



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

January - February 2018



CHIEF STANDING BEAR.

WITH BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST.

Luther Standing Bear performed with Buffalo Bill's Wild West during the 1902-1903 season. He later went on to become an advocate for Lakota rights

I am Not a Savage: Lakota Performers in Europe

by Steve Friesen

presented Oct. 25, 2017



Our Author

Steve Friesen is the retired director of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave in Golden, Colorado, a position he held for twenty-two years. He has an MA in American Folk Culture from the State University of New York and has worked in a variety of museums since 1976.

He is the author of *A Modest Mennonite Home* (a book about early Pennsylvania German life), *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*, and his latest book *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 1



January - February 2018

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Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421
 rick.barth@frontrange.edu

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl.
 Denver, CO 80222
 coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

Flora DuPree (303) 587-8588
 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231
 florasellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210
 jsokolo102@aol.com

The **ROUNDUP** (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. **ROUNDUP** layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for **ROUNDUP** to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

I am Not a Savage: Lakota Performers in Europe

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Imagine that you have spent all of your life as a nomad, hunting for your food and occasionally engaging in battles with other nomadic people. Then you are invaded by another people who, through superior numbers and technology, defeat you. The lands over which you wandered are no longer available to you and you are confined to a small area. Not only are you no longer allowed to wander and hunt, you are expected to learn to farm on some of the worst farmland in the country. And you must change your entire culture to be like that of the invaders. Your children are taken away to schools where they are taught to be like the invaders. The invaders make agreements to give you food in return for the land they have taken and so you can survive while you are learning to farm. But the food doesn't always come because the invaders' leaders often choose to spend the money in other ways.

Then some of the invaders come to where you live and say they have a chance for you to leave that place and for you to continue your culture, showing it throughout the invaders' lands. You can ride and dance and engage in mock battles. You will be able to be nomadic again, traveling around the country and the world. And you will be paid well for your work, receiving much more than if you stay and try to farm.

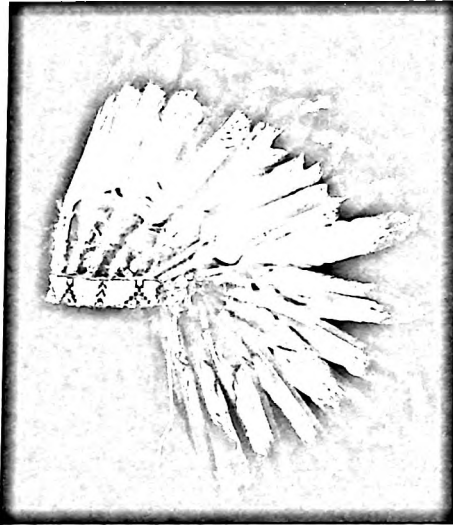
If you were a Lakota living on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota at the turn of the century, you jumped at the opportunity. Luther

Standing Bear, who had performed one season with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, went to the train station in Rushville, Nebraska to join the show for a second season. He wrote that "when I arrived there I was surprised to see all the Indians from my reservation there, waiting. They had a big camp. It seems they had found out in some manner that I was again to be in charge and when I entered the camp I was besieged on all sides from those who wanted to go out with the show."¹

There are those who say that the Indians who performed in wild west shows were exploited. They say that the wild west shows were nothing more than an Indian equivalent to minstrel shows. But that is a poor and misinformed analogy. They were nothing like the minstrel shows, which were usually white people in blackface making fun of black culture. The authenticity of the wild west shows depended upon having real Indians performing... and there was no lampooning of Indian culture.

When the Lakota were hired by Buffalo Bill's Wild West and other wild west shows, they were not exploited; they were offered an opportunity. Black Heart, a member of the Buffalo Bill Wild West cast, said "We were raised on horseback; that is the way we had to work. These men furnished us the same work we were raised to; that is the reason we want to work for these kind of men."²

What I will tell you today is not the story of a naïve, ignorant and



courtesy Francois Chiladiuk

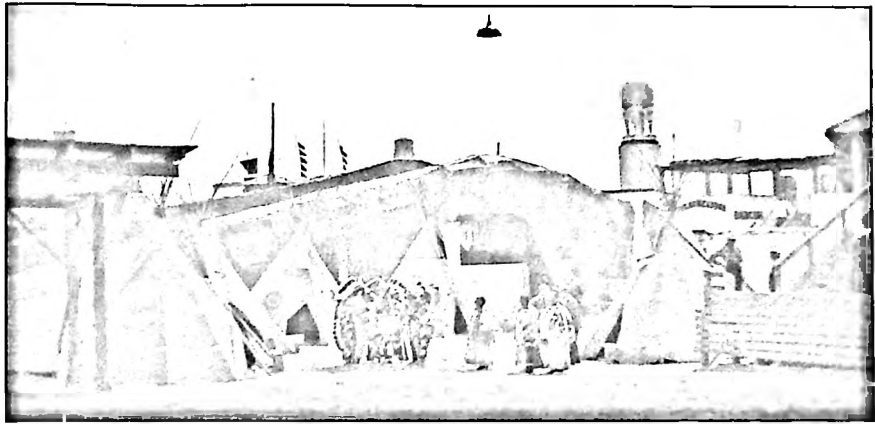
Spotted Owl's headdress, one of nearly 150 items worn at the Brussels World's Fair in 1935 and sold to a local collector at the end of the fair

innocent people who were exploited. It is the story of people who, given an alternative of extinction or total assimilation, chose a third way: a way of accommodation and opportunity. Ultimately the wild west shows helped preserve Lakota culture at a time when governmental efforts were aimed at destroying it. And using the wild west shows, the Lakota were able to demonstrate to the world that their culture was valid and vibrant...that they were not savages.

The government's efforts were strongly influenced by 19th-century reformers, who felt that the US had only two alternatives, either the Indians would be wiped out by the forward march of civilization or they would need to be civilized. Carl

Schurz, a former Secretary of the Interior, put it bluntly in 1881 when he voiced the Indians' two choices: "extermination or civilization." The reformers rejected extermination as an inhumane and unacceptable alternative. But they also felt the Indians' way of life and culture not only would, but should, end. Where some had said during the Indian Wars that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" they embraced a different concept: "kill the Indian, save the man." That was a saying coined by Richard Henry Pratt, when he created the Carlisle Indian School in 1879. This was the approach Pratt utilized at Carlisle and the other schools with which he was involved. The idea of these Indian schools was to remove Indian children from their culture, including their families, and the "bad" influence of their way of life. In this context they could then become civilized.³

The paternalistic and so-called civilizing approach of the reformers was in direct opposition to the efforts of people like Buffalo Bill. Buffalo Bill and other wild west show organizers felt the Indians' culture was unique, interesting and therefore something to be shown off. Cody repeatedly emphasized that he was not producing just a show but was providing an educational exhibition. For this reason, Buffalo Bill and his partners rejected the term "show" as an inappropriate term for their form of entertainment. In so doing, they encouraged their performers, not just the Indians but the vaqueros and other ethnic groups, to value and preserve their ways of life. This was unacceptable to the reformers like Pratt, who felt the wild west



courtesy Francois Chladiuk

Lakota performers dancing in the arena specifically constructed for them at the 1935 Brussels World's Fair

shows only encouraged the Indians' uncivilized and savage ways. The more influence the reformers wielded over the Indian agencies and their superintendents, the more resistance there was to allowing the Indians to leave the reservations to perform.

But people like Buffalo Bill had their influence on the government as well and, with restrictions, the Indians were allowed to leave the reservation. As performers they demonstrated a culture in the United States and Europe that the government was making every effort to suppress on the reservation.

The American Indians were central to Buffalo Bill's Wild West exhibition. They took part in recreations of battles, danced, showed off their horsemanship, and demonstrated their culture to audiences. With the inclusion of the Indians, exotic to many in the eastern United States, as well as the entire collection of other peoples and animals from the West, Buffalo Bill's Wild West soon became immensely popular. When it traveled

to Europe, it was considered even more remarkable and people flocked to it. Of all of the acts, the Europeans were most impressed by the Indians.

The Wild West began in 1883 with a diversity of Indian tribes represented. Some, like the Pawnee and Lakota, were enemies and did not work well together. The fact that one of the performers from the Lakota was named Pawnee Killer couldn't have helped. When the Wild West first went to Europe in 1887, Buffalo Bill employed the Lakota almost exclusively. Over time they also came to dominate other wild west shows.

Known by their enemies as the Sioux, the Lakota were the pre-eminent warriors of the Northern Plains, fierce in their battles and proud in their culture. Referred to by those professional soldiers who encountered them as "the finest light cavalry in the world," the Lakota were ferocious in battle and feared by their enemies. The Lakota had held out the longest against the encroachment of the US Army, the

settlers, and American culture. Even before Buffalo Bill's Wild West started touring around the country, they were a source of fascination to the American people. They were the subject of numerous news articles, dime novels, and plays, long after other tribes had faded from the limelight. The Lakota were the tribe with the celebrities, like Red Cloud, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. It was mainly the Lakota who had defeated Custer at Little Bighorn and remained independent long after other tribes had been assimilated.⁴

Performances in the arena were initially central to the Wild West but over the years the activities outside of the arena became more and more important. Cody felt it important for visitors to meet and even photograph the peoples of the West. During the show's appearance at Erastina on Staten Island, New York, in 1886, advertising emphasized that "every representative of the world from this cosmopolitan city linger(s) about the tepees of the red man, the tents of the white men and the marquees of the leaders."⁵

The Wild West's trips to Europe were even more effective at reinforcing the Indian traditions than the travels in the United States. The 1887 encampment in London included seventeen tepees. Years later George Dull Knife told his grandchildren about performing with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. His grandson remembered, "When they traveled overseas, the Indians all lived together. Shortly after arriving in England, France, Germany, Italy or Spain, their camps soon began to resemble the camps they had always lived in on the plains. A village of tipis clustered in traditional fashion emerged

near the show grounds." Luther Standing Bear noted that in 1902, after the conclusion of the show, British visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West then went to the village, where they "had a chance to see how we lived."⁶

The Lakota had a name for the performers among them: *oskate wicasa*. It was a name that they assumed with pride. Calvin Jumping Bull explained in 1981, "We Sioux use a term of honor that dates from Cody's day, *oskate wicasa* - one who performs."⁷

Sam Lone Bear was an *oskate wicasa*. He even had a business card showing he had performed with the Wild West in 1894, 1895, 1898, 1899, and 1900. He performed with the Wild West again in 1903-04, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, and 1912. When Buffalo Bill's Wild West closed in 1913, he continued to be a performer for wild west shows and circuses.⁸

Unwittingly, schools like Carlyle actually enabled the Lakota to become *oskate wicasa*. When they returned to the reservation from school, they could speak English, which was an important asset for a performer. Sam Lone Bear, and other performers like Luther Standing Bear and Thomas Stabber all were educated at Indian schools. In 1899 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs complained that even Indians who had attended schools and become "civilized" adopted the old garb and performed in order to make money. And why not. Forty-seven Lakota traveled to Europe with Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1888. The total payroll for the Indians was \$27,200, averaging out to nearly \$579 per performer. Those were very good wages for 1888.⁹



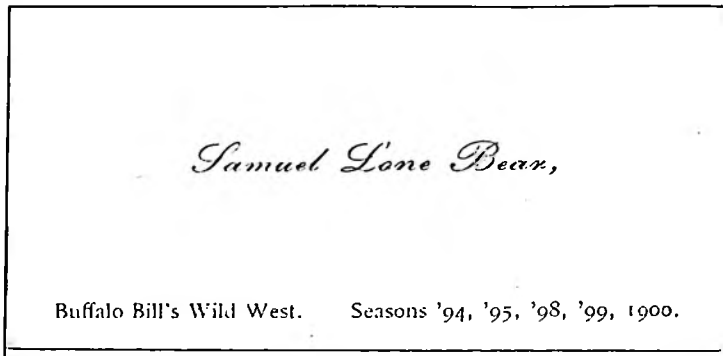
courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, CO

Jerome Little Elk, an oskate wicasa, was photographed in 1990 while was performing with Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Philadelphia

The Wild West offered Europeans a chance to see real American Indians. It also offered the American Indians a chance to see new and exotic locations as well as meet people who were as interesting to them as vice versa. Luther Standing Bear wrote about his visit to London with the Wild West: "I was sorry to leave this city, because I had been given a chance to see many wonderful sights and visit many interesting places." Some performers, like Sam Lone Bear, traveled all over America and visited Europe several times. Sam visited Europe nine times.¹⁰

The last visit to Europe of any oskate wicasa before World War II was in 1935. The group included Stabber, Lone Bear, and Daniel Black Horn. All three got their start with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Black Horn was Luther Standing Bear's cousin and had already traveled to Europe several times. During those trips the performers were treated like visiting dignitaries and often met leading citizens, politicians, and even royalty. Shaking hands was just as an important ritual for the Indians as it was for people of European background. Black Horn's wife created a beaded "Shake Many Hands" shirt for him to commemorate all of those meetings. Today that shirt is in the collection of the Denver Museum of Nature and Science.

In 1935 a group of fifteen Lakota traveled to Brussels to perform in the World's Fair. On the way they made a stop in Paris on their way for a press conference. According to a *New York Times* reporter, he drew upon his Indian vocabulary and asked "Heap-big Injun likum Paris?" This stereotyped query was met with the reply from Chief Black Horn, "I think it might facilitate matters for you if I refer you to our interpreter, Sam Lone Bear." At that point the reporter asked Lone Bear in English if he spoke French. "Oh yes, and I also speak German." Lone Bear then pointed out to the gathered reporters that he made it a point to



This business card that belonged to Sam Lone Bear, an oskate wicasa, shows how many years he performed with Buffalo Bill's Wild West until 1900. After 1900 he continued to perform with the Wild West and other shows until 1935

learn these three languages and that he had visited Europe off and on for years since his first time there with Buffalo Bill's Wild West.¹¹

By 1934, the FDR administration had ended official efforts to suppress the Lakota culture. American Indian tribes were given more autonomy and more freedom to practice their traditional culture. They were even encouraged to perform their culture after fifty years of discouraging it.

Two years later Lone Bear wrote nostalgically about his visits to Europe, saying he would much prefer to be there rather than living at Pine Ridge. Farming was hard because the country was too dry and the grasshoppers ate all of his crops. About his time in Europe he wrote "I have good time every day." Others, like Thomas Stabber, established friendships with the people they met in Europe, corresponding with them upon their return to the United States. These performers clearly established an affinity with Europe and the Europeans,

an affinity that led them to return to the continent. Those visits were frequently marked by meet-ups with friends they had made on previous visits.¹²

What is the legacy of the oskate wicasa? They came from a people who were branded as savages but were not. They had a distinctive and vibrant culture. It was a culture which they struggled to preserve against tremendous odds. An entire educational system and United States policy were created to wrest that culture from them. Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the other wild west shows offered them an opportunity to re-live the glories of being warriors on the Plains. Wild West performer Short Boy said in 1911, "There's no more hunting for the Indians and there's no use fighting against the hopeless odds, and so we take great pleasure in going up against a fair fight with the American soldiers even with blank cartridges." Even more importantly it gave them a chance to dance the dances that were forbidden and live a life that was being repressed back home on the reservations.¹³

It was not possible for the government and the reformers to simply sweep Lakota culture under the rug when it was being shown throughout America and Europe. Just as importantly, participation in the shows activated and emboldened activists like Spotted Owl, who first traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, to work for tribal self-government, and Luther Standing Bear, whose involvement in the Wild West launched him on a lifetime of activism, lecturing and appearing in films. He later wrote, "I determined that, if I could only get the right sort of people interested, I might be able to do more for my own race off the reservation than to remain there under the iron rule of the white agent."¹⁴

By 1934 the US government policies had been successful to a degree. The Lakota had been acculturated, with their everyday clothing resembling that of everyone else. But the Lakota had not been completely assimilated and had been able to preserve their culture, thanks in part to their participation in wild west shows, circuses and expositions. And now they could re-create it on their own terms.

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new era of American Indian performance, directed completely by them and not by outsiders. It was the pow wow and it has spread throughout North America. Today the Denver March Pow Wow is one of the largest in the world. There you can see newer innovations in costuming as well as dances featuring traditional clothing.

In Europe we see a different phenomenon. The many visits to

Europe by the Lakota helped created an affinity on the part of the Europeans that has continued over the years. Beginning shortly after the turn-of-the-century, wild west clubs were begun in Germany, with participants learning about American Indians, collecting artifacts from them and even dressing like them. After WWII these hobbyist clubs spread throughout Europe. Today in Germany on some summer weekends, as many as 250 Germans pitch their tepees and pretend to be Indians. It is a strange phenomenon and, to be frank, most of their clothing isn't quite right. But one could argue it isn't that far off from Civil War or mountain man re-enacting. There are also European groups that do cowboy re-enacting.

While some have criticized the hobbyists in Germany and other countries, they have a genuine interest in and respect for American Indians. For example, when Edward Two Two, a Lakota performer, died in Germany, he asked to be buried near Dresden. Today Hartmut Reitschel and other Indian enthusiasts maintain the grave, to which Lakota visitors often make pilgrimages, placing rocks from Pine Ridge upon Two Two's gravestone.

In the 21st century, after years of suppression of their tribal cultures, the American Indians are seeing resurgence of not just their clothing, foods and arts but also of their languages. I should note that just as genealogy is growing as a pursuit with everyone else in the US, it too is becoming popular among American Indian. Interest in American Indian culture is international. Just as museum exhibits in the United States have focused on the cultures and arts



courtesy Francois Chladiuk

Sam Lone Bear's last year performing as an oskate wicasa, was in 1935, when he traveled to the Brussels World's Fair

of Europe, now there are exhibits of the distinctive cultures and arts of the United States in Europe. European attention to the American West and its people has moved beyond the wild west shows of the past to become more thoughtful and profound. One

manifestation of this change was a 2012 exhibit at the Medici's Pitti Palace in Florence, Italy, where the arts of American Indians were exhibited nearly side by side with those of the Renaissance masters.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which began in 1883, initiated a golden era of wild west shows. Over the next fifty years, literally hundreds of wild west shows sprang up, ranging from small operations to organizations that rivaled Buffalo Bill's show in size. Some of the most influential traveled to Europe, like Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Pawnee Bill's Wild West and the 101 Ranch Real Wild West. Their popularity influenced American circuses like the Sells-Floto Circus

and European circuses like the Circus Sarrasani to add wild west elements to their programs. In Europe, fairs and expositions also capitalized on interest in the American Indians. Lakota performers found themselves in great demand both in America and overseas.

As late as 1928, E. W. Jermark, the agent at Pine Ridge, observed that there was a lot of demand for Indians to perform and "The Indians seem to be making quite a career for themselves."¹⁵

The Worlds Fair in Brussels in 1935 marked the end of the wild west show era. It was the last time before World War II that the Lakota would travel to Europe to perform. After the war the interests of American and European audiences turned to Western movies and professional rodeos. And the Lakota turned to the pow wow as a new cultural expression.

Those last Lakota performers before World War II did leave a unique legacy, a sort of time capsule. Before they left Brussels, Sam Lone Bear, Thomas Stabber, Daniel Black Horn, Joshua Spotted Owl and the others gifted and sold 146 artifacts to a private collector whom they had befriended. The collector put the items in steel boxes and kept them from public view for nearly seventy years.

After his death they were acquired by Francois Chladiuk, who instantly recognized their value. He undertook a project to find photographs and information about the performers, a quest which took him across Europe and to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The artifacts are remarkable not only because of their good condition but also because of the documentation he uncovered, including photos taken of the artifacts being worn by the Lakota in 1935. Today they are the largest collection of artifacts used by the Lakota in performance and are on exhibit in his Western shop in downtown Brussels. The artifacts, their documentation, and what I have

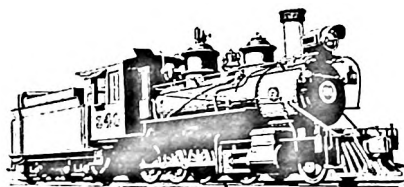
shared today about the oskate wicasa are all part of Francois' and my book, *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*, published this summer by the University of Oklahoma Press.

The story of the oskate wicasa and the Wild West is a message of cultural resilience and survival, of collective and individual worth, and of the pride of a people. In 2009 some of the Lakota artifacts from the 1935 World's Fair in Brussels returned to the United States for an exhibit at the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave in Golden, Colorado. Walter Littlemoon, the youngest son of Rose and Joseph Littlemoon, who had performed in Brussels, was a special guest for the exhibit opening. It was the first time he saw the artifacts that his family, all now deceased but him, had left in Europe. Visibly moved and proud of his family's and his people's culture, he said to the gathered group, "I am not a Savage." I hope that, after hearing this story of Walter's people, you can agree with that.

Endnotes

1. Luther Standing Bear and E.A. Brininstool, *My People the Sioux*, Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1928, p. 270.
2. Black Heart quoted in L.G. Moses, *Wild West Indians and the Images of American Indians*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996, p. 103.
3. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas,

- 1995, pp. 15, 48. Edmund Jefferson Danzinger, Jr, "United States Indian Policy During The Late Nineteenth Century: Change And Continuity," *Hayes Historical Journal*, Volume XII, Number 1,2, Fall, 1992 and Winter, 1993.
4. Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, p. 145.
5. Advertisement in St. George Casino Program, July 16, 1886, Staten Island. Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives, Golden, Colorado.
6. Joe Starita, *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995, p. 150. Standing Bear and Brininstool, p. 255.
7. Quoted in Alice J. Hall, "Buffalo Bill and the Enduring West," National Geographic, July, 1981, pp. 84-88. Direct translation of Lakota to English is difficult since there are fewer words in Lakota and they can hold several meanings, depending upon how they are used and in what combinations. Oskate means "show" or a "fair," in Lakota while wicasa means "man." Since there were women and children who performed as well, the term *oskate wicasa* applied to more than the male gender.
8. Sam Lone Bear business card, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives, Golden, Colorado.
9. Letter from William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Colonel William A. Clapp, July 13, 1899, Box 22 "Letters Received from the Office of Indian Affairs, Indian Warehouses, and Special Agents, 1871-1907" (NAID 598889), NARA, Kansas City. Financial record from Jule Keen, Buffalo Bill's Wild West treasurer, June 6, 1891 (NAID 285586), Box 162, 047, RG75, NARA, Kansas City.
10. Correspondence between Sam Lone Bear and Mrs. Alfred Angell, October 24, December 1 and December 27, 1936. Private Collection of Kristi Angell.
11. April 26, 1935 *New York Times*.
12. Correspondence between Sam Lone Bear and Mrs. Alfred Angell, October 24, December 1 and December 27, 1936. Private Collection of Kristi Angell.
13. Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012, p. 58.
14. Standing Bear and Brininstool, p. 278.
15. Letter from E.W. Jermark, Pine Ridge Superintendent, to Frank Goings, a show Indian who was performing with the Sells-Floto Circus, May 22, 1928, Box 165, 047, RG 75, NARA, Kansas City.



Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Presentations of the New Year

The Boulder County Corral started the new year with a January program "Railroads of Boulder County," by Larry Dorsey, a long-time volunteer at the Colorado Railroad Museum. He also serves as the Chair of the Superior Historical Commission and occasionally published *The Superior Historian*.

In February Kay Turnbaugh presented "*The Last of the Wild West Cowgirls: A Biography of Goldie Griffith*." Goldie was one of a kind: she boxed, she fenced, she rode bucking broncos in Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows, she was an actor and stunt rider, and she became a rancher and owned several restaurants in Colorado. Kay Turnbaugh is a resident of Nederland, where she has published the town's newspaper for 27 years. After retiring she has become an author of several books, including one titled as her presentation.

In January the Colorado Corral learned all about "The Cavalry and its Horses," by Frank Blaha. He provided well-illustrated details on this mainstay of the 19th century, covering the period from 1832 to 1942, emphasizing the classic period of the cavalry, and its role in the West and in the Civil War. Frank is an engineer at the Water Research Foundation. Following his daughter's experience in Westernaires, he took up riding himself, attended US Cavalry School in 2009 at the Little Bighorn River as a start in cavalry re-enacting, developed an interest in the 2nd Colorado Volunteer Cavalry and the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and rides a Nevada mustang trained by the prisoners at Canon City.

"America's Worst Natural Disaster" was featured at the February meeting of the Colorado Corral. Member Geoff Hunt, Professor of History at the Community College of Aurora, told of the 1900 hurricane in Galveston, Texas, which killed 8,000 people and left 30,000 homeless. He explained what went wrong, what could have gone better, and how this disaster affects modern America.

In January El Paso County's 23rd sheriff, John Anderson, presented the exciting story of El Paso County's first sheriff, Rankin Scott Kelly, to the Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners. Kelly served the Colorado Territory from 1861 to 1867. Since retiring, John has been documenting the history of the American West, authoring a number of books, including one of Sheriff Kelly.

The Pikes Peak Posse's February program was "Pikes Peak Summit: The Strategic Military Advantage," by member Eric Swab. Eric addressed the advantages of Pikes Peak that lured the U. S. Military to select the summit for several research activities. Retiring in 2004, Eric began hiking Pikes Peak, and then researching its history, culminating in his publishing books on the Peak.

Mourning the Loss of a Westerner

Denver Posse member Bayard "Barry" Sweeney passed away on January 2, 2018. A Denver native, born in 1938, he received a Phi Beta Kapa degree in history in 1963 from the University of Colorado. Following early retirement as an auto industry executive, his passion for history spurred him to travel extensively with his wife Georgia, as well as exploring Colorado on horseback. Barry and Georgia, as Posse members, regularly participated in the Denver meetings, and he will be missed. Our condolences go out to Georgia and his family.





Westerners Bookshelf



Man-Hunters of the Old West, by Robert K. DeArment. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, 323 pages, photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback, \$29.95.

Robert DeArment, eminent Western historian and author of at least twenty books, has added yet another excellent tome to his credit. This one presents career profiles of eight western men, James Hume, David Cook, Millard Leech, John Duncan, Walter Davis, William Llewelly, Perry Mallon, and Charles Siringo, who relentlessly pursued those wanted by the law.

The title may imply a chronicle of violent, ruthless men who hunted their prey for the reward and employed any means to bring them in dead or alive. This is not the case. These man-hunters were well educated, probably not fearless hunters but definitely skilled professionals who used patience and determination to track down the worst of the outlaws. Sometimes they captured their man within a few weeks, at other times years were required to bring the suspect or fugitive to ground. Most were detectives or lawmen, well respected for their work, employed by a railroad, express company, or detective agency and did not qualify to collect the offered rewards. The only exception was Perry Mallon who used any means to collect rewards and engineered the arrest of Doc Holliday in Denver.

James Hume, a California detective for forty-one years, is a good example of these "man-hunters." He spent all but ten of those years with Wells Fargo. Armed with a good understanding of both human nature and the mind of a thief, Hume used patience, skilled tracking, exhaustive pursuits, determination, and the help of others to corner his quarry. This process might take him only a few weeks or several years to end up on the winning side. He did his best to avoid gun battles, except when there was no alternative. While these accounts of violent encounters add spice to the story, Hume's biography and those of others in this book are not about gun battles and dead men. Printing and mailing circulars, telegraphing colleagues, and interviewing citizens who may have seen something important were often the keys to success.

Closer to home, DeArment skillfully chronicled the career of David Cook into forty-seven pages and eighty-seven endnotes. Cook arrived in Colorado in 1859 as part of the gold rush and with exception of several years in the Union army during the Civil War, Denver was his home. Circumstances lead him into a career in law enforcement and detective work. Realizing the value of effective communication, in 1865 he established a network of part-time skilled operatives who could go to work as soon as the telegram arrived. Building on the success of this idea, he organized the Rocky Mountain Detective Association (later Agency) that became well known and highly respected west of the Mississippi.

All of DeArment's eight stories of man-hunters are well documented and well written. His writing style is a pleasure to read and the characters in this book bring to life some of the more important men that we can thank for bringing law and order to the West.

--Rick Barth

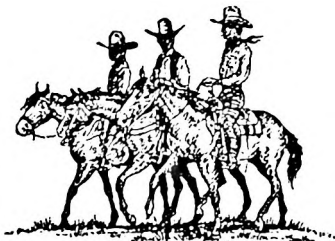
Weather Extremes

Coloradans know too well the vagaries of weather, with a high temperature one day of 69 degrees in Denver recently, followed by temperature drop of 72 degrees within 48 hours. We refer to the very first issue of the Denver Westerners *Roundup*, Vol. 1, No. 1 and 2, March 1, 1945 (initially named *The Brand Book*). In that issue Dr. Levette J. Davidson, Posse charter member, Professor of Literature at the University of Denver, and an author and folklore authority, provides some vignettes from his "Rocky Mountain Tales" (published in book form in 1947).

