

C O L O R A D O

Heritage

The Magazine of History Colorado November/December 2014 \$4.95



Are We So Different?

Through January 4

At the History Colorado Center

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- Documenting the Sand Creek Massacre
- The Denver Wheel Club's Tourney of 1894
- Fall Programs Around the State



Edward C. Nichols
PRESIDENT AND CEO

History Colorado Center
1200 Broadway
Denver, Colorado 80203
303/HISTORY

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ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

History Colorado: cover, 1, 2, 5, 7, 9 (bottom), 13 (10045258), 14, 16 (10040303), 18, 20, 21, 22 (top, 30002012), 22 (bottom), 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, back cover. Courtesy Chamberlin Architects: 3 (top). Courtesy *Montrose Daily Press*: 3 (bottom). Courtesy Kevin Weckbach: 9 (top). Courtesy Jeff Lowdermilk: 11. Courtesy Saint Joseph Hospital: 12. Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History Collection: 15 (bottom, Rh-552). Courtesy the Linda Rebeck Collection of Sand Creek Documents: 16 (top), 17, 19.

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Colorado Heritage (ISSN 0272-9377), published by History Colorado, contains articles of broad general and educational interest that link the present to the past. *Heritage* is distributed bimonthly to History Colorado members, to libraries, and to institutions of higher learning. Manuscripts must be documented when submitted, and originals are retained in the Publications office. An Author's Guide is available; contact the Publications office. History Colorado disclaims responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Postage paid at Denver, Colorado

All History Colorado members receive *Colorado Heritage* as a benefit of membership. Individual subscriptions are available through the Membership office for \$40 per year (six issues).

For details about membership write to Membership Office, History Colorado Center, or email us at membership@state.co.us.

To purchase copies of this or other History Colorado or Colorado Historical Society publications, contact the Publications office at 303/866-4532 or publications@state.co.us.

www.HistoryColorado.org

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- Our monthly e-newsletter, *History Colorado NOW*
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COLO RADO Heritage

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2014



COmingle 2014–15

Embrace your inner history geek and join History Colorado for our afterhours history “happenings” with an offbeat mix of games, trivia, demonstrations, exhibit adventures, performances and activities. Toss in a cash bar, munchies and a whole lot of Colorado spirit and you’ve got the perfect reason to get out on a weeknight! COmingle is a great date night or fun evening with friends. All COmingle events take place at the History Colorado Center on Thursdays, 6 to 9 P.M.

COLORADO IS EXCLUSIVE

November 13—Has our state always been a welcoming place for everyone? We’ll explore Colorado’s stories of exclusion, and what people have done to break down those barriers. Hear different perspectives, visit the *RACE: Are We So Different?* exhibit and share your own stories.

COLORADO IS MUSIC TO MY EARS

January 8—From opera houses to hole-in-the-wall clubs, Colorado has a rich musical history. Listen to live bands, make music in the exhibits, name that tune and check out historical instruments.

COLORADO IS STUCK IN ‘68

March 12—Take a groovy trip back in time. Try on retro fashions, taste a mid-century snack, learn a ‘60s dance and explore *The 1968 Exhibit*. Be there or be square.

COLORADO IS WILD

May 14—Celebrate the 100th anniversary of Rocky Mountain National Park. Help create wilderness-themed art, then test your outdoor skills and your knowledge of Colorado’s fourteeners.



- I6** Saving the Soule–Cramer Letters: How a Government Copyist “Saved” Two Lost Accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre
Keith Schrum and William J. Convery



Holiday Giving Guide
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Pat Mack
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Robert Hurst

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ON THE COVER

“Are we so different?” asks the newest traveling exhibit at the History Colorado Center in Denver. Interactives, videos, multimedia artworks, expert commentary, artifacts and graphics all explore what we know about the hot-button topic of race. See page 6.

HISTORY COLORADO CENTER

1200 Broadway, Denver

Open: Monday through Saturday, 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.; Sunday, noon to 5 P.M.**Extended evening hours! Open till 9 P.M. Tuesday, December 16.****Admission:** Members free; nonmember adults \$12; seniors and students \$10; children \$8; children 5 and under free. **303/HISTORY**, www.HistoryColoradoCenter.org**BYERS-EVANS HOUSE MUSEUM**

1310 Bannock Street, Denver

Open: Daily, except Sunday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. Guided house tours from 10:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M.**Admission:** Members free; nonmember adults \$6; seniors and students (with ID) \$5; children (6–12) \$4. Group tours available. **303/620-4933**, www.ByersEvansHouseMuseum.org**EL PUEBLO HISTORY MUSEUM**

301 North Union, Pueblo

Open: Tuesday through Saturday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.**Admission:** Members free; nonmember adults \$5; seniors, children 6–12, and students with ID \$4; children 5 and under free; children 12 and under free on Saturdays. **719/583-0453**, www.ElPuebloHistoryMuseum.org**FORT GARLAND MUSEUM**

25 miles east of Alamosa off U.S. 160

Open: April–September, daily, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. October–March, Wednesday through Saturday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.; closed Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday.**Admission:** Members free; nonmember adults \$5; seniors \$4.50; children ages 6–16, \$3.50. **719/379-3512**, www.FortGarlandMuseum.org**FORT VASQUEZ MUSEUM**

13412 U.S. 85, Platteville; 35 miles north of downtown Denver

Open: Wednesday–Sunday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.**Admission:** Members and children under 5 free; nonmembers \$2. **970/785-2832**, www.FortVasquezMuseum.org**GEORGETOWN LOOP HISTORIC MINING & RAILROAD PARK®**

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Call **1-888/456-6777** for reservations or visit www.georgetownlooprr.com.**GRANT-HUMPHREYS MANSION**

770 Pennsylvania Street, Denver

Open: For rental events, including receptions, weddings, and business meetings. **303/894-2505**, www.GrantHumphreysMansion.org**HEALY HOUSE MUSEUM AND DEXTER CABIN**

912 Harrison Avenue, Leadville

Closed for the season. Group tours (20+) can be arranged in winter (depending on availability) with reservation.**Admission:** Members free; nonmember adults \$6; seniors \$5.50; children (6–16) \$4.50; children 5 and under free. **719/486-0487**, www.HealyHouseMuseum.org**PIKE'S STOCKADE**

Six miles east of La Jara, near Sanford, Colorado, just off Highway 136

Open: Memorial Day to October 1, or by appointment.**TRINIDAD HISTORY MUSEUM**

312 East Main Street, Trinidad

Closed for the season. **Open:** May 1–September 30, Tuesday–Friday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. Closed on state holidays. Free self-guided tours of garden and grounds, Monday–Saturday, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. Baca House and Santa Fe Trail Museum available by appointment for groups of six or more. Bloom Mansion closed for restoration.**Admission:** Members free. Nonmember ticket options for Historic Homes Guided Tours, Santa Fe Trail Museum self-guided tours, Friday Heritage Garden Tours, and combination tickets at adult, senior, and child rates. Children 5 and under free. **719/846-7217**, www.TrinidadHistoryMuseum.org**UTE INDIAN MUSEUM**

17253 Chipeta Road, Montrose

Open: January–June: Tuesday through Saturday, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.

July–October: Monday through Saturday, 9 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.; Sunday, 11 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. November–December: Monday through Saturday, 9 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

Admission: Members and children 6 and under free; nonmember adults \$4.50; seniors \$4; children ages 6–16, \$2. **970/249-3098**, www.UteIndianMuseum.org

From the PRESIDENT

November is Native American Heritage Month, and this year we reflect on one of the darker chapters of Colorado history. November 29 marks the 150th anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre—the attack on a peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho village

on Colorado's eastern plains. As a member of the Governor's Sand Creek Massacre Commemoration Commission, I have represented History Colorado as we remember this tragic event and the climate that surrounded it.

At the History Colorado Center, we'll open a commemorative installation on November 29 (see page 4). History Colorado staff have worked on the installation in tandem with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Arapaho Tribe. In the meantime, we continue to develop a broader, long-term Sand Creek Massacre exhibit in consultation with the tribes.

The commission encourages you to sign up for the Sand Creek Massacre commemoration and annual Healing Run (see page 11). They would be especially honored by your presence for the conclusion of the run at the State Capitol in Denver on December 3. See the commission's website, sandcreekmassacre150.com, for details and registration.

In this issue, we look at the Linda Rebeck Collection of Sand Creek Documents—scans of letters and affidavits that literally changed history. Sparking government inquiries in their day, these eyewitness accounts more recently proved pivotal in the creation of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. As the authors add, just this year three institutions have launched investigations into the role of Colorado Territorial Governor John Evans—a key figure in each of those institutions' histories—in the massacre and its aftermath. Sand Creek is still with us.

November is the time to prepare for the holidays, and this season we hope you'll think of History Colorado and the important work we do. See the *Holiday Giving Guide* in the center of this magazine for details about discounted gift memberships, Colorado Gives Day, planned giving with tax benefits, and even a Membership Appreciation Weekend in December—with double discounts on gift shop and Café Rendezvous purchases at the History Colorado Center and at the gift shops in the Byers-Evans House Museum, El Pueblo History Museum, and Ute Indian Museum. The insert includes a coupon for you to bring a friend to the History Colorado Center for free this holiday season.

So please think of History Colorado this season—not just as the place to bring out-of-town friends and family but as you plan your holiday giving.

Edward C. Nichols, President and CEO

Ute Indian Museum Plans Expansion

History Colorado will nearly double the size of the Ute Indian Museum in Montrose to highlight Ute people, heritage and culture. The Colorado State Legislature approved \$2.4 million to fund the expansion, which will include a mix of increased gallery, retail and rental space.

History Colorado will also seek private donations to support exhibit development and other museum programs. To plan the new architecture, programming and exhibits, History Colorado staff are consulting with the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, the Ute Indian Tribe (Uintah and Ouray Reservation) and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe.

“This museum is a special place for our community, and we are fortunate that History Colorado has one of the most complete collections from Ute people,” said CJ Brafford, Ute Indian Museum director. “This area was once Ute territory, and our goal is to bring a renewed focus to Ute life and culture through new exhibits and programs.”

The museum will temporarily close in August 2015 to begin construction. It will partially reopen in summer 2016, with a complete reopening to debut new exhibits in winter 2016.



CHAMBERLIN ARCHITECTS

Inset photo: Drew Setterholm/Montrose Daily Press

**November is
Native American
Heritage Month!**



Colorado’s Civic Health

History Colorado recently joined five other major Colorado civic institutions to study Colorado’s civic health. The resulting report—*The Colorado Civic Health Index*—reveals how residents in the state engage in important civic activities such as voting, volunteering and interacting with neighbors. This type of engagement is critical because it is linked to the economic and personal health of individuals and communities. Overall, the report finds Colorado’s civic health to be strong, but recognizes varying levels of civic participation across communities.

“Coloradans are some of the most politically and civically engaged citizens in the country,” said Mark Potter, Associate Vice President for Academic and Civic Collaboration, Metropolitan State University. “Yet, this report shows we still have work to do. As a state, we struggle to include all Coloradans equally in civic life. Given the power of strong civic engagement on economic and social health, we must ensure that everyone is welcomed and empowered to participate in their community.”

Read the whole report here:
<http://ncoc.net/COCHI2013#sthash.ycEUwREC.dpuf>

History Colorado’s 2014 Tour and Trek Summit

**Wednesday, December 10, 6 to 8 P.M.
History Colorado Center**

At the fifth annual History Colorado Tour and Trek Summit we’ll share the entire year’s menu of tours, answer questions and fill your calendars with fun! We also want to hear about the tours you’d like to see in the future.

RSVP at 303/866-2394

Free; refreshments provided

New & On View

Denver

History Colorado Center (unless otherwise noted)

Night at the Museums

Saturday, November 8
Open for FREE, 5–10 P.M.

Bring your friends after hours for museum theater, crafts, performers and more! Explore the History Colorado Center at night and check out the *RACE: Are We So Different?* exhibit. Test your ski-slope mettle on the virtual ski jump in *Colorado Stories*, and step into the heart of the Dust Bowl via the award-winning Black Sunday Theater in *Living West*.

This event is part of Denver Arts Week, a celebration of the city's vibrant arts and cultural scene. Denver's best museums are open late and admission is FREE between 5 and 10 P.M. FREE shuttles make it easy to explore all evening long.



Sand Creek Massacre Installation

Opening Saturday, November 29

History Colorado will open a commemorative installation to honor the 150th anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre in the second-floor *Colorado Stories* gallery. Our staff have been working with representatives of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Arapaho Tribe to tell the story of this great tragedy through videos, artifacts and narratives.

Museums on Us

History Colorado is proud to be the first cultural center in Colorado to partner with Bank of America's *Museums on Us*® program. Present your Bank of America or Merrill Lynch debit or credit card for free general admission at the History Colorado Center in Denver. With *Museums on Us*®, each cardholder gets free admission the first full weekend of every month, just for being a customer. Tell your friends!

The 1968 Exhibit

Opening February 7

The 1968 Exhibit brings to life this pivotal American year through photographs, artifacts, vintage pop culture items and interactives. See the iconic purple jacket worn by rock legend



Jimi Hendrix, Mr. Rogers' sweater and sneakers, vintage album covers and musical equipment and a talking Mrs. Beasley doll. Witness the reality of war with Vietnam-era artifacts such as a full-size Huey helicopter, a draft notice, helmets and other gear. View an actual program from Dr. King's funeral service, and see a camera used to photograph Robert Kennedy the night he was shot.

