left us entirely. But they are no longer the large, unified, fighting tribe that they once were. The numbers are dwindling; the tribe has been divided; and the groups are widely separated. Two bands are to be found in the State of Utah; while two others are in the southwestern part of Colorado. There is the Southern Ute Reservation, with its Agency at Ignacio, and the Ute Mountain Reservation, with Agency at Towaoc.

\* Rev. James Russell is in charge of the Presbyterian Indian Mission at Towaoc, Colorado.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> *Missouri Republican*, September 16 and 18, 1858 (Leavenworth); *Western Weekly Argus* (Wyandott), September 16, 1858 (Kansas City); *Freedom's Champion* (Atchison), September 18, 1858 (Atchison and several other towns); *Lawrence Republican*, September 23, 1858 (Lawrence); *Omaha Times*, September 23, 1858 (Pacific City).

Taking the train on that branch line of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad that leads to Durango we may see a few of the Utes some thirty or forty miles before we reach that city, because the railroad extends through a portion of the Reservation of one of these bands—the Southern Ute Reservation. When the train crosses the Pine River bridge at La Boca, and continues along the bank of that stream to the town of Ignacio, it is within the bounds of the Indian reservation.

### PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

How are the mighty fallen! is an expression that may readily fall from our lips as we contemplate the proud warrior—as he has often been visualized in our minds—with the humble position we now find him occupying.

From time immemorial, hunting, fishing, riding, and fighting have engaged him. He was untrammelled and free. Now, required to live on the reservation and earn a livelihood by stock raising, farming, or hiring out by day labor, he is cramped and uncomfortable. He has not yet adapted himself fully to his changed surroundings, although more than a generation has passed since this change was forced upon him. How much longer it will take him to adjust himself to the white man's mode of living remains to be seen. The tuggings of the heart strings for the former manner of life are yet very strong. It was with great relish that "Moose" told me of his experience with a "motion-picture" company. "Moose" was given a rifle to use in a battle that was staged between those former mortal enemies—Utes and Navajoes. The Utes emerged victorious. Relating the encounter "Moose" said, "Me shoot 'um Navajoes; lots of 'um. Me heep like em shoot and kill lots of Navajoes."

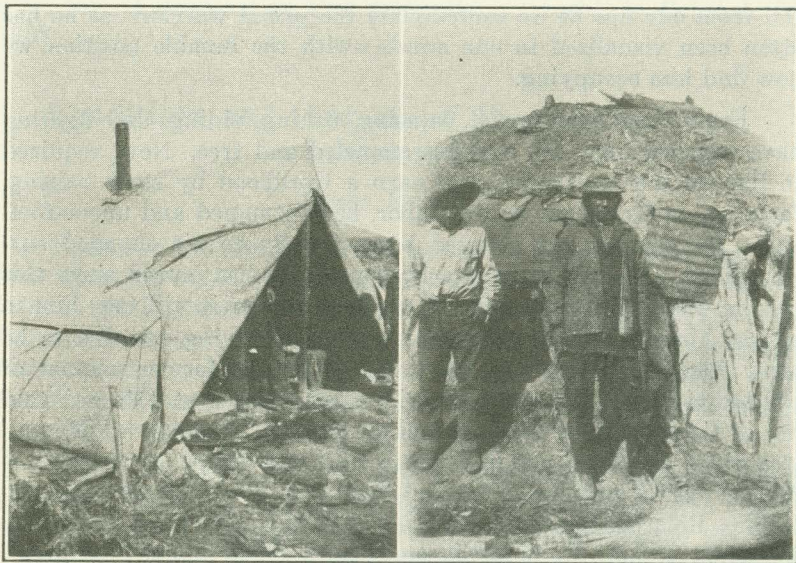
When we changed the manner of life of the Indian from a nomadic freedom to a more settled and civilized form we forced a change of habits without a change of nature. The results, at present, are far from ideal. If progress is being made by the Indian toward civilization—and we believe there is—it is akin to that of the glaciers, difficult of perception to the unaided eye.

Some twenty years ago the Southern Ute Reservation Indians were given land allotments, together with ditches and water from Pine River for the irrigation of their farms. The patents to the land were not "fee" but "trust," so that the Indians could not sell the lands. Without this safeguard the Indians would probably be landless today. They cannot sell but they may lease their lands; and thus many of the Ute farms are operated today. Some Utes



operate their own farms, and they are given every encouragement by the Government Agency to do so.