For example, Malcolm C. Duncan, "Little Dunk," often told in Rosita, Colorado, in the '70s, of his condition upon his arrival in Badito after crossing the Sangre de Cristo Pass in mid-winter. Frozen stiff on his horse, he had to be hoisted off the saddle "like a clothespin," and had to be soaked "in snow and whiskey all night, before he thawed out enough for the blood to circulate so that he could hear, think or speak.

For extreme heat, the Rocky Mountain narrator had to go outside Colorado. The campfire burned briskly and brightly, as all sat around it after supper smoking and talking. Someone remarked casually that it had been a very hot day, and all granted their acquiescence.

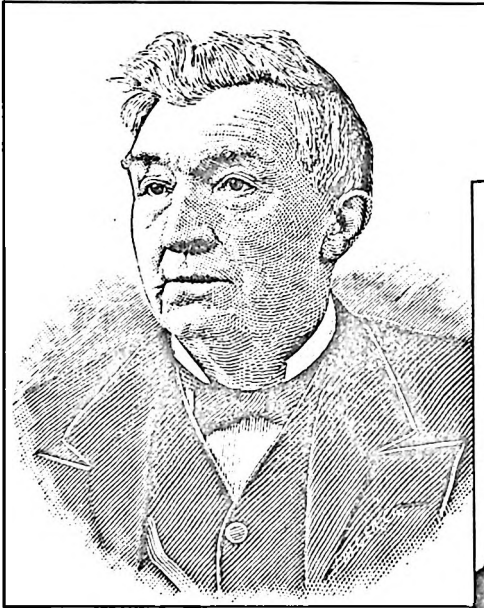
"Hot! Hot? Did anyone say hot?" commanded the colonel in a contradictory sort of way. "Well, if you fellows call today hot you would die in some places I have been. Why, I remember being in Death Valley and it was 130 degrees in the shade, or would have been only there was no shade, so I suppose it must have been 150 degrees in the sun. In some places the rocks were cracking with the heat. That is a fact. There was a gentle breeze from the south. It just came along easily, and as we were traveling west, it touched us on our left side. I have been touched several times, but never as peculiarly as that. Why, do you know each one of us who had whiskers or a beard had the hair singed off on the left side. We did not dare to stop or turn for fear it would do the same thing on the right side. That was the hottest time I ever had. We had a dog with us, a fine nervy Scotch terrier, when we entered the valley, and when we came out he was a Mexican hairless."





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

March - April 2018



Rev. John Dyer

Ed Bathke Collection



Rev. Sheldon Jackson

**The Itinerant Preacher and the Traveling Bishop
A Comparison of the Lives of Rev. John L. Dyer and
Rev. Sheldon Jackson**
by Ken Gaunt

Also in this issue...

Some Lighter Moments in the Pike's Peak Gold Rush
by Calvin W. Gower

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 2



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Our Author

Born in 1921 in Colorado Springs, Ken Gaunt became fascinated with pharmacy while working in a drug store and pursued a degree from Colorado State Agricultural College (now CSU). World War II interrupted his education and he served three years in the south Pacific, earning four combat stars during this time. After completing his education, Ken worked as a pharmacist from 1946 to 2004.

Ken joined the Denver Westerners in 1956 and over the years presented seven papers. He was elected Sheriff in 1995. His involvement in the Westerners prompted him to establish the Ken Gaunt Fund to provide money to enhance the programming capabilities of the organization.

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Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421
rick.barth@frontrange.edu

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl
 Denver, CO 80222
coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

Flora DuPree (303) 587-8588
 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231
florasellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210
jskolo102@aol.com

The *ROUNDUP* (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. *ROUNDUP* layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for *ROUNDUP* to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

The Itinerant Preacher and the Traveling Bishop A Comparison of the Lives of Rev. John L. Dyer and Rev. Sheldon Jackson

by Ken Gaunt

(Note: While looking through old records of the Denver Westerners, a manuscript written by Ken was discovered. The intended use of the manuscript is unknown and the Register of Marks and Brands committee decided it would make an excellent addition our Roundup publication. Ken died in February 2009.)

Rev. John L. Dyer and Rev. Sheldon Jackson were early Colorado missionaries in the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations respectively, and both were responsible for the primary growth and spread of their denominations in Colorado. John Dyer, affectionately known as Father Dyer, the Snow Shoe Itinerant Preacher, is a well-known Methodist to many people in Colorado. Sheldon Jackson, "The Bishop of All Beyond," on the other hand is not very well known outside the Presbyterian denomination. As I studied these two men I was struck by the contrasts of their lives, the way they worked, and the results of their work. I will separate their lives into several periods, and will discuss first John L. Dyer, and then compare the same events or times in Sheldon Jackson's life.

Early Life

John Lewis Dyer was born March 16, 1812, in Foster, Ohio, the second of eight children. His parents were pioneers living off the land. They

were always looking towards the new frontier, and moved ever westward. His formal schooling consisted of three months in the local schools during the winter months when he was not needed on the farm. His family moved to Illinois in 1831. During the Black Hawk Indian War of 1832 he served a few months in the militia. He was married December 4, 1833 to Harriet Foster. In 1844 the money being made in Wisconsin lead mines looked promising, so he moved his family to Wisconsin and became a lead miner.

Sheldon Jackson was born May 18, 1834, in Minaville, New York. This makes him twenty-two years younger than John Dyer. His family members were merchants and became quite successful in business.

Their Schooling

Dyer's family were devout Methodists with a family altar, daily prayers, and devotions. They attended the camp meetings as often as possible put on by circuit riding ministers. At the age of nineteen John made public profession of faith at a camp meeting. He became the Circuit Steward in 1832. His job was to raise money in the circuit for the denomination. Then one day while working at the bottom of a mine shaft, he decided to become a preacher. He started studying with the elders and deacons to get an exhorter's license; this was the first step to becoming a preacher. Years later he made the state-

ment that he had never even brushed up against a college or seminary.

Tragedy struck in 1847 when his wife died, leaving him at the age of thirty-five with five children. He soon married again but this marriage was annulled three years later when he discovered that this wife had not been legally divorced from her first husband. In 1855, at the age of forty-three, John took the vows of poverty, gave up all worldly pleasures, and became a full-fledged traveling pastor.

Jackson's family was very active in the Presbyterian Church and committed their son to the church at the age of three; it was planned that later he would enter the ministry. Sheldon went to boarding school at the age of fifteen, and made public confession at the age of nineteen. He next attended Union College in Schenectady, then went to Princeton Seminary, graduating in the spring of 1858 at the age of twenty-four. He was immediately ordained and applied for foreign serve. He was also married that summer.

Physical Description

As a man John Dyer was tall, one inch over six feet tall. He weighed about 185 pounds, and had a rugged physique. Several times he was known to subdue hecklers of his preaching by use of physical force.

In contrast, Sheldon Jackson was frail, only five foot two inches tall. He was described as short, bewhiskered, and bespectacled.

Basic Belief Of Their Ministry

As mentioned earlier, Dyer had taken the vows of poverty when he became a preacher. He had to support

himself and family, for the congregation supplied little or no funds at any time. So he worked at many things to support himself. He is best known for carrying the mail over Mosquito Pass from Alma to Oro City (Leadville) twice a week for \$18.00 a week. He also worked as a miner and a locator of claims for others. For this he used a witching wand, which consisted of a rifle shell cartridge containing a little gold dust, tied to a willow branch. At other times he was a probate judge and a city clerk. As a preacher he was supposed to take up a collection after preaching and the money collected was to be returned to the denomination. Unless someone else passed the hat, he would probably let it go. Thus he was reprimanded by the yearly conference many times for not taking more offerings. He walked his circuit much of the time, used a horse, skied during the winter, and sometimes used a cow as a pack animal. He often walked from his circuit to Denver to save the \$10.00 stage coach fare.

Jackson's family was well-to-do merchants, so he could have retired and never had to work. The denomination furnished some support most of the time. Jackson was also a good raiser of money, for he believed "Ask and it shall be given you." He asked churches, individuals, church and civic groups for money and materials. Once a donor got on his list it was practically impossible to get off of that list, for he kept precise records of every gift and of disbursements. He had a business in Chicago that furnished and shipped pre-fabricated buildings for his newly organized churches. He also had a large supply of missionaries and preachers from his old Seminary. These men started with

a salary of \$1,000.00 a year from the denomination. He also obtained free passes from the railroads, stagecoach lines, steamship lines, and even the U.S. naval ships in Alaska. He did use a horse some, but preferred a buggy.

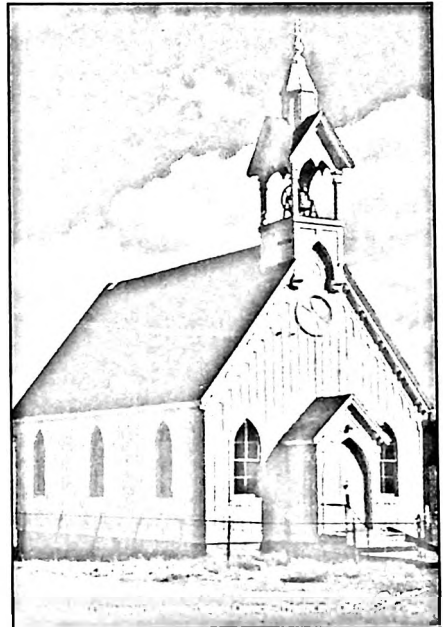
First Call

Beginning in 1851, John Dyer spent ten years working in the Wisconsin-Minnesota circuits as a circuit preacher. The first and the only church he had as a preacher was in Lenora, Wisconsin. The rest of his years of preaching were spent as a circuit preacher, moving in a new circuit at least every two years. In these ten years he had over 500 conversions.

In 1858 Sheldon Jackson had just been ordained and wanted to go into foreign missions, but was considered too frail and his request was refused. Instead he was sent to a Mission school for Indian boys of the Choctaw tribe in the Oklahoma territory. This call did not turn out well, as he came down with malaria, and consequently resigned after one year. In 1859, Jackson was appointed missionary in the rapidly developing Wisconsin-Minnesota area where John Dyer was also working at that time. This is the first time that they were both working in the same area, and it would not be the last. Jackson's headquarters were in La Crescent, and he received a salary of \$300 a year plus traveling expenses. He also had the privilege of raising other money for himself and the denomination.

After John Dyer had spent ten years (1851-1861) in the Wisconsin-Minnesota circuit, he was having trouble with his eyes and thought he was going blind. He too had the frontier

spirit of his family and wanted very much to see the Pikes Peak country. His children were grown, and Elias, his son, had gone west to Denver a year earlier. On May 9, 1861 with a horse and a total of \$14.75 he started from Lenora, Wisconsin for the Pikes Peak country. Upon arriving in Newton, Iowa his horse accidentally got into a lot of corn and foundered, so Dyer traded the horse for a watch and a few dollars. He paid a wagon driver in a wagon train \$15.00 to carry his luggage for him, and he walked the 600 miles to Denver, arriving forty-one days later on June 20. John Chivington (better remembered as Col. Chivington of the Sand Creek Massacre) was the ruling Elder of the Methodist Church in Colorado Territory. He sent Dyer to Buckskin Joe near



Ed Bathke Collection

**The Sheldon Jackson Memorial
Chapel, Fairplay, CO**

Alma to start his ministry. Dyer arrived there on July 9, 1861, just two months after leaving Lenora, having walked over 700 miles.

Meanwhile Jackson continued his ministry in Wisconsin and Minnesota, but the Indians were causing a lot of trouble, so he could not work in the western half of his territory.

In 1863, Dyer was assigned to the South Park District, which covered Park and Lake counties. These were large counties south of Summit County.

At about the same time, Jackson had volunteered as a Chaplain in the Union Army. However, he was soon called home because of serious illness in the family. He then resumed mission work in Minnesota. There were limited funds available from the mission board, so he established the Raven Fund to raise money to help the men whom he had enlisted as missionaries and preachers. Amazingly, he raised \$20,000 in a short time.

In 1864, Dyer continued his work in South Park District while Jackson was called as co-pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rochester, Minn. He immediately became very busy establishing this new congregation and recruiting leaders. This was the only time he was associated with a single church; soon he was organizing missions for this church. He stayed at this church until the fall of 1868.

The next year Dyer's work was extended into New Mexico. His first protestant service was held on the large Maxwell land grant. During 1866 his preaching stops also covered 400 miles in the San Luis Valley. He preached at Ft. Garland, where the Catholic Bishop complained to the officials for let-

ting him preach there. He discovered what is known as the Haywood Hot Springs and staked a claim, but his work would not let him prove up on his claim and he lost it. The hot springs later became a part of the large Hayden Ranch. In 1867, Dyer moved an old church building from Montgomery to Fairplay, paying \$100 to have it relocated. This burned down in the Fairplay town fire of 1873. The next year, Dyer had the Rio Grande district of New Mexico added to his work. He lived in Elizabethtown, worked in Red River, Cimarron, Taos, Mora, and others. It was about this time that people began calling him Father Dyer. Meanwhile Jackson left the church in Rochester, Minn. and went to the Iowa circuit.

In 1869, Dyer moved his mission work further southward to Albuquerque, Socorro, and Las Cruces, New Mexico; El Paso, Texas; Juarez, Mexico; and Fort Seldon and Fort Craig in Arizona. In Santa Fe he became known as the Father of Methodism for New Mexico.

In April of that year, Jackson was appointed missionary, without salary, of Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, and Montana. Later that year Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona and "all regions beyond" were added to his territory. In May, the Union Pacific and the Western Pacific Railroads met in Utah. Within a week, Jackson had three missionaries working the entire rail line from Omaha to Salt Lake City. In eight months he had ten missionaries in the field from Red Oak, Iowa to Helena, Montana. He was now receiving a salary of \$1500.00 a year from the denomination. But, the overall success of the program depended upon

his raising the money to pay for the missionaries' expenses. During this year he organized churches in Cheyenne, South Pass and Rawlins, Wyoming; Corrinne, Utah; Grand Island, Columbia, Blair and Fremont, Nebraska; and Helena, Montana (the church of the movie "A River Runs Through it").

In 1870, Dyer was assigned to the Divide Circuit. This included the high plains east and south of Denver between Denver and Colorado City. He helped organize the first church between Denver and Colorado City, which was located near the Platte River and Bear Creek. He married Lucinda Rankin on November 7, 1870. This was his third marriage.

In the same year Jackson came to Colorado by stagecoach from Cheyenne and made Denver his headquarters. This was his home for the next eleven years. During these eleven years, undoubtedly the two men knew each other. They had worked the same area in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and now they would cover the same territory in Colorado. Jackson's achievements included establishing the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* publication which he sent to every contributor. In one two-week period, he traveled 500 miles and organized six churches. The Colorado churches he established during this year were in Colorado City, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Idaho Springs, Golden, Georgetown, Greeley, Longmont, and Fort Morgan. In Utah, he established churches in Alta, Mount Pleasant, and Salt Lake City where the preacher had a revolver on the pulpit in case of trouble from the Mormons.

In 1872, Dyer was appointed to the Evans Circuit, preaching in Evans,

Platteville, and Fort Lupton, while Jackson organized churches in Fort Collins, Boulder, Fairplay, and Canon City. The next year, Dyer had added to his circuit Greeley, Valmont, Saint Vrain, Brighton, and other small communities.

During that same year Jackson organized churches in Las Animas and Trinidad. In 1874, he was granted a Doctor of Divinity degree from Hanover College. He also organized the Monument church.

In 1875, Dyer was also assigned the Monument circuit where he lived and organized a church a year after Jackson.

Jackson organized the Del Norte church in Colorado that same year.

In 1876, Dyer was assigned the Fairplay and Alma Circuit. To sum up, in the seven years after being assigned as a Missionary in the west, Jackson had organized sixty-seven congregations and erected thirty-six churches.

In 1877 and 1878, Dyer worked the Fairplay and Alma circuit, with Leadville being the big boom town.

It was in 1877 that Jackson went to Alaska for the first time. In 1878 Jackson returned to Colorado and organized the Leadville church, but his work during this year was mostly outside of Colorado, first in New Mexico where he organized government training schools in Hampton and Carlisle, New Mexico; then he spent some time working in Arizona. He also established his first mission in Wrangell, a town in southeast Alaska, and a Presbyterian mission school at Sitka known as the Sheldon Jackson Institute. During the two years he had been going to Alaska, he raised \$12,000 for work there.

THE LATE YEARS

In the 1880s Dyer continued as a circuit preacher in the mountain districts. In 1880 he had a mining claim in Breckenridge, but gave away half of it so that a church could be built on the claim in Breckenridge. In 1881 he had a claim southeast of Breckenridge called the Warrior's Mark. A small town later developed near it, and was called Dyersville. During 1882 he sold his claim and went to his homestead to farm, six miles northeast of Castle Rock.

He did not care for farming so in 1884 he sold the farm and moved to Denver, living at 2556 Glenarm Street. He was elected Chaplain of the Colorado Senate in 1885, but the Breckenridge church pulpit was vacant, so he returned to Breckenridge at the age of seventy-three and covered the entire circuit for two more years.

Jackson continued his work in Alaska. By 1884 he had six Presbyterian missions in operations, with seven missionaries in the field. Seventeen teachers had been recruited, and the mission-field school system had an enrollment of over 500 students. In 1884 Congress appropriated \$25,000 for a school system to be administered by a general agent for education. Sheldon Jackson was named to this position early in 1885. He would continue in this capacity for the next twenty years. Perhaps the major achievement of Sheldon Jackson's entire career was that he saved the Eskimos from extinction. The Eskimo population was rapidly decreasing due to the white men coming to Alaska with their guns, poaching, hunting, as well as their whiskey and diseases. The Eskimos suffered much of the same things the Native Ameri-

cans did in the United States, only the weather and living conditions were much harsher and natural products for making a living were much scarcer. The long dark winter night also led to terrible living conditions. Drastic measures were needed. In 1891 Jackson went to Siberia, on the cutter U.S. Bear and was finally able to purchase a few live reindeer. The first group was put ashore at Unalaska. Later in the cruellest of weather, a second small group was landed on Amaknak Island. The next year he made five trips to Siberia to purchase 175 animals. This small herd was landed on the mainland, at the Teller Reindeer Station on July 4, 1892. This station was named after US Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado. Between 1891 and 1905, 1,280 animals were brought to Alaska. In time, herds were established all over Alaska with a census of 12,828 animals in 1905. During these years Sheldon made twenty-six trips to Alaska, five trips to Point Barrow and thirty-two trips to Siberia.

His years in Alaska were full of conflict and hardship, due to the weather, ship wrecks, and lack of money. There was strong political opposition to his every attempt at almost anything he wanted to do. Nevertheless, the Presbyterian church continued to support him with some money and manpower. In 1897 he was elected to the highest office the Presbyterian church could give him: The Moderator of the General Assembly. Rev. Sheldon Jackson resigned his post as agent of education in Alaska in 1907 at the age of seventy-four.

The Last Years

In 1887 the Colorado Seminary was established at Denver University.



from UMC website

Dyer United Methodist Church, Breckenridge, CO

In April 1888, Dyer moved to 2525 East Evans Street. This was the first house built in University Park and was near the Seminary. His wife died two months later on June 9, so he went back to Breckenridge to preach. The next two years he was circuit preacher for the Breckenridge and Rifle circuits. In 1890 he wrote his book, *Snow Shoe Itinerant*. During the years from 1891 to 1899 he was retired but continued to do some preaching, and attended the yearly Methodist Conference. Father Dyer preached his last sermon at the Cameron Methodist Church in south Denver in 1900. On July 13, he was selected as one of the sixteen people to be honored in the State of Colorado Hall of Fame in the state capitol. In May of 1901 he became ill in his home on East Evans and died there on June 16, 1901 as the bell in the nearby University Hills Methodist Church was ringing for Sunday evening services. Funeral services were held in the Trinity Methodist Church of

Denver, and burial was in the family plot at Castle Rock, Colorado.

The Jacksons celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary in May 1908. Later in the summer they took a trip during which time Mrs. Jackson became ill and died. In the winter of 1909 Sheldon contracted a cold, and in April was hospitalized in Asheville, North Carolina, where he died on May 2, 1909. He was buried beside his wife in Minaville, New York.

Their Lasting Work

Of the churches Dyer helped organize, only three remain active: those in Lenora, Wisconsin, Breckenridge, Colorado and the First Methodist Church in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His book *Snow Shoe Itinerant* is now in its fourth printing. In 1903 almost \$500 was raised by the Colorado Methodist Conference to build a memorial church to Father Dyer in Sapporo, Japan. So far I am unable to find further information on this project. As previously mentioned, he is honored by a stained glass window in the Hall of Fame in the rotunda of the state capitol building. There are three mountains named for him in Colorado. A street in Breckenridge is named after his claim *Warriors Mark*. There are memorial markers on Mosquito Pass in honor of his many crossings between Fairplay and Leadville. Castle Rock has the Dyer House in its historic tour. The town of Bailey, Colorado was founded by and named for some of his in-laws that followed him to the West. *Time-Life* magazine recognized him as the first authenticated skier in Colorado calling him the founder of the Colorado ski industry.

The Dyer family was a family of tragedy as shown by the several cemetery monuments in Castle Rock Cemetery. One son lost a leg in the Civil War, another son was lost at sea while being transported from the Andersonville Prison. Most bitter of all for Father Dyer, another son was murdered in the Lake County War. He grieved over this for many years, and did not forgive the murderers until he was on his death bed. Two brothers were killed in accidents, and one daughter died in infancy shortly after his first wife died.

Sheldon Jackson and his immediate associates organized almost 900 Presbyterian Churches. Fifty-five of the churches that he organized and built are still in existence in the United States. Of the twenty-two churches he founded in Colorado there are nineteen still remaining. In Alaska there are over 125 ministers, teachers, and workers carrying on his work in thirty-three Presbyterian churches, with a membership of over 5000 people. There is also the Sheldon Jackson Junior College, and the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska. As I said earlier, he is credited with saving the Eskimos from extinction.

Some Lighter Moments in the Pikes Peak Gold Rush by Calvin W. Gower

(Note: Calvin Gower submitted the following manuscript in 1978 for possible publication in the Roundup. It was discovered in the Denver Westerners files several months ago and, almost forty years later, it finally reached its destination.)

Our Author

Born and raised in western Colorado, Calvin Gower graduated from Western State College, the University of South Dakota and, with a Ph. D. in History, from the University of Kansas. He specialized in Western American history and was part of the History Department at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota for thirty-two years. During his career Calvin published numerous articles in professional journals. He died at the age of eighty-seven in January 2014.

One hundred and fifteen years ago, many people rushed to the area of present-day Denver, lured there by tales of rich discoveries. Many of the thousands of gold seekers who swept across the Kansas and Nebraska prairies did not properly prepare for the long journey and suffered severely from adverse weather conditions, a scarcity of water, and a shortage of food. Some of the travelers died and in one party several men felt compelled to resort to cannibalism. In addition, the immigrants found only limited amounts of easily obtained gold in the Cherry Creek region and many of them returned home disappointed and penniless. All of these hardships received a great deal of attention at the time and subsequently, but there were also "lighter moments" in the rush. Some of these were provided by the gold seekers themselves and others were furnished by newspapermen who described the mad rush to the Rocky Mountains and the doleful return to the East.

Concerning the gold hunters, one scoffing newspaper editor wrote, "Pikes Peak is so called because a person named Pike first went there to hunt gold, and by the time he returned home, he looked rather 'peaked.' So will those who go there now."¹

Of course Zebulon Pike and his men were not hunting for gold when they explored the headwaters of the Arkansas River and the surrounding area. Actually one of the first groups which trekked to the mountains of present-day Colorado and searched for gold was the Lawrence Party from

the most extraordinary gold seekers in the Pikes Peak rush, was well described by a fellow traveler in the Lawrence Party. "She is a regular women's righter," this man wrote, "wears the Bloomer, and was quite indignant when informed that she was not allowed to stand guard. She is young, handsome, and intelligent." The "Bloomer" to which the man referred consisted of full-length calico bloomers which Mrs. Holmes wore under a calico dress which reached a little below the knees. She believed in many reforms for women, including dress reform, stressing the need for more comfortable clothing for the feminine group. She found no gold and did not stay in the gold region but she added some color to the rush.²

Another character who journeyed to the mountains in search of gold was the "Wheelbarrow Man," A. O. McGrew. Immigrants to the mining region carried their supplies in various ways—on their own backs, in handcarts, on pack ponies, or in wagons—but McGrew piled provisions, blankets, pick and shovel, and gun and ammunition in a wheelbarrow and set off alone for Cherry Creek.³ McGrew's venture gained a great amount of publicity and was successful, although he apparently did not actually push his wheelbarrow all the way over the six-hundred-mile route. In the town of Denver, McGrew continued to receive attention, as when he accidentally shot himself in the hand. A famous newspaper correspondent, Albert Deane Richardson, wrote of McGrew on this occasion: "He was a good deal 'shot in the neck' at the time, but was not seriously injured by the shot in the



Julia Archibald Holmes
"Bloomer Girl"

Lawrence, Kansas. One of the members of this expedition was Julia Archibald Holmes, a feminist who accompanied her husband into the rugged Country. Mrs. Holmes, who was surely one of



"Wheelbarrow"
Peterson made in O.S.

A.O. McGrew
"Wheelbarrow Man"

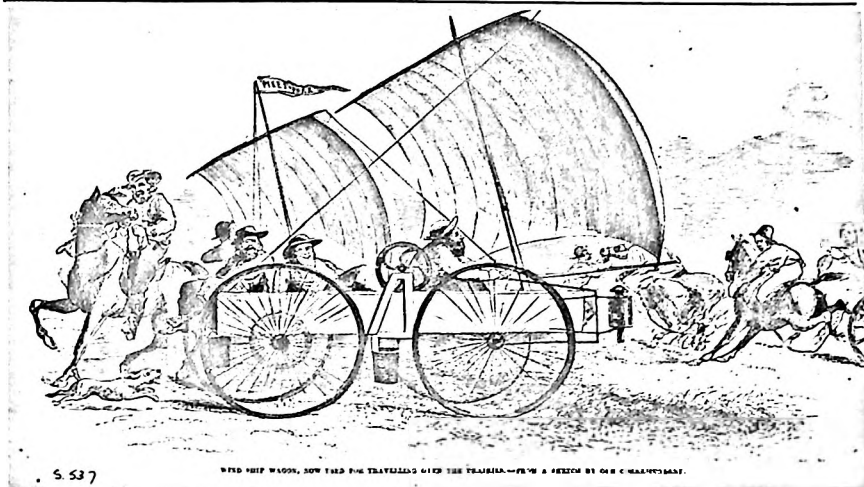
hand. Such men seldom are."⁴

Another one of the gold seekers, Andy Dawson, constructed a "horseless carriage" to take him from Oskaloosa, Kansas, to Denver. His vehicle was propelled forward in two ways. If there was sufficient wind, Dawson raised a sail and the "land ship" moved over the prairies as a sailboat glided over the sea. Should the vehicle become becalmed, two men could sit on the wagon and pedal it forward by means of a treadle. Newspaper men ridiculed Dawson and his machine, but according to a report from the gold fields, the inventor and some friends were successful in making the long trip to Cherry Creek in his "wind wagon" in 1860.⁵ Another group in Oskaloosa, encouraged by Dawson's

success, built a wind wagon and tried it out near the town. The wagon gained too much speed, the axletrees broke, and the riders suffered aches and pains from the accident.⁶

Mrs. Holmes, McGrew, and Dawson provided a humorous touch to the Pikes Peak gold rush, as did the statements of various newspaper writers. For example, one Kansas editor declared that even the fish in the territory were infected with "gold fever. Large companies of catfish and gar are daily seen passing up the Kaw, en-route for the mines."⁷

Quarrels between the newspapers in towns which were competing for the trade provided by the gold seekers added some comedy relief to the rush. Two bitter rivals



The Wind Wagon

were the towns of Kansas City and Leavenworth. On one occasion a Kansas City newspaper charged that some Leavenworth citizens were filling bottles with brass filings and displaying them with the label "Pikes Peak Gold." A Leavenworth newspaperman replied that in carping Kansas City all the bottles were filled with whiskey and the town's citizens hoped this situation would not be altered.⁸

One of the most mournful aspects of the Pikes Peak gold rush was the contrast between the enthusiastic gold hunters who hastened to the mining country and the discouraged and bitter travelers who quickly returned to the East convinced that they had been sent on a wild-goose chase. The circumstances of their returnees were not humorous, but nevertheless others seemed rather amusing to observers who lived in eastern Kansas. One returning immigrant painted the letters P.P.B.D. on his wagon. When he was

asked what they stood for, the man answered. "Pikes Peak be damned." On other returning wagons appeared such signs as "d—m humbug," "sold," "tucked in," and "Gold for sale by the bushel." A newspaper man who had devoted columns to descriptions of outfits for the outgoing gold seekers decided to describe the "infit" of a frustrated prospector who had just arrived back from the mountain country. The "infit" consisted of "1 ragged coat, with collar and tail torn off; 1 pair pants, hanging together by shreds; 1 hat, barrin' the rim; 1 ½ shoes, looking like fried bacon rind; 1 ¼ lb. raw beans; and 1 ½ pine parched corn." Asked if he would return to the Pikes Peak country soon, the man with the "infit" stated, "Not by a jug-full."⁹

Not exactly humorous possibly, but at least "light," were some poems



CROSSING THE PLAINS.

which appeared at the time of the gold rush. One ran:

*Luck varies with men who hunger
for gold, as I'll explain:
Some find the ore in creases,
while others hunt in vein.¹⁰*

Another poem, which had sixteen verses, was called "Hard Times at the Peak" and ended with:

*Now, ladies and gents, to end with my
song,
I hope you'll agree that I've said
nothing wrong,
for at Pikes Peak there is no paying
gold,
and everyone who goes, is beautifully
"sold".
In these hard times, and nothing to do.¹¹*

Finally, there was the line,
*A party leaves here about the last of
next week for Pikes Peak or Cherry
Creek, their fortunes to seek.¹²*

Undoubtedly many of the people who hurried across the plains to Cherry Creek were earnest and serious in their search for gold and found no humor in the discovery that the trip was no "vacation" and the gold supply was limited. However, quite a few of the prospectors must have been similar to William Parsons, a member of the Lawrence Party which journeyed out to the Pikes Peak regions several months before the general rush began. Parsons wrote several years later that he and most of the other members of that party had craved excitement and had gone on the trip primarily to participate in some carefree fortune seeking and without any real hopes of becoming rich. The trip was almost in the nature of a "lark."¹³ Other gold seekers must have felt the same way, as apparently did many newspaper editors who viewed the flood of prospectors. Both of these groups of people helped provide a "lighter side" to the Pikes Peak gold rush.