The 1968 Exhibit is a multimedia experience that looks at how the events of the year have fueled a persistent, often contradictory, sense of identity for those who were there and those who came after. Developed by the Minnesota History Center, in partnership with the Atlanta History Center, the Chicago History Museum and the Oakland Museum of California.



THE 1968 EXHIBIT

El Movimiento:

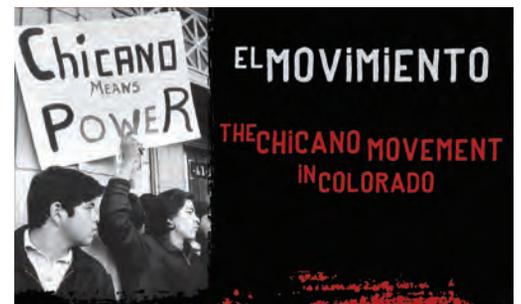
The Chicano Movement in Colorado

Opening February 7

In the 1960s and '70s, Colorado was a center of the Chicano movement as activists fought to end discrimination, secure rights and gain political and social power through education, culture and the arts. *El Movimiento* will immerse visitors in the urgency and vitality of one of Colorado's most important social movements. Artifacts, images and the voices of Chicano activists themselves will reveal the struggle for labor rights, the founding of the Crusade for Justice, student activism in Colorado colleges, universities and high schools, and the Vietnam War.

History Colorado is creating *El Movimiento* with community advisers from across the state. In partnership with History Colorado, the Museo de las Americas will open a companion exhibit—*CHICANO*—on February 12.

El Movimiento opens in conjunction with *The 1968 Exhibit* and will remain on view after that show's run.



**COLORADO
EXPERIENCE**
Colorado's Premier History Series



Episodes of Colorado's premier history series air on selected Thursdays at 7 P.M. *Colorado Experience* is produced by Rocky Mountain PBS and History Colorado.

"NORAD"—*Colorado Experience* goes inside the top-secret North American Aerospace Defense Command headquarters for a view few have ever had. (November 13)

"The Smaldones: Family of Crime"—Discover one of the lesser-known chapters in American organized

crime: the story of the Smaldones, an Italian American crime family that operated out of Denver. (November 20)

"Sand Creek Massacre"—What would lead 675 volunteer soldiers to attack a peaceful settlement of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in southeastern Colorado Territory? This episode revisits the horrific events and uncovers the history 150 years later. (November 27)

"1968"—In Colorado, 1968 marked the birth of the Chicano Movement, bringing political activist Corky Gonzalez to the forefront as a leader. Relive the rise of a movement. (December 18)

Tours & Treks

Take a Guided Trip Into the Past (To register call 303/866-2394)

Museum Sampler by Bus: Colorado Springs

Thursday, November 20, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

From the hallways of the Pioneers Museum to other historical sites, we'll explore what "the Springs" has to offer. Some of the biggest names in our state's history called it home, and we'll walk those historical byways behind them to learn about it all.

Members \$65, nonmembers \$80

(Includes bus transportation, lunch, guides and admissions.)

Christmas Lights of Denver

Friday, December 12, 4:30 to 9:30 P.M.

Join us for a program exploring History Colorado's historic holiday collections before hopping on a toasty bus to see the sparkling lights of Denver. Holiday lore, hot chocolate, and sweets will be served. We design a new route every year, so join us for some new lighting surprises! This is sure to get even a Scrooge into the holiday spirit.

(Includes cookies, hot chocolate and bus transportation. Dinner not provided.)



Start the holidays right with our Christmas Lights of Denver tour.

Capital Tea and South Denver Walking Tour

Wednesday, January 21, 1 to 4 P.M.

Denver was once surrounded by cities that styled themselves as more moral places to live, and one of them was South Denver. Eventually South Denver, a "dry" town, joined up with its licentious neighbor to the north. Join us for a walking tour of this area's history, including its old City Hall. Then warm up with a libation at Capital Tea, a locally operated business offering more than 75 varieties. From farmland to city to neighborhood, South Denver's founders would approve!

Members \$32, nonmembers \$42

(Includes an assortment of finger sandwiches, miniature scones and pastries.

Please provide your own transportation to starting location.)



The History Colorado Center venue features a selection of “race cards”—candid six-word memoirs as featured on National Public Radio—courtesy of Michele Norris, The Race Card Project™.

A display of drawings by Sioux artist Eugene Standingbear from the History Colorado collection (featured in the September/October *Colorado Heritage*) brings the subject of race home in works that dramatize Standingbear’s life in two cultures.

How to Talk to Your Kids About Race WORKSHOP

Workshop for Adoptive Families
Saturday, December 6, 9:30–11:30 A.M.

Research shows the importance of talking to kids about race. But many of us don’t want to say the wrong thing, and end up avoiding the topic altogether. Join the Matrix Center for the Advancement of Social Equity and Inclusion for a workshop to learn the tools for a great conversation. Includes museum exploration time for kids and a guided tour of *RACE: Are We So Different?*

Adults \$25, children free
(museum admission included)
 303/866-4689

FWD: RACE

Join community leaders for a series of programs about race. What will Colorado look like in 2015? What do race and identity mean for our future?

Tuesdays, 6:30–8 P.M.
Members and students \$4, nonmembers \$5
 303/866-2394

Economics of RACE/The Health of RACE

November 11—Panelists from the banking, health and housing sectors discuss redlining, urban and rural development, access to bank loans and mortgages, and healthcare.



On view through January 4

Interactive exhibit components, historical artifacts, iconic objects, compelling photographs and multimedia presentations combine for an eye-opening look at the headline-grabbing topic of race.

RACE: Are We So Different? brings together the everyday experience of living with race, its history as an idea and the findings of contemporary science that are challenging its very foundations. Developed by the American Anthropological Association in collaboration with the Science Museum of Minnesota, *RACE* is the first national exhibition to tell the stories of race from the biological, cultural and historical points of view.

Made possible through generous contributions to



With support from



THE DENVER FOUNDATION

Promotional Partner



Doors Open, Doors Closed: Can We Laugh, Dance, Write Poetry and Sing about RACE?

December 9—Explore the concept of privilege, and examine the ways in which race shapes our lives. How do race and privilege impact the world of the arts? How can we feel empowered to effect positive social change?

COLORFUL COLORADO

Members \$4, nonmembers \$5

Call 303/866-2394, or register online. *All programs require a minimum number of participants and may be canceled if the minimum is not met 48 hours before the program. Early registration recommended!*

Rediscovering the Art and Life of Eugene Standingbear

Monday, November 24, 1–2 P.M.

See drawings from History Colorado’s Eugene Standingbear collection. Join curator Alisa Zahller and learn about the artist, the curator’s journey to rediscover him, and the ways Standingbear’s life and art mirror the impact of race on identity.

Collections Close-up: Native American Photographs in History Colorado’s Collection—Tuesday, November 18, noon to 2 P.M.

In celebration of Native American Heritage Month, join our photography curators to view selections from the museum’s rich collections documenting Native American history in Colorado.

Tracing African American or Native American Roots

Stephen H. Hart Library & Research Center

Tuesday, December 9, noon to 3 P.M.

Members \$4, nonmembers \$5

RSVP required. Call 303/866-2394, or register online!

Researching African American and Native American ancestors poses unique challenges to the family historian. Fortunately, there are resources helpful for finding details about these family members, among them the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Services, the Freedman’s Bureau, census schedules, local history records and photo collections.

Join National Archives archivist Cody White and History Colorado library director Laura Ruttum Senturia for a program on tracing ancestors in these two communities.

(Limited to 40 people)

The emphasis is on interactivity in RACE: Are We So Different? The American Anthropological Association teamed up with the Science Museum of Minnesota to create this engaging and multifaceted look at what race is really all about.



FAMILY FUN

Children’s Christmas Tea and Tour

Byers-Evans House Museum
Saturday, December 20, 1:30 P.M.

Kids enjoy a special afternoon tea and tour of the Byers-Evans House, decked out for Christmas.
Members \$20, nonmembers \$25, children \$18
Reservations required: 303/620-4933

Denver

History Colorado Center

**FREE PERFORMANCES
at the History Colorado Center!**

These are just highlights, and performances are subject to change, so check www.HistoryColoradoCenter.org for updates.
Free with admission.

NOVEMBER

- November 15: **American Indian beading**, 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.
- November 22: **Mountain man Doc Grizzly**, 10:30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
- November 29: **American Indian beading**, 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.

DECEMBER

- December 6: **Flintknapper Tim Boucher**, 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.
- December 13: **Buffalo Soldier Sergeant Jack Hackett**, 11:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M.
- December 20: **Angel Vigil stories and lasso tricks**, 11:30 A.M. and 1:30 P.M.
- December 26: **Mountain man Doc Grizzly**, 10:30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
- December 27: **American Indian beading**, 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.

*November is Native American
Heritage Month!*

First Wednesday Preschool Story Time

History Colorado Center
Wednesdays, November 5 and December 3, 9:30 A.M.
Bring the kids (age 2–5) to story time in our *Destination Colorado* exhibit and learn about farms, cowboys and animals. We’ll read a story and then have playtime in the exhibit before the museum opens.
Free with admission

Low Sensory Morning

History Colorado Center
Saturday, January 3, 8–10 A.M.
The History Colorado Center is happy to open its doors for families with different sensory needs. The museum will be closed to the general public, attendance limited, and sounds in exhibits turned down. Come and enjoy!
Admission is free and space limited. RSVP required.
Contact Shannon Voirol with questions and to RSVP: shannon.voirol@state.co.us, 303/866-4691.

ADULT PROGRAMS

Denver

**DENVER ARTS WEEK
at the Byers-Evans House Museum**

Celebrate the Mile High City’s vibrant arts and culture scene, November 7 through 15. Events around town highlight Denver’s visual arts, theater, music, film, museums, dance, opera, comedy, history and heritage!



*Know Your Arts First Friday
Denver Plein Air Arts Festival:
2013 Best of Show/Kevin Weckbach*

Friday, November 7, 5 to 9 P.M.—The Byers-Evans House Gallery hosts a free reception featuring the works of Kevin Weckbach, Best of Show winner in the 2013 Denver Plein Air Arts Festival. On view through Saturday, December 31.

Night at the Museums

Saturday, November 8, 5 to 9 P.M.—Enjoy free public tours of the Byers-Evans House Museum tonight. The Denver landmark will be decorated for Thanksgiving!



See the works of Kevin Weckbach, Best of Show winner at last year's Plein Air Arts Festival, at the Byers-Evans House Museum.

Christmas Tours and Teas

Byers-Evans House Museum
December 6, 8, 10 and 15
Teas begin at 1:30 P.M.

Enjoy tea sandwiches, scones, fruit and desserts during afternoon tea at the Byers-Evans House Museum. Begin with a tour of the home, which has been beautifully restored to the 1912–24 period. Christmas decorations will adorn each of the rooms of this beautiful historic Denver landmark. Members \$20, nonmembers \$25, children \$18
Reservations required: 303/620-4933

COLLECTIONS & LIBRARY PROGRAMS at the History Colorado Center

Stephen H. Hart Library & Research Center

Members \$4, nonmembers \$5
RSVP required. Call 303/866-2394, or register online!
All programs require a minimum number of registered participants and may be canceled if the minimum is not met 48 hours ahead of time. Early registration recommended!

The Historical Craft Society

Saturday, November 22, 10:15 A.M.–12:15 P.M.—
We had such a great time at the last Historical Craft Society that we're doing it again! Join us for History Colorado collection-inspired craft projects. We'll use historic wallpaper and linoleum patterns to make paper beads, and string them as necklaces or bracelets. Coffee and pastries



will be available for purchase. All supplies and materials included. *(Limited to 30 people)*
Members \$8, nonmembers \$10

Collections Close-up: Toys!

Tuesday, December 2, noon–2 P.M.—Happy holidays! Stop by, meet the curators and explore fun toys from our permanent collection. You may even see toys from your own holidays past.

History Sleuths: Identifying Family Photographs

Tuesday, December 2, 1–4:30 P.M.—Do you have photos of family ancestors you can't identify? Don't know where or when a family photo album was put together? Become a history sleuth! Learn how to identify people, events, places and dates of photos in this hands-on workshop. Photography curator Megan Friedel and library director Laura Ruttum Senturia will teach you tricks for finding clues within the photos and through library and online resources. *(Limited to 20 people)*

COLORFUL COLORADO at the History Colorado Center

Members \$4, nonmembers \$5 (unless otherwise noted)
Meet Colorado authors, History Colorado curators and others. Call 303/866-2394 to reserve your spot, or register online! *All programs require a minimum number of participants and may be canceled if the minimum is not met 48 hours ahead of time. Early registration recommended!*

V-DAY 11.11.11 (Free Veterans Day Documentary)

Tuesday, November 11, 1–2 P.M.—The award-winning feature-length documentary *V-DAY 11.11.11* profiles men and women who've dedicated their lives to America by following them on November 11, 2011, and beyond. Cameras reveal the motivations of those who protect and defend our country, weaving together stories from across the United States, in peacetime and at war. More than a dozen noted filmmakers joined director John Goheen in making the film.