"The Utes are too lazy to work" is a remark that is not infrequently heard. But that is not a fair characterization of them. With their lack of knowledge, training, experience, and initiative, it is not to be wondered at that the Utes do not operate their farms so successfully as do the white men. The Ute admits that in the affairs of life the white man "he heep smart; Indian no smart." His preference for leasing his farm to the white man, in line with that admission, becomes an action of business acumen rather than



TENT AND HOGAN

Types of houses on present Ute reservation

an indication of indolence. If by leasing he can get more money out of his farm than by operating it himself why shouldn't he lease? Besides, his own time is then free. The easy-going and careless will use his time riding horses, gambling, or in some other frivolous, unprofitable manner. The more industrious and progressive—there are such—will work out for someone else, and thus add to the income.

It would puzzle a white man to manage to subsist—saying nothing about rearing a family—on the income of the average Ute. Some depend on a dole they receive of about \$5 per month!

### SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

If we find the Utes industrially lagging far behind the white man it need not be surprising if we find them at variance in other ways. The Utes have neither the opportunity nor the inclination to engage in our social affairs. He is not welcome in our homes; nor to any of our parties. His own life is a very drab one; with but little to relieve the monotony. But if he fails to enter upon many of our pleasurable experiences he also avoids the disagreeable ones; and there may be some compensation there. Whatever the Ute does is done in daylight; there are no all-night parties or sprees. Peyote and bad liquor are used by some Utes; but it is not a common practice throughout the tribe.

Horse racing has been hinted in a former paragraph; but the Ute form of horse racing is not that of the white man: There is no race track, general program, publicity stunt, or gate receipts! It is neither a commercial venture, nor a gambler's scheme. Jim Eagle may think he has a faster horse than John Bear, and may challenge him to a racing test. A time is set and neighbors are notified. A crowd of young and old—both sexes—gather. The race is run. It may be so close several heats are required to determine the superiority of one horse over the other. Perhaps other challenges are settled at the same time. In every race just two horses are entered. It is conducted in a fair manner and all spectators are the judges. At the close either Jim or John is said to have the best horse.

The only social function that continues through all seasons of the year, and survives all kinds of weather, is a gambling game that has become popular. It may seem improper to designate a gambling game a social function, yet such it is to the Utes. No stigma attaches to it by those who do not gamble; and local Government officials permit it to continue unmolested. A centrally located home is the recognized place where the group gathers daily. Both men and women participate. Regular hours are kept; and before darkness comes the players have gone home. Stakes are not large; yet excitement runs high at times. Shooting scrapes are not unknown. A Mexican card game is the medium that determines winnings and losses. Any number may play; and players may enter or leave at any time.

### THE BEAR DANCE

Almost the only other occasions when the Utes meet socially are the dances. They have two kinds—the Bear Dance and the Sun Dance. The latter is held but once a year. Formerly, when the



Bear Dances were arranged for and conducted solely by the Utes, they were held in the springtime to announce that the Bear had awakened from his winter hibernation and would resume his summer activities. The Utes, therefore, should come from their winter quarters on the plains and lowlands and proceed to their summer activities in the mountains, forests, and streams.

Now, however, the Indian traders—white men who conduct stores and trading posts among the Indians—have taken a hand in the matter. The Bear Dance attracts both Indians and white people. In duration it may continue from four days to a week. The people who attend usually have money to spend. Each trader tries to arrange to have a Bear Dance near his store.

For the dance a level spot of ground is selected and cleared. Surrounding this circular plot a hedge-fence five to eight feet high is constructed of poles and branches of evergreens. No Indian would think of breaking through this fence; but if traveling circuses used such an enclosure all small boys would be inside without paying admission. One narrow opening admits of ingress and egress. Those who enter are expected to be at least willing to participate; mere spectators may look through the fence. Inside, the orchestra have their assigned location, and dancers group themselves around the walls—men in one part of the circle, the women in another.

An Indian orchestra has little resemblance to that of the white man. They have neither wind nor stringed instruments; and music sheets are unnecessary and unknown. The music is produced by a combination of vocal sounds with a series of strong arm movements. A large dry-goods or other packing box of such dimensions as will permit ten or one dozen men to gather around becomes the base of the playing. Removing the boards from the largest side, and replacing them with a sheet of metal for sound-magnifying purposes, is the preferred style of instrument. (A bass drum might serve the purpose; but bass drums are not made of a size to accommodate a dozen husky braves so that each may rest on the drum one end of an instrument clasped by his left hand, and at the same time permit a whole-arm, free-swinging movement by his right.) Each member of the orchestra not only provides but makes his own instruments. A piece of hardwood, fully the length of a man's arm, is notched until it resembles a transverse view of a wash-board. This may be painted. A snake's head may be carved on one end and a tail on the other; but these are mere embellishments and have no particular effect upon the quality of music rendered. One end of the stick is held by the left hand, while the other rests upon the box. Another short piece of wood, or a femur bone of a cow,

is grasped by the right hand. By a vigorous application of the short stick in the right hand back and forth over the notches of the one held in the left hand the sound is produced. To the vocal "hi-yi-yi," and a "ki-yi-yi," sung in unison by the musicians, the rhythmic movements of the instruments are added to produce the music for the dance.