Endnotes

1. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, March 31, 1859.
2. Agnes Wright Spring (editor). *A Bloomer Girl on Pikes Peak*, 1858 Julia Archibald Homes. Denver Public Library, 1949, pp. 8-9, 16; *Lawrence Republican*, July 15, 1858.
3. *Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce*, October 8, 1858.
4. *Lawrence Republican*, July 19, 1860.
5. *Marysville Platform*, quoted in the *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, April 7, 1860; *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, quoted in the *Topeka State Record*, May 26, 1860.
6. *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, May 12, 1860.
7. *Topeka Tribune*, April 28, 1859.
8. *Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce*, May 26, 1859; *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, June 4, 1859.
9. *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, June 4, 1859; *Westport Border Star*, June 3, 1859.
10. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, April 28, 1860.
11. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, June 9, 1859.
12. *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, October 2, 1858.
13. William B. Parsons, *Pikes Peak Fourteen Years Ago*, *The Kansas Magazine*, I June, 1872, 552-2.



Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Colorado Westerners Historical Activities

The Boulder County Corral program for March was Kay Turnbaugh's "*The Last of the Wild West Cowgirls: A Biography of Goldie Griffith*." Her presentation scheduled for February was cancelled due to snowy weather. The April show was "Ghost Towns of the Far, Far South," by the Corral Deputy Sheriff Ed Bathke. Consider how far south you can go, and there are ghost sites, ghost ships, evidence of exploration, abandoned towns and bases, and remnants of wars. Sites included Argentina, Antarctica, South Georgia Island, and the Falklands. Steve Farrington and Paul Hunter told of "The Fur Trade Era in the Rocky Mountain West, 1806-1843," at the May meeting of the Corral. The early days of the era, the life of a fur trapper, interactions with Native Americans, personalities, the rendezvous, and the final days, were featured, using an extensive exhibition of artifacts and paraphernalia.

In March the Colorado Corral program was "Re-examining Culture, Faith and Identity in the American West, from the Lower Rio Grande of Texas to Southern Colorado" or "How the Spanish Inquisition brought Jewish Life into our own Backyard," by Corrine Joy Brown. Corrine is an author and freelance writer, with three novels on the American West, *MacGregor's Lantern*, *Sanctuary Ranch* and *Hidden Star*. She writes for *Cowboys 'n Indians* and *Colorado Expression* magazines, and is the editor of *HaLipid*, the journal of the Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies.

The history of the 70 Ranch, "70 Miles from Cheyenne, Sterling and Denver, 1870-2015," by Dana Echohawk was the feature of the Colorado Corral April meeting. The exciting history of the ranch, including being a set for the Michener TV mini-series *Centennial*, is detailed in Dana's book with that title. Dana has a BA in Journalism, an MA in history, and currently teaches Multicultural American History at Metropolitan State University in Denver.

John Monnett, "emeritus" Professor at Metropolitan State University, and very active Westerners participant, examined and sorted out the many myths and untruths about the controversial subject, "Was it the Weapon of Choice? Smallpox and its Impact on the Frontier," for the Colorado Corral in May. John is an award-winning author of eight books, and also of numerous journal articles, on the American West.

For March, the Pikes Peak Posse heard Roger Hadix's program, "Our National Pastime in the Centennial State," combining two topics of great interest to the

audience, local history, and baseball. Roger is the sole proprietor of Vintage Sports Productions, and the author of *Baseball in Colorado Springs*, published in 2013.

Joseph Dorris presented “A Historical Journey through 1860s-1870s, Colorado and Idaho,” to the Posse in April. The settlement of the West, the lure of gold, the homesteaders, merchants, scoundrels, conflicts with Indians, the Civil War, were told by Joe, tied by characters from his books. A graduate of the Air Force Academy, and now retired, he paints, writes, and collects gemstones. His gem mining has resulted in the world’s finest specimen of amazonite and smoky quartz, now in the Denver Museum of Nature and Science.

“Forgotten Fortune: the Story of Sam Strong, Cripple Creek’s Notorious Millionaire” was the May presentation to the Pikes Peak Posse. Sam was one of the first millionaires of the Cripple Creek gold boom, and he also found much more—women, union wars, gambling—and his life ended with a shotgun blast in a barroom. But there is more to the story, and it was told by Angel Strong Smits, his great-great niece. Angel is a writer of ten novels, several articles, recently her first non-fiction book, and she loves to tell stories, Sam’s tale being her favorite.

In June the Pikes Peak Posse program was “America’s Mountain – the ‘New’ Pikes Peak Summit Complex,” by Stuart Coppedge. Laying the foundation of human interaction on Pikes Peak, Stuart, as the leading designer for RTA Architect’s new visitor center, described the awesome challenges in construction at an elevation of 14,000 feet.

General William Jackson Palmer, the founder of Colorado Springs, built his mansion in Glen Eyrie, northwest of town. Palmer died in 1909, and its history between then and 1953 when the Navigators purchased the property, was presented by Susan Fletcher, the Director of History and Archives for Glen Eyrie, for the Navigators at the July meeting of the Pikes Peak Possee

Western Heritage Award

Denver Posse Sheriff Steve Friesen was honored by the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City for the best nonfiction book about the West in 2017. He received the Western Heritage Award for his book *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*. Friesen also spoke on the subject under the title “I am not a Savage” at a presentation to the Denver Posse on October 25, 2017.

Westerner Hands across the Range

In June 2017 the Utah Westerners, a busload of 50, joined the Denver Posse at their meeting in Denver, and Utah member Will Bagley provided the program “Mormons, Buffaloes and Indians: Rambles with Great Colorado History” for the inter-posse gathering. Since then two Denver Posse members have returned the favor. On

January 16 Denver Posse Sheriff Steve Friesen spoke to the Utah Westerners at the Alta Club in downtown Salt Lake City. The topic of his talk was "Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary" and was based on his book of the same title. The talk was accompanied by a Power Point presentation of forty-six images from Buffalo Bill's life. Then, on February 20 Denver Posse member Keith Fessenden presented "The Gilsonite Industry of the Uintah Basin in Utah and Colorado, 1860 to the Present." He discussed the mining of the unique hydrocarbon, how it changed over the years, and the innovative and progressive methods of the American Gilsonite Company. Keith also touched up a future presentation, on Samuel Henry Gilson, for whom Gilsonite was named.

Empty Saddles

The Denver Posse of Westerners mourns the loss of four members in recent months and extends sincerest sympathy to all family and friends.

Dorothy Lowe Krieger

Dot Krieger was born in Philadelphia in 1932 and passed away on March 27, 2018. She married Ted Krieger in 1951. Ted had joined the Denver Posse of Westerners in 1972, and was a very active member, starting service as the Chuck Wrangler in 1980, and then as Sheriff in 1995. Dot was the consummate volunteer, and in addition to serving with many groups, she soon became Ted's indispensable assistant in Posse operations. When the Posse finally admitted women to membership in 1992, Dot was one of the first to join the Posse. In 1997 Ted became the tallyman, i. e., treasurer, and when Dot became the Chuck Wrangler in 1999, the two formed a team invaluable in providing smooth operations for the Denver Posse. Except for Dot performing as Sheriff in 2005, this team continued until their retirement in 2014. Ted and Dot's love of history and the Westerners, and their commitment to serving this organization established an unequalled record.

Bruce Eaton Dines

Bruce Dines, born in 1927, passed away on March 11, 2018. An outdoor enthusiast, artist, and banker, he took pride in his Colorado heritage, tracing his lineage back to Colorado's fourth governor, Benjamin Harrison Eaton (1885-1887). Bruce was a member of the Denver Posse, joining in the 1950s, so long ago that membership records to confirm the precise year no longer exist. Certainly, he was the member of longest standing in the Posse. He was an expert on, and a great collector of, the artwork of Charles Partridge Adams. At the January 1976 meeting Bruce presented a paper written by Ann Condon Barbour, "Charles Partridge Adams, Painter of the West," and extensively supplemented by slides of his personal collection of Adams paintings.

Robert Autabee

Robert "Bob" Autabee, journalist and historian, died in Corpus Christi, Texas, March 18, while supporting Hurricane Harvey recovery efforts. Bob earned a bachelor's degree in Communications at Metro State, and a master's degree in history at the University of Northern Colorado. In 2002 Bob met his future wife Kristen at a meeting of the Colorado Corral of Westerners. They became a team in

historical research, writing and preservation, and among their publications are two books on the history of Lakewood, and one on the lost restaurants of Denver. At the August 26, 2015 meeting of the Denver Posse they presented "No Plato like home: Denver's slow burning romance with Mexican cuisine." Sorely missed will be the bright spot he provided with his humor at the Posse meetings.

Mark Frohlich

Mark Frohlich, born in Ponca City, Oklahoma in 1942, came to Denver to obtain degrees in accounting and financing, and then embark on what would be his lifetime passion, a career as a financial advisor. Mark participated in a variety of civic, educational, and recreational activities, and especially was an avid jazz fan. And in Denver he met his wife, Anna Lee Ames Nowell. He supported her in her historical research efforts and attending Posse meetings as health and time permitted. That included Anna Lee's presentation of Posse programs, including "Steam Shovels find their Way West, Otis and Otis – Elevating and Excavating," (May 2014) and the award-winning "The Lonely Pyramid on Sherman Hill" (February 2010).



Westerners Bookshelf



Ernest Haycox and the Western, by Richard W. Etulain. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 184pp. Photos, notes, tables, bibliography, index. Hardcover. \$29.95

Richard Etulain weaves two themes masterfully in *Ernest Haycox and the Western*: following both the man striving for success in a tough career path and the changing publishing trade and popular taste Haycox contended with as he became one of the foremost writers of Westerns.

The book brings to light the differences facing an author crafting fiction for the pulp magazines and serials of the 1920s, and adapting to the popular trade paperbacks and Western movies in the 1940s.

Although frequently critical of his subject, Etulain writes admiringly of the skills Haycox developed with experience, and the tremendous volume of his work. He also treats Haycox' frustration with his attempts at writing an epic historical novel with sympathy and appreciation.

--Corinne Lively

Death on the Lonely Llano Estacado. The Assassination of J.W. Jarrott, a Forgotten Hero, by Bill Neal, forward by Chuck Lanehart. University of North Texas Press, Denton, Texas. 2017. 210 pages, map, photos, Index, Endnotes, Appendix, Bibliography. Hardcover, Dustjacket. \$24.95.

Bill Neal, who worked as both a prosecutor and defense attorney, has brought us a fascinating and complicated tale of murder and mayhem on the high plains of Texas in 1902 near Lubbock. The story involves the murder of a lawyer named J.W. Jarrott, who had organized the settlement of homesteaders on land known as ‘the Strip’, sixty miles long and two-and-one-half to five miles wide, that had mistakenly not been surveyed, and thus became available for settlement under the Texas Four Section law which allowed settlement of 2,560 acres per family.

The tale is compounded by the involvement of a notorious killer, ‘Deacon’ Jim Miller, who started his career by murdering his maternal grandparents when he was just 13, and his brother-in-law a few years later. During his career, he bragged how he had killed 51 people “not counting Mexicans”.

The third part to this fascinating account is the role of the man who financed the killing, a local rancher. Neal skillfully demonstrates how Miller was able to wiggle out of murder after murder by using a company of basically liars to claim that he was somewhere else, or provide false evidence. There is even a wonderful account of a scam perpetrated by Miller and the rancher who funded the killing of Jarrott, on a fellow rancher.

Though these events took place in the early 1900s, they show the face of the Wild West was still present. Murder after murder was committed without the perpetrators being brought successfully to justice, thanks to the skills of the con men involved. Indeed, the North Texas and Oklahoma area may have been a more dangerous place at that time, than much of the West fifty years earlier. Neal’s account skillfully unwinds the details of the killing, plentifully flavored with other killings and scams, to demonstrate not just who killed Jarrott, but how it was accomplished, and who was behind it and why. It is enriched with accounts of other settlers such as Mary Blankenship, whose family settled next to the Jarrotts.

If I had a criticism, it would be that full page maps would help, and an occasional repetition could be cleaned up, but otherwise this is a very-well-written account of the trials and tribulations of life on the Llano Estacado in the early years of the 20th Century. Highly recommended.

--Alan Culpin



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

May - June 2018



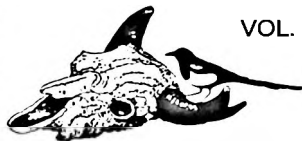
The Denver Post

Ralph Carr being sworn in on Jan. 14, 1941 for his second term as governor

**“By the Code of Humanity”:
Ralph Carr takes a stand for Japanese-American rights in
World War II**
by Stephanie Reitzig

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 3



May - June 2018

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Our Author

Stephanie Reitzig is an incoming senior at Niwot High School in Niwot, CO. The paper published here was her entry in the Senior Paper division of the 2017 Colorado National History Day competition, with the theme "Taking a Stand in History." She qualified for the 2017 national competition, and will be competing in College Park, Maryland, this summer. She has always loved history, and hopes to continue to study it in college.

Outside of history, she enjoys competing on her school's speech and debate team, studying German and French, and playing the harp.

Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421
ruthandrick@q.com

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl.
 Denver, CO 80222
coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

Flora DuPree (303) 587-8588
 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231
florasellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210
jskolo102@aol.com

The *ROUNDUP* (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. *ROUNDUP* layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for *ROUNDUP* to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

"By the Code of Humanity":

Ralph Carr takes a stand for Japanese-American rights in World War II

by Stephanie Reitzig

The world's great melting pot is peopled by the descendants of every nation in the globe. It is not fair for the rest of us to segregate the people from one or two or three nations and to brand them as unpatriotic or disloyal regardless. [...] Let it be understood that such conduct is not approved by the code of humanity.

— Ralph Carr, radio address, February 28, 1942

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, stating that "the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave [areas prescribed by the Secretary of War] shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary [...] may impose." The order caused Japanese Americans on the West Coast to be forcibly relocated to internment camps for much of World War II, stripping thousands of their liberties and livelihoods. Yet as suspicion of anyone with Japanese ancestry swept the United States, one elected official steadfastly refused to be overwhelmed by the growing panic. He was Ralph Carr, the twenty-ninth governor of Colorado and the only US governor to take a stand for Japanese-American rights during World War II. Though this stand would eventually cost Carr his career, it profoundly influenced minority rights in the United States, with a legacy that continues today. His actions not only enabled thousands

of Japanese Americans to avoid the devastating impacts of internment, but also helped to bring internment to an end by bolstering the voices of those who opposed it. Finally, Carr's affirmation of minorities' constitutional freedoms renewed Colorado's commitment to protecting all citizens' rights and left a lasting impact on his state.

Hysteria after Pearl Harbor

Ralph Carr had neither expected, nor wanted, to be governor. Born December 11, 1887, in Rosita, Colorado, he had worked since the age of six to support his family before attending the University of Colorado for his undergraduate and law degrees. He would later attribute his views on racial equality to his upbringing in Rosita, declaring of his stance on Japanese-American internment, "I was brought up in a small town where I knew the shame and dishonor of race hatred. I grew to despise it because it threatened the happiness of you and you and you."

In 1929, President Herbert Hoover selected Carr to be the US attorney for Colorado. While serving in this position, Carr reluctantly launched his 1938 gubernatorial campaign at the behest of Colorado Republicans. Having become a public favorite for his plan to repair the state's tattered finances, Carr won by 49,000 votes in 1938 and was reelected by a margin of 51,000 votes in 1940.

PUEBLO, COLO., FEB. 24--(CNS)--A RANCHER LIVING NEAR A JAP CAMP IN SOUTHERN COLORADO TODAY WANDERED INTO A SPORTING GOODS STORE AND DEMANDED "TWO BOXES OF .30-300."
 "GOING DEER HUNTING?" ASKED THE CLERK.
 "NOPE," THE MOUNTAINEER REPLIED, "JAP HUNTING" -- THAT IS, IF ANY OF 'EM WANDERED TOO FAR FROM CAMP!"
 THE CAMP NEAR THE RANCHER'S HOME IS ONE OF SEVERAL HUNDRED IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION THAT LOCAL CITIZENS BELIEVE WILL BE USED AS CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR JAPANESE.

*Fred D. Fleming to Ralph Carr. Carr Collection.
 Courtesy Colorado State Archives*

This news story was released by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on Feb. 24, 1942. Threats made towards Japanese Americans in Colorado became commonplace as rumors began to spread that internment camps might be located in the state

As governor, much of his work dealt with water rights, which in Colorado's arid climate were vital to the agricultural economy. This work later informed his stance on Japanese internment, as fighting the Arkansas Valley Authority (AVA) in 1938 enabled Carr to fully understand the power of precedent in shaping constitutional interpretations. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), created in 1933 to provide electricity and flood control to the Tennessee Valley, had garnered significant public support, and amid faltering judicial and public approval of the New Deal several years later, federal officials devised the similar AVA, which nationalized control over Western water rights. Carr worked to prevent this measure from passing after discovering that its authors had yet to even visit the region, and were merely using the TVA to rapidly pass the AVA. Fighting the bill gave him crucial insight into the power of precedent, which he would later voice when

warning of the dangerous example set by internment.

Carr was at the midpoint of his second term as governor when the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Congress quickly responded with a declaration of war on December 8. As the country prepared for conflict, shocked Americans panicked at the possibility of saboteurs aiding Japan from inside the United States. One man wrote Carr to describe how Japanese students at the Colorado School of Mines "took pictures and many notes" while visiting a local mine, adding that "the productive capacity of the Axis could be due to the fact the Axis [powers] are applying my Geological [*sic*] data in their mining operations." Politicians' increasing tendency to treat Japanese-American citizens as foreigners only augmented this hysteria, such as when General DeWitt declared that "a Jap's a Jap [...] whether the Jap is a citizen or not." Public sentiment and the popular

press overwhelmingly supported the incarceration of Japanese Americans. On February 18, 1942, for example, one Colorado newspaper editor endorsed Pulitzer Prize winner Westbrook Pegler's view that "the Japanese in California should be under armed guard to the last man and woman right now and to hell with habeas corpus until the danger is over." Government leaders evidently felt the same way: one day later, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066.

The order outraged Carr, who vehemently believed that all American citizens, regardless of race or ethnicity, should be guaranteed their constitutional rights. Such a violation of these freedoms seemed increasingly inevitable, however, with reports emerging that Japanese Americans would soon be relocated to internment camps. As rumors spread of the possibility of such camps in Colorado, Coloradans grew furious at the idea of having "yellow devils" in their state. Many threatened violence towards Japanese Americans, with a report from the Immigration and Naturalization Service describing how one man planned to go "Jap hunting" if internees arrived.

Given this escalating tension, Carr felt it more imperative than ever that he firmly express the state's official stance on Japanese internment. On February 28, 1942, he delivered a radio address to establish Colorado's twofold position on the subject. First, if the federal government determined that Japanese immigrants deemed dangerous to the war effort should be imprisoned in the state, "then we of Colorado are big enough and patriotic enough to do

our duty" without objecting merely because of Coloradans' racial bias. Despite this, Colorado would neither endorse these camps nor offer military support for them. Second and most importantly, Carr differentiated in his radio address between interning supposedly dangerous enemy aliens and imprisoning American citizens in violation of their constitutional rights. He further denounced discrimination against immigrants and their families, reminding listeners, "In Colorado there are thousands of men and women and children [...] who by reason of blood only, are regarded by some people as unfriendly. [...] [Many] are American citizens, with no connection with or feeling of loyalty toward the customs and philosophies of Italy, Japan, or Germany." As he concluded his speech, Carr stressed the ethical cost of violence against such people. Intolerance and discrimination, he declared, are "not approved by the code of humanity."

Affirming Japanese-American Rights

Reactions to Carr's stance came swiftly, as illustrated by the flood of angry letters he received following his address. One Coloradan instructed Carr to "regard this letter as a *vigorous protest against* any of those damned Japs being sent to this state," while another told him that "those yellow rats [...] breed like termites and can be trusted *less*." Many demanded a stance like that of Wyoming's governor, who threatened, "If you bring Japanese into my state, I promise you they will be hanging from every tree." Among Western state leaders, only Carr refused to make similar declarations.

Hon. Governor.
 Denver Colo.

If you are wise you will
 get rid of all those yellow
 rats swarming into Colo.
 You don't realize what you
 are getting into they breed
 like termites & can be
 trusted less. read these
 articles & see what they
 have been here.
 If no other way to dispose
 of them, where are the old
 time vigilantes, take it
 in time

Carr Collection. Courtesy Colorado State Archives

In addition to telling Carr that Japanese American "breed like termites and can be trusted less," this letter writer asks "where are the old time vigilantes?"

Carr also received hundreds of pleas from Japanese Americans seeking to move to Colorado before relocation was implemented. He responded to each with a copy of his message to US military commander Herman Goebel, in which he reaffirmed Japanese Americans' constitutional freedoms and stated that "no Governor has the right to deny to any American citizen

or to any other person living in the country legally the right to enter or to reside in or to cross his state." He reiterated this position in his responses to angry constituents, reminding them, "Do not think that injustice should be visited upon the innocent because of misconduct of individuals." (See Appendix E.) Carr further reinforced this commitment to Japanese-American rights when he halted passage of a 1942 bill eliminating Japanese Americans' citizenship in Colorado.

This affirmation of Japanese-American rights had an enormous

impact. Terrified of being forcibly relocated to internment camps, many Japanese Americans decided to flee the West Coast before internment was officially imposed on March 1, 1942. Because of Carr's open-hearted stance, Colorado became one of their most common destinations. By June 8, 1942, 1,605 people of Japanese descent, 70% of them American citizens, had already

fled to the state.

These refugees narrowly escaped the devastating impacts of internment. Internees suffered irreparable economic losses, as financial opportunists purchased evacuees' possessions at a fraction of their worth. Property left in storage was often stolen or vandalized, and escheatment proceedings (in which the state seized unworked land) were frequently begun against interned farmers, many of whom were paid only around one-tenth of the land's true value. The human costs of internment far exceeded this, however. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston recalled that due to internment, her family "collapsed as an integrated unit. Whatever dignity or feeling of filial strength we may have known before December 1941 was lost." The distrust and lack of freedom that pervaded internment took an enormous psychological toll on internees, many of whom began to work through the emotional harms of

April 1, 1942

copy attached

Mrs. Kathryn Mowe
Miss Mildred E. Mowe
1418 Grape Street
Denver, Colorado

My dear friends:

When the time comes when a person is placed in a concentration camp without charge of misconduct and without a hearing, then the things for which the Constitution stands, will have been surrendered. (Do not think that in justice should be visited upon the innocent because of misconduct of individuals.)

I am telling the people that if they let down the bars on one class of people now, they may let them down as to another class six months from now and there is no telling who will be placed behind walls without charge or hearing, if that time comes. I shall battle it as long as I have a voice to speak.

Very truly yours,

Governor of Colorado

RCC:em

*R. Carr to Kathryn and Mildred Mowe, Apr. 1, 1942
Carr Collection. Courtesy Colorado State Archives*

Carr responded to Kathryn and Mildred Mowe of Denver stating, "I shall battle it as long as I have a voice to speak."

their experiences only several decades after internment ended. Ted Nagata described the impacts of internment on his mother, stating that "the stress of incarceration [...] affected her to the point where she couldn't carry on." By enabling Japanese Americans to avoid internment by fleeing to Colorado before relocation officially took effect, Carr saved thousands of citizens from

suffering these adverse consequences and safeguarded their rights and livelihoods.

Carr's Lasting Legacy

One letter-writer related to Carr how she and her husband "scarcely hear anything but this: 'If Governor Carr lets the Japs in here, well, that's the end of his political career in Colorado.'" Yet let them in he did, and as predicted, the action doomed his political career. In 1942, he ran for the Senate, facing incumbent Ed Johnson. Johnson made Carr's opposition to internment the main issue in the race, painting Carr as an enemy of national unity. Unsurprisingly, Carr lost the race, albeit by a narrow margin.

However, Carr's effect on minority rights continued long after his time in government. This came in part from the powerful publicity he had attracted as an elected official protesting Japanese-American internment. Carr received not only thousands of protest letters, but also many letters of support, with one man declaring that "no Governor of our great state ever spoke to the people with greater patriotism, Americanism, and valor than you." However, the voices of those who stood with Carr were drowned out by those of the majority. Gallup polls from 1942 found that 73% of Americans believed the Japanese to be "treacherous" while 63% believed them to be "sly." By December 1942, only 35% of Americans believed that relocated Japanese Americans should be allowed to return to their homes after the war. Even public figures who had previously supported the Japanese, such as Earl Warren, strongly endorsed internment,

and as a result, people heard few voices advocating for Japanese-American rights.

Carr's stance on this issue, however, made headlines across the country, with his position as an elected official forcing both journalists and politicians to acknowledge internment's constitutional violations. This heightened national consciousness is evident in the propaganda film *A Challenge to Democracy*, produced in 1944 by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), which carried out Japanese-American internment. While an earlier companion film failed to mention constitutional concerns, *A Challenge to Democracy* directly responded to them, claiming that internment was only a temporary step in relocating Japanese-Americans "so there can be no question of the constitutionality of any part of the actions taken by the government to meet the dangers of war [and] no law-abiding American need to fear for his own freedom."

Facilitated in great part by Carr's stance and its resulting publicity, this increased consciousness of Japanese-American internment's constitutional violations led to the choice to terminate it in December 1944. Dillon Myer, the former head of the WRA, recounted that the organization decided to end internment before the war concluded specifically in response to increasing public consciousness of internment's unconstitutionality. Carr's stand for Japanese-American rights and the publicity it garnered thus hastened the decision to end internment, further demonstrating the profound influence that Carr's position had for Japanese



Carr Collection. Courtesy Colorado State Archives

This political cartoon was clipped from the Denver Post and mailed to Carr. The sender penned the word "is" between the headline and the cartoon caption, changing it to read, "Carr is Mr. Softy"

Americans.

Yet Carr's impact on minority rights stretched far beyond these tangible effects. Rather, his stand for Japanese-American rights established Colorado as a diverse state protective of all citizens, regardless of race or ethnicity. A thriving Japanese-American community was established in Denver after the war by many Japanese Americans who had fled the West Coast and were inspired to stay in Colorado by the kindness shown to them by

Carr. Additionally, Carr's emphasis on guaranteeing all citizens their constitutional rights gave Coloradans a firm reminder of the values of equality upon which the United States was founded, as demonstrated when Colorado voters soundly defeated a 1944 measure intended to prohibit Japanese land ownership.