Beer Here! A Local History of Brewing in Colorado

Monday, December 8, 1–2 P.M.—Coloradans love their local beer. The first locally brewed keg was tapped in Denver to rave reviews from residents in 1859, and today more than 200 breweries throughout



Explore the implications of drug and alcohol policy in a new series at El Pueblo History Museum, starting in November.

the state pour local libations for appreciative patrons. Jason Hanson of the Center of the American West at CU Boulder explores the history of the state’s early breweries and the agricultural enterprises that supported them. Along the way, he investigates what the state’s brewing industry can tell us about broader economic forces—and what exactly it means to “buy local” when you buy the next round.

Fort Garland

Fort Garland Museum

Friends of the Fort Christmas Dinner and Silent Auction

Saturday, December 6, 5:30 P.M.

Enjoy a free Christmas dinner with all the trimmings, plus entertainment from musician Don Richmond.

Tickets for door prizes, \$10

Reservations required: 719/379-3512

Platteville

Fort Vasquez Museum

After Hours: Four Forts on the South Platte

Saturday, November 8

Curious about the region’s “Four Forts”? Knowledgeable amateur historians will answer questions about the pivotal Four Forts on the Platte.

Reservations required (*Limited to 20 people*)

Members \$9; nonmembers \$10

Montrose

Ute Indian Museum

Montrose Indian Film Festival: On Sacred Ground

Montrose Pavilion

Sunday, November 9, 11 A.M. to 7 P.M.

Four films document the struggles of indigenous communities in the U.S. and around the world. Native peoples share wisdom and find common ground to resist threats to their sacred places in each film: *Pilgrims and Tourists* (Russia and California), *Profit and Loss* (Papua New Guinea and Alberta, Canada), *Fire and Ice* (Ethiopia and Peru), and *Islands of Sanctuary* (Australia and Hawaii). Attend any or all of the films, browse the Indian vendor market in the pavilion, and bid on items in a silent auction and raffle.

Free! (donations accepted)

Information: 970/249-3098

November is
Native American
Heritage Month!

Pueblo

El Pueblo History Museum

Prohibition & Legalization Lecture Series

El Pueblo History Museum presents an educational series featuring scholars who explore the historical and social implications of prohibition and legalization of alcohol and drugs in the U.S. and Colorado. How have policies and laws intersected with issues of race, ethnicity and immigration? The series aims to reflect on this history and understand how it resonates with the modern-day legalization of marijuana in Colorado. All lectures take place at El Pueblo History Museum at 7 P.M. Free, no reservations needed

Information: 719/583-0453

Drug Policy and Social Control: The Intersection of Immigration, Race and Drug Prohibition in the U.S.

Thursday, November 6—

Professor James Walsh

(University of Colorado, Denver)

examines the historical connections



between public concern surrounding marijuana and Mexican immigration in the early twentieth century.

***Narcos, Drug Policy and Border Policing:
The Transformation of Drug Trafficking along the
Mexico–United States Border***

February 17—Professor Santiago Guerra outlines how draconian drug policy and escalating border policing transformed international drug trafficking and gave rise to the contemporary “drug problem” at the Mexico–U.S. border.

***Mass Incarceration: Race, Immigration and the
Tangle of Drug Laws***

Thursday, March 12—Dr. Earl Smith (Wake Forest University) shares his research on criminal and penal sentencing policies for drug-related crimes and discusses how these policies intersect with issues of race.

2014–15 Lecture Series

Our Shifting Times

Single lectures: Members \$8.50, nonmembers \$10, students (with ID) \$6.50
Information: 303/866-2394
Sponsored by the Walter S. Rosenberry III Charitable Trust.

**Honoring the Doughboys,
Following My Grandfather’s
World War I Diary**

Tuesday, November 18 at 1 and 7 P.M.

The Great War began officially in July 1914. Although the United States didn’t enter the war until 1917, America’s participation altered the course of history. To recognize the centennial of this conflict, author and photographer Jeff Lowdermilk shares his journey to trace the path of his grandfather, an infantryman from Denver. Following the notes in his grandfather’s diary, Lowdermilk traveled Europe photographing the landscapes he encountered. Lowdermilk reveals his stunning photographs commemorating those who fought in the war.

***Stirring the Pot of Controversy: Recreational Retail
Marijuana in Pueblo, Colorado***

April 23—A panel discussion with local leaders examines the many perspectives of the effect of marijuana legalization on Pueblo County’s economy, health, children, prisons, water and image. Steve Henson, managing editor of the *Pueblo Chieftain*, facilitates the conversation.

Save the Date
for the
**150th Sand Creek Massacre Remembrance
and
16th Annual Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual
Healing Run**
November 29 - December 3, 2014

Visit sandcreekmassacre150.com
for more information about:

- all upcoming events commemorating the 150th year since the Sand Creek Massacre
- the Healing Run, including an online registration form
- the Colorado Sand Creek Massacre Commemoration Commission

Photo by Seth Chapman/Sand Creek Massacre NHS, National Park Service



Photo by Jeff Lowdermilk

History in the Making—*Saint Joseph Hospital Sets Course for Next Century of Care in Denver*

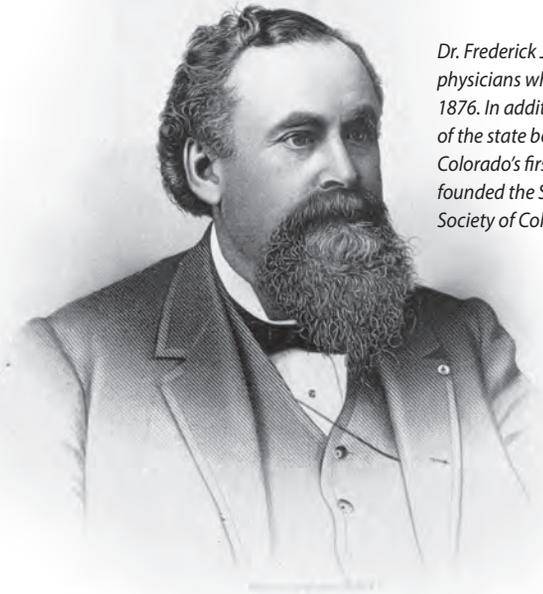
Dr. Frederick J. Bancroft was one of two resident physicians when Saint Joseph Hospital opened in 1876. In addition to being Colorado's first president of the state board of health and a founder of Colorado's first medical school, Bancroft also founded the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado—today's History Colorado.

On December 13, Saint Joseph Hospital will make history once again as it opens the doors to its new 400-bed hospital at the corner of Nineteenth Avenue and Downing Street in Denver. While this modern facility—and the medical equipment within it—will be cutting-edge and state-of-the-art, the hospital will also carry on a tradition of care that stretches back more than 142 years.

The new Saint Joseph Hospital owes its very existence, philosophy of care, and patient-centered values to four Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth who came to Denver in 1873. With only nine dollars and a calling to care for the sick and the poor, the Sisters established Colorado's first private hospital—a humble facility housed in a cottage with only six rooms for patients.

By 1876, the Sisters moved Saint Joseph Hospital to its current location in what is today Denver's Uptown neighborhood. For the next 138 years Saint Joseph Hospital grew, expanding along with Denver's population and medical needs thanks to the assistance of Colorado governors, industry barons, and prominent community leaders such as John Kernan Mullen and his family and Mrs. Margaret "The Unsinkable Molly" Brown.

Today, Saint Joseph Hospital has grown to become one of the top hospitals in the Rocky Mountain region for heart care and cancer treatment, as well as labor and delivery services. Having one of the first fully established cardiology programs in the region and one of the oldest graduate medical education programs in the state—and having delivered more than 300,000 babies since opening its doors—Saint Joseph Hospital continues to play a large role in Colorado's history and Denver's continued growth.



F. J. Bancroft, M.D.



History Colorado is grateful for the support Saint Joseph Hospital has provided to the *Make History Colorado!* Campaign.



Calendar



Get help finding your African American or Native American ancestors on Tuesday, December 9.

NOVEMBER

7 Friday

PLEIN AIR BEST OF SHOW
Byers-Evans House Museum
See page 8.

8 Saturday

FOUR FORTS ON
THE SOUTH PLATTE
Fort Vasquez Museum
See page 10.

NIGHT AT THE MUSEUMS

Byers-Evans House Museum
See page 8.

9 Sunday

MONTROSE INDIAN
FILM FESTIVAL
Montrose Pavilion
See page 10.

11 Tuesday

V-DAY 11.11.11 FILM
History Colorado Center
See page 9.

FWD: RACE—ECONOMICS
OF RACE/HEALTH OF RACE
History Colorado Center
See page 6.

13 Thursday

COMINGLE:
COLORADO IS EXCLUSIVE
History Colorado Center
See page 1.

18 Tuesday

MY GRANDFATHER'S
WWI DIARY
History Colorado Center
See page 11.

NATIVE AMERICAN PHOTOS

History Colorado Center
See page 7.

20 Thursday

COLORADO SPRINGS
BUSTREK
See page 5.

22 Saturday

THE HISTORICAL
CRAFT SOCIETY
History Colorado Center
See page 9.

24 Monday

ART AND LIFE OF
EUGENE STANDINGBEAR
History Colorado Center
See page 7.

DECEMBER

2 Tuesday

COLLECTIONS CLOSE-UP: TOYS!
History Colorado Center
See page 9.

IDENTIFYING FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS

History Colorado Center
See page 9.

6 Saturday

WORKSHOP FOR
ADOPTIVE FAMILIES
History Colorado Center
See page 6.

CHRISTMAS DINNER AND SILENT AUCTION

Fort Garland Museum
See page 10.

Friday, December 6 and Saturday, December 7 MEMBERSHIP APPRECIATION WEEKEND

History Colorado Center
El Pueblo History Museum
Ute Indian Museum
Byers-Evans House Museum
See *Holiday Giving Guide* pullout section.

8 Monday

HISTORY OF BREWING
IN COLORADO
History Colorado Center
See page 9.

9 Tuesday

FWD: RACE—DOORS OPEN,
DOORS CLOSED
History Colorado Center
See page 7.

TRACING AFRICAN AMERICAN
OR NATIVE AMERICAN ROOTS
History Colorado Center
See page 7.

10 Wednesday

TOUR AND TREK SUMMIT
History Colorado Center
See page 3.

12 Friday

DENVER CHRISTMAS
LIGHTS TOUR
See page 5.

20 Saturday

CHILDREN'S CHRISTMAS
TEA AND TOUR
Byers-Evans House Museum
See page 8.

Repeated Events

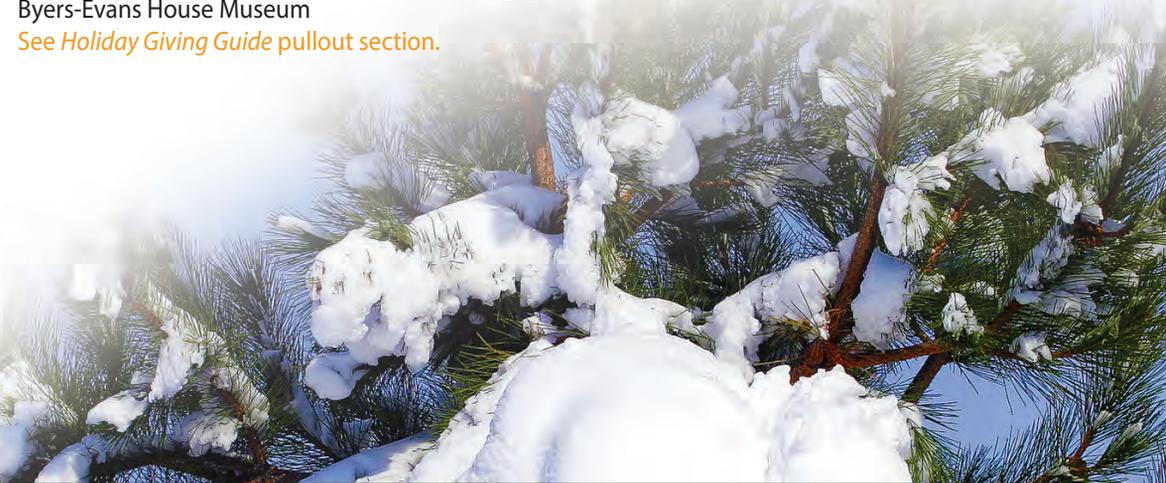
STORY TIME

History Colorado Center
November 5 and December 3
See page 8.

CHRISTMAS TEA AND TOUR
Byers-Evans House Museum
December 6, 8, 10 and 15
See page 9.



HISTORY Colorado



Preserving Memory when Place Is Lost: The Demolition of a Historic African American Farm

BY CLAIRE LANIER, GRANT SYSTEMS AND OUTREACH ASSOCIATE,
HISTORY COLORADO STATE HISTORICAL FUND

With Contributions by Erika Schmelzer, Architectural Surveyor, History Colorado



of the Presbytery of Denver, Thomas-Hazell bought land plots in 1914 as the colony was thriving. When in the 1930s the Dust Bowl compromised the land, many Dearfield residents relocated to Denver's Five Points and birthed a new hub for their community.