For the dance the squaws select their partners. Crossing the circle to where the men are congregated each woman touches the man of her choice. He immediately responds, and follows his partner to the center of the enclosure. Here two straight lines are formed. Standing shoulder to shoulder the men form one straight line facing the women who have formed a similar line. The women begin the dance with a step forward, then backward; and when the movement is in full swing each line moves two steps forward, then three backward. As the women advance the men retreat, and vice versa. The dance consists of these alternating forward and backward movements. At no time throughout the dance do male touch the female dancers, unless in clumsiness of motion there should be a contact of feet, such as occurred on my first venture. Each dancer in the advance step is supposed to place the foot upon the spot uncovered by the partner in retreating; thus while not touching each other, partners remain within arm's reach while the dance is in progress.

### THE SUN DANCE

The most important occasion of the year to the Utes is the Sun Dance. Preparations are made long in advance. Word has been sent far and wide among Indians elsewhere as well as to those on the local reservation. When the Utes of the Pine River region (Southern Ute Reservation) have their Sun Dance, not only are the members of their band likely to be present, but visitors from Ute Mountain Reservation, Fort Duchesne in Northern Utah, Montezuma Creek and Allen Canon in Southern Utah, are expected; even Navajoes from Arizona, and Apaches from New Mexico may be there.

Both social and religious features are prominent in the Sun Dance. Members of the tribe who, because of their manner of life, have been separated from others during the year expect to meet and visit with others at this time. Friends from other reservations, who may not have seen each other for years, may take advantage of the occasion for a season of visitation. It becomes a period of glad reunion of relatives and friends.

Young people of marriageable age find it a favorable opportunity in which to seek and choose a life companion. Commonly, life



partnerships that had both their inception and consummation are effected during the period of the Sun Dance.

It becomes the time for the general diffusion of news, and the exchange of ideas. The representatives of one group relate the happenings of the year among their people to those of the other groups. Births, deaths, marriages are especially noted; but health and economic conditions are also considered.

All have their camping outfits along, unless the homes or permanent camps happen to be close to the dance grounds. The dance will continue four or five days; but visitors may remain a week or longer. For the convenience of those camped near the dance grounds, a temporary store is erected.

The enclosure for the Sun Dance is similar to the one used for the Bear Dance, but has some added features. A tree trunk, with all foliage removed and branches severed so that the trunk resembles a pole, is erected in the center of the enclosure. This is surmounted by a bundle of twigs so arranged and fastened as to look not greatly unlike a bundle of wheat. Booths are arranged along the wall of that portion of the enclosure occupied exclusively by the dancers; for, from the beginning of the dance to its close, every dancer must remain, day and night, in the location assigned to him!

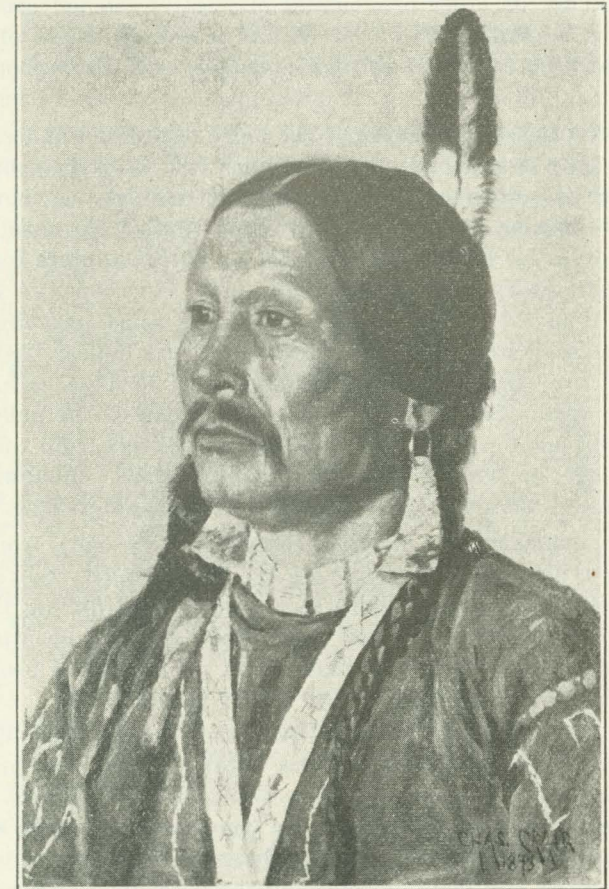
The women, having no part in the dance itself, are free to join their voices to those of the men in the orchestra. They group themselves close to and seem to become a part of it. Each woman holds in her hand a cluster of long stemmed wild flowers, reeds or rushes. These are waved with a rhythmic vertical motion accompanying their own vocal humming and the vibrations of the notched stick instruments of the men.