Even today, reminders of Carr's legacy abound in the state. Carr is the only Colorado governor to be memorialized in three places in the state

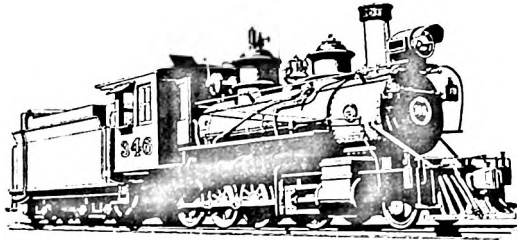
capital, most significantly in the Ralph Carr Judicial Center. Additionally, a bill known as the "Ralph Carr Freedom Defense Act," proposed to the Colorado General Assembly in early 2017, reaffirms Colorado's commitment to protecting all citizens, regardless of race, ethnicity, or religion. By taking a stand for Japanese-American rights, Carr impressed upon Coloradans the importance of defending each citizen's constitutional freedoms, and established Colorado as a state which would protect all citizens' rights, even to the present day.

Living "by the Code of Humanity"

In 1950, Carr was persuaded by Colorado Republicans to run for a third term as governor. Sadly, he died halfway through his campaign on September 23, 1950, from complications from diabetes. In 1976, local Japanese Americans erected a bust of Carr in Denver, accompanied by a plaque affirming that "the precious

democratic ideals he espoused must forever be defended against prejudice and neglect."

This espousal of the constitutional rights of all Americans, regardless of race or ethnicity, had profound implications for minority rights in the United States. In addition to enabling thousands of Japanese Americans to avoid the adverse consequences of internment by welcoming them to Colorado before relocation took effect, Carr bolstered the voices of those opposing Japanese-American internment and thus contributed to the decision to end internment prior to the war's conclusion. Finally, Carr established Colorado as a state committed to protecting all citizens' rights, influencing policy even to the present day. This stand for Japanese-American rights amidst the fear and panic of World War II proved Carr to be a man who not only espoused, but also truly lived by, "the code of humanity."



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Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Pikes Peak Posse Hosts 3rd Annual Rendezvous

In August the Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners hosted its third annual Rendezvous in Colorado Springs, in the Carnegie Library Garden, between the Pike Peaks Library's historic Carnegie Building and the 1928 Knights of Columbus Hall. Posse members enjoyed a live concert, "Cowboy Songs and Stories," by Major Pikes Pete (Keith Franzen). The guest of honor was ninety-five-year-old Rock Ledge Ranch cowgirl Doris Dillie. The Nebraska Governor, General John Thayer, (also known as Denver Posse member Everett Brailley) favored us with a few words. The Pikes Peak Library District, Doris Dillie, and Rhyolite Press displayed their books for sale. The extensive beautifully landscaped garden provided a comfortable outdoor setting for a catered Dickey's BBQ luncheon.

Longtime Posse Member crosses over the Divide

Denver Posse member Steven W. Pahs passed away on March 29. Steve joined the Posse as a Corresponding Member in 1978, and was elected to the Regular Posse in 1983. He served as the posse archivist until retiring as a Reserve Member in 1988, which membership he maintained for the next thirty years. Even though on Reserve, he was able to periodically attend meetings. A native of Colorado, Steve was born in St. Joseph's Hospital in Denver on June 8, 1928. He was a graduate of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, and then entered the US Air Force, where he piloted several planes, including B-47 bombers, and F-80, F-86 and F-100 fighters. Then he flew for United Air Lines for 33 years, piloting every plane in their inventory. The Posse extends its sincere condolences to his wife Mary Jo, son David, and family.





Westerners Bookshelf



In Defense of Professor Goldrick, Colorado's First Schoolteacher and Newspaper Reporter, by Margaret McLean Truly. Summit Trail Booksmith, Vestavia Hills, AL. 2016. 171 pages, photos, endnotes, index, bibliography, paperback. \$14.95.

Anyone with an interest of Denver's first schoolteacher, O.J. Goldrick, really needs to read this book. Author Truly offers an exhaustively researched look into the life of one of Denver's most enigmatic and important pioneers.

Locating many of the descendents of the "Professor" Truly was able to access letters, and most importantly, the diary of Goldrick's brother William. With this documentation she has been able to correct inaccuracies commonly put forth when Goldrick's story has been recounted. Named after his father his first name was Owen, not Oscar. There is also no record of him ever attending Trinity College in Dublin or Columbia University of New York. Apparently his formal education was from his father first, and then from his older brothers.

The claim in the title of this book that the author is defending Goldrick is a little curious: defending him against what? She cites several contemporary newspaper stories that claim the professor was fond of strong spirits. She points out the fact that for many years he ran a successful newspaper and was an accomplished journalist, hardly possible if he was a drunk. I was left wondering if many of the early Irish immigrants were painted with a broad brush when it came to the usage of alcohol?

Although there is still much to learn about the professor, overall this book adds much to the meager information that had been previously available about one of Denver's most eccentric pioneers.

--Ray Thal

America's Best Female Sharpshooter: The Rise and Fall of Lillian Frances Smith, by Julia Bricklin. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 209 pp. Photos, bibliography, index. Hardcover. \$24.95.

Nearly everyone has heard of Annie Oakley. Thanks to Julia Bricklin's *America's Best Female Sharpshooter: The Rise and Fall of Lillian Frances Smith*, readers can now learn about her lesser-known arch-rival. Lillian Smith was everything that Annie was not; she was uncouth, dumpy, and, according to Bricklin, a better shot.

Bricklin's book documents Smith's rise to becoming a headliner with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and then her long career as a sharpshooter. It examines her rivalry with Annie Oakley, and then tells her story until her death in 1930, nearly

four years after her rival. Unlike Oakley, who planned her life carefully, Smith seemed to careen from one wild west show to another. Both Oakley and Smith rose from obscurity to fame but it was a fame that was more fleeting for Smith and eventually she fell back into the shadows. Bricklin's book brushes away those shadows, providing a great deal of new information about Smith. It also reveals a good deal about sharp shooting and wild west exhibitions in late nineteenth and early twentieth century American culture.

Bricklin contends effectively that while Lillian Smith was a better markswoman, the demure and very Victorian Annie Oakley was more palatable to the American public. Smith spoke her mind, swore, and bragged in a most unladylike fashion. Unlike Oakley, who remained married to one man throughout her life, Smith had two husbands as well as several lovers.

But was Lillian Smith uncouth and dumpy, a thought I posed at the beginning of this review, or was she simply a strong-headed woman who refused to be pressed into the Victorian mold, making her own unconventional way through life? Julia Bricklin's well-researched and well-written book goes a long way toward reinforcing this latter view. I think you'll enjoy it.

--Steve Friesen

“That’s What They Used to Say” Reflections on American Indian Oral Traditions by Donald L. Fixico. University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 254 pp. Photos, bibliography, index, hardcover. \$34.95.

This volume is an attempt by the author to provide the reader with “evidence of the spoken word that will convince them that the oral traditions of Indians is just as worthy as, and even more insightful than, written history.” Fixico criticizes the scholars and students who “become caught up in the issues and history of the larger American society to the exclusion of the Indian voice. It is there; it has always been there, but the mainstream frequently chooses to neglect and undermine it or even deny its relevance and significance.”

The first part of this book is the most powerful. Fixico provides great detail about the importance and power of Indian oral traditions and draws a distinction between them and what is called oral history. He notes that, “We recalled and retold stories following breakfast until it was time for lunch. Sitting at the oval dining table, we laughed until we cried, bringing the past back to life.” His personal experiences in an Indian family are markedly different from most white families who did not practice the same sort of rote memory that is fundamental in Indian culture. “Stories are the sine qua non [an essential condition] of Indian life and they transfer knowledge among Native peoples as well as passing oral literacy to the next generation. [They] are intersecting narrative spaces where people consciously share stories that become part of their subconscious.”

Fixico builds on the efforts of some writers who utilize the voice of American Indians in their books. Fixico's sensitivity to the criticism of many historians is clearly the rationale for writing this book. He spotlights some subtle differences

noting, "oral tradition and oral history are two different things, both privilege the spoken word."

The early part of this book details many of the arguments put forth by critics of the Indian's oral tradition, and Fixico's counter arguments. The later part of the book is filled with examples and personal anecdotes from Fixico's life and other stories that portray the importance of the oral tradition in Indian life. One of my favorite observations he made is that his "mother's grandparents did not have a radio. No one played a musical instrument, so conversations and telling stories passed the time until it was time to go to bed."

This is a good book, though I wish it had more research and less anecdotes.

--Roger L. Dudley

WILD PLACE: A History of Priest Lake, Idaho, by Kris Runberg Smith and Tom Weitz. Washington State University Press, Pullman, Washington. 2015, 227 pages, paperback. \$24.95.

This book is a well written and an interesting detailed account about the transformation of Priest Lake from wilderness, to a family favorite and modern tourist destination. Priest Lake is isolated in far north of upper Idaho. It's difficult-to-access location had kept the discovery and development of Priest Lake behind other places which was both good and bad. This account reads like many Western histories in America. There was a sequence of initial discoveries, trappers, miners, loggers, land speculators, and then Forest Service protections with subsequent camping, fishing, and tourism. The harsh climate and isolation of Priest Lake had created the history of rugged natives, and all others who were determined to scratch out a living. The use and development of the area's natural resources were not without controversy, this makes for an interesting read, both personally and politically.

Wild Place was written by two locals who both have had years of personal experience. Ms. Runberg Smith's family located here back in 1897. Mr. Weitz, whose family has vacationed here since the 1950s, is now the president of the Priest Lake Historical Association. *Wild Place* is written with an embedded love for Priest Lake and its influence on their lives. I felt that the authors personally knew the people involved and the events that happened at Priest Lake. There is a lot of great pictures appropriately placed to accompany the testimony of history. This book is a shiny covered, 8.5 x 11 manuscript in paperback that will surely be a tabletop gem for all who know the area. The amount of research and the detailed documentation in this writing is impressive throughout the chronological sequence of the history of this beautiful and remote part of Idaho.

--Frank Pilkington



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

July - August 2018



G&E offices at 405 17th St. Sign on top is written in gas, "What is a home without a gas range!" "Denver Gas & Electric Company" sign over the door is electric. c. 1905

**Public Service Company of Colorado:
An Illustrated History, Part One 1869-1943**

by Roger Dudley
(Presented March 28, 2018)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 4



July - August 2018

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Our Author

Roger Dudley is a Denver native who went through the Denver Public Schools attending Barnum Elementary, Rishel Junior High, and West High School. He attended Mesa College when it was a junior college, took a year off to be a VISTA volunteer before finishing his undergraduate work at the University of Northern Colorado. He worked for Public Service Company of Colorado for 23 years doing video production and supporting all types of executive communication. After experiencing forced early retirement, he went back to school and earned a Masters degree in library science from Emporia State University and has worked in the Western History and Genealogy Department of the Denver Public Library since 2006. He has spent over 14 years processing the photographic collection of Public Service Company which consists of over 250,000 images and formed the basis of his presentation on which this article is based.

Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421
 ruthandnck@q.com

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl
 Denver, CO 80222
 coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

Flora DuPree (303) 587-8588
 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231
 florasellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210
 jsokolo102@aol.com

The *ROUNDUP* (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. *ROUNDUP* layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for *ROUNDUP* to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

Public Service Company of Colorado: An Illustrated History, Part One 1869-1943

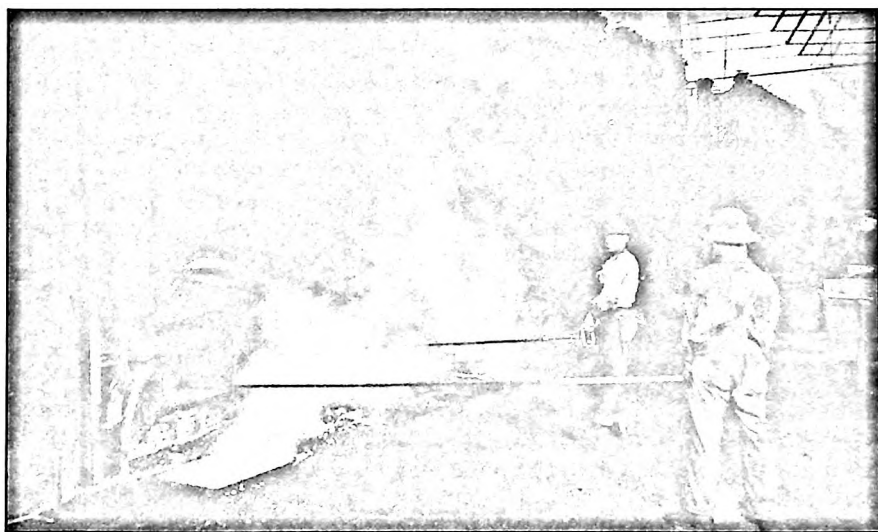
by Roger Dudley
(Presented March 28, 2018)

People came to what became Denver in the middle of the nineteenth century because there was evidence of minerals that could make them wealthy. Regardless of the reasons people first come to a place, sustaining a settlement requires making creature comforts both available and affordable. These are first centered on shelter and food, but as time goes on the needs become more expansive and utilitarian. Though not really essential, gas and electricity have made our nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century metropolises possible. This is the story of how the companies that have provided these utilities have evolved in the Centennial State, and especially in the Mile High City of Denver, Colorado.

Denver Gas Company

When the 1862 route of the transcontinental railroad bypassed Denver it created a sense of desperation. Proposals to connect to Cheyenne or Kansas City were floated, and each required significant amounts of money. An isolated location like Denver would require a railroad to survive.

When James Archer arrived in Denver in 1867 as a director of the Kansas Pacific Railway, he saw enough potential that he would invest his own money and time in developing what was at the time a small settlement. On November 12, 1869, Archer met with a group of Denver businessmen that included: *Rocky Mountain News* owner W.N. Byers; merchant rancher and



Retorts workers at Denver Gas Company gas works c. 1885

banker Louis Bartels; druggist Walter Scott Cheesman; doctor and future governor John Evans; banker David Moffat; merchant Lewis Tappan; and freighter D. Tom Smith. They formed the Denver Gas Company and on November 13, 1869 the Denver City Council granted them permission to use the streets of Denver to lay pipe to provide gas illumination for the streets of a town that was just over a decade old and had just 4,759 inhabitants.

This was not the first gas company formed in Denver, but it was the one that actually put pipe into the ground, built a retort to manufacture gas by cooking coal, and erected lampposts with gaslights on the top of them to light the streets of Denver. Railroads made the difference between this company and the previous ones. Just the promise of the ability to bring the necessary materials to Denver more cheaply and efficiently, and with much less risk than shipping them by wagon, had changed the equation.

Immediately after the Denver City Council gave them the go ahead with a 50-year contract to commence on January 1, 1870, the Denver Gas Company began to seek subscribers by advertising in Denver newspapers. Ads brought them their first one hundred customers along what are now known as 15th, 16th, Blake, Market, and Larimer streets.

Archer purchased a site for the gas works from D.C. Hoyt for \$2,000 at the corner of I and Wewatta streets. He also placed an order for 19,110 pounds of gas pipe on August 27, 1870 delivered to Denver at a cost of \$332.90. Construction of gas lines began immediately and Denver Gas Company

had two miles of gas mains in place by September 20, 1870, and a year later there were over eight miles of gas pipe below the streets of Denver.

There were less than 5,000 people in Denver in 1870. About one hundred Denver homeowners signed up for gas light service that would be generated by burning coal mined in Colorado and Wyoming.

Less than two months after beginning to lay pipe, the Denver Gas Company was given a five-year contract for lighting Denver's streets – each light would add \$55 a year to the company coffers. Orders from Denver's City Council created at an ever-growing number of locations. By 1873, the Denver Gas Company had installed 10,000 gas burners and there was a demand for more. In order to keep pace with the demand, the company added to the capacity of its plant. Denver Gas had 9.5 miles of mains and 233 lamps illuminating the streets by 1877.

Storing gas was an integral part of the company business because there was a limit to the capability to manufacture gas. The first gas holder was built adjacent to the retort house and was used until 1963. The addition of more street lights and homes with gas lighting challenged the Denver Gas Company to provide enough gas, so a second gas retort was built at 18th and Wewatta.

Denver City Steam Heat Company

John W. Smith built Denver's first modern hotel, The American House, at 16th & Blake Streets that opened in 1868. Smith had a problem. His hotel was so popular he didn't want to waste valuable space with boilers to



James Archer, c. 1870 from
Representative Men of Colorado, 1902

provide heat in the rooms, so he decided to build a steam heat capability off site. He organized the Denver Steam Heating Company on December 12, 1879.

Smith was elected president of the new company. Its purpose was to "sell and supply steam for the heating of stores, dwelling houses, and all buildings in the city of Denver."

Smith found a location at 19th and New Haven near the railroad tracks, and adjacent to the gas works. By the first week of April in 1880, progress was reported toward laying pipe in May. Before the 1880 heating season arrived, the chief main was completed up 18th Street to Blake and to the American House on September 2. The pipes were encased in hollow logs and nearly a hundred houses had "applied for connection and radiators." By the first day of 1881, seven engines with a total of forty horsepower were in

operation providing steam heat through 10,829 feet of pipe. The system was activated in mid-November.

The success of Smith's effort was proven by the demand from other businesses for steam heat service. After three years in operation the Denver City Steam Heating Company had 15 boilers with over 15,000 feet of main and two miles of service pipe. The total value of the plant was placed at \$150,333.64 in May 1885.

Colorado Electric Company

Soon after the Denver City Steam Company was established the world of electric lights came to Denver and Colorado. First among the flood of companies was Colorado Edison Electric Light Company which was established, in March 1880, to supply the people of Denver with electric lighting. This company approached Denver City Council about getting the rights to use the city thoroughfares. They set up an exhibition in the center of downtown at 390 Curtis Street where a curious crowd gathered on April 21, 1880 and marveled as light was created at the end of a wire. The site was later renumbered to 1552 Curtis Street where it became part of the first floor of Joslin's Dry Goods store when it was built in 1887.

Just short of a year after the Edison Company demonstration of electricity a rival group formed the Colorado Electric Company on February 21, 1881. Eight men were the principals of the company: William G. Fisher of Daniels and Fisher fame; Walter Cheesman the druggist that had helped found the Denver Gas Company; Frederick Vaille who would create the first telephone exchange in Denver; James Duff

of the Windsor Hotel; investor Edward W. Rollins; H.A. W. Tabor's son, Nathaniel; Thomas G. Johnston; and Charles C. Ruthrauff.

On April 23, 1881, Colorado Electric Company placed an order for a steam engine from the Wright Steam Engine Works in Newburgh, NY. This unit, with a seventeen-foot-diameter fly wheel and a 48" stroke, became known as "Old Sally." Since there was no one in Denver with electric expertise or experience, the Wright company sent William J. Barker to set up and operate the first electric generating station west of the Mississippi River. Denver's first electric plant was built at 21st and Wewatta and was known as the East Side Station.

Between 1881 and 1885, the Colorado Electric Company built eight iron towers ranging from 150 to 200 feet in height with six 3,000 candlepower arc lights on each one. These were called "Lighthouses of the Plains" and were located outside of the downtown district that was exclusive to the gas company. Arc lamps produced an intense, bright light that was ideal for illuminating streets and outdoor spaces and provided an enormous amount of light compared to gas street lights.

When indoor lighting became practical Daniels and Fisher became the first store in Denver with electric lights. One would expect nothing less from one of the founders of the Colorado Electric Company. William J. Barker remained in Colorado after getting "Old Sally" operational. He became the chief engineer of the electrical system and eventually the superintendent.

Despite the brighter light provided by electricity the contract



1881 receipt for first generator West of the Mississippi River, known as "Old Sally"

for lighting Denver's streets was still held by the Denver Gas Company. When that contract expired in 1885, the Colorado Electric Company received the nod and replaced each gas light with a 20-candlepower Edison incandescent lamp. The prospect of making a fortune in the electric business inspired other companies to enter the field and compete with the Colorado Electric Company. This intense competition meant that profits were almost impossible because of the cut-rate pricing needed to win customers.

The Panic of 1893 had nothing to do with generating electricity or producing gas, but it had a greater impact on the state than anything since the Rush to the Rockies thirty-five years earlier. Silver was the foundation of Colorado's wealth once the easy gold had been mined. When the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act was repealed, the bottom fell out of Colorado's economy. The economic turmoil was not confined to the Centennial state. Over 15,000 companies and 500 banks failed in the worst depression in U.S. history to that point.

Consolidation

As the depression worsened, talk turned from competition to consolidation. Electric companies only a few years old were in the position of cutting prices instead of increasing profits. In 1889 the Denver Light Heat and Power Company and Colorado Electric Company merged as the Denver Consolidated Electric Company. By 1895, Denver Consolidated Electric Company was the dominant electric provider after receiving the Denver street lighting contract on April 17, 1894. The following year the Western Electric Construction Company was added to the consolidated electric company.

Consolidation was also trending among the gas companies in Denver. On October 29, 1891, The United Gas Improvement Association (1883), The People's Gas Light Company (1886), and The Denver Gas Company (1869) joined to create the Denver Consolidated Gas Company.

As this decade of consolidation was coming to an end, Henry L. Doherty, a 28-year-old employee of Emerson McMillin and Company, a banking company in New York, arrived in Denver to "inspect the gas plant." Doherty had spent half his life in the gas business and had also been instructed to quietly begin to negotiate with the consolidated companies for the purpose of creating a consolidated company that could provide both gas and electricity.

Henry Doherty managed to gain the required approval of both companies, the Denver City Council, and the state legislature. The Denver Gas & Electric Company (DG&E) incorporated April 26, 1899, and became headquartered in offices in the Aspen



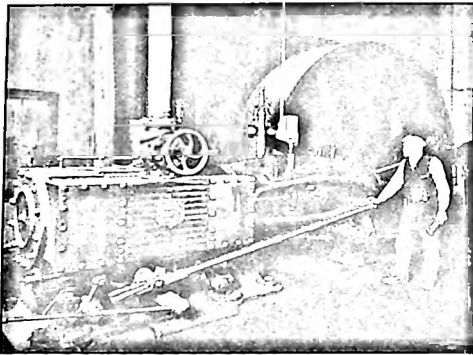
Henry Doherty from *Progressive Era*, 1908

Building at 405 17th Street, across from the Brown Palace Hotel.

Henry L. Doherty

When Henry Doherty arrived in Denver in 1898, he brought with him years of experience in the gas business. Not just a manager, he was also a leader and innovator. During his long career there were more than 150 patents credited to him on the combustion process and apparatus. He made a large impact by convincing the directors of Denver's gas and electric enterprises that they could cut their losses by consolidating. Management of the new company was out of New York by a thirteen-member board of directors from Emerson McMillan Company. In June 1899 they lowered the rates for DG&E customers.

In 1905, with the success Doherty had in Colorado, he founded Henry L. Doherty and Company, based in New York, to manage utility compa-



'Old Sally' with Mr. Kløver in West Station

nies around the country. The fundamental tenants Doherty established for the utilities his holding company controlled were: extensive training of employees, ever increasing sales, public relations with an emphasis on being good citizens in the communities they served, and recruitment of young people. An unstated purpose was to preclude municipal ownership of utility companies.

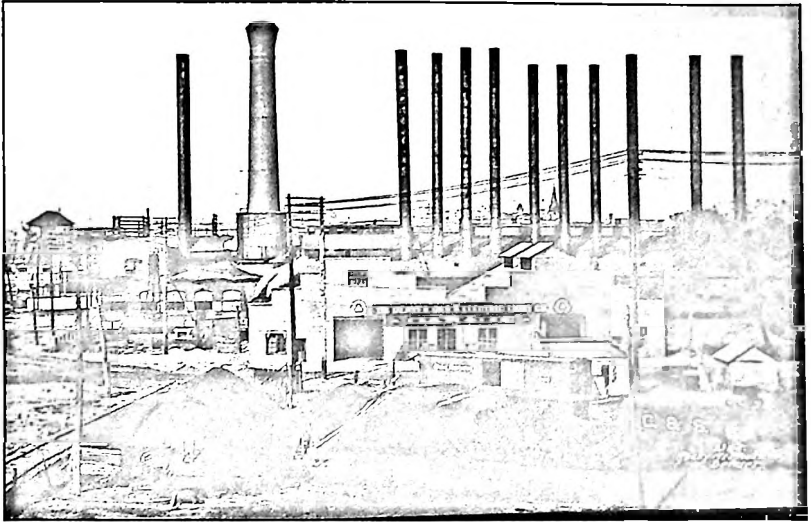
Competition After Consolidation

It's hard to overstate the impact that Doherty had on the management, growth, and reputation of what became the Public Service Company of Colorado. No sooner had the ink dried on the consolidation papers creating DG&E than the City of Denver began to entertain proposals to provide competing electric service. Four companies made presentations to the city council by the end of January 1900, and the proposal by Charles Lacombe was selected by the end of March. This set off a reckless series of price cuts that put both companies in untenable positions. DG&E was surprised by the city council's decision and immediately spent nearly

half a million dollars to upgrade its outdated electrical system. The price cutting by Lacombe Electric Company and DG&E soon meant neither company was making money. DG&E had deeper pockets and the shareholders of Emerson McMillon Company set about to purchase shares of Lacombe stock from its shareholders. It wasn't long before the ownership of the company was no longer in the hands of Charles Lacombe or the others who had helped start the company a year earlier.

The stress caused Lacombe to try to take his own life in July 1902. The attempt failed, but the handwriting was on the wall. Irving Hale, who at the time was in charge of General Electric Company's business in the Rocky Mountain district, was named general manager of the company. DG&E took over the newly constructed power plant at 13th and Zuni, referred to as Lacombe Station for half a century.

After lowering the rates for electricity for two years, DG&E needed a way to reverse course and begin to make a profit again. The method that was devised sounds like the plot of a movie that strains credulity. One of the DG&E directors, Dennis Sullivan, also a prominent banker and businessman, obtained a \$15,000 promissory note for payment by DG&E. When he presented the note the company could not come up with the money. Sullivan filed a suit in District Court – not in Denver, but in Canon City – obviously because of a favorable judge, Morton S. Bailey. It was clearly a calculated charade that resulted in the company being placed into receivership, on May 2, 1902. With the ongoing depression, many companies



Gas works and garage of Denver Gas and Electric Light Company after 1911

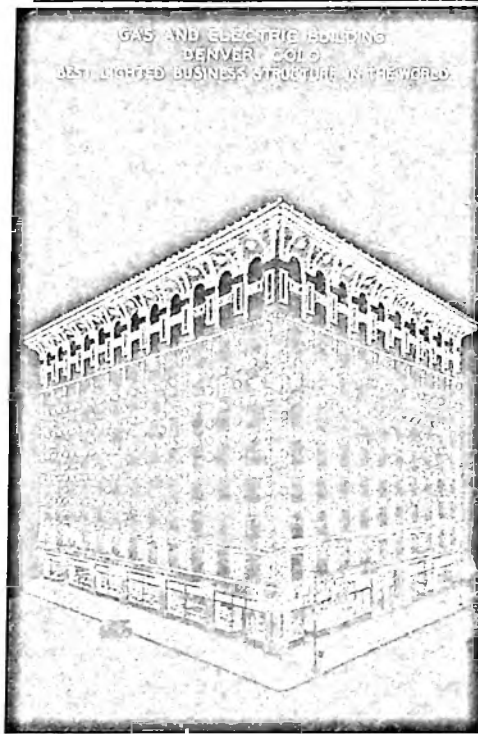
were in difficult financial conditions. The startling decision made by the judge was to place the company in the hands of a receiver who had been the acting president of the company since October 18, 1900, Henry L. Doherty. The Denver Chamber of Commerce didn't like it. Receivership is supposed to place disputed property under the dominion of an "indifferent person." Determining that the president of the company fills that description is a bit of a stretch, but the decision stood, and business continued with the same staff, almost as if nothing had happened. The one difference was that previous rate cuts were nullified and DG&E started generating income again.

1906 Franchise Election

While the utility company was adjusting to its new state of consolidation, a new entity, the City and County of Denver, was created by the Colorado

General Assembly, on November 15, 1902. The 1904 mayoral election between John Springer and Robert Speer is generally recognized as one of the shadiest in the history of Denver. Speer emerged victorious, but there were hundreds, if not thousands, of fraudulent ballots cast. This set the stage for the 1906 franchise election. By a very close vote, on May 15, 1906, Denver approved the 20-year franchise of the Denver Gas and Electric Company.

Almost immediately cries of vote fraud erupted based on allegations that some 700 DG&E employees were given receipts showing ownership of small parcels of land, thus making them eligible voters. By August, executives of DG&E found themselves in the courtroom of Judge Ben Lindsey. When Henry Doherty was called to testify, he refused to answer questions claiming that the court lacked jurisdiction in the case. He was held in contempt of court



Gas & Electric building postcard, 1911
 "The Best Lighted Business Structure in the World"

as were three others: J. Fred Williams, former Republican Central Committee chair; George N. Ordway, president of the Election Commission; and L. Cook, Jr. a real estate practitioner. They spent three days and two nights in the Denver City jail before a writ of habeas corpus was issued by state Supreme Court Judge Peter Palmer. Judge Ben Lindsey felt very strongly about the unfortunate interconnectedness between the utilities, politicians, and newspapers. Lindsey referred to them as *The Beast*. He wrote several magazine articles that were compiled and edited by Harvey J. O'Higgins and published as a book

titled *The Beast*, in 1910.