To a preservationist, Thomas-Hazell's significance in the development of African American agriculture—at Dearfield and in Denver—is hardly debatable. But with no heir, the site had limited hope of surviving without a preservation-minded financier. Fortunately, the new owner, Encore Homes, permitted preservation groups to survey the property before its demolition in 2013.

Examining what's left of a home gives us clues about the residents and how they interacted with their space. For example, History Colorado Architectural Surveyor Erika Schmelzer found that windows had been boarded up—reportedly to prevent vandalism in the 1950s and '60s when racial tensions were high. Inside, she found a profusion of electrical outlets on walls and floors and a sewage pipe running to the attic, a

space where plumbing would seem wholly irrelevant. Schmelzer suspects the minister, who worked as an electrician in the 1930s, and his son, Joe, the only African American in his class at UC-Boulder where he studied electrical engineering, used the house to experiment with electrical infrastructure.

These and many other discoveries remind us of how our spaces reflect who we are. Though luck was not on the side of this house, the memory of the Thomas-Hazell family and their Denver home was saved through survey and study, and, in that way, their story is preserved.

As preservationists, our priority is protecting the built environment so future generations can interact with place in as meaningful a way as we do today. Sometimes, the odds are against us, and significant buildings are lost to new development. When that happens, our mission morphs into preserving the *memory* of a place, even if we can't save the bricks and mortar.

Such was the case in Denver's Cory-Merrill neighborhood with a former African American farm and a historic one-and-a-half-story brick house built around 1897. The once-rural property at 3800 East Mexico Avenue was owned by the Thomas-Hazell family, who bought it in the early 1920s and created a working farm, complete with cows and a small orchard.

An Oxford-educated Rhodes Scholar, Reverend Joseph Adolphus Thomas-Hazell cultivated his dairy while working for People's Presbyterian, an African American congregation still in existence. A decade earlier, Thomas-Hazell was busy at Dearfield, the African American colony near Greeley that embodied the philosophies of self-sufficiency promoted by leaders like Booker T. Washington. At Dearfield, on behalf



New Listings

in the National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places is the official list of the nation's historic places worthy of preservation.

Steamboat Springs Downtown Historic District

Lincoln Avenue roughly bounded by 5th to 11th Streets, Steamboat Springs (5RT.3180)

This 1884 commercial center has provided the residents of Steamboat Springs and surrounding areas with goods and services for over 127 years. The resources reflect community development and its growth and transformation into Yampa Valley's regional hub.

Margarito Varros Homestead

Kim vicinity (5LA.11837)

This 1904 homestead is an important example of a Purgatoire River region sheep-ranching homestead utilizing the natural landscape features for livestock pens and displaying traditional Hispanic stone construction methods and workmanship using local materials.

Masonic Placer Cemetery/Valley Brook Cemetery

Breckenridge (5ST.884)

The 1882 cemetery has an unusual Celtic cross design. It is the final resting place for Edwin Carter, a naturalist whose life work to study and preserve each type of Colorado Rocky Mountain wildlife was important to Breckenridge and all of Colorado.

Coal Creek School

Meeker vicinity (5RB.3575)

This 1892 school is a good example of a modest, one-room rural school building and is important for education and social history, having served as a school for 56 years and a community meeting and polling place for over 70 years.

Good to Know

National or State Register listed properties may be eligible for investment tax credits for approved rehabilitation projects. Listed properties may also be eligible to compete for grants from Colorado's State Historical Fund. These grants may be used for acquisition and development, education, and survey and planning projects. The next nomination submission deadline is January 30. For information, call 303/866-3392.

For more about these and all National and State Register properties in Colorado, go to www.HistoryColorado.org/oahp/national-and-state-registers.

People's Methodist Episcopal Church

527 E. St. Vrain Street, Colorado Springs (5EP.7321)



People's Methodist Episcopal Church

The 1904 church served its African American congregation until 1965, when the congregation relocated. Embodying distinctive Queen Anne and Gothic Revival-style elements, it is one of Colorado Springs' oldest wood-framed and clad churches. It served as the local headquarters for the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Marcus Garvey established the UNIA in 1914, and it became one of the largest

black empowerment movements in the world. Garvey visited the church in 1922 and with his second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, in 1924. Amy's important role within the organization was undeniable. In 1924 she delivered the sole address to the Colorado Springs division at the church.

Saguache Downtown Historic District

Roughly 300 and 400 blocks of 4th Street (5SH.4597)

Listed as an Endangered Place by Colorado Preservation, Inc. in 2009, this historic district is now recognized for its architectural and commercial importance. Its intact collection of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings includes a large number of false-front and adobe structures.

Do you know this building?

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Where is it? | 2. When was it built? | 3. What was its original use? |
| a) Denver | a) 1895 | a) Town hall |
| b) Durango | b) 1908 | b) Post office |
| c) Pueblo | c) 1916 | c) Courthouse |
| d) Sterling | d) 1921 | d) College |



Answers on page 32

Ft. Lyons Co. J.
 December 14. 1864
 Dear Ned
 Two days after you left here, having
 arrived so secretly, that we were not aware of their approach
 till they had picked around the Post, allowing us one to
 see out. They arrested Capt. Bond and Lt. Stagle, and
 placed guards around their houses. They then declared
 their intention to massacre the friendly Indians camped
 in Sand Creek. Major Anthony gave all informations, and
 eagerly joined in with Chivington & Co, and ordered
 Lieut. Roamer, with his whole Co to join the command
 As soon as I knew of their movement I was indignant
 as you would have been were you here, and went
 to Cannon's room, where a number of officers of the 1st
 and 3^d were congregated, and told them that any
 man who would take part in the murder, knowing
 the circumstances as we did, was a low lived cowardly
 son of a bitch. Capt. G. J. Johnson, and Lieut Harding
 went to camp and reported to Chiv, Downing, and the
 whole subset what I had said, and you bet hell was
 to pay in camp. Chiv and all hands swore they would
 hang me before they moved camp, but I shook it out,
 and all the officers at the Post, except Anthony backed
 me. I was then ordered with my whole company to
 Major A. - with 20 days rations. I told him that I
 would not take part in their intended murder,
 but if they were going after the Sioux, Kiowas or
 any fighting Indians, I would go as far as any of them.
 That was what they were going for, and I
 We arrived at Black Kettle and left
 day light. Lieut Wilson with his
 in advance to cut off their

How a Government Copyist “Saved” Two Lost Accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre

BY KEITH SCHRUM,
 Curator of Archives,
 and

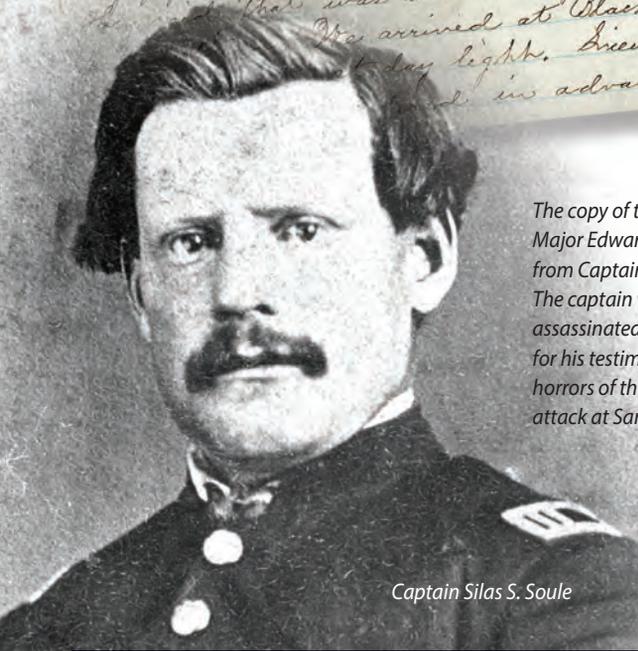
WILLIAM J. CONVERY,
 State Historian and Director of
 Exhibits and Interpretation

On December 14, 1864, two weeks after the Sand Creek Massacre, Captain Silas Soule wrote to his friend Ned Wynkoop: “Dear Ned, two days after you left here the 3rd Reg’t arrived . . . They declared their intention to massacre the friendly Indians camped at Sand Creek . . . I told them I would not take part in their intended murder.”

Soule went on to describe in graphic detail the horror of that day. “The massacre lasted six or eight hours. I tell you Ned it was hard to see little children . . . it was almost impossible to save any of them.” As he drew his correspondence to a close, he remarked, “I suppose Cramer has written to you all the particulars . . .” Five days later, Lt. Joseph Cramer communicated with Wynkoop, sharing his own experience. Soule’s and Cramer’s detailed accounts prompted the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War and the U.S. Army to launch investigations of the massacre in early 1865. Their reports, published in 1865 (Congress) and 1867 (U.S. Army), prevented the details of the massacre from being swept under the rug.²⁸

Soule’s and Cramer’s letters changed history. Copies of them circulated among officials and supporters. Then, they disappeared.

(continued on page 17)

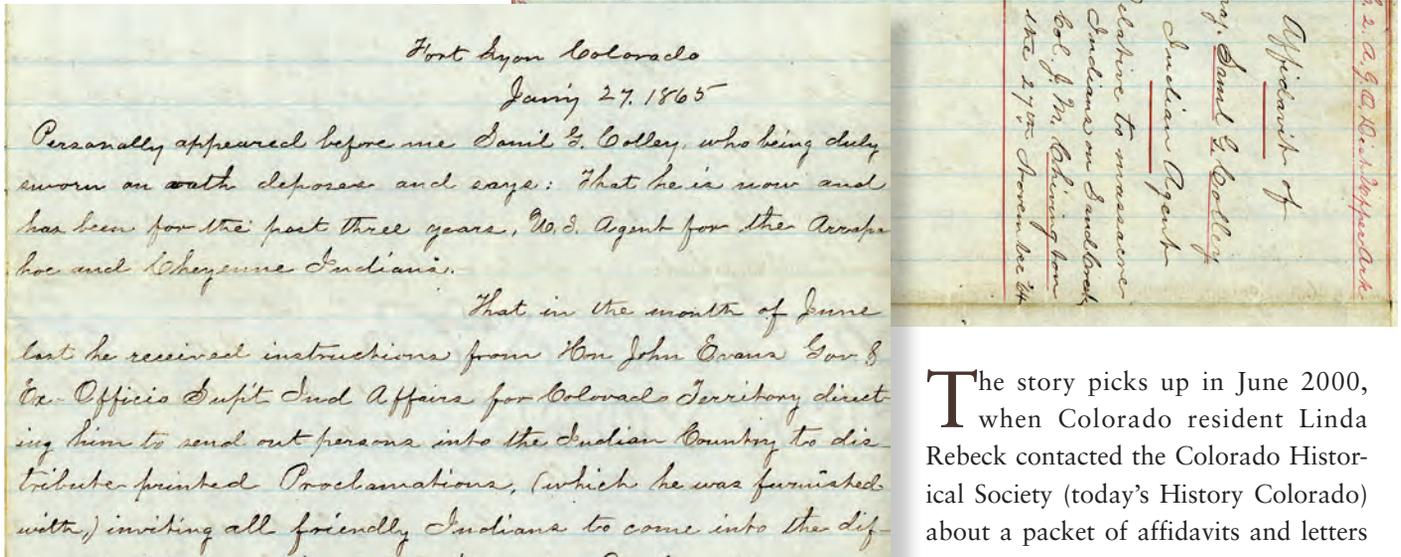


The copy of the letter to Major Edward Wynkoop from Captain Silas S. Soule. The captain was later assassinated in Denver for his testimony as to the horrors of the unjustified attack at Sand Creek.

Captain Silas S. Soule

²⁸U.S. Congress, House, *Massacre of Cheyenne Indians*, January 10, 1865, 38th Cong., 2nd sess. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1867, 39th Cong., 2nd sess., Exec. Doc. 26.

The affidavit of Major Samuel Colley shows the red-inked notations confirming it as a "true copy" of his statements.



In 2000, on the eve of an important Congressional hearing regarding the authorization of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, the Colorado Historical Society's then-chief historian, David Fridtjof Halaas, made a startling discovery. Among the family papers of a metro-Denver resident were copies of the two "lost" letters, penned by Captain Silas Soule and Lieutenant Joseph Cramer in order to alert authorities to the nature of the massacre. In 1864, the letters had helped spark government investigations that uncovered the truth. Appearing just prior to the Congressional hearing in 2000, the letters stimulated support for the creation of the historic site.

The discovery of the Soule–Cramer letters, and their recognition as critical evidence regarding the nature of the Sand Creek Massacre, made newspaper headlines in 2000. Less celebrated was the fact that the letters were copies of the originals, and that they comprised part of a packet of documents that included correspondence, circulars, and copies of eyewitness affidavits generated during the course of official investigations into the massacre. With the 150th anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre approaching, History Colorado curators sought out the documents' owner in order to reexamine and preserve the Soule–Cramer letters, along with their companion papers. Taken together, these papers provide a valuable glimpse into the government investigative processes that uncovered and publicized the details of the massacre.

The story picks up in June 2000, when Colorado resident Linda Rebeck contacted the Colorado Historical Society (today's History Colorado) about a packet of affidavits and letters related to Sand Creek found in a trunk of family possessions. Linda's great-grandfather, Mark Blunt, was a rancher who had provided supplies to Fort Lyon before and after Sand Creek. The trunk went to his daughter—Linda's great aunt—and then to Linda's mother, who found the documents and brought them to Linda's attention.