The men selected to do the dancing are chosen with a view to their physical condition. They must be well and strong to bear the rigorous demands of this endurance test. They shall have neither food nor drink for four or five days! This privation, added to the strenuous exercise of the dance itself, combines in making heavy exactions upon their physical constitution.

Usually the chief of the tribe takes the leading part in the dance; but Buckskin Charlie, of the Southern Utes, now enfeebled with age, is no longer equal to the task. He will be present and be an interested spectator and counselor throughout the ceremony. John Miller, chief of the Ute Mountain band, being a younger man, still takes the active lead in the Sun Dance on his reservation.

The garb worn by the dancers is not devised as a protection against cold, but is solely ornamental. It is not a uniform, for no

two are alike. Presumably each man collects the articles of which it consists, and designs and makes his own garb. There is no covering for the back—the dance is in midsummer when little covering is required—and the legs and arms are bare. In his booth



CHIEF BUCKSKIN CHARLIE OF THE SOUTHERN UTES  
From a painting by Charles Craig of Colorado Springs in 1893. The original painting was presented to the State Historical Society by Mrs. Verner Z. Reed of Denver.

each dancer has pieces of canvas and other coverings to use when resting. The entrance to each booth is marked and supported by two poles. Standing between these poles the men take their positions in readiness for the dance—and in the intervals between trips to the large pole in the center of the arena. To this large pole from each booth extends a straight path, and this becomes the line of



travel for each dancer, from which he never deviates; nor may there be any exchanging of positions. Every man retains the same path and booth in which he started until the close of the ceremony. Dangling from the wrist, ankles, elbows, ears and other parts of the body of the dancers may be feathers, tassels, animal teeth, silver objects, gems, or other ornamental articles. Fastened around the neck with a cord each dancer carries a whistle made of turkey bone, which he continues to blow intermittently throughout every dance.

With a prancing movement the chief begins the dance. Every dancer's gaze is fastened upon the object crowning the center pole, and never is it diverted while he continues his dancing movements. When the leader has taken a few steps toward the pole another dancer leaves his booth entrance. Soon a third saunters forth, and so on until every man is doing his part. No sooner is the pole reached than the retreat begins. With the same prancing movement, and gaze still upon the central pole, the dancer backs along the path over which he has advanced until he reaches his booth entrance again. Sometimes a dancer will linger at the pole. As he does so his gaze will be deflected toward the sun, and quietly he will engage in gesticulations and genuflections. Meanwhile the other dancers maintain their activities and whistle-tooting.

This, evidently, is a religious ceremony. The sun is worshipped as either typifying or personifying the Great Spirit. So far as we observe it is the only religious service they hold during the year. No words are spoken; no oral instruction is given or attempted; and whatever information or instruction the assembled people gain from it is learned through the eye rather than the ear.

For several years Presbyterians and Roman Catholics have maintained missions among the Utes. Both organizations have their followers; but it has not seemed to occur to the Utes that there is any incompatibility between the Sun Dance and Christian services; between the Great Spirit and the Christian God. Those who participate in the Sun Dance also attend the mission services.



## A Pioneer Minister in Southern Colorado

E. C. BROOKS\*

When the list of appointments was read at the Methodist Conference in Denver in 1871 my name was announced for Canon City, the Rev. George Murray as my Presiding Elder. I found our church building was what had originally been a store building. The room was built of stone and was about twenty-four by forty-five feet. A large room was in the rear and built on to it was a rude board shanty which, together, gave us a five-room parsonage. It was built of cottonwood lumber, and was very densely peopled with little, flat bugs that could prove very annoying.