There was also a contemporary report on the Denver election in *The Arena*, one of the muckraking journals of the day. The article was titled, "The Latest Illustration of Colossal Frauds and Criminality on The Part of Private Corporations Seeking Public Franchises." *The Arena* called it "as flagrant an exhibition of highhanded corruption and fraud as probably was ever practiced in an American municipality." The article quoted items from the *Rocky Mountain News* and also noted that, "Even in spite of the colossal frauds and the collusion of the machine Democratic city government with the Republican machine acting for their real masters, the franchise grabbers on the face of the fraudulent returns were only victorious by small margins. Without these gigantic frauds and thefts such results would have been absolutely impossible." Ballots were examined in Lindsey's courtroom and totals compared, but the election results stood and both the Denver Gas & Electric Company and the Denver Tramway Company received 20-year franchises.

The new Denver Gas and Electric Company was crushed for space in the Aspen Building on 17th Street across from the Brown Palace Hotel. Anticipating the situation, Henry Doherty had begun planning to construct a new building big enough to house the consolidated gas and electric operations, with space to lease to other businesses. The plan for a "new gas building" was reported in *The Denver Post* to house the growing utility empire on May 23, 1909. Construction of the Harry W.J. Edbrooke-designed "blaze of

lights” began later that year at 15th and Champa. The building was completed a year later, and Mayor Speer pushed the button to light the 13,000 lights on the exterior at 8 pm, November 10, 1910, with perhaps 75,000 Denverites in attendance. Denver became known as the “City of Lights.”

Denver Gas and Electric Light Company

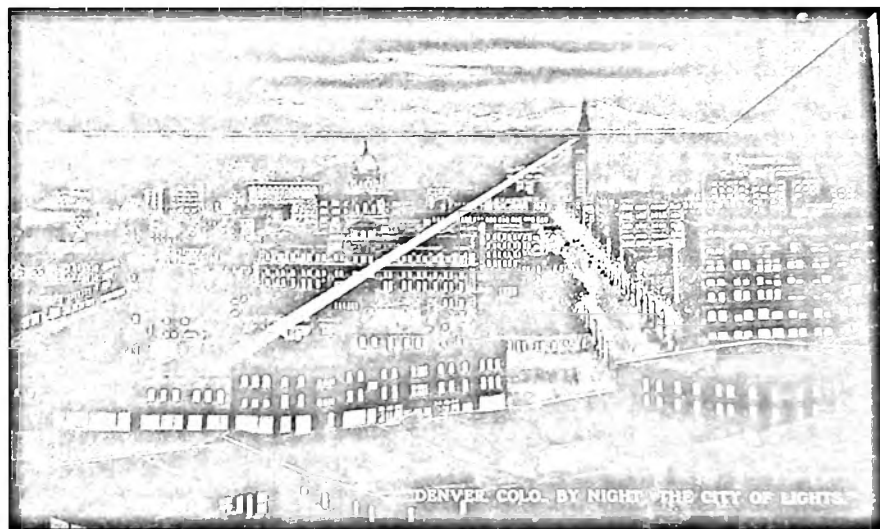
Articles of incorporation for the Denver Gas and Electric Light Company (DG&EL) were filed on November 29, 1909, authorizing a capital of ten million dollars, or three times that of the predecessor Denver Gas and Electric Company. Less than a year later, Doherty formed Cities Service Company, on September 2, 1910, with DG&EL as its foundation. Cities Service was conceived as a holding company for city utilities across the country. A holding company merely owns common stock and other securities to control the

policies of the operating companies in its system. Cities Service operated out of New York City. Over the next couple of decades Doherty’s brainchild came to control some 225 utility properties in twenty-six states.

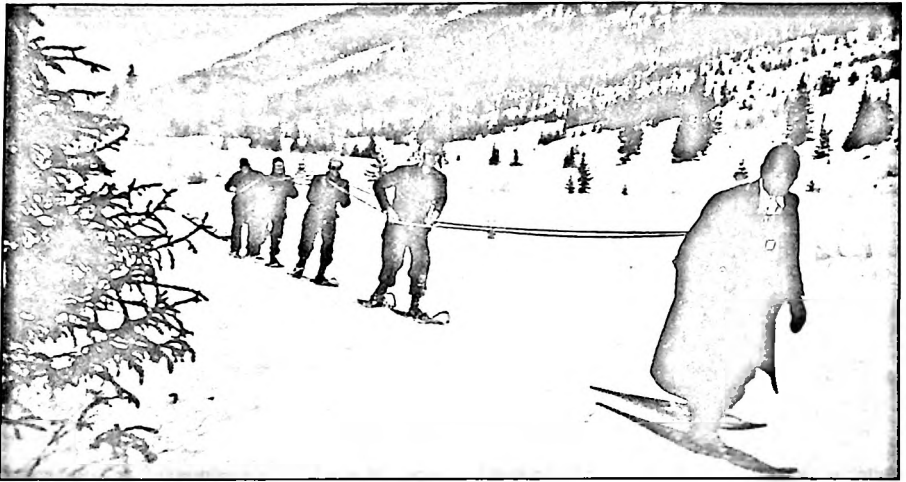
The officers of DG&EL included Doherty as president, Frank Frueauff as vice president, Clare Stannard as secretary, and William Barker, of Old Sally fame, as general manager. In 1911, DG&EL served not just Denver but also Arvada, Aurora, Edgewater, Golden, Englewood, Fort Logan, Littleton, Petersburg and Sheridan with a combined population of over 200,000 people. This same year they acquired the Denver City Steam Heating Company adding another source of revenue to the operation being managed by the newly formed Cities Service Company.

Building Load

Henry Doherty took great pride in the selling of new appliances and



City of Light postcard c. 1912



In these photos a crew on snowshoes pulls a replacement pole and installs it on the Shoshone transmission line near Argentine Pass.



the recruitment and training of people who could sell them. When he arrived in Denver, Doherty started looking for young men such as Roy Munroe, who as a student at Manual Training School became acquainted with the Doherty approach. Munroe started with the Denver Gas & Electric Company on August 22, 1900, and learned techniques he applied for over a half century. One of the

vehicles Doherty employed to keep his many companies informed and in synch was *Doherty News*. This allowed him to share knowledge, techniques and give employees publicity when they accomplished sales goals or came up with new methods that succeeded in building the economic health of the various Cities Service companies. Just in Colorado, there were companies serving thir-

teen communities most of them in the northern part of the state and another in Cheyenne.

Another innovation Doherty used to build a sense of camaraderie was the Doherty Men's Fraternity. Most decidedly the utility business was a man's world until very late in the 20th century. Picnics, ball games, smokers, and sales contests were all part of the approach that was used to make people all across the country feel they were part of something big and growing. Another publication that brought utility workers together was *Who's Who in the Doherty Organization*. Biographical sketches included educational information about thousands of individuals, along with awards received, courses taken and jobs that they held, and their role in franchise elections.

DG&EL was so successful in building load that they had trouble meeting the electric demand after the end of World War I. They were buying hydroelectric power from other companies and were worried about future supply. The situation prompted Doherty to begin to formulate a plan to form a new utility company in Colorado. Cities Service filed the papers to incorporate Public Service Company of Colorado (1) on August 2, 1923. Just two months later, on October 3, 1923, papers were filed to incorporate a second version of the company, Public Service Company of Colorado (2), which brought together Denver Gas and Electric Light Company, Western Light and Power Company and Lakeside Construction Company. In 1923, Western Light and Power served the coal mines of northern Colorado and the towns of Berthoud, Boulder, Brighton, Fort Collins, Fort Lupton,

Greeley, Lafayette, Longmont, Loveland, and Cheyenne, Wyoming.

A site for the plant was chosen 25 miles north of Denver near the confluence of the Middle Boulder and South Boulder creeks where water for the lake could be provided through small canals. A 2,000-acre-foot reservoir was constructed to hold water that would be continually recirculated. Valmont plant was designed to utilize northern Colorado's lignite coal which was softer and of lower heat content than the coal found in the East. The grade of fuel was known as slack which was a relatively fine and dusty byproduct of the mining of domestic lump coal. Because of its moderate ash content, it had to be treated carefully; unless sprayed periodically, the dust could explode spontaneously.

On September 3, 1924, Doherty merged the Public Service Company of Colorado with the Colorado Power Company, which had been founded as Central Colorado Power in 1906, and built Shoshone Hydro in Glenwood Canyon and Boulder Hydro above Boulder. This was known as Public Service Company of Colorado (3) (PSCo) and became the largest utility company in Colorado for the rest of the twentieth-century.

Valmont steam plant produced electricity for the first time in November 1924. It was the largest plant west of the Missouri Valley to use pulverized coal as fuel, and the largest steam plant in the country to utilize an artificial body of water for condensing. Shortly after Valmont went into operation with four turbines and a capacity of 117,000 kilowatts, PSCo announced it would spend two million dollars to double the



Mercury vapor lights in Denver on 17th St., 1946

size of the new plant and to construct several dams to enlarge the reservoir. PSCo announced plans to enlarge the plant again in 1928.

"Old Sally" was retired, in 1926, when new power became available from Valmont Station. As a monument to its past the 17-foot diameter fly wheel assembly was placed on the grounds of Valmont with a plaque noting it was the main unit of the first electric generating station west of the Mississippi River in 1881.

Public Service Company of Colorado

The first gas well in Colorado blew in on November 11, 1923 and was called the Armistice Well. It was located ten miles north of Fort Collins in Wellington Field where a second well blew in that July and ignited flames that were reportedly visible from Denver. Major discoveries in the northern part of the state led Cities Service to create

the Colorado-Wyoming Gas Company incorporated December 1, 1925. It was developed to transport gas from the Wellington field to Denver with a second line completed July 7, 1926, to serve Cheyenne. Early in 1926, while negotiations for the franchise election in Denver was taking place, Henry Doherty arranged to have a pipeline built from the Texas panhandle to Denver. In 1925, developments in electrical welding and the use of high-carbon steel led to the design of a seamless pipe which made long-distance gas transmission possible.

Natural gas energy content was approximately twice as great per cubic foot than the manufactured gas and, therefore, excellent for cooking and heating. It was clean, contained no carbon monoxide, and required no storage. A subsidiary called Colorado Interstate Gas Company (CIG) began building a pipeline from the gas fields in the Texas panhandle toward Denver.

The pipeline into Denver was completed June 21, 1928, covering 340.7 miles with a branch line serving Pueblo. CIG had previously contracted to supply natural gas to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's steel mills in Pueblo. The excess gas went to Denver in an extended pipeline, and CIG also sought to develop markets in towns along the route of the pipeline.

The long-awaited switchover day in Denver came on June 23, 1928. Flames shot ten to fifteen feet into the nighttime sky as the last manufactured gas was burned off in three north Denver locations.

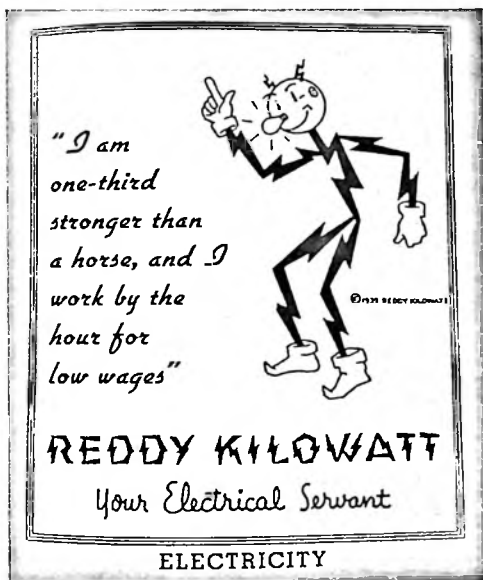
In the 1930s, as the Depression was taking a grip on the country and world, Henry Doherty was making major decisions for PSCo from his offices in New York. In Denver, Guy Faller, vice president and general manager, oversaw the day-to-day business for much of the decade. Both Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad were in receivership in the mid-thirties, which caused both companies to release workers, reduce orders, and therefore reduce revenue for the utility company.

The outstanding stock of Colo-Wy-Co was purchased by PSCo on September 1, 1931, and it became a wholly owned subsidiary.

While the gas side of the company was changing, there were continuous improvements in the electric operations, as well. Street lights had always been the most visible attribute of the company in the community. Brighter light was always sought. In 1937, mercury vapor lights were introduced in Denver. They were first installed on Park Avenue between Colfax and 20th Avenue. By May of 1946, thirty-three percent of all mercury vapor street lights in the U.S. were in Denver.

As the Depression deepened, there were calls to rein in the holding companies that had become so common and controlled so much of the American economy. Cities Service was designed

to concentrate on public utilities, such as natural gas, electric, and transportation companies, but quickly became involved in the burgeoning petroleum and natural gas industry. By the mid-1930s, Cities Service Company controlled PSCo & over 200 electric and oil properties in thirty-three states. By 1932,



Introduction of Reddy Kilowatt to the employees of the Public Service Company in December 1940

the eight largest utility holding companies were in control of seventy-three percent of the investor-owned electric industry. This set the stage for Congress to enact the Public Utility Holding Company Act (PUHCA), in 1935. It required utility holding companies, such as Cities Service Company, to divest of all but one integrated utility. A holding company was defined as owning ten percent or more of the voting securities of a utility company.

PSCo and Cities Service Company were among a host of companies that challenged the constitutionality of PUHCA. It took eleven years before the U.S. Supreme Court confirmed it as constitutional. But even before that decision was handed down the Securities and Exchange Commission ordered a Cities Service subsidiary to sell all of PSCo's stock on November 29, 1943. Some 8,300 members of the public purchased the stock, making PSCo a locally owned and operated company with 12,500 shareholders.

PSCo supplied 80% of Colorado's gas and electricity. The City of Denver was the company's biggest market, although PSCo also provided electricity to 138 other communities, including Alamosa, Aurora, Boulder, Brighton, Grand Junction, Idaho Springs, Leadville, Salida, Sterling, and smaller towns. In addition, the company sold electricity wholesale to 109 communities for distribution by other utilities. PSCo, buying wholesale gas from Colorado Interstate Gas Company, supplied many of these same cities with natural gas. Through its subsidiary, Colorado-Wyoming Gas Company, it supplied gas to Cheyenne Light, Fuel and Power Company (also owned by

PSCo) for service to Wyoming's capital city.

Henry Doherty suffered from arthritis most of his adult life nearly dying in 1927. A year later he secretly married his widowed nurse, Mrs. Grace Eames. He continued to suffer from the disease and succumbed to it in 1939 at the age of 69.

Endnotes

¹ Ellen Kingman Fisher, *One Hundred Years of Energy*, p. 28

² Ellen Kingman Fisher, *One Hundred Years of Energy*, p. 28

³ 1870 U.S. Census

⁴ *Rocky Mountain News*, MN 13 July 1870, p. 4

⁵ Invoice in Public Service Company Records, WH1367, Box 17, FF 14, Denver Public Library

⁶ Fisher, p. 29

⁷ Not sure of this source

⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, November 19, 1873 p. 3

⁹ *History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to its Relations with Public Service Corporations*, doctoral thesis of Clyden Lyndon King, 1911, p. 153

¹⁰ Smiley, Jerome C., *History of Denver*, p. 954

¹¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, December 16, 1879, p. 8

¹² *Rocky Mountain News*, December 16, 1879, p. 8

¹³ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 3, 1880, p. 1

¹⁴ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1881, p. 6

¹⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, May 3, 1885, p. 6

¹⁶ Fisher p. 63

¹⁷ Fisher p. 63 attributed to "Brief History of Public Service Company," p. 5

¹⁸ Denver, Colorado Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1887, page 24 and 1903-04 map, Volume 2, p. 162

¹⁹ Fisher p. 66 attributed to "Brief History of Public Service Company," p. 1

²⁰ Invoice in Public Service Company Re-

cords, WH1367, Box 17, FF, Denver Public Library

²¹ Smiley, p. 473

²² Rose, Mark, *Cities of Heat and Light*, p. 26

²³ *A Hundred Years of Progress*, p. 4

²⁴ Fisher p. 73

²⁵ Fisher, p. 116

²⁶ Fisher, p. 73-74

²⁷ Fisher, p. 82

²⁸ Fisher, p. 116

²⁹ *Progressive Age* XXVI, 1 October 1908, p. 570

³⁰ Fisher, p. 118

³¹ Articles of Incorporation, corporation Minute Book 1899-1909

³² *Denver Times*, Jan 30, 1902, p. 1

³³ *Denver Times*, March 30, 1900, p. 1

³⁴ *Denver Times*, April 2, 1900, p. 1

³⁵ *Denver Times*, July 19, 1902, p. 2, Fisher p. 125

³⁶ *Denver Times*, July 4, 1902, p. 1

³⁷ Fisher p. 128

³⁸ Black's Law Dictionary, 6th edition

³⁹ Fisher p. 134

⁴⁰ *Denver Times*, August 9, 1906 p. 1

⁴¹ *The Arena*, Volume 36, July 1906, No. 200, p. 92

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 94

⁴³ *Denver Post*, May 23, 1909, p. 8

⁴⁴ *Denver Municipal Facts*, January 14, 1911, 3-7

⁴⁵ Fisher p. 177

⁴⁶ Fisher, p. 181

⁴⁷ Fisher, p. 197

⁴⁸ Fisher p. 204

⁴⁹ Fisher p. 205

⁵⁰ Fisher p. 205

⁵¹ Fisher p. 206

⁵² Fisher p. 231

⁵³ Fisher p. 230

⁵⁴ Fisher p. 230

⁵⁵ Fisher p. 233

⁵⁶ Fisher p. 222

⁵⁷ *Lines* magazine, May 1946.

⁵⁸ <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CI006>, retrieved June 15, 2018

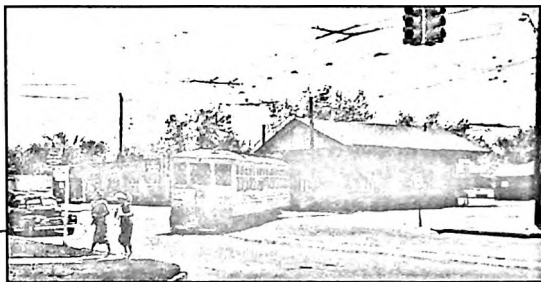
⁵⁹ Wikipedia, Holding Companies retrieved 6/15/2018

⁶⁰ Fisher p. 285

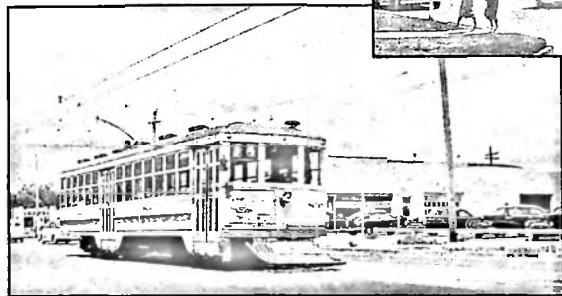
⁶¹ North American Co. v. Securities & Exchange Commission, 327 U.S. 686 (1946), Argued November 15, 1945, Decided April 1, 1946

⁶² Fisher, p. 301

⁶³ *Moody's Manual of Investments* (New York: Moody's Investment Service, 1943), p. 625-626 quoted by Fisher p. 302



Above: Powered by electricity, Denver's first "light rail" turns onto Colfax after making the turn-around at the Poplar St. Loop. Car dealership building in bottom photo has housed many businesses including Miller's Market. It is currently an Ace Hardware store.



Photos c. 1945 by Erv Krebs (decd), Jim Krebs collection

Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

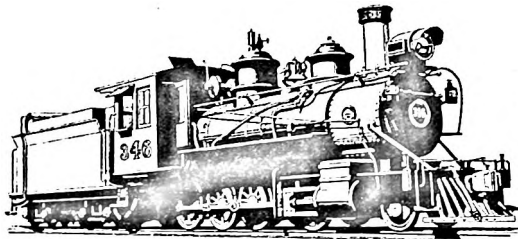
Poker Alice: The Straight Story

In September Liz Duckworth presented *Poker Alice: The Straight Story* to the Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners. The Posse visited with Poker Alice, in Victorian costume, as she told of her living as a professional gambler, a woman in a man's world, in the mining boomtowns of the Wild West. A lot of "tales" that aren't true have been spread over the years, but the "real story" is better than the myths. Liz's new book, *Poker Alice Tubbs: The Straight Story*, is being released by Filter Press in September 2018. Liz Morton Duckworth is the author of several books, has performed as Poker Alice several times, and is a regular actress in Red Herring Productions, Colorado Springs.

The Railroad Town Of Como

The Colorado Corral September presentation was *The Railroad Towns of Como*, by Bob Schoppe and Susan Wehr Livingston. Como was the South Park hub for the Denver South Park & Pacific Railroad, one of Colorado's most famous lines. The town served the line from 1879 to 1937, when the railroad abandoned its track. Many homes and the railroad facilities deteriorated in the following years, but the speakers told of many recent preservation and renovation efforts.

Bob Schoppe, a retired Navy and Frontier Airlines pilot, is active in the Park County Historical Preservation, and is the current president of the Denver South Park & Pacific Historical Society. Susan Wehr Livingston holds an MBA from Fordham University, and an MA in Urban Planning from the University of Colorado Denver. She is currently involved with the heritage and preservation community in Como, where she has restarted the South Park History Symposium, which holds an annual June event in Como.





Westerners Bookshelf



The Commanders: Civil War Generals Who Shaped The American West, by Robert M. Utley. University of Oklahoma Press, 2018. 243 pp. Maps, Illustrations (photos), Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

Eminent frontier army historian Robert M. Utley has added yet another book to his long list of well-researched and well-written subjects for which he is best known. The military leaders he takes a close look at in this study are men who became Union major generals in the Civil War and then brigadier generals commanding the U.S. Army's western departments in the Division of the Missouri and the Division of the Pacific in the postwar period. As Mr. Utley explains, the professional army generals he examines were the ones who passed down the orders and or instructions to be carried out from the division commanders to the troops in the field. The seven brigadier generals whom the author profiles and feels they helped "shaped" (Utley's quotation marks) the American West are Christopher C. Augur, George Crook, Oliver O. Howard, Nelson A. Miles, Edward O.C. Ord, John Pope, and Alfred H. Terry. With the exception of two of them, Nelson A. Miles and Alfred H. Terry, the others were all Military Academy graduates.

This book is essentially not only about the Indian Wars) for a much more detailed description of the campaigns discussed in the book, see the author's *Frontiersmen in Blue 1848-1865* and *Frontier Regulars 1866-1890*) but also how the department commanders conducted the field operations from the top command level. To help get readers interested in his subject, Utley gives a good introductory chapter on post-Civil-War army doctrine, organization, and administration. He devotes a chapter to each of the men under scrutiny by giving not only their background but their strengths and weaknesses as a commander as well. Robert Utley ends this excellent book by evaluating and ranking them by their department commander merits. In order to find out who he ranks as first and last you will have to read the book.

This book is highly recommended for the beginner and longtime reader of books on the Indian Wars and Indian Fighting Army.

--Mark E. Hutchins

Blood on the Marias: The Baker Massacre, by Paul R. Wylie. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2016. 322 pages. illustrations, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Acknowledgments and Index. Cloth with dust jacket, \$29.95.

"If the lives and property of the citizens of Montana can best be protected by striking Mountain Chief's band, I want them struck. Tell Baker to strike them hard." So wrote General William Tecumseh Sherman to Inspector General James A. Hardie eight days before Major (Brevet Colonel) Eugene M. Baker left Fort

Shaw with four companies of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry, and a detachment of mounted infantry from the Thirteenth Infantry. An additional two companies of the Thirteenth Infantry, who were dismounted, accompanied the expedition as a guard for the supply wagons. So began the tragedy that General Sherman set in motion which is the subject of Paul R. Wylie's well-written account of the massacre along the banks of the Marias River in northern Montana on a small unsuspecting village of Piegan Indians.

Wylie begins his story with the first contact between Americans of the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery and the Piegans in 1806. As the author tells us, the Piegans were one of five tribes of the Blackfeet nation that roamed on both sides the U.S.-Canadian border. North of the international boundary line they are referred to as Blackfoot. In the years after Lewis and Clark, came the fur trappers and fur traders establishing several forts to conduct business with the Blackfeet. The Indians of course were very important to the fur trade by bringing in large numbers of the valuable commodity. However as time went on and the Piegan began to see more trappers operating in their territory, the chiefs are reported to have said that they would protect the traders but not the trappers.

As more white men from the East began to come into the land of the Piegans, it would soon become inevitable that representatives of the government in Washington came with treaties in hand. Over a period of seventeen years, four treaties would be made that would include the Piegans or more broadly the Blackfeet. None of the treaties would be lasting. It was a case of neither side fully trusting the other. By the end of the Civil War both Indian and white tensions in the West were high. This was especially so in Montana when gold had been discovered in 1862. After numerous requests by citizens for help, Generals Sherman and Sheridan began sending troops to the region.

In retaliation for the murder of Malcolm Clarke by Piegans belonging to the band of Mountain Chief, Sherman gave the green light to punish those responsible for Clarke's death. The man and the unit chosen for the job by Sherman, were Major Eugene M. Baker and the 2nd Cavalry. The attack that occurred on the small Piegan village on January 23, 1870 was tragic indeed. The village that was targeted by Major Baker was that of Heavy Runner, who professed peace, not the village of Mountain Chief. It was believed that one of Baker's guides deliberately led the troops to the wrong village. And there were accusations that the major himself was drunk. Also the occupants were suffering from smallpox and almost all of the men were away hunting buffalo. When it was over the army would list 173 dead Indians. However the number was greater than that. Most of the victims were women, children, and old men. This was an event that the Montana citizens would applaud, but the Eastern newspapers would call it a massacre.

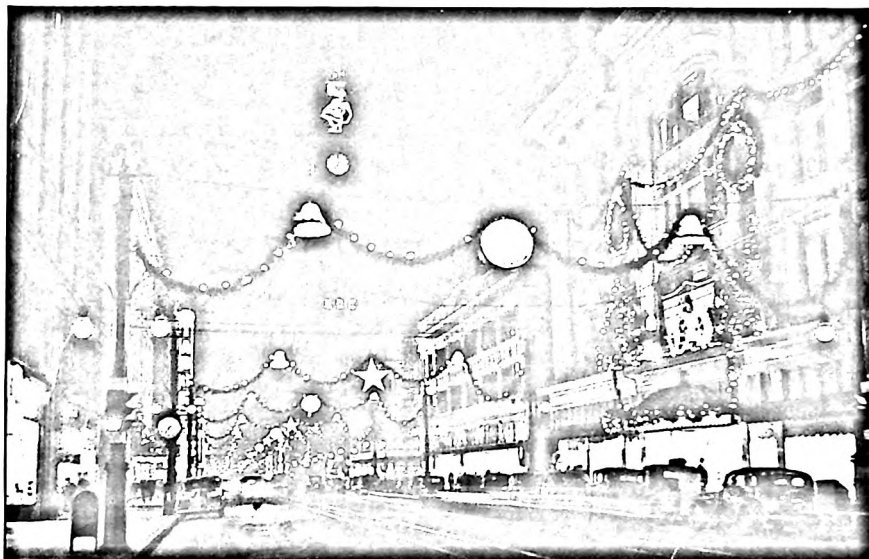
Paul R. Wylie is to be commended for bringing to print what could be the definitive account of a tragic day in the long history of the American Indian Wars.

--Mark E. Hutchins



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

September - October 2018



History Colorado

A 1937 view of 16th Street from Champa. The May Company is at right, and the Daniels and Fisher Tower is visible in the distance.

Denver's Lost Department Stores
by Mark Barnhouse
(Presented February 28, 2018)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 5



September - October 2018



Our Author

Denver native and Posse member Mark A. Barnhouse has been fascinated by the city's downtown and its historic department stores from an early age, probably from the time he attended Breakfast with Santa at the Denver Dry Goods Tea Room at age seven. He chose Denver's 16th Street as a research topic for a research paper for one of Dr. Tom Noel's Colorado history classes at the University of Colorado at Denver and has been researching and writing about it ever since, along with other Denver historical subjects. He is the author of *Daniels and Fisher: Denver's Best Place to Shop*, *The Denver Dry Goods: Where Colorado Shopped with Confidence*, *Denver's Sixteenth Street*, *Lost Denver* and *Northwest Denver*, and the forthcoming *Lost Department Stores of Denver*. He leads walking tours for the annual Doors Open Denver celebration of the city's built environment and is available for talks to groups. He lives in northwest Denver.