In addition to copies of the letters from Soule and Cramer, the packet contained a circular, three letters, and six affidavits. One letter and the circular are attributed to Governor John Evans. The letter, dated June 16, 1864, was a communication to Major S. G. Colby at Fort Lyon, instructing him to make preparations for the feeding and support of friendly Cheyenne and Arapaho people in the vicinity of the fort, where they were to maintain a camp separated from those expressing hostility. The proclamation, bearing a date of June 27, 1864, was addressed to "the friendly Indians of the plains" instructing Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche to report to Fort Lyon, Fort Laramie, Fort Larned, or Camp Collins. The object was "to prevent friendly Indians from being killed by mistake."

The six affidavits, each ranging from one to nine pages in length, provided sworn testimony from the civilian trader and interpreter John Simpson Smith, Lt. James D. Cannon (alternately spelled *Cannan*), Pvt. David Lauderback, Lt. W. P. Minton, Maj. Samuel Colley (the Indian Agent for the Cheyennes and Arapahos), and Capt. R. A. Hill. The affidavits, by their structure, characteristics, and notations, show the

process employed by military investigators. A team of officers worked together to hear and record information. An officer designated as Post Adjutant was responsible for managing administrative and bureaucratic functions of a military post, including collecting, recording, and transmitting information for reports, correspondence, and communications. Most of the documents found in the packet bear the signature of one of two Adjutant officers: 2nd Lt. W. P. Minton, 1st Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers, or 2nd Lt. W. W. Dennison, 1st Colorado Veteran Battalion. In their respective roles, they heard the sworn testimony of the soldiers and certified that the collected information was true and accurate. Adjutant officers and their staff assembled and maintained the documents produced and were responsible for making copies for distribution. Each of these affidavits, as well as the other documents, subsequently made their way into the official reports on the massacre.

Adjutants and their staff served as part of the regular communication network between forts and managed correspondence, as evidenced in Governor John Evans's letter and circular. Neither appears in his handwriting but rather that of Lt. Dennison. No printing presses were available for typesetting and bulk printing, so multiple copies were handwritten and certified authentic by the notation "a true copy." That note was recorded in red ink, and a copy bearing that notation was considered as valid as the original. The note appears on a number of the documents.

The two most compelling items in the Linda Rebeck Collection of Sand Creek Documents are letters to Major Edward Wynkoop, attributed to Captain Silas Soule and Lt. Joseph Cramer, both of whom were present to witness the horrors of November 29, 1864. These letters, in particular, exerted overwhelming influence in Senator Campbell's successful effort to establish the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site.* The full text of each appears in the committee's published hearings as well as in other printed sources, including the *Rocky Mountain News* of September 15, 2000, just before the hearings began.



The letters, like other documents in the collection, do not appear in the original hand of their respective authors. Similarly, they do not appear to have been copied by Wynkoop, or even Samuel Tappan, who was also involved in the investigation. However, the handwriting styles are similar in both letters, indicating it is probable that a member of the Adjutant's staff copied them.

Some mystery surrounds the question of why the affidavits were included in the official reports, but not the letters by Soule and Cramer. Both officers, along with Wynkoop, provided reports or testimony to both investigations, but none of the officers made reference to the letters. The only allusion to the letters appears in a report submitted by Wynkoop on January 15, 1865. They must have influenced Wynkoop, because his report references communications with officers and soldiers in which they described "the most fearful atrocities . . . women and children were killed

and scalped . . . and bodies mutilated in such a manner that the recital is sickening."⁶ Further, other details in the Soule and Cramer letters are corroborated.

Why were the letters not submitted as evidence? The answer may be easy to explain: Soule and Cramer wrote heartfelt expressions of anguish to a friend. Neither prepared their writing as official documentation for the U.S. Army or the U.S. Congress, and neither letter was acceptable as sworn testimony. The identity and motivations of the copyist are also mysterious. Perhaps Major Edward Wynkoop asked a fellow soldier to share the news in an unofficial capacity. How any of the documents found their way into possession of rancher Mark Blunt is a third puzzle. As a veteran of the Second Colorado Cavalry and a Pueblo rancher who supplied Fort Lyon, Blunt was acquainted with the post's officers. The details of his possession, however, remain obscure.

*U.S. Congress, Senate, *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 106th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001).

⁶*Massacre of Cheyenne Indians*, 81–83.

⁷See: www.unc.org/news-and-media/justice-for-1864-massacre-pledged.

⁸For a copy of the report, go to: www.northwestern.edu/provost/committees/john-evans-study/study-committee-report.pdf.

Facing: A Cheyenne and Arapaho delegation at Camp Weld at Denver, September 1864. Kneeling, from left, are Major Edward W. Wynkoop and Captain Silas S. Soule. Seated, from left, are White Antelope, Bull Bear, Black Kettle (whose peaceful village was attacked at Sand Creek on November 29), Neva, and Notanee. Standing, from left, are: unidentified soldier, unidentified, John S. Smith, Heaps of Buffalo, Bosse, Dexter Colley, and unidentified.

The letters written by Soule and Cramer, as well as the other compelling eyewitness accounts, provide a basis for understanding the Sand Creek Massacre as an unjustifiable attack on innocent Cheyenne and Arapaho villagers. Much as Soule's and Cramer's letters sparked government inquiries, private institutions such as Northwestern University, the University of Denver, and the United Methodist Church have committed to investigate and disclose their institutions' roles in the Sand Creek Massacre as the 150th anniversary approaches. In 2012, the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, in consultation with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, unanimously approved a resolution to appoint a research team to investigate the "involvement and influence in the Sand Creek Massacre of John M. Chivington, Territorial Governor John Evans, the Methodist Church as an institution, and other prominent social, political and religious leaders of the time."⁸

After conducting its own investigation, a special committee formed by Northwestern University issued a report on the complicity of Colorado Territorial Governor John Evans, a university founder and major benefactor, in May 2014. The report concluded that the governor's foreknowledge of the attack was unlikely, but that he certainly helped create a climate of hostility to Cheyenne and Arapaho people, and defended and rationalized the massacre after the fact.⁹ A committee appointed by the University of Denver, which Evans also founded and supported, has been charged with a similar inquiry. Its report is forthcoming as of press time.

The affidavit of Private David Lauderback

The authors thank Jeff Campbell, ranger and site historian, Interpretations Division, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, for his insights into the Sand Creek documents and the work of Post Adjutants and other military and fort personnel. Gary L. Roberts and David F. Halaas's essay about the Soule–Cramer letters for the winter 2001 *Colorado Heritage* appears as "Written in Blood: The Soule–Cramer Sand Creek Massacre Letters," *Western Voices: 125 Years of Colorado Writing* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society/History Colorado, 2004).

Fit. Lyon G. J.
January 27, 1865

Personally appeared before me Private David Lauderback, 1st
Regt of Col and R. W. Clark, Surgeon, who after being duly sworn
say that they accompanied John Smith, U. S. Indian Interpreter
on the 26th day of Nov 1864, by permission of Maj. Scott J
Anthony Comd'g Post Ft. Lyon G. J. to the village of the friendly
Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians on Sand Creek close to
Ft. Lyon G. J. The John Smith having received permission
to trade with the aforesaid friendly Indians: that on
the morning of the 29th day of Nov 1864 the said Indian
village was attacked by white depopants were in the
said by Col J. M. Chivington with a command of about
one thousand (1000) men; that according to their best
knowledge and belief the entire Indian Village was com-
posed of not more than five hundred (500) souls, two thirds
of which women and children; that the dead bodies of
women and children, were afterwards exhibited in the
most horrible manner: that it was the understanding
of depopants, and the general understanding of the garrison
of Ft. Lyon, that this village were friendly Indians,
that they had been allowed to remain in the localities
they were then in, by permission of Major Wynkoop, former
commander of the Post, and by Major Anthony, then in com-
mand, as well as from the fact that permission had
been given John Smith and the depopants to visit
the said camp for the purpose of trading.
(Signed) R. W. Clark
(Signed) David H. Lauderback
Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of Jan-
ary 1865.
(Signed) W. P. Minton
2d Lt. U. S. Vols
Post Adjt.

Jeffrey Cheroki
 Photo by James S. Peterson

History Colorado mostly focuses on artifacts from the past. But not today.

Assistant curator James Peterson is in downtown Denver hunting for current artifacts. In this case, signs homeless people display asking for help, like the one Jeff Goldberg is holding.

“I was wondering if there’s any possibility that you would have a sign that you are willing to sell?” Peterson asks.

Goldberg has lived on the streets for years. He agrees to sell, and Peterson gives him \$20 for the sign and his story.

What Peterson is doing is part of History Colorado’s new approach to building exhibitions by involving the public. This process, called “Exhibit Underground,” includes reaching out to people who are often ignored, like Denver’s homeless population.

“I really do feel honored that they share their stories with me,” Peterson says.

To get more public input, History Colorado displayed collected artifacts for the proposed homeless exhibition at an event for young professionals.

The thirty cardboard signs on display at the event say things like “Anything helps,”

EXHIBIT UNDERGROUND

~ PAT MACK, COLORADO PUBLIC RADIO ~

“Used Hobo Free to a Good Home,” and even “Helping the homeless is Sexy.”

The signs caught the eye of visitor Susanne Jayasanker of Centennial.

“Sometimes you get so used to seeing them, but you never see them in a museum so it definitely grabs your attention,” Jayasanker says.

Museum curators ask the visitors for their reactions, including what home means to them. The input may be used to help museum officials decide what exhibitions move forward, and what shape they’ll take if they do.

After the event, the curators return the artifacts to the basement.

History Colorado Chief Operating Officer Kathryn Hill points out other exhibition prototypes in the basement, including one on guns and one on Colorado’s Chicano history.

The museum has held several sessions with the public so far to generate feedback and ideas. Hill says including community members in the process is important.

“We need to be co-creating those exhibits with the people whose stories we are telling,” Hill says.

She adds that connecting the present to the past will make History Colorado’s projects more relevant.

“We need to be doing smaller, more ephemeral, more current exhibits,” Hill says.

The homeless exhibition, for example, would not only include signs from the streets of today, but it also would include the museum’s collection of artifacts from one of Colorado’s most famous stories about poverty—that of Baby Doe Tabor.

In 1883, a young divorcee, Elizabeth McCourt, better known as Baby Doe, married Leadville silver magnate Horace Tabor after he divorced his first wife. It caused a major scandal. When Tabor lost his fortune and died, Baby Doe lived in poverty. She ended her days in a one-room shack.

“Baby Doe’s story is the story of homelessness,” Hill says.

The museum is now working to find ways to draw a strong connection between Baby Doe’s story and today’s issue of homelessness.

San Francisco–based arts consultant Kathleen MacLean says most museums are afraid to ask for public input. They see it as a threat to their traditional role as the arbiter of history. MacLean says History Colorado is embracing a powerful new way to create exhibitions.

“They’re kind of modeling the behavior for other museums,” MacLean says. “Others see it can be quite powerful, quite thought provoking. And it’s so exciting, it’s contagious. Once people do it they really like it.”

Other cultural institutions are starting to catch on to the idea. The 1960s section of the Oakland Museum of California’s History Gallery, called “Forces of Change,” grew out of public input. MacLean says more visitors leave comments about “Forces of Change” than they do about any other display at the Oakland Museum.

History Colorado is moving forward with one prototype developed through the “Exhibit Underground” process: Next year, input gathered on the state’s Chicano movement will be part of an exhibition on 1968.

PAT MACK is an editor with Colorado Public Radio (cpr.org). This story is reprinted with permission.