The Colorado penitentiary had just been built, consisting of one wing of three tiers of cells, twenty cells on each tier. Colorado being still a territory, the prison was under the control of the United States marshal, who was then Mr. Shaffenburg. He had Messrs. Walters, Dueber and Rice as guards. The marshal wrote asking me if I would preach to the prisoners on Christmas day. I did so and held the first religious service in the Colorado penitentiary on Christmas day of 1871. He then asked me to serve them regularly every Sunday, which I did and had the privilege of organizing a class of thirteen converts out of a prison population at the time numbering about thirty-five or forty. One of the boys was a son of a missionary in India.

My work included what is now Florence and a settlement on Hardscrabble. We had at Frazierville (now Florence) a log building for a church. The seats, running around the walls of the building, were made of hewn logs.

While I was pastor here, I went with Brother W. R. Fowler across the country to Colorado Springs to meet Rev. Dr. Crury, who was coming to us as our Presiding Elder. When I was a boy Dr. Crury was my pastor in St. Paul. When night came we camped on the banks of a creek between Canon and Colorado Springs. Brother and Sister Fowler slept in the wagon bed while the Doctor and I made our bed on the ground under the wagon. I had just got asleep when the Doctor punched me in the side, waking me, and said, "Ed, Ed." I answered, "What is it?" He replied, "This is

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\* Mr. Brooks came to Colorado in 1869. He labored at Golden and at Laramie, Wyoming, before going to southern Colorado. Some of his experiences were related in the *Colorado Magazine* of June, 1928, pp. 115-9. He lives in Knoxville, Iowa, today.—Ed.



jolly." He let me go to sleep again, when I was again awakened by a punching in my ribs and the Doctor calling, "Ed, Ed!" "What is the matter now," I said. "Why, Ed, this is good enough for a dog." He then allowed me to finish my sleep.

The old Doctor was very fond of the water in the mineral spring at Canon. He had been holding quarterly meeting at Fairplay and I met him at the spring. He said to me between drinks, "Ed, if hell is any worse place than Fairplay, I am going to try mighty hard to keep out of it."

The conference session of 1872 was held at Georgetown. I drove a team consisting of my horse and a mule, and in a covered wagon my wife and I made the trip via South Park. Our second night out, in the midst of a driving rainstorm, we reached the salt works, and went into camp. From Granite we drove to Twin Lakes. When crossing the stream between Granite and Twin Lakes our mule seemed to think it wanted to stop and rest a while. I felt the wagon beginning to sink in the sand, so I climbed out on the wagon tongue, the water coming up to my waist, and by dint of great physical urging persuaded the mule to continue the journey. While at Georgetown a number of us made a trip to the summit of Gray's Peak, and played snowball, on a hot August day, across the backbone of the continent. At this session of the conference my brother, the Rev. C. A. Brooks, came to Colorado and was appointed by the bishop to the Wet Mountain Valley circuit. He remained in Colorado until his death in March, 1928. I was returned to Canon City and labored to build up Methodism there.

In 1873 I was appointed to the Las Animas region. I reached there and found my circuit extending from the mouth of the Apishapa to Granada and from Las Animas up the Purgatoire to Kit Carson's ranch—one hundred and fifty miles east and west by fifty miles north and south. I had preaching appointments at Rocky Ford, where there were six members of my church; then at Laverder's, where there were three; then where La Junta now is, in the log cabin of Ed Smith and wife, who constituted the class; then at Price and Lander's, Las Animas (old town), the Meadows, Granada, and one or two cabins on the Purgatoire river.

The railroad came to the river at this time and the town of West Las Animas was built. Threats were made by the Indians that the town would be wiped out. A war party of three hundred Cheyenne Indians came for that purpose, but Mr. John Prowers, whose wife was a member of that tribe and who himself was very popular with the Indians, met them and persuaded them to abandon

their purpose. It was to us a night of intense anxiety, as just before sunset, standing in the door of our house in Las Animas, looking off to the southwest, we saw that long file of horsemen with their guns, riding along the ridge. Mr. Prowers had them stop at his ranch, had a large number of his cattle killed, and feasted them all night. The next morning he brought a number of their chief men over to the fort and thus saved that whole section from destruction.

Ill health shortly caused me to resign my charge, and in the spring of 1874 my pioneering in Colorado came to an end and I removed to Kansas. I remained there until 1884 when I returned to Colorado, and while I was preaching at the town of Henry (now Monte Vista, and Del Norte, the legislature created the office of chaplain in the Colorado penitentiary. My old friend, the Hon. Benjamin Eaton, appointed me to the position, and so having had the privilege of preaching the first sermon in the penitentiary on Christmas day, 1871, I was honored with the position of the first officially appointed chaplain of the institution. I spent two years there, with General Cameron as warden. In the spring of 1887 I left Colorado and moved to Iowa, where my home has been ever since.