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Submissions for *The Roundup*

Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421 ruthandnck@q.com

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl.
 Denver, CO 80222 coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

Flora DuPree (303) 587-8588
 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231 florassellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210 jsokolo102@aol.com

The *ROUNDUP* (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1.) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. *ROUNDUP* layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for *ROUNDUP* to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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Denver's Lost Department Stores

by Mark Barnhouse

(Presented February 28, 2018)

Introduction

The great 16th Street department stores are gone. Older Coloradoans remember them, but mentioning their names to anyone born after 1980 is likely to be met with incomprehension. Some department stores appear in Denver history surveys. Most historians have been men; perhaps some have considered the topic rather “feminine” compared to, say, mining, railroading, or ranching, areas studied in greater depth.¹ Yet the subject is as important as those to the story of Denver’s growth and transformation into a major regional metropolis. Denver’s population has almost always been about half female, and as Denver’s middle class grew, it was women whose purchasing decisions allowed these emporia to grow.

Two major themes emerge from Denver department store histories. The first is geographical. Due to Denver’s isolation from major cities its stores grew larger than would have otherwise been possible given Denver’s population. Several stores discussed here—the first wave—conducted thriving wholesale divisions, selling wares to small-town retailers in Colorado and surrounding states. This extra trade allowed merchants to build palaces of consumption that pleased locals and impressed visitors with vast arrays of goods. The second theme ties to the classic American immigration story: several Denver store founders arrived, as children or adults, from Ireland, Germany, and other parts of

Europe, or were children of recent immigrants. That these immigrants were either Catholic or Jewish, in a city with a largely Protestant elite, did not hinder them in their efforts to build thriving businesses. While Denver’s history has its ugly, xenophobic side, for the most part residents embraced these newcomers, and their stores, regardless of religious beliefs.

Pioneer Stores

On October 6, 1864, a wagonload of goods, powered by oxen and steered by one William R. Kenyon, arrived in Denver after journeying from Leavenworth, Kansas. Kenyon’s brother-in-law, William Bradley Daniels, partnered in thriving stores in Leavenworth and Iowa City, Iowa, and sensed that setting up in Denver would lead to further success (his partners thought otherwise—the Denver venture was on his dime alone). Daniels instructed Kenyon to lease quarters on the busiest street. At the time, although Larimer was important, F Street (today’s 15th) saw heavy pedestrian traffic, so Kenyon rented space in the Fillmore Block, near the Blake Street corner with F.²

W.B. Daniels & Company thrived. Kenyon returned home, Daniels dispatching John M. Eckhart to replace him. Eckhart needed more space, and rented a second storefront on Larimer between F and G (16th) Streets. Daniels made Eckhart junior partner, and in 1869 Daniels & Eckhart moved the Larimer store closer to 16th, into a three-



Thomas J. Noel Collection/Library of Congress

Daniels and Fisher, c. 1912, from the cupola of the US Post Office and Customs House

story brick building at 390 (later 1548) Larimer. Eckhart coined a slogan the store used for decades, “All Wool and a Yard Wide,” signifying its commitment to selling only high-quality goods. Eckhart required a capable assistant, so in 1870 Daniels sent out Civil War veteran William Garrett Fisher.³

Fisher proved indispensable. In 1872, Eckhart wanting to step back, Daniels made Fisher partner, changing the store’s name to Daniels and Fisher. Fisher continued making major decisions, as Daniels did not reside full-time in Denver until 1879. He recognized that 16th was becoming important. In 1875 he sold the Fillmore Block operation and replaced the Larimer store with a two-story building on the eastern corner of 16th and

Lawrence. It soon proved inadequate, so Fisher added two floors in 1879. By this time, Daniels and Fisher employed 250. Through the 1880s Daniels and Fisher bought adjacent lots along Lawrence, expanding to a 200-foot width; in 1893 Fisher added a fifth floor.⁴

Daniels died Christmas Eve, 1890. His only child, William Cooke Daniels (by second wife Elizabeth) was just twenty, more interested in pursuing knowledge and adventure than business, so Fisher continued in his role until his 1897 death. Young Daniels then had to return. He bought Fisher’s widow’s interest, becoming sole owner, and, having admired department stores in other parts of the world, set out to remake Daniels and Fisher along more elegant lines, installing large display windows along 16th, establishing new departments (including bicycles) and remodeling. Peripatetic Daniels was always restless, however, and continued traveling; he installed good friend Charles MacAllister Willcox as manager.⁵

In 1910 the store required more space. Unable to acquire further lots along Lawrence, Daniels and Willcox decided instead to jump the alley, extending the store to Arapahoe along 16th. Not wanting to replicate the stolid, commercial style of the original building and its expansions, however, they announced an “artistic improvement,” designed by Denver architects Sterner and Williamson (with Frederick J. Sterner leading), to “get away from the inartistic, ‘warehouse’ style of construction” of other stores. With buff-colored brick and red terracotta tile roof, the new,

neoclassical-styled Daniels and Fisher featured, on the Arapahoe corner, a 330-foot (375 with flagpole) high “replica” of Venice’s Campanile di San Marco. It was not a true replica—the original was of red brick and largely windowless—but Denverites loved it. The city’s tallest building for more than four decades, it not only symbolized the store, utilized in advertisements, but also symbolized Denver, as “Queen City of the Plains.”⁶

Daniels died, aged 47, in March 1918, in Buenos Aires; Denver papers speculated he was on a war-related mission for the government. His English aristocrat wife Cicely Banner Daniels died later that year of influenza during the worldwide pandemic. Ownership passed to Willcox, his daughter Elaine (then eleven), and Australian Florence Martin, Cicely’s best friend. Martin settled in Sedalia, buying a ranch; she later donated 1,040 acres to Denver Mountain Parks, which continues to operate Daniels Park.⁷

Longtime employees Alfred Blake Trott and Walter Beans bought the store in 1929; they built an attached parking garage on Arapahoe in 1930. Ownership passed through other local hands until 1953, when New York developer William Zeckendorf shocked Denver by buying Daniels and Fisher so he could move it up 16th to his Courthouse Square project. After obtaining a lease, he sold the store to other out-of-town interests, and finally in 1957 engineered a merger between Daniels and Fisher and the May Company, forming May-D&F. The “Tower Store” closed in July 1958, just before May-D&F opened.⁸

Joslin

In 1872, Vermonter John Jay Joslin visited his brother Jervis, a Denver jeweler. Joslin liked Denver, and decided to return to Poultney, Vermont, where he operated a general store, sell out, and bring wife Mary and son Frank out west. On April 22, 1873 he bought the New York Store at 15th and Larimer, renaming it Joslin Dry Goods. The name Joslin would resonate with Colorado shoppers until the end of the twentieth century, the longest-lasting Denver store—like Joslin himself, who would live longer than any other Denver store founder.⁹

Joslin quickly inserted himself into Denver’s business and social life. He became a director of the Denver Mercantile Protective Association, and agitated for street improvements. He sang in the First Baptist Church choir, and co-founded the Handel and Haydn Society; he performed in a production of Gilbert and Sullivan’s *H.M.S. Pinafore*.¹⁰

In 1879 Joslin relocated to 376 Lawrence, between 15th and 16th. Later that year he moved to 384 and 386 Lawrence, near 16th. In 1887 he leased most of George Tritch’s new building at 16th and Curtis, where Joslin’s would remain. This location was prime, opposite the Tabor Grand Opera House, and Joslin adopted the slogan “the busiest store on the busiest corner of the busiest street of the busiest city in the West.”¹¹

Joslin briefly employed, around 1900, one James Cash Penney, who had come to Colorado seeking better health. After leaving Joslin’s, Penney moved to Longmont, where he worked in a Golden Rule store. He later bought

that chain, and in 1902 renamed it J.C. Penney Company. Joslin also employed Julius Garfinckel, who left Denver for Washington, DC, where he founded an eponymous department store that lasted until 1990.¹²

In 1910 Joslin sold his store to wholesaler H.B. Claffin Company. John Claffin (son of Horace Brigham) assembled the first national department store chain, a house of cards that collapsed in 1914. From its ashes, two entities, Associated Dry Goods and Mercantile Stores Company, emerged. Joslin Dry Goods, whose profitability was never in doubt, continued operating, with Joslin himself reporting to work daily, and after Claffin's collapse it became part of Mercantile Stores. Joslin, born in 1829, became known as Denver's "grand old man"; he referred to himself as "the last of the

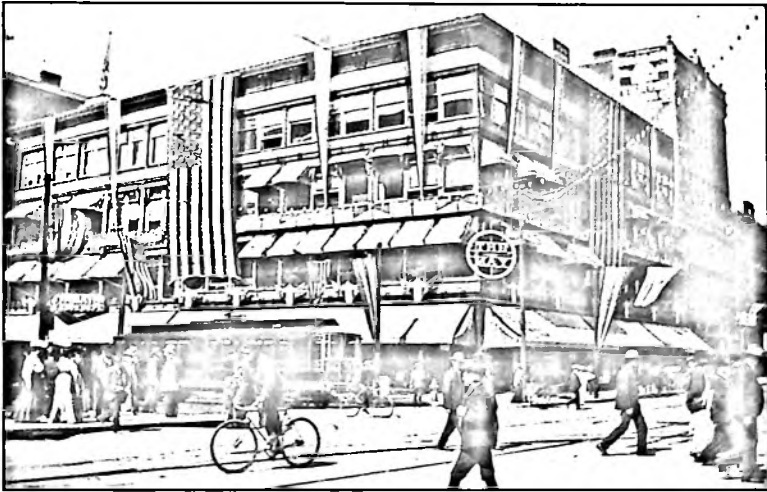
Mohicans." Newspapers marked his birthday, publishing adoring articles recounting his long years. He died on January 7, 1926; on his passing, Denver's major stores paid tribute in a joint advertisement.¹³

Joslin's later president Clarence Beaglehole opened the first modern branches of any Denver store. Beginning with Greeley in 1944, Beaglehole expanded with small "junior" stores in Englewood, Lakewood, Aurora, and on South Broadway, through the 1940s and 1950s. Future leaders continued expanding through the 1990s. Downtown continued operating, even as rivals closed; it was the last department store on 16th Street when it shuttered in 1995. In 1998 Arkansas-based Dillard's bought Mercantile, and extant Joslin's branches now carry that name.¹⁴



Author's collection

A Joslin Dry Goods receipt, signed by J.J.J. himself, showing the Lawrence Street store.



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

The May Company's Lawrence Street store, c. 1905

May

When David May arrived in Colorado in 1877, the world had no idea that "May, Holcomb and Dean" opened that year in Leadville would grow into one of America's largest department store chains. May had emigrated from Kaiserslautern, Bavaria in 1863, at fifteen. In the winter of 1876-77, as junior partner of Kirschbaum & May in Hartford City, Indiana, he had developed pneumonia after a wet night spent saving his merchandise from fire. His doctor advised a dry climate; May chose Colorado, and sold out to Kirschbaum.¹⁵

Boomtowns attract wealth seekers, and May believed he would easily find ore in Leadville. After several weeks fruitlessly digging, he realized his talents lay elsewhere, and proposed to two prospecting friends that they open a store. Their

partnership soon gave way to a sole proprietorship, and May moved his store to 318 Harrison Avenue. His stock, as company histories recounted, entailed "Levis and longies," denim manufactured by Levi Strauss & Company and red woolen underwear, but May also knew that Leadville's ladies (respectable and otherwise) appreciated finer things. Learning of a distressed Chicago retailer overstocked with fancy velvet and brocade dresses, he bought the lot cheaply, shipped them to Leadville, and sold them dearly, netting a fortune.

May settled in, befriending three brothers named Schoenberg and their sister Rosa, whom he married. May opened branches in boomtowns and settled cities alike, including Irwin, Glenwood Springs, Aspen, Pueblo and Colorado Springs. He became a pillar of Leadville's Jewish community,

financially supporting Temple Israel. As a Republican in a Democratic district, May won election as Lake County treasurer in 1881 and in 1883, thanks to his popularity and financial acumen. But Leadville, like Hartford City, was too small for his ambitions. In 1888 he came to Denver on business, discovering that the J.S. Dreyfus Company, at 15th and Larimer, was closing. May bought the stock, hired a brass band to attract crowds, and swiftly sold out. He returned to Leadville, closed his store, and brought Rosa and children Morton J. and Thomas to Denver.

May's first Denver store was at 1614 Larimer. He called it May Shoe & Clothing Company, and sold men and boys' clothing only. He brought on brother-in-law Louis Schoenberg, and together they challenged Denver's established retailers, offering rock-bottom prices with colorful advertising prose. Growing rapidly, May leased space across the alley facing Lawrence, connecting the shops with an alley bridge. In 1895 he bought Skinner Brothers & Wright (menswear) at 16th and Lawrence, and the adjacent Brunswick Hotel, combined the buildings, and installed large windows. Hosting May, Daniels and Fisher, and Golden Eagle, 16th and Lawrence reigned as Denver's retail epicenter.

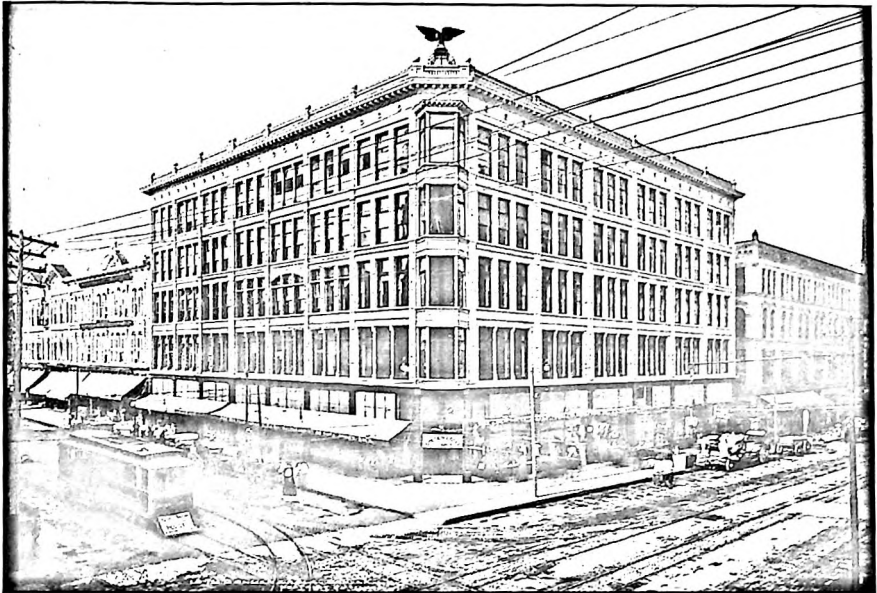
May could not confine himself to Denver. In 1892 he entered St. Louis, buying William Barr Dry Goods; May later bought The Famous there, creating Famous-Barr. Eventually, May Company planted its headquarters in St. Louis, and continued buying stores elsewhere, but Denver was never far from May's heart. In 1906, sensing

trade was shifting southeastward, May moved to a *Beaux Arts*-styled white palace, boasting Denver's first escalator, at 16th and Champa. May Department Stores Company began trading on the New York Stock Exchange in 1910; David May died in 1927. In 1924 the Denver store expanded with a six-story addition on Champa, and in 1940 it opened a wing across the alley, facing Curtis. After a strike in 1946-47 (the first ever against a Denver department store), May opened a suburban branch at University Hills in 1955. May merged with Daniels and Fisher in 1957, creating May-D&F.¹⁶

Gulldman

Leopold Henry Gulldman, like May, was a Jewish immigrant from Bavaria. Born in 1852, he came to the United States in 1870, and like May learned the retail trade by working in a Midwestern store, in Watertown, Wisconsin. Also like May, he came to Leadville during its boom years (1878), seeking his fortune. Unlike May, he realized that Leadville was not for him, and in 1879 came to Denver, where, in partnership with Simon Winneman, he opened the Golden Eagle Dry Goods House on Lawrence near 16th. Gulldman had developed an intense love for his adopted country, and chose its symbol for his store. He had a carpenter carve an eagle, had it gilded, and hung it above his door. Winneman soon departed and Gulldman brought on Bernhardt Heller as partner. He too left, and by 1883 Gulldman was sole proprietor.¹⁷

The Golden Eagle became known as the store for bargains. A shrewd negotiator, eastern



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

The Golden Eagle, c. 1905

manufacturers knew Guldman as someone who would not accept inferior goods or high prices—he demanded high quality at low prices, passing bargains on to customers. He also found deals buying failing stores, shipping their goods to Denver, and selling them cheaply. Guldman’s approach was so successful that he expanded several times, coming to dominate the western corner of 16th and Lawrence.¹⁸

Guldman, more than any Denver merchant, was known for generosity and humanitarianism. On October 31, 1880, vigilantes persecuted Chinese immigrants. One terrified Chinese man burst into his store, seeking refuge. Guldman immediately realized the man’s life was threatened, and hid him in a crate, which Guldman sealed. The mob arrived, and Guldman

played dumb; he hid the man for three days. In gratitude, the Chinese man sent dried fruits to Guldman twice annually, on Chinese New Year and Jewish New Year. Guldman also gave philanthropically, funding National Jewish Hospital (joined by friend David May), Beth Israel Hospital, and what would become the Jewish Community Center.¹⁹

Guldman died in 1936. The store closed; Guldman had never designated a successor. In 1937 his son-in-law, Lester Friedman, recapitalized and reopened the Golden Eagle after remodeling. The store thrived anew, but Friedman closed it in 1941. The building stood, later occupied by Miller-Stockman Western Wear, until its 1972 demolition.²⁰



Thomas J. Noel collection

The Denver Dry Goods Company in the 1940s

McNamara

In 1849 Michael J. McNamara, six years old, arrived in America from Ireland with his family, during the potato famine. He worked for a Philadelphia linen importer, then a St. Louis dry goods house, and in 1870 he came to Denver, where he clerked for Brooks, Giddings and Company. He met Edgar H. Drew, and in 1877 they decided to open their own store. Drew & McNamara leased space at the southern corner of Fifteenth and Larimer Streets—the site of General William H. Larimer's 1858 log cabin—from William M. and George Washington Clayton, who had operated a general store in a two-story building. With genial McNamara charming Denver's ladies, Drew & McNamara thrived; in 1880 Drew sold out to McNamara, who renamed the firm M.J.

McNamara & Company.²¹

In 1883, the space inadequate, the Claytons demolished their building and constructed for McNamara a four-story edifice, today's Granite Building in Larimer Square. McNamara's store occupied the whole; by 1886 it employed over 200 people. As successful as McNamara was, however, Denver was growing southeastward, and McNamara knew his middle and upper-class female customers might prefer shopping closer to home. When John J. Reithmann approached McNamara about building him "the finest department store building west of St. Louis" at the western corner of 16th and California, McNamara boldly agreed. The new building, three floors plus basement, opened in 1889.²²

McNamara Dry Goods might have survived but for the Panic of 1893.

As spending dried up, McNamara found himself owning too many goods bought on credit. He advertised rock bottom prices, and was honest about needing cash, but his business collapsed. The Arapahoe County Sheriff auctioned the store and its contents in September, and Charles B. Kountze and Dennis Sheedy, president and vice president of Colorado National Bank, won the bid (Sheedy's 1922 *Autobiography* tells a different story, but this account is supported by contemporary evidence). The store, now "Sheedy & Kountze," reopened with McNamara managing. Through winter and spring, advertisements featured his name prominently, but on May 22, 1894 it was gone, as were the names Sheedy and Kountze. A new entity, The Denver Dry Goods Company, with Sheedy as president, now possessed the building. Sheedy admitted in his *Autobiography* that he had retained McNamara only until he and Kountze realized he lacked what they sought. They intalled William R. Owen as general manager, the sole McNamara executive they trusted.²³

Sheedy was one of Denver's most successful businessmen. Like McNamara an Irish immigrant who had arrived during the potato famine, he had first encountered Denver at seventeen in 1863 after feeling "the call of the West." After briefly working in Alvin B. Daniels' and J. Sidney Brown's general store, Sheedy left, embarking on a career in trade and cattle that generated a fortune. In 1882 he returned to Denver and bought stock in Colorado National Bank; Kountze made him vice president.²⁴

The Denver Dry Goods grew rapidly, necessitating an addition and

fourth floor in 1898. After acquiring adjacent lots running to 15th, Sheedy built a six-story addition in 1906 that allowed the store to boast (questionably) that its main aisle at 400 feet was the longest in America. The store now also featured an escalator to the second floor. During its initial weeks, a small orchestra played soothing music for nervous shoppers.²⁵

The 1906 addition also allowed the store to inaugurate a Denver tradition. On the new wing's fourth floor, a tearoom offered light meals to sustain shoppers for more forays onto sales floors. After Sheedy died in 1923, his widow Mary sold the store to St. Louis's Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney, which immediately provided the building its final addition, two floors on top of the 16th Street side. The new fifth floor housed a vast Tea Room, seating over 700; access was via two new elevators, one with express service. Surrounding the Tea Room, an open-air promenade allowed diners postprandial strolls. At the 16th Street end, mahogany and glass walls enclosed the Grill Room, an all-male environment where Denver's leading businessmen, attorneys, and others met daily for lunch, often enjoying the Tea Room's signature dish, Chicken a la King. The Tea Room hosted fashion shows, business luncheons, and "Breakfast with Santa" on Saturday mornings in December.²⁶

Unique to The Denver Dry Goods was its Western Shop, later christened the Stockmen's Store. Housed on six, it stocked everything for the professional working cattleman (and -woman), conducted a large mail-order business, and advertised itself as

“Western Outfitters to the Nation.” The store owned its own saddlery, Powder River, and between 1945 and 1950 it owned Denver’s pioneer Herman H. Heiser Saddlery.²⁷

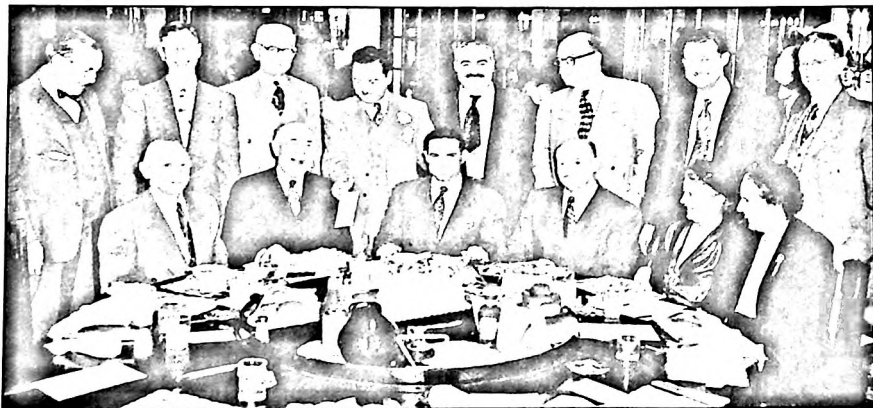
As did department stores nationally, The Denver (which dropped “Dry Goods Company” from its advertising in 1965) modernized downtown and opened numerous branches after World War II, beginning with Cherry Creek Shopping Center in 1953, and continuing through early 1980s. Unlike the early Joslin’s branches, these were full-line stores, featuring all downtown departments in miniature. Scruggs, Vandervoort and Barney sold The Denver to Associated Dry Goods in 1965. In 1986 Associated announced it had agreed to be acquired by May Department Stores Company. At first, May hinted it would run The Denver and May-D&F as separate divisions, but in early 1987 May announced consolidation. May closed downtown (the Tea Room enjoying

record business in its final months), and either sold the branches or re-flagged them as May-D&F.²⁸

The Second Generation

In 1882 the Windsor Hotel attracted well-heeled locals and wealthy visitors, and it was in a small space just off its lobby that George H. Bramen opened a menswear shop catering to those seeking fine suits. He made a promising clerk, Merritt W. Gano, his junior partner in 1887, changing the sign to “Bramen & Gano.” That year the firm left the Windsor for larger quarters in the Alkire Block at 16th and Arapahoe. In 1890, Bramen sold out to Gano, who renamed the business Gano & Company, Clothiers. Also in 1890, Gano moved across Arapahoe to larger quarters in the Jacobson Block.²⁹

Here he stayed until 1896, when he made the final move, to the Henry K. Steele Block on the eastern corner of 16th and Stout. Although Gano shared the building with other



Linda Lebsack collection

The Denver’s Tea Room in the 1940s or early 1950s; former Posse Member Fred Mazzulla stands fifth from left

businesses initially (including his own franchise for Columbia Bicycles, capitalizing on the 1890s craze for two-wheelers), he eventually occupied all four floors. Gano's move to Stout was likely due not only to the desire of any merchant to cluster near others (such as the nearby Denver Dry Goods), but also to the specific reason of proximity to Denver's finest office building, the Equitable, at 17th and Stout. Here were his best customers, and here too was his brother George A. Gano, an investment company president. As Denver's economy improved in the late 1890s, Gano advertised his commitment to "correct styles," conservative and well-made. In 1904 Gano sold shares to a new partner, William D. Downs, who, had previously owned shares in Daniels and Fisher and served on its board.³⁰

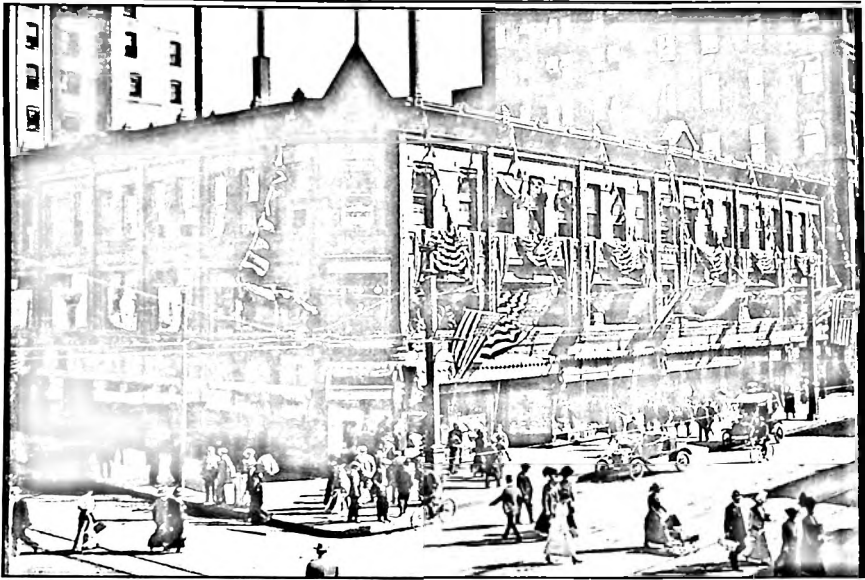
For passers-by to better see Gano-Downs' very special merchandise, in 1917 the store installed unique "shadow box" windows. Wares previously displayed behind conventional plate glass were now viewed through glass that curved inward from the top, which eliminated distracting glare; hidden mirrors allowed shoppers to see all sides of garments. A year later, Gano-Downs, witnessing its male customers shopping across the street at The Neusteter Company and A.T. Lewis & Son for their wives' birthdays and holidays, and knowing those wives shopped at Gano-Downs for their husbands, decided to introduce fine ladies' wear. Gano and Downs turned the store over to their sons Merritt W. Gano Jr. and William H. Downs, and nephew George W. Gano, in 1926. It remained family-owned until 1937, when S. Nelson Hicks and W.L.

Hillyard, former Daniels and Fisher executives, bought the store.³¹

Hicks eventually bought out Hillyard, and like other Denver stores he modernized after World War II. Gano-Downs replaced the 1882 façade with white porcelain-glazed panels, but wisely left the shadow box windows alone and even began referring to itself in advertising as "the store with the shadow box windows"; a new fifth floor housed a fur storage vault for customers. S. Nelson Hicks Jr. took over in 1951. Under his management, Gano-Downs branched out, first with hotel-lobby shops at Writer's Manor in southeast Denver and the Broadmoor in Colorado Springs. A full-line Cherry Creek branch at 2nd Avenue and Fillmore followed in 1960, the year the younger Hicks died. His wife Dorothy continued operating Gano-Downs with general managers, opening an additional branch in Englewood's Cinderella City. In 1971 she sold Gano-Downs to Joseph Magnin, a San Francisco-based apparel chain that rebranded the stores. However, Joseph Magnin let the Gano-Downs name live on in new, smaller spaces downtown and in Cherry Creek, offering menswear only. In 1977 Magnin sold these to Max Grassfield, who appended his own name, creating Grassfield's Gano Downs. He continued operating into the 1990s.³²

Lewis

Aaron Dennison Lewis became enamored of department stores in 1883, as a recent graduate of Denver's East High School. A friend began working at Daniels and Fisher. One day Lewis visited him there, deciding immediately



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

Gano-Downs in the Steele Block at 16th & Stout, c. 1910

that he wanted to work there too. He went to see William Bradley Daniels, who after telling him repeatedly that he did not “want a boy,” relented, allowing him to learn the ropes with no pay, thinking this would cause Lewis to give up. Lewis dutifully reported for work daily for three months, and finally Daniels, sensing his strong commitment, paid him three months’ back wages and hired him permanently. Lewis left after five years, having learned how to run a department store.³³

In 1888 Lewis and a friend, Dave Curtis, were horseback riding in Summit County. Arriving in Breckenridge, they encountered a dusty, ill-organized general store for sale. They bought it, painted their names above the door, and set about cleaning and reorganizing. With his Daniels and

Fisher background, Lewis instituted major policy changes, including fixed, marked prices; the original proprietor had charged based on each customer’s appearance and ability to pay. After two years, Lewis knew that a mountain mining town was not a large enough canvas to paint his masterpiece. He sold out to Curtis, came down to Denver with \$5,000, and approached his father, Aaron Thompson Lewis, with a plan. Young Lewis knew Denver well, and proposed to his father that he help him open a store on 16th Street.³⁴

The elder Lewis, a New Jersey native, agreed, impressed with his son’s Breckenridge success. Aaron T. Lewis had lived not unlike Dennis Sheedy, engaged in cattle and banking; by this time he was successful and comfortable, with substantial real estate holdings.