THE GHOST TRACK

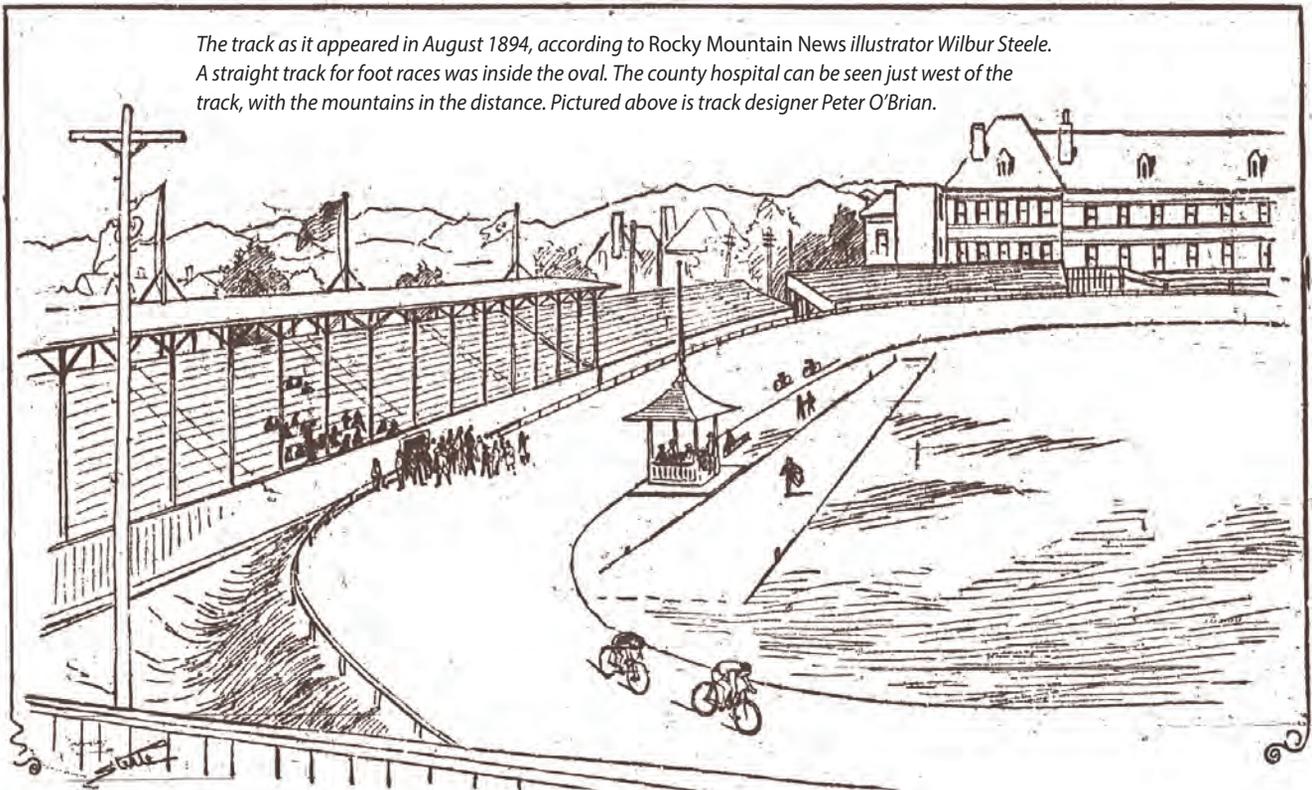
The Denver Wheel Club Track and the Meet of 1894

BY ROBERT HURST



At the 1894 national meeting of the League of American Wheelmen (LAW) in Louisville, Kentucky, state delegates of the increasingly immense and powerful bicycling club voted to decide which city would receive the honor of hosting the LAW's national race later in the year. The "meet" would be a huge production, with a week of parties, parades, and banquets culminating in three days of championship racing. The competition to host the event settled into an unlikely duel between Asbury Park in New Jersey and Denver.

The track as it appeared in August 1894, according to Rocky Mountain News illustrator Wilbur Steele. A straight track for foot races was inside the oval. The county hospital can be seen just west of the track, with the mountains in the distance. Pictured above is track designer Peter O'Brian.



—THE DENVER WHEEL CLUB TRACK.

The second largest city in the west after San Francisco, Denver was famously enthusiastic about bicycling, but was also a distant, almost imaginary outpost to most of the LAW's membership. Denver was not considered to have a snowball's chance of winning the vote.

To make up for the obvious shortcomings of their bid, the underdogs from Denver presented the other delegates with photographic evidence of smooth Colorado roads with snowcapped peaks in the distance (a consistent winner) and made shrewd backroom deals to secure votes. They also played a few humorous pranks that drew attention. For instance, when the Asbury Park contingent put on a free show to promote their cause, the curtain went up to reveal a hastily tacked-up banner reading "LAW '94 Meet at Denver!" causing the theater to erupt in laughter. Asbury Park retaliated with low-grade psychological warfare. Delegate Knight of New Jersey said that Denver's air was filled with microbes exhaled from consumptives who had flocked there and was likely to infect anybody who traveled to the city. In the end, laughter and mountain scenery proved more persuasive than tuberculosis, and Denver won the bid. The men who pieced together the long-shot victory—John McGuire, Louis Block, Charles Rivers, and George McCarthy—were greeted like conquering heroes when they returned to Denver.

One thing the four delegates didn't speak much about in their Louisville politicking was the world-class velodrome at which they planned to hold the races: there wasn't one. At the time, Denver had two or three unspectacular cycling tracks, and nothing resembling a grandstand large enough to hold the expected ten thousand spectators. It wasn't as if they could just slap something up and call it a day. The arena had to be top-notch, or the city would be humiliated on the national stage. The elation of winning the meet was quickly displaced by panic. With the event looming just a few months away, it was decided to build a new track and grandstand at Broadway Athletic Park, just south of town.

The Denver Wheel Club (DWC) was one of the youngest cycling clubs in the city but growing by the day, in part by consuming its increasingly embittered local rivals. The burgeoning DWC leased the Broadway Park grounds (owned by the Denver Tramway Company) and put up much or all of the five to ten thousand dollars needed for the venue's construction. The club thus seized control over the racetrack and the regional track racing scene. They also assumed responsibility for a huge financial liability, but if anybody was worried they kept it to themselves.

Contractor J. A. Adsner won the bid for construction of the track and was given just over a month to build not only the track but also a grandstand for seven thousand spectators (with a full gym and shower facility beneath the seats) and bleacher seating for an additional three thousand. Peter O'Brian designed the track itself and oversaw construction from start to finish. An extremely prolific civil engineer, O'Brian served for thirteen years as county surveyor and had been recently elected to head the city's engineering department. This was his first track.

The concrete track in Waltham, Massachusetts, was considered the fastest in the nation at the time. Top riders converged on Waltham to shave split seconds off their record attempts. Counterintuitively, O'Brian thought a natural surface would be even faster than Waltham's concrete and would also give his track a livelier, almost springy feel. The engineer surprised many by specifying heavily compacted white sand and dirt, topped with hardened clay. He drew up plans for a "three-lap track" (a third-mile oval) with 12-degree banking in the turns. For comparison, a track built today for world-class competition would likely be 250 meters, perhaps 333 meters long, and have 35- to 40-degree banking in the turns.

The dimensions of the 1894 track were state-of-the-art at the time—at least for early 1894. The *Denver Republican* reported that even before the August meet, some speculated that the track's banking might be too shallow for the ever-increasing speed of world-class racing. The survivability of its clay surface under Colorado's familiar onslaught of afternoon thunderstorms was another looming unknown.

As this "dazzling white circle" was taking shape at Broadway Athletic Park, the rest of Denver was still in a state of economic shock left over from the Panic of 1893. Several of the city's formerly successful enterprises had gone under in spectacular fashion and unemployment raged. On May 22, while the Denver Wheel Club outfitted its new downtown clubhouse with black walnut furniture and solid oak billiards tables, some local residents went to a public park and started chopping down the trees for cooking fuel.

Paradoxically, the city's bicycle business was booming. Bicycle retailers and repairers were taking over shops where other businesses failed, spreading across downtown. Before long, entire blocks seemed to be given over to the two-wheeled madness. By 1898 the *Denver City Directory* recorded more than fifty bicycle repair shops, almost as many bicycle sellers,

plus several manufacturers of bicycles or bicycling accessories clustered in central Denver. It was a remarkable tally for a city of roughly 100,000 people.

On Sunday, July 9, the DWC skipped its usual group ride to the exurbs and took to the nearly completed track for a 75-lap trial run. The club requested all members attend, along with their ladies. All those tires were needed to roll the surface into a state of supreme smoothness that could not be achieved with a steamroller alone. Spirits were high. The speedway was going to be ready with time to spare, and was shaping up to be first class.

The new track saw its first serious racing on Saturday, July 21, the day of the Colorado State Championship. Although there were several others competing that day, alphas Oscar Boles and William Hamilton locked horns for the state crown. Twenty-six-year-old Boles had been the fastest track racer on the Front Range since the high-wheeler era. His most recent triumph was beating a trotting horse named Tucker in a one-mile race at Overland Park, Denver's horse racing oval. The contest was "not as exciting as it might have been," according to the June 17 edition of the *Colorado Evening Sun*. William Hamilton, 23, had recently come to Denver from Pueblo and was overturning the established order, dominating important road races. Before an impressively huge crowd, Boles and Hamilton faced each other in two separate one-on-one matches. The *Denver Times* reported Boles beat Hamilton in the one-mile race while Hamilton bested Boles in the five-mile, leaving their duel conveniently unresolved. A week later the track hosted another big meet with twelve events, including a highly anticipated Boles-Hamilton rematch. Security was beefed up to keep spectators from interfering with the proceedings—too many unauthorized personnel were wandering onto the track and into the dressing room. The Boles-Hamilton question was not decided with any real satisfaction. Boles inherited the state championship when his rival crashed in the backstretch of the eleventh lap of the five-mile event. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported that Hamilton's front tire had touched Boles' rear tire, sending Hamilton veering off the track. It was the start of a very rough August for Hamilton.

Two weeks before the LAW meet, top racers filtered into Denver from around the country, hoping an early arrival would allow them to adjust to the altitude. The first

of many greats to step off the train at Union Station that summer was California's Otto Ziegler. He rented a room close to the DWC grounds and began to train in earnest. Ziegler and his colleagues from California were easy to spot on the oval in their yellow-orange tights.

Although Ziegler was the first to arrive late in the summer, he was not the first star racer to test Denver's air—or lack thereof—in preparation for the meet. Walter Sanger and Harry Tyler traveled to Denver in the spring to train on the Denver Athletic Club track at City Park, in order to get a feel for racing at a high altitude. Based on that experience Sanger decided to arrive just prior to the August meet; Tyler skipped the meet entirely.

*The city was suddenly
alive with bicycles of every
color and description.*

On the night of August 2, a very tough competitor of a different sort visited the track. A huge storm rolled through and trashed the place, the nightmare scenario many had feared. Daylight revealed serious damage. The rain had carved massive ruts, and the curbing was covered with heaps of dirt that once composed an exquisitely groomed track. Racers stood around the iron railing in disbelief, as if they were watching a city burn. Word came in from across town that the old Denver Athletic Club track had also been shredded by the storm. The track men had nowhere to go. The closest tracks outside of Denver, which may also have been hit by the storm, were in Greeley and Colorado Springs.

As disastrous as O'Brian's natural surface must have seemed that morning, the steamroller was put to work right away and the track was in race shape by the following day. Another meet was held on August 4, and racers had no complaints. The *Rocky Mountain News* even claimed the track was better *after* the rain, because the rain "settled the bed." O'Brian and the organizers let out a collective sigh of relief.

Over the weekend, races involving the Californians and the midwestern speedster Clint Coulter, who had ridden his bike back and forth across the country before landing in Denver, gave the facility its first taste of high-level extra-regional competition. The state champ Boles acquitted himself well. On Sunday, August 5, Boles, Coulter, and the Californians all paced each other in attempts on the mile record. Boles drafted the Californians to a respectable 2:03 (43 feet per second), not far off the world record. Coulter took a shot at the mile from a standing start and managed 2:12, even though he was using a borrowed, 27-pound bicycle. Another cyclist had bashed into him on the streets of Denver the night before, putting his own bike out of commission.

The fast times were a hint that the track was special. The world-class riders didn't hurt, of course.

On Tuesday afternoon, August 14, another huge rain-storm pounded Denver. Despite a valiant effort, the storm could not harm the track, which by then had cured into a profoundly resistant state, like a clay tennis court. The meet's program didn't fare so well. The deluge forced the cancelation of a big parade of decorated bicycles and floats, although not before soaking thousands of spectators gathered downtown. Many in the crowd had been drawn to the parade route with visions of women in bloomers and other relatively exciting bicycle costumes. The parade was rescheduled for Friday night.

The cyclists packed themselves into Coliseum Hall and held an impromptu dance as thunder boomed outside. Nelson Pippin (secretary of the Ramblers club) rubbed his face and arms with a piece of burnt cork, climbed onto a table and entertained the party with a minstrel routine. The Denver clubmen spent a great deal of time and energy on overt displays of racism through the 1890s. Some of these displays were more spontaneous, like Pippin's, while others were formal and elaborate, like the DWC's annual minstrel show.

Racism was also enshrined in membership policies. The LAW delegates had voted (127–54) in Louisville to become a “whites only” institution. Jerome Smiley's 1901 *History of Denver* notes that the DWC's membership committee was glad to consider any application—as long as it was from “a white male person over eighteen years of age, not engaged as a bartender or professional gambler, and an amateur within the definition of the League of American Wheelmen.” There was some sophisticated criticism of the way the LAW and other wheel clubs drew the “color line,” primarily from letter-writers on the East Coast. Opposition to racial bigotry rose within the ranks of the bicyclists as the cycling population became much more diverse, but there was little or no outward challenge to it in Denver in 1894.

By Wednesday the meet was in full force. Small packs of riders had pedaled in from all over the Midwest, including groups of women riding together from Kansas and Nebraska, described as “The Ladies on Wheels” by the *Denver Republican*. Most of the attendees came by train from the eastern half of the country, bringing their bicycles as baggage. Some of them were on the rails for over five days due to strikes and other logistical problems along the way. The city was suddenly alive with bicycles of every

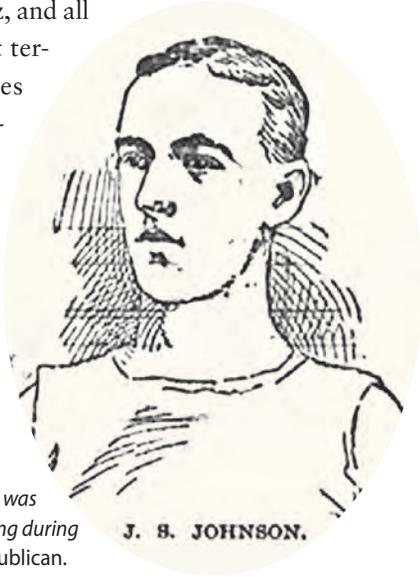


Before the automobile, the bicycle symbolized the vanguard of civilization. Here the *Denver Republican's* artist portrays the evolution of wheeled transportation in the western United States while throwing a jab at the governor.

color and description. Several hundred League members spent Wednesday touring the Front Range, pedaling in organized groups to Perry Park, Red Rocks, and Greeley. They found smooth roads with peaks in the distance and clear blue skies, just as promised. Representatives of the bicycle companies invaded the Brown Palace Hotel and hung their latest models from the railing above the hotel's lobby.