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

A.T. Lewis & Son at 16th & Stout Streets, circa 1925, showing the original building and later additions

On November 10, 1890, Lewis, Son & Barrow (a third partner, who later left) opened its doors, occupying a 3,300-square-foot space in the Barth Block at 16th and Stout. This was a dry goods-only store, for ladies, and young Lewis put his all into it, “his own buyer, advertising man, window trimmer, and above all, an enthusiastic salesman,” per a 1929 history. By 1895, Lewis, needing larger quarters, relocated across 16th to a four-story, Robert Roeschlaub-designed building originally built for Salomon’s Bazaar. With a mid-block address, it did not hold the corner, but in 1901 Lewis got control of the adjacent Bancroft Block, demolished it, and replicated Roeschlaub’s design, running it to Stout.³⁵

A.T. Lewis & Son, like Gano-Downs, did not emphasize low prices. It catered to discriminating women, and introduced its goods in elaborate seasonal “openings,”

recounted in Sunday newspaper fashion pages. Lewis brought in well-known “modistes” to elevate Denver’s fashion sense, and continuously introduced new departments and exclusive merchandise. After the elder Lewis died in 1907, he became sole proprietor. In 1916, after having added a wing along Stout, Lewis commissioned Harry W.J. Edbrooke to design a six-story addition. By the time this terracotta-clad edifice, with its Louis Sullivan-esque ornamentation, opened in 1918, Lewis could brag that he had grown his store 53-fold since 1890. One of Denver’s most luxurious emporiums, A.T. Lewis & Son boasted mahogany, walnut and Flemish oak fixtures, and a reputation as the city’s most fashionable retailer.³⁶

Unfortunately, the Great Depression was not kind to A.T. Lewis & Son. Having long catered to well-heeled shoppers, the new 1930s frugality meant trouble for a

store not known for bargains. It did not help that it seemed unable to shift its strategy, as evidenced by a 1930 newspaper advertisement that queried, "have you decorated your maids (with the latest colors)?" In early 1933 the store announced complete liquidation, admitting, like McNamara Dry Goods forty years earlier, "we need cash." Aaron Dennison Lewis was not homeless; Gano-Downs soon advertised that he would manage their women's departments.³⁷

Neusteter

Max Neusteter, son of Austrian immigrant Abraham Neusteter, came to Colorado, like May and Penney before him, for his pulmonary health. Born in Cincinnati in 1874, Neusteter had moved to St. Louis in his youth, where he worked for Stix, Baer & Fuller, a leading store, before opening, with his brother Meyer, The Neusteter Company (while continuing to work for Stix as lead ladies' clothing buyer). Overworked, he developed tuberculosis in 1909, and on doctor's orders he vacationed in Estes Park, returning in 1910. That year, Meyer, with bride Bernita, honeymooned in Denver, and was impressed by its thriving retail scene. Returning again in 1911, Max spotted a 16th Street dress shop for sale, M. Philipsborn & Company, and after conferring with brothers Meyer and Edward, decided to buy it. The Denver branch of The Neusteter Company opened on July 11, 1911 on the first floor of a three-story building midblock on 16th between California and Stout.³⁸

The Denver store thrived; over time, the brothers sold their St. Louis shop and another in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Initially, Neusteter's was not known for exclusive, high-end merchandise; an early opportunity to buy cheaply 5,000 dresses in bulk from E.H. du Pont de Nemours Company (which had a dressmaking division) resulted in a bargain sale that was remembered for years. Neusteter's expanded to the building's second and third floors, and the brothers bought the structure in 1922. Meyer then approached Gerald Hughes, owner of the Stout corner, who agreed to lease the ground to Neusteter's. The store demolished the two-story building there, and commissioned William E. and Arthur A. Fisher to design a five-story building to cover both the corner and mid-block properties; the expanded Neusteter's opened in 1924. A neoclassical design, with large "Chicago-style" windows on upper floors, it also featured a glass-walled arcade entry and interior murals by Denver artist Vance Kirkland illustrating the history of fashion.³⁹

Max Neusteter died a year later, aged 52; his tuberculosis had never really healed. Meyer then became president, with Edward manning a New York buying office. Meyer led Neusteter's until after World War II. Although the store operated a bargain basement, it increasingly became known, particularly after A.T. Lewis's demise, as the center of Denver's fashion scene. It made deals with New York and Paris manufacturers that provided exclusivity in Denver, and its sales force professionalized, with sales women and men keeping track of customers' tastes, birthdays, and anniversaries. Every floor employee was expected to know fashion trends and be able to advise customers.⁴⁰



History Colorado, Neusteter Collection

Arcade show windows at Neusteter's 16th Street entrance allowed shoppers to view apparel from all angles, c. 1925

Meyer announced in 1950 an expansion into menswear, entailing an addition along Stout of 46,000 square feet to the original building's 78,000. "The Man's Store" at Neusteters (the apostrophe having been dropped) was designed "to guide the men who guide the West," featuring lines not carried by any other Denver store, including Oxford suits, Cavanagh hats, and Countess Mara ties.⁴¹

Meyer turned the presidency over to his son Myron David Neusteter in 1946, becoming chairman, and like John Jay Joslin, working daily through his elderhood. Myron, who had been "born in the blouse department" as he later joked to an interviewer, guided Neusteters into the 1970s. He became

known as an arts patron (Central City Opera, Denver Art Museum), and opened successful branches in Cherry Creek, Boulder, Colorado Springs, and Cinderella City. Under Myron, Neusteters built on its reputation as Colorado's leading fashion store; it boasted numerous exclusives with famous designers. In the early 1970s Myron tasked his sons Myron Jr. and William, with helping the store "develop a younger point of view," and family's third generation experimented with in-store boutiques and *avant garde* styles.⁴²

In 1971 Myron gave the presidency to Richard Auer, his daughter Cynthia's husband. Auer continued Myron's expansion push,

inventing “Neusteters II,” a smaller concept for malls. He opened four of these, but the company’s finances grew increasingly precarious. In 1979 Auer left and Myron made William president. William, needing to restore profitability, quickly shut down several branches, and vowed to return downtown to its 1924 beauty by undoing Myron’s earlier décor changes. Unfortunately for William, his aunt Miriam Neusteter Lackner, Myron’s sister, along with her four children sued Myron and William in 1980, just as renovation began. When Meyer died in 1965, a majority of his shares in the store went to Myron, and a minority to Miriam. Shares of a second company, Neusteter Realty, which owned various properties, were divided as well, with a minority to Myron and a majority to Miriam. The Lackner lawsuits alleged that Myron had tricked Miriam into signing enough of her shares over to him that he became majority owner of Neusteter Realty, and was using its assets to stabilize the store. Lackner and her children had stopped receiving dividends, and alleged that Myron and his family had mismanaged Neusteters to the point of insolvency.⁴³

They were not wrong about the finances; the store continued struggling. William closed more stores as lawsuits progressed; family members were not on speaking terms. Although William was able to complete the renovations to the downtown store, uncovering neoclassical plasterwork in display windows and Vance Kirkland’s murals inside, shoppers stayed away. In 1985 Neusteters declared bankruptcy, in February 1986 it closed downtown, and in May it ceased operations entirely,

shutting the remaining store in Cherry Creek.⁴⁴

Late Entrants

The year 1933 was not an auspicious time to start a business, but immigrant siblings Jack and Hannah Levy were young, believed they would succeed, and did. Born in Haigerloch, Germany (near Stuttgart), the Levys were two children of cattle dealer Raphael Levy and Bertha Hilb Levy. One of her relations, Leopold Weil, had arrived in America in 1851, setting up a clothing shop Central City in 1860. He came to Denver in 1869, eventually helping found Temple Emanuel. Bertha’s brother, Isidore Hilb, followed Weil to Denver after 1900, and established clothing wholesaler Hilb & Company. When Jack Levy wanted to leave Germany in 1923, Isidore employed him as a stock boy until he learned English; after accomplishing this, Jack traveled as a salesman.⁴⁵

Hannah Levy, increasingly worried about growing anti-Semitism and Weimar Germany’s economy, decided to follow Jack in 1926; she told historian Jeanne Abrams years later, “Our family was lucky to get out of Germany when we did, before Hitler came to power.” Migrating alone, she stayed two years in New York, working various jobs and learning English, before coming to Denver. Interested in fashion, she applied at Neusteter’s, but was turned down, her English still weak. As she was leaving the store, she encountered Meyer Neusteter, a fellow Temple Emanuel congregant, who overruled his personnel manager and hired her to work in the stock room. Once her English improved, she

became a sales person, and eventually, fashion coordinator.⁴⁶

In 1933, Jack and Hannah, aged twenty-five and twenty-eight respectively, decided the time was ripe for their own venture, Jack seeing little future in wholesale clothing as more stores bought direct from manufacturers; a co-salesman, Emmett Heitler, came in as partner (he sold out in 1940). They rented a storefront at 1534 Curtis, midway between Joslin's and Baur's Confectionery, and opened Hosiery Bar. Hannah knew that younger women favored the new higher hemlines that required sheer stockings. Opening in Denver's theater district meant the shop would attract those women, and business boomed—particularly after Hosiery Bar beat the big department stores in introducing nylon stockings to Denver, less expensive and less apt to run than silk. In 1936 they opened another Hosiery Bar at 707 16th Street, near California. After buying Green's Dress Shops, a five-store Front Range chain, they decided their fledgling empire needed a common identity, and after a customer contest, chose Fashion Bar.⁴⁷

Through World War II and the 1950s, the Levys continued expanding in Colorado with new shops. By 1958 Fashion Bar was large enough that it needed a new warehouse and corporate headquarters; Jack bought land and built a facility, with a store attached, at 695 South Broadway, adjacent to Merchants' Park Shopping Center. In 1964 Fashion Bar added menswear, with Jack's son Robert Levy at first establishing departments within the women's shops, and later opening separate stores for men. This was the

genesis of the Fashion Bar that most remember, a series of specialty shops, including stores for children ("Young Set"), younger women ("Stage"), somewhat older women ("Hannah"), and others. In 1965 Fashion Bar opened a new downtown Denver flagship at the northern corner of 16th and Tremont, with four levels connected by escalators: a true department store.⁴⁸

By then Hannah had become legendary in the trade, lauded by industry journal *Women's Wear Daily*. As chief buyer, her innate sense of what Denver women wanted and would look good wearing translated into strong customer loyalty. Among Denver merchants, Hannah pioneered shipping goods via airplane, beating department stores to market with the latest looks. She also pioneered commissioning lower-cost Asian factories, predominantly in Hong Kong then, to copy European couture. Levy believed women did not need to spend huge sums to look good; she eschewed fads, preferring classic lines.⁴⁹

In 1980 Robert Levy became president, replacing relative William Weil, who had been president since 1968. Jack and Hannah died within a few months of each other in the winter and spring of 1984-1985. That year Robert turned over the presidency to his brother John Levy, who continued opening new stores; Fashion Bar was now one of Colorado's leading privately held employers. Perhaps John's ambitions were too high; after opening stores outside Colorado, in Arizona and California, profitability plummeted. That Fashion Bar's core territory, Colorado, was in recession certainly played a role too in his 1992 decision

to sell out to Specialty Retailers Inc. of Houston. The new owners consolidated Fashion Bar's operations with their other chains, and stores lost their Colorado identity. SRI began shuttering stores in 1995; the Fashion Bar name disappeared entirely in 1997. Specialty Retailers survives, however, renamed Stage Stores Incorporated, the only continuing legacy of what two Jewish immigrants created in 1933.⁵⁰

Zeckendorf

When Denver realtor Burr Brett Harding visited New York City developer William Zeckendorf in 1945, neither man had department stores on their mind, but their meeting would greatly impact two Denver emporia. Harding, an informal associate of Denver mayor Benjamin Stapleton, presented Zeckendorf, known nationally as a progressive city-builder, with an opportunity to buy a downtown Denver block. Bounded by 16th, 15th, Tremont Street and Court Place, it had been home to the Arapahoe (later Denver) County Courthouse between 1883 and 1932. Rendered surplus by the opening of the City and County Building, Denver mayor George Begole listed it for sale for \$1.5 million. With no takers, Begole had it demolished. The block had served as an unofficial park since then, but Stapleton believed he could now sell it. Zeckendorf loved the idea, and won the property with a bid of \$818,600.⁵¹

Many Denverites were unhappy that their downtown park would be sold, and various parties filed suit to stop it. Another group, the Denver Taxpayers Protective Association, thought Zeckendorf's bid too low, and

filed suit. Both lawsuits wended through courts, and in 1949 Zeckendorf finally took title. He built nothing immediately, instead ripping up landscaping for a parking lot, covering taxes while he developed plans. Fond of flashy public relations, Zeckendorf announced Courthouse Square, a "second Radio City" for Denver, patterned after New York's Rockefeller Center, to include a department store, hotel, office space, and radio and television broadcasting studios.⁵²

Zeckendorf also came to Denver to shake things up. In Chapter 9, "The Town that Time Forgot," in his *Autobiography*, he describes early postwar Denver as "a sleepy, self-satisfied town," and in a later chapter mocks "the shortsighted second-rate leadership dominating the Denver business community." Denver's old guard was not amused, but Zeckendorf plowed ahead. When he could not convince The Denver Dry Goods or May Company to anchor his project, he instead bought Daniels and Fisher, and after obtaining a lease, sold it to Younker Brothers, a Des Moines, Iowa-based retailer, and Jerome Ney of Fort Smith, Arkansas. In 1956 Zeckendorf worried that with the advent of suburban branch stores downtown would be saddled with too much department store space—he was adding nearly 400,000 square feet. He began talking to Younker and May, and in July 1957 got them to agree that May would buy Daniels and Fisher, creating May-D&F.⁵³

On August 4, 1958 the "Shopping Wonder of the West," as the store described itself, opened, with David May's son Morton J.

and grandson Morton D. cutting the ribbon. Courthouse Square's design, encompassing most of two city blocks (Zeckendorf having bought additional property), featured four elements: a large, slab-like Hilton Hotel across Court Place; a four-story aluminum-sheathed block set back from 16th for the store, and in front of it, a sunken plaza and ice skating rink bearing Zeckendorf's name, and a spectacular concrete and glass "hyperbolic paraboloid" structure, serving as a grand store entrance. Zeckendorf's in-house architect, Chinese American Ieoh Ming Pei, created the ensemble; Pei would go on to design significant buildings worldwide, including the glass entrance pyramid at Paris's Louvre.⁵⁴

The downtown store prospered for many years, even as May-D&F opened branches. Store vice president of visual merchandising Bob Rhodes gave shoppers reasons to come downtown, designing spectacular animated windows for the holidays. May-D&F president David Touff staged a series of "fortnights" in the 1960s and early 1970s, celebrating cultures and products of various foreign countries, generating continuing interest downtown. But suburban shopping was just too convenient, and by the early 1990s downtown, executives claimed, was losing money. Declining to renew the lease, downtown shuttered in 1993, the same year that executives in St. Louis decided to consolidate May-D&F with Houston-based Foley's, erasing the names of May, Daniels and Fisher from Colorado. Hotelier Fred Kummer demolished the hyperbolic paraboloid and Zeckendorf Plaza in 1996. In 2006

May Department Stores merged with Federated Department Stores (now Macy's Inc.), bringing to an end the long story begun by David May in Leadville in 1877.⁵⁵

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Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Colorado Corral Presentations

The October meeting featured "Adolph Zang and Denver's Lakeside Amusement Park" by David Forsyth. Between 1895 and 1920 almost 5,000 amusement parks were built in the United States, including Denver's own Lakeside Amusement Park, though it was just outside city limits to avoid city liquor law and sell more of Zang's suds. Adolph Zang was a very successful Colorado entrepreneur, a Denver brewer, Cripple Creek mine owner, Denver banker, and Broomfield framer and rancher. Only a handful of the amusement parks survived to celebrate their centennials. Forsyth told how Lakeside managed to survive through decades of fun and hard times. A Denver native, David Forsyth received his Ph. D. in history from the University of Colorado at Boulder, and has worked in the museum field for several years.

Bob Briggs, a Denver native and major figure in the Colorado carnation industry, presented "A Lost Enterprise: the Colorado Carnation Story" in November. Colorado was a major producer of carnations, a key research center, and a national distributor from the 1950s to the 1980s. Bob, a Colorado native, started growing carnations while a student at Westminster High School, and then earned a BS and MS in Horticulture at Colorado A&M. He built the first aluminum and fiberglass greenhouse in the world, was Colorado's leading carnation grower many years, and was the youngest president of the Colorado Flower Growers Association.

In December Ellen Fisher, historian, writer, and mountaineer, presented "Nathaniel Hill, Scientist, Gold Miner, Entrepreneur" to the Colorado Corral. While studying for her Ph.D. at the University of Colorado, she discovered a collection of 1860s letters written by Nathaniel Hill to his wife Alice. Hill, a Brown University professor of chemistry, was lured to Colorado by both mineral and real estate ventures. He was instrumental in developing methods to process Central City ore. His successes in the mining business led to a political career, culminating in election to the U. S. Senate. Using her research into Hill's letters, Ellen Fisher has written an award-winning historical novel, *Hill's Gold*, on this important Colorado personage.

Programs of the Pikes Peak Posse

October was the perfect month for Linda Wommack's "Stories from Teller County's Past." Linda, an award-winning author of eleven books, presented Colorado pioneer stories from messages and history found in smaller, almost forgotten cemeteries, drawn from her books *From the Grave* and *Haunted Cripple Creek and Teller County*.

In November Don Moon provided another of his outstanding first-person performances of Theodore Roosevelt, "Father of the National Parks," emphasizing



Westerners Bookshelf



Captain Jack Helm: A Victim of Texas Reconstruction Violence, by Chuck Parsons. Forward by Kenneth W. Howell. University of North Texas Press, Denton, 2018. Hardback, 302pp, maps, illustrations, epilogue, appendices, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.

This is a tangled tale of a Texas Police officer, Regulator, Sheriff, and Military Veteran. Jack Helm was first a Confederate soldier who deserted and joined the Union Army during the Civil War. Following that unfortunate tragedy, he became a Captain in the Texas State Police operating in De Witt, Goliad, Refugio, Matagorda and other counties. After incurring the opposition of Texas Senator Bolivar Pridgen, reputedly for killing prisoners who may, or may not, have tried to escape, he joined the Regulators.

He was Sheriff of De Witt County, living in Concrete a now virtually abandoned small town. In all of this, he and his supporters faced criminal gangs who engaged in cattle and horse theft as well as murder. But pursuit of these criminals created a backlash beginning with the hanging of five people in Hopkins County, followed by the killing of two members of the Kelly family, strong supporters of the Taylor gang. He was now mixed up in the Sutton-Taylor feud that resulted in numerous killings by both sides.

In the end, Sheriff Helm was shot down in cold blood by the notorious Texas killer, John Wesley Hardin and Jim Taylor on July 18, 1873. Helm at the time was unarmed, having left his guns hanging in the McCracken Hotel in Albuquerque, Texas, another town that has long since disappeared. Interestingly, at the time, Helm was working there on two pieces of agricultural equipment for which he had designed and patented, which is why he had left his guns behind.

As the author notes, there is a dearth of information about Helm's career, that makes it difficult to trace his whereabouts, and activities. The major difficulty is trying to determine who killed whom, and why. Combined with that, however, is the author's ramblings that jump from subject to subject, often repetitively.

Parsons has taken on a difficult task pursuing the career of a man about whom relatively little is known. Records are few, and little source material of any kind exists. This is an interesting, if confusing, account of law enforcement in the days of violence in Southern Texas.

--Alan Culpin

Season Of Terror: The Espinosas in Central Colorado March – October 1863, by Charles F. Price. University Press of Colorado, 2013. 331 pp. Maps, photos, bibliography, index, paperback. \$26.95.

This is an intriguing book about a murderous trio of Colorado Territory residents who in less than a year killed an estimated thirty-two persons. For reasons not completely known, their violence is explained in detail as perhaps insanity, religious belief, or in response to actions against their family by Territorial Government and other residents. Each of these is explained by the author through his detailed writing and use of copious notes. The reader is left with the possibility that each of these had some part in the Espinosas' killing spree. The sparse population in and around the Canon City, Colorado City, Fairplay, and Leadville areas was terrorized.

Vigilante groups went hunting for the murderers, and without having information engaged unknown people, or if someone was expected of minor crimes, were "choked" or "stretched" to get to the truth. This led to several people being lynched and innocent people implicated in these crimes. Law officials went searching for the murderers but without success. Finally, there was real evidence about who were the murderers. The Colorado Military was given primary responsibility for finding and stopping the criminals.

The middle section of the book gets away from the Espinosas and murders, and includes a detailed story of the Colorado Military, their relationship with the New Mexico Military, and Federal Government control of the military. There is a great deal of personal drama between the officers in these military units. The outcome of all this drama results in unit commanders and military actions with which the reader is familiar.

Ultimately it took the hiring of Tom Tobin, a military scout, to find and kill the Espinosas. He accomplished his job and the heads of the two murderers were carried back to Fort Garland. The last of the book includes two possible locations for the end of the Espinosas; both have good arguments presented. Pictures taken within a few years, and thirty years later, show Tobin still wearing his frontier buckskin clothing, and he was still trying to obtain the government-offered reward for his ending of the reign of terror.

--Chuck Mattson





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

November - December 2018



Louise Hill collection, Hart Lib., History Colorado Center

Louise Hill

Louise Hill and Denver's 'Sacred Thirty-six'
by Shelby Carr
(Presented Sept. 26, 2018)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LXXIV NO. 6



November - December 2018



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Rick Barth (303) 838-6687
 4646 Park County Rd. 72
 Bailey, CO 80421
ruthandnick@gmail.com

Book Reviews

Ray Thal (303) 324-9483
 2301 S. Holly Pl.
 Denver, CO 80222
coloraydo1@yahoo.com

Dues and Other Payments

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 8060 E. Girard Ave., #301
 Denver, CO 80231
florasellscolorado@gmail.com

Reservations for meetings

Joe Sokolowski (303) 778-8324
 2351 East Iowa Ave
 Denver, CO 80210
jsokolo102@aol.com

Our Author

Shelby Carr graduated from the University of Colorado with her Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude, in History. Currently, she's in her final semester to achieve her Master of Arts in American History with an emphasis in the Gilded Age, minor in Public History, and certificate in Historic Preservation. Shelby also has her certificate in Genealogical Research from Boston University as well as her certificate in Antiques, Collectibles, and Appraising from Ashford Institute of Antiques. She hopes to continue on to earn her PhD.

The *ROUNDUP* (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Membership is \$35 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be submitted electronically, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. *ROUNDUP* layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for *ROUNDUP* to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

Louise Hill and Denver's 'Sacred Thirty-six'

by Shelby Carr

(Presented Sept. 26, 2018)

Louise once said: "It is my business to entertain and that is a very serious business." The Gilded Age, the era of pure decadence in the United States, is still known today as perhaps the most lavish period of time in the country's history. Money was the key factor and appeared to rule all. Modest, unassuming dress and decorative style were out of fashion and the more apparent you could display your great wealth through opulent parties and expensive objects the better. At the height of the Gilded Age, in 1893, a bold, brazen, brunette beauty blew into the town of Denver like a whirlwind.

She carried herself with a delicate grace and was, elegantly, unapologetically honest. A woman of short stature, high heels, and quick wits, Louise Sneed Hill ruled over Denver society for almost four decades with her Southern charm, great knowledge and a passion for success. To Hill, elite society was, in part, a game that could be lost and won and she was determined to come out on top.

In a time of the self-made man, Hill was a self-made woman in terms of elite societal achievement. She believed high society required a particular set of skills (traits that she possessed) and by which she considered herself the ultimate winner. Hill took cues from the societies of the East and armed herself with the tools necessary to achieve her goals. She ruled her society with poise and used the press

to her advantage. She also used her words carefully to very publicly but politely set the boundaries of society. In her time, high society was a "queer game."¹ Those outside of Hill's inner circle were warned: if an individual was not prepared with the required skills to enter the arena of elite society they were instructed to heed the warning and beware what they might encounter. If one was to enter into a battle with Mrs. Hill, they were sure to lose. She used her intelligence, ambition, passion, and money to create a legitimate aristocratic style high society in the city of Denver. She created the game, served as its master, arbiter, and most decorated player. In other words, she won.

Mrs. Hill created a society group in Denver that was dubbed the "Sacred Thirty-Six." The thirty-six names on the elite list were influential, wealthy people who lived in the city of Denver.² The Sacred Thirty-Six, though a reinvention of the "Old Guard" (a previously existing class of wealth in Denver), was the first establishment of an elite social scene in Denver and resulted in the acknowledgment of the city as a legitimate cultural and educated place to the larger world.

Louise Bethel Sneed was born March 28, 1862 into the Southern aristocracy. Her parents, William Morgan Sneed and Louisa Maria Bethel were lifetime residents of North Carolina. Louise's young life appears to have been wrought with a

bit of heartache. Her mother, Louisa, passed away in July 1862 when Louise was only four months old.³ Though tragedy was present in her early life, her family name provided her with a comfortable childhood and she grew up as a southern belle in the grand home on her family's plantation. The Sneed family was prominent in the South and strengthened its power through marriages that connected it to former chief justices of the North Carolina Supreme Court, statesmen, investors in the Transylvania Company (including the founder of Kentucky), and other plantation owners.⁴

Louise grew up privileged and spent many summer seasons with close family friends Mrs. Jefferson Davis (the wife of the president of the Confederate States) and Mrs. Worthington Davis (cousin of Jefferson Davis and mother-in-law of Joseph Pulitzer, the creator of the Pulitzer Prize) at The St. Elmo in Green Cove Springs, Florida.⁵ Louise was reared, in her own words, in a very puritanical family. As a girl she thought it dreadfully wicked to play cards and for a woman to smoke was one of the seven deadly sins. Later on, she said thank God for aging.⁶

The Civil War ravaged the southern area where Louise grew up. The war killed numerous southern young men and caused many southern towns to become bankrupt. Due to that destruction, prospects for leading a charmed future were rather limited in the post-reconstruction south. Louise was highly ambitious and no one in the South had enough money to provide a vessel for her to achieve her ambitions. She had relatives who lived in territorial Colorado and after stories of great

wealth and fortune made their way eastward from the Rocky Mountain region, she decided to leave the South and travel westward to explore suitable marriage prospects.

Louise chose to visit Denver in 1893 and stayed with her relatives, Captain and Mrs. William D. Bethel. Captain Bethel was a former officer in the Confederate army and after moving westward became a "well-known Colorado pioneer and capitalist."⁷

Perhaps word traveled back eastward of her cousin's successful business ventures in Colorado—William became the principal stockholder in the Southern Investment Company and in 1891 provided the financial backing for the Manhattan Beach amusement park on Sloan's Lake—as Louise blew into Denver like a whirlwind in 1893.

Upon arriving in Colorado, she found it to be a "social wasteland" seemingly destitute of all culture and customs with which she had been raised. Due to her Uncle Captain Bethel's prominence in Denver society and the early social scene, it was easy for Hill to make a proper entrance and attain introductions to Colorado's wealthiest families. Faced with finding a suitable husband upon her arrival, Louise went to work scouring Denver for the perfect match. She set her sights on the best match possible, the most eligible bachelor in town, Crawford Hill.