All the racers arrived by Wednesday, including John S. Johnson, holder of the mile record. Johnson had been embroiled in a dispute with his team (Stearns) and resisted coming to Denver. The *Rocky Mountain News* on August 14 reported the DWC and the LAW threatened Johnson's expulsion from all League events should he fail to attend. He spent the meet in a visibly sour mood, and raced poorly, perhaps on purpose.

In addition to Johnson and Ziegler, Walter Sanger, Eddie "Cannon" Bald, Fred Titus, Ray MacDonald, Charles and William Murphy, B. B. Bird, "Dute" Cabanne, R. F. Goetz, and all of their unsung but terribly fast teammates were in town, a near-complete list of the top riders of the day. The amateur start lists were graced with future stars Earl Kiser and Arthur Gardner.

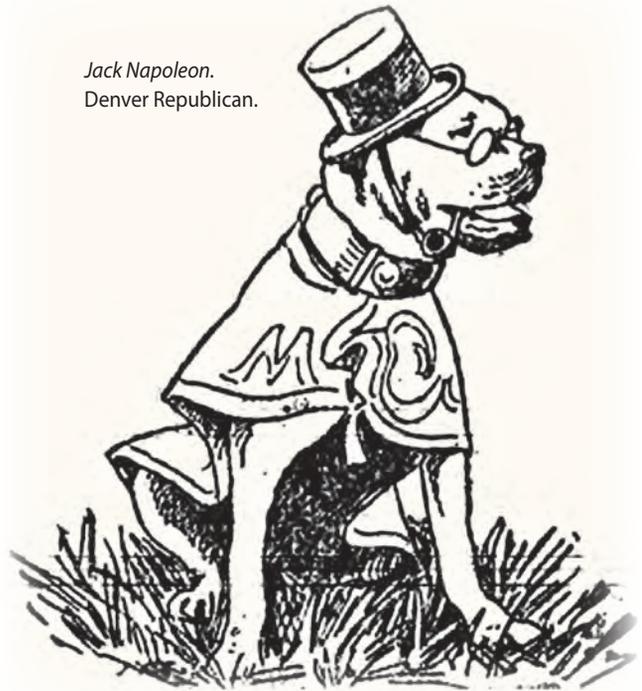


John Johnson resisted coming to Denver and was accused of sandbagging during the meet. Denver Republican.

Broadway Park was a blur of color Wednesday as the racers prepared. Members of the famous Columbia team wore sky blue and rode bikes with matching blue rims. The Stearns team was in yellow, on yellow bicycles, while the Californians wore yellow-orange suits with a stripe up the side. Racers from Nebraska wore red, and local crack John McGuire was in maroon. The *Rocky Mountain News* called Charles Himstreet—the fastest man from Wyoming—"a veritable Mephistopheles" in red.

Not all attendees were human. Texas champion W. B. Tackabery brought his personal mascot, a monkey wearing a bright yellow dress. Team Columbia traveled with a mascot

duo consisting of a bulldog named Jack Napoleon and a monkey named McGinty. The bulldog smoked a pipe and wore spectacles, a bowler hat, and a blanket of Columbia blue; McGinty rode on his back. The monkey had a reputation as a troublemaker, eating holes in team Columbia's tires, among other things. Jack Napoleon was a big hit at the track and at the Brown Palace, where representatives of the Pope Manufacturing Company (makers of Columbia bicycles) were headquartered.



Jack Napoleon. Denver Republican.

The actual competition took place Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, with qualifying heats in the mornings and finals in the afternoons, resulting in near-constant racing for three days. Trick-riding exhibitions and record attempts took place on the track whenever a race wasn't happening. The races were short: one-quarter mile, one-third mile, one-half mile, two-thirds mile, one mile, two miles, and five miles. Some of the events were so similar in distance that they were practically duplicates of each other. At each distance there were "handicap" races, in which competitors' starting positions were determined by their past performances and perceived abilities, and "scratch" races, in which all entrants lined up together, on the "scratch line."

In a mile-long handicap race a slower rider might be given a head start of one hundred yards on the so-called "scratch" men, the alleged fastest entries. A slightly more accomplished rider would get seventy-five yards, an even

better rider fifty yards, and so on. Handicapped races offered quasi-gladiatorial drama: the scratch riders set out to pass every other rider on the track, spread out in a bedraggled line in front of them. The lesser riders struggled heroically to survive to the finish before being swallowed up. In theory all the entrants would reach the finish at about the same time in a furious churning mass of humanity. But gaming the handicappers was a sport within the sport, and strong riders were often given insurmountable head starts that they did not deserve. Typically the official handicapper only had

a few days to investigate the claims made by unknown riders on their entry forms. The system was vulnerable to various types of abuse.

There were races for amateurs (class A) and races for those who had lost or jettisoned their pure amateur status (class B), according to the LAW's strict system. There were national championship events that were contested only by winners of individual LAW divisions, and "open" races that could be entered by any rider in a given class. To the uninitiated, the race programs were printed in a foreign language.

"Pacemakers"—not the medical device, but roughly as important—were utilized in most of the races in order to keep the speeds high. A racer could speed around the track with comparative ease directly behind another rider, a practice we know today as drafting. In addition to providing a slipstream for the racers, the pacemakers also performed the straightforward task contained in their name: that of setting a respectably quick pace. The other riders had to match the pace in order to take advantage of the draft. The racers tended to leave the pacemaker in the dust at some point in the last lap, although they could jump ahead earlier if they were feeling particularly strong or wanted to surprise the others. The pacemakers were paid well for their efforts, and only proven speedsters were chosen for the job.

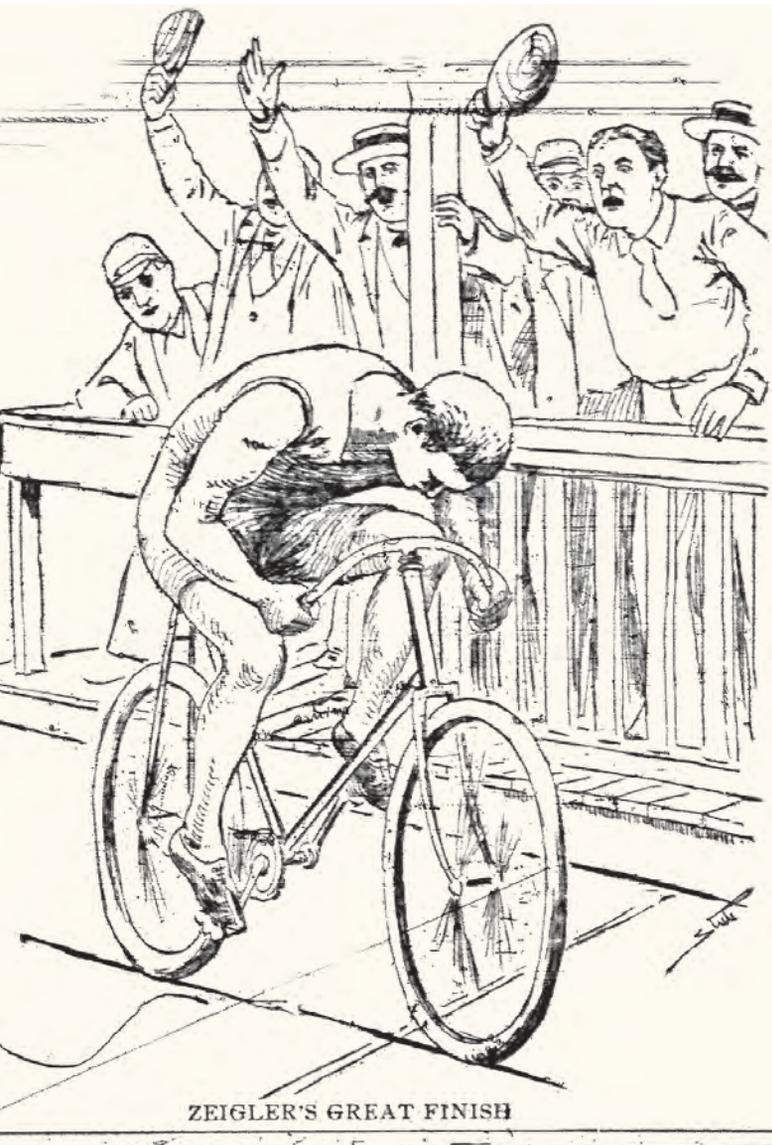
The quest for speed records led to the development of pace bicycles built for four, five, even six riders as track racing evolved through the 1890s. In the latter half of the decade primal motorcycles appeared in North America, on bicycle tracks. The introduction of motorized pace vehicles caused much controversy and philosophical struggle in the bicycling world; it also sparked the development of motorcycles for general use. For the 1894 meet, however, the pacing was still strictly human-powered, provided by individual riders and the occasional duo on a tandem. The fine arts of drafting and pacing were lost on many spectators at the Denver meet. The cry of "Loafer!" rained down whenever a rider was seen to deliberately slow or soft-pedal to avoid taking the lead position. Announcers did their best to explain the action, but it was an uphill battle.

On the first day of racing, Fred Titus of the Spaulding team seemed to be the fastest man. The New Yorker won the five-mile national championship and appeared to take the final of the mile open as well, but was disqualified for passing Walter Sanger too aggressively on the inside. Most onlookers thought the referee had robbed Titus, but the Denver crowd wasn't about to offer its full-voiced allegiance to an easterner. A crash in the last lap of Thursday's two-mile handicap race "made the grandstand rise up in horror," the *Denver Republican* wrote. R. F. Goetz made contact with another rider and both went down; John McGuire and Hamilton rode into the downed racers and tumbled violently. Goetz was carried to the dressing room beneath the grandstand, badly hurt.

In addition to being one of the best local racers and a

member of the delegation that brought the meet to Denver, John McGuire was chief consul of the Colorado division of the LAW and the editor of *The Cycling West*, a slickly produced magazine covering the bicycle trade and racing scene. The crash took the starch out of his racing aspirations and focused his energies on the thriving young magazine. Four years later McGuire's enterprise launched *Outdoor Life*. The crash temporarily sidelined Hamilton as well. The best road racer in the west had been training hard with an eye on Sunday's post-meet race on smooth farm roads north of the city. With all the high-caliber competition in town, there was more than the usual amount of pride, prestige, and gambling money wrapped up in the contest. Hamilton chose to nurse his injuries instead, which no doubt sent the betting pools into chaos.

On Friday Otto Ziegler, also known as “the little demon,” emerged as the hero of the meet with a thoroughly dominant performance in the two-mile national championship. The Californian was already a favorite in the grandstand due to the graceful and humble manner in which he “lowered the colors” of the fastest locals over the previous weeks. “[Ziegler] has come to be looked upon almost as a local champion,” explained the *Rocky Mountain News*. The paper continued: “He is a manly little athlete and always goes in to win in a fair, open manner every race he enters.” When Ziegler surged ahead of the best riders in the nation with a spectacular burst of speed, the crowd let out a deafening roar as if he were a hometown boy. Score one for the West! Ziegler covered the six laps in 4:21, a new world record.



ZEIGLER'S GREAT FINISH

Otto Ziegler was “a flash of yellow fire” in the two-mile national championship. *Rocky Mountain News*.

On Friday night at nine o’clock the rain-checked parade went forward. The wheel-mounted signal corps led about a thousand lantern-carrying bicyclists and several floats on a meandering path through downtown Denver. The paraders were instructed to travel in formation: four abreast, six feet apart, twenty-four feet between rows. Huge crowds pressed in along the route and squeezed the phalanx into single file, much to the disgruntlement of control freaks in the ranks. Adding injury to insult, delinquents were out in force, knocking wheelmen off their bikes.

Those hoping to view an otherworldly array of stocking-covered calves and ankles—a rare sight at the time—were again frustrated in their quest. The dysfunction of the parade made the logistics all wrong for gawking. Afterward, however, “bloomer girls” were concentrated at 1518 California Street, the home of Amelie Brocker. The Woman’s Rational Dress Club of Colorado had invited female cyclists and their escorts for a meeting of the minds over ices and lemonade. The house was brimming with bloomers, knickerbockers, divided skirts, cropped jackets, and jaunty hats.

The reception at Mrs. Brocker’s marked the first time that Denver’s rational dress activists had so explicitly joined forces with their natural allies, the wheelwomen. The growing trend in “radical” dress and the bicycle’s emerging role as accelerant were causing stress for many in Denver, as elsewhere. “The public is being inducted into the mysteries of a great reform this week,” wrote the *Republican* on August 15. The article continued: “The opportunity for which the disciples of the rational dress movement have long waited has arrived and they are making the most of it. . . . The radical has been held back for such a time as the present, and now it blossoms in all its abbreviated glory.”

Despite the importance of the meet to the feminist movement, the presence in town of several very fast, competitive-minded female riders, and the fact that women were racing bicycles in England and other countries, women were not allowed to race at the DWC track. Women’s racing was energetically banned within the LAW, and the League heavily penalized or blacklisted any club or track that hosted a cycling competition involving females. The DWC strongly supported the LAW’s mandates, and only white males were welcome to race at its facility.

Ziegler was the dominant white male again on Saturday. Early in the afternoon’s program the skies opened up and a poetic blast of western wind blew down the Stearns tent while Johnson was hiding out in it. Shortly after the storm Ziegler took the national championship in the quarter-mile,

the shortest event in the tournament. Later in the afternoon he won the most prestigious race, the one-mile national championship. After Ziegler's cool-down lap crazed admirers rushing from the grandstand mobbed him. Oscar Boles and George Hannan carried him off the track on their shoulders. Hannan, a local bicycle retailer, gambled heavily on the races. We can only imagine how much he had wagered on Ziegler to provoke such a joyous outburst. Hannan later became the first Denver bike seller to transform his bicycle shop into an auto showroom.

Walter Sanger snatched a win in Saturday's half-mile final, salvaging his meet from complete disaster on the last day. The victory failed to lighten his relentlessly serious expression, and someone in the grandstand yelled "Let's see you smile, Sanger!" He did, according to the *Denver Republican*. The smashing success of Ziegler—and the notable lack of it from Johnson and Sanger—had race fans talking about different strategies for dealing with Denver's altitude. All three men were from sea level, more or less. Ziegler's strategy of arriving two weeks early seemed to work much better than that of Sanger and Johnson, who arrived the day before the races, thinking they could compete at full strength prior to being affected. Ziegler looked fresh throughout, while Sanger and Johnson appeared almost ill and rode far below their normal abilities. The altitude question wasn't answered at the meet, however. Athletes from lower elevations still argue about the best strategies for competing in Colorado, and, despite all the scientific advancements that have occurred in the meantime, the arguments are virtually the same as those tossed back and forth in 1894.

On Saturday evening the Coliseum was packed again as the wheelmen gathered for the farewell ceremony and much-anticipated presentation of prizes. The ceremony was essentially a drunken coronation of Otto Ziegler, Denver's adopted son. Adoration was sloppily heaped upon and a speech demanded of the little man with the big man's name. Ziegler shuffled reluctantly to the stage in a haze of cigar smoke. "Gentlemen," he said, overcome with emotion,

"I am pleased . . . I am pleased." That was all he could manage.

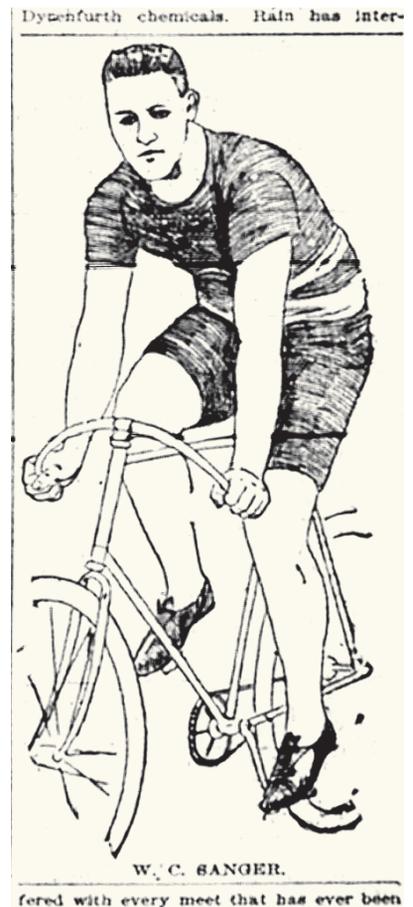
"Who takes Jimmy's place?" came the cry from somewhere in the hall. "Ziegler! Ziegler! Ziegler!" came the answer, shouted from all corners and reported in the *Denver Republican*. The call-and-answer routine referred to A. A. Zimmerman, America's original bicycle racing champion, who was off racing in France at the time. Ziegler turned out to be not quite up to the task of taking Jimmy's place after all, despite his great success in Denver and the sentiments of his many well-lubricated fans. He broke his arm in a crash early in the '95 season, then again in 1896, making it difficult for him to build on his Denver results.



Louise Churchill of Chicago caused a stir in an outfit that was considered to be radically revealing. *Denver Republican*.

At around six feet tall and two hundred pounds, W. C. Sanger was huge compared to today's pro cyclists. *Denver Republican*.

John Johnson had quite a different experience at Coliseum Hall that night. He was the object of mean-spirited derision even before he arrived in Denver, and his demeanor and performance during the meet only made things worse. At the end of the presentation of the treasure trove of prizes, which included gold watches, diamonds, and at least one piano, Johnson was awarded a discarded donkey. The animal was led into



the building and Johnson was physically carried to the stage and forced to ride it out of the hall. He took the aggressive ribbing in stride, surprisingly. The burro was checked into the Windsor Hotel under the name “Nightingale.”

Perhaps the biggest star of the meet was the track itself. It had taken Waltham’s title as the fastest track in the country and was universally praised by the racers. Peter O’Brian’s decision to use Colorado gravel and clay instead of concrete was completely vindicated, after a shaky start. The surface was superb. However, there was that one serious flaw in O’Brian’s design: the twelve-degree banking. Within a few years after the meet, ovals were being constructed everywhere that were much steeper in the turns, making the DWC track obsolete.

At least eight official world records were lowered at the meet. The spree of record-breaking can be attributed to the rampant proliferation of record categories, for one thing, but also to the thin air, the refinement of the facility, and most importantly, the quickly increasing quality of athletes in a relatively new sport. Modern bicycles with pneumatic tires had been raced for not quite five years in 1894. One would expect records to fall at a high rate in world-class competition in those early years.

Of course, there is another, more sinister possibility that is fun to consider—the Denver Wheel Club track may have been short. Scrambling for the attention of a public obsessed with speed and utterly disappointed by performances that did not break records, promoters and track managers, team sponsors, and racers all had a strong interest in making races seem faster than they really were. The LAW’s bylaws contained an interesting loophole: tracks were to be measured on a continuous line “at least” eighteen inches from the pole.

Those two words—a curious addition to a carefully worded rule book—seem to leave the door open for a measurement around the track’s outer edge. For a wide track like the DWC’s, the distance around the inner curb would have been considerably shorter than the distance around the outside. Evidence for the shortness of the DWC track is strictly circumstantial, but also fairly compelling.

Short or not, the track put Denver on the national circuit.

“Those three days put Denver and the Denver track in a place in cycling circles second to none.”

The man to make such decisions was Howard Raymond, chairman of the League’s National Racing Board, who also served as referee during the meet. “Those three days have put Denver and the Denver track in a place in cycling circles second to none, not even Waltham,” he confirmed. “You people do not realize what you have here,” the *Denver Republican* quoted him as saying.

The track became a familiar stop for the nation’s top riders in the years immediately following the meet. It attracted riders from around the world to live and train in Denver, and inspired new phenoms out of the ranks of its home city. A young peddler of butter and eggs named Oswald Hachenberger would be the next Denver cyclist to pedal into fame on the DWC oval, smoothly dominating a string of one-on-one matches with top racers in 1896.

As great as the track was for Denver’s bicycle racing crowd, it turned out to be not so wonderful for the Denver Wheel Club. The novelty of owning the fastest track in the country started to wear thin from the moment the rapturous LAW meet closed. The club was still several thousand dollars in debt at the end of the glorious ‘94 season. Club officers assumed that subsequent national circuit meets would fix the balance sheet, since the track was already built. Instead, the big meets netted profits that were laughable at best. In the meantime, the track’s upkeep was expensive and troublesome, and the formerly generous DWC started bickering with the landowner over responsibilities, and with nonmembers who used the facility but gave little or nothing in return.

By 1898, though the DWC was among the largest cycling clubs in the nation, collecting dues from 850 upstanding white males, its clay-surfaced, shallow-banked track faced a very early retirement. Not a single event took place there that year. The club tried to blame the “emergency” entirely on the hard times in their member publication, *DWC Echo*: “In the valley of the shadow of financial death through which the country has recently passed, everything has suffered. The public has not had the time nor the heart to patronize sports. Life itself has been a serious game.”

Poetic, but in fact, economic hardship was not the whole story of the track’s demise. Denver’s track-racing scene did

not die with the DWC track. While the DWC was renewing its vows to the League of American Wheelmen, other local promoters were rejecting the LAW's far-reaching mandates and hosting independent events at more up-to-date venues—"board" tracks with steep banking. In the fall of 1898, while the DWC track sat unused, Denver's racers and fans could be found at the regular Sunday races on the wooden track at Chutes Park. The LAW had been as stridently opposed to Sunday racing as it was to women's racing.

The DWC had high hopes that the '99 season would bring the glory back. They put on one big meet that summer, which turned out to be the clay track's last chance. The meet was hugely disappointing, and the DWC pulled the plug. Broadway Athletic Park became a fulltime baseball stadium—home to the beloved Denver Bears—as the century turned. Stung by the loss of its crown jewel, the DWC shifted its energy to its baseball and football squads, and to planning a resort getaway in the mountains.

Howard Raymond was right. The people of Denver, for the most part, did not know what they had. How could they? The glory-filled life of the DWC track was so short that the oval doesn't even appear on any of the maps held in the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library. Although many photographs were reportedly taken at the DWC track, none have been identified. Peter O'Brian's biographers never even mention it among the long list of irrigation and electric rail systems he designed all over the West.

It's almost as if some sneaky fellow from one of the rival clubs—the Denver Athletic Club or the Ramblers—scoured the libraries and private collections to remove all traces of the track's existence. Maybe it was Peter O'Brian himself, eternally ashamed of that low banking. When the track was abandoned it became a ghost of history.

For Further Reading

Most of the materials used to research this article came from History Colorado's Stephen H. Hart Library & Research Center and the Denver Public Library's Western History/Genealogy Department. The author thanks the librarians at both institutions for their tireless attempts to find items related to his research, even when the majority of those items seemed to be buried, lost half a century ago, or entirely imaginary.

Newspaper accounts written in 1894 from the *Denver Republican*, *Rocky Mountain News*, *Denver Times*, and *Colorado Evening Sun* were all very useful sources of information. John McGuire's *The Cycling West*, a Denver-published periodical, was also important, as was the Denver Wheel Club's publication, *The DWC Echo*. Other important sources consulted include the "Denver Wheel Club scrapbook" and a manuscript labeled "Denver Wheel Club." Information on the track itself is incredibly hard to come by.

Offering a somewhat different view, *The Official Souvenir of the 15th Annual Meet of the LAW* was beautifully produced by John McGuire's *The Cycling West* office. Two journal articles provide a more general perspective on bicycling in

Colorado in the past: Andrew Gillette's "The Bicycle Era in Colorado" (*The Colorado Magazine*, November 1933) and James Whiteside's "It Was a Terror to the Horses: Bicycling in Gilded-Age Denver" (*Colorado Heritage*, spring 1991).



Howard Raymond, chairman of the National Racing Board, was impressed with Denver's track but not so much with its race fans.
Denver Republican.

ROBERT HURST is the author of *The Art of Cycling*, *The Art of Mountain Biking*, *The Cyclist's Manifesto*, *Road Biking Colorado's Front Range*, *Mountain Biking Colorado's San Juan Mountains: Durango and Telluride*, *The Bicycle Commuter's Handbook*, and *Best Bike Rides Denver and Boulder*, all published by FalconGuides. He lives in Denver with his wife and daughter, two geriatric hounds, and a cat named Paul, not far from the site of the DWC track.

Do you know this building?

Continued from page 15

Answers: a) Denver, c) 1916, b and c) U.S. courthouse and post office

Denver's new U.S. post office and courthouse at Eighteenth and Stout Streets was completed in 1916, replacing its 1892 predecessor. The United States District Courts (USDC), the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals (CCA), and a post office moved into the prominent Neo-Classical building made of Colorado Yule marble.

One of the most noted cases heard in the two courts was *Keyes v. The Denver School District No. 1* in 1969. The laws prior to 1954 required schools to be separate, but equal. The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court declared that doctrine illegal and mandated integrated schools. Regardless, some school districts including Denver Public Schools (DPS) continued to segregate students through strategic yet discreet tactics, including the building of new schools in minority neighborhoods and the shifting of attendance boundaries. Minority neighborhood schools regularly had the oldest books and the youngest teachers.

In 1969 a group of parents led by Wilfred Keyes filed suit in the USDC against DPS, with the court finding many schools continuing to be separate and unequal. The court mandated that DPS desegregate the entire district. DPS appealed the court's decision to the CCA, which overruled the lower court's decision and required DPS to only desegregate Denver's Park Hill neighborhood schools, not the entire district.

Keyes appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1973 overturned the CCA's opinion and agreed with the USDC, citing that the entire DPS district was liable for segregation. DPS created a system to integrate students by matching schools and busing students so each school had a more racially diverse student population. Mandated busing continued until 1995, when Federal Judge Richard Matsch removed the requirement—as Denver was much different in its views than in 1969. The building was listed in the National Register in 1973. It was renamed the Byron R. White U.S. Courthouse in 1994.

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