While it was said that "the heart and fortune of every eligible youth in town were laid at her feet" it was Mr. Crawford Hill—a successful businessman and son of Nathaniel P. Hill, a U.S. Senator,



*Hart Lib., boxed collection, Hill Fam.,
History Colorado Center*

Mr. Crawford Hill

and self-declared arbiter of Colorado society—that caught Louise’s eye.⁸ Nathaniel was “one of Colorado’s outstanding pioneers.”⁹ He was born into a distinguished New York family, studied at Brown University, and worked as a chemistry professor there before traveling to Colorado and



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Nathaniel P. Hill and Family, 1876

revolutionizing the mining and smelting industries. He established the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company in 1867 and effectively established the first successful smelter in the state.¹⁰

Nathaniel and his wife Alice were members of Denver’s “old guard,” the small group of Denver families who “had manners and charm” as well as “character and integrity,” connections, and money.¹¹ Denver’s Old Guard society served to “provide marriageable sons and daughters, to form corporations, to solidify water rights, to secure real estate investments...and shaped and ruled the city from Capitol Hill mansions.”¹² With their immense wealth and status in the Denver community, Senator and Mrs. Nathaniel P. Hill became arbiters of the Old Guard society.

They owned a now-long-gone twenty-room, three-story mansion at 14th and Welton streets, an area that early Denver citizens considered to be the city’s first “upper-crust” neighborhood. Their wealthy neighbors included Governor and Mrs. John Evans, Mr. and Mrs. William Byers, and Mr. and Mrs. John Wesley Iliff. The Old Guard ran the city of Denver, its development, and its politics with the Hills at the helm of the social scene. It was a perfect legacy for Louise to inherit and make her own.

When tiny but powerful Louise Bethel Sneed arrived in Denver in 1893 she made an immediate impact. Her cousins, Captain and Mrs. Bethel, threw an opulent ball to introduce her to Denver society at their mansion on East Colfax upon her arrival. Many of Denver’s Old Guard society attended the black-tie affair including the

Moffats, Cheesmans, and Hills.¹³

Crawford Hill, the most eligible bachelor in Colorado although rather devoid of a sparkling personality, made the acquaintance of the energetic Louise Sneed at that ball in her honor. It was the perfect match, what Crawford lacked in social presence Louise more than made up for with her ambition, tenacity, and drive to rule.

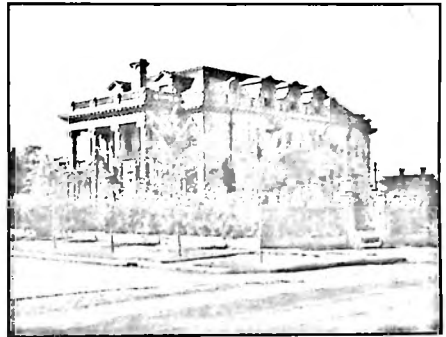
Two years after their first encounter, Louise and Crawford were married in a lavish ceremony in Memphis, Tennessee. That day Louise began a love affair with the society pages of Colorado's various newspapers that lasted through her dying day. Articles about their ceremony were published in most newspapers and dubbed Louise Sneed, "the reigning belle of this city."¹⁴

An article in the *Denver Republican* praised Louise's beauty, her exquisite pearl-white, satin and chiffon gown, and described the "superb diamonds" that sparkled "on her ensemble" that were a gift from Crawford.¹⁵ The Hill-Sneed wedding was also described as a "beautiful, notable, and important event." Louise was also said to be "recognized everywhere as belle and a beauty...her marriage into a family as prominent as her own makes it an occasion of unusual import and interest."¹⁶

After their wedding, Mr. and Mrs. Crawford Hill established their home in Denver and Louise went to work building her empire. Crawford and Louise lived in La Veta Place, a row of Victorian brownstone apartments, formerly at 1407 Cleveland Place.¹⁷ It was the most elegant apartment house in Denver but Louise despised the

"dark and uninspired" surroundings. Consequently, after the birth of her sons Nathaniel in 1896 and Crawford, Jr. in 1898, Crawford, Sr. built his family a twenty-two-room French Renaissance mansion. It was completed in 1906 at the southwest corner of 10th Avenue and Sherman Street. Although the front door faced 10th Avenue, the Hills preferred to use the address 969 Sherman Street. Sherman led directly to the state capitol building and having a home on that street implied a sense of political and social stature within the community. With Denver serving as her residence for the foreseeable future, Louise set off on a mission to reform the "social wasteland" that she deemed the mile-high city to be by establishing herself as it's crowned leader and influencing culture and society to suit her ideals.

Many of the ideas she had to mold society came from a New Yorker, Mrs. Caroline Schermerhorn Astor. New York City quickly turned into the place to be for members of high society during the Gilded Age and it was ruled



Denver Public Library's Western History Department

Crawford Hill Residence 1910-1930

by its own version of aristocracy, the Knickerbockers, with Mrs. Astor as its reigning queen. Mrs. Astor threw lavish balls, inviting only those individuals of high sophistication and old money. She had very strict guidelines for her social events and viewed new money families as uncouth. She routinely denied them entrance to her opulent gatherings, excluding them from her list of the 400, those welcome to all high society events.

Mrs. Astor orchestrated many events including grand balls that were held in her own personal ballroom at her house on 34th Street and 5th Avenue. These balls, modeled after those common in British aristocracy, were intended as occasions where one could socialize and parents could introduce their daughters into high society. Mrs. Astor's exclusive 400 list, so named as that was the capacity of her ballroom, provided the best way for rich New Yorkers to perpetuate the cycle of exclusivity that had been established. Mrs. Astor's social gatherings were frequently chronicled in the society pages of New York's newspapers such as the *New York Times*.¹⁸

Taking a cue from Mrs. Astor, Hill invited the press to write about her. She welcomed attention, craved it, and wanted to be seen by everyone, everywhere. Louise began her rise to the top by seeking to "captivate all of Denver with her charm, wit, and beauty."¹⁹ Unlike the Old Guard of Denver, Louise loved the press and used the Hill family's ownership of the *Denver Republican* to her advantage.

Hill, as self-titled social arbiter of Denver, began hosting bridge parties in stately home and instructed others

in "the best way to arrange the tables" but to "be sure and do not say that I arranged the tables."²⁰ Hill's bridge parties were exclusive and consisted of nine tables of four players each.

Like Mrs. Astor's New York ballroom that could only fit 400 people, Mrs. Hill created a society group in Denver that the local press dubbed the "Sacred Thirty-Six" because of the amount of people her bridge tables could accommodate. Historians have often attributed the "Sacred" title to the thirty-six names to an untitled newspaper interview a journalist conducted with Mrs. P. Randolph Morris. Mrs. Morris was one of Hill's closest friends whom she considered herself to be inseparable from and "for whom she ha[d] known for many years."²¹

Supposedly, Morris responded to a journalist's question by stating: "Goodness, you'd think we were sacred, the way you were asking." The journalist properly titled the story that followed "Party at Mrs. Hill's for the Sacred 36" and the general public referred to the group of social elites as such from that moment forward.²²

Hill was very selective in whom she allowed to attend her events. She routinely denied Denver socialite and philanthropist Margaret Brown entrance to her exclusive parties due to Brown's unrefined behavior and new money status. It was only after she survived the Titanic that Louise gave her partial acceptance into society and threw a luncheon in her honor in May 1912.²³

Hill laid out her particular social constructs in a work of her own that she entitled *Who's Who in Denver*



Denver Public Library's Western History Department

Sacred Thirty-six - Denver Country Club, 1910-1930

Society. The blue book, originally bound in red cloth with gold lettering, was published in 1908. It contained many names of those individuals in Denver whom Louise considered to be of an upper class. A sketch of Louise graced the cover page along with the title of the book. Naturally, she put herself and her husband, Crawford, at the top of the list for the category entitled "The Smart Set." According to the text, some "Hints on Behavior" suggested that: "manners are indeed stronger than laws and are signs by which one's status is fixed." The text continued on to state that "people of breeding" never "look up to" or "look down upon" their associates but rather they leave them with the effect of "unspoken caress without the familiarity of anything personal." It also states that to "be quietly qui vive is the first mark of breeding." These traits, among countless others including the avoidance of painful or disgusting topics and laughing or giggling, were the set requirements that all individuals, both men and women, hoping to enter



W.H. Kistler Stationary Co.

Sketch of Louise Hill, *Who's Who in Denver Society* 1908

the upper echelons of society must possess.²⁴

Throughout her time as the self-designated reigning queen of society, Hill penned letters to various newspaper reporters at numerous establishments including the *Rocky Mountain News*. She instructed them how to portray her in the society pages and at times bribed them to do so. In a letter to Miss Helen Eastom of *The Denver Post*, she presented her with a photograph "which is really lovely except the face, which does not look like a human being." Louise went on to instruct Eastom to "tell the printer who executes the picture that you put in the paper, that if he will have the face blurred... he will do me an everlasting favor and I shall properly send him a check for \$5.00" and that "Mr. Bonfils will think it is only a mistake, and the picture will be divine." Included in the letter, Louise also sent the lines of wording to accompany the photograph. They described her as "too magnificent" and instructed Eastom that if she didn't use them Louise understood; however,

if she recalled correctly, Eastom told her to write the lines in such a way as to make herself sound like “the greatest person in the world.”²⁵

Whether it was articles about her tiara that “dazzled society” and oozed with diamonds, her diet regimen of “two glasses of buttermilk, two crackers, and water” or that she had given up “letting her friends copy everything she wears or does” for Lent, Hill was certainly the center of attention in Denver.²⁶ Her “aptitude for doing the charming and graceful thing, her ready sympathy for others, a naturalness of manner as refreshing as a spring, tact breeding and an uncanny sense of the fitness of things, and a proficient memory remembering the little personal feelings between people and avoiding situations that might result in friction” factored in her success.²⁷

While she did find great success with the Denver community in the beginning of her societal reign, she was not nationally or internationally recognized as a society queen. Seeking to be acknowledged as the Mrs. Astor of the West, Hill used her intelligence, tenacity, and wealth to help make the leap into the international smart set. In an article entitled “Denver Society Woman to Enter Palace, Mrs. Crawford Hill Will

Be ‘Presented’ a journalist described the event that marked her place in history as the first Denverite to be presented in English court. The article stated that: The importance of being presented at court may be judged correctly only when you consider a society woman from any of the lesser cities of America is absolutely unknown outside of her own home. She has no

acquaintance worth speaking of among New York’s “400” and in the capitals of Europe there is for her no possibility of recognition. But let her be presented



Louise Hill Coll., Hart Lib., boxed collection, Hill Fam., History Colorado Center

Louise Hill in her gown crafted for presentation to King Edwards VII at the Court of St. James, London, 1908

at court and her whole social status is changed.²⁸

The *Denver Republican* published an article that described Hill’s exquisite presentation dress. The journalist wrote that Hill “attracted much attention in a particularly handsome gown of white satin, embroidered with diamonds, with a comb train of red velvet, heavily brocaded with gold.”²⁹ The author continued his or her description by stating that her “ornaments were a pearl and diamond collar with lace, a string of pearls and a tiara of diamonds with pear-shaped pearls.”³⁰

Her grand entrance into English high society put her, and her Thirty-

Six, in the limelight. It allowed the important individuals in New York to acknowledge Denver as a relevant, elite society. As the article stated it gave "distinction and la[jid] a foundation for the future recognition of Denver society."³¹ After her presentation at court, the notoriety and popularity of the Thirty-Six only continued to grow as did her features in the society pages. From that point forward, Hill was acquainted with numerous members of various nobility including lords, ladies, and Prince and Princess Henry XXXIII of Reuss, a former principality in what is now East Germany and the Queen of Belgium.³² She was also the only woman in Denver permitted to entertain President William Howard Taft socially during his 1911 visit to Denver.³³

Hill's reign of high society, national and international travel continued through the 1920s and 30s. Her favorite destinations were Memphis, Newport, New York, London, and Paris. She entertained presidents and fabulously wealthy and titled society people. She never told anyone her age and still hosted in her 60s with the exuberance she had in her 30s.

By 1944, Hill had shut down the mansion for parties and social gatherings due to the ravages of WWII. In her later years, the upkeep of her large mansion became too much for her and she suffered from a stroke around 1947. Consequently, she and her staff moved into the Skyline Apartments at the Brown Palace, room 904, and her sons sold her mansion to the newly established Jewish Town Club.³⁴ In 1947, many of her spectacular clothes and furnishings were put up for auction.

Six-hundred items went up for sale including her English court presentation train that sold for \$22,50.³⁵

She became a bit of a recluse in her later years and was saddened by the lack of visits from her sons and their families. She wrote to her niece that she felt her own letters were "so stupid, so that I am sure that they bother you."³⁶ She penned to Nathaniel and Crawford that she knew they had only "slight interest in how I'm doing but...you might feel sorry for me as I have been so terribly sick suffering from intense pain, confined to my bed constantly."³⁷ She wrote to both of her sons again that year that she spent "so much time trying to convince you not to come out here as it would bore you to death...but I did think you could send me a postcard."³⁸

Hill spent fifteen years in her Brown Palace apartment and died there of pneumonia in 1955 at the age of ninety-one leaving an estate worth just over \$5,000,000.³⁹ She was survived by her two sons, Nathaniel P. of New York and Crawford, Jr. of Newport, her four grandchildren, and seven great-grandchildren. Both of her sons died shortly after her. Crawford, Jr. passed in 1960 in Palm Beach, FL and Nathaniel died in 1965 in Boston, MA.⁴⁰



Boxed collection, Hill Fam., History Colorado Center

**Crawford Hill Jr. and
Nathaniel P. Hill II**

Hill was a tough mother to her sons (she once wrote a letter to Crawford stating that “The Boettchers...said that you were so fat they would never had known you had someone at the table not told them who you were...I told you about growing fat...get thin and stand up”⁴¹) but also loved them fiercely and worried greatly for their safety during the first World War.

She was a huge supporter of the troops during WWI and frequently donated her time and funds to the cause. During World War I she created and served as the director general of the soldiers’ family fund and called for all Coloradans to donate their support to the cause. The people of Colorado answered her plea, some days as high as around \$2,000. She was dedicated to her state and to the country. When asked about the outpouring of support she received for her fund she said: “I am proud of the way Colorado is responding...I’m proud and happy to know that patriotism glows so strongly in the hearts of Coloradans. While I’ve always prayed for peace, I believe that first and last and always the honor of this country should be maintained. I am going to try to do my share. It isn’t a Denver proposition, it belongs to all of Colorado.”⁴²

Though tragedy wrought the beginning and end of her life, Louise Sneed Hill always displayed class and sophistication. An animated conversationalist and a thorough sophisticate, Denver society’s dowager queen was a force to be reckoned with and effectively put the mile-high city on the map. She was responsible for many firsts in Denver society like

breakfast balls, private banquets where an orchestra played during the meal, and an afternoon dance where guests frolicked to the “turkey trot” and the “worm wiggle.”⁴³

Hill—through her perseverance, morals, manner, charm, ideals, and bribery—was able to attain camaraderie with the socialites of New York City. Due to her great wealth and determination to put her city on the map and secure her title as a society noble, she influenced the minds of Denver citizens every day. Her methods of influence had no limits as she employed featured articles in newspaper publications that relentlessly displayed her cultural capital and class identity. She turned herself into the ultimate figure of grace, class, and unattainable but forever desired success.

She believed it was her duty and responsibility to lead society and that the work of a society woman was not only useful and important but one of the hardest kinds of work. She once stated it was a more difficult task than those of a general of an army. Why? Because “the society leader must manage women. And to fight her battles she cannot use brute force. Tact is the only weapon she can use...she must always be alert and planning, for one wrong move may wipe her colors from the field.”⁴⁴

The Sacred Thirty-Six was the first establishment of an elite social scene in Denver and resulted in the acknowledgment of the city as a legitimate cultural and educated place to the larger world. Her creation of an aristocratic social scene in pioneer Colorado forever altered the epicenter of the pioneer Rocky Mountain West.



Hart Lib., History Colorado Center

**Wiswall, "Louise Hill painting/
portrait" 1890-1910**

By emulating Mrs. Astor, Hill managed to turn the "social wasteland" of Denver into a highly intellectual and cultured city recognized and respected internationally. The citizens of Colorado are still feeling the effects of her work on the Denver social scene as today the city continues to be well-regarded for its abundance of cultural institutions. Women like Louise have been written out of the narrative or have ended up as merely a chapter or a footnote of American history. These women were high society leaders but they were so much more than that. They were also philanthropists and preservationists with high morals and standards who encouraged society as a whole to honor one another and preserve history; they accomplished amazing feats. It is hard to imagine what the city of Denver would be like today if it were not for the influence of the tiny but powerful Louise Sneed Hill.

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Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Westerner Presentations of the New Year

The Colorado Corral's January program featured Gail Lindley telling how "Frontier Marshal Matt Duggan ruled Rowdy Leadville with an Iron Fist." Marshal Matt Duggan is considered one of the most underrated gunmen of the Old West. Leadville "boasted" of up to 50,000 people in 1878, and in the 1880s was gaining a reputation for lawlessness. Mayor Horace Tabor sought Duggan to bring law and order to rowdy Leadville. Speaker Gail Lindley is a Denver native, a third-generation bookbinder, and a volunteer as a Denver Police Reserve Office.

Denver Westerner member David Emrich provided the Colorado Corral February program, "The Festival of Mountain and Plain and Colorado's First Movies," featuring the Festival's history. Colorado's rich movie-making history starts with the Edison Company's filming of Denver's third annual Festival of Mountain and Plain in 1897. David is founder of PM Media Services in Denver. He has produced films for the National Park Service for the Sand Creek National Historic Site and Yellowstone National Park, and has edited projects that have won an Academy Award and an Emmy.

The Pikes Peak Posse was preparing for a January program on the Florissant Fossil Beds, to be presented by a volunteer of the National Park Service. Unfortunately the federal government shutdown prevented him from an appearance. Ed Bathke, former Denver Posse and Pikes Peak Posse sheriff, and Boulder County Corral deputy sheriff, substituted with "The Stereoviews of Ed Tangen, the Boulder Pictureman." Tangen opened a photo gallery in Boulder in 1903, and between 1906 and 1951 took over 16,000 photos. The 2,700 stereoviews that he produced document the rich history of not only Boulder but a considerable surrounding portion of Colorado.

"The History of the Alexander Film Production Company" by Steven Antonuccio was the February presentation at the Pikes Peak Posse meeting. The Alexander Film Company is an integral part of Colorado Springs's past, since 1928. In addition to producing advertising playlets for movie theaters across the country, it also manufactured the popular Alexander Eaglerock aircraft. In the 1940s and 1950s Alexander employed over 500 in Colorado Springs. In 2008 Steve retired from the Pikes Peak Library District after running the Community Video Center for twenty-one years and managing their cable channel for seventeen, producing over 1,000

programs focusing on the history of Colorado Springs. He helped establish their extensive historic film collection of the Alexander Film Company. He has twice been nominated for a Heartland Emmy for his documentary work.

Denver Posse Mourns Loss of Bill Leeper

William Leeper, a member of the Denver Posse since 2003, passed away on Dec. 27 at the age of 83. His interest in history was shown by being the president of the Littleton Library and Historical Museum, a board member of the Friends of Historic Fort Logan, and a volunteer with the United Airlines (Continental) Historical Foundation. As an Air Force officer, he served eight years, flying six different aircraft on five different bases. Hired in 1966 by Continental Airlines to fly the DC-9 from Denver, his 28 1/2 -year career culminated in serving as a management pilot for half of those years including six years as the Chief Pilot for Continental's Los Angeles base. The Posse extends deepest sympathies to Bill's wife and family.



Westerners Bookshelf



Season of Terror The Espinosas in Central Colorado March–October 1863, by Charles F. Price. University Press of Colorado, 2018. 331 pp. Maps, photos, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$26.95.

This is an intriguing book about a murderous trio of Colorado Territory residents who in less than a year killed an estimated thirty-two persons. For reasons not completely known, their violence is explained in detail as perhaps insanity, religious belief, or in response to actions against their family by Territorial Government and other residents. Each of these is explained by the author through his detailed writing and use of copious notes. The reader is left with the possibility that each of these had some part in the Espinosas killing spree. The sparse population in and around the Canon City, Colorado City, Fairplay, and Leadville areas were terrorized.

Vigilante groups went hunting for the murderers, and without having information engaged unknown people, or if someone was expected of minor crimes, were “choked” or “stretched” to get to the truth. This led to several people being lynched and innocent people implicated in these crimes. Law officials went searching for the murderers but without success. Finally, there was real evidence about who were the murderers. The Colorado military was given primary responsibility for finding and stopping the criminals.

The middle section of the book gets away from the Espinosas and murders, and includes a detailed story of the Colorado military, their relationship with the New Mexico military, and Federal Government control of the military. There is a

great deal of personal drama between the officers in these military units. The outcome of all this drama results in unit commanders and military actions with which the reader is familiar.

Ultimately it took the hiring of Tom Tobin, a military scout, to find and kill the Espinosas. He accomplished his job and the heads of the two murderers were carried back to Fort Garland. The last of the book includes two possible locations for the end of the Espinosas; both have good arguments presented. Pictures taken within a few years, and thirty years later, show Tobin still wearing his frontier buckskin clothing, and he was still trying to obtain the government-offered reward for his ending of the reign of terror.

--Chuck Mattson

Sweet Freedom's Plains, African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841-1869, Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, 2016, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman. Hardcover, \$29.95.

This is an honest telling of the story of pioneers traveling west by wagon train, looking for a better life they had heard and dreamed about. The subject of the book are African Americans who were still slaves, or freed slaves, who had to face the bigotry of the men who had recently moved into the border states.

Those who were current slaves left families behind, promising to return with an amount of gold the masters had asked for to buy their freedom. Wagons, mules or oxen, and supplies, if available, were included in the value of gold to be paid.

Some slaves had been freed, either because of a sympathetic master, or individuals having accumulated the amount of money to buy their freedom. These men and families had heard of the gold being found in California, and hoped to find their share to better their lives. Sometimes with their wife, often without wives and children, they put together a wagon full of supplies and alone or as part of a wagon train headed west.

These travelers were given papers to show that they were freed, or that they were owned, and their travels were under the sponsorship of their owner. Few of these travelers could read or write and were dependent upon the honesty of whoever wrote the letter, and the literacy and greed of people who stopped the Black traveler. Many times before traveling far the former slave would be taken prisoner to be sold as a slave or to be robbed of all of his wagon contents, and the wagon with mules or oxen.

The wagonless, moneyless travelers would walk along with the wagon train or trade work for passage and food. Without transportation many travelers stopped at cities along the route. There they found work, established themselves, and even started successful businesses. Surprisingly, many of these people made it to the California gold fields.

Gold was hard to come by, not nearly as easily found as was advertised. Sometimes enough gold was gathered to return home to purchase freedom. More

often, after the gold was gathered the man would be robbed. Then his choices were to start gathering gold again or return home broke. A few used the gold to start successful businesses.

Along the trails the African Americans faced all the hunger and thirst as the White travelers, but also had to put up with the prejudice and bigotry of their fellow travelers.

Because very few of these former slaves could read or write, and the time working, there are few first person journals with their stories. There are a few letters to back home, but most information is brief statements in White travelers' diaries, journals, and letters. Many travelers were only referred to by a first name, or by an ethnic reference. The author has done a remarkable job of putting this story together using descendants, remembrances, census records, and newspaper stories.

--Chuck Mattson

Soldiers in the Southwest Borderlands 1848-1886, Edited by Janne Lahti.

University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 234pp. Photos, index, endnotes. Hardcover, \$29.95.

The book contains an introduction and ten brief biographical sketches selected and edited by Lahti. Each selection was contributed by a different historian. Seeking diversity, Lahti included soldiers from numerous ethnic or racial backgrounds. Additionally, the subjects were illiterate, leaving no memoirs, diaries or other information. Lahti contends that skillful historians can produce "a fair and substantive sense of what these soldiers' experiences and terms of service were like" without using primary sources.

I found this book to be a great disappointment. Although it provided substantial background material dealing with the campaigns against Apaches and Confederates, all of the biographical sketches overflowed with "probably, perhaps, maybe and we can assume that."

In one instance, Homobono Carbajal, Company F, 2nd New Mexico Volunteers, committed a murder. He became one of the first soldiers to escape the death penalty by reason of insanity. It is an interesting, thought-provoking story. Yet the author refuses to speculate whether or not Carbajal's exposure to violence contributed to his insanity.

In another case an author examines the life of George Goldsby. At least two widows claimed survivor's pensions which triggered some incredibly contorted legal reasoning based on the racial laws in effect at various times in our history. Once again, this is a thought-provoking article that concludes simply with a lame assertion that violence had contributed to this situation despite the fact that the author could not actually determine the man's real name, race, or much of anything else about him.

This is a fairly quick, easy read with good background material. However, I feel that it really fails to address its subject in a substantive way.

--Dennis Hagen

Charles M. Russell: The Women in His life and Art edited by Joan Carpenter Troccoli. C.M. Russell Museum, Great Falls, MT, 2018. 175 pp. Bibliography, images, index, exhibition checklist. Hardcover, \$39.95.

This exhibition catalogue accompanies the recent exhibit at the C.M. Russell Museum by the same name. It is worth a read because it features twenty-first-century scholarship of Russell's art that follows a growing interest in how women are featured in Western art. And it breaks new ground by examining how women influenced the life and art of one of America's most beloved Western artists, whose art usually glorified the West as a man's world.

The five contributors to this book—with essays depicting different themes in Russell's life and work—explain the dichotomy between Russell's reputation as an artist of a male-dominated West and his portrayal of women. The reader comes to understand that Russell used females as symbols of the dramatic changes reshaping Western culture during his time as an artist during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Brian Dippie's introduction lives up to the author's reputation as an excellent historian and writer ("Russell's West was a man's domain, no doubt, but it was a kingdom with a queen on the throne."). And his summation that the catalogue is a "long overdue contribution to Russell scholarship" is spot on. His essay was exactly the introduction needed for a book offering fresh insight into a well-established artist: it oriented the reader to Russell's life and art, gave a glimpse of how he integrated women (mostly Indian women) into his art and provided a nice setup for the essays to come.

Those essays provide an in-depth examination of Russell's art, his life and the influences that shaped his art. The overview of the works in the exhibitions provides an analysis of the complexities of the artist and the times in which he lived. The discussion of Russell's use of women shows his interest in the feminine ideal of the times and how it provided a backdrop to his sense of a nomadic West. His developing stages as an artist are viewed through his close relationship with a couple that saved sentimental "souvenirs" now in the collection of the Montana Historical Society and introduced Russell to his wife. The final essay is about his wife, his business partner, whose shrewd choices helped to market his art to a broader audience. The book is further enhanced by the lavish use of color plates of Russell's work.

If there is any criticism of this book, it would be the subject matter. Russell's paintings featuring women tend to be quiet and thoughtful. As a result, they can't compete with terrified buffalo escaping the spears of young Native men in hot pursuit. His oil painting *Water for Camp* depicts Native women dipping pots into a stream. While it is a wonderful painting, it is not as action-filled as his better-known works. Indeed, we have become so used to Russell's action-filled canvases that anything less is not as captivating.

But those are minor points. This book deserves credit for introducing an aspect of Russell's work that is less well-known and for getting us to look closer at "the others" in his art.

--Monta Lee Dakin

Graham Barnett, A Dangerous Man, by James L. Coffey, Russell M. Drake, and John T. Barnett. University of North Texas Press, 2017. 299 pp. Map, photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, dustjacket, \$29.95.

In the telling of Graham Barnett's life the three authors have woven a fascinating story of life in West Texas during the early 1900s. Graham Barnett is definitely a product of the unrest during that period. West Texans were very independent and tended to settle their differences themselves, sometimes with a gun. They still had values from the 1800s. When Graham Barnett came along he was a hero in their eyes. Graham was tried for murder twice but was acquitted both times.

At an early age, Graham was fascinated with guns and spent many hours practicing. When others saw his speed and accuracy his legend began to grow, and he did nothing to dispel it. This reputation allowed him to get many jobs, both within and outside the law. But he never seemed to keep a law job very long because of the rough way he treated people.

Like many West Texans, Graham always carried a gun, a Colt .45. Graham had a weakness for drinking and when drunk he wanted to fight and would threaten anyone who didn't agree with him. His threatening manner led to his early death in 1931 when an ex-friend shot him.

Due to the extensive research done by the authors, this is a very detailed story. But that adds to the richness of the story. Graham Barnett acts as a vehicle to describe the unrest during this period of Texas history, the Mexican Revolution which spilled over into Texas, Prohibition and bootlegging, the oil boom, and the Depression. Even though the book is very detailed, the story moves right along with never a dull moment. The Endnotes are also very interesting and provide a lot of background material. I highly recommend this book as a very good history of the growing pains of West Texas and a thorough description of how Graham Barnett dealt with them.

--Susie Morton

